

Meddelelser om Grønland

**A comparative manual of affixes for the Inuit
dialects of Greenland, Canada, and Alaska**

Michael Fortescue



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ADDENDA

- p. 3 'Unuit' for 'Inuit' in the inset title (a late typographical error) is not intended as an abbreviation for 'United Inuit' (but, there again, why not?).
- p. 16 Foot 22, change 'with lengthened vowel' to: but without lengthened vowel; statements have an antepenultimate fall.
- p. 17 Foot 45, add after 'geminate 'j2'': A glottal stop in connection with original geminate voiced fricatives is also optional in Cumberland Peninsula. In Itivimmiut it fully replaces /r/ before another voiced fricative, acc. Dorais.
Foot 49, add after '(3rd plural.)': - also transitive 2nd sing.-3rd sing.), and also negative 3rd sing. nngilaang, all with a final nasal/nasalized vowel.
Foot 51, add: Schneider's law is reported to be making inroads at Cape Dorset (Harper, pers. comm.).
- p. 18 Foot 52, add after 'in the West': and, with lengthening, in Tarramiut (where requests for confirmation involve overlengthening).
Foot 56, add after 'W Gr. -pput': and the 2nd sing.-3rd. sing. form is -vait.
- p. 19 Foot 71, add after 'Mackenzie': Iñupiaq.
Foot 72, add: Dorais & Lowe report /nng/ and /mng/ as the regular reflexes of /nr/ and /mr/ here (and no hug/hag forms heard).
Foot 75, add after 'object clause form)': It does use giaghaq this way, as in N Baffin-Aivilik, however.
- p. 20 Foot 78, add: The prevalence of the -vuq indicative in his text is not typical of the contemporary spoken language, acc. Briggs.
Foot 80, change 'deep falls early in phrase' to: rapid downdrift from high phrase-initial pitch.
Foot 81, add: a flapped allophone [ɾ] of /j/ is heard before another consonant, as in ajgait 'hands', acc. Dorais.
Foot 85, add: Acc. Dorais & Lowe (Inuit Studies 6.2, p. 129) there is a difference between past and non-past indicative here, as at Barrow; the former has truncating forms like -gaa (/r/ & /g/-stems) and -taa (/t/-stems).
Foot 89, add: In Sigliq and at Holman Island final labials are always nasal and there is an etymological distinction between final /n/ and /t/, as in Alaska, acc. Dorais & Lowe.
Foot 93, add after 'single phonemes.': [X] is also found intervocally (in Kobuk = [h], as alternatively after a consonant also in Barrow) in forms like uniaghaug 'small sled'; [x] is rare, however, outside of the contemporary forms.
Foot 96, add: /ɬ/ is apparently being replaced by /l/ (or /h/ in the contemporary) by speakers at Wainwright.
- p. 21 Foot 99, change 'outside of Barrow' to: everywhere outside of Barrow. The intrusive schwa between adjacent sonorants (harmonizing with flanking vowels) does not affect the positioning of intonational contours.
Foot 102, add after 'for /s/': (as also in the Iñupiaq of the Mackenzie area).
Foot 107, add after '/t/': (and /r/ in strong position may tend to be devoiced, to judge by 'qh' spellings in some Seward Peninsula school texts).
Foot 109, add after 'levelling': and [ɛ] for /ai/ may be heard also in Barrow.
Foot 111, add: Another way of formulating this (and the next three text sentences) is to say that the forms based on ḡag usually express a past indicative mood but may also be nominal, whereas those based on kkag are more commonly nominal today. MacLean's '4th person object' forms -ḡangata & -kkangan are the relative case of the nominally used participials (contrasting with absolutive case -ḡani). -ḡuag/-ḡa(n)ga as a past tense is less used the further one gets from Barrow (e.g. in Mackenzie Iñupiaq and Kobuk).
Foot 115, add: Following vowel stems the alternative causative is -kami.
Foot 116, add after '-ḡing': and 3rd sing. possessive -at alongside utaa from alienable possession affix ut(i) plus -a

- p. 22 Add after last line: , nor between 7. and 9.
- p. 33 Change '(and - at least Barrow - ža(ng)a)' to: or ža(ng)a.
- p. 34 Change '+(r)lug-' under 'having' (W Gr.) to: +lug-.
- p. 40 Remove 'be -ed' from gloss of W Gr. riaa(nnaa) (Potentiality).
- p. 44 Remove '/+niriq-' after 'llarig-' (W Gr.).
- p. 52 Add after W Gr. '+miu(q)': /+(r)miu.
- p. 58 Foot 34, add: The form nirig given by Bergsland always appears as rig; as with non-productive (r)lug and other affixes causing gemination in the preceding syllable, the stem vowel is retained except that 'i2' goes to /a/ (to /u/ in the case of (u)t(i) - cf. foot 29).
- p. 59 Foot 50, add: This form is otherwise used as a nominalization 'when from time to time' parallel to utaa in foot 78.
- p. 62 Foot 104, add after '(r)juangu': (and with umi & ujar (r)juumi & (r)juujar).
- p. 63 Foot 47, add after 'liarhi': and acc. Métayer vigjug.
Foot 67, add: (for taili-luni, etc.).
Foot 71, change '+tuar' to: tuar (+tuar belongs with +juar under 'Frequency & duration', which may be for uar after vowels - cf. foot 100, p. 75).
Foot 73, add after 'a bit': - but lukkar in his dictionary, alongside lukag 'a bit/meagerly' and nominal lukak 'bad'.
- p. 64 Foot 5, add: Kobuk has igut(i).
Foot 8, add: tusi is 'get more -' (of dimensions and time).
Foot 14, add: Also apparently ukhaaq 'act just like a -'.
Foot 25, add: Note also jumalaag 'eagerly anticipate -ing'.
Foot 26, add: tǿiq can also mean 'have happen to one'.
Foot 55, add: Also tug (more abrupt?).
Foot 61, add: also (u)ma.
Foot 72, add after 'like Kobuk': (also 'be heard/sound like').
/g/ + /n/ has become /ngn/ for younger speakers at Barrow too.
- p. 65 Foot 76, add: Note also enclitic ata after imperative endings in this function.
Foot 79, add: Note also galuadlaan 'although' (with dlaq).
Foot 81, add: dlaq is generally 'while', ngngag 'when', and mmaq 'while at the same time (as doing s.th. else)'.
Foot 96, add after 'užag (little)',': ligaq (catch).
Foot 97, add: (r)žuaq & tiržuaq 'very much' may also be sentential strengtheners.
Foot 98, add: a final nasal is kept before consonant-initial enclitics as in angunlu 'and the man'.
- p. 71 Add to gloss for Caribou 'mmaar': further.
Change entry for Caribou 'tsiar' to: tsiar/tsiaq (be/have a good/much/really/good, 1/4/15/26)
- p. 74 Foot 27, add: Note also sur 'be good at catching/catch many'.
Foot 38, add after '(rujuk)': and in C.P. at least also apparently a nominal modifier 'poor/bad'.
- p. 75 Foot 85, add: also ttuaq at B.L. The usual E.P. form appears to be 'juag with a glottal stop.
Foot 98, add: Note also ratarsinnar 'all the time' - this may be the correct form for the preceding item on the list.
Foot 100, add: Métayer also has jugarnar 'be good to -' and tuatarpak 'often' (cf. the addition to foot 71 on p. 63). Dorais & Lowe state that sima may indicate a 'present continuous' aspect in Sigliq.
- p. 76 Foot 102, add after 'lug': and Métayer has pilug & marlug 'badly'.
Foot 103, add: Métayer also has u 'have lots of'.
Foot 106, add: Métayer has nominalizer lrug (plural lrit) 'most'.
Foot 107, add: Métayer also has tsiaq 'beautiful' for Copper.
Further affixes he has for the Mackenzie Delta include qgiut 'a change of -', tainnar 'have just/for 1st time' (and nngitainnar 'not yet'), suir(-ami) 'after', suk/suatsiaq 'piece of', suirsaar(tur) 'for last time', tug 'would that' (enclitic), ilitag 'protection against', and vigi 'do for' (as well as 'have as place of'). I have not been able to ascertain these forms/meanings.
Foot 111, add: piksuag (and suag alone?) may be a verbal modifier 'strongly'.
Foot 113, add after 'time to)': and žgag 'barely'.
Foot 126, add after '-guwiung, etc.': (K.I. -gaiung)
- p. 96 Change 'Jacobsen, S.' to: Jacobson, S.
Change 'Schultz-Lorentzen, G. R.' to Schultz-Lorentzen, C. W.

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The information gathered in the present work is aimed at use both by students of the Eskimo languages and by Inuit speakers wishing to comprehend and communicate more directly with speakers of dialects other than their own. Productive affixes for fourteen dialect areas from East Greenland to North Alaska are presented for the first time in one place and in common orthographical form. These morphological elements, often difficult to isolate and subject to continual innovation within individual dialects, represent one of the most problematic areas for mutual comprehension. Particular emphasis has been placed on divergences from Central West Greenlandic in three other cardinal dialects, namely Tarramiut for the eastern Canadian Arctic, Copper for the western Canadian Arctic (where the author carried out field work in the summer of 1980), and North Slope Iñupiaq for Alaska. For each of these dialects comprehensive lists containing morphophonemic information and English glosses are arranged in parallel columns according to twenty-six easily comparable semantic groups. Divergences from the main lists for the remaining ten dialects are presented in alphabetical lists. The introductory sections describe the phonological correspondences between the dialects (plus important grammatical differences) and explain how the book can be used in practical terms. To this end a translation into West Greenlandic is included. Linguistic isogloss maps and examples of usage of affixes with no direct equivalent in West Greenlandic are supplied, as is a short sample text for each dialect treated (with English glosses). Further, there is included an overview of the various orthographic systems to be encountered for material in Canada and Alaska, an essay on successive affix ordering, and, for the sake of comparison, a similarly organized list of affixes for Central Alaskan Yupik.

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Introduction

This manual is an attempt to compare the derivational affixes (or 'post-bases') of all the Inuit dialects of Greenland, Canada and Alaska¹ in easily comparable semantic groupings. They are presented for the first time in one place and in a standard phonemic orthography. As differences here probably represent a principal area of difficulty for a speaker of one dialect trying to understand (or make himself or herself understood to) a speaker of another, it is hoped that this work will contribute to facilitating communication between fellow Inuit as well as provide interest for linguists familiar with one dialect wishing to approach material in any other. Differences in stem vocabulary also exist of course², but stems and lexicalized whole words specific to a particular area can much more easily be isolated and their meaning asked about or checked in a dictionary than can affixes of varying morphophonemic shape. Only those affixes which are truly productive (i.e. can

be added to a large number of stems) are dealt with – plus a few border-line cases (in brackets). There are many more 'fossilized' ones found only in a handful of lexicalized words, but these, by and large, tend to reoccur in most dialects and need to be learnt in any case in combination with the stems concerned.

Emphasis has been laid on differences in usage between standard (written) W Greenlandic, with which I am most familiar, and the three other typical 'main' dialects represented. Exemplification of affixes in the latter with no direct equivalent in W Greenlandic are given following the lists. The material for some of the other dialects (especially the more westerly ones) is probably not as complete as that for W Greenland and may contain archaic or doubtful forms, due in part to the nature of the source material on which I have had to rely – though responsibility for the correctness of the data included is of course mine alone.³ I have tried to

enter all fully 'lexicalized' combinations of more basic affixes (where the meaning is not simply the sum of the parts), but this has not proved practical for all 'semi-lexicalized' combinations which are commonly encountered but whose meaning is completely predictable from that of their parts. Only the most common of the latter have been entered.

The orthography employed is a compromise between the new Greenlandic standard (minus non-phonemic 'e', 'o' and 'f') and the Inuit Cultural Institute norm for Canadian Inuktitut.⁴ Special symbols have been added as required – for example in the case of the palatalized sounds 'ĭ' and 'ñ' found in Alaska. The purpose is to represent how the affixes are actually pronounced in the different dialects, with as little overlap of symbols as possible. The symbols used are thus as close to phonemic as possible, given the data available, within any one dialect (with few exceptions one symbol representing one word-distinguishing sound), but should not be taken as a proposal for a common Inuit script.⁵ Although the solution I adopt, which stays close to the phonetic 'surface' yet is based on the need for maximum recognizability of the 'same' affix across dialects, may be of use to Inuit concerned with this question, the eventual adoption of a common orthography is entirely a matter for them to decide themselves on practical and sociolinguistic grounds.

The affixes are arranged according to the following four main areas: Greenlandic, eastern Canadian Inuktitut, western Canadian Inuktitut, and Alaskan Inupiaq.⁶ Within each of these areas there is a rather complete list for one 'main' dialect (dictated in part by the availability of reliable and extensive data), while *differences* from these for the other dialects within each area are presented in individual alphabetical lists. Thus, inevitably, it is not always possible to tell if a particular affix on a 'main' dialect list also occurs productively in any other dialect of that area (only *positive* differences being indicated), although in all likelihood such an affix would at least be recognizable to speakers of any adjacent dialect. Due to various 'mini-migrations' and the mixing of people from different dialect regions in some of the larger settlements, the exact boundaries for the occurrence of particular affixes are doubtless somewhat more blurred than the lists might suggest.

The affixes themselves fall into twenty-six semantic groups – plus one for enclitics, which follow any verbal or nominal inflection on the word. The first eight of these ('being & becoming', 'lacking', 'feeling', 'having', 'acquiring', 'movement', 'acting & seeming like', and 'doing with & providing') form verbs from nominal stems.⁷ The next six ('judging & saying', 'wishing & waiting', 'causation & request', 'striving & intending', 'potentiality', and 'relation shifters'⁸) extend verbal stems to form 'compound-like' verbs. Groups 15 to 18 ('degree', 'manner', 'phase of completion', and 'frequency & duration') modify verbal stems in terms of degree or manner of action, or of aspect (mode of ex-

tension of an action or state in time). Group 19 ('tense') is for affixes indicating time of action relative to the present moment of speech, and group 20 ('modality') concerns the speaker's evaluation of the probability of the action or state being talked about. Groups 21 to 23 ('negation', 'subjective coloration' – indicating the speaker's emotional attitude or reaction⁹ –, and 'conjunctive' – for linking subordinate clauses to main ones –) complete the affixes taking verbal inflections. Group 24 ('nominalizers') forms nouns from verbal stems, group 25 ('nominal extenders') produces 'compound-like' nouns when added to nominal stems, and group 26 ('nominal modifiers') modifies nominal stems in terms of such dimensions as size, age, subjective evaluation, etc. Generalizations concerning the ordering of successive affixes from these groups can be found in appendix A. A sample text from each of the dialect areas treated, a note on the orthographies to be encountered in these areas, and, for comparative interest, an arrangement of Central Alaskan Yupik affixes according to the same semantic principles as for the 'main' lists can also be found at the back of the manual.

In practical terms, the manual can be used in the following manner. If one is most familiar with, say, W Greenlandic and comes across an unknown affix (either spoken or in a written text) in one of the three other 'main' dialects, one can either refer to the alphabetical index at the back or guess from the context as to which of the twenty-six groups it might belong to. Turning to that section one can look directly for the affix (in the form it would take following a vowel stem). If you do not know the English word(s) glossing the affix you can often find the nearest W Greenlandic equivalent by looking in the parallel column concerned for the same English gloss.¹⁰ If the unknown affix has the symbol '%' following its gloss you can also look up an example of its use in the appropriate section (the symbol means it has no exact equivalent in W Greenlandic in fact). If, on the other hand, you want to know how to express a certain concept for which you know the affix used in W Greenlandic but not in the new dialect, you need only reverse the process by looking for an affix in the parallel column with the same (or similar) English gloss. If the affix you want to check up on is in a dialect other than the four 'main' ones, you should look for it in the appropriate alphabetical list (again in the form following a vowel – the sections below should help you determine this)¹¹, but if it is not marked there you should see if it is indicated for the nearest 'main' dialect (or other adjacent dialect). In reverse it may be best to locate a 'main' dialect equivalent of the known (e.g. W Greenlandic) affix and take it as present – with suitable phonological adjustment – also in the dialect concerned *unless* there is an affix on the alphabetical list for that dialect with the same (or similar) gloss as the W Greenlandic correlate. The numbers following glosses on the alphabetical lists refer to the twenty-six groups on the main lists. Good hunting!

Principal phonological and grammatical differences between dialects

In order to make sense of the lists, it is necessary to know how sounds correspond to each other between the dialects and how they alternate within each dialect depending on the stem to which affixes beginning with them are joined. The following summary is based on what information I have been able to gather to date,¹² and the exact geographical distribution of some of the features I mention (as reflected on the following isogloss maps) may not be quite accurate any more – the language is, after all, a living and vigorous one, changing all the time.¹³

Greenland

For an overview of the differences between dialects within Greenland Robert Petersen's contribution to 'Grønland' (1975) can be recommended. The information I shall present here is largely based on that source but also includes an explanation of how the sound correspondences concerned relate to the items on the affix lists plus indication of morphophonemic variation for individual affix types.

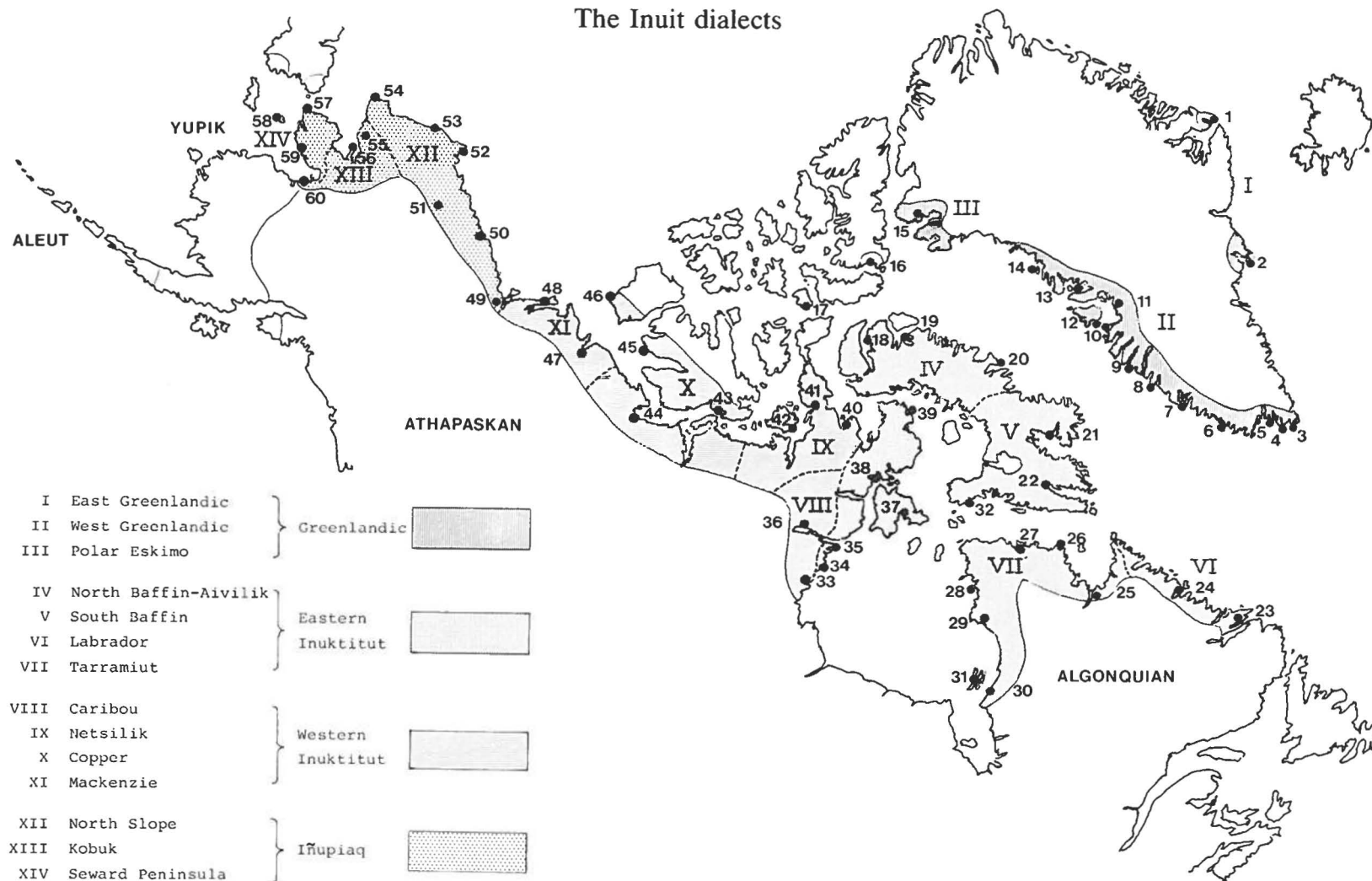
The phonological differences between the three principal Greenlandic dialects (W Greenlandic, E Greenlandic and Thule/Polar Eskimo) are probably as great as those between any two Inuit dialects in the rest of the Arctic and Subarctic, but as regards affixes there is surprising uniformity – due to some degree no doubt to the prestige and (in recent times) ubiquity of the majority Central W Greenlandic dialect as the written and broadcast language. Of course even within W Greenlandic itself there are affixes specific to sub-dialect regions: those ascertained are mentioned primarily in the footnotes to the main list, which represents most directly the central dialect area including Nuuk and Sisimiut. But by and large most of the affixes on that list are understood in all areas of Greenland – though, especially in the case of E Greenlandic, they may appear in strikingly different phonological guise.

I shall presume that the phonological value of the orthographic symbols used for W Greenlandic on the list are familiar to the reader.¹⁴ The forms listed are, as throughout the manual, those found following a vowel stem. Unless preceded by a plus sign '+' they cause the final consonant of a consonant stem to be dropped (but an initial /g/ is changed to /r/ following an *r*-stem).¹⁵ A '+' indicates that the initial consonant of the affix fuses with a preceding consonant to form a cluster. Elements found only after a vowel stem (e.g. the /r/ in **+(r)pallag**)

are put in brackets, as are optional extensions of the affix (e.g. the first element in **(pilu)rujuṣṣuar**) and 'half-transitivizing' morphemes (preceded by a dash) such as **si** in **+tit(-si)**.¹⁶ A raised plus sign after an affix indicates 'transitive' and a negative sign 'intransitive'; all other affixes are neutral in this respect. Equivalent forms or alternative glosses are separated by an oblique '/', and less productive (but commonly encountered) affixes are listed – when not dealt with in a footnote – with the whole item in brackets. I have underlined those occurrences of /s/ (i.e. the phoneme symbolized as 's' orthographically) which are pronounced as a palato-alveolar [ʃ] by some speakers in the central dialect area¹⁷ and which corresponds to /j/ or /ž/ in Canada and Alaska (see below). An underlined initial /l/ is one that disappears causing gemination of the preceding consonant when the affix is added to certain stems (e.g. **liri** underlying **ujaqqirivuq**, 'he is working with stone')¹⁸ and in general fuses with a preceding /t/ to give /s/. An underlined +/j/ is one that alternates with /t/ following a consonant stem (e.g. **+juar ~ tuar**). Other regular morphophonemic alternations are those for +/v/ ~ /p/ following a consonant; +/g/ and +/j/ ~ /k/ following a consonant (but with /r/ following an *r*-stem); and +/s/ ~ /t/ following a consonant. Affixes beginning with /t/ alternate with /s/ following an 'i' (see under Alaskan Inupiaq below), with or without an intervening consonant, (thus **nirisippaa**, 'he fed him' against **paaritippaa**, 'he had him look after it'). Irregularities in morphophonemic variation for individual affixes are mentioned in footnotes. The only point regarding the orthography that needs to be stressed for those more familiar with Canadian and Alaskan dialects is that all geminate (doubled) consonants in W Greenlandic are voiceless – thus orthographic 'll' is pronounced much the same as the combination I orthographically represent as 't' (as opposed to voiced 'dl') in many other dialects, and this includes the combination 'rl' ['tʃ] where the 'l' is also a voiceless geminate.

Within W Greenlandic there are five (or six) main sub-dialect areas, all mutually comprehensible, though with some difficulty for speakers of the two inner ones (Central W Greenlandic and Kangaatsiaq-Uummanaq) in understanding the outer ones, namely Upernavik in the north and at least the southernmost variety of the southern Greenlandic dialect(s) around Kap Farvel.¹⁹ Both the outer sub-dialect areas (including Paamiut) replace Central W Greenlandic /u/ with /i/ under certain conditions: in general one can state that a /u/ is *preserved* in these sub-dialects (plus E Greenlandic) only (a) in initial syllables, (b) following /m/ or /p/

The Inuit dialects



Inuit towns and settlements

1. Scoresbysund (Ittoqqortoormiit)
2. Ammassalik (Tasiilaq)
3. Kap Farvel: Frederiksdal (Narsaq Kujalliq)
4. Nanortalik
5. Julianehåb (Qaqortoq)
6. Frederikshåb (Paamiut)
7. Godthåb (Nuuk)
8. Sukkertoppen (Maniitsoq)
9. Holsteinsborg (Sisimiut)
10. Egedesminde (Aasiaat)
11. Jakobshavn (Ilulissat)
12. Godhavn (Qeqertarsuaq)
13. Umanak (Uummannaq)
14. Upernavik
15. Thule (Qaanaaq)
16. Grise Fiord (Ausuittuq)
17. Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq)
18. Arctic Bay (Ikpiarjuk)
19. Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik)
20. Clyde River (Kangiqsugaapik)
21. Pangnirtung (Pangniqtuuq)
22. Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit)
23. Rigolet
24. Nain
25. Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq)
26. Wakeham Bay (Kangiqsujjuaq)
27. Sagloul (Sugluk)
28. Povungnituk (Puvirnituuq)
29. Port Harrison (Inujjuaq)
30. Great Whale River (Kuujjuaraapik)
31. Belcher Islands: Sanikilluaq
32. Cape Dorset (Kinngait)
33. Eskimo Point (Arviaq)
34. Rankin Inlet (Kangiqłiniq)
35. Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligarjuk)
36. Baker Lake (Qamaniktuaq)
37. Coral Harbour (Salliq)
38. Repulse Bay (Naujaat)
39. Igloodik (Iglulik)
40. Pelly Bay (Arviligjuaq)
41. Spence Bay (Talurjuaq)
42. Gjoa Haven (Uqsuqtuuq)
43. Cambridge Bay (Iqaluktuuttiaq)
44. Coppermine (Qurluqtuq)
45. Holman Island (Ulughaqtuuq)
46. Sachs Harbour
47. Paulatuk (Paulaqtuuq)
48. Tuktoyaktuk (Tuktuuqaqtuuq)
49. Inuvik (Inuuviq) and Aklavik (Aklarvik)
50. Barter Island (Qaakturvik)
51. Anaktuvuk Pass (Anaqtuuvak)
52. Barrow (Utqiarvik)
53. Wainwright (Ulruniq)
54. Point Hope (Tikiraq)
55. Noatak (Nuataq)
56. Kotzebue (Qikiqtaržuk)
57. Cape Prince of Wales (Kingik) and Little Diomed
Island (Ingaliq)
58. King Island (Ukiuvak)
59. Nome
60. Unalakleet (Ungallaqłiit)

(thus **immuk**), (c) after a syllable with /u/ due to (a) or (b) (thus **immussuaq**), and (d) (at least as a tendency especially in SW Greenland) *before* a syllable with /u/ unless there is an intervening labial consonant (thus **irnisuttuq**, 'having birth pains' but **irnisippuq**, 'she has birth pains').²⁰ In these dialects one thus finds alternations in the form of affixes such as **kkut** (following syllables with original /u/) ~ **kkit** (following other vowels). For further details see Rischel (1975).

Other distinctive traits of the Upernavik sub-dialect are the nasalization of intervocalic /g/ and /r/ to /ng/ and /r̃/ respectively; often /ss/ (or [ʃ]) for Central W Greenlandic /ts/, and /ts/ for /ss/ (or /ss̃/) (there is probably a merger); and the devoicing of geminate fricatives *only* in the case of /ll/, /rr/, /gg/ and /vv/ of Central W Greenlandic are represented instead by /qq/, /kk/ and /pp/ – as also in E Greenlandic. The combination /r/ plus consonant results in the corresponding geminate consonant, the uvularity reflected only in the preceding vowel's quality.

The Kangaatsiaq-Ummannaq sub-dialect is distinguished from Central W Greenlandic by the nasalization of /g/ to /ng/ (though there is some fluctuation in northern Disko Bugt); the replacement of /tsa/ and /tsu/ by /tta/ and /ttu/, and a flapped variety of /l/ in intervocalic position (also Upernavik).²¹ North of Nuuk as far as Nuussuaq there is a lengthening of final syllables in yes/no questions (with rising intonation), whereas from Nuuk southwards (as also north of Nuussuaq) there is a final fall in such questions and, in Nuuk and south, a tendency to drop vowels in short open, non-initial syllables (and indeed whole final syllables) in fast speech.²²

Characteristic of the southern sub-dialect(s) as spoken from west of Qassimiut south (besides the treatment of /u/) is the shortening of geminate consonants following a long vowel (e.g. **aama** instead of **aamma**)²³; a voiceless *single* fricative may thus correspond to a voiceless geminate in Central W Greenlandic (e.g. [naaxa], 'no', where [x] is the voiceless counterpart of /g/). Specific to Paamiut is the distinction between /s/ and /s̃/ (as for some central dialect speakers) and the representation of central /ua/ by /ava/ (thus **inissavaq** for **inussuaq**).

The Kap Farvel sub-dialect is further distinguished by the nasalization of /g/ to /ng/ and the replacement of Central W Greenlandic /gg/ and /vv/ (orthographic 'ff') by /kk/, of Central W Greenlandic /rr/ and /rv/ by /qq/, and of Central W Greenlandic /ll/ by a slightly affricated retroflex geminate [d̥d̥] (or [t̥t̥]). Examples of these correspondences will be found in Petersen's article. Note that the indicative inflections in **-vuq**, etc., often appear as **-guq**, etc. (**-nguq** in Upernavik), in the southern dialect area (and cf. **-varsinga** 'I-you₂' and 1st plural possessive **-vut** for **-rput**).

E Greenlandic, apart from being an 'i-dialect' and defricativizing original geminate fricatives (as in Upernavik), is characterized by the advanced neutralization

of a number of the contrasting consonant phonemes of W Greenland, which makes recognition of many of the affixes it shares with the latter difficult at first sight.²⁴ W Greenlandic /t/, /l/ and /s/ have all become /l/ (a flapped apical like /l/ in NW and SW Greenland and, optionally, Polar Eskimo)²⁵ – thus **pulit** and **alaani** for W Greenlandic **puisit** and **ataani** –, whereas the corresponding geminates have all become /tt/ – thus **itti** for W Greenlandic **illu** or **issi** (cold). The effect of these neutralizations can be seen in the varying forms of affixes such as **lig** following a vowel but **(t)tig** following a consonant (have a bad –). /g/ and /r/ are nasalized to /ng/ and /r̃/²⁶ intervocalically (e.g. **piiripput** corresponding to W Greenlandic **piirupput**). /k/ and /q/ are weakened between vowels to the corresponding voiced fricatives (thus **nugappiaq** for W Greenlandic **nukappiaq**), and single voiced consonants – especially nasals between two like vowels – often disappear intervocalically²⁷ (thus **iik** for W Greenlandic **inuk** and **tiivaa** for W Greenlandic **tiguuaa**, the /v/ being bilabial – as also in Thule – while it is now more usually labio-dental in W Greenlandic).²⁸ /t/ is not affricated to [tʃ] ([tʃ̥]) before an /i/²⁹, but initial and geminate /s/ of W Greenlandic becomes a palatalized [ʃ] (almost [tʃ]), here represented by 'c' (e.g. **culi**) – but by 'ts' when geminated (cf. the future affix **tsa**).³⁰ There are many differences in stem vocabulary between E and W Greenlandic (due in large part to naming taboo in the former)³¹, but influence from written and broadcast W Greenlandic is strong today and forms coming from the west may be met, especially amongst younger speakers. It should be noted that the ablative and instrumental cases have fallen together as **mi(k)**, final stops being unexploded or zero³² (though Thalbitzer's transcriptions show earlier nasal implosion). Diphthong assimilation has generally gone as far as in W Greenland – and even final /ai/ can become /aa/ according to Grann (pers. commun.).³³

Thule (or Polar) Eskimo is phonologically more archaic and thus closer to Canadian Inuktitut (especially the western varieties) than the other Greenlandic dialects. It has retained the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (elsewhere merged with /aa/) and has maintained (partially) unassimilated consonant clusters – thus **agpa** ([akpa]) corresponding to W Greenlandic **appa** and **iglu** ([iglu])³⁴ to W Greenlandic **illu**. Particularly characteristic phonetically is the sound /h/ (varying from [h] to [ʃ] through palatal [ç] intervocalically and initially) which corresponds to W Greenlandic /s/ or /s̃/ – a trait shared with many western Inuktitut dialects (thus **hiku** for **siku**).³⁵ The combination of /g/ plus /h/ (orthographic 'gh') is a geminate velar fricative [xx], and that of /r/ plus /h/ (orthographic 'rh') a geminate uvular fricative [XX]. /t/ is not affricated before /i/ and, as in certain Inuktitut dialects (and in Egede's day elsewhere in Greenland), final stops fluctuate with final nasals (the former tending to be unexploded) – thus dative **-mun** or **-mut**. As with E Greenlandic, grammatical differences from W Greenlandic are minimal. The negative coun-

terpart of the contemporative mood is **-nngidluni**, etc. (or **-nngitluni** – see footnote 34)³⁶ rather than **-nani**, etc., and, as in other, non-Greenlandic dialects, participial forms in **-huq** or **-gaa**, etc. are often used in independent indicative sentences. 3rd person singular possessive morphemes have the forms **-nga** and **-ngit** especially after double vowels as in Canada (cf. W Greenlandic **-va**, etc., after /aa/), and the dual forms of verbal and nominal inflections, lost in the rest of Greenland except – to some degree – in the sub-dialects north of the central area, are preserved in full at Thule. The passive agent ('by someone') is in the dative rather than the ablative case as in Central W Greenlandic. Also characteristic is the expressive stress often occurring in unexpected places (especially the penultimate syllable) and the blurring over of following unstressed syllables that can result.

The list of affixes specific to Thule has been derived from Holtved's 'Polar Eskimo Texts' (1951), whereas that for E Greenlandic has been drawn principally from a list of correspondences prepared by Niels Grann (Institut for Eskimologi, unpubl.). Of the numerous works available on affixes in Central W Greenlandic (e.g. Kleinschmidt 1871, Schultz-Lorentzen 1917, J. Petersen 1951, Bergsland 1955, Berthelsen et al. 1978), it should be pointed out that these sources – except for the last-named, which by no means contains *all* currently productive affixes – include archaic and fossilized affixes and therefore cannot be taken to reflect contemporary usage without certain reservations.

Eastern Canada

Although the Inuit dialects, spread across the vast expanses of the N American Arctic coastline, form a fairly gradual continuum, it is convenient to break them up into three main areas as I have done. Thus it is reasonable to draw the line between eastern and western Inuktitut between the N Baffin-Aivilik dialect on the one hand and the Caribou and Netsilik dialects on the other. At Rankin Inlet, situated on this border, speakers from both sides have mingled, with Aivilik predominating. The principal isoglosses justifying this division are (a) the replacement generally of /s/ by /h/ to the west, (b) retrogressive uvular metathesis east but not west of the border (e.g. **upirngaaq** 'spring' and **marr(u)uk** 'two', but **upinraaq** and **malruk** to the west), (c) certain conservative consonant clusters to the west, and (d) the presence of the glottal stop to the west – though this latter is also found in Itivimmiut to the east. The fact that Aivilik also is conservative as regards clusters and that there has been some mingling of Aivilik and Netsilik people in recent times tends to blur the sharpness of the boundary. The following description of the phonological differences between the eastern Canadian dialects is largely based on Dorais (1977).

Within this overall area the most important dialect distinction is probably that between Quebec plus Labrador, where 'Schneider's Law' applies, and Baffin Island (plus the Aivilik area of the west of Hudson Bay), where it does not. This law states that consonant clusters (or geminates) cannot occur in successive syllables starting from the beginning of the word – thus Tarramiut **unnukut** from original **unnukkut** (in the evening). It accounts for such affix alternations as **tsainar** (always) following a syllable beginning with a single consonant, but **sainnar** following one beginning with a cluster. The 'main' dialect for the eastern area, Tarramiut (spelt 'Taqramiut' according to local orthographical convention), follows this law and this must be remembered when dealing with affixes in the eastern dialects which do not: on the list for Tarramiut I have put in brackets those consonants that will generally be dropped by Schneider's law but can be taken as remaining in those dialects sharing the affix where the law does not apply.³⁷ Thus **ggi(r)** (have/take with one), which appears in Tarramiut as **ggi** following a syllable beginning with a single consonant (or a vowel) (as in **ulimautiggiuq**), or as **gir** following one with a cluster (as in **arnagirpuq**), appears on Baffin always as unreduced **ggir**. Occasionally I have indicated both for Tarramiut when confusion with other affixes might arise.

Other conventions on the main list are the same as for W Greenlandic, except that an underlined /j/ indicates an initial /j/ (alternatively /g/ following a vowel) which alternates with /r/ following an r-stem and, optionally, with /ts/ following a t-stem (otherwise /g/). An underlined /g/ is one that is maintained following a stem in /r/ (which is dropped). Note that affixes beginning with +/j/ (but not +/(r)j/) – corresponding to W Greenlandic +/s/ – alternate with /t/ following a consonant, and that affixes with initial /v/ in Tarramiut (but not on Baffin) are more often dropping than in W Greenlandic. The geminated form of /j/ is /dj/ and that of /l/ is /dl/³⁸, and the geminates /gg/, /vv/ and /rr/ are also voiced. I have kept orthographic 'r' before stops (rather than the I.C.I. convention of 'q' in this position) both to maintain the parallel with Greenlandic and because the resulting sound is usually a weak phonetic fricative ([X] before a voiceless consonant, [ʁ] before a voiced one)³⁹, just as /g/ can be phonetic [x] or [ɣ] in those dialects where it is not assimilated to the following consonant – thus Baffin **igluqartunga** ([iyloqaXtunga]) but Tarramiut **idluqartunga**. This gives a rather different effect from W Greenlandic /r/ in this position, which is still more weakly pronounced. /r/ and /q/ cause the preceding vowel to be lowered in most Canadian and Alaskan dialects (but see Labrador below), though this is less pronounced than in W Greenlandic, where it can be the principal effect of a syllable-final /r/.⁴⁰ Geminates corresponding to Baffin /g/ or /ng/ plus consonant are underlined on the list for Tarramiut. Original Eskimo voiceless /h/ (/l/ in Greenland except when forming geminate /ll/ with a preceding consonant) corresponds to

Tarramiut /s/ – thus **isuittuq** corresponds to W Greenlandic **iluittuq** and **tikitsuni** to **tikilluni**.⁴¹ A single /l/ following an /r/ is *voiced*. The linking consonant /ng/ precedes such affixes as **u** and **innaq** when following double vowels; it is always necessary following a vowel stem (or one in **aq**) with the 3rd person possessive morphemes **-(ng)a** and **-(ng)it**.⁴² A distinction is made between the clusters /rn/ ([Nn]) and /rng/ ([NN] or [Nŋ])⁴³ which is found in words that have undergone uvular metathesis such as **paurngaq** (it is also pronounced that way in Thule – and as **paarngaq** by some speakers of W Greenlandic). As elsewhere outside of Greenland /t/ is not affricated before /i/ and, moreover, it does not become /s/ following an original 'i' – thus **itirpuq** corresponds to W Greenlandic **isirpuq**,⁴⁴ and the inflection **-tuq**, etc. does *not* alternate with **-suq**. W Greenlandic /tsi/ corresponds to /tsi/ or consonant plus /ti/ here (also in Thule).

I have included the Itivimmiut (sub-)dialect of the east coast of Hudson Bay and Belcher Islands with Tarramiut in the stricter sense (Schneider's 'Ungava'), as there would appear to be little difference in affixes between the two (those noted by Schneider are in footnotes to the main list). Phonologically it differs from Tarramiut, however, by the presence of the glottal stop replacing the initial element of geminate /j/, /v/, /g/ or /r/ – as in **i'vit** (you) for **ivvit**. It further has a pronunciation similar to the English 'r' sound (which I write 'ž' elsewhere) for general eastern Inuktitut /j/.⁴⁵

Of the eastern Canadian dialects that of contemporary Labrador Inuttut is the most advanced phonologically, which makes it more unlike W Greenlandic to the ear than, say, N Baffin-Aivilik to the north. Particularly noticeable is the neutralization (at least for younger speakers) of the velar/uvular distinction /g/ against /r/ (and in final position of /k/ against /q/). The distinction is now largely a phonetic (non-word-contrasting) one: original /g/ or /r/ are thus both pronounced as /g/ except when between (or at least preceded by) an /a/ (itself more open and retracted than the corresponding vowel elsewhere), when the uvular allophone will be heard. Non-final /q/ is however generally preserved – as in Tarramiut – as a uvular fricative [X].⁴⁶ I follow Smith's convention in this by using 'g' and 'k' for the neutralized phonemes. Thus **siugak** for W Greenlandic **siuraq** (sand) and **annak** for W Greenlandic **arnaq** (woman). Assimilation of consonant clusters has gone at least as far as in W Greenlandic – though not in an entirely parallel way. While Tarramiut has reduced /t/, /p/ and /k/ plus another consonant all to /t/ (voiced = 'd') plus consonant and even to pure geminates⁴⁷, as for example in **qadlunaq** from earlier **qablunaq**, Labrador has further reduced /r/ plus consonant in the same way (as **annak** above). As regards the combination /r/ plus /s/ (or 'j₂') the result is /ts/ – thus **umiatsuak** for **umiarsuaq** – while the combination with /ng/ produces /nng/. Alone of the non-Greenlandic dialects Labrador has unvoiced geminate fricatives [ff] (Smith's 'pv'), [xx]

and [XX] (both either 'gg' or 'qq' for Smith)⁴⁸ – e.g. **ivvit** [iffit] (you) and **magguuk** [maXXuuk] (two). The geminate /qq/ (Smith's 'kq') is pronounced [qX]. Contrasting with Tarramiut, Labrador also has a sound like the Greenlandic voiceless lateral /ll/, geminate (< consonant +*/l/) or single – e.g. **atlunaak** (W Greenlandic **allunaaq**) but also **ituartuk** (W Greenlandic and Thule **iluartuq**). The special symbol 't' is thus required. The /v/ phoneme is now pronounced as a labiodental (as it is also in Tarramiut and the Baffin dialects generally). A notable feature of Inuttut verbal inflections is the tendency to generalize the **j**-initial 'participial' forms **-juk**, etc., to position even after consonant stems (whose consonant is dropped) – thus **tusajuk** from original ***tusartuq**.⁴⁹ Similarly causative endings **-gami**, etc. are found even after **t**-stems (**tikigami**, etc.). Nouns originally in **-t** now end in **-tik** (e.g. **uummatik**) and vowel-stem nouns now end regularly in **-k** (e.g. **tuttuk**). For further details and examples see Smith (1978). It should be pointed out that what has been said above concerns the contemporary colloquial language, not the archaic/biblical one (for which see Bourquin 1891). The latter still persists in connection with religious institutions⁵⁰, and possibly some of its affixes not found in the contemporary Nain dialect can still be heard among older people – and in the rather conservative sub-dialect of Rigolet in the South, where the assimilation situation (but not its final **k/q** neutralization) is similar to that in Aivilik, according to Dorais.

Moving north of the limit of Schneider's law, it is debatable as to how many dialects/sub-dialects are present on southern Baffin Island⁵¹, but they are all very close as regards affixes (and grammar) and I thus treat them as one dialect area. The affixes of Cape Dorset are a little closer to Tarramiut, while those of Frobisher Bay reflect a mixture of people from different adjacent dialect areas; as is the case with other larger Arctic centres such as Inuvik and Nome there is also considerable competition from English amongst younger speakers there. Characteristic for these dialects is the representation of original /t/ by /t/ on Cumberland Peninsula (and older speakers elsewhere in SE Baffin) and by /s/ at Cape Dorset (and some – younger – speakers at Frobisher Bay). Thus **agtunaaq/agsunaaq** corresponding to W Greenlandic **allunaaq**. The degree of assimilation of consonant clusters is the same as in N Baffin, i.e. /p/ (or /b/) plus a consonant has fallen together with /t/ (or /d/) plus a consonant (except that /p/ plus /s/ has become /ss/). But /g/ plus a consonant has remained (at least for older speakers) – thus **aglu** against Tarramiut **adlu**.⁵²

The N Baffin(-Iglulik) dialect is distinguished phonologically by the presence of /t/ again, as in Labrador, and by the absence of /ts/, this being replaced (as also in Aivilik but *not* at Rankin Inlet or Chesterfield Inlet) by /tt/ – e.g. **nattiq** (seal). Aivilik⁵³ (which Dorais regards as a sub-dialect of N Baffin) differs from the dialects mentioned so far by maintaining even more consonant

clusters than at Iglulik, with /p/ (or /b/) plus consonant preserved as in **qablunaaq** – though even here there seems to be a tendency among younger speakers towards complete assimilation of clusters.⁵⁴ Some speakers in all these dialects (plus S Baffin and Itivimmiut) fluctuate between final stops and corresponding nasals (e.g. dative **-mun** or **-mut**, ‘participial’ **-juq** or **-jurg**) but the forms with a stop seem to be winning ground everywhere. On Baffin (plus Iglulik) and in Aivilik the 3rd person possessive morphemes are either **-a** or **-nga**, etc., for all stems. Some words appear in N Baffin with initial **tis** for original **sit** (e.g. **tisamat**, ‘four’).⁵⁵

An important grammatical trait distinguishing all the eastern Canadian dialects from W Greenlandic is the use of ‘participial’ **-juq**, etc. (Greenlandic **-suq**) in independent indicative sentences alongside the original indicative **-vuq**⁵⁶, etc. There is also a transitive paradigm **-jaa**, etc. (or **-janga**, etc.) corresponding to – and conjugated as – indicative **-vaa**, etc. Following **r**-stems there are special forms of the indicative (and also the interrogative) in **-qquq**, etc. (Labrador **-qquk**)⁵⁷, optional (alongside **-vuq**, etc.) except in Labrador, where it is apparently obligatory following the affixes with final /r/ mentioned in footnote 46. There is a distinction between two forms of the contemporative mood, one for past actions, as in N Baffin **takudluni** (seeing)⁵⁸, and one for the non-past (and also for imperatives), as in N Baffin **takuluni**. Only in Labrador is the distinction tending to disappear (in favour of the ‘past’ forms?). Unlike in the case of Greenlandic, 4th person forms can take 3rd person object markers⁵⁹, thus **-luniuk** (4th sing.–3rd sing.) and **-lunidjuk** (4th plural–3rd sing.). In Tarramiut at least one also finds ‘repetitive’ forms of this mood with **dlar(r)**, both intransitive and transitive, usually followed by **lu** (and). Thus Trinel (1970) has **itirlutit tiitudlapidlu** (come in and have some tea). It is often translatable as ‘and (subject) too’. The corresponding transitive forms are **-dlama** (he too – me), etc. – cf. the Inupiaq ‘contemporative’ forms discussed below. Relative person endings are also used after conjunctive affix (**m**)**ma** as in **tikimmangaat** (whether he – 3rd sing. – is coming).⁶⁰ Tarramiut has **-(m)mauk** for the 3rd sing.–3rd sing. causative (**-(m)magu** on Baffin). All these (and the western) dialects have the full dual paradigms⁶¹, though they are apparently losing ground amongst younger speakers in Labrador and Frobisher Bay at least.⁶²

Other grammatical divergences from W Greenlandic concern for example the use of the dative case for the agent of a passive sentence (and for the instrument used in an action) in most eastern dialects.⁶³ Proper names can be used in Canada in the instrumental case as the object in indicative half-transitive constructions (e.g. **Piitamik takuvuq**), which is impossible in Greenlandic.⁶⁴ The plural of nouns has everywhere been generalized to **-it** and the relative sing. to **-up** after stems ending in a single vowel (or vowel plus consonant). In Tarramiut 4th plural possessive **-tik** (absolu-

tive) has been replaced by **-nni**⁶⁵, and in Tarramiut and Labrador case endings can be added directly to 1st person sing. possessed nouns – e.g. **nunagani** (in my country).⁶⁶ Irregular declension of nouns has been largely levelled in all the eastern Canadian dialects⁶⁷.

Sources for the lists in the eastern Canadian area are, above all, Schneider’s compendious ‘Dictionnaire des Infixes de l’Esquimaux de l’Ungava’ (1968), which, although a little difficult to consult due to the orthographic conventions based on the syllabic script, contains information on Aivilik and Caribou as well as exhaustive information on Wakeham Bay Tarramiut. For Labrador, Smith’s ‘Survey of the Derivational Postbases of Labrador Inuttut’ has been invaluable, while for Baffin I have made much use (with some adjustment of detail) of Harper’s ‘Suffixes of the Eskimo Dialects of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island’ and Dorais’ unpublished list for Cape Dorset. I have also consulted Spalding (1969) for Aivilik (and Iglulik).⁶⁸

Western Canada

All the western Canadian dialects (with the exception of Mackenzie) are distinguished by the replacement of /s/ by an h-like sound. This is particularly characteristic of Copper (called locally ‘Inuinnartut’)⁶⁹ since this dialect has also replaced original /l/ by this sound – thus **ihuartuq** corresponding to Netsilik (and N Baffin) **ihuartuq**, and the ‘past’ contemporative ending **-huni**, etc., found after a **g**- or **r**-stem. In consonant clusters formed with it voiceless fricatives are produced, orthographically ‘ph’, ‘gh’ and ‘rh’ ([ff] or more precisely [ʃʃ], [xx] and [XX]). Copper dialect has all the conservative clusters of Aivilik plus ones with /l/ and /t/ as first member (/lv/, /lg/, and /lr/, and /tp/, /tk/ and /tq/). I write ‘t’ rather than ‘d’ (which would parallel ‘g’ and ‘r’ before consonants) since it clearly cannot be fricativized in the same way as /q/ before stops. I also write ‘p’ before a voiceless stop as it does not occur in most eastern dialects in this position and the pronunciation of /p/ and /k/ and /q/ before voiceless stops seems most commonly to be as a stop here (though I keep ‘g’ and ‘r’ to underline the continuity of the transition between east and west here). /b/ used before a voiced consonant may be a fricative or (more commonly) a stop (as with /g/); in the former case it falls together with bilabial /v/ (labiodental for younger speakers). /j/ has corresponding geminate /dj/ (as in plurals in **-dijat** corresponding to those in **-ssat** in W Greenlandic) with a lesser tendency to the quasi-geminate pronunciation of eastern Canada (the same is true of /dl/); but note also the possibility of /bj/ as in the affix **bjag** (rather) and of /gj/ as in **nagjuk** (antler). Original /ts/ is /tt/⁷⁰ and final /p/ and /t/ (not /k/ or /q/) fluctuate with the corresponding nasal depending, at least as a tendency, on the following consonant (nasal before nasal, stop before stop, but either

before a vowel, rather freely). Original /lr/ and /nr/ are maintained.⁷¹

On the list for Copper an underlined /l/ fuses with the stem as for other dialects, and an underlined +/n/ (following a vowel- or t-stem) alternates with /g/ (or /r/) following a stem ending in /g/ (or /r/). Affixes beginning with /tq/ alternate with /qq/ following r- or g-stems. Those with +/j/ alternate with +/g/ (or /r/) following a g- (or r-) stem, and with +/t/ following a t-stem. Those in +/j/ – but not +/(r)j/ – alternate with +/t/ following a consonant, but, as in other dialects, passive participle +**jaq** is rather idiosyncratic (with alternative **gaq** after r-stems). The alternative participial forms **haq** and **huq** can still be heard at Holman Island apparently.⁷² The expected clusters occur with affixes beginning with +/g/ and +/v/ (alternating with /k/ and /p/). The linking consonant between morphemes beginning with a vowel such as **u** (be) and a stem ending in a double vowel is /ng/ (cf. W Greenlandic /j/ before **u** in such cases).

As regards grammatical peculiarities, note that 'participial' forms in **-juq**, etc. (transitive **-jaa** or **-gaa**, etc.) have largely replaced the indicative in **-vuq**, etc., though the latter is still found after affixes **dja** and **gi**. 'Past' (or 'completive') versus 'non-past' (or 'non-completive') forms of the contemporaneous mood are present, as is the fully array of dual inflections. On unpossessed nouns the dual often causes gemination in the preceding syllable (as does plural **t**) – e.g. **nannuk** (two bears). The causative form **-(ng)mani** (4th person object) is found here but apparently no further east in Canada. The interrogative 3rd sing. – 3rd sing. is **-vauk** and the 1st sing. – 3rd sing. **-vigu**. The passive agent is in the instrumental case⁷³ while the instrument is in the dative. The causative mood has forms like **-nami** after a t-stem (as also in eastern Canada); note too the conditional/causative 2nd sing. – 3rd sing. forms **-gungni/-gangni** and the 4th person conditional **-gumi(k)**. There are alternative forms of the indicative following r-stems in **-qquq**, etc. (paralleled by imperative and interrogative **-qqit/-qqiuk**, etc.).⁷⁴ The 3rd sing. – 3rd plural 'participial' (or indicative) is **-jai** or **-jait** (or **-vai/-vait**).⁷⁵

The Netsilik (i.e. **natsilik**) dialect, spoken from Pelly Bay to Gjoa Haven (and including the Utkuhighalingmiut sub-dialect originally of Chantry Inlet), has come under the influence of more easterly dialects – which is also true of younger speakers at least in the traditional Caribou area. This is especially so at Spence Bay, which has absorbed several families from Cape Dorset. It is characterized in its original form by the representation of /s/ by sounds varying between [ʃ] and [h] in a manner reminiscent of Thule, and by the pronunciation of 'j₂' as [ɹ] or [z] or [ʒ] (my 'ž').⁷⁶ It has the glottal stop as in Caribou (see footnote 79). /r/ is not nasalized before a nasal. /ts/ is pronounced [cc] or perhaps more accurately [tʃ]⁷⁷ The fluctuation between final stops and nasals is less common here than in Copper (stops prevailing). The cluster /ʒg/ is found corre-

sponding to Copper /lg/, Mackenzie and (older) Caribou /jg/ (and eastern /gg/) – e.g. in **aqižiq** (ptarmigan). Though metathesis of /lr/⁷⁸ to /rl/ (or /rr/) has not occurred, /nr/ has developed into /nng/ – thus **upinngaaq** (spring). Agreeing with N Baffin, a number of words in Netsilik with original /t/ have /s/ (> /h/) – e.g. **ihirpuq** (he enters), N Baffin **isirpuq**. The indicative in **-vuq**, etc. is more widely used than in more westerly dialects. Copper 4th sing. conditional **-gumi** is here **-guni**.

The Caribou dialect(s) spoken by the Qairnirmiut of Baker Lake, the Paadlirmiut of Eskimo Point (and Whale Cove) and other people who have come down to the coast of Hudson Bay from the interior, is particularly marked by the presence of the glottal stop, as in **qi'mi'naaqali(r)mat** (because she had got a small dog), where ' ' indicates the glottal stops. It would seem to occur rather frequently replacing – or simultaneous with – what in other dialects is a simple nasal or fricative (including /r/ < */q/) before another in clusters⁷⁹. As elsewhere for dialects with glottal stops I do not indicate them on the list (historically at least they are predictable) except in the case of the combination of glottal stop plus /n/, as in **dnaaq** (['naaq]) 'small', symbolized by 'dn'; it occurs rather frequently corresponding to Copper /nn/.⁸⁰ Younger speakers at least have /j/ instead of /ʒ/, /l/ in words like **ihuartuq**, and /rn/ for original /nr/.⁸¹ The latter seems to represent a shift from Rasmussen's time.⁸² /ts/ has been preserved as at Rankin Inlet (perhaps more accurately [cc] or even [tʃ]).⁸³ Both **-juq** and **-vuq** are used side by side for the indicative. The causative **-gami**, etc. and also the transitive participial **-gaa**, etc. appear to have alternative dropping forms (hence the combinations **nngigami** < **nngit** and **ligaa** < **lir**) and dropping passive participle form **gaq** (plural **kkat**) is more common here than to the east.⁸⁴ The attachment of dative case ending **-mut** directly to verbal stems to indicate cause (also found further east) is noteworthy.

The original Mackenzie dialect (as represented in Rasmussen's texts from that area)⁸⁵ is still spoken by older people at least in Tuktoyaktuk, Paulatuk (and probably also at recently established Sachs Harbour), and Aklavik (where, as in Inuvik, Alaskan Inupiaq has made strong inroads). 'Inuvialuktun', as the language is called in this region, may be regarded as a mixture of dialects resulting from the immigration of Inupiaq speakers⁸⁶, especially strong at the beginning of the present century. Characteristic of the original dialect is the maintenance of original /s/ and /ts/⁸⁷; /j/ appears intervocalically rather than Alaskan /ʒ/⁸⁸, final stops fluctuate with corresponding nasals /m/ and /n/, original /l/ has remained⁸⁹, and, as in most of Canada and Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, /t/ has not become /s/ after an 'i'. Particularly characteristic is the use of alternative forms in **-juaq**, etc., alongside 'participial' **-juq**, etc. (both can be used in indicative sentences – but the former seems more 'stative'; as a participle it is more

nominal whereas the latter more verbal, used for example in object clauses); the transitive equivalent is, as in Alaska, either **-jaa** or **-gaa**, etc. The language has apparently become somewhat simplified in structure amongst younger Delta speakers who still use it, and some of the affixes on the list for this dialect may not now be used by them.⁹⁰

Sources for the lists in the western Canadian area (besides my own field work, centered on Coppermine) have been Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition texts (1931, etc.), Schneider for Eskimo Point especially (1968), Métayer's 'Unipkat' for Copper (1973) and unpublished dictionary for the west, and, with many reservations, Webster & Zibell (1970) and Birket-Smith (1928). Supplementary texts from Baker Lake and Eskimo Point have also been examined, as have tape recordings from the Mackenzie Delta made by Laurent Christensen and by myself and an unpublished affix list for Mackenzie (and Holman Island) by R. Lowe & L.-J. Dorais.

Alaska

The 'main' dialect for this westernmost area is N Slope Iñupiaq as spoken at Barrow, a blend of inland (Nunamut) and coastal (Tariurmut) dialects, not quite the same as the original dialect of Point Barrow (still to be heard among older people there). One of the principle distinguishing features of N Slope (and Kobuk) Iñupiaq is its palatalized consonants /l̥/, /l̥j/, and /ñ̥/ (pronounced roughly as [l̥], [l̥j] and [n̥]); the symbols are those used in Alaska today. They are found, with few exceptions, following an original 'i'⁹¹, as in **ila** (relative), **siglaq** (pick) and **iñuk** (human being). For the sound /ž/ (like American /r/ – especially in Barrow – or sometimes more like French /j/ in 'je'), which corresponds to W Greenlandic /s/, I prefer the symbol used elsewhere in the manual for it rather than the 'r' used in the Iñupiaq orthography (it uses 'g' for the general Eskimo /r/). When doubled it remains voiced, as do the other voiced fricatives. I also use 'j' rather than 'y' and 'ng' rather than 'ŋ', which, when doubled, I spell 'ngng' in order to distinguish it from /nng/ (/n/ plus /ng/), a distinction not necessary in eastern dialects where 'nng' represents geminate /ng/. The symbol 'š' ('sr' in the Iñupiaq orthography) – found only following /r/ or /g/ in N Slope – is needed for the alveolo-palatal sound (approaching English 'sh', but retroflex like its voiced counterpart /ž/), as is 'č' (Iñupiaq orthography 'ch' or 't' between an 'i' and a consonant) for the initial sound in English 'church'. It corresponds to /t/ after an 'i' or an /s/ following a /t/ in other dialects.⁹² 'h' covers the same fricative sounds it symbolizes elsewhere, but is usually found in combination with other consonants.⁹³ As for other dialects I have indicated the result of geminating /l̥/ and /l̥j/ by 'dl̥' and 'tl̥' respectively (to avoid conflict

with Greenlandic 'll'); in some instances /t/ elsewhere corresponds to /dl̥/ in N Slope Iñupiaq (and /tl̥/ in Kobuk).

Iñupiaq as a whole is characterized by conservative consonant clusters (especially Kobuk). I have indicated syllable-final uvular and velar consonants in clusters as 'q' and 'k' respectively rather than 'r' and 'g' as further east since the principles of cluster assimilation are somewhat stricter: /q/ thus remains a stop before another stop and only becomes a fricative /r/ before a continuant (pronounced [X] when the latter is voiceless).⁹⁴ To be precise, there is complete assimilation by manner of articulation: stop before stop, fricative before fricative, and – at least at Point Hope and Point Barrow as regards velars and uvulars – nasal before nasal. Thus **arvaluqtuq** [aXfaloqtoq] (it is round), and **taursirñiariga** [tauXserñiariga] – Point Barrow [tauXseñiariga] – (I will buy it).⁹⁵ Following Iñupiaq convention I write 'r' before /l̥/, /v̥/, /ž̥/ or a nasal – but also before /s/, /š̥/ and /h̥/.⁹⁶ As regards the nasalization of final stops, not that this is not a general, free variation as further east, but concerns only certain endings (historically nasal) such as dative **-mun**, ablative **-miñ**, equalis **-tun**, causative **-man**, imperative **-iñ**,⁹⁷ relative case **-m** and nouns like **angun** (man). There is no nasalization in, for example, plural **-iç** and instrumental **-mik**.⁹⁸ Further information on the phonology of N Slope Iñupiaq can be found in Kaplan's thesis (1979).⁹⁹

On the list of affixes for Barrow, an underlined /j̥/ or /v̥/ is one that does *not* truncate an 'i₂' (non-palatalizing /i/) in the preceding syllable (with assimilation as necessary) as affixes beginning with these vowels otherwise do – e.g. **kamngužūq** (it is a boot) from **kamik**. The linking consonant /g/ (Kobuk /ng/) for affixes like **u** (be) appears only after a long or double vowel. Underlined initial /s/ (different from W Greenlandic /s/ note) alternates with /g/ (or /r/) after a stem ending in /k/ (or /q/), whereas it becomes +ž̥/ following one in /t/. Underlined /l̥/ is as for other dialects¹⁰⁰, but +l̥j̥ indicates alternation with /t/ following a consonant (a special Iñupiaq morphophonemic pattern), as in +**liq/tiq** (quickly). Underlined /q/ does not cause a preceding /t/ to drop (but forms a cluster /tq/) and the same is true of underlined /k/ and /ng/ (forming /tk/ and /nng/). +j̥/ alternates with /g/ (or /kk/) following a **k**-stem (and with /r/ following a **q**-stem) but becomes +ž̥/ following a **t**-stem. +ž̥/ alternates with /t/ after a consonant stem (/s/ after an 'i₁'), but that is not the case with affixes beginning with +(r)ž̥/ (where the /r/ appears only following a vowel stem).

The Kobuk dialect (otherwise 'Malimiut')¹⁰¹ is rather close to N Slope as regards affixes – and vocabulary in general – but is distinguished phonologically by its special treatment of diphthongs. Thus N Slope /ai/ and /ia/ are both pronounced as a long [e:], /au/ and /ua/ as [o:], and /iu/ as [i:], only /ui/ remaining as a diphthong. On the list for Kobuk the first of these is represented as 'ai', the second as 'au', and the third as 'ii' throughout.

Spelling for the Kobuk dialect fluctuates rather between forms reflecting the pronunciation (such as I use) and the corresponding underlying diphthongs as found at Barrow (the latter is the preferred Iñupiaq convention). The glottal stop also reappears in Kobuk (and among the Nunamiut of Anaktuvuk Pass¹⁰²); it occurs regularly replacing the original post-vocalic /g/ of the causative mood (thus **-ʼami**, etc.) and is heard between a stop and a following sonorant (i.e. nasal, semivowel or liquid) in clusters like /tn/ [tʰn]. Being automatic, this is not indicated on the list. Both /č/ and /š/¹⁰³ are found intervocalically as well as after consonants as in N Slope (e.g. **ašiaq**, 'berry', N Slope **asiaq**). There is even less assimilation in consonant clusters than in N Slope (a trait it shares – though the rules differ – with the Seward Peninsula) and stops do not necessarily assimilate to following continuants according to manner of articulation – thus /tl/, /kl/, /qs/ and /kš/, for example, are maintained as such.¹⁰⁴ In some words/inflections northern Kobuk has /č/, /j/ or /ñ/ where N Slope has /k/, /g/ or /ng/ following 'i₁' – e.g. **tikitčaa** (he has come to it) against N Slope **tikičkaa** (the second /i/ is an 'i₁', note) and **piñašut** against N Slope **pingasut**.

Typical for the closely related dialects of the Seward Peninsula and Bering Strait islands¹⁰⁵ is the weakening of consonants in certain positions and the absence of the palatalized consonants /lʲ/, /tʲ/, /nʲ/ and also /č/ (represented by simple /l/, /t/, /n/ and /t/). This latter feature may be related to the fact that traces of the fourth proto-Eskimo vowel /ə/ (as in English 'the') are also to be found here, corresponding to non-palatalizing /i/.¹⁰⁶ Kaplan reports it is only on the Diomed Islands it is still phonemic as in Yupik, though it probably only recently disappeared from the mainland too. /ə/ (or Ø) sometimes appears corresponding to /i/ (< */ə/) elsewhere. As regards consonant weakening, the stops /q/, /k/ and /p/ and also /s/ & /š/ and /t/ are reduced intervocalically to /r/, /g/, /v/ and /z/ & /ž/ and /l/ respectively, and /g/ and /r/ become zero or /j/ (except /r/ after an initial single vowel)¹⁰⁷ and /v/ becomes /w/ (or zero) following syllables that in neighbouring Alaskan Yupik would be unstressed – mainly initial open ones or ones following either closed or long syllables. This tends to produce alternating 'weak' and 'strong' consonant positions (but there is no weakening after long/double vowels). Thus King Island **manniraqtuut** (we have eggs) but **maniqaatugut** (we have money). Except for after the first vowel of the word geminates are treated just as the corresponding single consonants¹⁰⁸; as Kaplan puts it (pers. commun.): 'consonant length is contrastive only after the first short vowel of the word, otherwise consonants are longish in strong position, including after a long vowel or vowel cluster'. Thus even etymologically single consonants may be phonetically lengthened. In general, consonant weakening is avoided in any two successive syllables, and this explains the morphophonemic alternation of such affixes as **qaa/raq** above (N Slope **qaq**), where the former reflects the

weakening of /q/ plus consonant. I list the unweakened forms only. The diphthongs are as in N Slope, except that /ai/ is [e:] and /au/ is [o:].¹⁰⁹ /t/ remains following 'i₁' in such words as **itigak** (foot), where N Slope and Kobuk, like W Greenlandic, have an /s/. The glottal stop is present as in Kobuk. King and Diomed Islands have metathesis of /nr/ and /lr/ to /rn/ and /rl/. A peculiarity of the Qawiažaq dialect around Fish River is the replacement of /s/ everywhere by /č/.

Among grammatical differences from Greenlandic in the Iñupiaq dialects is the indicative use of 'participial' **-žuq**, etc. (transitive **-gaa**, etc.).¹¹⁰ This is even more pronounced than further east since the **-vuq** indicative is limited to 'narrative' utterances describing vivid action, usually in conjunction with the adverbial **kiisaimmaa** (finally). The purely participial use of **-žuq** has been replaced entirely by **-žuaq**, etc., but that too has come to be used in purely verbal contexts – thus **nirižuaŋa** (I was eating). In this use it has – at least in Barrow – a corresponding transitive paradigm **-žaa** (or **-žanga**), etc., consisting of the passive participle plus personal possessive endings (as Inuktitut **-jaa**).¹¹¹ This also lies behind the forms MacLean calls 'transitive participial I', which have the same endings (though no intransitive correlate) plus additional ones for a 4th person (reflexive) object, e.g. **-ža(ng)ata** or **-ža(ng)an** (3rd sing. – 4th sing.) and **-žani** (4th sing. – 4th sing.). There are similar forms (MacLean's 'transitive participial II') based on **kkaq** plus possessive endings (3rd sing. – 4th sing. **-kkangan** or **-kkangata**). Both paradigms are used in nominal clauses (often corresponding to English 'that which/who -') or as independent sentences; thus **tautungakkaqput** ('that which we have seen' or 'we saw it'). There are also three conjunctive paradigms (MacLean's 'contemporative I, II, and III'), which are only found sporadically further east¹¹² but appear quite productive in Iñupiaq. They are built up on affixes **dlaq**, **ngnga(q)** and **mma(q)** respectively and take the same endings as Greenlandic **kisimi**, etc., in the intransitive (thus Kobuk **aliašungngarmi**, 'he, in sorrow'). In the transitive, forms like **-dlamni** (4th sing.), **-dlaan** (3rd sing.) and **-dlarma** (1st sing.) are used for any subject. They generally indicate when, or in what state, the action of the main clause takes place. The full dual set of endings has persisted. As in most forms of Canadian Inuktitut there is a distinction between 'completed' contemporative forms **-vluni** (**-luni** after a consonant stem) and 'incomplete/unrealized' ones **-luni**, etc.¹¹³ Note also gerund (verbal noun) **-žuni/tuni** as in **nirižuni** (eating).¹¹⁴ Alternative dropping forms of the causative mood such as **-qami** are found following **q**-stems, and the 4th person sing. conditional is **-gumi** (as Copper).¹¹⁵ The 3rd person possessive marker is either **-a** or **-nga** (plural **-it/ngit**).¹¹⁶ A distinctive nominal construction is that with the affix **tilaaq**, which can form object clauses as in **uqautigigaa nakuutilaanga** (he says he is all right). The passive agent is generally not expressed, and, finally, a number of enclitics and independent adverbial

words appear with meanings rather surprising for those more familiar with eastern dialects. Thus *aglaan* ('but' or 'up to'), *suli* (and) and *naagga* (or).¹¹⁷

My principal source for the N Slope material is MacLean's list of affixes (hopefully to be published soon along with the forthcoming Iñupiaq dictionary)¹¹⁸, supplemented by examination of various Iñupiaq texts put out by Barrow School Iñupiat Program and the Alaska Native Language Center at Fairbanks. The lat-

ter, plus the 'Unipchaat' collected by Zibell have supplied examples of Kobuk usage, while for the Seward Peninsula (for which little published material exists) Kaplan's unpublished list of affixes for King Island (close to the dialect of Cape Prince of Wales) has been invaluable. Holtved and Larsen's tapes for Wales and various Seward Peninsula school books from the National Bilingual Materials Development Center have also been consulted.

Footnotes to Introduction, etc.

1. As opposed to the Yupik dialects of Alaska and Siberia, where differences in grammar and phonology are too great for treatment in this manner.
2. This is esp. true of recently coined words (further complicated of course by loan-words from Danish in Gr. but from English elsewhere). See Dorais (1978) for Tarr. and Labrador neologisms of this sort. But there are also important differences from Gr. in everyday words and phrases such as interjections, demonstratives and pronouns, adverbial expressions and even such basic stems as those for 'good' and 'understand'. In many cases the same word exists in a dialect but is used in a slightly different sense from its Gr. counterpart. Thus (almost at random) Tarr. has *a* (yes), *auka* (no), *asu* (really?), *manna* (this – precise object) but *una* (this – vague) and *inna* (this/that – invisible), *naumi* (excuse me/let me be), *nadliaat* (which of them), *ilunnaat* (all of it), and *asia* (another one). Iglulik-Aivilik has *qujana* (it doesn't matter/too bad) but *qujannami(ik)* (thank you), *kisu* (what?), *nani* (where?) and *nakit* (from where?), *aakka* (no), *ii* (yes), *hii(lii)* (isn't that so?), *uaaq* (wow!), *aittaa* (what a shame!), *qaujimajunga* (I know), *tukisijuq* (he understands) and *piujuq* (it's good). Copper has *kilu* (again), *talva* (then) and *talvani* (here), *taamna* (he/it), *ingilraat* (once upon a time), *imanna(q)* (no), *hii* (yes), *anirtaq* (yes indeed), *ilaaniptauq* (goodbye), *nauna* (perhaps/I don't know), *quvana* (thank you), *kangirhimajuq* (he understands) and *alianartuq* (it's fun/amusing). Barrow Iñupiaq has *ažaa* (wow!), *kii* (OK), *kiita* (ready?), *atčuu* (I don't know/it doesn't matter), *alappaa* (it's cold!), *aang* or *ii* (yes), *naumi* (no), *ažigaa* (that's good!), *alakkaa* (that's bad!), *amii* (isn't that so?), *ilaa* (he/she – plural *ilingič*), and *nakuužuuq* (it's good). For further correspondences (some rather out of date) see Birket-Smith (1928).
3. In particular, I have only entered affixes under meanings actually encountered, which means that some affixes on the lists (esp. for the western dialects) can probably appear in more 'slots' than is indicated (e.g. under group 22 as well as 15).
4. But with the important difference from the latter that syllable-final 'q' and 'k' ('r' and 'ng' before nasals) always appear here as 'r' and 'g' (as for Gr.) except finally. Thus my 'q' and 'r', 'k' and 'g', and 'p' and 'b' each can be said to represent the same phoneme (/q/, /k/ and /p/) in clusters before another consonant.
5. For an efficient common orthography for all dialects a rather wide margin of underdifferentiation could probably be tolerated – thus the special symbols for palatalized consonants in Iñupiaq could be omitted, for example, without comprehensibility being seriously affected.
6. I use the terms 'Inuktitut' – spelt in the traditional way – and 'Iñupiaq' in this narrow sense rather than as a cover term for all the Inuit dialects. The term 'Eskimo' is reserved as a linguistic term for the whole language group including Alaskan and Siberian Yupik.
7. I henceforth use this term also in the wider sense of 'derived base'.
8. This group of affixes changes the role relations of the verb, and thus includes transitivizers and intransitivizers (though causatives are under a separate group, the traditional category of 'double transitivizers' thus being broken up).
9. This also includes 'narrative' coloration affixes like Gr. *gi* (indicative *gujuq*) and imperative modifiers like *njar* (4). Such affixes always appear in the final 'slot' (see appendix on ordering).
10. These are of course only approximate equivalents – they should be checked with an English-Danish dictionary if in doubt, or better still with a bilingual Inuk!
11. Full morphophonemic variation (alternative forms of affixes following various consonant stems) is indicated on the 'main' dialect lists only, but the principles involved generally apply to the other dialects within each main area.
12. W Gr. and Copper are the only dialects I have had direct contact with, apart from brief recording sessions with speakers of other western Canadian dialects at Yellowknife. Elsewhere existing printed material has been relied upon.
13. See the summary by Dorais in 'Inuktitut' (summer 1976) for rather conservative population figures for the different dialect areas – but note that his 'Caribou' includes many who speak Aivilik and the figure for Copper may be underestimated (cf. the figures by area given in 'Ajunarnat', summer 1978) – those for Gr. certainly are. He gives the following approximate percentages of the population speaking the Inuit language: N Alaska 55%, Mackenzie, Copper, and Labrador: 50%, rest of Arctic Canada 90% (probably less than this at Frobisher Bay, however), and Gr. 95%.

14. They can be checked in Bergsland (1955) and Rischel (1974), where a similar phonemic orthography is used.
15. Phonemic representations are between obliques, as here; phonetic ones between square brackets. Most affixes with initial /q, k, ng, r/ or a double consonant are dropping and most with /n, m, s/ or /s/ fusing. Those with /l, t, j, g, v/ or /p/ may be either. Similar tendencies in all dialects.
16. Typical mood inflections following are also indicated in brackets in the case of 'conjunctive' affixes (group 23).
17. Though there is growing confusion of this with alveolar /s/ even here. Outside of the central area (and Paamiut) /s/ and /s/ are neutralized as /s/.
18. Such affixes may optionally cause dropping (except in the case of certain lexicalized combinations).
19. This is generally regarded as a distinct (sub-)dialect. Petersen further distinguishes the Nanortalik-Julianehåb from the Paamiut sub-dialect (the latter he regards as a C W Gr. dialect with i-dialect overlay). In the footnotes to the list for W Gr. 'S Gr.' refers to all these sub-dialects to the south of Nuuk – i.e. from Fiskerøsset south – characterized by the 'i-dialect' phenomenon, just as 'N W Gr.' refers to the Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq plus Upernavik sub-dialects.
20. This last does not apply to Upernavik and E Gr. across morpheme boundaries, where forms like **sikikkut** against Kap Farvel **sikukkut** will be found (though *within* one morpheme two /u/s in successive syllables may be preserved). Thus the sequence /uC(C) u/ (where 'C' is any non-labial consonant) will generally be preserved in S Gr. (or sometimes become /iC(C)i/), but become /iC(C)u/ across morpheme boundaries in E Gr. and Upernavik. Long /uu/ is treated as one syllable (preserved or changed as a whole). In Upernavik /t/ is affricated to [c] before original /i/ but not before /i/ < */u/ and there tends to be an 'i-glide' before a /t/ or other apical following a long /aa/. Note [i*] from original /ui/ – and [i*] in general for /i/ < */u/ before another vowel (or even before a consonant in Upernavik). In S Gr. /ii/ < /i/ + */u/ does not cause degemination in following consonants. The /u/ → /i/ phenomenon can be found as far north as inner Godthåbsfjord (Kapisillit).
21. And affix-initial /t/ is less commonly assibilated to /s/ in N W Gr. following an original 'i₁' than in C W Gr., apparently. The southernmost variety of Upernavik, note, approaches Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq through its lesser use of [c]/[s] for /s/ (or /ss/) and – esp. for younger speakers – by its use of unnasalized intervocalic /r/.
22. Around Disko Bugt and elsewhere in N W Gr. can be heard a 'drawled' intonation over a wide pitch range. E Gr. too has a wide range and pronounced final rises (also in yes/no questions – with lengthened vowel). Thule has the fall in yes/no questions. A phrase-final fall on the antepenultimate mora can be heard in the dialects of Paamiut, Aasiaat and Upernavik, whereas in the South West rising patterns reminiscent of E Gr. may be heard.
23. Except Nanortalik? From Lichtenau Fjord south – except the town of Nanortalik – /ts/ is replaced by /tt/ before /a/ and /u/, at least for older speakers, who also do not assibilate /t/ before /i/ (or original C + /t/, as in **uattinni**).
24. Thus **ttivaq** corresponding to W Gr. **ssuaq** and **ttivar** to **lluar**, **ngilar** to **ngusar**, **ngig** to **gug** and **(t)ti** to **(l)lu**, etc., all of which are regular correspondences and therefore do not appear on the list. Similarly W Gr. **riar** can appear here as **iar**, **ajar** (after /a(C)/) or **ujar** (after /u(C)/).
25. Although an ordinary alveolar /l/ can also be heard corresponding to W Gr. /l/ (in recent borrowings from that dialect?). W Gr. /ll/ appears occasionally as consonant plus /s/ here – when it originates from consonant plus original /l/ (as in **qitirsig**, W Gr. **qitirliq**). An apical sound [ɬ] not unlike the /l/ discussed here is also heard in Nordic loanwords (for /t/) in the W Gr. area having /s/ and /s/ distinct.
26. i.e. [N] as in (esp. C and S) Gr. **paarnaq** (as opposed to some people's **paarnaq** or – in the South – **paarmaq**), but short.
27. Only nasals and /j/ are dropped *regularly* between certain vowels (see Dorais 1981), and then only within one morpheme – though **(g)i** (have as) and imperative **(g)it** usually lose their consonant in any position (thus imperative **-niaat** < ***-niarit**). Irregular dropping of other single consonants is found in words like **siamat** (for **sijamat**?) < ***sisamat** and **iit** (or **iivit**) for ***inu(v)it**, where the dropping of the nasal is however regular. Note also the combination ***iira** often goes to **/a(r)a/** (e.g. in **siafaq**, 'sand'). Also, W Gr. geminates sometimes correspond to E Gr. /r/ plus consonant or vice versa – e.g. **arnaŋaaq** or **arniŋaaq** (as in the text here) for W Gr. **annuraaq**. The sequence /aCu/ occasionally becomes /ii/.
28. i.e. for those speakers (esp. C and N W) who make a distinction between orthographic 'v' and a bilabial glide between /u/ and a following vowel. I write 'v' for a bilabial glide only between two /u/s (and in Paamiut /ava/). Note the special 'double' labio-velar articulation of /vv/ in Lichtenau.
29. But /t/ becomes /s/ following an 'i₁' as in W Gr. – e.g. **pisura(q)** corresponding to W Gr. **pisuqaq** (old) – though this is not regular when a consonant intervenes. In W Gr. also intervocalic /q/ in such forms tends towards /r/ in fast speech, as does /g/ to zero or a glide. E Gr. (and Thule) maintains the distinction between original consonant + /ti/ and /tsi/.
30. There has been confusion recently between /ts/ corresponding to /ts/ and /tč/ (palatalized /ts/) corresponding to /ss/ in W Gr. There is doubtless a merger between the two underway and I use 'ts' whatever the source of the combination. There is further confusion between /ts/ and /tt/ corresponding to W Gr. /ss/ in many affixes (e.g. **tsusiq** corresponding to W Gr. **ssusiq** where /tt/ is expected – and cf. nominal **tsaq** 'future' < ***kšaq**). /s/ following an /r/ is always /c/ – and is written as such in this manual. A similar allophone of /s/ can be heard in the other i-dialects.
31. Of the few differences in grammar, note the occasional use of 4th person possession marker **-ni** on the object of transitive verbs where W Gr. would have the simple absolutive (thus **Piitani urninniarpaq**, 'he will go to P.' – cf. also the E Gr. text). Also (acc. Thalbitzer) the construction in **urartiivaanga urnikkinga** (he said I'd gone to her) and – with passive participial **laq** – **urartiivaa ircilanni** (he said he feared you), conjunctive **nngitsimi(k)** (before), and the difference between **nunannut** (to my land) and **nunannit** (to your land), the former reflecting ***nunannut** with a labial. Note too the plural object form in the contemporary **-ttungut** (sing. object **-ttungu**), negative imperative **nngaas**, indicative 1st plural – 3rd plural **-vungut(-varput** acc. Thalbitzer), 3rd plural possessive

- at (not -(a)i), and the use of 3rd person forms occasionally to express 2nd person in situations of direct address (N. Grann – pers. commun.).
32. In W Gr. too final stops tend to be dropped in rapid connected speech and some confusion between final /k/ and /t/ can arise – cf. ablative **-miik** in NW Gr. for **-miit**. The latter forms are replacing original **-mit** in purely spatial (not comparative) use. The Gr. form **-minn-gaa(n)niit** found commonly on pronominal and place-name stems in this function should be pointed out. Note on the other hand that many vowel-stem nouns appear to end in /q/ in E Gr. (e.g. **sigi(q)** ‘ice’) as the vowel quality reveals, a tendency even more marked in S W Gr.
 33. But this may well be because inflection **-ai** has been replaced by **-aat** (cf. **ai** ‘isn’t that so?’). /aa/ < */au/ sometimes sounds as [aʷ] and /aa/ from */ai/ as [a] acc. Dorais (1981), who also states that E Gr. has /j/ after /ii/, /ui/ or /aa/ < */ai/ where in W Gr. it has been replaced by an automatic glide. Some speakers have /v/ between vowels in words like **uvaŋa** (W Gr. **uanga**).
 34. Or [ixtu] or even [itlu] as in W Gr. – there is fluctuation here, at least for clusters with a following sonorant. The commonest form for younger speakers is probably [idlu] with what sounds like a long tapped /l/. Geminate fricatives can also be voiced or voiceless. The voiceless forms may well be due to recent newcomers from the south and/or influence from the literary norm (W Gr.). /b/ is found but more often than not sounds like [ʷdl] as in **qaʷdlunaaq** (W Gr. **qallunaaq**) and /b/ plus /s/ is pronounced [ʷʃʃ]. /q/ before another stop is either fricativized or unexploded (cf. under Canada below).
 35. When geminate, the pronunciation [çç] or [ʃʃ] is most common. /ts/ is, note, preserved (or > [tʃ]). In southernmost settlement Savissivik (where Upernavik influence is strong), this sound can be heard for W Gr. /ss/ also.
 36. As N Baffin-Aivilik (besides **-nani**, obligatory in Tarr.); note indicative **nngippuq** and ‘participial’ **nngitsuq** (Holtved also has **nngittuq**). Polar Eskimo contemporative forms are always **-(d)luni**, etc., with no distinction of tense (as for the rest of Gr.).
 37. As elsewhere (esp. in the secondary alphabetical lists) there are also some uncertain or optional elements (usually phoneme length) in brackets. Note that in Labrador at least in long words consonant clusters can be reduced even when not following a syllable with a cluster.
 38. I follow Schneider’s convention here in order to avoid confusion with W Gr. voiceless /11/. /dl/ and /dj/ are phonetically somewhere between simple geminates of /l/ and /j/ and the clusters with an initial stop suggested by the spelling.
 39. With the partial exception of the combination /qs/, which, as Schneider’s fluctuating spelling suggests, can be either [qs] or [X’s]. Note that W Gr. /s/ corresponds to Inuktitut /s/ (Inupiaq /š/) following an /r/ or /g/ when from */qš/ or */kš/ (otherwise to /j/ or /ž/). It is not clear to what extent /k/ (my ‘g’) before another consonant may be fricativized (or – more likely – merely unexploded) in Canada. /r/ at least may be a frictionless continuant before a stop. /s/ is [ʃ] before /u/ in Tarr. proper.
 40. Related to this is the fact that Inuktitut /a/ before a nonuvular consonant is closer to its allomorph before a uvular than is the case in (esp. C) W Gr., where **at**, for example, is phonetically [et]. Fricative /r/ before a stop can also be heard around Kangaatsiaq in Gr.
 41. And the Tarr. affix (occurring in many combinations) **sar/tsa** corresponding to Aivilik **tlar** and W Gr. **llar**.
 42. The old rule $i_2 \rightarrow a/V$ is thus on the way out (cf. **angutiuvuq** or **angutaavvuq**).
 43. /r/ is regularly nasalized to [N] before a nasal in the eastern Inuktitut dialects, a pronunciation to be heard at least as far west as Copper. In Gr. /r/ (as before all consonants) tends rather to modify the preceding vowel and cause gemination of the nasal (though some old C W Greenlanders still have [N] here). Note also the regular assimilation of ‘j₂’ plus /g/ to /gg/ (W Gr. /ss/) as in **aggait** (hands).
 44. The latter is also found in N Baffin, but the shift from /t/ to /s/ only occurs in some stems there (see footnote 55).
 45. This sound is also heard on the west side of Hudson Bay, esp. amongst Netsilik but apparently also among older speakers at Iglood. The combination /rj/ is pronounced [rdʒ]/[ʃʒ] in eastern Canadian dialects. /ž/ is more like French ‘j’ at Great Whale River. Note /dj/ is as in Tarr., not /žž/ as in Netsilik when from geminate ‘j₂’. There are a number of Itivimmiut speakers at Grise Fjord and Resolute Bay. An [ɹ]-like /l/ is heard at Iglood.
 46. Except combined/assimilated with a following consonant. This pronunciation is also to be heard in southern Baffin (almost [h]). For economy of symbols (the pronunciation being automatic) I keep orthographic ‘q’. Morpheme-final uvulars in Labrador are maintained as such only in certain affixes in conjunction with the indicative forms in **-quk**, etc. (e.g. **niaqquk**). Such affixes are marked with a final ‘r’ on the list. There is considerable fluctuation as to which affixes act this way however.
 47. An alternative pronunciation of geminate /nn/ is [dn] (parallel to /dj/ and /dl/).
 48. The latter an allophone of the former following an /a/ as described, though a voiced [γγ] is heard for /gg/ at Hopedale (south of Nain). Amongst older speakers everywhere the velar versus uvular contrast may still persist (the /a/ being more like that of other dialects then), and /p/ (or /b/) plus consonant can be heard in certain words like **qablunaak**.
 49. This tendency to conflate consonant and vowel stems concerns younger speakers at least. It applies to the ‘true’ indicative in **-vuk**, etc., too (the form **-puq/puk** after consonants is archaic). Owing to this phenomenon a number of affixes such as **gu(r)** (become) and **i(r)** (freeze in one’s –) appear always to lose the final consonant expected. Others vary – thus **saviitaga** or **saviiijaga** (I took his knife away). Note also the intransitive interrogative forms **-viin** (2nd sing.) and **-vaan** (3rd plural). Lengthening of the final syllable plus rising intonation is the normal way of forming interrogative sentences. Note also the negative indicative **ngidlak** (Tarr. **ngidlaq**), etc., when following a syllable beginning with a double consonant, and 4th plural conditional **-gutik**.
 50. The circumstance, unique in the Inuit world, of two clearly distinct sociolects existing side by side (with high prestige attached to the archaic one) has had the unfortunate consequence of causing speakers of the colloquial dialect to feel that their language is somehow ‘sub-standard’, whereas it is of course simply more advanced phonologically.
 51. Dorais makes the division between Cape Dorset and the rest, Harper between Frobisher Bay and the Cumberland Peninsula.

52. The Cumberland Peninsula sub-dialect (and Aivilik for some speakers) also has a wide pitch range when compared with the 'flatter' intonation of Frobisher Bay (or Tarr.) for example. None of these dialects, though, seem to have the typical slight rise on final syllables of indicative sentences of W Gr. (following a fall on the preceding syllable – or the same syllable if long). Yes/no questions in Inuktitut are typically formed by a rise plus lengthening on the final syllable – but a final fall is also heard, esp. in the West. At least in N Baffin 'requests for confirmation' combine final lengthening with indicative inflections, acc. Harper.
53. It is spoken down the west coast of Hudson Bay from Repulse Bay to Rankin Inlet (replacing the extinct Saglirmiut dialect on Southampton Island).
54. Apart of course from uvular plus consonant. */žv/ has become /gv/ or /vv/ (also Eskimo Point?).
55. i.e. for original **si,t**. In N Baffin-Aivilik /t/ becomes /s/ after *i*, in lexemes (as sporadically in Netsilik) but not in affixes (at least for younger speakers).
56. The difference may partly be that **-vuq** is used for more vivid/final action (esp. narrative) or when wholly new information is introduced. The 3rd person plural is **-vut** rather than W Gr. **-pput**. Note also the 1st person intransitive interrogative endings **-vik** (sing.) and **-vita** (plural). The transitive participial forms **-gaa**, etc., of Gr. and the West are absent. In Labrador (where the 'participial' indicative is limited to 3rd person forms) 3rd sing. – 3rd sing. **-vauk** alternates with **-vaa** (in Tarr. the former is the corresponding interrogative form).
57. And, acc. Schneider, **-kkuq**, etc., after *t*- and *g*-stems.
58. After consonant stems the ending is **-luni**, etc. Note **tit(-lugu)** always takes non-past forms in the sense 'while'. Negative **-nani** is past or non-past (Tarr. also has **-gani**, like Gr.).
59. Also 1st and 2nd person on Baffin (e.g. **-luninga**, 4th sing. – 1st sing.). In Harper's (1974) paradigm lists beware of the interchange of the labels '3rd' and '4th' person.
60. Indicates an object clause of doubt following the main verb. Transitive forms such as **(m)mangakku** (I – him) are also used. Note **(m)mangakiaq** in independent sentences (I wonder if –).
61. This is characterized (to give the N Baffin forms adapted from Schneider & Harper) by **-k** (plus lengthening of a preceding single vowel) and **-ng** before case endings on unpossessed nouns. For possessed nouns the endings for dual possessed object are:

1st sing. -kka (ngma)	1st dual -gpuk(nnuk)
2nd sing. -kkik(gpik)	2nd dual -gtik(ttik)
3rd sing. -ngik(ngita)	3rd dual -ngik(ngita)
4th sing. -ngni(ngmi)	4th dual -gtik(ngmik)
1st plural -gput(gta)	
2nd plural -gsi(ssi)	
3rd plural -ngik(ngita)	
4th plural -gtik(ngmik)	

Forms in brackets are relative case. There is quite a bit of fluctuation in dual forms between dialects, it should be pointed out. Forms for sing. and plural possessed object are respectively:

1st dual -vuk/gput(nnuk)	and -vuk/gpuk(nnuk)
2nd dual -sik/tik(ttik)	-sik/tik(ttik)
3rd dual -ngak(ngata)	-ngit(ngita)
4th dual -tik(mik)	-tik(mik)

Intransitive verb forms for the dual are:

Indicative	Imperative/Optative
1st -vuguk	1st -luk
2nd -vutik	2nd -gittik
3rd -vuk	3rd -lik

Causative	Interrogative
1st -gannuk	1st -vinuk
2nd -gassik	2nd -vitik
3rd -ngmatik	3rd -vak
4th -gamik	

Contemporative

1st -lunuk
2nd -lutik
4th -lutik

The participial mood is parallel to the indicative, and the conditional parallel to the causative (except 4th **-gunik**). Transitive verb forms are built up with possessed noun endings as in W Gr. Note **-gamigit** (he/they – them) but **-gamigik** (he/they – them₂) (similarly for other subjects in the causative).

62. Some neutralization of dialect differences would appear to be taking place amongst younger speakers in at least the eastern part of the Canadian Arctic due to increased mobility (including schooling in the larger settlements – or in the South –) and exposure to other dialects through broadcast and printed material. This does not (as yet) extend to the Copper and Mackenzie areas (nor presumably Labrador) however, where syllabics are not understood and whose dialects are not well represented in the broadcast material emanating from the East.
63. Though in Aivilik at least the ablative can be used for less direct agency or source. At Rankin Inlet **-mut** is used for instrument or agent though some have **-mit** like Caribou for agent. **-mut** in most eastern dialects can be used to indicate cause (as N W Gr.).
64. A peculiarity of the N Baffin-Aivilik dialect is optional 2nd sing. – 3rd sing. causative **-gangni** (Labrador speakers have **-ganni**, Tarr. **-gaviuk**). Note also offers in the optative **-langu** (should I –?) – esp. before enclitic **tuuq**. At Rankin Inlet at least 'internally headed' relative clauses such as in **angut natsirmik takujuq niqi nirivaa** (the man who saw the seal ate the meat) are found (at Great Whale River even **angut niqimik nirijumik takuvunga** is apparently grammatical) – and note the construction in **Piitaup takujaa Saaliup niqi nirijaa** (Creider, Inuit Studies 2.1: 95ff.). Esp. prevalent in N Baffin (though found elsewhere) is the use of contemporative forms in **-dluni**, etc., for indicative sentences. The half-transitivizer **si** (or \emptyset) seems to be more common here than **ji** (or **nni(g)** – W Gr. **nnig** – found with a few stems in Tarr.).
65. And alternative 4th sing. possessive **-i** has disappeared (in favour of **-ni**) everywhere in eastern Inuktitut. 1st plural possessive for sing. object **-vut** has largely replaced

- (r)put, as elsewhere in Canada. In Labrador both absolutive and relative forms for 4th person possession have been lost altogether. Other grammatical divergences from W Gr. specifically for Tarr. concern the oblique cases of noun stems with a long or double vowel – thus **umiaamik**, **umiaanik**, etc. – and the special form of the equalis case on demonstrative stems: **-(ti)tunaq**. ‘Empty’ stem **pi-** is often omitted, thus **laalirtuq** (he will come/do/say). The 2nd sing. – 1st sing. causative and conditional inflections are **-gavinga** and **-guinga** (rather than **-gamma/-gumma**). The ‘double transitive’ construction with the less direct object in the dative is lacking, but a corresponding ‘half-transitive’ construction may be found with two objects in the instrumental, as in **takunnaqujijuq aip-paminik iglumik** (he wanted/told his companion to look at the house). Some verbs like **aittuivug** (give) generally take two such instrumental objects. Note too constructions like **niqi nirijauquvara** (I wanted the meat to be eaten) where the passive sense must be made explicit by the affix **jau** (unnecessary in Gr.). The object (clause) of verbs like **sapir-** (be unable to) is either in the absolutive or instrumental case (of nominalized verbs in **niq** or **giaq**) but the verb itself must be intransitive – and similarly with verbs of thinking, knowing, etc. (note **tikittamik gaujimavunga**, ‘I know s.o. has come to him’ and **aan-nitu(tsa)mik isumanngituq** ‘he didn’t think anyone would be hurt’). The object clause of **tusarpuq** (hear) may have **tidlugu** as well as **-mat**, etc. ‘Since’ can be expressed by ablative **-nit** directly on causative endings (otherwise by **taimangat** following that mood). The 1st person can be expressed impersonally by endings like **juqarami** as well as **naqquq**, and note **giaq** for ‘my’ and **(lir)naani** (‘while I/we’ – contrast to main clause). Positive 2nd person exclamations like **silaqqiputit!** are to be taken ironically (‘what lousy weather!’). Dative **-mut** can directly be added to verbal stems in the sense ‘because of -ing’. Two specifically Labrador constructions (acc. Bourquin) involve **(u)nngikuni** (perhaps) and – implying greater doubt – **galuaruni**. A notable feature of the eastern Canadian dialects as regards affixes is the greater number of distinctions of tense made compared to the other three overall dialect areas. Note that W Gr. sing. imperative form **-na** (less immediate than **-git**) is not found outside of Gr. (except Netsilik?), nor are 1st person plural ‘inclusive’ transitive forms like **-tigu**.
66. Rather than **nunanni**. On Baffin there is a distinction between the latter (in my country) – cf. Copper **nunamni** – and **nunagni** (in your country). In Labrador this may be expressed by putting the pronoun first (**uvanga nunanni**), and in Itivimmiut by adding the pronoun enclitically: **nunanniuvanga**, etc.
67. With corresponding increase in the regular strong consonant stem declension type with /r/ preserved before case endings such as **-mik**. Only participials **-juq** and **jaq** and future **gsaq/tsaq** appear regularly to drop their (weak) uvular consonant before endings for younger speakers though older ones – esp. N Baffin? – may still have the weak x strong uvular stem distinction and geminating plurals like **nutaqqat**. In Tarr. even **jaq** and **tsaq** have ‘strong’ plurals in **-it**. Speakers of these (and more westerly) dialects should esp. beware of corresponding noun stems in Gr. that undergo metathesis under inflection – e.g. **miqqit**, plural of **mitiq** (eider-duck), **aqqi** (his(own) name) from **atiq**, and **tikka** (its smell) from **tipi(k)** (the latter not true metathesis). Note also W Gr. metathesis of */mr/ to /rm/ (or /rng/ – esp. in Maniitsoq/Sisimiut) in **irmup** from **imiq** (and **irmusiq** ‘mug’, as in Tarr. – N Baffin **irngusiq**), and of */zg/ to /ss/ via /gz/, as in Diomedes.
68. Supplemented by various texts such as R. Petersen’s Ig-lulik transcripts (unpubl.) and copies of the Ig-lulik journal ‘Inummariit’. Some of Harper’s S Baffin forms may be for Pond Inlet.
69. As spoken from Cambridge Bay to Holman Island (though with mixture from the east in the former, and from the west in the latter). /h/ is simply [h] here, as in Caribou.
70. With some aspiration – Métayer sometimes writes ‘th’. The result of /t/ plus original /l/ can be the same (in so far as it isn’t voiced to /dl/).
71. [Nn] is heard for /rn/ in Copper (also /mm/ for /ngm/), as elsewhere in Canada except Netsilik, Mackenzie and some Caribou where, as further west, a clear separation of /r/ and a following nasal otherwise is more common (in Barrow for example it can sound almost as if a weak schwa [ə] were inserted between the two adjacent consonants). The assimilation pattern in clusters for all eastern and western Inuktitut dialects is generally ‘nasal before nasal’ (except as above and when glottal stops occur).
72. This /h/ corresponding to ‘j₂’ is also found in Rasmussen’s Umingmagtuurmiut texts, where he also has contemporaneous forms in **-luni** as well as **-huni** after a consonant stem, and the glottal stop appears occasionally. This might represent a genuine sub-dialect difference. Holman Island also has some fluctuation between /nr/ and /n/ + /ng/.
73. Acc. Métayer’s texts. The ablative is also met in this function. Netsilik prefers the instrumental, but Caribou the ablative (and **-mut** for instrument).
74. It is from this source that Gr. strengthener **qi** may have developed by reanalysis as an affix – cf. Rasmussen’s **qi**, which appears as an affix in the Mackenzie texts with little meaning.
75. Additional divergences from Gr. involve the use of the dative or instrumental case to express cause – e.g. **idjir-paraalungmut** (because of the great cold). The negative contemporaneous mood is either **nngittuni** or **nnginnani** or **-rani**, etc. The causative ending **-gamikkik** seems to alternate with **-gamigit** rather freely to mean both ‘he-them’ and ‘they-them’. The object clause of verbs of knowing, etc., can be either in the ‘participial’ or causative mood – but note constructions such as **kan-girhimagapkit inuit tuquraliinnaramik** (for I knew people began dying one after another) and **qimainnarpagtat ilitturigamiuk** (when she knew he’d been abandoned by them). Note too constructions like those in **ajuliraa tuqujaghaa** (he couldn’t kill him), **ajurhaliramik pau-riaghamingnun** (because it became impossible for them to use their oars) and **hakuighijaamini iqquiququq** (he exercised in order to get stronger); see the footnotes to Copper **giaq** and **jaq**. Caribou uses **giaq** much less in this way – it prefers **niq** as nominalizer (and apparently can also use the contemporaneous mood as an object clause form). A special use of **giaghaq** and **jaghaq** in Copper is seen in such expressive utterance types as **aannariagha-**

- minik/aanniariaghataluunniit!** (maybe she'll get ill!) and **annautijaghaangata** (I wonder if he'll be able to save her ...). 3rd person sing. possession is marked by **-nga**, etc., after a double vowel, otherwise usually **-a**, etc. And note the use of locative participial **-jumi** (while – ing) for any person (or impersonal) subordinate clauses, and **i₂**-dropping plurals like **ivgit** (< **ivik**) and **tupqit** (< **tupiq**).
76. There is thus a contrast between /dj/ and geminate /žž/. Rasmussen fluctuated – reflecting Gr.? – between 'j' and 'z' and 'j' (esp. Mackenzie) for 'j₂' for all the western dialects plus Iglulik (where he also heard /p/ plus consonants and final nasals). /l,g,v/ and /r/ appear to be corresponding voiced stops before other sonorants.
77. And /ti/ for some speakers would appear to be [ti], perhaps even with some assimilation (also Rankin Inlet?).
78. This combination has become /tr/ or /žr/ (phonetically sounding sometimes like [lžr]). Rasmussen has forms suggesting partial metathesis of ***nr/** and ***lr/**.
79. This statement is really much too over-generalized – thus words like **arnaq** and **iglu** certainly do not have the glottal stop. The basic principle would seem to be a historical one: the glottal stop replaces – or is simultaneous with – what was originally a *stop* before a sonorant (as in Kobuk still) – thus **qi'miq** < ***qipmiq** or ***qikmiq** (but **umingmak** < ***umingmak**), and causative **-r'mat** < ***qmat**, etc. Regressive assimilation from a following nasal may also occur in such forms, as in certain varieties of Kobuk (e.g. at Noatak). The preceding is presumably the principle behind the phenomenon in Netsilik too. The distribution differs from in Itivimmiut, where it concerns geminate fricatives and their development.
80. Typical also is the prevailing intonational pattern of deep falls early in phrase (as also Rankin Inlet?). At Baker Lake the dialect is reported to be spoken more slowly. The glottal stop is also less prevalent and there is more fluctuation between /h/ and /s/ (as in Netsilik).
81. Older speakers – esp. Baker Lake – have /nr/ ([nN] ? – cf. the combination /mr/[mN] in words like **imrusiq** 'cup'); also /lr/ where some younger speakers now have /rr/ as in the East (not strictly a matter of uvular metathesis of course).
82. But Birket-Smith heard /l/, /j/ or (esp. as allophone after a consonant) /ž/, and /nr/ or (less commonly) /ngr/. Rasmussen only collected few texts from the Caribou region and these may not exactly reflect the modern dialect.
83. Though (for some speakers at least) note the negative participial **nngittuq** (as Copper). Netsilik and Mackenzie preserve /ts/ (or [tʃ]) here.
84. But this may be an artifact of the syllabic script in part. Webster & Zibell report 3rd sing. – 3rd sing. interrogative **-vagu(u)** at Eskimo Point but **-vaung (-vauk)** at Baker Lake. There are numerous errors, however, in the grammatical endings they quote for particular dialects, and these should therefore not be accepted without further confirmation.
85. Directly descended from (or closely related to) what Petitot (1876) called 'Tchigliit' (Dorais calls it 'Sigliq'). Petitot has /c/ ('tq' or 'tch') for /s/ in initial position always, but also 'l' for /l/ (nearly always), and indicative forms **-juami** (1st sing.) – also to be heard in Kobuk – **-juanni** (1st plural), and impersonal **-ngajak** (one -s). The latter can be found in Rasmussen's texts in exclamatory use (how –!), and the former are mentioned by Métayer in his dictionary.
86. Predominantly N Slope – though one variety of Inupiaq spoken here (to be heard on Inuvik radio) has contemporary forms in **-huni** (as Kobuk and Nunamiut Inupiaq) and some speakers apparently also lack the palatalized consonants of Alaska.
87. An allophone [c] is found following /r/ and, occasionally, initially (as in E Gr.); see footnote 85.
88. Words with /ž/ -such as **tavža** (then) – are indicative (like the presence of palatalized consonants) of varieties of Inupiaq spoken in the Delta area, though borrowings back and forth between dialects here is to be expected. A [dʒ] allophone can be heard before /g/ or /v/ (e.g. **ajgait** [adʒgait] – Co. **algait**, 'hands'). Rasmussen apparently heard [ʒ] also intervocally, alternating with [j].
89. It is certainly not just an allophone of /l/ found after /k/ and /q/ as Webster & Zibell suggest it might be; thus **iglu**, despite Rasmussen's spelling 'igLu', has a voiced /l/ contrasting with contemporary **-gluni**, etc. After **t-**stems the voiced (non-past) contemporary forms seem more widespread than expected – perhaps a result of the reduction of geminates – or homorganic clusters – following syllables beginning with a consonant cluster/geminate mentioned by Dorais for this dialect (pers. commun.), but cf. Netsilik **-luni** as opposed to non-past **-dluni** here, like Kobuk (J. Briggs, pers. commun.). Outside of Gr. only Mackenzie (& Kobuk?) seems to have contemporary **galugu**, etc. from **gi** (alongside **giblu** found elsewhere); it also has forms like **utalugu** from **uti**, not found in Copper.
90. The original Mackenzie dialect has a somewhat wider pitch range than the Inupiaq heard here, which, besides sounding somewhat 'harsher' (due to its greater fricativization etc.), is intonationally flatter and has inserted schwa between sonorants. Netsilik is more 'drawled' (with wide pitch range), but Copper is flatter again.
91. i.e. an original /i/, as opposed to an 'i₂' from original /a/ (as in Yupik). As in Gr. it causes a following /t/ to become /s/, thus N Slope (and Kobuk) **sigi** (so), the alternate of **tigi** following an 'i₁'. /t/ is not affricated to [c] before an /i/ however.
92. And for younger speakers to any /t/ before a consonant within a stem. But cf. also /ž/ < ***t/** before a voiced fricative (> Co. /l/), as in **nangižvik** 'hospital'.
93. The combination /lh/ (from ***lq/**) is pronounced [lX], /gh/ is [x] (a voiceless velar fricative) as in **sinighuni**, and /rh/ is the corresponding uvular [X] as in **majurhuni**, both of the latter being *single* phonemes. In Barrow (but not some other areas) /k/ becomes [x] before a voiceless continuant – e.g. **aglaq** [axlaq] (brown bear) (Nunamiut [axlaq]). By convention (see below) I write 'g' here.
94. But [Xž] and [ks] are commonly heard. Before a /v/ (which for younger speakers is labio-dental) the cluster that results is [Xf]. 'v' before a sonorant corresponds to Copper 'b'.
95. A further point concerning the old Point Hope dialect is that /č/ or /l/ before a consonant or final /t/ may be pronounced as [ç], a palatal fricative.
96. Outside of Barrow itself these rules may be less strictly adhered to, with stops or fricatives before sibilants and /r/ or /q/ before stops, etc. Some Nunamiut have glottalized nasals and continuants in clusters with following sonorants (K. Bergsland, pers. commun.). A bilabial variety of /v/ may also be heard outside of Barrow.

97. **-t̥in** after a **t**-stem. Unlike the case in Gr. and Canada imperative **-iñ** can cause gemination of the initial consonant of the preceding syllable (as does negative imperative **-nak**, relative case **-m**, dual **-k** and plural **-t** on certain stem types). The negative transitive imperative is **-nagu**, etc. (the principal use in Barrow now of these forms).
98. **-t** following vowel or 'weak /q/' stems. Note the contrast with 2nd sing. possessive **-n/-in**. Point Barrow has plural **-in**? Note also plurals in **-žžat** (W gr. **-ssat**) and the progressive assimilation in forms like **imrič** [imNič] (plural of **imiq**) in those sub-dialects that have also regressive assimilation to nasals. Note 'new' N Slope plurals like **umiarīč** and Diomedé instrumental **-māng**.
99. As regards intonation, the highest pitch in yes/no questions comes on the final syllable except in Barrow itself, where it can be heard on the penultimate, as in S W Gr. The usual declarative intonation is with a fall on the last two syllables rather than morae (as also in Copper), though a fall on the *last* syllable is heard outside of Barrow.
100. Though it also causes the palatalization of a preceding /t/ to /t̥/.
101. Including the southern Kobuk/Malimiut sub-dialect around Unalakleet, which lacks the palatalized consonants – except /č/ – of the rest of Kobuk (and N Slope).
102. Though not between vowels there (cf. foot 96). /h/ (or [ʃ]) may here be heard for /s/. This 'dialect' is a mixture of N Slope and Kobuk.
103. The former corresponding to a N Slope /k/ following an 'i', the latter to an /s/ – after /a/ or /u/ or 'i₂'. Note that N Slope /š/ after a consonant corresponds to Inuktitut /s/ (or /h/) but W Gr /s/.
104. But across morpheme boundaries assimilation (including that of /k/ and /q/ to /ng/ and /rng/ before a nasal) is found – except before affixes like **(p)mi** 'also' and **(p)ni** 'in your', which have a consonant cluster following vowel stems (this also applies to Seward Peninsula). Note that Kobuk /pm/ – alternatively /km/ – (N Slope/mm/) corresponds often to /ngm/ (or /'m/) in Canada.
105. Which include Qawiažaq of the south coast around Nome (and as far south as Unalakleet where Malimiut speakers are also found) and the Bering Strait (sub-) dialects of Cape Prince of Wales and King and Little Diomedé Islands. The King Islanders now live in Nome. The last speakers from Big Diomedé Island, moved to the Siberian mainland after the last war, died recently. A description of their dialect (called 'Imaklik' – **imaqliq** – after the name of the largest village there) has recently appeared (Menovshchikov 1980). It appears the ablative case had fallen together with the instrumental there (as Yupik). Some speakers (Wales at least) have a notably constricted (acc. Jenness 'throaty') voice quality. The whole area seems to reflect a Yupik substrate.
106. Though it may be a case of later disappearance of the palatals, this also tending to happen among younger Iñupiaq speakers elsewhere. Jenness further reported the rounding of /i/ and /a/, but this may just reflect the voice quality mentioned in footnote 105. Kaplan also reports vowel harmony between /i/ and /a/ for Diomedé (and /i/ > /a/ before /ž/).
107. But /r/ is not weakened in Wales, and in Diomedé /ng/ is weakened to zero as well as /r/ and /g/ in such a position, acc. Kaplan. A single (or weak) /t/ can be voiced, as opposed to geminate (or strong) /tt/. Certain clusters are also reduced under the conditions described above: one starting with a uvular drops the latter with compensatory lengthening of a preceding /a/, and – at least in King Island – preceding /i/ or /u/ becomes /a/ as in **iglatuq** (travels) from ***igliqtuq**. Clusters starting with /t/ drop the latter but clusters with /p/ or /k/ are preserved (and optionally voiced). The details vary somewhat between sub-dialects. In Qawiažaq weakening is much less extensive, with only /q/ and /v/ and (apart from after initial syllable vowels) /g/ being regularly reduced in weak intervocalic position (though there is also sporadic weakening elsewhere).
108. Thus strong /t/ (corresponding to N Slope /dl/ -or /tl/ in contemporative **-tluni**, etc., after **t**-stems –, Kobuk /tl/) becomes /l/ in weak position. Note also **taqqiq** 'moon' < ***tanqiq**, but **mitquq** 'hair' < ***māluquq** (both with /tq/ in N Slope).
109. Though /ia/ and /ua/ are rather shallow diphthongs (as in Central Yupik) – perhaps esp. in Diomedé (Menovshchikov has 'e' and 'o' respectively for them). Point Hope (and Wainwright) also has some diphthong levelling.
110. And note Kobuk has dropping **-kaa**, etc., following **k**-stems.
111. MacLean calls this the 'past' indicative. It may elsewhere involve a durative aspectual element, but appears to be used mainly about the past in Barrow, **-žuq** principally being used of doing something now, in general, or in the future. **-žuaq** seems less common in Qawiažaq as an indicative. Note the unusual transitive form **-žangani** (he-me).
112. cf. W Gr. **qianngarmi** (crying) and **iluunngarmi** (all of it).
113. Kobuk **-pluni** (**-tluni** after **t**-stems, **-rhuni** after uvulars, and **-ghuni** after velars), and 'incomplete' **-luni** (but **-guni** after velars and **-runi** after uvulars except for the 1st person). 'Completive' forms in **-huni** are also to be heard at Barrow as are **-luni** ones in Kobuk. Both sets of forms are found following **tit**. Note 3rd person plural object form **-lugi**. In Kobuk (co-referential) relative case participial forms are used in a contemporative sense – e.g. **ipizu(a)m** (drowning, he –) – and **it-** (be) after the contemporative **-luni**, etc. (and **(p)matun**) is found in a durative sense.
114. Webster & Zibell (1976) report such forms also for Mackenzie, Caribou and Aivilik, but I have not been able to confirm them for these areas (they may have heard contemporative **-luni** in the latter two at least).
115. And note causative forms **-gamnga** (you-me), **-gamigi(t)** (he-them), **-gamisiung** (they-it), and **-gamisigik/gamisi-ging** (they-them), and intransitive **-mangnik** (they₂).
116. Relative **-ngata** or **-ngan**. Seward Peninsula has absolute **-ga** and **-git** – W Gr. **-a** and **-i** (**-at** following /a/). And note plural **-ič** truncates a stem-final /k/ or 'strong/q' except after a double vowel or when 'i₂' is involved (as in **tupqič** from **tupiq**). 'i₂' becomes /a/ in dual forms with gemination like **kammak** from **kamik**. Note also absolute 1st plural (sing. object) **-kput**, 4th plural **-kting** or **-žing**.
117. As regards word-order, the object is placed after the verb and adjectival modification before a head noun more commonly than further east (esp. Gr.) in neutral sentences – as is also true of Yupik.
118. This gives examples of the use of each affix included and contains complete nominal and verbal paradigms.

Degree of consonant assimilation



1. Maximal non-assimilation (but some Nunamiut as N Slope)
2. Regressive 'manner' assimilation (no stops before continuants)
3. Fricative-plus-stop as well as stop-plus-stop, at least as regards uvular (esp. in East); also voiced stop plus sonorant
4. /t/ or /l/ (or 'j₂') plus consonant assimilated regressively (except /ts/)
5. /p/ (/b/) plus consonant merged with /t/ plus consonant (tending towards geminates)
6. /k/ (/g/) plus consonant merged with /t/ plus consonant (tending towards geminates)
7. Full regressive assimilation (except for uvular plus consonant)
8. Full regressive assimilation and /r/ merged with /g/
9. As (7) plus merging of geminate /l/ (and 'j₂') with /tt/

Nasal before nasal in all Inuktitut (and some Iñupiaq sub-)dialects except for some western /r/ plus nasal – also Greenlandic (apart from W and E Greenlandic /r/ plus nasal)

No sharp break between 2. and 3. as regards degree of assimilation

Reflexes of 'j₂'



○ 'j₂' realized as /ʒ/ ([ʒ] or [ʁ])

○ 'j₂' realized as /s/ or /s/

a. /s/ (from 'j₂') merged with /t/ and /l/ as 'flapped l' intervocalically (geminate = /tt/ or – esp. affixes – /ts/)

b. /s/ ([ʃ]) distinct from /s/ for some speakers

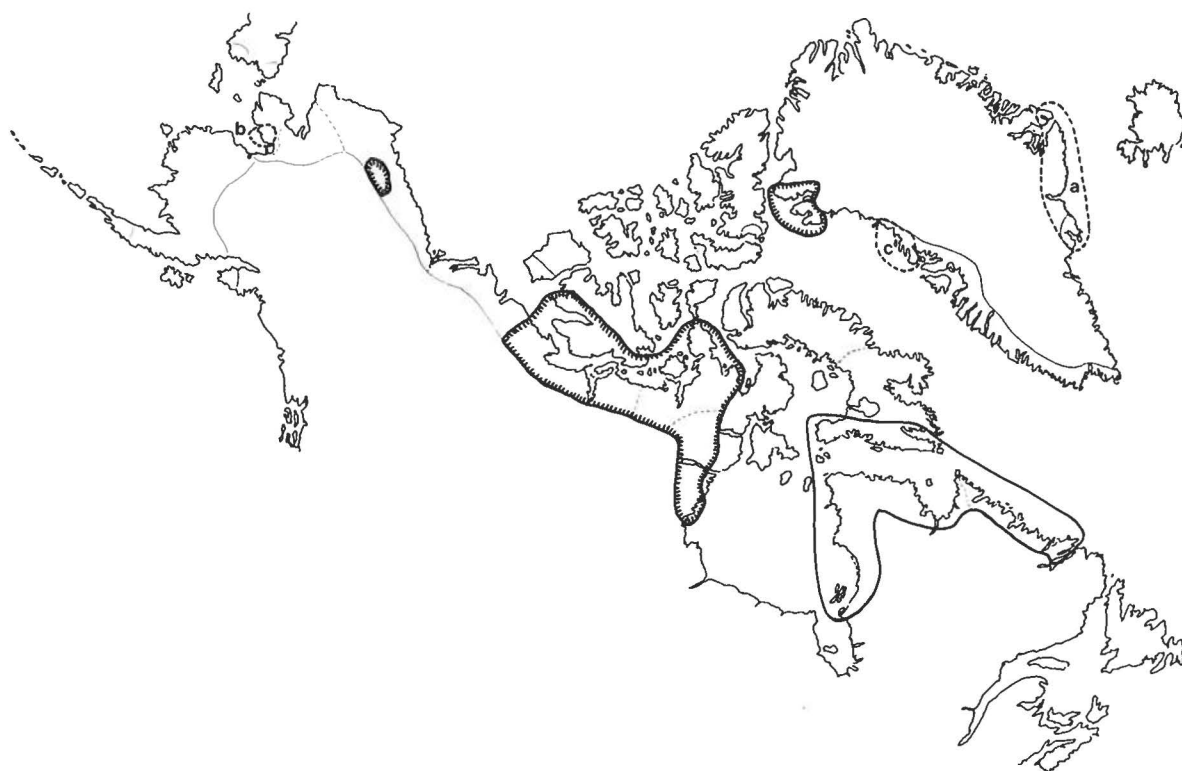
c. /s/ (from 'j₂') merged with /s/ as /h/

d. 'j₂' merged with 'j₁' as [ʁ] or [ʒ]

Elsewhere 'j₂' realized as /j/ (but /l/ before consonant in Copper)

/ʃ/ corresponding to 'j₂' after /k/ and /q/ has merged with /s/ (or /h/) everywhere outside Inupiaq and Central W Greenlandic

Reflexes of /s/ and /q/



○ /s/ realized as /h/ (or [ç] – esp. Netsilik and Thule)

○ non-final /q/ pronounced as [X]

a. /s/ realized as (palatalized?) [c] initially or when geminated



b. /s/ realized as /č/

c. Central W Greenlandic geminate /s/ (or /š/) realized as /ts/ (at least partially)

/s/ elsewhere preserved – except > Kobuk /š/ after /a/, /u/ or 'i₂' (and Mackenzie [c] after /r/)

Syllable adjustment laws and intervocalic consonant weakening





-  Syllable adjustment (in S W Greenland only concerns consonants after long vowels); also some Mackenzie
-  Intervocalic consonant weakening alone

a. Consonant weakening according to prosodic principles (less marked in Qawiažaq)

Reflexes of /ts/ and /ti/




-  /ti/ = [ci] and original consonant + /ti/ merges with /tsi/ (except older speakers south of Qaqortoq)
 /ts/ into /tt/ (except after 'i₁' in endings for older speakers in N Baffin-Aivilik)


- a. Central W Greenlandic /ts/ into /ss/ (at least partially – probably ['s])
 b. Central W Greenlandic /ts/ into /tt/ before /a/ or /u/
 c. Central W Greenlandic /ts/ into /tt/ before /a/ or /u/ for older speakers (except Nanortalik)

Elsewhere /ts/ is /tč/ (Alaska) or preserved as /ts/ and /ti/ is [ti]

Presence of glottal stop and devoicing of geminate fricatives



 Glottal stop (except some speakers at Spence Bay?)

 Devoicing of /gg/, /rr/ and /vv/

a. Devoicing and defricativization of /gg/, /rr/ and /vv/ to /kk/, /qq/ and /pp/

b. Devoicing and defricativization of /gg/, /rr/ and /vv/ to /kk/, /qq/ and /kk/

Palatalized consonants (the results of 'i₁') and /ə/



○ /l/, /t̪/, /n̪/, and /s/ (/č/ finally or before consonant) from /t/, after 'i₁'

○ /t/ into /s/ (Thule /h/) after 'i₁' (except finally)



a. /t/ into /s/ after 'i₁' only in lexemes in N Baffin-Aivilik (sporadically elsewhere, esp. Netsilik)

b. Fourth vowel /ə/ (= 'i₂')

c. /t/ into /s/ (/č/ finally or before consonant) after 'i₁'

Final nasals and nasalized continuants





-  Final nasalization optional (also some speakers elsewhere in Canada)
-  Final nasals in endings with historical nasals only

- a. /g/ and /t/ nasalized intervocally to /ng/ and /t̃/
- b. /g/ nasalized intervocally to /ng/
- c. /g/ and /t/ nasalized intervocally and final stops unexploded (or zero)

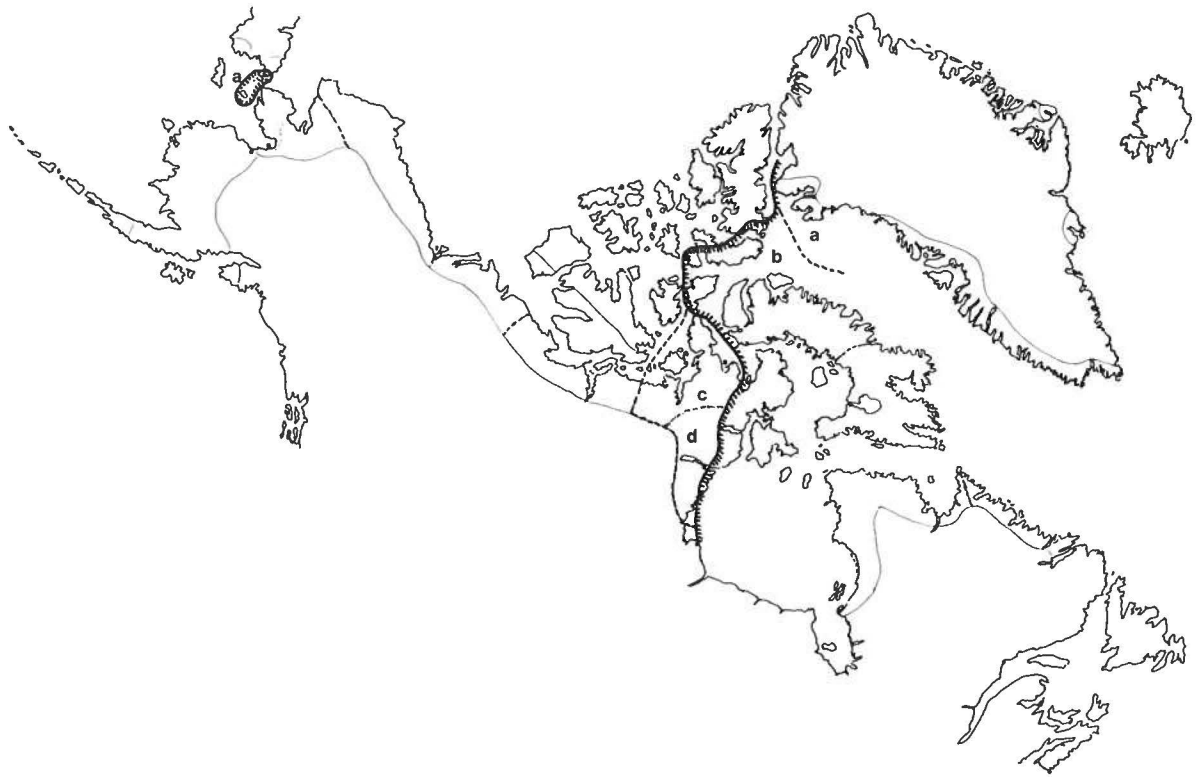
Diphthong reduction and 'i-dialects'




-  Monophthongization of diphthongs
-  i-dialects (/u/ into /i/ in certain circumstances)

- a. Assimilation of */ai/ and */au/ (and 'i₂' + /a/) to /aa/
- b. Diphthongs into [e], [o] and [i] (but /ui/ retained)
- c. /ai/ = [e] and /au/ = [o] only

Uvular metathesis

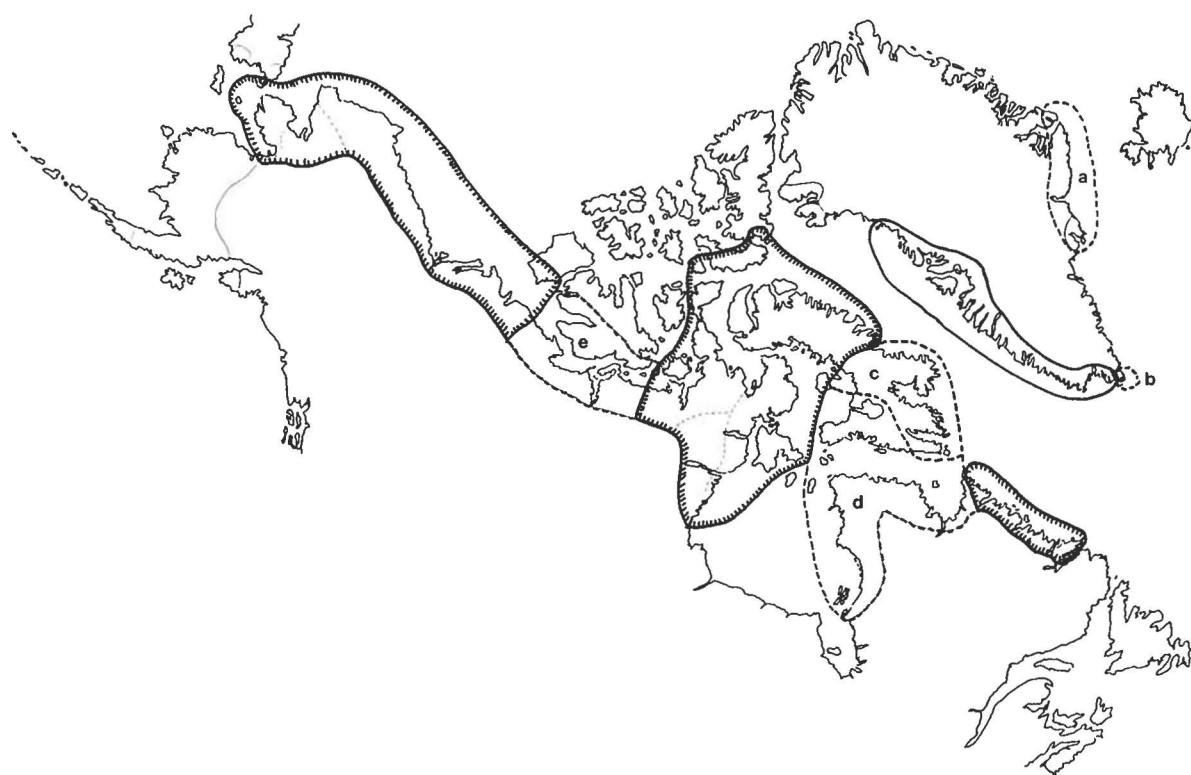


 Uvular metathesis

- a. /lr/ into /rl/ and /nr/ into /rn/ ([ʀnn] or – esp. Thule – [NN])
- b. /lr/ into /rr/ and /nr/ into /rng/ ([NN] or [Nŋ])
- c. /nr/ into /nng/; /lr/ maintained (or into /lr/ or /ʒr/)
- d. /nr/ preserved (or into /rng/); /lr/ preserved (or into /rr/)

Uvular metathesis in nominal inflections only in Greenland (nominal inflection in general largely levelled to the 'strong consonant' type following syllables with single vowels in eastern Inuktitut)

Reflexes of /ɪ/



○ Primary /ɪ/ retained

○ Secondary /ɪ/ ([ɪ]) only

a. Secondary /ɪ/ into /tɪ/ (or consonant plus /s/ < *ɪ/)

b. Secondary /ɪ/ into retroflex [ɖɖ]

c. Primary /ɪ/ into /t/



d. Primary /ɪ/ into /s/ (also some at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay)

e. Primary /ɪ/ into /h/

In Greenland primary /ɪ/ has merged with /ɪ/ (except as (a) above)

Verbal inflections



-  **juq(žuq)/gaa** indicative
-  **guq(nguq)** intransitive indicative alternates

- a. **vuq/vaa** indicative and **suq/gaa** participial
- b. **huq/gaa** indicative (**vuq/vaa** rare – narrative only?) and also participial (esp. intransitive)
- c. **juq/jaa** (or **janga** – esp. South East) or **vuq/vaa** (**quq**, etc., after **r**) indicative; only former also participial
- d. **vuq/vaa** (Netsilik also **quq**, etc. after **r**) or (esp. Ėskimo Point) **juq/jaa** indicative and latter only also participial; transitive **gaa** occasionally as both
- e. **juq/gaa** or **jaa** indicative (or **quq**, etc., after **r**) and (the former) also participial (esp. intransitive); **vuq/vaa** indicative only with **dja**, **gi** and **nagha** now
- f. **juq** or **juaq/gaa** or **jaa** indicative (**vuq/vaa** only narrative) and all the former(?) can be participial too
- g. **žuq** or **žuaq/gaa** (and – at least Barrow – **ža(ng)a**) indicative (**vuq/vaa** 'narrative' only) and **žuaq/ža(ng)a** or **kka(ng)a** participial

Dual forms everywhere except area (a) (though some forms still in N W Greenland); distinct forms for past x non-past contemporary everywhere except (a) plus (b)

Main dialect lists

West Greenlandic

1. Being & becoming

giiaar⁻ (be mutually – several)
 giig⁻ (be mutually)
 kkuminar⁻ (be good for)
 (kkuutaar⁻) (be grouped in -s)
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)¹
 nngur⁻ (become)
 ssaqqig⁻ (be good for)
 u⁻ (be)²

2. Lacking

ilatsi⁻ (be short of)
 irsir⁻ (have lost)
 (ssa)irut(i)⁻ (have no more)³
 isag⁻ (have very few)
 (it⁻) (be without)
 ssaaliqi⁻ (lack)
 ssaasua⁻ (lack)

3. Feeling

gug⁻ (thirst/long for)
 (irsi⁻) (feel cold in one's)
 katag⁻(1) (be fed up with)⁴
 (liri⁻) (have pain in one's)
 nngir⁻ (like/be crazy about)
 (nngu⁻) (feel bad in one's)

4. Having

gasag⁻ (have scattered)
 gi⁺(1) (-nnig⁻) (have as)
 gig⁻/gissaar⁻ (have a good)
 gissi⁻ (have got a better)
 (irluir⁻) (be smeared with)
 kit⁻/killiur⁻ (have few/little)
 kišaar⁻ (have rather little)
 (lišaar⁻) (be wearing)
 lišar⁻(1) (have with one)
 lišsuu⁻ (have much/many)
 +(r)lug⁻ (have a bad/painful)
 (maar⁻) (be wearing)
 qar⁻ (have/there is)¹¹
 (qgur)+tu⁻ (have much/a big)⁵
 +tujaar⁻ (have rather a big)
 (+tusi⁻/ttur⁻) (have got more/a bigger)

Tarramiut

giig⁻ (be mutually)
 giijur⁻ (be mutually – several)
 gur⁻ (become/grow into)
 kkuminar⁻ (be good for)
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)¹
 nngu(r)⁻(1) (become)
 u⁻ (be)²

(ilaaqqut(i)⁻) (not have the usual) %
 iliqi⁻ (lack/need)
 ilug⁻ (not have any at all)
 (innгаа(r)⁻) (not be wearing) %
 innia(siu⁻) (be almost out of) %
 irsi⁻/isir⁻(1) (have lost)³
 irut(i)⁻ (have no more)
 (+ta)it⁻ (be without)

gug⁻ (desire/want)
 guir⁻ (no longer want)
 (ir⁻/ijar⁻) (be cold in one's)
 kkuma⁺(-tsi⁻) (want as)
 (liri⁻)(1) (have pain in one's)
 lirngu⁻ (envy s.o.'s)
 littaa(r) (be tired/annoyed by) %
 ((n)ngu⁻) (feel bad in one's)⁴
 qaqqi(r)⁻ (value/jealously guard) %

ggi(r)⁻/ggiari⁺ (have/take with one)
 gi⁺(1) (-tsi⁻) (have as)
 gig⁻ (have a good/big/plenty of)
 giłsi⁻ (have got a better)
 (+ta)kit⁻ (have few/little)
 kka(r)⁻ (carry/have with one)⁵
 lijar⁻ (carry/have with one)⁵
 lug⁻/+lug⁻ (have a bad)
 +mig⁻(1)/+migi⁺ (have in one's container)
 qar⁻ (have/there is)
 qqutu⁻/quttu⁻ (have much/a big)
 +tarig⁻/djarig⁻ (have much/a big)
 tsiarig⁻ (have a good)
 (+tar)+tu⁻ (have much/a big)
 (+tusi⁻) (have got more/a bigger)

Copper

1. Being & becoming

giig⁻ (be mutually)
 ilrit⁻ (be away from/no longer at) %
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)¹
 +miu(taar)⁻ (live/be in/on)
 nngur⁻(1) (become)
 (rur⁻) (become)
 u⁻ (be)²

2. Lacking

idliur⁻/idliut(i)⁻ (ask for/need) %
 idluar⁻ (not have any)
 ihag⁻ (have very few)
 ijar⁻(1) (have lost)
 iliqi⁻ (lack/need)
 (gha)ir⁻(1) (have no more/lost)
 irhi⁻(1) (be short of)
 (gha)irut(i)⁻ (have no more)
 it⁻ (lack)³
 (paluir⁻) (break (up))⁴ %

3. Feeling

gug⁻/gulir⁻ (want/like)
 guir⁻ (no longer want)
 (ijar⁻/irhi⁻)(2) (be cold in one's)
 +(d)lir⁻/+(d)liur⁻ (have pain in one's)
 (nngu)⁻ (be tired of/have pain in)

4. Having

djaar⁻ (have a good)
 gi⁺(1) (have as)
 giag⁻ (have many)
 gig⁻ (have a good/plenty of)⁶
 lgi(a)r⁻/lgiari⁺ (take/have with one)
 liquitigi⁺ (have as one's own) %
 +lug⁻ (have a bad)⁶
 nnag⁻ (have lots of/be covered with)⁷ %
 qar⁻ (have/there is)
 qqukit⁻ (have little/few)
 qqurtu⁻ (have a big)
 (ruar⁻) (have)⁸
 tqig⁻ (have a good)⁶
 ttiarig⁻ (have a good)
 +tu⁻(1) (have a big/many)⁹
 (+tuhi⁻) (have got a bigger/more)

North Slope

giik⁻ (be mutually)
 giigsit⁻ (become mutually)
 gik⁻(1) (be a good)
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)
 ngnguq⁻(1) (become)
 ruq⁻ (become)¹
 u⁻(1) (be)²

ijaq⁻(1) be broken)³%
 (ilaq⁻) (lack)
 iq⁻ (have no more/be deprived of)⁴
 irut(i)⁻ (have no more)⁵
 (+ta)it⁻ (lack/not have)

(giit⁻)(1) (have pain in one's)
 (ijaq⁻)(2) (be cold in one's)
 (liqi⁻)(1) (have pain in one's)
 (nngu⁻)(1) (feel bad in/tired of)
 rluaq⁻ (dislike) %

gi⁺(1) (have as)⁶
 giit⁻(2) (have a bad)⁷
 gik⁻(2) (have a good)
 kigli⁻ (have got fewer/less)
 kit⁻ (have a little/few)
 ligaaq⁻/liža(a)q⁻ (take/have with one)
 +luk⁻ (have a bad)⁷
 qaq⁻ (have/there is)
 +siaqaq⁻ (have received)
 +tu⁻ (have a big/much)⁸
 u⁻(2)/ukkaq⁻ (have many)

West Greenlandic

5. Acquiring

(a⁻) (catch several)
 isur⁻ (fetch)
 lirngusaat(i)⁻ (fight for)
 + nialug⁻(1) (hunt – small game/a little)
 + niar⁻(1) (hunt)
 (nig⁻) (get/have come)
 + niut(i)⁻ (hunt – several)
 (nnag⁻) (get – as gift/plenty)
 (raar⁻) (catch so many)
 + si⁻(1) (get/buy/find)⁶
 + siur⁻(1) (look for)
 (t/g⁻) (catch)
 + taar⁻ (get a new)⁷
 + tar⁻ (fetch)

6. Movement

kkuur⁻/(a)guur⁻ (move in/through)
 liar⁻ (go to)
 + miir⁻(1) (come from)
 + mukar⁻ (go to)⁸
 + mukaa⁻ (go to – several)
 (+muur⁻) (move towards)⁹
 (+siur⁻)(2) (travel on)¹⁰

7. Acting & seeming like

(liṣar⁻)(2) (resemble)
 nga⁻ (resemble)
 + (r)palaar⁻(1) (seem/sound like)
 + (r)pallag⁻(1) (act like)
 + (r)palug⁻(1) (resemble/seem like)
 (+ (r)pasig⁻)(1) (look like)
 ṣṣi⁻ (act/be just like)
 + sunnit⁻ (smell like)
 + tuur⁻ (act like/speak – language)
 uṣaar⁻(1) (act like/seem)¹²

8. Doing with & providing

iar⁺(-i⁻) (remove – several)
 (iar⁻) (break/damage)
 ir⁻ (be removed/sell)
 irniar⁻ (sell)
 ir⁺(-i⁻) (remove/deprive of)
 irut(i)⁺(-ṣi⁻) (remove/deprive of)
 liari⁺/ṣṣiari⁺ (make into)
 liir⁺(-i⁻) (provide with)¹³
 liri⁻(2) (occupy oneself with)
 liṣaar⁻(1) (tell about)
 liṣur⁺(-i⁻) (provide with – several/bit by bit)

Tarramiut

(a⁻) (catch several/many)
 (ilangar⁻) (take repeatedly) %
 itur⁻ (fetch)
 kkumajarsu(g)⁻ (choose)
 ligar⁻ (catch/win)
 (litta(r)⁻) (find/see many) %
 nna(r)⁻ (receive – as gift)
 raajur⁻ (catch/cost so much – several)
 raar⁻ (catch/cost so much)
 + sar⁻ (fetch)⁶
 + si⁻(1) (get/buy/find/see)⁶
 + sima⁻(1) (recognize) %
 + siur⁻(1) (look for/hunt)⁶
 ((t)/(g)⁻) (catch)⁷
 + taar⁻ (get)⁸
 + tar⁻ (fetch/bring along)
 ṭsa(r)⁻/ṭsari⁺ (gather material for)

kkuur⁻/(a)guur⁻ (move in/through)
 liar⁻ (go to)
 lit⁻ (go to/come across)
 + muur⁻(1)/+ muar⁻ (go towards)⁹
 + muur⁺(-i⁻)(1) (put into/take to)
 + siur⁻(2) (travel on)¹⁰

arni(r)⁻ (smell of)
 arnia(g)gir⁻ (give off a smell of)
 gijaar⁻ (seem/look like one's) %
 giliut(i)⁺ (regard/take as) %
 (+ti)+tuur⁻ (do/be like/speak)
 ujaar⁻/jaar⁻ (look like)
 ujar⁻ (imitate/pretend to be)
 + vadlag⁻/+ valug⁻(1) (sound/seem like)¹¹

(ar⁺) (apply/hit on/break one's)¹²
 (i)djaa(r)⁺(-i/si⁻) (remove/undo one's)¹⁴
 (gar⁺) (call s.o. one's – relation) %
 (gummitaar⁻) (take meal at – time) %
 (idli⁺) (hurt s.o. on the)¹³
 ijar⁺ (-i⁻) (remove/break s.o.'s/sell)¹⁴
 ijartuisir⁻ (try to warm up one's) %
 ir⁺/ii⁻ (remove/steal s.o.'s)¹⁵
 irut(i)⁺(-ji⁻) (deprive of/remove)
 (+ju)li⁻ (make)¹⁶
 lijaar⁻ (show one's)¹⁷%

Copper

5. Acquiring

ghammaar⁺ (want to get for a) %
 (ghar⁻) (get s.th. for a -)
 +hi⁻(1) (get/find/buy)
 +hima(n)nait⁻ (not find/see any)¹⁰ %
 +hiur⁻(1) (look for/hunt)
 itur⁻ (fetch)
 (liar⁻/+niar⁻(1)) (hunt)⁸
 (ma⁻)(1) (catch many/all the time)
 nig⁻ (get/find)¹¹
 ninngur⁻ (get/find – lucky fellow) %
 (raar⁻) (catch so many)
 (t/g⁻) (catch)
 +tar⁻(1) (fetch)

6. Movement

+hiur⁻(2) (travel on)
 kkuur/kkuar⁻ (move in/through)
 (+mu)liar⁻ (go to)¹²
 +minngaar⁻ (come from)
 (+muar⁻) (go to)¹³
 +munngar⁻ (arrive at/have gone to)¹⁴
 +munngau⁻ (go towards) %

7. Acting & seeming like

(+jur)+hitigi⁻ (be heard)
 +hungnit⁻ (smell of)
 nnguar⁻(1) (play at)
 (+tuur⁻) (speak – language)
 (+ju)ujaar⁻1 (act like/pretend to be)
 +vadlag⁻(1) (be heard)¹⁵

8. Doing with & providing

(ar⁺) (hit s.o. on the)
 djipkar⁺ (give material for a)
 ghir⁺ (provide with/get s.th. for)
 ijar⁺ (-i⁻) (remove/break/kill)¹⁶
 ijaa⁺ (remove/break/kill – several)
 ir⁺ (remove/steal s.o.'s)¹⁷
 (irtur⁻) (do so many times)¹⁸
 irut(i)⁺ (remove/break)¹⁹
 li⁻/dji⁻ (make)²⁰
 lit⁺/ghit⁺ (give to)
 liqi⁻(2) (occupy oneself with/hunt)

North Slope

atčiaq⁻ (go and ask for) %
 gšaq⁻ (get material/means for) %
 nik⁻ (get)
 nnak⁻ (get – by winning/earning) %
 +si⁻(1) (get/buy)
 +siuq⁻ (look for/hunt)⁹
 +(r)šuuq⁻ (fetch/reach for)
 (t/k⁻) (catch)¹⁰
 +taq⁻/+saq⁻ (go for)¹¹
 tčiaq⁻ (get a new)

kuaq⁻ (move in/through)
 +miñngaq⁻ (come from)¹²
 +mirsiuq⁻ (travel around in)¹³
 +muk⁻ (go to)¹²
 +muut(i)⁺ (take to)¹²

rži⁻ (act like)¹⁴
 +sungnit⁻ (smell/taste of)
 ungnguaq⁻ (pretend to be)
 (užaaq⁻) (speak – language)

(aq⁻) (injure one's)¹⁵ %
 gšaq⁻ (make nice/fix)¹⁶
 (gšauñriq⁺) (destroy)¹⁷
 (a)gšit⁺ (give to)
 ijaq⁺(2) (remove)
 iq⁺ (remove)
 (iqtuq⁻) (do so many times)
 ku⁺ (save for s.o.)¹⁸ %
 li⁻ (make)¹⁹
 liq⁺ (provide with)²⁰
 liqi⁻(2) (occupy oneself with)²¹

West Greenlandic

liur⁻ (make)
liut(i)⁺(-si⁻) (use for)
llir (offer/serve)
(+mig⁺) (touch with one's)
(+miir⁻)(2) (do with)
nngur(tit)⁺ (make into)
r (loan-word verbalizer)
(riar⁻) (do so many times)
(rur⁺) (hit on the)
ssit⁺ (give to)
(+tir⁺+tiri⁻) (cover with)
+tur⁻/+(r)sur⁻ (use/eat)
+tuuma⁻ (use/eat – often/like to use/eat)

9. Judging & saying

gi⁺(2) (consider)¹⁴
gissaa⁻ (complain that)
+gunar⁻(1) (look like)
naar⁺ (find too/more than expected)¹⁴
+nirar⁺ (say that)
(nni⁻) (look like)
+(r)palaar⁻(2) (appear/sound like)
+(r)pallag⁻(2) (sound like/be said)
+(r)palug⁻(2) (look/sound like)
+(r)pasig⁻(2) (look like)
r⁻ (say – quotation)¹⁵
ssanga(tit⁺) (think – will)
+(ga)sugi⁺ (-nnig⁻) (think that)¹⁶
+(ga)suri⁺ (-nnig⁻) (think that)
(+tit⁺)(1) (think)¹⁷

10. Wishing & waiting

+juma (want to)
+jumagaluar (would like)
+jumallir (get an urge to)
+jumatu⁻ (always want to)
katag(2) (be tired of)
qquniru⁺ (prefer to)
(lla)(q)qu⁺ (hope to)
rusug/+gusug (would like to)¹⁸
+(t)sir⁺/+(t)sii (wait for)¹⁹

11. Causation & request

(qatisiri⁺) (want/ask s.o. to – with one)
qqu⁺(-si⁻) (ask/want s.o. to)²⁰
qqunngit⁺ (ask not to/forbid)
qqusaar⁻ (try to get people to – one)
qqusaa (be allowed to)²⁰
(+sa(a)r⁺ (-i⁻)) (try to get to)²¹
+tit⁺(2) (-si⁻) (cause/let)²²

Tarramiut

lir⁺ (-i⁻) (provide with)¹⁸
liri⁻ (occupy oneself with)¹⁶
lit⁺(-si⁻) (give to/take to)
liur⁻ (make)⁶
(+mi)liut(i)⁺(-ji⁻)(1) (put into)
mig⁺(-i/nni(g)⁻) (give/transfer (one's))²¹
(+mig⁺)(2) (do with one's – to s.o.)²⁰
+muur⁻(2) (do because of)
niṭsa(r)⁻/ngui⁻ (work at) %
nngui⁺/gui⁺ (make s.o. into)²²
+(n)niar⁻ (occupy oneself with/hunt)
(rur⁺/qqu⁺(-si⁻)) (hit s.o. on the)
+(r)sur⁻ (rummage in/work on)²³ %
+tur⁻(1) (eat/use/put on)²⁴
udjaa(r)⁺(-i⁻) (remove/undo s.o.'s)
(unaar⁺) (put in groups of) %
(vig⁻(-si⁻))(1) (do so many times)

(dliu(r)⁻/dluu(r)⁻) (consider)²⁶
(quti)gi⁺(2) (consider)²⁵
+juri⁺ (-ṭsi⁻) (think that)
la⁻/r (say – quotation)²⁷
lai⁻/latsi⁻ (realize/consider) %
+nianngu(u)r⁻ (suppose/fear that)²⁹ %
+nirar⁺ (-i⁻) (say that)
+titir⁻ (think oneself)
+vadlai⁻(1) (seem)³¹
+vadlag⁻/+valug⁻(2) (seem/sound like)³¹

guma/juma (want to)
(juma)jarsu(g) (prefer/choose) %
jumadli(r) (want intensely)
jumair/gusuir (no longer want)
nngu(r)⁻(2) (be tired of)²⁸
+(t)sii⁻/+(t)siari⁺ (wait for)³²
+(t)si(r)⁻ (wait until one)³²
+(t)si(d)jig⁻/+(t)si(d)jiut(i)⁺ (leave/put out to)
(gu)sug (want/need to/inclined to)

kka(r)⁺ (-i⁻) (cause/try to get to)³³
liut(i)⁺(2) (invite/advise to) %
naar(si)⁺/naari⁻ (make be so)³⁴ %
qu⁺ (-ji⁻) (ask/want s.o. to)
(+sa(a)r⁺ (-i⁻)) (try to get to)³⁵
+tit⁺ (-si⁻) (cause/let)³⁰

Copper

ĩir⁺(-hi⁻) (provide with/put on)
 ĩirtar⁺ (provide with/put on – several)
 ĩiur⁻/djiur⁻ (make)²¹
 ĩiut(i)⁺/ghiut(i)⁺ (make into)
 (+mig⁺) (hit/do with one's – to s.o.)
 +navig⁺ (break s.o.'s)¹⁹ %
 ((li)qutigi⁺) (call s.o. a)
 (rur⁺) (hit on the)
 (+titkiig⁺) (make as – as)²² %
 +tur⁻ (eat/use)

9. Judging & saying

gi⁺(2) (consider)⁵
 +ñahugi⁺ (think that)⁵
 +nirar⁺ (accuse of)
 +pattiar⁻ (be heard)
 r (say – quotation)²³
 +vadlai⁻ (be heard)

10. Wishing & waiting

dlaguma (feel like/get urge to)²⁴
 gug⁻/gulir⁻(2) (want to)
 +(t)hidjiut(i)⁺ (leave to/wait for)
 +(t)hir⁺(-i⁻)/+(t)hiari⁺ (wait for)²⁵
 +juma (want to)
 +jumatu⁻ (always want to)
 nngur⁻(2) (be fed up with)
 qahiri⁺ (want s.o. to – with one) %

11. Causation & request

+juminaijar⁺ (make difficult to) %
 lai⁺jar⁺ (prevent from)
 pkar⁺/+tit⁺(-hi⁻) (cause/let)²⁶
 +(t)taili(tqu)⁺ (prevent from)²⁷
 +titar/+titir(aar)⁺ (cause/let – several)
 tqu⁺(-ji⁻) (ask/want to)
 tquhuit⁺/tqunngit⁺ (ask not to)

North Slope

ĩiuq⁻ (make)
 q(1) (loan-word verbalizer)
 tqik⁻(1) (exchange) %
 +tuq⁻ (use/eat)

gi⁺(2) (consider/be too – for)
 +(m)magaaq⁺ (inquire/check if) %
 +nasugi⁺ (think that)²²
 +ni⁺ (say that)
 +niraaq⁺ (accuse of/describe as) %
 q(2) (say – quotation)²³
 +tilaaq (measure/check how)²⁴ %
 +vadliq⁻ (sound/look like)

dlatu⁻ (like to)
 +juma (1) (be willing to/expect to)²⁵
 nngu⁻(2) (be tired of)
 pqanga⁻ (enjoy after so long) %
 +(t)siq (wait for/leave/allow to)²⁶
 (suk)+siu⁻ (have unmet desire to)
 sui⁺q (no longer want to)²⁷
 suk (want to)

jasi⁺(1) (make easy to)
 (lilaaq⁺) (cause to be more)²⁸
 pkaa⁺/+tit⁺(-čĭ⁻) (cause/let)²⁹
 (t)qu⁺(-žĭ⁻) (ask/want to)³⁰
 (t)qulait⁺ (ask/tell never to)
 (t)qungit⁺ (ask/want not to)
 (t)qusaaq⁺ (try to get to/persuade)

West Greenlandic

+titir⁺ (*cause/let – several/by stages*)
 +t(s)aali⁺(-si⁻) (*prevent from*)²³

12. Striving & intending

+giar/(+gi)jartur (1) (*go and/to*)²⁴
 lirṣaar(2) (*intend*)
 +naviirsaar (*try not to*)
 +nialug(2) (*try a little*)
 +niar(2) (*try*)
 +niarṣari (*try – despite difficulty*)
 +niinnar (*try at all costs/just try*)
 +niqqiṣaat(i)⁻ (*compete at*)
 (qqaan)+niut(i)⁻ (*compete at*)
 riaraluar (*try unsuccessfully*)
 ṣṣamaar (*intend*)
 ṣṣamaartuu⁻ (*look forward to*)

13. Potentiality

ja⁻ (*apt to/can easily*)
 jaat⁻ (*not likely to*)
 janngit⁻ (*cannot/never*)
 juit⁻/juir⁻ (*cannot/never*)
 +juminaat⁻ (*not be easy/good to*)
 +juminar⁻ (*be easy/good to*)
 llaqqig⁻ (*be good at*)³⁴
 +naat⁻ (*not to be -ed*)
 +nar⁻ (*such as to be/-able*)²⁵
 +naviir (*can no longer*)
 nngitsuugaṣṣaanngit⁻ (*cannot not*)
 rataannaa⁻/ratarsinnaa(nngur)⁻ (*can easily*)
 riaa(nnaa)⁻ (*can easily be -ed*)
 +ṣariaqaarut(i)⁻ (*need no longer*)
 +ṣariaqanngit (*mustn't/needn't*)
 +ṣariaqar (*must*)²⁶
 +ṣaṣṣaa⁻ (*is to be -ed*)
 +sinnaa (*can*)²⁶
 +siriar (*be easy/liable to*)
 +siriit⁻ (*not be easy/liable to*)
 +ṣuṣṣaa (*be supposed to*)²⁷

Tarramiut

gasuar/nnasuar (*try(hard)*)³⁶
 gasug/nnasug (*try*)³⁶
 giartu(r)/jartu(r) (*go to/and*)³⁷
 (liuma⁻) (*stop because of feeling*) %
 (tsa)+niar (*try*)
 nngua(r) (*play at/pretend to*)
 qqaaqattaut(i)⁻ (*compete at*)
 sirtu(r)⁻ (*pretend to*)
 +tuar⁻ (*play at*)

djai(t)⁻ (*cannot/will not*)
 garni(r)/jarni(r)⁻ (*easy/good to*)³⁸
 giaqar (*must/should*)³⁹
 guar/suar (*easily/tend to*)
 guatu⁻ (*very apt to*)
 guit⁻ (*tend not to/have difficulty*)
 gunna(r)(si)/junna(r)(si) (*can*)
 gunnangir⁻ (*cannot any more*)
 (d)jair⁻(1) (*cannot/will no more*)
 juit⁻/suit⁻ (*cannot any more/never*)
 (qu)juminar⁻ (*be desirable to*)⁴⁰
 +juṭsau⁻/+jaṭsari⁺ (*must/should*)
 +juṭsaungit⁻ (*should not*)
 kkarig⁻ (*be good at -ing*)
 liniu⁻ (*be in habit of*) %
 +nar(si)⁻ (*such as to be/-able*)⁴¹
 qqajair (*can no longer*)
 qqajar (*can*)
 +sarait (*easily/tend to/soon*)
 +suir (*can no longer*)
 tsi(g)⁻ (*easy to*)
 tsiriit⁻ (*difficult to*)

Copper

12. Striving & intending

(+ha(a)r) (try)²⁸
 +hirtur (pretend to) %
 +hurhaut(i)⁻ (compete at)
 jartur/giar(tur) (go and/to)²⁹
 liut(i)⁻ (compete at)
 +ṇahuar (intend/try to/prepare to)
 +niar (1) (try/set about)
 +niarhima (intend/be ready to)
 nnguar⁻(2) (pretend to)
 (+ju)ṭqijau (juma)⁻ (compete at)

13. Potentiality

dla (can)³⁰
 dlahi (become able to)
 dlajuit/dlagungnair (cannot)
 ((+ja)ghaunrir⁻) (no longer good for/cannot)³¹ %
 giaqanngit (needn't)
 giir/giit (cannot any longer)³²
 +(t)hiriari⁻/+harait⁻ (be easy to/tend to)
 +(t)hiriit⁻ (be difficult to)
 huit/hunngit (cannot)³³
 innariilaqi⁻ (become able to again) %
 +jaghaunngit⁻ (cannot be -ed)
 jug (tend to/often/quick to)³⁴
 +jugharaluu⁻ (should but hasn't)³⁵
 +jughau⁻/+jaghari⁺ (must/should)
 +jughaunngit⁻ (must not)
 juit⁻ (cannot/never)
 +juminair⁻ (be impossible to/will no longer be able)
 +juminait⁻ (be difficult to)
 +juminar(hi)⁻ (can now/be easy to)
 +jungnair (1) (cannot/will no longer)
 +jungnait (1) (cannot/will not)
 +jungnar (can)
 lair (1) (can/will no longer)
 lait (cannot/will not)
 lgu⁻ (be good at)³⁶
 lguit⁻ (not be good at)
 limair (can/will no longer)
 limait (cannot/will not/did not) %
 +nair⁻ (no longer be such as to/a good time to)
 +nar⁻ (be such as to be/-able)³⁷
 +narhi⁻ (be good to)
 +(t)taar⁻ (be easy to/can)
 ṭqunarhi⁻ (be desirable to)

North Slope

(t)quuq⁺ (urge to)
 (+saaq⁺) (try to get to (become))³¹
 ṭṭaiḷi⁺/+saiḷi⁺ (prevent from)³²
 (pkaq)+titaq⁺ (force to)

giaq/jaqtuq (go and/to)³³
 +jumaag (1) (intend)³⁴
 +jumaatčiq (decide to) %
 +niala (try – though cannot/told not to)³⁵ %
 +niatak/+nit (try)
 +niḷuk/+niužaq (try all one can) %
 +niusiq (start trying to)
 ṇṅnguaq (pretend to/play at)
 +saq (1) (try)
 +suqtilaaq (try one's best/measure ability to)³⁶

dla (can)
 dlaiq (can no longer)
 dlasi (learn to/become able to)
 ja⁻ (tend to/can easily)
 jait⁻ (cannot easily)
 juit⁻ (be not to be -ed)
 (juk⁻) (tend to)³⁷
 +juma(2) (should)
 +jumiñait (cannot/not be OK to)³⁸
 +jumiñaq (can/be OK to)³⁸ %
 lait (1) (cannot)
 +ḷiržuaq (manage to) %
 +naq⁻ (be -able/one can/should)
 (+narsi⁻) (be time to)
 (ṅgaaq) (tend to/be rather)
 +sausiiit (not have the heart to/unable to) %
 +(t)siriaq⁻ (be easy to)³⁹
 +surnaq⁻/junaq⁻ (easy/pleasant to)⁴⁰
 +žagšau⁻ (must be -ed)
 +žugšau⁻/+žagšari⁺ (must/should)

West Greenlandic

14. Relation shifters

(i⁻/si⁻/+si⁻)(2) (*intransitivizer*)
 +niqar⁻ (*dynamic passive*)
 qatigi⁺ (*do together with*)
 qatigiig⁻ (*do reciprocally*)
 +saa⁻/gaa⁻ (*stative passive*)²⁸
 +suur (*happen to one that*)
 uṣṣur⁺ (-i⁻) (*do with/for – bit by bit*)
 (ṣṣ)ut(i)⁺ (-si⁻) (*do with/for/with respect to*)²⁹
 (ṣṣ)utigi⁺ (*transitivizer – reason/time/means*)²⁹
 +(v)vigi⁺ (*transitivizer – place/time/person*)

15. Degree

alug (*rather/here & there*)
 kannir (*more or less/rather*)
 kujug/kujuur (*somewhat*)
 kulug (1) (*somewhat*)
 ku(t)suur (*greatly*)³⁰
 laar (1) (*a little*)³¹
 +(l)luinnar (1) (*completely*)
 (minir) (*a little*)
 miṣaar (*a little*)
 ngaanngit (*not especially*)
 ngaar (*greatly*)³²
 ngajag (1) (*almost/more or less*)
 +nirpaa (*most*)
 +niru (*more*)³³
 +nirujussuar (*much more*)
 +nirumaar (*a little more*)
 (nnguar)(1) (*a little*)
 pajaar (*more or less/partly*)
 pajug (*just a little*)
 +(r)piar (*exactly/really*)
 qqar (*barely*)³⁵
 qqanngit (*a lot*)
 (qqig)(1) (*completely*)
 qqinnaar (*completely*)
 rujug/rujuur (*a little*)
 (pilu)rujuṣṣuar (*enormously*)
 ruttur (*at height of/very much*)
 +tigi (*so*)
 tsiar (*rather/a bit*)³¹
 umi (*a little*)³⁷
 uṣar (*more or less*)³⁸
 +vallaanngit (*not so much*)
 +vallaar (1) (*too/very much*)
 vig/vissur (1) (*really/completely*)

16. Manner

allag⁻ (*suddenly a bit*)³⁶
 arṣug (*half-heartedly*)
 +(r)ṣu/juataar (1) (*powerfully/hard*)
 +galuar (1) (*nevertheless/formerly/though in vain*)

Tarramiut

+jau⁻ (*passive*)
 ((j)i⁻/+si⁻) (2) (*intransitivizer*)
 ji(aqar⁻/jiari⁺) (*happen to one that – detrimental*) %
 naaqqut(i)⁺ (-ji⁻) (*come across -ing*) %
 qasiut(i)⁺/qatigi⁺ (*do together with*)
 qatigiig⁻ (*do reciprocally*)
 (+t)sir⁻ (*get oneself -ed*)
 udju(r)⁺ (-i⁻) (*do for/with – several*)⁴²
 ut(i)⁺ (-ji⁻) (*do for/with*)⁴²
 utigi⁺ (*transitivizer – reason/time/means*)⁴²
 +vigi⁺ (*transitivizer – person/place*)

(anga⁻) (*almost/-ish*)
 apig (*a little*)
 dlarig (*really*)
 (dlua(t)sia⁻) (*exactly/just*)
 dlutur (*absolutely*)
 galag (*a little*)
 giadla(g) (*a little more*)⁴³
 kasa(a)g(1) (*almost*)⁴⁴
 luanngua(r) (*much/too/especially*)
 luar (*much/too/more than*)
 luaraapig (*a little more*)
 maar/mat (*a little/not properly*)
 mmariig (1) (*completely/really*)
 +nikit (*little*)
 +nirsau⁻/+nirsari⁺ (*more/most*)
 +nirsauma⁻ (*a bit more*)
 ngaar (1) (*more than another*)
 nngiluar (*not enough*)
 nnguu(r) (*more*)
 (+pag)(1) (*greatly*)
 paliapig (*very greatly*)
 pasug/pasig (*almost*)
 qqi(jari)⁺/qqijaqar⁻ (*more*)
 (qquutar⁻) (*really*)
 +tigi (*so*)
 tsa(n)nguar (*greatly*)⁴⁵
 tsia(n)ngit (*not very much*)
 (turjuinaar) (*very/completely*)⁴⁶
 (ju)umi (*a little more*)
 umigi (*still more*)
 umijaar/umitta(r) (*still more – repeatedly*)
 uminginna(r) (*still more – all the time*)
 +vadli(r)/vadli(r) (*a bit more*)
 vasungaar/viinnga (*greatly/very*)

(aqi) (*suddenly*)
 ataalug (*very badly*)
 dluquumi (*suddenly – a feeling*) %
 dlurig (*well*)

Copper

14. Relation shifters

+ (t)hir⁻ (*get oneself -ed*)³⁸ %
 ((j)i⁻/+hi⁻) (2) (*intransitivizer*)
 +jau⁻ (*passive*)
 qatigi⁺ (*do together with*)
 qatigiig⁻ (*do reciprocally*)
 (dj)udjur⁺ (*do with/for – several*)
 (dj)ut(i)⁺ (-ji⁻) (*do with/for*)³⁹
 (dj)utigi⁺ (*transitivizer – means/reason/time*)
 +vigi⁺ (*transitivizer – person/time/place*)⁴⁰

15. Degree

(+pa)alug (*very*)⁸
 bjag (*more or less/rather*)⁵⁶
 dlagpiar (*really/a lot*)
 +(r)juar (*greatly/much*)
 juumi (*a bit more*)
 kaphug (*a little/from time to time*)
 (laar) (*a little*)
 +(d)luajuit/+(d)luanngit (*not so much*)
 +(d)luar (*too/so much/well/completely*)
 nnuar (1) (*a little*)⁴¹
 +(r)piar/piar(1) (*really/very much*)⁴²
 pqar/pqatuar/pqannuar (*barely/just a bit*)
 +tigi (*so*)
 ttag(piari) (*very much*)⁴³
 (ttiar) (*a little*)⁴¹
 +tu(2) (*very/too much/a long time*)
 +turnir(hi) (*a lot/often*)
 (ju)umijaar (*more & more/on and on*)
 +vadlaar (*too/so much*)

North Slope

(i⁻/ži⁻/+si⁻) (*intransitivizer*)
 qasiq⁺ (*do together with*)
 qatigi⁺ (*do together with*)
 qatigiik⁻ (*do reciprocally*)
 ut(i)⁺ (-ži⁻) (*do with/for*)⁴¹
 utigi⁺ (*transitivizer – reason/time/means*)
 +vigi⁺ (*transitivizer – person/time/place*)⁴²
 +žau⁻ (*passive*)

ala (*a lot/intensely*)
 atčak (*begin to do a lot*)⁴³ %
 kavsak (1) (*about/rather/almost*)
 lgu⁻ (*excessively/a lot/hard*) %
 laužaq (*a little*)
 lhaaq (*most*)⁴⁴
 ngagli⁻ (*do less than before*)⁴⁵ %
 +niršau (*most/more*)
 +(q)paadluk (*very much*)
 (pajaaq⁻) (*be more/most*)
 +(q)pak (*much*)
 paluk (1) (*much/very/hard*)
 piadlak (*really/quite a lot*)⁵²
 piaq (1) (*really/completely*)
 piarataq (*really/quite a lot*)
 pqaq(taq)/pqaužaq (*barely*)
 qtu⁻ (*excessively/a lot/hard*)⁴⁶
 sugžuk (1) (*much/excessively*)
 (+taa)q (*a bit more*)
 +tigi (*so*)
 +vadliq(2) (*somewhat/about*)
 +vait (*very/too much*)⁴⁷
 vigžuk (*a lot/really*)
 (r)žuumi (*begin to – a little*)

16. Manner

adlag(hi) (*suddenly a bit*)
 djarig (*well*)
 +galuar (1) (*nevertheless/formerly/though in vain*)
 giarhinnar (*at once*)

+galuaq (1) (*nevertheless/formerly/though in vain*)
 dluariit (*badly*)
 dluataq (*well*)⁴⁸
 (kadlak) (*quickly*)⁴⁹

West Greenlandic

+gasuar/+nasuar (*quickly*)
 (+s)innar(1) (*just/only*)³⁹
 jaallu- (*early – habitually*)
 jaar (*early*)
 (kkisir) (*with all one's might*)
 lirtur (*quickly/a short time*)⁴⁰
 llarig-/+nirig- (*well*)
 +(1)luar (*well/a lot*)⁴¹
 lussinnar (*in vain*)
 +nirlug/+nirliur (*badly*)⁴²
 palaar (*half-heartedly/with difficulty*)
 pallag (*quickly/hurriedly*)
 pilug/piluur (*strongly/violently*)
 qqissaar (*carefully/exactly*)⁴³
 riašaar/riataar (*suddenly*)
 rulug/ruluur (*violently/hard*)
 rušaar/luušaar (*slowly/at one's ease*)
 +(r)šuar (*strongly*)
 (tsag-) (*with emotion*)
 ummir (*suddenly – feeling*)

17. Phase of completion

+gallanngit (*not yet – for long time/though expected*)
 +galuttuinnar (*gradually more and more*)
 (+gi)jartuaar (*gradually more and more*)
 (+gi)jartur(2) (*more and more*)
 +jumaarnirtu/+jumaataar (*take a long time*)
 +junnaar/gunnaar (*no longer*)
 (+li-/+si-(3)) (*become*)
 liqqissaar/liinnar- (*just about to*)
 lir (*begin/about to*)
 (nga-/ma-) (*in state of*)
 ngajag(2)/ngajaar (*about to/almost*)
 +nialir (*set about*)
 nngikkallar (*not yet*)
 nngilir (*not yet – but should*)
 nngirsaa(r) (*about to*)
 qqa- (*in state of*)
 qqajar/qqajaa (*about to/almost do*)⁴⁶
 riar(1) (*set about/dynamic state*)
 riir(sima) (*perfective/already*)⁴⁷
 +(r)šari (*be in middle of*)
 +sima/+nikuu (1) (*perfective state*)²⁶
 (+simaar-) (*continuing/intense state*)
 ssaar (*stop/no longer*)
 sungar (*almost/be danger that*)
 (+tir(i))(2) (*one by one/gradually*)⁴⁴

Tarramiut

+galuar (1) (*nevertheless/formerly/though in vain*)
 (tsa)ggaa(r) (*barely/with difficulty*)
 ggaatunngit (*easily*)
 ka(a)dlag (*suddenly(a little)*)⁴⁷
 kapit (*soon/at once*)
 (lirtu(r)) (*quickly*)
 luatsia(r) (*very well*)
 (+nir)lug (*badly*)
 luqi (*jokingly*)
 +nasaar (*late*)
 nnguujar (*slowly*)
 rajaar (*without precise goal/slowly*)
 ruutari (*gladly – after abstention*) %
 saar (*quickly/at once*)
 sikag (*badly*)
 +simangaar (*on purpose*)
 tsa(m)marig (*really well*)
 tsautigi (*quickly/soon*)
 tsiar (*well/plenty*)
 tuinna(r)(1) (*just/only*)⁴⁹
 ummi(r) (*suddenly – feeling*)
 vaadlu(g) (*too late/at bad time*) %

giar (*begin*)
 giasi (*set about*)
 giir/jariir (*perfective/already*)³⁷
 (dja)gunnai(r)/junnai(r)(1) (*no longer*)
 irsi/isir(2) (*no longer/stop*)
 jair/suir(2) (*no longer/stop*)
 kasa(a)g(2)/kasa(a)lir (*almost do*)⁴⁴
 laar(niasi)(1) (*be/get ready to*)
 langa(si)(1) (*on point of*)
 lir (1) (*begin/in process of*)
 (ma-/uma-) (*in state of*)⁵⁰
 (nga-) (*in state of*)⁵¹
 (ngajaar-) (*in state of – repeatedly*)
 +niuja(r)(1) (*about to*)⁵²
 ratanngit (*not yet*)
 +si-(3) (*become/begin to*)⁵³
 +sima(2) (*perfective state*)⁵⁴
 (sunngu) (*on point of*)
 +vadlia (*gradually more and more*)⁵⁵
 +valir (*start to*)
 vig/visi/vilir (*on point of/almost do*)

Copper

gigha(a)r (*properly/well*)
 hag/haadlag (*suddenly/quickly*)
 hainnar (*at once*)
 +hurhaar (*on purpose*) %
 (ng)innar (1) (*just/only*)⁴⁴
 kar (1) (*suddenly/for a moment*)⁴⁵
 +nahaar (*late/take a long time*)
 +nariar (*early/quickly*)
 +nirlug (*badly*)
 raar (1) (*slowly*)⁴⁶
 radlit (*slowly*)
 +tiraanginnar (*without difficulty*) %
 tirtur (*fast*)
 uja(a)r (*not seriously/a bit/slowly*)

North Slope

kangit (*late*)
 lgiññiq (*though one was told not to*)
 +liq/+tiq (*immediately/quickly*)⁵⁰
 marluk (*badly*)
 mmariagsaaq (*better again*)⁵¹
 mmariagsi- (*better/fully*)⁵¹
 +nariaq (*early*)
 +nasuaq (*hurriedly*)
 patluk (1) (*badly/even so*)⁵³ %
 (rhaaq) (*violently*)
 +saari (*deliberately*)
 +saužaq (*with determination*) %
 +siññaq (*just/only*)
 suit (1) (*funnily/always badly*) %
 +suq/juq (*well*)⁵⁴
 tľak(taq) (*angrily*) %
 (+liq)+tuula (*quickly*)⁵⁵
 (ng)užaaq (1) (*slowly/at leisure*)⁵⁶
 (ng)užaq (1) (*timidly/softly*)⁵⁶ %
 viñaq (*loudly/violently*)
 +(r)žuiññaq (*reluctantly/finally*)

17. Phase of completion

(g)arhi (*begin/in process of*)⁴⁷
 djair- ((can) no longer)
 +galugtar (*finally*)
 giar(hi) (*begin*)⁸
 hartur (*about to/in process of*)
 (+hi-(3)/gli-) (*become/begin*)⁴⁸
 +hima (*perfective state*)
 +huir/guir (*no longer/stop*)⁴⁹
 innarialaqi (*on point of*)
 +jaghaijar- (*stop*)
 juir/lair(2) (*no longer*)
 +juqi(lir) (*about to*)
 laqi (*begin – and continue*)⁵⁰
 launngit (*not yet/in a while*)
 lir (*begin/in process of*)
 lrajar/tqajar (*almost do*)
 (ma-(2)/nga-) (*in state of*)⁵¹
 mmaar (*more and more*)
 +napit (*on point of*)
 nngipqar . (*almost do*)
 nnuariar (*about to*)
 riar (*in process of*)
 riir (*perfective/already*)⁵²
 +tainnar (*finally*)
 (utari-) (*burst out/fall into*) %
 +vadlia(lir) (*more and more*)

(+k)anik (*perfective/already*)⁵⁷
 (+k)arsi (*about to/in process of*)⁵⁸
 jasi(2) (*about to*)
 kavsak(2)/kavsaaq (*on point of*)
 liq (*begin/come to*)⁵⁹
 lrataq (1)/gataq (*finally*)⁶⁰
 (+si)ma (1) (*perfective state*)⁶¹
 nga- (*perfective state*)
 ngaiq (*no longer/stop*)⁶²
 nriq (*no longer*)
 qqajaq (*almost do*)
 +saarsi (*about to begin*)
 +saiññaq (*gradually more and more*)
 +saq(2) (*begin*)
 (+si-(2)/+li-) (*become*)⁶³
 +taiññaq/laiññaq (*finally/after delay*)⁶⁴
 +vaadluk (*finally/for first time*)
 žžarsi (*begin*)

West Greenlandic

18. Frequency & duration

(a/kaa/rat⁴⁵) (*several do*)
 (+s)ar(i) (*repetition/habit*)⁴⁸
 +gajug (*often/habitually*)
 +gallar (1) (*still/for time being*)
 innar/(t)tuinnar (*always/continually*)⁴⁹
 +juaannar (*always/continually*)
 +juaar (*continuously/on and on*)
 +juar (*continuously/still*)⁴⁹
 jurtur/jurar (*one after another*)
 kula(ar) (*often/habitually*)
 llatsiar (*for a short while*)
 llattaar (*from time to time*)⁵⁰
 (luur) (*repeatedly/the whole time*)
 mmirsur (*for some time*)
 nngisaannar (*never*)
 qattaar (*again and again*)
 qqaar (*first*)⁶³
 qqig(2) (*again/further*)
 +saannar (*often/all the time*)
 +sar (*repetition/habit*)
 (+r)sur (*repeated action*)⁵¹
 (lla)tuar (*for once/at least*)
 umisaar (*back and forth*)
 (ur/ar) (*prolonged/repeated action*)⁴⁸
 ušaar(2) (*keep on -ing*)

19. Tense

+jumaar (*vague future*)
 +niar(3) (*intended/inevitable future*)⁵²
 (qqamminngit) (*some time ago*)
 qqammir (*recently*)⁵³
 riikatag (*a long time ago already*)
 +sima/+nikuu(2) (*perfect*)⁵⁴
 ssa (1) (*future/should*)⁵⁵

Tarramiut

(a) (*repeated/prolonged action*)
 dlag (*once lightly*)⁵⁶
 gajug (*tend to/often*)
 gajuit (*rarely*)
 giannga (*for first time*)
 giur (*for very first time*) %
 (tu)inna(r) (*all the time*)⁵⁷
 innalimaar/limaar (*all the time*)
 kainna(r)(1) (*for a moment*)⁵⁸
 kainnangit (*a long time/without stopping*)
 kitar/qitar (*one after another/frequently*)⁵⁹
 kutaar (*for a long time*)
 laudla(g) (*for some time*)
 laudlangit (*a short time*)
 lauka(g) (*first*)⁶⁰
 laurtu(r) (*for a moment*)
 liqqi(g) (*again*)⁶¹
 lirngauti (*for very first time*)
 litainna(r) (*first time – for a while*) %
 qatta(r) (*several times/often*)
 qqa(i) (*several/one after another*)
 qqaar(r) (*first*)
 qqaanir (*the very first*)
 ralig (*often/many together*)
 +su(it)- (*habitually (not)*)
 (+tir⁺/+tiri⁻) (*repetition*)⁶²
 tsaa(r) (*a second time*)⁶³
 tsainar/sainna(r) (*always*)
 tsaniar (*continuously*)
 (+tuadli(t)) (*once only*)
 ttua(r) (*continuously/long time*)
 +tur(2) (*repetition*)⁶⁴
 (+tuuma⁻) (*several days in a row*)⁶⁵ %
 ugar (*a long time/slowly*)
 (qa)ur (*several*)⁶⁶
 +vag (*habitually*)⁶⁷

(jaratši) (*definite/near future*)
 jumaar (*vague future*)
 kainna(r)(2) (*recent past/just now*)
 laar(2) (*further future/tomorrow*) %
 langa(2) (*near future*)⁶⁸
 langasi(2) (*immediate future*)
 lauju (*distant past*)
 laur(1) (*past*)⁶⁹
 laursima (*perfect/have ever*)
 laursimangit (*have never -ed*)
 (tsa)lir(2) (*ongoing present*)⁷⁰
 +niar(3) (*near future*)
 +nir/nni (*narrative past*)⁷¹
 +niuja(r)(2) (*near future*)
 qqamminngit (*a long time ago*)

Copper

18. Frequency & duration

(a(r)) (*prolonged/repeated action*)
 dlag (*for some time*)⁵³
 dlagtainnar (*for first time*)
 dlidlagpag (*all the time/for a while*)
 ghaar(hi)(1) (*a long time*) %
 ghauvag (*never/not do though ready to*) %
 +hainnar (*always/repeatedly*)
 haritu (*take a long time -ing*)
 +himmaar (*all the time/again and again*)⁵⁴
 (ng)innar/innajug (*all the time/again and again*)
 (+juar) (*continually*)
 laur (*a while*)
 lihaar (1) (*for first time*)
 lraar (1) (*first*)
 ma(3) (*one after another*)
 nrar (*for first time*)
 nrajuut (*have never -ed*)
 phaar (*again/more*)
 qattar (*repetition*)
 qattaraanginnar (*all the time repeatedly*)
 qqa(raar) (*one after another*)⁵⁵
 raar(2) (*one after another/repeatedly*)
 (radjit) (*now and then/back and forth*)
 +tar(2)/+tur (*repetition*)
 +tarujaraar (*all the time repeatedly*)
 +tir(har)/+tiri (*one after another/bit by bit*)
 tqaar (*first*)
 tqig (*again/further*)
 +tuinnar (*all the time*)
 +vag(1) (*repeated/habitual action*)⁵⁷

19. Tense

dja (1) (*should/shall*)⁵⁸
 ghaar(2) (*long ago*)
 ghau (*near future*)⁵⁹
 ghaunahuar/+hunngunahuar (*will some time*) %
 +hunngu (*intended future*)
 +hunngulir (*will very soon*)
 +jumaar (*vague future*)⁶⁰
 lihaar(2) (*have just*)⁶¹ %
 lrammir/tqammir (*recently*)
 +nialir (*will soon*)
 +niar(2) (*future*)
 +vag(2) (*past*)

North Slope

ataq/lrataq(2) (*for a long time*)
 dlaa (*one after another*)⁶⁵
 dlak (*the whole time/way*)⁶⁶
 juirsaaq (*for last time*)
 kasak (*regularly*)
 lait(2) (*never*)
 laq (*repetition*)
 +(m)mižaq (*once in a while*)
 pasangit (*a short time*)⁶⁷
 (+sa)qqaq(1) (*first*)
 suit(2) (*never*)
 sungaiññaq (*all the time*)
 suu/guu (*always/continuously/habitually*)⁶⁸
 tqik(2) (*again*)
 +tuaq (*continuously/for a time*)
 +tuiññaq/iññaq (*continuously*)
 vsaaq (*again*)
 +žaq/gaq (*would each time*)⁷⁰
 +žaraaq/gaaq (1) (*leisurely for a while*)⁷⁰
 +žaraq/gaq (*repetition*)⁷⁰
 +žari/gari (*habitually/each time*)⁷⁰

West Greenlandic

20. Modality

+gunanngit (*certainly not*)⁵⁶
 +gunar(2) (*it seems/no doubt*)
 +junnarsi (*probably/no doubt*)⁵⁷
 +naviar(sima)nngit (*certainly not*)⁵⁶
 nnguatsiar (*probably/as far as one can see*)⁵⁸
 qqajaqi (*would – if*)
 (ssa)qquur/qquqi (*undoubtedly/must have*)⁵⁸
 (ssa)+sima(3) (*apparently*)⁵⁹
 (+sima)ssa(2) (*should have/be*)
 ssagalar (*should/would – if*)

21. Negation

+galuanngit (*not a bit/didn't however*)
 nngilluinnar (*not at all*)
 nngit (*not*)
 nngitsuur (*happen not to*)
 nnguannngit (*not a bit*)
 +(r)piannngit (*not really*)
 qqajanngit (*not at all*)
 vinngit (*not really/at all*)⁶⁰

22. Subjective coloration

ataar(2) (*in a big way – exclamatory*)
 +gallar(2)⁶¹/laar(2) (*imperative softener*)
 +galuar(2) (*sure/formerly – but*)
 +galuttuaqi/+galuttuar (*now we'll see/look out*)
 +gi/gu (*and so (at length)/moreover*)⁶⁴
 (+s)innar(2) (*just*)
 kasig/kassag (*disdain/complicity/naughty/poor*)⁶⁵
 (kisar) (*negative imperative – stop -ing*)
 kulug(2) (*dear/bad*)
 (ria)llar (*vivid/surprising action*)⁶⁶
 llariaa (*negative imperative strengthener*)
 llarumaar (*just wait and see*)
 llassa (*just wait and see – more definite*)
 +(l)luinnar(2) (*really*)
 +(m)mi (*and then – vivid*)
 +nir(4) (*imperative softener*)
 +nir (*I wonder/don't know/maybe*)
 nnguar(2) (*affection/comfort*)
 (nguṣar) (*thank heavens/dear*)
 qi (*intensity/very*)⁶⁷
 qina (*there's danger that/take care not to*)⁶⁸

Tarramiut

qqa(m)mir (*recently*)
 qqau(laur) (*recent past*) %
 (tsali)rataar (*recent past*)
 (+ju)viniq (1)⁷²/viniu (*general past*) %

gajalauju (*would have – if*)
 gajar/najar (*would – if*)⁷³
 gunaitsa(r) (*seem like perhaps*)
 gunatsa(r) (*be likely/seemingly*)
 (d)janngit/(dja)gunnai(r)(2) (*certainly not*)⁷⁴
 +niuja(r)(3) (*for sure*)
 +niujanngit (*definitely (will) not*)
 nnginiujakasannngit (*quite definitely*)
 nngiratar (*clearly not*)
 qquu(r) (*probably/it seems*)⁷⁵
 ratar (*you see/it's a fact that*) %
 +sima(3) (*apparently*)
 +vadlai(2) (*probably/apparently*)³¹
 +valug(3) (*probably/apparently*)³¹

kasannngit (*not at all*)⁷⁶
 lunngilir (*not at all*)
 mmait (*not yet – what usually/supposed to do*) %
 nngi(m)marig (*not at all*)
 nngi(t) (*not*)⁷⁷
 nngiuma (*not for a long time*) %
 +(t)taili (*refuse to/refrain from*)⁷⁸ %

(kku)alug/raalug (*bad/'the hell'*) %
 apig(2) (*dear/little*)
 dluku (*surprise*)
 dluumi (*exertion/strong feeling*)
 +galuar(2) (*sure/formerly – but*)⁷⁹
 gi/kki/(m)mi (*again/also*)⁸⁰
 gulug (*dear little*)
 kulug (*poor little*)
 laqi (*and so*)⁴⁸
 laur(2) (*imperative softener*)⁸¹
 mmariig(2) (*really*)
 ngaar(2) (*preferably/instead*) %
 +pag(2) (*imperative strengthener*)
 +sidjuu (*regret/humiliation*) %
 tsa(r) (*emphatic/very much*)⁸²
 tsaluliri (*again as usual*)
 tsangaar/tsangaalir (*with pleasure/lucky you/him*) %
 tuinna(r)(2) (*simply*)

20 Modality

dja (2) (*must/probably*)
 dlangniaraluar (*could – warning*) %
 +jungnait/+jungnair(2) (*will certainly not*)⁶²
 +jungnar(hi) (*no doubt/probably*)⁶³
 +nagha (*might – in future*)⁶⁴ %
 +niaqqaar (*would have – if*) %
 nngittungnait (*will definitely*)
 qquunngit (*no doubt not*)⁶⁶
 qquur (*no doubt*)
 +vadlag(2) (*perhaps/they say*)⁶⁵

+gajait/+najait (*would not*)
 +gajaq (*would – if*)
 (+si)ma(2) (*apparently*)
 +najaq (*would – in right circumstances*)
 ngitpadliq (*probably not*)
 sugnait/ngitčugnaq⁷² (*probably not*)
 sugnaq⁷² (*probably/seem like*)
 +vadliq(3) (*probably/apparently*)
 +viaq (*might/be liable to*) %

21. Negation

juit(2) (*not (at all/really)*)
 laanngit (*not at all*)
 nngit (*not*)⁶⁸
 nngidluar (*not at all*)
 +(r)pianngit (*not at all*)
 +(t)tai (*don't – imperative*)⁶⁷ %

ngisiq (*could have but didn't*) %
 ngit (*not*)
 ngižžuiññaq (*not at all*)
 +siqingit (*not bother to*)⁷³ %

22. Subjective coloration

(ria)dlag (*imperative modifier*)⁶⁹
 +galuar(2) (*sure/formerly – but*)
 gi (*again/too/and then*)⁷⁰
 (ng)innar(2) (*just/simply*)⁷¹
 +junar (*really/sure*)⁷²
 kar(2) (*intensity*)
 liqqaar (*imperative softener*)
 lraar(2) (*vivid action/really*) %⁷⁴
 lugtar (*sympathy/amusement*)⁷³
 lugtaraluar (*it was a pity that*)
 +(ng)mi (*again/too/and then*)
 +nahir (*disdain/miserably*)
 +(n)nir/nnir (*obviously/apparently*) %
 nngur(3) (*lucky (you)*)
 nnuar/nnguar (*dear/little*)
 +(r)piar(2) (*really*)
 +valir/+vadlar/+vattialir (*intensity*)⁷⁴

dlaq (*vivid action*)
 +galuaq(2) (*sure/formerly – but*)
 lgit (*again/and then/as usual/so*)⁷⁴
 +(m)mi (*also/why!*)⁷⁵
 ngnguq(2) (*lucky you*) %
 nguluk (*affection/smallness*)
 +niaq(2)/+saq(3) (*imperative softener*)⁷⁶
 +niq (*obviously/apparently/I found out*)⁶⁹
 pajuk (*pity*)
 piaq(2) (*really*)
 (ng)uža(a)q(2) (*sympathy/affection*)
 +žaraaq/gaaq(2) (*let's – imperative*)

West Greenlandic

ratar (at last/surprise)⁶⁹
 riannguar (vivid – often for discovery)
 riar(2) (vivid action)⁷⁰
 riassa (let's/why don't you)⁷⁰
 ssaqqaar (will – just wait and see)
 +vallaar(2) (so very much)
 vig/vissur(2) (really)

23. Conjunctional

+gaa(-ngat) (whenever)⁷¹
 +galuar(-mat/-luni/-tuq) (although)
 (ssa)+galuar (-pat) ((even) if)⁷²
 (+s)innar (-tuq/-luni) (after)⁷⁶
 +juma/qqu (-lluni) (in order to)⁷³
 llar(-mat) (just as – vivid)
 ngaar(-mat) (because so much)⁷⁴
 ngajalir(-suq) (just before)
 +niaqa(-luni) (just as/even though)
 +niar(-luni/-tuq) (while)
 +niariar(-tuq) (just after)
 +niassa(-mmat) (so that)
 +niassaqa(-luni) (though one should have)
 +nir(-suq) (if perhaps/I wonder)
 nngikkallar(-mat) (before)⁷⁵
 (lla)nnguar(-ani/-nani) (without even/in the least)
 qqaar(-luni/-mat) (only/just after)
 qqajanngit(-suq) (long before)
 riallar(-mat/-tuq) (when – surprise)
 riar(-mat/-pat) (as soon as)
 riar(-luni) (after)
 ruttur(-tuq) (just as)
 +(t)siisiga(-lugu) (until)⁷⁷
 ssa(-nani) (without)
 ssaqqaar(-tuq) (while still)
 +tit(-lugu) (while)
 +tit(-nagu) (until/before)
 utiga(-lugu) (at same time as)⁷⁸

24. Nominalizers

+gajuuq (one who often)
 kkajaaq (one that is rather)
 llammak (one good at)
 +naq (how – it is!)
 +niaq (one who tries to)
 +niku(q) (remains of/one who has -ed)
 +niq (1) (state/result/action)¹⁰³
 (+niq)(2) (the most/more)
 +nirpaaq/+nirsaq (the most)⁷⁹
 +nirtuuq (one who strongly)
 +niut (thing for -ing)
 nnguarši (how –!)
 +(r)paluk (sound of)
 qat (1) (fellow in/at)
 qqaaq (s.th.newly -ed/one who has just)

Tarramiut

+galuar(-uni/-suni) (although)⁸³
 giiratarti(t)(-lugu) (just after)
 juma(-dluni/-tsuni) (in order to)⁸⁴
 launngiluaraapitti(t)(-lugu) (just before)
 laur(ti(t))(-lugu) (after)
 laur(-ani) (before/without)
 +(m)ma(-ngaar) (whether)
 qqaa(r)(-nani) (before)⁸⁵
 qqaa(r)(-luni) (after)
 qu(-dlugu) (in order to)
 +(t)siari(-dlugu) (until)
 +tit(-lugu) (while)⁸⁶
 +tit(-nagu) (before)⁸⁶
 tsa(laa)ruar(-mat) (for fear that) %
 (li)tuar(-mat) (as soon as)⁸⁷
 tuar(-pat) (as soon as – in future)

giaq (1) (one's action)¹⁰³ %
 (giikkut) (protection against)
 gunaq (s.th.which seems to – esp. as exclam.)
 (idjaq) (frostbite in one's –)
 irudjaq (one deprived of)
 ituaq (s.th. one goes to fetch)
 +jaq (passive participle)⁸⁸
 +ji (agent/-er)
 jiaq (one unintentionally -ed)⁸⁹
 +juq (active intransitive participle)
 kkariṭtuq/kkiniq (one good at)
 (+ni)ku (remains of)⁹⁰
 liniq (one good at/used to -ing)⁹¹
 +mii(k) (how –!)⁹² %
 +niarut/+niut (means for catching)

23. Conjunctional

(g)arhi(-ngmat) (*as soon as*)
 dlag/ttag(-mat) (*because so*)
 +gaa(-ngat/-luni) (*whenever*)⁷⁵
 +gai(-gpat) (*whenever – in future*)
 +galuar(-mat) (*although*)⁷⁶
 +galuar(-nani) (*without even*)
 +galuaqqaar(-huni) (*having previously/first*)
 (+hima)ghaar(-mat) (*scarcely – when*)
 ghaaraluar(-mat) (*some time after*)
 +himait(-tuq) (*without*)
 +(t)hir/(t)hiuti(-blugu) (*while*)
 (ng)innarpagtit(-lugu) (*scarcely – when*)
 +jungnair(-huni) (*without*)
 lair(-nagu) (*so that not*) %
 lihaar(-mat) (*as soon as*)⁷⁷
 lraar(tit)(-lugu) (*after*)
 pkar/+tit(-lugu) (*while*)
 pkar/+tit(-nagu) (*before*)
 riar(-ami) (*when – vivid*)
 tqaar(-huni) (*after*)⁷⁸
 tuar(-mat) (*as soon as*)
 tuaraa(-ngat) (*as soon as – every time*)

24. Nominalizers

ghaja(a) (*((because of) one's having to)* %
 giaq (1) (*one's action*)⁷⁹
 +haut (*means for -ing*)
 +jaghainnagualuaq (*which one should –*)
 +jaq/gaq (*passive participle*)⁸⁰
 +ji (*agent/-er*)⁸¹
 +juq (*active intrans. participle*)⁸²
 +jutuqaq (*always/still*)⁸³ %
 lihaaq (*one who has just*)
 lrammiq/tqammiq (*one who has just*)
 +nahuaq (*one who tries/wants to/habitually*)⁸⁴
 +niq (1) (*state/result/action*)⁸⁵
 +nirhaq/(+niq)(2) (*most/more/very*)⁸⁶
 +niut (*thing for -ing*)
 nraq (*s.o. who for first time*)

dlaar(-man) (*when – vivid*)⁷⁸
 dlaqqaar(-luni/-man) (*after/when first for a while*)⁷⁷
 +galuar(-man) (*after -ing*)⁷⁹
 +galuar(-nani) (*without*)
 +galuaqtit(-nagu) (*before*)
 +juma(-uq) (*so that*)
 +laar(-man) (*to such a degree that*) %
 lrataq/gataq(tit) (-lugu) (*until/when at last*)
 +luqqaq(-tuq) (*immediately after*)
 +(m)mi(-urlu/-gaalu) (*just after*)⁸⁰
 +(m)mi(-žuaq) (*while s.o. else*) %
 ngaiñngaar(-man) (*before*)⁸¹
 +niasug(-luni) (*because*) %
 pkar/+tit(-lugu) (*while*)
 pqaužar(-man) (*as soon as*)
 qavigžungit(-ngaan) (*at time with few -s*) %
 qqaaqtit(-lugu) (*before*)
 (t)qu(-vlugu) (*before*)
 +saq(-tuq) (*so that*)⁸²
 utigi(-dlaan) (*immediately after*)
 +žari/+žaraar(-man) (*whenever*)⁷⁰

+jumman (*desire to*) %
 lirsi (*one engaged in -ing*)
 lraq (*one who first (time)*)
 lhaaq (*the most*)⁹³
 +naq (*s.th. that makes one –*)
 +niq (1) (*result/action/state*)
 (+niq)(2) (*most*)⁸³
 +niršaq/+niqtaq (*most*)
 (ngaaq) (*one who tends to/is rather*) %
 ngažaq (*one in state of*)
 pajaaq (*most/more*)⁸⁴ %
 qat(i)(1) (*fellow in/at*)
 +tilaaq (*abstract quality/extent*)⁸⁵
 un (*means/reason for*)⁸⁶
 unnaq (*clothes/tools for*) %

West Greenlandic

qqammīq (*one who has just*)
 (riaq) (*place/thing where one*)
 (rlaaq) (*one who newly/just*)
 +saat (*means for -ing*)
 +ṣaq/gaq (*passive participle*)⁸⁰
 (+ṣi) (*agent/-er*)
 +(t)sīiaq (*s.th. left to be -ed*)
 ṣṣusīq (*quality of*)⁸¹
 +ṣuq (*active intransitive participle*)⁸²
 usīq (*manner of*)
 (ṣṣ)ut (*means/instrument/cause*)⁸³
 +(v)vik (*place/time*)⁸⁴

25. Nominal extenders

giit/gīiaat (*a pair/mutual -s*)
 gik (*one with a good*)
 irniaq (*seller of*)
 kkaaḡ (*one with a big*)
 kkut (*and family/companions*)
 (kkuutaat) (*at intervals of -s*)
 ku(q) (*remains of/previous*)
 (kuurvīk) (*place for discarding*)
 liaq(1) (*traveller to*)
 lik⁶² (*provided with/owner*)
 līrṣaarut (*story/account of*)
 (līsaq/nīsaq) (*s.th. from last →*)
 livīk (*container for*)
 minīq/minaatsīaq (*piece of*)
 +miu(q) (*inhabitant of*)
 (qat)(2) (*fellow*)
 +siut (*means for going in/seeking*)
 ṣṣīaq (*s.th. intended for*)
 +sunni (*smell of*)
 +tuuq (1) (*one with a big/much*)⁵
 (+tuuq)(2) (*s.th. in a language*)
 uṣa(a)q (*something like a*)
 uṣīaq (*model/copy*)

Tarramiut

+niq (1) (*action/result/state*)
 (+niq)(2) (*most/more*)⁹³
 +nīrpaaḡ (*the most/more*)
 +nīrṣaq (*the most/more – of two*)
 paa (*how –!*) %
 qat (1) (*fellow in/at*)
 qqa(m)miq (*one who has just*)
 (qqījaq) (*more*)⁹⁴
 qqutujuq (*one who has much/a big*)⁹⁵
 rataaq (*one who has just*)
 (+ju)rataaq (*which is really*)⁹⁶
 +saut (*means for -ing*)
 +(t)sīaq (*s.th. left to be -ed*)
 +sidjuaq (*what a fool to –!*)
 (+sit) (*instrument for*)
 +siti (*one good at*)
 +siut (1) (*s.th. used in -ing*)
 suuq (*one which habitually/instrument for*)⁹⁷
 usīaq (*s.th. received as gift*)
 usīq (*manner of/action*)
 ut (1) (*means/reason/occasion for*)⁹⁸
 +vadlak/+vadlaaq/+valuk (*sound of*)
 +vik (*place/time*)

arnīq/+sunniq (*smell/taste of*)
 djarittuq (*which has a lot of*)
 ggīaq (*thing carried with one*)
 giik/giit (*pair/mutual -s*)
 (gummitaaḡ) (*meal at – time*)
 (ilītaq) (*protection against*)
 jaq (*piece/skin of/material for*)
 kkut (*and family/companions*)
 kkuvīk (*container/place for*)
 (kutaaq) (*one with a long*)
 ((k)kutsīq) (*such & such a part of*)¹¹⁸
 liaq(1) (*one travelling to*)
 lik (*provided with/owner of*)⁹⁹
 līrtaq/+miujaq (*made by/in*)
 littaq (*owner of*)
 +miuq (*inhabitant of*)
 nītaq (*something from – time*)
 (qat)(2) (*fellow*)
 qaut (*container/instrument for*)
 (rtaq) (*s.th. killed/eaten/broken/stolen by*)¹⁰⁰
 +siut(2) (*s.th. used for/during*)
 +talīk (*place for storing*)
 ṭsajaq (*piece of material*) %
 +tuuq/+tuurlik (*with a lot of*)
 ujaq (*s.th. like a*)
 ut(2) (*sack/bag of*)⁹⁸
 vadluq (*one with much/many*)
 vīnīq(2) (*remains/meat of/former*)
 (vittalik) (*one with so many*) %

Copper

qat (1) (*fellow in/at*)
 +tilaaq (*extent of/object clause*) %
 tqijjaq (*most/more*)⁸⁷
 uhiq (*manner of*)
 (dj)ut (*thing for/reason*)⁸⁸
 +(v)vik (*place/time*)⁸⁹

North Slope

usiaq (*s.th. received*)
 ūsiq (*manner/fact of*)⁸⁷
 +vik (*place/time*)⁴²
 +žaq (*passive participle*)⁸⁸
 +žaraaq/gaaq (*s.th. to which action is done*)⁷⁰
 +ži (*agent/-er*)⁸⁹
 +žuaq (*active intransitive participle*)⁹⁰
 +žugšaq (*one who should*)

25. Nominal extenders

giaq(2) (*one who goes in order to*)
 giik/giit (*pair/mutual -s*)
 +hiut (*thing for (catching, etc.)*)
 (idlaq/ilrut) (*place/thing without*) %
 (ilitaq) (*protection against*)
 kuq (*remains of*)
 lgiaq (*thing carried with one*)
 liaq (1) (*one travelling to/hunting for*)⁹⁰
 lik/ligaq (*provided with/owner*)⁹¹
 liqut (*means for dealing with/catching*)
 liuq (*one who makes*)
 +miutaq (*inhabitant of*)⁹²
 (nitaq) (*s.th. from last -*)
 (qat)(2) (*fellow*)
 tkut (*and family/companions*)
 ujaq (*s.th. like a/toy*)⁹³

giik/giit (*pair/mutual -s*)
 iḷaq (*one lacking a*)
 ku (*remains of/extra*)
 ligaaq (*one provided with*)
 lik (*provided with/owner*)
 +miuq (*inhabitant of*)
 +nisaq (*s.th. from - time/place*)
 (pak) (*present/last/all - period*)
 (qat(i))(2) (*fellow*)
 +sungniq (*smell of*)
 tkuaajaat (*team/children of*) %
 tkuk/tkut (*and family/company*)
 vaaluk (*sound of*)
 viñiq (*piece/remains of*)

West Greenlandic

26. Nominal modifiers

(+pa)aluit (*several/group of*)
 araq (*small*)⁸⁵
 (gi)+galuaq (*which otherwise/formerly*)
 innaq (*only*)⁸⁶
 (kanniq) (*almost/more or less*)⁸⁷
 kasik/kassak (*bad/poor*)⁸⁸
 kkataaq (*rather big*)
 ku(l)lak (*rather big/clumsy great*)
 kuluk (*bad/small/dear*)⁸⁹
 kuluuq (*big*)
 liaq(2) (*s.th. made*)
 +(r)luinnaq (*complete(ly)*)
 ngaaq (*considerable/large*)
 ngaatsiaq (*quite a big*)
 ngajak (*almost*)
 nguṣaq (*dear little*)
 nnaq/nnaaq (*main/favourite*)
 nnguakkuluk (*poor old/little*)
 nnguaq (*small/dear*)⁹¹
 pajuk (*bad*)
 palaaq (*bad*)
 palaarṣuaq (*bad/damned*)
 +(r)paṣṣuit/+(r)paat (*many/crowd of*)
 +(r)piaq (*real/just*)
 piluk (*bad*)
 rajuk/rajuṣṣuaq (*damned*)⁹⁰
 ralaannguaq (*tiny*)
 ralak (*bad/poor*)⁹²
 rujuk (*bad/big*)⁹³
 rujuṣṣuaq (*enormous*)
 +siaq (*bought/found*)
 ṣṣamaaq (*intended*)
 ṣṣaq (*future*)⁹⁵
 ṣṣa(tsia)ṣuaq (*which should have been*)
 +(r)ṣuannuaq (*naughty*)
 +(r)ṣuaq (*big/bad*)⁹⁴
 +taaṣ (*new*)
 +taq (*pertaining to/part made of*)
 tsialak (*good/nice*)
 tsiannuaq (*good little/usable*)
 (a)tsiaq (*fair-sized*)⁹¹
 tuaq (*only*)
 tuqaq (*old*)
 ugaluaq (*previous/deceased*)⁹⁶
 uniaq (*highest/chief*)
 ut(i) (*owned/belonging to one*)⁹⁷
 vik (*real*)⁹⁸
 (vvaarik) (*particularly good*)

Tarramiut

(ra)aluk (*big/bad/very*)¹¹⁶
 apik (*dear/little*)
 (la)araq (*little*)¹⁰¹
 aruq (*little*)
 (atsiaq) (*small – animals*)
 dlarik (*real/complete*)
 dlutuq/dluaq (*exactly/just like*)¹¹⁷
 galak (*small*)
 ḡasait (*several/group of*)¹⁰²
 giadlak (*a bit more*)
 (giaq)(2) (*a little – in a direction*)
 (giattut) (*many/crowd*)
 ḡuluk (*dear/little*)
 (tu)innaq (*only*)¹¹⁵
 +(r)juaq (*big*)¹⁰⁴
 kadlak (*little*)
 kak (*tiny/bad*)
 kasa(a)k (*almost*)
 kkualuk (*bad/damned*)¹⁰⁵
 kuluk (*dear/little*)
 laaq/dlaka(k) (*tiny/young*)
 liaq(2) (*s.th. made*)
 ligaaq (*s.th. caught*)
 lijaut (*carried with one*)
 limaaq (*all*)¹⁰⁶ %
 luk/lualuk/lurialuk (*bad*)¹⁰⁷
 luṣaq (*old/miserable*)
 mmarik (*real/complete*)
 nnaq (*favourite*)
 nnguaq (*toy*)
 paaluk (*very big*)
 pasuk/pasik (*almost*)
 paujaaluk/paliapik (*huge*)
 qut(i) (*owned/belonging to one*)
 qutit (*little – exclamatory*) %
 rajaat/jaat (*a great number of*)
 rlaat/rlaaraapit (*lots of little*)
 rlak (*big*)
 +siaq (*found/bought/met*)
 +taaṣ (*received/newly got*)
 +taq (*pertaining to*)
 tsaaq (*second/spare*) %
 tsain(n)aq (*the same*)
 ṣṣaq (*future*)
 tsiaq (*good/beautiful*)
 tuaq (*only/alone*)¹⁰⁸
 tuinnaq (*just/any/real*)
 tuqaq (*old*)¹⁰⁹
 ugaluaq (*although*)¹¹⁰
 vik (*big*)

Copper

26. Nominal modifiers

(aluk) (*big/all – period*)
 arjualuk (*young*)
 arjuk/+(r)juk (*dear/little*)
 dluaq (*real*)
 ghaq (*future*)
 gharaluaq (*which should have been*)
 giagtut (*group/crowd of*)
 gigturaaluk (*very good/strong*)
 (ng)innaq (*just/real*)
 +(r)juaq (*big*)⁹⁴
 kaphaaluk (*big/very much*)
 liaq(2)/ghiaq (*thing made*)⁹⁵
 +luk (*bad*)
 +nahiq (*nasty/miserable*)⁹⁶ %
 (najuk) (*poor/miserable*)⁸
 nnaq (*favourite*)
 nnguaq (*little*)⁹⁷
 nnuaq (*little*)⁹⁸
 +(r)pagjuaq (*really big*)
 +(r)pak (*big*)
 +(r)piaq/piaq (*real*)
 (+ju)raaluk (*big/bad*)⁹⁹
 +taq (*pertaining to*)
 tualuk (*only*)
 tuaq (*only*)
 ugaluaq (*although/former*)¹⁰⁰
 ut(i) (*owned/belonging to*)

North Slope

ajaaq (*young/half-breed*)⁹¹ %
 aluk (*old*)
 (aržuk) (*younger*)
 dluataq (*good*)
 (gik) (*good*)
 gšaq (*future/material for*)
 gšaqtaaq (*chosen*)
 gšizžun/gšiusiaq (*received as gift*) %
 kaaq (*usual*) %
 kkaluaq (*former*)⁹²
 kuluk/kuluužaq (*dear/little*)
 +luk/+tuk (*bad/poor*)
 łaužaq (*small portion of*)
 łhiñaq (*only*)
 ngnguaq (*toy*)
 nguluk (*little*)
 pajuk (*poor*)
 +(q)pak (*big*)⁹⁴
 paluk(2) (*what a big!*) %
 patluk(2) (*bad*)
 piaq (*real*)
 piarataq (*real/one who really is*)
 qqaaq(2) (*first*)
 salait (*crowd of*)
 +siaq (*bought/received*)
 sugžuk(2) (*big*)⁹⁵
 +taq (*pertaining to*)
 tčiaq (*new*)¹⁰²
 tqik(3) (*second/spare*)
 tualuk (*only*)⁹⁶
 ut(i) (*one's supply of/owned/caught*)
 +(r)žuaq (*big*)⁹⁷
 +(r)žuiññaq (*only*)
 +(r)žuužaq (*naughty*)

West Greenlandic

Enclitics

aa (*vocative*)⁹⁹
 aasiit (*again as usual*)¹⁰⁰
 guuq (*he/they say(s)*)¹⁰¹
 +li (*but*)¹⁰²
 +lu (*and*)
 +lusuuq (*as if*)
 +luunniit (*even/or/-ever*)
 +mi (*but/yet/indeed – contrast*)
 +mita(ava) (*I wonder*)
 +(t)taaq (*also*)¹⁰⁴
 +tuq (*would that/I wonder*)
 una (*you see/it's that*)¹⁰⁵

Tarramiut

aasit (*again as usual*)
 ai (*emphatic*)
 ataq (*pleasant surprise*) %
 guuq (*he/they say(s)*)¹¹¹
 kiaq (*I don't know/I wonder/ – or other*)
 +li (*but*)¹¹²
 +lu (*and*)
 +luqaa (*once upon a time*) %
 +luu(n)niit (*even/-ever/or*)
 ngaaq (*preferably/rather*)
 qa(a) (*isn't that so?/doubt*)
 qqaa (*first/before*)
 +(t)tauq (*also*)¹¹³
 +tuuq (*would that*)¹¹⁴
 unnit/uniit (*-ever/it doesn't matter*)

Copper

Enclitics

ai (*isn't that so?*)
guuq (*they/he say(s)*)¹⁰¹
kiaq (*I suppose/I wonder*)
+li (*but/what about?*)
+liqaa (*-ever*) %
+li (*and*)
+luunnii(t) (*or/even/-ever*)
qaa (*I wonder/suppose*)
+(p)tauq (*also*)

North Slope

aasii(ñ) (*and then – contrast*)
aglaan (*but/up to*)
ai (*isn't that so?*)
gguuq/+guuq (*he/they say(s)*)⁹⁸
kiaq (*I wonder/suppose*)¹⁰¹
kii (*too/because*)¹⁰¹
kiimma (*still/maybe*)¹⁰¹
+li (*what about (in turn)?/well/you see*)⁹⁹
+liqaa (*so! – surprise/-ever*)
+lu (*and*)
+luli (*along with*)
+luunnii/unnnii (*even/maybe/-ever*)
+suli (*and/still*)
+taimma (*as usual*)
+(p)tauq (*also*)¹⁰⁰
+tu(u)q (*would that*)

Footnotes to West Greenlandic list

1. Note also non-productive **+(r)pasig⁻** (lie to the ⁻), **sig⁻** (be rather far to the ⁻) & **siar⁻** (be a little to the ⁻) with directional stems. **+miit/+niit** can follow possessed stems.
2. **ju** following a double vowel, and **a** following a single /a/. Can be transitive in combination with **+suq**, esp. following **ssuaq**, **nnguq**, etc. (see footnotes 91 and 94) and can follow nominals with locative **-mi**.
3. **virut** after double vowel (similarly **vir**, **visur**, **vir**, **virluir**, etc.)
4. Also (older) **ngiag⁻**.
5. Occasionally follows a verbal stem – as can **+tuuq** under group 25. Note nominal **qqurtuuq**, and the combinations **+tugi⁺** (consider too), **+nirtu** (constantly/a lot).
6. Transitive = 'for someone'.
7. And **+taartur** (several times/objects). **+taar** can sometimes indicate repetition.
8. After plural noun stems **nukar**, etc. Note also **(un)nar⁻** following demonstrative stems (from Maniitsoq north **(un)ngar**), **mukaat(i)⁺** = 'take to', and non productive **lit⁻** 'come to'.
9. Note also non-productive **+var⁻** (move towards) and **qqut⁺** (pass to the ⁻ of) and **ngir⁺** ('take position to the ⁻ of', also 'remove s.o.' s ⁻), **+naar⁻** (blow strongly from ⁻) and **+sarnir⁻** (blow from the ⁻) with directional stems.
10. Also 'celebrate' (an occasion/festival). Note also **+siut(i)⁻** (be caught in – a storm, etc.)
11. And note **qama** (or just **ma**) meaning 'have/get a lot or all the time'.
12. Esp. following participial **+suq**. Also 'pretend to'.
13. **sir** following stems in **t** (similarly for other affixes in underlined **l**). Note also non-productive **li⁻** (make). Reflexively **lir** can mean 'put on (clothing)', or 'become/be/begin to' of weather phenomena, or 'take' – e.g. sugar.
14. **gi** esp. after adjectival stems in sense 'consider too ⁻'. Intransitive **naar⁻** = 'do more than expected'.
15. Lengthens vowel of preceding syllable. Added to (certain types of) exclamatory words or sentences; **rtur** for repeated action.
16. Also **+suusi**, esp. in NW Gr., where also **+nasugi/+nasuri** are common.
17. Esp. following **u** (be). Preceding **t** is dropped.
18. **rusug** after vowel or **r**-stem.
19. Forms with **t** following a vowel (or **t**). **tsir⁻** is reflexive and **tsii⁻** is 'half-transitive' (but can also be transitive).
20. **qu** is preferred to **quq** in at least Maniitsoq. Note also **qqusaanngit** (not be allowed to).
21. half-transitive **+saa⁻**. **+saar⁻** (reflexive) often means 'try to'. Note transitive indicative forms **+sa(a)raa**, etc.
22. Preceding **t** dropped; does not change /t/ to /s/ after 'i', in certain combinations of more indirect causation/letting. In reflexive (intransitive) use often means 'become'. Note also **+titaar/+titir** (cause bit by bit/have become) which intransitively can mean 'several times/subjects'. The combination **qartit** may have the causative or the 'judging' sense of **+tit**.
23. **+taali** or **tsaali** following a consonant. Alternative form = **+t(s)aaliur** (the usual form for some central dialect speakers).
24. **jartur** only after a vowel stem.
25. Also 'one' (impersonal subject) in final ('subjective coloration') position in older/literary usage. **+narsi** = 'become thus'. Note also lexicalized **nnir⁻** 'be good to' (negative = **nniit**).
26. **+sariaqar** and **+sima** can passivize a transitive stem; **+sinnaa** and **sariaqar** can also have a modal meaning. Note also **+sinnaanngur** (become able to).
27. And **+sussaanngur** (get to be that way). **+sussaa** can also have a 'planned future' sense. And note **+gallartus-saanngit** and **+gallartussaajunnaar**, 'not be about to ⁻'.
28. Usually **gaa** following an **r**-stem (retaining/g/) – also **+taa** – and (dropping) **taa** following **g**- and **t**-stems, but with many exceptions.
29. **jut(i)**, etc. after /aa(C)/. **ssut(i)** esp. following vowel stems or in sense of 'reason for'. Note also **iti(gi)** after stems in **i(r)** and lexicalized **t(i)** causing gemination. In plural-reflexive (intransitive) **ut(i)** = 'each other/reciprocally'.
30. Esp. NW Gr. (pronounced **kuttuur**); = **kuluur** in S Gr.
31. Also **alaar** and **atsiar** respectively. Note also **ruusar**, **ar**, **tajaar** and, on stems of size, nominalizer **jaaq** (rather).
32. Esp. before 'causative' endings; **rutur** preferred in NW Gr. Also **saar** (rather a lot), **ssaar** (greatly) and **vvaarig** (extremely (well)) and **ngaatsiar** (quite a bit).
33. Sometimes can mean 'preferably'.
34. Also (less productive) **qqig** (and **rig** causing gemination in preceding syllable).
35. Also **qqalaar**.
36. **jallag** after /aa/, dropping any intervening consonant (as for **jut** above). = **allak** as an exclamatory nominalizer. Also **kaallag** (suddenly/strongly).
37. Also **ami/imi** (i.e. lengthens the preceding vowel), and **(u)miar**. Note **pillag** (a little), **piraar** (rather /a bit), and **luar** (almost/a bit) too.
38. And **usaq** in NW Gr.
39. **+sinnar** after an **r**-stem occasionally (esp. under groups 22/23), **ginnar** after an **r**-stem or a double vowel (with /g/ not becoming /r/ after a uvular) – though usually **innar** today in the first case.
40. Or 'some time' (esp. after **qar**).
41. And **(l)luartaar** (at ease/relaxedly – esp. after difficulty). **(l)luar** + **ut(i)** = **(l)luut(i)**.
42. The latter more unintentional. Note verbalizer **(l)liur** (suffer from/have bad).
43. And as nominalizer, **qqissaaq** (NW Gr. **qqinnaaq**), which can follow nominal inflections.
44. With verbs of movement often = 'in a single movement'. Also **titir** (gradually).
45. And sometimes just **t**, causing gemination in preceding syllable.
46. **qqajaa(lir)** indicates a longer time of preparedness (both can also mean 'apt to/tend to'). In NW Gr. **qqinnaar** can also have this 'almost' sense.

47. Also + **sariir** in S Gr.
48. (+s)**ari** (sometimes **gari** after an **r**-stem) is narrative/literary – usually with indicative: (**s**)**araaq**, etc. Note also **rar** (esp. with verbs of motion) and +**sartar**, and less productive **saar**; also lexicalized variants of **ur** – **gur** and **urar**.
49. +(**t**)**tuinnar** is more literary. Note **uar** as occasional variant of **juar** after a single vowel.
50. Note also **llaataa** in NW Gr.
51. And 'bit by bit/one after another' or 'be -ing away' with verbs of motion; esp. used in NW Gr.?
52. Esp. NW Gr. Note also +**niassa** (strengthened intentional future), which in SW Gr. can be a modal strengthener. In combination with certain stems of perception **niar** can mean 'think that -'.
53. Also **qqammirniru** (more recently) and 'pluperfect' or strengthened recent past **qqammirsima**.
54. And +**simannisaannar** (have never -ed). +**nikuu** is gaining ground but is still not accepted by many (it has associations with +**niku**, 'remains'). Even +**sima** in the strictly tense sense may be rather recent. +**nikuusima** is also found ('pluperfect').
55. Also 'would' (especially narrative style) and 'should' in the sense of obligation – thus **ssanngit** (must/should not). Indicative = **ssaaq**, etc. (**ssuuq/ssiiq**, in NW and S Gr. – as in E Gr., where **tsavug**, etc. is also found).
56. Also +**naviarunanngit**. All of these presuppose some previous doubt.
57. Also +**junnar** – esp. in NW Gr. In interrogative sentences following **qanuq ililluni** = 'he cannot have -!'.
58. Negative **nngit** precedes. Can follow **ssagalar**.
59. +**sima** is most commonly used to report events in the past not witnessed by the speaker himself. Note +**nasuu** (**na** + **suq** + **u**) 'will probably' corresponding to **ssasima** in Maniitsoq.
60. The latter sense esp. in S Gr. (= **nngigiv**, 'not at all'); also **tanngit** and (at least at Maniitsoq) **laanngit**.
61. i.e., with singular imperative ending, **gallaat**. Following **ssanngit** = 'shall not' for the time being'.
62. Plural **llit**, relative sing. **llup** or **liup** or **llip**. Note also **ligaq** 'provided with'.
63. Also, less productively, **rnar** (in more limited sense of 'for first time').
64. Before imperative = non-immediate action. Indicative = **gujuq**, etc. – cf. (**m**)**miuq** from (**m**)**mi**. W Gr. has /uj/plus vowel where other dialects (incl. Thule) have /iv/plus vowel (e.g. **ujar** - <*ivar-, search). W Gr. **siu** from *sivu is a further step.
65. Occasionally also under 'manner' (miserably/after great effort).
66. Also 'very'. Transitive indicative = **llaraa**, etc. Habitual vivid action = **llaaraaq**, etc., in the indicative. Note also **llaqi** plus optative **li** (= 'no wonder!').
67. Indicative = **qaa(q)**, etc. (cf. **gaa**, etc., from **gi**); also contemporative **qalugu**, etc., like **galugu**.
68. Indicative = **qinaaq**, etc. (NW and SW Gr. **qinuug**, etc.). As negative imperative = **qinak/qinasi** (don't). Note **niaqinak** (try not to -) for future action.
69. Esp. with **qi** (**rataqaaq**, etc.). Note also **ratannguar** under 'manner' in the sense 'after much effort/difficulty'.
70. Esp. before an imperative ending (participial in case of **riassa**). In Kap Farvel **rajar** usually; in Paamiut **kkjar** after consonant stems.
71. Note also the common impersonal inflectional ending +**gaanni** (when one) – not found outside of Gr. +**galuaraa(-ngat)** = 'even when'.
72. And +**galuartit(lugu)**.
73. Also +**niar(-luni)**; in negative all can mean 'without -ing'.
74. Often exclamatory.
75. Note also **nngit(-suq)** and nominal forma **nnginnirani** and **nngilaatsiaani** (just before), and **sungar(-luni)** (just before), **riar(-nani)** (before).
76. Also **llarsinnar**.
77. And nominal form +(**t**)**siisaa**.
78. And nominal forms **utaa**, **llaataa** and **niariutaa** (just as).
79. The former more absolute, the latter usually the most of several. Note also +(**l**)**lirsaaq** from non-productive +(**l**)**liq** (most in a direction) – also **liq**.
80. Different morphophonemic shapes as for **gaa** (see footnote 28). Plural of **gaq** = **kkat**. Note **saa** can be a possessed form of **saq** or **si** (agent). Combination with **nngit** = **nngisaaq**.
81. Reduced to **ss** in Maniitsoq for exclamations. Plural = **ssutsit** (and cf. **utsit** from **usiq**).
82. In combination with **u**(be) (i.e. + **suu**) can mean 'is (the) one that' or a prolonged/habitual state. After **nngit**, **it** and **kit** = +**suq** (similarly for +**suur**). +**suq** also after 'i' +C (e.g. **lirsug**).
83. Also (**q**)**utaaq** and (**q**)**ut**. **ssut** esp. for 'reason'.
84. Occasionally also a nominal extender; doesn't alternate with /p/ after a consonant stem (as in all dialects). Less productively **vik** can cause the initial consonant of the preceding syllable to geminate. Note +**vissaaq** (new place) but +**vituuq** (old place).
85. Also **uraaq/iraq** (causes preceding vowel to lengthen). **vara** following /aa/ (and note **valuit** for the preceding affix there). Plural = **aqqa**. Commonly used in names in SW Gr.
86. Can also be added to verbal stems in adverbial (or verbal) function. Relative case **innaap**. 'i₂' plus **innaq** = **aan-naq** (but not so for verbal **innar**). Also found following nominal inflections like **-tut** (as also (**r**)**luinnaq** and (**r**)**piiaq**).
87. Can be added to dative stems in **-mut**.
88. The latter in NW Gr. esp. Can be endearing or ironic.
89. 'small/dear' esp. in S Gr. (= **kkuluk** in Maniitsoq at least). Note also **kulu(kulu)kuluuq** (enormous) there.
90. Esp. in NW Gr. (and cf. **rajik** in SW and E Gr., used as diminutive). Also **ruusarsuaq** and **ralaarsuaq** (usually just 'big/great').
91. Locative case **tsiaami** (and relative **tsiaap**), and **nnguami** (relative **nnguup**, plural **nnguit**), but cf. +(**r**)**suarmi** (relative +(**r**)**suup**, plural +(**r**)**suit**) and **liissami**, etc. from **liaq**(2). Note combinations with participial +**suq** and **u** (be) or **nngur** (become): +**sunngu**, +**suatsianngur**, etc., for protracted or subjectively coloured states and actions. Note also **nnguasik/nngivasik** and **nnguujuk** (little/dear) in S Gr. In NW & SW Gr. **tsiaq** is **tsaami**, etc., in oblique cases. The combination **tsiaruaq** may mean 'good' – esp. of something desired but not got.
92. Esp. Sisimiut and Maniitsoq where it has similar meanings to **kasik**.
93. The latter sense in NW Gr. Note also **ngaalluk** there.
94. Enclitic after adverbials. Note combinations with +**suq** and **u** (e.g. +**surssuu**) for intense or protracted states, etc. S Gr. has +(**r**)**sivasik**/(**r**)**suasik** – but Paamiut + (**r**)**savaq** (also found in Upernavik).

95. Note nominal forms following +**suq** (e.g. +**sussaq**) in the meaning 'I hope that'.
96. Also +**galuartaq** and +**galuaq** (relative +**galuap** or +**galuup**), nominalizers ('which otherwise/formerly') which can also be used verbally. Note also Upernavik **irniq** (deceased).
97. Esp. of skins, game caught, tools, etc. Also **qut(i)** after **r**-stems (can = 'thing on -').
98. **ik** after a preceding **u** due to the automatic nature of homorganic glide insertion in W Gr. (as reflected in the new orthography). Similarly for (**v**)**allaar** and (after **i**) (**j**)**a** and other affixes beginning with a semi-vowel.
99. Distinct from particle **aat** 'don't you think/won't you?'.
100. Usually **jaasiit** after a vowel (or with initial /a/ dropped after an /a/). Preceding /q/ becomes /r/ (or - esp. C and SW Gr. -[N]), /g/ - /ng/, /p/ - /m/, and /t/ - /n/, as with other vowel-initial enclitics. Also **aasit**.
101. also **nnguug**, esp. after a /t/.
102. With time expressions **li** indicates 'already then/ever since (far in past)'.
103. With 3rd person possessive endings = **nira** (or **rna/rnga**), etc. Note the **-niq ajurpuq** construction ('does not/cannot'), which in E Gr. means rather 'never' (and in Canada only 'cannot'); apparently less common in NW than in CW Gr. **-niq +u** (be) = **niru**.
104. +(**s**)**saaq** after 'i₁'.
105. With main verb in the participial mood; a construction common only in Gr. (also used with other demonstratives).

Footnotes to Tarramiut list

1. Also non-productive (+**va**)**sig** (lie to the) following directional stems.
2. **ngu** following double vowels.
3. Transitive = 'for someone else'. Note also **irsisiuma** (have lost for a long time). When intransitive, **ir** can = 'no longer have'. Rasmussen also has nominals with **ilaq** (one not/without).
4. Also +**lug** often has this meaning.
5. Also 'have on/use'. Note also **dla(r)** following stems in **ut** in this meaning. **lijar** can also mean 'play (instrument)'.
6. Transitive = 'for someone' (half-transitive +**sii**); +**sinig** is specially 'buy for s.o.'
7. Doubles initial consonant of preceding syllable.
8. Transitive = 'for s.o.'. Note **dja(r)** (= +**jaq** + **taar**) and +**taar(tit)** (give).
9. Note also +**muanga**~/+**muulinga** (situated in a direction). +**muar** only on directional stems (though general on Baffin). All these have forms with initial **n** following plural stems. **r** is found in combination with demonstrative stems: **unnga(r)** (go towards), **uunar** (go via). Also +**var** (move towards), **ngir** (put in position to one's -) and **qqu(t)** (-**si**) (pass to - of).
10. Also 'celebrate'. And note **ar** (-**si**) (pass by).
11. Combine with **lidja(r)** to mean 'begin to sound like'. And see foot 31.
12. Causes gemination in preceding syllable. Intransitive = 'hurt one's -'.
13. Reflexive = 'oneself'. Note also **idlima** (have hurt one's).
14. **ijar** of several objects or as ongoing action. Reflexive = 'have one's - break'. Note **idjaar** (ijaar after syllable with double consonant) has half-transitive **idjaari**, whereas **ijar** has **ijai** (thus with **i** after other stems with double/single vowel).
15. Also **irsi** in the first sense and **irniq** in the second (also 'buy'). **ir** used reflexively can mean 'deprive oneself of' (by lending/giving); after some stems it can mean 'no longer'.
16. Transitive = 'for someone else' (half-transitive of **li** = **lii**). Note **ili** (make be not -) from **it**, and **uli** (divide into so many parts).
17. And **lijaariari** (see s.o.'s -).
18. With +**taq** = **tsi(r)**, note also +**milir** (put in s.o.'s -).
19. And **litir**~/**litiri** (give several things).
20. Intransitive = 'do with one's - (body part)'.
21. And **mitir**~/**mitiri** (give several). Note **mirsim** or **mit-sima** with **sima**. Alternatively +**mig**, etc.?
22. Intransitive = 'have self made -'. Also (**n**)**ngur-sa(r)**~/**gursa(r)** (make s.o. -).
23. Transitive = 'work on (object or s.o.'s -)'.
24. And +**tui** (eat s.o.'s -).
25. Found esp. after adjectival stems of quality (as in other dialects). Intransitive equivalent = **tsa(r)** (+**sa(r)** following **r**-stem).
26. Following **it** (negative).
27. The latter also can mean 'celebrate a holiday'. Lengthens preceding short vowel. Transitive 'say to s.o.'. **la** can be used as an independent verb stem. **r** can also be a loan-word verbalizer.
28. Transitive **nngui** = 'make s.o. tired of (involuntarily)'. Also **lirngu** (be annoyed because). Harper has **nngug** for Baffin, but it should probably be the same form as in Tarr.
29. And +**niannguri** and half-transitive +**nianngu(u)si**. With question intonation indicates a strong negation (and **nginniangu** a strong affirmation). Note nominal forms +**niannguumut** (thinking/in fear of), +**niannguusimut** (intr.) and +**nianngu(u)rimut** (transitive) (for subject different from main verb's).
30. But causes dropping of **t**.
31. Either initial +**v** or +**p** following a consonant.
32. **tsii** = 'for s.o. else' (as also **tsii**); **tsi(r)** = 'for subject self' or 'in process of'.
33. Aivilik **pkar**.
34. Also can mean 'arrive just as s.o. -s'.
35. **saar** often means 'try', and is also used as an imperative softener; **saar** can cause gemination in preceding syllable.
36. **nnaug** after vowel and **t**-stems (**gasug** also after the former).
37. **jartur** & **jariir** only after vowels, **tsa(r)tur** and **tsariir** after **t**-stems.

38. Also **tarni(r)** following a t-stem, and (non-productive) +**nir** (opposite = +**niit**), as in other dialects.
39. Also nominal **gialik**.
40. With **qu** when the subject is 3rd person.
41. Also 'be a good time for'. Note too +**naqi** (become such as to) besides +**narsi**. Probably present in **qarnai** ('oh for a -') on nominal stems.
42. **gut(i)**, etc. after double vowel. Also in lexicalized forms **gguti/qquti** and **kkuti**. In plural intransitive use = 'reciprocally'. Passive participle = **udjaq**. Note also **udju(r)** on list. half-transitive = **udji**. Otherwise forms with the /i/ are usual (as in West) in such affixes in/t(i)/.
43. And **giadlaa** (several).
44. Port Harrison **qqajar**.
45. Also **vingaar**. **tsangualir** is an intensifier (group 22?) in Koartak at least, and (r)**luqi** in Itivimmiut, apparently.
46. Also nominalizer **turjuinaq**.
47. And **kadlaa** (several times). **kaadlag** is the usual form on Baffin at least, though Schneider has **kadla(g)**, which also corresponds to **kadlak** ('dear') little' used verbally for subjective coloration.
48. With indicative endings and a preceding clause in the causative.
49. And note **tuinnamuur** (do simply out of -).
50. Esp. following passive.
51. Note also **nnga(r)** (begin to be in state of) & **ngajaag** (almost/rather - state).
52. Frequentive = +**niuarta(r)**/ +**niujarar**.
53. Transitive = 'make become'. +**li** after some (adjectival) stems.
54. Also (+**si**)**majaar** (longer duration) - sometimes just **ma**. Preceding **t** truncated. Can passivize a transitive stem. +**sima** can also represent a perfect tense.
55. **vadlia** also can cause dropping.
56. Also 'a little'. Half-transitive **dlai** or **dlanig**. **dlaa** = 'several times'.
57. And **nginna(r)** - esp. after double vowel. As a verbalizer can mean 'have/use only -'. **inna(r)** can also mean 'only', like **tuinna(r)**.
58. Esp. with future or imperative. Occasionally also **dju(r)** in this meaning.
59. Also **kartaa(r)** and **katar** and (Fort Chimo) **qig** (several times/a long time). **kitaar** = over a longer time.
60. = 'recent past' in Port Harrison. Elsewhere esp. with future (**laukanniar**) and imperative.
61. = Itivimmiut (**k**)**kanni(r)** (again/still more). Note **liq-qitaar** (again several times).
62. Also 'ongoing action'. **rar** & **jar** found too.
63. Aivilik **psaar/psaaq**, Baffin and Iglulik **ssaar/ssaaq**.
64. Also +**tui**. Can mean 'ongoing action' and 'a little'. Also +**sur**.
65. But can also be from +**tur** (eat, etc.) plus **uma** (ongoing state).
66. Also **uqqa(r)**.
67. Also (dropping) **vag** and **tsavag** (esp. before imperative). **valaur** = 'often - in past'.
68. And **langajuviniq** = 'should have' and **langalauju/lan-galaur** = 'was almost/on point of'.
69. Esp. 'yesterday/the week/month before'. Implies presence of speaker at event. Can be preceded by **ratar**. Note **laulaar** (will have).
70. **tsa(r)** can precede any tense affix (and also **qattar**) - more vivid? Note the use of **lir** to soften imperatives and in +**miilir** (have just arrived in). **lir** is found following 'another' tense affix occasionally. This 'present' sense is sometimes to be found in W Gr. and other dialects.
71. **nri** following vowel or t-stems. Also **lirniir**. Narrative past - implies non-presence of speaker at event.
72. Nominal form, 3rd person. Other persons need following **u** (be). Used as +**nir** (but more common). Also found after the passive participle: +**javinig**.
73. +**(n)najar** following vowel or t-stems optionally.
74. And note **tsangidla-kiaq** (not - as usual) and **laur-simaniarunnair** (never again) - also combinations with other affixes of futurity.
75. Also **uqquutuq** (nominal form) added to any kind of word. Negation (and **lir**) can follow (unlike W Gr.). Can be used in interrogative forms (do you think -?).
76. **nngikasag** = 'barely/only just'.
77. **ngidlaq** after /CCv/. **lunnig** and **ludja(-gani)** may also be found as simple negatives. **nngilaq** is often used to form positive exclamations (how -!).
78. And (t)**tailinnig** = 'it is not forbidden to'. **ttaili** after vowel or t.
79. Also (dropping) **galuar**. In Tarr. and on Baffin nominal (u)**galuaq** following a participial stem is preferred in the indicative. Can mean 'indeed' in response to an actual or implied question/doubt.
80. +**ni** after negative **nngi(t)**. **gi/ni/kki** are used only with the indicative, otherwise +**(m)mi**. By meaning these may seem to belong under 'frequency & duration', but their position (and 'subjective coloration' origin) puts them here. Note combination with **lir**: **liri**. **gi** can be used as in W Gr. to form less immediate imperatives.
81. Also **guma**.
82. Also **jar** (esp. with negation). Often very little meaning. **tsaratar** = 'at last' (Itivimmiut only?).
83. Also +**galuarti(t)(-lugu)**. Note **tsaralua** ('while' - 4th person contraction).
84. And nominal form **jumamut** (and note +**nirmut**, and **qu(ji)mut** 'because of').
85. Note also nominal forms **qqaanginnisaq** (plus noun in ablative) and **nnginingani** (before).
86. Not used reflexively when the subject is the same as in the main clause, as it can be in W Gr.
87. Followed by **tamaat** = 'every time'. With causative mood verb, replaces **gaa(-ngat)** found elsewhere. Also nominal **-nitamaat**.
88. Also **gaq**, esp. for durable result. Note +**ja****tsaq** (one which should be -ed).
89. Also 's.th. one has at home which is -' +**tiaq** is more intentional.
90. Also can mean '(unfortunate) result' (+**niq** plus **ku**). In this sense can be verbal before causative endings (because, alas, -). **ku** causes gemination in preceding syllable.
91. Also (following **u** 'be') can mean 'result/trace of'. Nominal **liniumut** = 'by habit of'.
92. Or enclitic. More common on Baffin and in Labrador. +**niq** also thus used.
93. Note also **dliq**/+**(t)siq** with directional stems (also **liq**).
94. Usually with possessive endings (e.g. **qqijara** 'more than me'. Note also **qquaq** (equal).
95. Port Harrison **qqutuq**.
96. Esp. exclamatory.
97. Also **juuq**. **suuq** can be used verbally (3rd person only - otherwise verbal **suungu** for all persons) - 'habitually'.
98. Also (esp. after double vowels) **gut** and (after negation)

- lut. The former is more 'means/reason' and ut more concrete. rut can be 'thing related to body part'. All have alternative absolutive endings with i, such as uti. Note conjunctive utaani 'at time of his -ing'.
99. Also, verbally, 'have' (3rd person only).
 100. With animals and people's names (lengthens preceding vowel in latter case). Also migtaq.
 101. For animate beings only.
 102. Singular gasak = 'group including (e.g. me)'.
 103. Not so common in Keewatin area. With a transitive stem the object is indicated by a possessive ending (e.g. takugiarpit 'seeing you').
 104. In combination with u (be) = +(r)juu or +(r)juangu. rjuaq after vowel stem. Plural = (r)juat (but (r)juut found further west), relative = (r)juap. Port Harrison guaq.
 105. Fort Chimo also kkumiq.
 106. Also Fort Chimo qa (with time words only).
 107. Also lukatak, lukataaluk and sikak.
 108. With u = tuu or tuangu.
 109. And 'for a long time before/since'.
 110. Used verbally following participles +juq and +jaq (+jaraluaq in the latter case). Enclitic after adverbials.
 111. Also +guuq.
 112. Often with little meaning (e.g. in question-answer sequences). Note also (+lu)li (and -too).
 113. Aivilik +(p)tauq.
 114. Sometimes also in verbal use following verb stems.
 115. And nginnaq (esp. after double vowel). After interrogative pronoun = 'any'.
 116. raaluk often even after vowel stems. Cf. also vinaaluk with viniq and mmariaaluk with mmarik. Particularly common on Baffin.
 117. Can follow noun plus equalis case ending.
 118. To demonstrative/pronominal stems only (e.g. sukutsiq 'what part of it').

Footnotes to Copper list

1. And hig- (lie to the) – with directional stems.
2. ngu after double vowel.
3. And ittir- (have taken away from one) and ilgar- (have lost one's -). ilrit- is also found in meaning 'have no more'.
4. Transitive = 'break s.o.'s -'.
5. gi+ also sometimes 'act like/consider oneself' (reflexive) and 'call s.o. s.th.' – thus participial form gijaq plus possessive ending = 'called – by s.o.'. +juri, +hugi+ (and rahugi after r-stems) also found in meaning 'think'.
6. Also 'be a good/bad'. +lug- can = 'have few'.
7. And '(can) catch many' – also ar in this meaning.
8. Not common today.
9. And note nominal form +tuniq (place with plenty of).
10. And +hima(n)nair- (no longer find/see).
11. +taar (put on – clothes/get) can also be found.
12. Also lit- (go to).
13. +mug- and +muur- (go towards) also found. Also ungar/unngau- following demonstrative stems. Note also +var- (move towards), lrut/tqut+ (pass to the – of) and na(a)r- (blow from the –) on directional stems.
14. Transitive = 'put in/on' – cf. +munngaut(i)+ (take to). All start with n after plural stems.
15. +valug- (be heard/seen to) and +valuir- (no longer be heard) can also be found. -tun ittug is however commoner in all these senses of acting/seeming like. +vadluq- also found after verbal stems (group 9). Rasmussen has arni(lar) for 'smell of' under this group.
16. Transitive = 'remove/steal s.o.'s -'. Half-transitive = ijai-. djar can be found following t-stems.
17. Half-transitive irnig- or irhir-.
18. And laar- (do so many at a time).
19. Intransitive = 'is broken'.
20. dji after ut(i) and nominals in aq (with contraction). Note also djiit(i)+ (make for/with).
21. Transitive = 'for s.o.'. djar after ut(i) and nominals in aq.
22. Intransitive = 'be the same -th'. And note also +titkutari+ (be the same -th as).
23. Lengthens preceding vowel. May also be a loan-word verbalizer (no lengthening).
24. Note also nominal dlaqunaq/dlaqqa (I wish –) and, acc. Lowe, +niar plus the negative contemporative (I hope that –).
25. i.e. ttir, etc. after vowel or t-stems. +hiri can also mean 'want/try to'.
26. pkar after vowel stems. Reflexive can also mean 'become'.
27. Reflexive = 'try not to'.
28. +haar*(-i-) can mean 'try to cause to'.
29. jartur after vowel stem, lgia after t-stems. giar can also mean 'begin'.
30. Note optative langa-li in requests (may I –?).
31. Transitive = 'make that way'.
32. giir/giit can also = 'will not – for some time', and note giinngit (able/supposed to – after some time). For some speakers giit can also mean 'does not have to' apparently, and Lowe & Dorais have giir as 'have finished -ing' for Mackenzie.
33. Also 'have not done/did not do'.
34. Can also mean 'like to/want to'. jughi means 'start to do often' and acc. Lowe raajug is 'like to do by oneself'. Note lexicalized (gu)hug 'inclined to'.
35. Alternatively +jughaugaluvar.
36. Also +hur – esp. of catching animals. Note lghaut(i)- (compete at).
37. And +nait- (not be such as to). Also +nailrit/+naijar- (no longer be such as to) +nar- can also indicate an impersonal subject. Lowe has giaqar 'must be -ed'.
38. Transitive = 'get s.th. -ed for oneself'.
39. Plural intransitive = 'reciprocally'. Can also mean 'be surprised by – storm, etc.' Passive participle udjaq. See foot 88. Lowe also has qahiuti+ 'do together with – unintentionally'.
40. lviigi after t-stems. Corresponding half-transitive = +viu-.
41. = 'very' after verbal stems of smallness, closeness, etc. Also 'well'.
42. And +(r)piarpag (very much – all the time).
43. Following verbal stems of (sudden) emotion in 3rd person. Corresponding 1st person uses hugpiar. viar also found.

44. **ginnar** (following vowel or **g** or **r**-stems) and **+hinnar** (following **r** and **t**-stems) are also found.
45. And **kaadlag** (straight out/at a single blow).
46. Apparently also **gaar** after **g**-stems occasionally. Rasmussen also has **ralau**.
47. Also **garhi** (after **g**-stems?) and **liarhi**; none very common now.
48. **+hi(r?)** can also mean 'intend/want to' apparently. **si** is productively 'begin to' in Mackenzie.
49. And sometimes 'cannot'. **guir** after **g**- and **r**-stems. **ir** on its own can sometimes mean 'no longer'; Rasmussen also has **nir**.
50. Also **larhi** and **liadlag**. **laqi** esp. of weather phenomena.
51. Also **malir** and **lilir** (set about). Also sometimes **uma** (= 'on point of').
52. Also **+tar** and **jariir**. Note **ttiariir** (a little before already).
53. Also 'at a blow/straight out'. **dlaa** = 'once in a while'.
54. And **+himmaanginnar** for lengthy, intense action. Rasmussen also has **(r)lur** (again), and note his nominal **(hi)jaaq** (one who always -s).
55. And **q qararaa**.
56. Métayer's 'piag'; for younger speakers **vjag**. Also apparently 'almost' in Rasmussen.
57. Often with little meaning (a strengthener – or as **+vag** (2)?); also 'used to' or 'keep on'. Occasionally causes dropping. Transitive indicative may be **vagaa**, etc. (**-gaa** can cause dropping in other western Inuktitut dialects too).
58. Indicative = **djavuq**, etc. Used in giving an order/suggestion. Older negative was **djalaiq** (now **nngidjavuq**), etc. (and cf. **julit** from **juit**). Probably the direct cognate of W Gr. **ssa** (/ss/ there corresponds to Inuktitut /dj/ sometimes).
59. Indicative **ghaujuq**, etc. Note **ghaunginnar** (intends to – but doesn't). In Rasmussen's texts **ghaunnig** = 'mustn't'.
60. Also **na** in questions.
61. Also **raar**. Note verbal use of nominal **lihaaq** (when he had just -ed).
62. Also **+jungnanngit**. Note **dlagunngait** (will not for a long time).
63. Also **+jungnarhinngur**. Negative **nngit** precedes. **+jungnarhi** (or **+junarhi**) is the most common. **+jungnarhinnir** is 'very probably'.
64. **nngit** precedes. In second person can mean 'be careful or you'll –'. Takes **-vuq** indicative.
65. **nngit** can follow or (better) precede.
66. As an exclamation can mean 'you bet!'.
67. Before contemporative endings **-luni**, **-lugu**, etc.
68. With initial geminate /ng/. My orthography does not distinguish this from original /n/ + /ng/ as in **nngur** (2) on the list (and **nngu**).
69. i.e. (by contraction) **dlait**, etc.
70. **+ki** after **t**-stems. **(ng)mi** preferred to **gi** today. Usually in final position (following **(n)nir**, which in turn follows **+galuar**, etc.), though it can precede **(n)nir**, it would seem.
71. Also **+tuar**.
72. Note **+junarami** (causative mood), = 'how –!'.
73. Or **lugtaar?** Can be self-depreciatory (cf. W Gr. **kasik**). Possible also under degree: 'a lot'. Also **lukkar?** (cf. Métayer's **lukaar** – 'for fun/a bit').
74. Also **lraalug**, **valraalug**, **lirpag**, and other combinations not necessarily referring to repeated action. Narrative style (older?). Métayer sometimes has '(l)hra(a)r' – i.e. **hraar**). **+valir** can simply = 'begin to again'.
75. Also **+jaraa(-ngat)**.
76. And **+galuartit(-lugu)** + **galuaraa(-ngat/-luni)** = 'even when (ever)'.
77. **hartur (-mat)** and **+tainnar (-mat)** are also found.
78. Also **tqaari(-blugu)**. Less common is **+ta(a)r(-mat)**.
79. Also **+jariaq**. Used, amongst other functions, in nominal object clauses after verbs of asking. Note **giangani** (in order that he –); also **giagha(ani)**, which also can form object clauses (plus possessive endings). **riaq** can also sometimes mean 'place where one -s'.
80. **taq** after **t**-stems and **gaq** after some **r**- and **g**-stems. Related **jaa/taa** (after vowel and **t**-stems) is used as **giaq** for object clauses. Also nominal **+jaaghani** (the fact of his -ing), which in verbal use can mean 'he is about to –' (as **giaghaani** can), and **+jaangani** (when/in order to).
81. **dji** after **t**-stems.
82. Note **+jumi** (locative case) in meaning 'while' and **+juunnir** with **u** plus **nnir** 'apparently', the usual form of the latter.
83. **tuqaq** on its own means 'same old'. **+jutuqaq** is 3rd person only (verbal use).
84. In verbal use = 'is supposed to/trying to'.
85. Possessed form (3rd sing.) = **nra**. Not much used for individual action/state (= **giaq**).
86. And note **dlitq/+hiq** on directional stems. **dlirpa(a)q** = 'most'.
87. Note **tqijarjuaq** and (for verb stems of smallness, closeness, etc.) **tqijannuaq** (most). Verbalized = **tqijau**. In Mackenzie **tqijaq** can be verbal (3rd person).
88. **djut(i)** usually after vowel or **t**-stems; **gut(i)** after **g**- or **r**-stems sometimes. Also used as a nominalizer (the fact that –, etc.) – e.g. **pinngidjutaani** (because of his not doing).
89. **lvik** after **t**-stems. Sometimes also a nominalizer.
90. Also **riaq**, which in Mackenzie at least can mean 'during the –' as a nominal extender, acc. to Lowe & Dorais.
91. In verbal use (3rd person) = 'have' (as for many non-Gr. dialects). Plural **lgit**, dual **dlak**, relative **lgup**. Also **ligtaq** 'owner of'.
92. Plural = **+miut** (whole group) or **+miutat**.
93. And note **giujartaq** (s.th. like one's –).
94. **+juaq** following a consonant. **(r)juangu** (or **(r)juu**) in combination with **u**. Note also **hugjugaaluk** 'huge'.
95. And **lialrammiq** (s.th. just made).
96. Plural **+nattit**, relative **+nattip**. Indicates half amusement, half a pejorative attitude, acc. to Métayer.
97. Sometimes also **nguqaq**. Other such affixes of smallness are **lukkannuaq** and **araluk**. Note also **(d)luarjuk** (poor old) and non-productive **ruhiq** (little).
98. In combination with **u** (be) = **nnuu**.
99. **gaaluk** after **g**-stems only. Can be added directly to adverbials and in verbal use can mean 'very (much)'. **raaluit** (and also **+paaluit**) = 'many/all sorts of' – esp. exclamatory.
100. Also in verbal use after participial **+juq** (but also note **+juraluu**) and **+jaq** (e.g. **+jaraluanga**, 'although he – it'). In the sense of 'former/remains of' **vinig** may also be found, as also **+galuaq**.
101. **guuq** after **g**-stems, **nnguq** after **t**-stems, elsewhere either.

Footnotes to North Slope list

1. **guq** after **k-** (i.e. eastern **g-**) stems. Can be transitive in sense of 'make into'.
2. **gu** (Kobuk **ngu**) after double vowel. Similarly with **iq** and **it**.
3. Also 'injure – body part'.
4. Also **irsi-**.
5. Also 'have lost all one's' and 'wear out'.
6. Also 'call/treat as' and in intransitive 'put on – clothing'. No contracted indicative forms like **gaa**, etc. (these are purely Greenlandic).
7. And (less productively) 'be a good/bad'.
8. Also **qaqtu-**.
9. Also, in sense of 'hunt', **liaq** and **+niaq**.
10. And sometimes **q** after **q-**stems (as W Gr.) though usually **k**. Note **qqauq-** (have caught many).
11. Also **+taa-** (get (a new)).
12. Note **+muktit+** (send to). All these affixes begin with **n** following plural stems.
13. **rsiuq-** following demonstrative stems. Note also **q-** for movement following dative or ablative demonstrative words, and **tqut+** (pass to – of) following directional stems; also **ngiq+** (take position to – of).
14. **gzi** following **k-**stems.
15. Transitive = 'hit s.o. on – body part'.
16. Transitive = 'for s.o.'.
17. Intransitive = 'no longer good for'.
18. Intransitive = 'for oneself'. Also 'leave/discard'.
19. And on some stems 'injure – body part'. Note **liut(i)+** (make into).
20. Intransitive = 'be provided with'.
21. Also 'have pain in'.
22. **+gasugi+** following consonant stems alternatively.
23. Lengthens preceding vowel.
24. Causes preceding **t** to drop.
25. In indicative = **+jumaug**, etc.; **guma** following **q-** and **k-**stems, but **+kuma** also found following the latter (as for all compounds of **+juma/+jumi-**).
26. **tciq** following vowel or **t-**stems. Note alternative transitive **+(t)ciari+**.
27. And, acc. Webster & Zibell, **suruiq** (have had enough -ing) – for **sunngiq/sunriq?**
28. Following adjectival verb stems. Also **+silaaq**.
29. **pkaq+** following a vowel stem (**pcaq** in Kobuk after 'i'). **tit** causes preceding **t** to drop.
30. **tqu** following vowel or **t-**stem. Also **tqujuma** (esp. before imperatives (a strengthener)).
31. Intransitive often means 'try to'.
32. **tcaili+** following vowel or **t-**stem. Intransitive = 'try not to/avoid -ing'. Before imperative = 'stop -ing'.
33. **giaq** also occasionally seems to mean 'begin'.
34. Also **+jumaatcak**.
35. **+niaq** can also be found.
36. **juqtillaq** after consonants other than **t**. Also **lgutillaq**.
37. After **k-** or **q-**stems only. Also 'good at' (Kobuk only?).
38. See footnote 26. And note **+jumiñarsi** (become/make easy to).
39. **tciariaq-** after vowel or **t-**stem.
40. **junaq** after **k-** or **q-**stems.
41. **gut(i)+** after double vowel plus **k** or **q** (**>rut(i)**), **+žut(i)+** after **t-**stems (**>žžut(i)**) (and similarly for compounds of **ut(i)+**). The form **ti** doubles the consonant of the final syllable of a preceding vowel stem, keeping the stem vowel, except 'i₂', which goes to **u**. Reflexive plural = 'reciprocally'. half-transitive = **užži** (Kobuk **utži**).
42. Doubles consonant of final syllable of a preceding vowel stem.
43. Not found following **t** or a double vowel plus **k** or **q**.
44. Can be expletive/strengthener. Also **ihaudluk**. The combination /lh/ is the result of the assimilation of /l/ & /q/.
45. And **ngaglinga** (not as much as one used to).
46. Not found following **t-**stems. Doubles initial consonant of final syllable of preceding vowel stem ('i₂' becoming /a/).
47. Also **+vailauq** and **+vadlaaq**.
48. Sometimes = 'more/most' or, as a verbalizer, 'be a good', apparently. Jenness also has **dluaq** 'a great deal'.
49. Only with negative stems (cf. Jenness **kalangit** 'quickly' but Kobuk **kalanrit** 'not at once').
50. **+tiq** following consonants other than **t**. Can also have sense of 'just now' (tense) or vivid action (subjective coloration), it would seem.
51. **nmarigsi/nmarigsaaq** after stems in **t**.
52. And in Inuvik at least **piadlait** = 'hardly have any – to –'.
53. In the latter sense expresses surprise.
54. **juq** after consonants other than **t**. Note also **+suqtillaq** (one's best) as a nominalizer. Also **rsuq** (do a good job of -ing).
55. **tuula** following **k-** or **q-**stems.
56. **+nguža(a)q** following **t-**stems. **guža(a)q** following a double vowel.
57. **+kanik** following **t-**stems (Kobuk **nganik**).
58. **+karsi** following **t-**stems (Kobuk **(g)aqsi**). **garsi** after two vowels (with or without a deleted consonant between).
59. And note **+žaraliq** (begin frequently/repeatedly).
60. **lrataq** following vowel or **t-**stem, otherwise **gataq**. Can also indicate intensity/surprise (group 22).
61. **+sima** following consonant.
62. Also **suiq?** (see the latter on list).
63. Also **gli** following **t-**stems. Note also **tčak-** (become – sudden emotional state) used with verb stems of emotional state with **suk-** (that it replaces).
64. Either **taiññaq** or **laiññaq** after **t**, but **+taiññaq** after other consonants.
65. Also as a nominalizer **-dlaat** (each).
66. Can also mean 'hard' or 'at a blow' and can act as an imperative modifier.
67. Also **pasa(k)** plus negative contemporative ending (**-nani**, etc.).
68. **+suu** following vowel or **t**.
69. By meaning may seem to belong under group 20 (as also Copper **nnir**), but positionally (and by origin?) it belongs here.
70. **+taq/tari**, etc. after **t-**stems. **žaq**, etc., only after vowel stems. Also **+žaqtuq** (repetition) and **qatta(a)q** (Webster & Zibell have **kattaq**, and – more intense repetition – **kattaq**, both possible). Kobuk has **qataq/kataq**.
71. **+gisi** also found, but not as common as in Kobuk and Nunamiut. Can also mean 'intend to'.
72. **sungnaq**, etc. in Point Hope and Point Barrow (Kobuk **suknaq**, King Island **jungnaq**). Nunamiut has **+valuk** like Kobuk.
73. Causes preceding **t** to drop.

74. Note combination **lgiññiq** (I found out that/apparently – again) and, in Kobuk at least, **lgiññar(i)** for repeated action. Jenness also has **gi** here.
75. Indicative = **+(m)miuq**, etc., as in most dialects. (Kobuk **+(p)mi** or **(k)mi**).
76. Also **+juma**.
77. Also **+saqqaar (-man)** (when first).
78. And note ‘contemporative’ forms **dlar-mi**, etc. (see footnote 81).
79. Also with ‘participial’ **+žuaq/žaa**, etc. With the causative and conditional moods means ‘after for a while’ (contrast), but in the causative (e.g. **+galuarami**) can also be used declaratively (have been -ing).
80. And note **(+k)arsimmipkar(-lugu)** (just as/while about to).
81. Or **ngaiñngaan**, with ‘contemporative’ forms in **ngngaq** plus relative endings. The latter, and also **dlaq** and **mmaq** (meaning ‘while/when’) can take transitive or intransitive endings.
82. Following main clause imperative. Note also **+sar (-nagu)** (without even).
83. And note **dliq/+liq** (most – in a direction).
84. Sometimes also means ‘any/every’ apparently.
85. Can function as an object clause. Causes preceding **t** to drop.
86. **uti** before endings. See footnote 41. Can also be a nominal extender (esp. in form **qut(i)**).
87. **žžusiq** following **t**-stems. Can also mean ‘instrument’ (King Island at least).
88. Also, less productively, **aq** (thing resulting from action) – dropping except after /it/. **gaq** also found (after /g/ and double vowel only?). Note the verbal usage (‘transitive participial mood’) of forms in **kkaq** and **+žaq** with personal possessive endings.
89. **ti** (dropping) after **t**-stem. **žži** after **ti** or **si** (which is dropped).
90. In verbal use (MacLean’s ‘past indicative’) corresponds to transitive **+žaa** etc. Note that forms in **+žuq** (transitive **+gaa**) etc., are purely verbal (MacLean’s ‘present indicative’).
91. **ijaaq** following **a**.
92. And **+galuaq** (= ‘otherwise’).
93. Also (limited) **thujuk** – on adjectival stems of extension.
94. And **+(q)paaržuk** (very big).
95. Also **žuk** alone acc. Webster & Zibell (1970), but at least sometimes it = ‘small’ (as in **aržuk?**).
96. Jenness (1944) also has **tuag** alone. Other affixes on his list for Barrow, which *may* still be heard are: **araq** (small), **gajuk** (often), **ilitaq** (protection), **giikkun/raikkun** (means for preventing), **(gi)ja(a)q** (resemble one’s –), **ka(a)dlak** (quickly), **(k)kajaaq** (almost/somewhat), **gusiq** (secondary), **la** (now and again), **lit** (come to), **migaq** (do with one’s –), **naq** ((blow) wind from the –), **nraq** (for first time), **nnaq** (dear), **tčalungit** (it’s a pity – not), **nnuaq** (toy/thing like), **uri** (all the time), **naaq** (make be so), **uraq** (one after another), **paluk** (I’m glad that –), **(va)sik** (lie in a direction), **piluk** (in a bad way), **quqtu** (have a big/much), **(q)quuq** (seem likely to), **riaq** (early), **(q)utaq** (instrument/means), **žuri** (think that), **siun & saun** (means for), **sa(a)q** (quickly), **suniraq** (have finished -ing), **siqtuq** (pretend to), **suatčiaq** (piece of), **sungngu** (about to), **ju(u)q** (one who habitually), **taaq** (new), **tuqaq** (old), **tuq** (several times/things), **a** (catch many), **turniq** (a great deal), **vik** (real(ly)), **jaq** (would), **jarait** (quickly), **jugaqturnaq** (pleasant to), **jariaq** (about to), **laraq** (one after another), **užaq** (little), and **liq(i)** (again).
97. **ržuaq** following a vowel. Plural **+(r)žuat**. Combined with **u** = **+(r)žuu**.
98. Note form following */t/ as in **angutižguuq** (King Island **angutižuuq**), and following */č/ as in **iñuijguuq**.
99. Also ‘ever’ (with conditional mood) and ‘ever since’.
100. Also **ptuuq; vsauq** after ‘i’.
101. With **+k** for **t**- and **k**-stems, **kk** for **q**-stems.
102. = ‘a bit’ on directionals (opposite = **+taaq**).

Examples of affixes with no exact West Greenlandic equivalent

Tarramiut

ataq tikittuatar-li (*why, he is coming!*)
dluquumi aliasudluquumijuq (*he is suddenly glad*)
gar ataatarpaa (*he called him father*)
gijaar anaanagijaarpara (*she is like my mother*)
giaq audlariamik isumaqanngilaq (*he isn't thinking of going*)
giliut(i) Arpigliutivagit (*I took you for Arpik*)
giur natsiriurpuq (*he caught a seal for the first time*)
gummitaar unnugummitaarpuq (*he had his evening meal*)
ijartuisir aggaijartuisirpuq (*he tried to warm his hands up*)
ilaaqqut(i) tuttuilaaqqutivuq (*there are none of the usual reindeer*)
ilangar tuapailangartuq (*he takes pebbles repeatedly*)
innгаа(r) atigiinngaatuq (*she is not wearing her atigi*)
innia(siu) niqiinniatuq (*he is almost out of meat*)
(juma)jarsu(g) tiitumajarsutuq (*she prefers to drink tea*)
jiari katajjarivaa/katagaujarivaa (*she dropped it*)
laar tikilaarpuq (*he will come (tomorrow)*)
latsi tukiqalatsingitakka (*I realized they didn't make sense*)
lijaar puiji ijiljaarpuq (*the seal showed its eyes*)
limaaq inulimaat (*all the people*)
liniu kakattaulinuuvuq (*she is used to being carried piggy-back*)
lirngu Janimut niqilirnguquq (*he is jealous at J. for his meat*)
litainna(r) nirilitainnatunga (*I ate for the first time in a long while*)
litta(r) puijilittatuq (*he comes across many seals*)
littaa(r) sikulittapuq (*he's hindered by the ice*)
liuma sapiliumajuq (*he stopped from discouragement*)
liut(i) niriliutivagit (*I invite you to eat (with me)*)
luqaa taitsumani-luqaa (*once upon a time . . .*)
mmait atimmaituq (*he has not yet put his clothes on – though he should have*)
naaqqut(i) sininaaqqutivaa (*he found him sleeping*)
naar naammannaarpaa (*he makes it just right*)
ngaar audlalangangaartuq (*he is going away rather*)
nianngu(u)r aliasungniangurivaa (*he supposes him happy*)
nitsa(r) kaminitsapuq (*she is working on a boat*)
nngiuma adlagunnangiumagama (*because I haven't been able to write for a long time*)
paa audlarumapaa (*how I want to leave!*)
qaqqi(r) anaanaqaqqipuq (*he respects/values his mother*)

qqau tikiqqaujuq (*he came today*)
qutit taqajuqutit (*the little one is tired!*)
raalug piiraalugit (*get the hell out of here!*)
ratar silaqqiratarpuq (*the weather is good, you can see*)
ruutari niriruutarijuq (*he ate with great appetite*)
sidjuu umiarturasuarsijuugama (*because I had this lousy idea of travelling by boat*)
sima kiinarsimavara (*I recognized his face*)
(r)sur puursupuq (*she rummaged around in the bag*)
tsaaq qukiutitsaara (*my spare gun*)
tsajaq atigitsajaq (*material for making an atigi/parka*)
tsangaar tiitutsangaaqqunga (*I'll take some tea with pleasure*)
tsa(laa)ruar ilummuultisalaaruarama (*for fear (my boots) would let water in*)
ttaili pairittailivuq (*she won't look after herself*)
tuuma silaqqituumajuq (*it's been good weather for several days*)
unaar maruunaarpait (*he put them in groups of two*)
vaadlu(g) nirititauvaadlutuq (*he gets fed when he is no longer hungry*)
(ju)viniq itirtuviniq (*he came in*)
vittalik qimminik tadlimavittalik (*one having five dogs*)

Copper

dlangniaraluar tuqudlangniaraluartuq (*he could die!*)
ghaar qikirtamiughaalirtuq (*he'd been a long time on the island*)
ghajaa puadlaghajaangani (*because he had to fatten up*)
ghammaar uighammaaqqaa (*she wanted him as her husband*)
ghaunahuar audlaghaunahuartuq (*he will leave some time or other*)
ghaunrir paugaghaunrirtuq (*it – e.g. sea – can no longer be paddled through*)
ghauvag audlaghauvagtuq (*he is always on the point of leaving – but doesn't*)
hima(n)nait inughimanaittuq (*he didn't come across any people*)
(t)hir kiittirtuq (*he got bitten*)
hirtur nauriarhirturhuni (*pretending to prepare to throw his harpoon*)
hurhaar kiviipkarhurhaartaa (*he let it sink on purpose*)
idliur haviidliuququq (*he needed a knife*)
ilrit taangilrittuq (*he was no longer in the dark*)
ilrut nipaluilrut (*place without rain*)

innariilaqi pihuinnariilaqiuq (he became able to walk again)
juminaijar takujuminaijartaa (he made it difficult to see)
jutuqaq nirijutuqaq (he's always eating)
lair nungulairhugu (so that it doesn't run out)
lihaar audlalihaartuq (he's just left)
limait tuhalimaittuq (she didn't/couldn't hear)
liqaa qanurliqaa (however/whichever way)
liqutigi tugtuliqutigijaa (it was his own reindeer)
lraar hungunarhilraartuq (one is getting to be disgusted with him!)
munngau kangimunngaujuq (he is going towards the bottom of the bay)
nnag tugtunnagtuq (there are lots of reindeer (to be got))
nagha nanuq nuinaghavuq (a bear might show up)
nahiq qimmirnahiq (wretched/miserable dog)
navig qajarnavigtaa (he has broken his kayak)
niaqqaar tikikkumi tuharniaqqaarhuni (if she had come she would have heard)
ninngur niqighaninngurtuq (he got something to eat, lucky fellow)
nnir tuqunnirtuq (it seems he's dead)
paluir hikupaluirtuq (the ice has broken up)
qahiri aniqahirijaa (she wanted him to go out with her)
tilaaq uqartilaanganik nalujara (I don't know what he said)
tiraanginnar tikittiraanginnaqquq (he arrived without difficulty)
titkiig takititkiigtakka (I made them the same length)
(t)tai itirtailuhi (don't go in!)
utari iglautarijuq (she burst out laughing)

North Slope

ajaaq taniajaaq (person who is half white)
aq sitquaqtuq (he hurt his knee)
atčak imiatčaktuq (he began to drink heavily)
atčiaq avuatčiaqtuq (she's gone to ask for some sugar)
gšaq atiglugšaqpič? (did you get material for a snow-shirt?)
gšizžun qimmigšizžutaa (the dog he got as a gift)
ijaq qamutaijaqtuq (his car/sledge broke down)
jumaatčiq isagumaatčirsaa (she decided to get it)
jumiñaq aturumiñariñ (it's OK for you to use it)
jumman ikajurumman (desire to help)

kaaq savikaanga (the knife he usually uses)
ku maktakujumausi (save some of the maktak)
laaq siqunrirsaaarami atuqtuq (he's so engrossed in singing that his eyes are closed)
lgu igña arnaq uqalgužuq (that woman there is a gossip!)
liržuaq isiqtiržuauqtuat (they managed to get in)
(m)magaaq savangmagaarung (see if he's working on it)
(m)mi siningmižuq isiarsizut (she's sleeping and they are about to come in)
ngaaq imingaaq (someone who is rather drunk)
ngagli qiangagti? (has she stopped crying so much?)
ngisiq katangisiqtuq (he could have dropped it – but didn't)
ngnguq savangnguqtutin (lucky you having a job)
niala makinnialažuq tautuktara (I saw him trying to stand up – though he was told not to)
niłuk natčiq pilagniłukkaa (she's trying to flense the seal, poor dear)
niasuk nutqarniasugluta tautuktiržuarikpiñ (because we stopped I got to see you)
niraq sagluniraqpaung? (did he accuse him of lying?)
nnak saviññaktuq (he won a knife)
pajaaq takipajaaq (the longer one)
paluk tuttupaluk! (what a big reindeer!)
patłuk amma igapatłuktuq (she's cooking even though I hadn't expected her to be able to)
pqanga maktakupqangažugut (we're enjoying this maktak after so long without it)
qavigžungit amaruqavigžungiñgaan (when there weren't any wolves)
rłuaq atigirluaqtuq (she doesn't like the atigi)
sausit uqadlautisauitkaa (he doesn't have the heart to tell her)
saužaq iquitčaužaqtara (I embraced her without hesitation)
siqingit kamigsiqingitčuq (he didn't bother to put his boots on)
suit iglangasuitčuq (he smiles funnily)
tilaaq ipiktilaarung (check how sharp it is)
tkuajaat N Slope Borough-tkuajaat (the N Slope Borough people)
tlak(taq) kiutłaktaa (she answered him angrily)
tiqik atigitqigsuaq (he changed his atigi)
unnaq savaunnatka (my work clothes)
užaq savaužaqtuq (she's working quietly/poor dear)
vıaq qaiññagu, iivıaraa (don't give it to him, he might swallow it)

Alphabetical dialect lists

East Greenlandic (I)

aaŕia (-ami) (*every time*, 23)
 alittivaq (*now you'll see –!* 24)
 gaattag (*very much/greatly*, 15)
 gajig/gajik (*bad/dear old*, 22/26)
 galittar (*again & again*, 18)
 giaq (*why! I wonder*, Encl.)
 gitsi (*have less/fewer*, 4)¹
 guttag (*clumsily*, 16)
 (iŕit) (*lost/sold/dead*, 26)
 isaq/ilaq (*s.th. like a-*, 25)
 (laa)jarar (*must*, 13)
 kkaajuk (*intensity/very*, 24)²
 kkattak (*one that is very –*, 24)
 laŕaar/ŕiir (*perfective/already*, 17)
 liaa (*make into*, 8)
 lii/nii (*more*, 15)
 lur/lir (*begin*, 17)
 luur/liir (*make*, 8)
 luvik/livik (*container for*, 25)
 naar (*say that*, 9)
 naarcaar (*try to get to*, 11)
 nasii (*think that*, 9)
 naviiri (*probably*, 20)
 ngiit (*be discontented with*, 3)
 ngima/ima (*want to*, 10)
 nginnaar/innaar (*no longer*, 17)
 nginnar/innar (*probably*, 20)
 ngusug (*want to*, 10)
 niaannar (*will absolutely*, 12)
 (nikkaajuk) (*((be) one good to –*, 24)³
 niguunngit (*have never*, 18)
 nngivagajik (*small*, 26)⁴
 pattag (*a little*, 15)
 qqaar (*for time being/still/first*, 18)
 qqaartari (*there's danger that/take care not to*, 22)
 qqiar/qqiaannar (*just about to*, 17)
 (tsa)qqiari (*would -if*, 20)
 qqitsaaq (*exactly/without exception*, 26/Encl.)
 raa (*doubt*, Encl.)
 ŕuutsuaq/ŕuutsuativagajik (*enormous*, 26)⁵
 siar (*begin to*, 17)
 (t)siilit/(t)suulit (*means for going on/finding*, 25)⁶
 (t)siit (*look for s.th. for s.o.*, 5)
 tsa/tsi/tsu (*future*, 19)
 tsanganar (*probably*, 20)
 tsusiq (*quality of*, 24)⁷
 (var/mugar) (*go to – demonstratives/pronouns*, 6)

Polar Eskimo (III)

arhuk (*little*, 26)
 dlag(-it) (*imperative modifier*, 22)
 dlagaluar (-tuq/-mat) (*although*, 23)
 dluar (*really/completely*, 15/22)
 gadlar (*first/for some time*, 18)
 ghar (*get/provide with s.th. for a –*, 5)
 halir (*vivid action*, 22)⁸
 hama (*perfective*, 17)
 har (*fetch*, 5)
 hhaar/hhaaq (*a lot/big*, 15/26)
 hhiir (*stop -ing*, 17)
 hi(i) (*how –!* 24)
 hinnaaraanngur (*on point of*, 17)⁹
 hug (*want to*, 10)¹⁰
 huit/juit (*never*, 18)
 (hur) (*catch*, 5)
 hutuqaq (*still/all the time*, 24)¹¹
 huuhaar (*pretend to*, 12)
 innariqattar (*keep on -ing*, 16)
 ja(a) (*future* 19)¹²
 jaar (*about to*, 17)
 jair (*no longer/stop*, 17)
 jama/gama (*want to*, 10)
 jungniir/junniir (*no longer*, 17)
 kar (*suddenly*, 16)
 kiaq (*I wonder*, Encl.)
 liar (*hunt*, 5)
 lug (*a little*, 15)
 (ng)mi/gi (*again/and so* 22)
 miniq (*former/remains of*, 25)
 na (*may easily*, 20)
 nahugi (*think that*, 9)
 nauk (*doubt/what on earth*, Encl.)¹³
 niataar/nialug (*try*, 12)
 nir (*apparently/indeed*, 22)
 nit (*smell of*, 7)
 nnguapik/apik/apig (*dear/little*, 26/22)
 nnguar (*play at*, 7)
 nnguatsiar (*dear/a little*, 22)
 pag(huar) (*a lot/greatly*, 15)¹⁴
 paluk/palug (*dear/little*, 26/22)
 qa (-ngat) (*when/after*, 23)¹⁵
 qailanngit (*not have any*, 4)¹⁶
 qattar (*repetition*, 18)
 qqa (*perfective/past*, 17/19)
 qqaar (*recently/first*, 19/17)
 rajaannguaq (*tiny*, 26)
 rajaar (*terribly*, 15)
 taar (*get*, 5)
 (t)taili (*refuse to/will not – reflexive*, 21)
 tsiaq (*small*, 26)¹⁷
 tsiarar (*repetition/keep on -ing*, 18)

North Baffin-Aivilik (IV)

Ai.: Aivilik

Ig.: Iglulik

(ra)adlag (*imperative softener/easily*, 22/16)
 ai/ngai (*isn't that so?/hey! Encl.*)¹⁸
 ala (Ai.: *easily/quickly*, 16)
 alaq (Ai.: *small*, 26)¹⁹
 (ra)anig (Ai.: *perfective/already*, 17)
 (r)annuk (*dear/little*, 26)
 arjuk/arjug (*little/a little*, 26, 15)
 djaanngit/djaajunniir (*will (definitely) not*, 20)²⁰
 djaikkut (*means for preventing*, 24)
 djar (Ai.: *apt to/easily*, 13)
 djut (*reason/means for*, 24)²¹
 dlataaq/dlataar (Ig.: *real/really*, 26/22)
 gajalaur (*would (in past) – if*, 20)²²
 innaujar (*seem always to*, 9)
 (irsur) (*do so many times*, 8)
 jaraa/gaa (-ngat) (*whenever*, 23)²³
 jariagsaq (*action/state*, 24)²⁴
 jariur (*for first time*, 18)
 jugsau (*probably*, 20)
 jumalisar (Ig.: *I'd like to*, 10)
 ju(n)niir (*no longer*, 17)²⁵
 ju (*distant past*, 19)²⁶
 (d)juumi (*a little*, 15)
 ka(g) (Ai.: *a moment*, 18)
 ka(ng)niar (Ai.: *will soon*, 19)
 kaurtur/kautigi (*quickly/fast*, 16)
 kisaut(i) (*compete at*, 12)
 kkannir/kkanniq (*again/more*, 18/Encl.)
 kkaq/kkaaluk (*one who does a lot/well*, 24)²⁷
 kkiq (*one with a big*, 25)
 kulunngit (*certainly not*, 21)²⁸
 kusar (Ai.: *to the same degree*, 15)²⁹
 kutaaq (*tall/long*, 26)
 laaq (*most*, 24)³⁰
 launngitainnar (Ig.: *on point of*, 17)³⁴
 laukag (*for a while*, 18)
 laursimadjaajunniir (*will definitely never*, 19)³¹
 (lirtur) (Ai.: *do so many times*, 8)
 (lisaq) (*clothing for -body part*, 25)
 lua(r)(-mut) (*because so/too*, 23)
 lug(-ta) (Ai.: *lets –*, 22)
 lugtaaqaq (*all*, 26)
 minngaar (*come from*, 6)
 miutaaq (*inhabitant of/thing worn on one's –*, 25)
 munngau (*go towards*, 6)³²
 nasugi/gasugi (*think that*, 9)
 ngusug (*feel like -ing*, 9)
 niku (-dluni/-mut) (*because*, 23)
 ni(a)lug (Ai.: *try*, 12)
 (n)niir (*narrative past/Ai.: apparently/indeed*, 19/22)³³
 ((a)niu) (*live in -demonstratives*, 1)
 nnajuk/nnajug (*wretched/bad*, 26/22)
 (nngiq) (*one obsessed by*, 25)

palug (*a little*, 15)³⁵
 pasaar (*pleasantly/surprisingly*, 16)
 (pidlag) (*a little/briefly*, 15)
 qai (*maybe/probably*, Encl.)
 qa(d)jaanngit (*not have any*, 2)³⁶
 qalaur (*for a while – imperative*, 22)
 qammaq/qammar (*bad/poor(ly)*, 26/16)
 qataut(i) (*do mutually*, 14)
 qaur (*have many*, 4)
 qqajar (*almost do*, 17)
 quaq (Ai.: *no good any more*, 26)
 quuji (*seem*, 9)
 (vigjua)raaluk (*very much*, 26)³⁷
 (raikkut) (Ai.: *means for preventing*, 24)
 ralaqaq (*small*, 26)
 (rar) (*one after another/bit by bit*, 18)
 rujug (*a little*, 15)³⁸
 rujuut (*group/number of*, 26)
 (rujuq) (*and surroundings/about – place*, 25)
 ruluk/rulug (*bad/awful/imperative strengthener*, 26/22)³⁹
 (li)saar (*just now/for first time*, 19/18)⁴⁰
 saar/saali (*quickly/early/soon*, 16)
 saritu (*slow to*, 13)
 suar (Ai.: *want to*, 10)⁴¹
 suit/juit (*never/rarely/Ai.: can no longer*, 18/13)
 sungni(i)k/(sung)nit (*smell/taste of*, 25/7)
 suujar (*for a long time*, 18)
 taasaaq (*newly acquired*, 26)
 tainnar (*at last/Ai.: have just*, 17/19)
 tannaq (*short and fat*, 26)
 (tappiar) (*might*, 20)⁴²
 tlar (*intensifier/a lot*, 22)⁴³
 ttar (Ai.: *at awkward moment*, 16)
 ttau (Ai.: *have/be a good –*, 4/1)⁴⁴
 ttiar (*well/really*, 16/22)
 ttiavamarik (*really good*, 26)
 (mig)tuuq (*oh for a/some –*, Encl.)
 ugaq (Ai.: *long & straight*, 26)
 usivvik (Ai.: *container for*, 25)
 valatti (*sound like*, 9)
 vig (*really/for good*, 15)

South Baffin (V)

Do.: Dorset

C. P.: Cumberland Peninsula

F. B.: Frobisher Bay

(ra)adlag (*imperative softener/easily*, 22/16)
 ai/ngai (*isn't that so?/hey! Encl.*)¹⁸
 (r)annuk (*dear/little*, 26)
 djaanngit (*will (definitely) not*, 20)
 djaikkut (*means for preventing*, 24)
 djut (*reason/means for*, 24)²¹
 dlatuq (Do.: *short*, 26)

gai/lirai (-ngmat) (*whenever*, 23)
 gajalaur (*would (in past) if*, 20)²²
 galait/galaat (*group/number of*, 26)
 gusiq (*Do.: secondary*, 26)
 jariagsaq (*action/state*, 24)²⁴
 ju(n)niir (*no longer*, 17)²⁵
 ju (*distant past*, 19)²⁶
 (kadlak) (*Do.: short and fat*, 26)⁴⁵
 kaurtur/kautigi (*quickly/fast*, 16)
 kisaut(i) (*compete at*, 12)
 kkannir/kkanniq (*again/more*, 18/Encl.)
 kkaq/kkaaluk (*one who does a lot/well*, 24)²⁷
 (ju)kuluapik (*C. P.: because*, 24)⁴⁶
 kutaq (*tall/long*, 26)
 laaq (*most*, 24)³⁰
 (lisaq) (*clothing for – body part*, 25)
 lua(-mut) (*because so/too*, 23)
 lugtaaq (*all*, 26)
 luinnar (*F. B.: continually*, 18)
 (ju)miniq (*C. P.: former/remains of/past*, 25/19)
 minngaar (*come from*, 6)
 miutaq (*inhabitant of/thing worn on one's –*, 25)
 munngau (*go towards*, 6)³²
 nasugi/gasugi (*think that*, 9)
 niku (-dluni/-mut) (*because*, 23)
 niusau (*about to*, 17)³⁴
 nnajuk/nnajug (*wretched/bad*, 26/22)
 nngitainnar (*Do.: not yet*, 17)
 paaluk (*very/much*, 26)⁴⁷
 palug (*a little*, 15)³⁵
 pasaar (*pleasantly/surprisingly*, 16)
 patsiuk (*C. P.: wretched/nasty*, 26)
 qadlaq (*short*, 26)
 qalaur (*for a while – imperative*, 22)
 qammaq/qammar (*bad/poor(ly)*, 26/16)
 qataut(i) (*do mutually*, 14)
 ralaq (*small*, 26)
 rar (*repetition*, 18)⁴⁸
 ruluk/rulug (*bad/awful/imperative strengthener*, 26/22)
 (li)saar (*just now/for first time*, 19/18)⁴⁰
 saar/saali (*quickly/early/soon*, 16)
 suujar (*for a long time*, 18)
 taaq (*Do.: adopted*, 26)
 taasaaq (*newly acquired*, 26)
 tainnar (*at last*, 17)
 (tappiar) (*might*, 20)⁴²
 tsiavik (*very good*, 26)
 (mig)tuuq (*oh for a/some*, Encl.)
 tuuq (*there are many*, 24)⁴⁹
 vak (*Do.: big*, 26)⁵⁰
 valatsi (*sound like*, 9)
 vig (*really/for good*, 15)

Labrador (VI)

Rig.: Rigolet

a(g)gulak (*nice/small*, 26)
 ania (*repeatedly/keep on*, 18)
 atsuk (*dear little*, 26)
 (atti/ittu(g)) (*do so many times*, 8)
 dlaqi (*become a little*, 17)
 dluak (*one good at/big enough for/which suits one*, 25/26)
 dluatsiak (*real*, 26)
 dluqig (*much/a lot*, 15)
 gaa(g) (*say*, 9)
 galaag/galaak (*a little/a few*, 15/26)
 galag/galak (*now and then/almost*, 18/26)
 gasugi (*think that*, 9)
 gi (*again – unexpected/unfortunate action*, 22)⁵¹
 gumaluar (*prefer to*, 10)
 gusi(k) (*secondary/another kind of*, 26)
 hai (*isn't it? Encl.*)
 iqi (*have one's – exposed*, 4)
 (jaa) (*in process of*, 17)
 jaa/taa (-ngani) (*while*, 23)
 (jaagi) (*on purpose*, 16)
 juig (*never*, 18)
 (kaa) (*do so many at a time*, 8)
 kalau(g) (*for the time being*, 18)⁵²
 kammaag (*be wearing a – too big for one*, 4)
 kkaa (*too much/precipitously*, 15)
 kkalug (*badly*, 16)
 (nilu)ku(k) (*remains of*, 24)
 kuluk (*poor/miserable/small*, 26)
 kumig (*a little*, 15)
 la (*say several times*, 9)
 ((pi)laa(g)) (*repeatedly/keep on*, 18)
 laalir (*will then*, 19)⁵³
 ((d)laat) (*lots of*, 26)
 lautsima (*perfective/have before/once upon a time*, 17/19)⁵⁴
 (liqi) (*have a bad*, 4)
 liaqi (*start*, 17)
 liu(m)mi (*more and more*, 15)
 luatlag (*too*, 15)
 lugasak/lukak (*bad*, 26)
 (lutak) (*s.th. to make more –*, 24)
 luvinik (*a lot of*, 26)⁵⁵
 mmaa(g) (*a lot, plentifully*, 15)
 ngaaq (*Rig.: beautiful/good*, 26)
 (n)niar (*hunt/imperative softener*, 5/22)⁵⁶
 niat (-luni) (*and then -ing*, 23)
 niaqqau (*say that one would*, 20)⁵⁷
 (qqaa)nikisautik (*competition at*, 24)
 nngu (*be tired of/have a bad (sensation)*, 9/4)⁵⁸
 paa(paa) (*very much*, 15)
 ppalai (*seem like/apparently*, 9/20)⁵⁹
 ppalar (*sound like*, 9)
 qqaak (*big/most important*, 26)

qqu (*ask to*, 11)
 (qquag) (*hit on the* –, 8)
 qutigi (*like/find pretty*, 3)
 qutit (*useless/disgusting*, 26)⁶⁰
 saa(g) (*first/for time being*, 18)⁶¹
 saatlag (*quickly/right away*, 16)
 (sik) (*thing for -ing*, 24)⁶²
 simalir (*pluperfect/now that – in past*, 19)⁶³
 sinnar (*finally*, 17)
 (va)(t)suak/suag (*big/a lot*, 26/15)
 ta(g)/ga(g) (*repetition*, 18)
 tainna(g) (*finally (now)*, 17)⁶⁴
 tannak (*broad/big*, 26)
 tlar (*very/wow!* 22)⁶⁵
 tsia(m)magik (*real/true*, 26)
 ttaili (*prevent from*, 11)⁶⁶
 tua (-guni) (*I hope that/as long as*, 23)
 tuu (*cost/eat*, 8)⁶⁷
 (mit)tuuk (*oh for a/some* –, Encl.)
 (v)vadlaa (*sound like*, 7)

Caribou (VIII)

B. L.: Baker Lake
 E. P.: Eskimo Point

ala (*with ease/quickly*, 16)⁶⁸
 alaq/araq (*small*, 26)⁶⁹
 anig (*already/perfective*, 17)
 blag/bladnaaq (B. L.: *a little*, 15/26)
 djanngit (*will not (at all)*, 19)
 dluavik/dluavig (E. P.: *real(ly)*, 26/22)
 dnaaq/dnaar (*little*, 26/22)
 gai (-gpat) (*whenever – in future*, 23)
 gajak (B. L.: *little*, 26)⁷⁰
 gajug (E. P.: *easily/tend to*, 13)
 galag (B. L.: *easily/tend to*, 13)⁷¹
 gtuaq (B. L.: *big*, 26)⁸⁵
 gar (*repetition*, 18)
 haar (*recently/just*, 19)⁷²
 hi (E. P.: *exchange -s*, 5)⁷³
 hinnar (-luni) (*after*, 23)
 huar/ruar (*want to*, 10)
 ju (E. P.: *do well*, 18)
 ka(g) (*a moment*, 18)
 kadnaar (E. P.: *will soon*, 19)⁷⁴
 kahig (B. L.: *almost/fairly*, 15)
 (k)kannir (*again/more*, 18)
 kkuma (*want as*, 3)
 kuni(i) (*how –!* 24)⁷⁵
 la (*say* –, 9)
 la(hi) (B. L.: *on point of/E.P.: easily/tend to*, 17/13)⁷⁶
 laar (*future*, 19)⁷⁷
 lanngit (E. P.: *cannot/will not*, 13)
 laur (*general past/imper. softener -let's*, 19/22)⁷⁸
 lianikki (B. L.: *damn – it's happened again!* 22)

lugtaaq (*all*, 26)⁷⁹
 luqi (B. L.: *here & there/in different directions*, 18)
 luuvva (*even/or*, Encl.)
 (m)ma (-ngaata) (*whether*, 23)
 miaq (*just/any old*, 26)⁸⁰
 mihiur (*be in/at*, 1)
 mmaar (B. L.: *very/much*, 15)
 muar (*go to*, 6)⁸¹
 najar/gajar (*would/should*, 20)⁸²
 (tu)ngaar (B. L.: *more/greatly*, 15)
 nilriar/nilriaq (*probably*, 20/24)
 nilug (*try*, 12)
 nngitainnar (*not yet/not at all*, 17/21)
 nngitsiar (*not at all*, 21)
 pighinnaq (*just*, 24)⁸³
 qqaartit (-nagu) (*before*, 23)
 quaq (*no good any more*, 26)
 raludnaar (B. L.: *a little*, 15)⁸⁴
 ruluk (*small*, 26)
 taaq (E. P.: *new*, 26)
 (jur)taa (*the most*, 24)
 tainnar (*just now/for first time*, 19/18)
 tainnanngit (*have not (for some time)/not yet*, 17)
 tait (*not have any*, 2)
 tlar (*intensifier*, 22)
 tsau (*have/be a good*, 4/1)
 tsaunngit (*have/be a bad*, 4/1)
 tsiar (*be/have a good/much/really*, 1/4/15)
 tuinnaq (*just/only*, 26)
 tur (*pretend to*, 12)
 ugaq (*long & straight*, 26)
 uhivvik (*container for*, 25)
 uqqar (*several*, 18)
 uqquu (E. P.: *probably/apparently*, Encl.)
 valaar (*sound like*, 9)
 vvar (*a little*, 15)⁸⁶

Netsilik (IX)

alugzuit (*many*, 26)
 dja (*indefinite future*, 19)⁸⁷
 dluatsiar (*well*, 16)
 gadlar (*for time being/some time*, 18)
 gajug (*tend to/often*, 13)
 giaqar/jaaqar/gialik (*must/have reason to*, 13/24)
 giar(tit)(-nagu) (*before*, 23)
 haar (*have just*, 19)⁸⁸
 hiari (*have happen to one*, 14)
 hinnar(-luni) (*just (after)*, 23)
 hug/žug (*want/be eager to*, 3/10)
 hugžuk/hugžugluk (*huge*, 26)⁸⁹
 hungni (*smell of*, 25)
 (lra)innar (*constantly*, 18)
 jaar (*soon/early/about to*, 16/17)
 (d)jait/jainngit (*cannot*, 13)
 ju (*habitually/well*, 18)

juir/juit (*cannot (any longer), 13*)
 jumaaq (*one fond of -ing, 24*)
 kadlak (*poor/little/medium-sized, 26*)
 (k)kannir (*more, 15*)
 kkuma (*want as, 3*)
 laar (*a while, 18*)⁹⁰
 liri (*have a painful -/be concerned with, 3/8*)
 lirtur (*quickly, 16*)
 lraa(na)lug (*vivid action, 22*)⁹¹
 lraarunar (*to be sure/I tell you, 22*)
 luk/lug (*bad/poor, 26/22*)⁹²
 lukkaluar (*in vain, 16*)
 mmarig/mmarik (*real(ly), 15/22*)⁹³
 mmirtur (*for time being, 18*)
 mug (*go to, 6*)
 na (*may well, 20*)
 najar (*would, 20*)
 ngaar (*greatly, 15*)
 níarturpalug (*probably will, 20*)
 nihaq (*s.th. from -, 25*)
 nnuaq (*dear little, 26*)
 panaluk/naluk (*big, 26/Encl.*)⁹⁴
 pituaq (*only, 26*)⁹⁵
 qqajaanngit/qqajait (*not at all, 21*)
 (nnaa)qut(i) (*one's own (dear), 26*)
 ratar (*finally/intensifier, 17/22*)
 riann(g)uar (*vivid action, 22*)⁹⁶
 tlar (*intensifier, 22*)
 tsau (*have/be a good, 4/1*)
 tsiaq (*little/good, 26*)
 tsiar (*have/be a good/really, 4/1/15*)
 (uhiq) (*thing for -ing/nominalizer, 24*)
 valaar (*sound like, 7*)
 valug/paluk (*look like/probably, 7/20/25*)
 vik/vigaaluk (*real, 26*)

Mackenzie (XI)

aluk (*dear little/naughty, 26*)⁹⁷
 araq (*young, 26*)
 ataar(sinnar) (*hard/on and on, 16*)
 dlar(pag) (*very/intensifier, 22*)⁹⁸
 (gu)ir(-ami) (*after/when no longer, 23*)
 ju (*be good at/well, 13*)⁹⁹
 juaq (*intransitive participle, 24*)
 ju(g)ar(-ani/-nagu) (*without -ing, 23*)¹⁰⁰
 juma(a)dlag (*get desire to, 10*)
 jungnar/sungnar (*probably, 20*)
 kapsag (*rather/almost, 15*)
 katta(a)r (*repetition/one after another, 18*)
 (a)kkir (*begin/prepare to, 17*)¹⁰¹
 kuvik (*container for, 25*)
 la (*say, 9*)
 (d)lagtuir (*cannot/will not, 13*)
 liar (*hunt, 5*)
 limaaq (*each/all, 26*)

luk (*bad, 26*)¹⁰²
 (ng)ma(-ngaat) (*whether, 23*)
 mi (*yet/why! Encl.*)
 mmanig (*already/perfective, 17*)
 mug (*go to, 6*)
 mugtur (*more and more, 15*)
 nga (*somewhat/-ish, 15*)
 ngalaar (*a little, 15*)
 ni (*say that, 9*)
 niatu (*catch a lot of, 5*)¹⁰³
 nnag (*get, 5*)
 nnguaq (*mock/toy, 26*)
 nuti(m) (*surprise, Encl.*)
 paaluk (*big, 26*)
 pajaaq (*most, 24/Encl.*)
 (t)qujuminag (*if only one could -, 24*)¹⁰⁴
 ratar(-nani) (*without, 23*)
 (l)ratar (*at last/intensifier, 17/22*)
 (mma)ringajak (*one who -s well/s.th. well done, 24*)¹⁰⁵
 sar (*imperative modifier, 22*)
 sug/gug (*want to, 10*)
 (d)lag)taar (*often/repeatedly, 18*)
 tqinniq (*most, 24*)¹⁰⁶
 tquur (*urge to, 11*)
 tsiaq (*small/nice, 26*)¹⁰⁷
 tuuq (*one with a big -, 25*)
 vak/pak (*big, 26*)
 valug (*sound/look like, 7/20*)
 vialug/vialuk (*really/very much/real, 15/26*)
 vik (*real/big, 26*)

Kobuk (XIII)

ar(-mi) (*when, 23*)
 dlangnaiq (*about to/strengthened, 17/22*)
 dlapaiq (*really/quite a lot, 15*)
 giksaaq (*good, 26*)
 gisi (*future, 19*)
 idliiq (*be in need of, 2*)
 iñ(-ngaan) (*before, 23*)
 (ng)iñaq (*only, 26*)
 iqsiiq (*loose/have one's - removed, 2*)
 isuq (*fetch, 5*)
 liilaa (*why!/like, Encl.*)
 lraaq (*one who first, 24*)¹⁰⁸
 ładlaq (*very/a lot, 15*)
 łak (*big/rough/bad, 26/16*)
 łauq (*clumsily/heavily, 16*)
 likšar(-mi) (*before one could, 23*)
 liq (*action/result, 24*)¹⁰⁹
 (p)ma(-ngaan) (*whether, 23*)
 (užar)naiq (*little/poor, 26*)
 našuk(naq) (*think that, 9*)
 nrít (*negative, 21*)¹¹⁰
 nuti(m) (*surprise, Encl.*)
 pajaaq(-man) (*whenever, 23*)

pik/vik (*big/main*, 26)¹¹¹
 psuuq (*also*, Encl.)
 qaa (*perhaps/isn't that so?* Encl.)
 šungaq(-ani) (*without -ing*, 23)
 tai (*well/I wonder*, Encl.)
 (a)tčaiq/(a)tčaaq (*small*, 26)
 tčaužaq/tčaijažaq/užaq (*small*, 26)
 tiqpaaluk (*just now*, 19)
 tjait (*would not*, 20)
 tjaq (*would*, 20)¹¹²
 tlait (*cannot/never*, 13)¹¹³
 tluk (*more/most*, 15)
 ugaq (*continually*, 18)
 ummi (*a bit*, 15)
 vaaluk (*most*, 15)
 vagit (*too/very much*, 15)
 vak (*big/much*, 26/15)
 valuk (*apparently/must be*, 20)
 viksuq (*carefully/completely*, 16)
 (pag/žug)žaitčaiq (*big*, 26)
 žgaq(-man) (*as soon as*, 23)
 (ar)žuk/žuit (*big/many*, 26)

Seward Peninsula¹¹⁴ (XIV)

Wa.: Cape Prince of Wales

'aa (*and so*, Encl.)¹¹⁵
 ajaaq (*group/collection of*, 25)
 aluk/aluužaq (*at length*, 18)
 apak (*big*, 26)
 aržuužaq (*bad/badly*, 26/16)
 atjaaq (*baby/young/half-breed*, 26)
 galaq (*right away/quickly*, 16)
 giiq (*get a bad*, 4)¹¹⁶
 gžusuk/gžasuk (*old/big old*, 26)¹¹⁷
 jaq/(u)raq (*several/all do*, 18)
 jauq (*know how to*, 13)
 ju (*well*, 16)
 jungnaq (*must have/probably*, 20)
 kalaq (*already*, 17)
 kuunaaq (*travel through/via*, 6)
 kužaq (*quietly*, 16)
 lai(n)naq (*gradually*, 17)
 lgu (*well*, 16)¹¹⁸
 liaq (*Wa.: go to*, 6)
 (gii)liut(i) (*become mutual -s*, 1)
 ližaq (*use*, 8)
 luk (*not like/badly*, 3/16)

luq (*fortunately*, 16)
 (r)luusaaq (*poor/unfortunate*, 26)
 laaq (*use/wear a new/new*, 8/26)
 (r)lai(n)nat (*many*, 26)
 liq (*action/result*, 24)
 (liqi) (*have a sore -*, 3)
 liuq (*future*, 19)
 (r)luk (*bad/strange*, 26)
 (p)mi(-uq) (*although*, 23)
 miu (*be in/at/inhabitant of*, 1/25)
 muq (*go to*, 6)
 nasuaq (*try*, 12)¹¹⁹
 (nažari) (*be as - as*, 15)¹²⁰
 niaq (*go and get/hunt*, 5)
 (niuq) (*be in process of*, 17)¹²¹
 ngaaq (*more*, 15)
 nguluužaq (*quietly/a while/small*, 16/18/26)
 nguūži (*act like/play at/not properly*, 7/16)
 nngu (*ask for*, 5)
 (a)pa(s)suk (*big/funny old*, 26)¹²²
 pa(t)lak (*excessively*, 15)
 pqaužaq (*one who almost*, 24)¹²³
 (q) (*call out to one's -*, 9)¹²⁴
 rajaat (*lots of*, 26)
 rlaaq (*first*, 18/26)
 rla(m)miq (*already/recent past*, 17/19)
 rlataq (*about to*, 17)
 rnit/ngit (*negative*, 21)
 sarataq (*will try to*, 19)
 siaq (*be easy to*, 13)
 sii(n)naq (*more & more*, 17)
 sima (*past*, 19)
 siužaq (*for a while*, 18)
 suminaq (*can*, 13)
 sungaq (*Wa.: more/most*, 15)
 taaq (*a little*, 15)
 tani (*again*, Encl.)
 taq (*repetition/keep on*, 18)¹²⁵
 tiklaaq (*measure/check/extent of*, 9/24)
 tjanga (*intend*, 12)
 tqigi (*find too*, 9)¹²⁶
 tqui(n)naq (*urge to*, 11)
 tu (*a lot/habitually*, 15)
 tuaq (*finally*, 17)
 tuuma (*perfective state*, 17)¹²⁷
 tuuqan (*companion at -ing*, 24)
 uq/a/qa (*several/in a group*, 18)
 usi (*get a supply of*, 5)
 va(d)lia (*probably*, 20)
 žuakšaq (*one who should -*, 24)
 (žuq/suq) (*be lucky in hunting -*, 5)

Footnotes to alphabetical lists

1. But **gittiir** = W Gr. **killiur**. Half-transitive **tsi** is found even after vowel stems – e.g. **qqutsi** (ask). Note also **tsinnaa** and **tsima** alongside **sinnaa** and **sima**.
2. **kkaajuk** is a nominalizer used verbally in the 3rd person. Note **(ra)kkaajuk** (s.th. with a big/many), and **kkaajut-tuagajii/kkaajunnguagajii** as intensifiers (cf. W Gr. **sur-suu/sunngu**). Also **ri** (3rd sing. indicative **raaq**), as W Gr. **qi**. Note the combination **qqinna(-ami)** (I wonder if –), acc. Grann, corresponding to W Gr. **qi+** **nir** (the latter is found in the senses ‘apparently/maybe’ here too, it seems).
3. And **(tsun)nikkaajuk** (smell/taste/look like). Note **ninngit** (not good to).
4. And **(r)tivanngivagajik** (dear little) – also **nngiijuk**. Note the occasional correspondence of W Gr. /s/ (e.g. **kasik**) and E Gr. /j/ (e.g. **gajik** above). **nnguatsiar** is found in sense ‘dear/little’.
5. And note the verbal form (indicative with **ri**), **ruut-suaraartivagajik** (enormously). **(r)tivaq/ttuag** – here used enclitically with **gajik** – is of course the equivalent of W Gr. **(r)suaq**. Note **fulug**, which can mean ‘badly/poorly’.
6. Other affixes from */i(C)u/ with /u(C)u/ after /u(C)/(otherwise /i(C)i/) include **luur** on the list (and cf. **lir** after /u/ on the list).
7. Other affixes with /ts/ for expected /tt/ include **tsit** (W Gr. **ssut**): in affixes (and from *C + š < ‘j₂’) this is the usual correspondence (**ttivaq** being exceptional).
8. Neither **lir** nor **har** (cf. W Gr. **sar**, ‘try to’) have much independent meaning in such intensifying combinations. Note also **palughaliqi**, **lughanngualiqi**, **paghualiqi**, **palunngualidlar**, and **hughar**, etc. Holtved’s ‘ler(q)i’ is probably usually **liqi**.
9. And **hugtulir**. Note **giar** (begin) too.
10. And ‘tend to’.
11. i.e. participial **huq** plus **tuqaq**, which can have verbal force (as can nominalizer **galuag**) in the 3rd person. When reverberalized by **u** (or **rhuu**) it can be transitive. In nominal use it can mean ‘one who long ago -ed’. Note also **hutuqainnaq** (continually).
12. Thus **ja(a)nngit** (will not). **hha** is also found – usually in the sense ‘should’, perhaps for **ghau** (when not a borrowing from W Gr.) – Holtved’s ‘ça·w’. If so, then **hhaar** on the list may be for **ghaar** (see Copper) – but cf. also W Gr. **ssaar** (<***vsaar**) ‘greatly’ (and Copper **phaar**).
13. Note also enclitic **ajuq** (it’s bad) and **ai** (exclamatory).
14. **pak** also as a nominal modifier (big). Note also **qqihaq** (more/most) after stems of size at least.
15. This is probably intensifier **qi**. It appears as **qa** before **nir**, **-luni** and **-ngat** and in indicative **qauq** (sometimes also **qahuq**). **qi** is so commonly used that it has little actual force.
16. Perhaps for **qar** plus **laanngit** (see W Gr.).
17. **tsiar** can be used for subjective coloration, as can **hinnar**, **dlar**, **lug**, **(dla)pag** and **(a)pig**.
18. Also ‘please’ (blandishment). **ngai** after double vowel or consonant other than **t**. Note also **ilaak** (isn’t that so?) in Igloodik at least.
19. Also **arurlak** and **galaarlak**.
20. Also **djaagunniir** (or **djaarunniir**). In Ai. means rather ‘cannot (any longer)’; and **djaagunniirniar** means ‘will no longer’. Note **djaagasugijunniir** (think will not any longer).
21. In the sense of ‘means/instrument’ only after double vowel (otherwise **ut**). Harper also has **juuti** (‘one that is such’ – participial **juq** plus **uti?**). Ai. at least has **ut(i)** in the sense ‘one’s caught/stored thing’.
22. And **gajalaunngit** (would not). **kasag/kasaar** (almost) can apparently also have the meaning ‘would’.
23. **jaraa** following vowel (+ **taraa** after **t**-stem).
24. Or **giaq/jariaq** (as Tarr.). With personal possessive endings can form an object clause (whether –) following main verbs of knowing and feeling. **jariaqar** (**giaqar** following **g**- or **r**-stems) used for obligation as in Tarr.
25. Also **gu(n)niir**, and note **ju(n)nanngit/gu(n)nanngit** ‘never/cannot’. **junnair** means rather ‘can no longer’, and **junnaili** = ‘stop/no longer’. Note also **vagunniir** (no longer habitually) and **vagiir** besides **giir** (already).
26. Harper has **juu** (and for habitual action **vajuu**). Followed by **juq**, etc. in indicative.
27. **kkaaluk** can also be used verbally (3rd person).
28. **kuluk** (dear little/kind, etc.) is very common (also under subjective coloration).
29. Transitive = ‘put in groups of same degree of –’.
30. Whereas **nirsaq** = ‘more’. Note strengthened **nir-saaluk/laaraaluk** (most). In Cape Dorset at least **laaq** = ‘small’.
31. Also **laursimadjaanngit** and **laursimaniviniq**. **laur** (general past) and **laar** (general future) cover wider ranges in Ai. than elsewhere.
32. As opposed to **muar/mu(u)r** (arrive at/have gone to). **munngautit** = ‘take to’. Note also **anngau** (come from) and **uunau** (go via) on demonstrative stems.
33. Negation follows (unlike further west). Meaning on Baffin close to Tarr., in Ai. close to that in the west.
34. Also **ligaa**.
35. And enclitic **paluk** = ‘I guess/sort of’.
36. **qa(d)jaa** can be used on its own impersonally (in exclamations?) acc. to Harper.
37. **raaluk** is the form of **aluk** following a double vowel (similarly **raarjuk**, etc.) and following a **g**-stem **gaaluk** can be found. It can be enclitic following 3rd person participial **juq**, etc. or adverbials (also **raalungaa**, exclamatory), and can be a subjective coloration affix of disapproval, etc. Esp. in Ai. it can also mean ‘bad’. Note the combination **jaalugi** for intensified transitive constructions, and **(ra)alumniik** (how –!) in exclamations. N Baffin has variant **dlaaluk**.
38. Also ‘very’ in conjunction with adjectival stems of smallness; can be enclitic (**rujuk**).
39. In Ai. rather ‘small’ or ‘miserable’. **guluk** is less strong than **rujuk** (roughly ‘miserable’). Note the subjective coloration affix **guluujar** corresponding to **guluk**.
40. Also ‘just’ before an imperative ending. Note nominal **saq** (one who has just -ed).

41. **guar** after **g-** and **r-** stems. **suir/guir** = 'no longer (want to)'; note **qaruir** (no longer have).
42. Only of undesirable events; followed by causative endings.
43. Thus **tfanngit** (strengthened negation). Note **tfartuar** (thank heavens –). The same morpheme is presumably behind Harper's '**ular(-mat)**' ('it is' – identifying). Throughout the Keewatin area there would appear to be some fluctuation between **dlag/dlar** and **tlar** (to judge from texts).
44. And **tfauungit** (have/be a bad).
45. Used also, it seems, when two people have the same name.
46. Nominal form used verbally/adverbally.
47. And enclitic following participial **juq**, etc.
48. On C. P. more like N Baffin semantically. **tar** also not uncommon for repetition.
49. Used verbally. Note also **qurtu** 'have a big/much'.
50. Also **juarjuk** (at least on names).
51. And **mmi**, which means rather 'again for sure/nevertheless'. Note combinations **giadlag** (again) and **giiri** (again so soon).
52. Esp. before the optative mood; can be enclitic following an adverbial expression ('for now').
53. Refers to time after today; for today **nialir** is used.
54. And **lautsimanngit/lautsimagunnair** (not for some time now/have never).
55. Often exclamatory: 'what a lot of –!'.
56. And note **niak** (one who hunts –).
57. Refers to today; for time before today **nialaur** is used (he said – e.g. yesterday – he would).
58. Also **unngu** (be tired of –ing).
59. And note **(ju)uppalai** (it was discovered that –) and **ppaluk** (look like/seem).
60. Esp. in addressing s.o. (you –!).
61. Before negative imperative = 'not yet', but can also modify a positive command. Can be a nominal modifier (early –).
62. Note also **utak** and **(g)utik**, esp. for instruments.
63. For strengthened perfective ('already') **simagii(r)** or **giisima** used.
64. And 'at last/for once'. Can precede **laur** in the sense of 'have just/recently'.
65. Also 'unfortunately/one must be careful because –'. Smith has another exclamatory affix **ti** (how – it has become), which is presumably a variant of **li** (become).
66. And 'be prevented from/be late –ing' when intransitive. Before imperative = 'try not to'.
67. In the sense 'eat' just a variant of **tu(r)**. Note also **tuuma** (be eating).
68. Also **harait** and B. L. **rrala** apparently.
69. Other affixes to be found with this meaning are **kuluk**, **ralak**, B.L. **luarjuk**, E.P. **(ha)ajuk**.
70. And **gajar** (a little).
71. And E.P.: **galahir** (quickly).
72. And B.L.: **anighaar**. Note nominal **(ta)haaq** (one who just –ed).
73. With dual subject endings.
74. Also **kalaar** and **ka(ng)niar** (and B. L. **kattudna(a)r**) acc. Schneider. His '**ka**' could be **kar** or **kat** as well as **kag**, judging from the examples given.
75. Originally 4th person sing. conditional inflection.
76. And **lahijudnaangu**. Note also E. P. **lajug** (easily/apt to).
77. More distant than **niar**. **dja** also found (can = 'apt to?').
78. And **laurhima** (distant past) and **lauqqaar (-luni)** (before).
79. Also a verbal modifier (**lugtaar** 'completely'); can also be a nominalizer in verbal/adverbial use.
80. Enclitic to adverbials. Can be verbal modifier: **miar** (just). Note B.L.: **jaamiar** (as hard as possible?).
81. Transitive = 'put in'. E.P. has **muliar** where B.L. has **mu(n)ngau**.
82. Also future? Shortened to **na/ga** in B. L. esp. by children, acc. Schneider. Note also E. P. **(d)janalaur** and **najaquur** (would probably).
83. And note **pi(g)** (really?), esp. in combination **pigjuaq/B.L. pigtuae** for exclamatory emphasis (how –!). Like **pighinnaq**, these are used verbally.
84. Also **dnaar** on its own, and E.P. **padnaaq** (quite a lot/almost) used with verbal/adverbial force, probably with the same initial element as in intensifier **paki(lir)**. **dnaaq** following an adjectival stem of smallness can mean 'very'.
85. E. P. **djuaq** or **(r)juaq** (the latter also B.L.); in combination with **u** (be) = **gtuu/djuu**, etc.
86. Schneider has '**pva**' and '**bva**', and '**pfrar/bvrar**' for B. L. – the latter could well be **vrar** (but cf. also **blag**, and Copper **bjag**). Jenness, note, has '**far**' – for **vvar**? – as an imperative softener in Barrow.
87. i.e. ['ja]. Takes following **-vuq** indicative (positive only). Note also **lrajar/tqajar** (or **tqajaa**?), which can apparently indicate a near future (or 'can') as well as 'be on point of'. Rasmussen also has **hungar** in a future sense.
88. Also 'get a new' with nominal stems apparently (or **har**?).
89. And **zuarzuk? zuk** (non-productive) can also mean 'small'.
90. Also future tense?
91. This and the following should perhaps be written with 'tr' (see footnote 78 to Introduction). Intensifier **lraar** can be followed by at least **niar**, **dja** and **lir**. Note its abbreviated declarative use as **lra** (for **-vuq** and esp. **-vunga** acc. Briggs, pers. commun.). In similar meanings as intensifiers also **dlagunar** and **ngužar**.
92. Also **luk**. Acc. Rasmussen also **bluk** after a vowel (for '**luk**?'). Enters into various intensifying combinations such as **nnualuk** (poor little) and **dlugpag** (greatly). Rasmussen also has '**bsubluk**' (for **psudluk**?) and **luuhaq** (poor/bad) and **dlugžuk** (terrible).
93. And **nngimmariig** (or **nngivig**) 'not at all'. In connection with the negative, note the indicative form of **it**: **ilaq** (in verbal use 'not have any –', nominally 'one without –').
94. Also **pak** (big).
95. The same initial element as in **pinngit** (not at all)?
96. Or **riannuar**. Rasmussen also has **juar/tuar** as an intensifier, as in **lraajuar**.
97. Esp. after participial **juq**; also as affix of subjective coloration (**alug**). Note also **aluumaak** (dear – in addressing s.o.), **kaluk** (naughty little – also 'all – of period' acc. Lowe & Dorais), and **rasuk** (poor) to be found in Rasmussen's texts.
98. Probably **tlar** (difficult to tell from Rasmussen). **dlag** is found in the sense 'strongly/at a single blow', and note **dlalraalug** as an intensifier. **qi** is found with little apparent meaning, though it is probably related to W Gr. **qi** and/or fossilized **(a)qi** of spontaneity/suddenness in eastern Inuktitut. Métayer has **kaluk** 'greatly'.
99. And, acc. to Métayer, **janga** (badly).
100. Probably the same affix as Rasmussen's **ju(g)ar/tu(g)ar** (could (not)/did (not)) – negative only? Note also his **(u)tugar** (pretend to) and **ugar** 'continuously'.

101. And (g)arsiakkir and nngar.
 102. Lowe & Dorais have 'luq'.
 103. For niartu? Note also Rasmussen's (q)qau(jug)saudju(g) (challenge to contest at catching -), probably related to the forms in footnote 108.
 104. Rasmussen has 'qaaminaa', also enclitic luagti (there at last).
 105. Nominalizer ngajak is also found in lungajak (one who badly) and nangajak (one that is such); probably an intensifier.
 106. Also (d)liq, 3rd sing. possessed lra.
 107. And 'exactly'. Also atsiaq, and tsiar for subjective coloration (smallness). Note also mmi (a bit) – for umi? – and ligti(r) (partly/a little) in Rasmussen.
 108. Zibell's texts have lrautzaqsaruk (compete at), related no doubt to lrautzaq/tqautzaq (be the first to do).
 109. 3rd sing. possessed lha.
 110. ngngit for some (southern) Malimiut. Webster & Zibell also have šainrit (never).
 111. Also 'real'.
 112. As N Slope (and Yupik) jaq, but with originally geminated initial? Can precede imperative.
 113. And qutlait (forbid). cf. tla 'can'. Note also (a)limait (not have time to).
 114. This list is, except as marked, for King Island. Other affixes mentioned by Menovshchikov for Imaklik that might be found on Little Diomed Island (and/or other Seward Peninsula sub-dialects) include the following (in the forms quoted except where I have adjusted the vowels to my orthography and reinstated some deleted consonants): juraq/(g)iaq (group of), tuaq (old/bad), žuk (little), lik (one good at making -), patuaq (big/terrible), tale (-ness/quality nominalizer), niit (unable to), vžiraq (repetition), kaq (now and then), (q)nauq (a long time), vjaq (almost), siraluraq (try to), tuuma(-an) (while doing s.th. with -), nižaqpi(žuaq) (extremely/most), gaqtaq (distributive – numeral stems), jawataq (begin), lqaq (sudden/momentary action), lutuq (quickly), niiraq (stop -ing), suk (want to/future), situužaq (pretend to), viužaq (really/completely), sugni(i)t (look like), niuq/laq (make), ngaq (acquire), jaq (go to – object), žvežagaq (have), niina (-mini) (before), luužaq (bad), niunaq (good time for catching -), glataq (slowly), luaq (intend), gužaraq (well), ngngar(-mi) (although), (r)igu(k) (again), u(-nani) (not having -), and (si)ma(past). The 'e' in these forms is 'i₂' ([ə]). Some of them clearly derive from Siberian Yupik. Further investigation of their morphophonemics is required.
 115. Preceded by glottal stop.
 116. Esp. of (painful) body parts.
 117. Also (a)suk (old). Note also kuq (discarded/used) and Wa. rujuk (poor/little).
 118. Also, at least in Wa. and Qawiažaq 'in process of/be up to'. Also 'can'.
 119. And nasuangit (not bother to). Wa. at least has gasuaq.
 120. Attached to stems of descriptive quality.
 121. Following stems of perception.
 122. Kaplan has (a)pazuk, which is a weakened form, and pasuk as an affix of subjective coloration ('pathetically'). Doubtless the same morpheme – etymologically passuk. On the list all original geminates could be consistently marked by single letters (Kaplan's practice) since phonetic length is automatic after the beginning of a word. Note that Seward Peninsula /ss/ often corresponds to N Slope /tč/ (e.g. assak, 'aunt').
 123. As verbal modifier = 'barely manage to'.
 124. For stems of family relationship only.
 125. And žaq indicates habitual activity. Wa. can have laq following a vowel. Qawiažaq at least (also Kobuk?) has tuq (several times/things) and cf. giaqtuq 'go (in order) to' there.
 126. Containing gi⁺; note combinations of the latter with w/v-initial inflections in Wa. -guwung, etc. Qawiažaq appears to have (uti)kluu for (uti)gi-(p)lugu (cf. Yupik (u)tekluku).
 127. Can passivize transitive stems. Note also passive nominalizers kaaq and taaq, and ži 'do to disadvantage of', a detrimental use of half-transitive forms as in most dialects.

Note on orthography

The accessibility of material from different dialects is unfortunately made difficult by a bewildering variety of orthographic systems. These can be summarized under three main headings:

Syllabics

Most material (local magazines and papers, etc.) in the eastern Canadian area – minus Labrador but also including Netsilik and Caribou – is written in the syllabic script introduced by a missionary, J. Peck, in the late nineteenth century. The official policy of the Inuit Cultural Institute is now towards parallel presentation in

roman orthography (see below) and syllabics, as especially older Inuit in this area do not wish to abandon the latter, regarding it as part of their heritage. The revised version is not difficult to master, one symbol representing one syllable (e.g. /ti/, /ta/, or /tu/); the symbols used can be found, among other places, in 'Ajurnarmat', summer 1978. The problem is that most older – and some more recent – material does not represent vowel length or syllable-final consonants at all (thus /tar/, /tag/ and /ta/ or /taa/ all being represented by the same symbol). There is considerable fluctuation between the older and newer conventions in contemporary syllabic material and this may be reflected in roman transliterations that accompany it.

Roman orthography (phonemic)

Whereas the Inuktitut roman orthography adopted by the Inuit Cultural Institute presents no serious problems for reading, it should be borne in mind that it can be varied according to the degree of consonant assimilation in different dialects though it always uses 'kt' and 'qt', etc., for my 'gt' and 'rt', etc. (I should perhaps have done the same for western Inuktitut), and for my 'dl', 'tl' and 'dj' it uses 'll', '&&' and 'jj' (in Lab. 'tj'). It does not generally indicate final nasals (as opposed to the corresponding stops), the glottal stop, or the /ž/ variant of /j/. 'qr' is used for /rr/, and /q/ and /k/ are used in clusters before stops (as mentioned) where Greenlandic orthography has 'r' and 'g'; the 'o' and 'e' allophones of /u/ and /i/ in the latter are also not shown. The one unusual symbol it employs is '&' for the voiceless lateral (in dialects where it occurs), which in texts edited by non-Inuit is usually represented by 'p' – the symbol used in Alaska and also in the present manual. It also has such combinations as 'uva' and 'ija', which in the new Greenlandic orthography (due to the weakening of /v/ and /j/ in such positions and the automatic nature of glide-insertion between vowels) appear as 'ua' and 'ia'.

In older texts other roman orthographies can be met: in Labrador the script used by Moravian missionaries (based on Kleinschmidt's for Greenland) and, in various parts of the rest of the Canadian Arctic, local variations of roman script introduced by the Hudson Bay Company and still used in the Copper and Mackenzie areas. These latter are greatly underdifferentiated, not distinguishing /k/ and /q/ nor showing vowel or consonant length at all. An attempt is being made in the Copper region to introduce school material in a phonemic alphabet much like the I.C.I. norm, but with 'k' with a tail instead of 'q'.

In Alaska a more or less phonemic orthography introduced by linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics is used, employing the special symbols 'l', 'p', and 'ñ' for palatalized consonants. Earlier 'k' has been replaced by 'q', but 'r' for [ɹ] (my 'ž') has unfortunately (for non-Alaskans) been maintained, /r/ being represented by 'g'. It also uses 'qh' for [X] and 'kh' for [x], 'ch' for palatal /č/ and 'sr' for /š/ (in my orthography). For dialects with 'diphthong reduction' the underlying diphthong (as in Barrow) is generally indicated (though some fluctuation should be expected). Central Alaskan and Pacific Yupik now employ a phonemic orthography developed at the Alaska Native Language Center which is close to the new Greenlandic, but with 'll' representing a *single* voiceless lateral (similarly for other fricatives), 'ñ', etc., for voiceless nasals, 'ūg' etc. for labialized velars, 'c' for [tʃ]/[ts], 'e' for the 'fourth vowel' [ə], and a distinction between voiced 's' ([z]) and voiceless 'ss' ([s]). Material in Siberian Yupik (apart from that produced by the Alaska Native Language Center) is in Russian Cyrillic script.

For those outside of Greenland not familiar with the

older (Kleinschmidt) orthography still used in parallel with the new one, it should be pointed out that /q/ is represented there by capital 'K', /s/ (from 'j₂') is 'ss', and geminate vowels or consonants are broken up to show their origins in clusters and sequences obliterated now by assimilation – note especially 'vdl', 'tdl' or 'gdl' for /ll/. The three special superscripts '˘', '˙', and '˚', indicate gemination in the following consonant, lengthening of the vowel, and a combination of both, respectively. Mention too should be made of the plans for extending the new Greenlandic orthography for the E Greenlandic and Polar Eskimo dialects: this will necessitate a compromise such that, for example, E Greenlandic /r/ (< /q/) will probably be represented by 'q' for the sake of maintaining the parallel with the W Greenlandic orthography to which speakers of these dialects are already exposed.

Phonetic orthographic systems

Linguistic transcriptions of spoken material, such as those of Rasmussen and Holtved, often employ the International Phonetic Alphabet (or some variant of it) to indicate precise variations in pronunciation necessitating the use of more than one symbol for a particular phoneme, according to context. This can present difficulties to the non-specialist, as one has to take into account changes brought about by speed and emphasis, etc., and also the influence of the transcriber's own ear and linguistic background. Rasmussen's Greenlandic background thus probably caused him to hear and write voiceless geminate fricatives in some cases for dialects in which they are usually voiced. Some of the differences from the I.P.A. symbols (for which see, for example, copies of the 'Principles of the International Phonetic Alphabet') that can be found in material transcribed by those such as Rasmussen following the Danish phonetic tradition include 'L' for [l], 'ç' for [ç], 'ŋ' for [N], 'R' for [X], 'g' for [ɣ], and a dot following a vowel or consonant to indicate length.

Some writers have employed something half-way between a phonemic and a phonetic script. This includes M. Métayer in his Copper Eskimo texts, which are written with symbols close to the new Greenlandic orthography but with some confusing variation in vowel and consonant length; the tendency is to indicate length only when it is phonetically prominent or serves a word-distinguishing function. 'ng' is thus rarely written geminate – and in affix-initial position there may be some phonetic truth behind the convention, **ngit** seeming to vary with **ngit**, for example. Schneider's important grammatical and lexical works on Tarramiut also fall somewhere in this area. As in the case of Métayer his conventions become clear with familiarity; note in particular that he doesn't always indicate recent merging of /k/ plus consonant with /t/ plus consonant, that he uses

'rgr' for /rr/ and 'ngr' or 'nng' for /rng/, and that he has 'o' and 'e' for /u/ and /i/ before some consonants other than uvulars.

A few notes on the application of the orthography used in the present work to the sample texts (as numbered to correspond with the main map) are required:

East Greenlandic (I)

I have indicated all final stops, even though they are generally unexploded and thus not easily heard except via the effect they may have on the preceding vowel. I have reduced all intervocalic /k/s and /q/s to the corresponding fricative even though the original transcription did not (the speaker was, according to Petersen, adapting his speech to some degree towards W Greenlandic). Note that there is sometimes fluctuation between /i/ and /u/ in the same word form: there is quite a lot of hypercorrection here (often in the direction of W Greenlandic).

Polar Eskimo (III)

I have maintained Holtved's fluctuation between final nasals and stops (not necessary on strictly phonemic grounds) since it is an important phonological feature of the dialect. Sequences /ija/ and /uva/ I have kept, as for all dialects except W and E Greenlandic, and all clusters with /l/ are written voiced.

Labrador (VI)

Geminate fricatives are to be understood as voiceless (as in W Greenlandic), and /q/ as a fricative where it occurs (as also for Tarramiut and Cape Dorset non-final /q/). I have left throughout the voiced alternative forms for the (past) contemporaneous mood (as in the original).

Caribou (VIII)

I have changed 's' to 'h' and 'v' plus another consonant to 'b' plus consonant, in line with other western dialects. I have not marked the glottal stop (though 'd' before another consonant generally implies it, as does a voiced consonant before an /m/ in many cases – when corresponding to an original voiceless stop). I have corrected several occurrences of 'ng' plus nasal to 'r' plus nasal (the syllabics for the western regions often do not distinguish between uvular and velar in such positions).

Netsilik (IX)

Glottal stop not indicated (corresponding nasal or voiced stop instead). I use 'h' for 's' always, and 'lr' for [lr]/[žr]. I have replaced Rasmussen's contemporaneous '-klugu', etc., by **-glugu**, etc. As in most of his western (and Iglulik) texts, Rasmussen adopted the convention of writing voiceless /h/ ('L') after r-stems but not elsewhere. My orthography does not distinguish 'past' and 'non-past' after t-stems ([lugu]×[llugu], etc.).

Mackenzie (XI)

I have everywhere replaced Rasmussen's 'š' by 'j' where necessary (he probably heard [ʒ]) and his 'L' by 'l' where the voiceless consonant is clearly not meant (as in his 'igLu'). I have reinstated **-dluni**, etc., in cases where he has '-vluni' following a t-stem. He often has 'gl' or 'bl' for /dl/. I write 's' rather than 'c' for [c] following a consonant. As with all western Inuktitut dialects I do not distinguish original /n/ + /ng/ from geminate /ng/. Geminate reduction not shown (recent?).

Kobuk (XIII)

I have converted all diphthongs to their reduced forms ('ai' and 'au' being monophthongs as explained in the text). The glottal stop is not indicated except between vowels (as 'v').

Seward Peninsula (XIV)

I have put all consonants in their weakened forms where weakening occurs. Note the need of the extra symbols 'w' and 'z' for weakened /v/ and /s/. I write geminates in strong position when etymologically appropriate even in cases (like **aippaaga**) where contrast with the corresponding single segment is impossible.

In so far as was possible I have chosen complete stories or episodes of varying style and difficulty for the following texts, but as will be seen some pieces represent excerpts from larger works (for example that from "Sanaaq", which is a complete novel). Only a few doubtful or repetitious words have been left out from the texts. Some of the western Canadian texts may have an archaic flavour today.

Sample text for each dialect

East Greenlandic

“Some Forms of Magic”

(from ms. of Appollo Kaajammat, ed. R. Petersen).

(Taanna tupilattaat iqqartutsuat Cippurtuumi pilat.) Cippurtuumi pilaavařa, tupilaacquuraaq, tupilaavurmiilaa. Taagani tappavannga anittagaattiq qinnguaniit	That the tupilak you got you should tell about in Sipportooq caught by you. In Sipportooq I caught it, it must have been a tupilak, yes it was a tupilak for sure. Over there from in there as it came out from the bottom of the fiord, it diving down now and then, paddling towards it I harpooned it but (then) capsized. The paddle it pulled from me. Having capsized when I came up again my paddle was already floating. To land when I paddled, my kayak I emptied of water so it wouldn't get soaked through. My clothes I wrung them out because they were wet while waiting for it to come up. A hooded seal's (and perhaps) more than its time of staying underwater it was longer than. Still before it came up I reached it in my kayak. In there to land my float's wooden section	tattani tiisařalungu aatsaat tappavani nunami turuppařa. Tupilaat attaatsusiranngittat, taava cuurtu puili cakkatsiaq. Tamakkua makkiva canaalaminnik tupittigajiraat aat? Piqqinaarnangit taamaatturarp turuluratsaqqajanngilaq tupilammik. Taamaattiq puililit taamaalittingi aaqqitsuuřijařangattik	there taking hold of it only then up there on land I killed it. Tupilaks are identical ² , that is like a seal medium-sized. These people (they) formed by themselves they make tupilaks right? Deformed if they were (like that) no one would die (of seeing) a tupilak. However like a seal making it (thus) when someone produced one believing it to be a seal when they would harpoon it they would die of it (because) they would be just the same (as a seal). Really frightening
aqqattattaanginnartiq, avalappingalungu naalippařa kinnguttungali. Paalinni arcaařaanga. Kinngingama magiijaama paalikka puttattařircimalit. Timmuť iirtaajaama, caqqisinga imaařaluaraku angitsittaalittungu. Arniřaakka irittaraluaraku ¹ qaasirniřannit puitsiijarniařaluartungu. Niiniartip aqqaamaniřanittiraa civittunřiřisimaliq. Culi puinngitsimi ikkivingiinnarpařa. Tappavunga timmut puttarimma qilurulaa		Ircinakkaajuttuaga- jinnik canaakkaminnik aaqqitsuilarput. Tupilannik Taamaatturanngilaq. Kisiat puiliniť attaatsusiranngitsiniť tupittilarput. Taamaattiq puilaalittungu naalikkaangamikku	made things people produce. Tupilaks there are none such as that. Only seals things just like they make tupilaks. Such a one believing it to be a seal when one harpooned it

1. For **irittaraluarakuť** (hypercorrection?).

2. i.e. to the thing in whose image they are made.

tuqquliilarpaat.
Taamaapput
taakkiva
cuuttiqqitsaat.
(Tupilaap
kisi
niilaavaa?)
Tupilaat
niiniq

one would die of it.
They were like this
those people
in the old days.
A tupilak
what
would it eat?
Tupilaks
eating

ajirput.
Ua
taakkua
cuguirtungit
uraalingiijafakkit
Uittumut
puiiqqitsaarcimanngi-
langa.

would not.
I
these things
explaining them
as I talked about them
to Victor
I remember them well.

West Greenlandic (II)

“Common Writing”

(J. Fleischer, Atuagagdliutit, June 26th, 1980)

Nunarput
ukiuq
manna
qaaqqusisuvuq
Inuit
ataatsimiirsuarniranni.
ICC-ip

pilirsinniqarniratigut
nunatta
akurnanni
atassutiqaqati-
giinnissamut
pingaarutiqartumik
saqqummirsuqarpuq.
Akilirngup ikira
avissaarutaajunnaarpug
Kalaallit
nagguviqataasalu
Canadamiittut
Alaskamiittullu
akurnanni.
Aqqutit
pitsaanirulirnatigut

ukiuni
aggirsuni
immitsinnut
qanillinirusussaavugut.
Eskimuut
ataatsimuurnissaannik
iqqarsaat
piviusunniguraluttu-
alirpuq.
Pissusissami-
suuginnarpuq
immitsinnut
ilisarilirusukkatta.

Our country
year
this
is the host
of the Inuit
(for) a general meeting.
The Inuit Circumpolar
Conference
by starting
our countries
between
for the relationship

important
is a manifestation.
Davis Strait
is no longer a barrier
Greenlanders
and their fellows
in Canada
and in Alaska
between.
Paths (of communication)
in connection with their
bettering
in years
coming
among ourselves
we should become closer.
Eskimos
of their unification
the idea
is gradually being realised.

It is only natural

one another
that we should want to get
to know.

Issikkurput
taannaavuq.
Uqaatsivut
ataasiupput
kulturikkullu
tunuliaqutirput
assigiippuq.
Allatut
uqaatigalugu:
inuiaavugut
ataatsit, tamattalu
issittuni
najugaqarpugut.
Ajurnartursiutinilli
akiugassaqarpugut.

Inuianniguit
silarsuarmi
ikinnirpaat
ilagaatigut.
Inuuvugut
siamasiqaluta.
Aammattaarli
naalagaavvinnut
assigiinnigitsunut
pingasunut
ataavugut.
Sungiusimavarpulli
uqitsursiunnarani
inuuniq.
Ukiuni
tuusintilinni
arlalinni
pinngurtitarsuaq
naakkittaatsuq
akiurniarsimavarput
inuit
napavvigisinnaasaata
killirpiaani.

Our viewpoint
is this.
Our language
is one
and culturally
our background
is the same.
In another way
putting it:
we are a people
a single, and we all
in the Arctic
live.
But problems
we have that have to be
confronted.
Small peoples
in the world
the most sparsely populated
we are one of.
We live
very spread out.
And also
to nations
different
three
we are attached.
But we are used to
not only in easy times
living.
For years
thousands
many
Nature
merciless
we have struggled against
human beings'
endurance
at the very limit of.

Teknikituqarput
 iluaqutsiullugu
 annassimavugut,
 maannalu
 tekniki
 nutaag
 ikiursiupparput.
 Suliqatigiinnissamut
 najuqutassat
 iluarsartuutilirpavut.
 Ajunngiqaag
 misigisimagaangatta
 illirsuqatigiissinna-

Our old technology
 making use of it
 we have survived,
 and now
 technology
 new
 we are aided by it.
 For cooperation
 the basis
 we have begun to organize.
 It is very good
 when we feel
 that we can protect our-

agatta.
 Kisiannili
 aamma
 kulturikkut
 sunniutiqlarluartumik
 suliqatigiiniartussa-
 avugut.
 Tamatumunnga
 aqutissaq
 tassa
 ataatsimut
 allattaasiqarniq.

selves together.
 However
 also
 as regards culture
 effectively
 we should be able to work
 together.
 Towards this
 the path
 it is
 one (in common)
 having a writing system.

Polar Eskimo (III)

“Old Woman as Baby of Stone-beings”
 (Amaunalik, ed. Holtved, text 52)

Ningiulghuaruq
 pihuraalughalirpuq.
 Tamaaniguuq
 nalautiliraik¹
 ujaraghuang
 inururhamahurhuak.
 Tiguguagaaguq,
 qiturngartaarigaang,
 iglurhuarmingnun
 angirlautiqigaang.
 Annurairjarluguguuq
 tamaani
 iglirmunnguq
 hinigtigattaliqigaang
 aqarlugu
 huli.
 Tugtuliajaalidlaraanga-
 miguuq
 annuraapaluining
 inurhidlugu
 audlaqattartung
 taaja
 muluqattartung
 hulidluaq.
 Taaja
 muludluting
 annuraapaluni
 inuliraangamigin,
 taaja
 annuraaqanngidluni
 tahhaniinguhaqattapa-
 lugtuq
 tunnurtuumadluarluni.

An old woman, it is told,
 went out for a walk.
 Here
 she came across
 two big stones
 turned into human beings.
 They took her, it is told,
 they took her as their child,
 to their big house
 they took her home.
 Taking off her clothes
 here
 on the sleeping platform
 they now let her sleep
 caressing her
 all the time.
 Whenever they were about
 to go out reindeer-hunting
 her clothes
 taking them out of her reach
 they used to leave
 and then
 stay away a long time
 all the time.
 Thus
 when they were away
 her clothes
 never being able to reach
 them,
 so
 without her clothes
 she would have to remain
 there
 though she really would
 have liked to eat some rein-
 deer tallow.

Tikitsiararaguq
 tahhaguq
 aqarhannguatsialira-
 raang.
 Kiihaguq
 qingapaluata
 nuupalua
 ujarannguliquhuq.
 Iluanngidlualiqigaa
 ujarannguligangan.

Kiihaguq
 ima
 pilirmigaing
 audlajaaliqanganning

aahiit
 iluanngidlualiqanga-
 miung:
 “Audlajanngitsur-
 huanga²,
 annuraakkali
 qaikkadlarniariting!”
 Tuniqigaaguq
 kiiha
 annuraangining,
 Audlaqanganniguurng

audlaqihuq
 arpangirluni
 tarriqanganning.

They used to come home
 and then
 they used to caress her.

Finally
 her nose's
 tip
 began to turn to stone.
 She found it all wrong
 when it began to turn to
 stone.
 Finally
 thus
 she said to them
 when they were on the point
 of leaving
 once again
 finding it all wrong:

“I won't go away,
 but my clothes
 (you) give me them first!”
 They gave her
 at last
 her clothes.
 When they had left her, it is
 told,
 she went off
 running
 as soon as they were out of
 sight.

1. Holtved has **-riik** here and elsewhere (and cf. 3rd person dual causative **-gannik** below).
2. Presumably on analogy with 3rd person **hurhuaq**, etc.

Ingirlaliqihug.
Tamaungaguuq
unipalugharturng
irhutsiqaluni.
Kiihaguq
ahuguq
irhirpadlaqihut
taajaiharluting
unatauppalugturhuu-
dlutiguuq.
Ujaragpalughiguuq!
Nuliarhuangaguuq
ima
pirpadlatsiararauq:
"Avluraapia
nalunairungniirhuq!"

Unatauppalugturhu-
aguuq.
Ujaragpalughii!
Taimailurpalughinnar-
turhuaq
nuliarhuanga:

She wandered along.
Here
she stopped
and hid herself.
At last
indeed
they could be heard coming
and as they were doing so
beating each other.

How it rang of stone!
His wife
thus
kept on saying:
"Her little footprint
is no longer distinguish-
able!"
They could be heard beating
each other hard.
How it rang of stone!
Thus she just kept on saying
his wife:

"Avluraapia
nalunairungniirhuq!"

Kiihaguq
taaja
huli
taimailurhuglutik
alijarturhinnaqihuk.
Taima
kiiha
audlarpadlaqanganning

angirlarluni
audlaqihug,
qingapalungmi
nuupalua
ujaranngurhamahuq.
Tahhani
ilaminun
tikinnguapiliqihug
taanna
ningiulughuaq.

"Her little footprint
is no longer distinguish-
able!"
Finally
then
still
behaving this way
they withdrew.
Then
finally
when they could be heard to
have left
returning home
she went off,
her nose's
tip
having turned to stone.
There
to her relatives
she came home
this
old woman.

North Baffin (IV)

"Inland Hunting"

(Suzanne Niviattiaq, Inummariit, 1974 no. 3)

Nunamut
imanna
pivalaurpugut,
imaak
taijauvalaurtuq
"nunarpartut",
tugtunik
annuraagsanik
pijarturasuglutik
Tagva
upirngaakkut
tuvairnialirmat

tauvunga
nunaviup
sinaanut
audlarlutik,
tamaani
ugjugasuglutik
nattirasuglutik
angutit.
Arnait
kamiliurlutik
tuppiurpagiira-
suglutiglu
qisingnik
amma

Into the land
(thus)
we used to go,
thus
it was called
"going inland",
caribou
for clothing
setting out to get.
(Then)
in late spring
when the ice began to break
up
over there
the mainland's
to its shore
setting off,
here
they hunted bearded seal
(and) hunted ring-seal
the men.
The women
making boots
and having made tents

skins
also

nangmautigsanik
qisingnik
panirtittinasuglutik.
Qimmiit
nangmautingit
iluqarlutik
tunuanut
qimmiup
qaanganut
ilidlugu
iludlirsursimadlugu,
taanna
qimmiq
anusimadluni,
ipiutanut
attungirsurlugu
qilagsurlugu.
Taimanna
inuit
pisusiniarlutik
alagsamiglu
ugjugavinirmik
nagsarlutik,
siqquniglu
ursumik

for pack-sacks
skins
they dried.
The dogs'
pack-sacks
being filled
to its back
the dog's
onto
they put it¹
having filled it up,
that
dog
being harnessed,
to the leads
attaching it by thongs
they tied it.
Thus
people
would start off
material for kamik soles
bearded seal skin
bringing,
and seal flippers
with seal-oil

1. i.e. a pack-sack on each dog.

iluliqartunik
ursuggirlutik,
qudlikuluqarlutiglu,
taakkua
siqquit
sauningit
piijarsimadlutik
angmartailittiarlugit.

Aujarmat
tappaunga
nunainnarmut
audlarlutik
pisuglutik
angutit
nangmaglutik
qipingmik
qijuqutikulungmik
iludlirlugu.
Nutaraqaramik
taqagaangat
taanna
nutaraq
qaangani
igsivaarpagluni.
Taanna
nulianga
tupiup
qananginnik
qijuarjungnik
adliniq
iluliqarlugu
taassuma

filled
bringing seal-oil,
and with little lamps,
those
flippers
their bones
having been removed
without making holes in the
skin.

When the summer came
up there
to the mainland
setting out
they walked
the men
carrying
a cover
a little box¹
containing.
As there were children
if one got tired
that
child
on top of it
would sit.
She
his wife
the tent's
poles
bits of wood
the floor-skin
wrapping it round
that

arnaup
nangmagluniuk,
amaarlunilu

taqajaraangamik

nuqqarpaglutik.
Taanna
angut
qinngummigarpagluni
tugtusiurluni.
Tappaunga
tugtuqartumut
tikinnamik
udlivalirlutik
tangmaaraangamik,

tugtuqaqattalimat
qijugtaanginnarnut²
uujuliurpaglutik.
Taakkua
ursuggiani
siqquit
unnukkaangat
ikumadjutigivaglugit.
Kisiani
maqulualiraangat
qijugtaat
qausiliraangata
qudlirmut
tiiliurpaglutik
uujuliurpaglutiglu.

woman
carried it,
and she carrying (it) over
her shoulders
whenever they would get
tired
they would stop.
That
man
using binoculars
looked for caribou.
Up there
where there were caribou
when they arrived
spending the day
when they would strike
camp,
when someone got a caribou
over a wood fire
they would cook the meat.
Those people
the seal-oil they'd brought
(in) the seal flippers
when it was night
they would use as fuel.
But
whenever it began to rain
the wood
when it would get wet
over the oil-lamp
they would make tea
and cook meat.

South Baffin (Cape Dorset) (V)

"How I was Almost Killed"
(Pita Pitsiulaaq, ed. D. Eber)

Asivarvigsatsia-
ngulaurpuq
silatsiammariudluni,
irnira
Aasivak
asivaqatigijara
nunaqativut
pijagsaqaluaramik

ilaugumalaunngimmata.
Aulautittinnik
ursugsailaursunuk
audlariasijuguk.
Aigumammarilirsunuk
Aasivaglu
aivirnut
uuttunut.

It was a good time to go
hunting with floats
the weather being fine,
my son
Aasivak
came float-hunting with me
our fellow villagers
because they had caught
plenty (already)
not wanting to come along.
With our motor(boat)
being out of oil
we set off.
We really wanted to go
I and Aasivak
to the walruses
basking.

Tikinnannuk
qinngutiingnut
qiniliraluarama
takunngippunga
siqinnimmaringmat.

Irnirma
takuvangit.
Kisiani
takujausimalirsunuk
takutainnarattigu
aivirlu
atausiq
naigami

When we arrived
in my binoculars
when I tried to look
I didn't see (anything)
because the sun was really
shining brightly.
My son
saw them.
But
we had been seen
when we at last saw it
(and) a walrus
one
when it smelled

1. With their belongings in.
2. Presumably of gathered twigs or dry moss.

uvattinnik aqqariirsuni. Tikinnasualirtavuk tamarmik aqqalaunnginninginni. Ungasigtukadlaudlunuk	us already diving down. We tried to reach it they all before they had dived down. We being quite a long way away still I got up on the ice and missed ¹ (and) all of them diving down. After following them three I caught (walruses) and on the harpoons ² , they didn't sink. The walruses we'd caught one of them was really big, even with Aasivak helping each other	takujaulaunngitainnar- puguk. Pilagiitainnarlaur- puguk kisiani taqqirtaqaqalirti- dlugu. Aulautivuk audlariaraluarattigu piulaunngilat, pirvadlaagalatu- innarput. Siquminniarturi- dluttigit isumatsautigilir- sunuk. Irnira takunnaalumut aulautinik uvannik takunngippurлуunniit sanguqugaluarakku apursunuglu sikunut, nuqqatsiammarigsu- tigli aulautit. Aasivak aaqqigsigasualaura- luarsuni aulautinik ajulaurpuq. Unnuungmat anurimmarilaurpuq kappiasuinnarpagsu- ngalu anurimik ...	but we weren't seen. We finally finished flensing but while the moon was out. Our motor when we tried to get it started had something wrong with it, it just made a bit of a noise. That is was broken we began to think. My son because he was paying so much attention to the motor me didn't even notice although I asked him to change course and we were bumping against the ice, and it stopped completely the motor. Aasivak although he tried to fix the motor it was no good. When it grew late in the evening a real gale blew up and me being always afraid of the wind ...
suli qakiriartunga uniursidlungalu, tamarmiglu aqqirsutik. Malilaursugit pingasunik aivvirsunga unaarsatigudlu kiviniannngimmata. Aivagtatta ilangat angjummariulaurpuq, Aasivagluunniit ikajurtigiikkaluarsu- nuk kivigunnalaunngippa- vuk. Aasivagluunniit irravijjalaursuniuk, kisiani amulilaurpavuk. Taarsijuviniuvuq pilagtidlunuk, qajariavalungnik tusarपालारलु- puguk ungasigsivadliava- lugtunik. Qadlunaartamik ikitsidlunga udlajararpalirtunga takujaugumagaluumut qajarianut asittinnut ikajurtiqarumadlunuk niqinut,	we couldn't pull it up. Even Aasivak when he cut out its innards, but we (at last) pulled it up. It had grown dark while we flensed (it), the sound of paddling we began to hear gradually growing distant. A (white man's) lamp lighting I began to run because I wanted to be seen by the boats other (than us) wanting to be helped with the meat,		

Labrador (VI)

"Christmas Time in Northern Labrador"
(Sam Metcalfe, Inuktitut, Winter 1978)

Imittasimajut katimmavimmut kajusimmata nalunaqattalau- nngituk aittutaunianningit	People carrying water to the church when they came up it was a sign of their holding a 'Love Feast' ³	katimmavimmi. Katimmaviup tutsuungani	in the church. The church's in its porch
---	---	---	--

1. i.e. when he fired at them.
2. i.e. attached to the harpoon lines.
3. Literally 'giving out'.

tittisiqattalauttut
 ukkusialunnik
 tiiliugutitsanik.
 Ajuqittuijuk
 angijuqqauqatigiinik
 qaujititsiqatta-
 lauttuk
 naammasimmat
 aittutuivik.
 Angijuqqauqatigiit
 aittuiqattalauttut
 tiimik
 qaqquujanidlu.
 Iluunnasiammagitik
 katimmavimmiitut
 nigittitauqattalauttut
 kinaluunniit
 puiguttautinnagu.
 Qajuuttait
 ununningit
 naammangipata
 iluunnainut
 angijuqqauqatigiit
 katitsuiqattalauttut
 pijagiisimajunit

 tutsuunut
 uvvagiattugiigamik
 qajuuttanik
 qimattauqaujut
 aittutauqattalauttut.
 Aittutauniup
 naaninganut
 katimmavimmiitut
 tutsiaqattalauttut.
 Qajuuttaaluit
 pivvalaanningit
 tusaatsauqattalauttut
 tutsiatuqagaluatti-
 lugu.
 Katimmaviup
 idluani
 annanginnait
 itsivaqattalauttut,
 angutit
 akianiittilugit,
 unuttumagiit
 nutagait
 qiaqattalauttut
 katimmavimmi
 anaanangit
 nuqqatitsigasuaqatta-
 lauttut
 amaamattisijut

they would boil water
 in big pots
 for making tea in.
 The minister
 the church elders
 would give them a cue

 when the time came
 for the giving out.
 The elders
 would give out
 tea
 and biscuits.
 All of them
 in the church
 were given food
 no one
 being forgotten.
 Mugs
 the number of
 if there weren't enough
 for all
 the elders
 would collect
 from those who'd already
 finished
 to the porch
 when they'd gone to wash
 the mugs
 the ones which were left
 would be given out.
 The 'Love Feast'
 until it finished
 the people in the church
 sang.
 The mugs'
 noise
 could be heard
 while all the time there was
 singing.
 The church's
 one side
 just woman
 would sit,
 the men
 while on the other side,
 lots of
 children
 crying
 in the church
 their mothers
 trying to make them stop

 giving them the breast

uvvalu
 qanutuinnak
 nuqqatitsituagutik
 qiajunik.
 Taimaigaluattilugit
 nutagait
 qianginnaqattalauttut
 naaninganut
 katimajuqatidlugu.
 Sugusiit
 saanganiittut
 uimajaagalappata
 nuqqatitaugasuaqatta-
 lauttut
 angijuqqauqatigiinut.
 Nuqqagumannngipata
 immiguutitauqatta-
 lauttut,
 amma
 nuqqangipata
 adlaat,
 anititauungulauttut;
 anititaulaugannuk
 ilannaagalu
 aattanik
 jaariqalittilunga.
 Taitsumani
 katimmaviliasima-
 lauqqugut
 nuti
 Ludi
 tunuttiniittuk
 niliganialittilugu
 qataittukulummik.

 Ilannaagalu
 ijugumappaanialitti-
 lunuk
 adlaat
 sikkisiqattalauqu-
 guk.
 Ijuliaqigannuk
 angijuqqauqatigiik
 uvattinik
 adjasilauttut
 silamut
 anitsigiattutuk.
 Taimainnganik
 katimmaviliatsialau-
 tsimannngilanga
 kisiani
 saalagijaugama
 angijuqqaakanut
 nanituinnak.

or
 any way
 they could get them to stop
 crying.
 While they were doing this
 the children
 just went on crying
 to the end
 while the service lasted.
 The youngsters
 in the front
 if they misbehaved
 they would be made to stop

 by the elders.
 If they would't stop
 they would be separated,

 still
 if they didn't stop
 even
 they'd be sent out;
 for we were sent out
 I and my friend
 eight
 when I was (years old).
 At that time
 we had gone to church

 when all at once
 Ludi
 behind us
 was beginning to let off farts
 (and let) a squeaky little
 one.
 My friend and I
 really wanting to laugh

 to the point
 (where) we burst out.

 Because we started laughing
 two elders
 us
 carrying
 out
 came to make (us) leave.
 After that
 I didn't go to church much

 but
 when prevailed upon
 by my parents
 wherever.¹

1. i.e. whenever (only then).

Tarramiut (VII)

"Sanaaq"¹

(Salome Mitjarjuk, ed. B. Saladin d'Anglure)

Paniga
Qumaq
atinga,
saniani
itsivatidlugu,
uujurtulirtuq:

puugutaqarsuni
kiasimmilu
tulimaamidlu
qumiusiaaminik.
Uujurtusuni
imailijuq:
"Uluga!
Qumaq!
Qailauruk!"
Asuilaa
pijitsisijuq
anaanamini
uujurtuqatautsaralua.
Anaanangali
unikkaatuatsaralua
qimmiminik
saunnituvinirmik
imaak:
"Kajualuk
saunnituaalummat

ursutuamik
iiqqativasungaaliq-
qauvara,
qanuq
saunnisimagunnaini-
armangaat.
Taquatuaranik
annatutsagaliqqauvuq

Kajualuk;
maralatuinnaliq-
qauvuq
akunialummarik
saunnisimalirami,

tiiliurtilunga".
Panigulualu
uqalimaqattamijuq
apirsusunilu:
"Anaanaak,
qimmialuvut?"
Angirtuq
anaananga:
"Aa!"

Her daughter,
Qumaq
by name,
at her side
while she sat,
she began to eat boiled
meat:
having (in) a bowl
a shoulder
and a rib
set aside for her.
Eating the meat
she said:
"My ulu!
Qumaq!
Bring it to me!"
And indeed
she did this for
her mother
(while) eating meat with her.
Then her mother
told her the story
about her dog
that swallowed a bone
thus:
"Kajualuk
because he went and swal-
lowed a bone
the last piece of blubber
I made him swallow (the
lot),
(to see) how
he could get rid of the bone.

With my last provisions
he just managed to get over
it,
Kajualuk;
he kept on
moaning
for a long time
because he'd choked on the
bone,
while I made tea".
And her little daughter
chattered on
and asked:
"Mummy,
(was it) our big dog?"
She agreed
her mother:
"Yes!"

Nidjaluttaasitsa-
mitsuni:

"Taka taka taka".

Qumaq
nidjaluttaaliqquq
pinnguasaralua
idlimi.
Usirtilangalirsutik

anaananga
uqasigivuq:
"Paniik,
usirtilirlagit
unnutualuummat,
kamidlalirlagit!
Ii!
Ilummuulit-
samarikkavit!
Pisunngilaq!
Kamittaaraatalaujujuq!
Alatsamik
kinitisijiudjilanga-
liqqunga,
unnuaq
kinitisiniarmat".
Puugutarmut
kinitisijiudjiliqquq.
Usirtilangalirsuni
uqalimaqattalirtuq
Qumaq:
"Anaanangai!
Apaapa!²
Paurngaapimmik!"
Anaananga
uqartuq:
"Pisungalaukalirit
naannugulitsaruara-
vit".
Qumaq:
"Aa!
Anaanaadli,
ataataqanngilanga"
lagululirivuq.
Sunatuinnamik
isumakadlaqattarami
piaraumut.
Anaananga
uqasigivuq:
"Aa
ataataidli-ina
tuqujuvinaaluulau-
jujuq,
qammiungittualuk,
kisiani
takugumaartavut

1. From the fragment appearing in Inuksiitiit Allaniagait, 1977.

2. Child's word.

Then she began humming a
bit:

"Taka taka taka".

Qumaq
began to hum
while playing
on the sleeping-platform.
When it was time for them
to get undressed
her mother
spoke again:
"Daughter,
let me undress you
because it's getting late,
let me take your boots off!
Ii!
They are really
leaking on you!
How she walks and walks!
She's just got new boots!
Material for a sole
I will soften up for you,

overnight
for it will soften up".
Into a bowl
she placed it to soften.
About to get undressed
started chattering away
Qumaq:
"Mummy!
(Give me) food!
Berries!"
Her mother
said:
"Take some for the last time
or you'll get a tummy-ache".

Qumaq:
"OK!
But Mummy,
I don't have a father"
the little one then said.
Anything at all
she would think up
being a child.
Her mother
spoke again:
"Yes
but your father
died a long time ago,

long ago,
but
we shall see him

silaurngilirpat.
Nakkatuvinaaluulau-
jujuq
maqitsuni.

Inutsianguqujiqatta-
laujummat
uvattinik
inutsiangugasuppani-
aqqutit.”
Qumaq
nidliasaliqquq:
“Ai!
Mikijuguluutidlunga
tuqujuvinaaluk ...”
Taimali
sinigasusivuuk,
panigiik,

at the ‘end of the world’.
He fell long ago (into the
water)
when he was off on a jour-
ney.
Because he often told to be-
have well
us
you will try to behave well.”

Qumaq
cried out:
“Ai!
When I was tiny
he died ...”
Then
they tried to sleep,
she and her daughter,

uqalimautigiiirmatik.
Tainna
sinilirsuni
Qumaq
itidlimaliqquq,
makitsuni
pisutsunilu
qiagalatsaralua:
“Anaanaak,
amalaunnga,
pisudlunuk,”
latsaralua.
Anaanangali
tigusijuq
Qumarmik
innatitsugulu.
Taima
sinisigiirivuuq.

having finished chatting.
She
while sleeping
Qumaq
walked in her sleep,
she got up
and walked about
crying out:
“Mummy,
take me on your back,
let’s walk (together),”
saying.
But her mother
took
Qumaq
and laid her down.
Then
she fell asleep again.

Caribou (VIII)

“Harpi’s Killings”
(Michel Kanajuq, Inuktitut, Spring 1977)

Taima
Harpiguuq
umingmaghiurhinnara-
luarluni
tagpaunga
nukaa,
Akiliniirmiuni
inmat
nuliani
haturtaungmat,

nuliaqanngittluni
ailirpuq.
Igjugaaujuk
angajunilu
kativuk
akunnirmi;
taamna
nukani
nuliaqanngittuq
katigamiuk
taipkununga
Akiliniirmiunut
piqatigilirpaa,
Igjugaaujuk
utiqatauliribluni
taipkununga.
Ahuilaa
taarhingmat
urnilirpait.
Harpi
itirami

Thus
Harpi, it is told,
while out musk-ox-hunting

up there
his younger brother,
in Akiliniirmiut
when he was
his wife
because she had been taken
back,¹
not having any wife
was returning home.
Igjugaaujuk
and his elder brother
met
in-between;
he
his younger brother
wifeless
when he met him
to them
(at) Akiliniirmiut
he accompanied him,
Igjugaaujuk
returning (with him)
to them.
And so
when it was dark
they came to them.
Harpi
when he went in

uqarpuq
Iglutadnaamut²
“Aitsiara
haturpiuk?”
Uqarpuq
taamna
ataatanga:
“Ii, haturpara.”
Harpi
amma
huli
uqarpuq
Iglutadnaamut:
“Taapkua
umingmaut
qailit.”

“Pinianggittut,”
Iglutadnaaq
uqarpuq.
Amma
Harpi
uqarivuuq:
“Takanna
qimmiq
qaili.”
“Pinianggittuq,”
Iglutadnaaq
uqarivuuq.

said
to Iglutadnaamut:
“My sister-in-law
have you taken her back?”
Said
he
her father:
“Yes, I’ve taken her back.”
Harpi
also
once more
said
to Iglutadnaaq:
“Those
musk-ox
let them be brought (to
me).”
“They shan’t be,”
Iglutadnaaq
said.
Once more
Harpi
spoke again:
“Down there
the dog
let it be brought.”
“It shan’t be,”
Iglutadnaaq
spoke again.

1. By force (hence the demand for compensation below).
2. Igjugaaujuk’s father-in-law.

Ahuilaa	And so	arnanit	from the women
Harpi	Harpi	katihimajunit	gathered (there)
Ulimaanmik	an axe	ukkarmik	a lamp
tiguhivug	took	aigirpuq,	fetches,
ulimagpaalu	and hit him with it	taamna	that
Harpi	Harpi	iglu	house
Iglutadnaaq.	Iglutadnaaq.	inuarviujuq	where there had been a
Hiqqurtidjunmik	A gun		killing
ijirhimajaqarami	because he had hidden	qaumaqublugu.	wanting to light.
igami	in the cooking area	Nipititaaq	Nipititaaq ²
amma	also	apirivuq:	asked:
hiqqurtilirivaa.	he shot him.	"Huuq	"Why
Ikumagami	Alight,	qamitpihi?"	did your light go out?"
ukkarlu	(and) the lamp ¹	Igjugaaq	Igjugaaq
hupijaubluni	was blown out	haglubluni	lying
hiqqurmat.	when the shot was fired.	uqarpuq:	said:
Ahuilaa	And then	"Puluatsinilugtut."	"They were trying to light
Taalualirmat	because he began hiding		their cigarettes."
taamna	(him)	Nipititaaq	Nipititaaq
pijumagaluarlugu	though he wanted to catch	apirikkannirpuq:	asked further:
	him	"Hunali	"But what
Ihagut	Ihagut	hiqqurpalaartuujartuq?"	sounded like a gun going
ajulirpaa,	he could not get him,		off?"
namulugtaa	everywhere	Igjugaaq	Igjugaaq
qimagpangmat	because he fled	hagluinnarluni	still lying
hirluanudlu	to the store-rooms	uqarpuq:	said:
namutuinnag.	(and) all over the place.	"Pirujarli	"Frozen meat (from a
Ikumaqanngilirmat	Because there was no light	nirinilukkavut."	cache)
Harpi	Harpi		(which) we were trying to
tuqunniq	killing(him)	Iglumut	eat."
ajulirpaa.	could not.	inuarviujumut	To the house
Taamna	He	utirpuq.	where there had been the
nukanga	his younger brother		killing
Igjugaaq	Igjugaaq		he returned.
taipkuananngat	from them		

Netsilik (IX)

"The Eagle (and the Whale)"
(K. Rasmussen, vol. 8, p. 409)

Qupanuarpaup	An eagle	Nurrarnik	Caribou calves
arnaq	a woman	anguqattarmat	when it caught
nuliarililraarunarpaa	got as a wife	pilraalulraalirpuruuq	she'd plait the sinews to-
imnitidlugu	taking her high up		gether
imnamut.	on a cliff.	arnaq	the woman
Igluqanngitsudluk,	It had no house, poor thing,	ninngutighaminik,	as a thing to let herself
hilaluliraangat	whenever it rained		down by,
iharuglungminik	its wings	nurraup	a caribou calf's
ihavaglugu.	stretching over her.	ivalunngua	sinews
Maqaiqattarluni	When it was away hunting	tapiqqutariblugu,	doubling,
angilraraangami ³	and came home	qupanuarpak	the eagle
qulaanit	from above		
tingmilraanalugtuni	flapping about		
quiblugu	it would piss on her		
nuliaqattaraa.	and copulate with her.		

1. Fire or any source of light.
2. One of the women in the other house.
3. For **angizrar-** or **angitrar-**? (the forms today).

angilraugaangat
adlinirminut
ilivaglugu
pilraani.
Qainnannguuq
tikiutingmingmata
ningingmigami.
Inuutingmat
majuaqqigpuq;
uigugamiuk
apuutivuq.
Qainnanut
umiarlutik
qimaatiriarpait.
Qupanuarpannguuq
niptalraalugunarpuq,
malingnaubluni
qagiliraaanalughinnar-
puq.
Alirtaa
katagauvuq.
Ninngakkamiguuq
ninngautidlugpaa
qupanuarpaup.
Igluaguuq
katagaugivuq
alirtaa.
Ninngautidlugpaa
imaq
hiqirtittarlugu
iharuglungminik.
Atigaaguuq
katagauvuq.
Ninngautilraanalug-
paa.
Malingnaužunaluk
ninngartuq
akuniligtirtaulirami

angutigidlugpagpuq.

when it was coming home
under her sleeping skin
laying
her plaiting.
Kayaks, they say,
when they arrived
she lowered herself down.
Because it was too short
she climbed up again;
when she'd made it longer
she got down.
The kayaks
making (them) into a raft¹
they helped her flee.
The eagle
came into sight,
pursuing
it drew near.

Her stocking
was dropped.
Because it was furious
it vented its fury on it
the eagle.
The other
was also dropped
her stocking.
It vented its fury on it
the sea
lashing it to foam
with its wings.
Her inner coat
was dropped.
It vented its fury on it.

The big pursuer
furious
when it was delayed (in this
way)
behaved just like a man.

Qarliiguuq
katagauvivut;
ninngautilraanalugpai.
Iglut
tikitaularaalugput.
Tikiutigami
igalaaq
ihivarpa.
Ninngautitaguq²
agpiutivait:
"Ninngaalugidlag-
piarniarputit,
qaqalraanalugit
ihaakkannirtirtuar-
lutit
aarlukkannirtirtuar-
lutit!"
Qupanuarpak
qaqalirivuq.

Qaqalirmat
unngitigut³
kapilraanalughinnar-
pait,
nivilraanalughinnar-
puq.
Turhuuk
imigitilraanalungnir-
paik
tuqugami.
Qupanuarpannguuq
avittugaugami
uummataa
qimminut
tuniurautauvuq,
qatigainunnguuq
iluanunngarlutik
qimmit
nirivagput.

Her trousers
were also dropped;
it vented its fury on them.
The houses
(at last) they were reached.
When it got there
the window
it tore it to pieces.
Its brothers-in-law
spoke out to it:
"(Try and) be a real
brother-in-law,
show your good humour
(by) spreading your wings
more
(and) lifting your eyes up
more!"
The eagle
then showed its good
humour.
When it began to do so
through the armpits
they stabbed it,

and it tumbled over back-
wards.
The entrance passage
it made to collapse

when it died.
The eagle, it is said,
when it was cut up
its heart
to the dogs
was shared out,
into its back bone⁴
crawling in
the dogs
ate.

Copper (X)

"The Giant"
(M. Métayer, text 90)

Ingilraannguuq
inuit
Nuahurnirmi
kuukkijut.
Kuukkitidlugit
upinraami
inugpaguuq
nuijuq.
Qagliliramiguuq
hiqiniq

Long ago, they say,
the people
at Nuahurniq
were fishing in the river.
While they were at the river
in the spring
a giant
appeared.
When he came near
the sun

ualitidlugu
inuinnnguuq
talvani
tatamaalaqigamik

being in the west
the people
then
(because) they were scared

1. i.e. joining them so she could lie across them.
2. Rasmussen has 'ningaavisa', as in Greenlandic.
3. Rasmussen has 'urnatigut', as in Greenlandic for 'through its armpit', from **uniq**, (Netsilik **unngagut?**).
4. It was so big.

quilirtaulirpiartut.
 Hiqiniq
 upinraami
 qulvahigpagtuq,
 qilangmiujutun
 itpagtuq.
 Qagliliramiguuq
 qaglilidjarighiga-
 luarani
 talittaaliraa
 hiqiniq.
 Talittaalirmagu
 talvani
 qanurviirutigamik
 inuit
 ingmingnun
 qanurviiramik
 irinalirtut
 irinaliunmingnik
 tuqutaujaghartik
 ihumagiliramikku,

 huvighairamik

 irinarpaliramik,
 talvungaguq
 tupqit
 qulinnuangatigut
 airaalirtuq.
 Ukua
 inuit
 tupqit
 tikitani
 apurungnairamigit,
 kuugaq
 ajanirtujunnuaq
 taamna
 nalughaarnartuq,

 tupqit
 qulaat
 abluraarhuguguuq
 ikaararaa.
 Ikaaqaarhugu
 akinnuagagut
 talvuuna
 irinarhimmaartumi
 akinnuagagut
 anmuulirtuq.

began to be really afraid.
 The sun
 in spring
 is high up (in the sky),
 as if living in the sky
 it is.
 When he came near
 although he wasn't really
 that close
 he began to obscure
 the sun.
 When he obscured it
 then
 as they couldn't do anything
 the people
 for themselves
 as they couldn't do anything
 they began to sing
 (their) magic songs
 their going to be killed
 because they were worried
 about,
 because there was nothing
 more they could do
 (when) they began to sing,
 over that way
 the tents
 just above them
 he started off slowly.
 Those
 people
 their tents
 he'd arrived at
 as he could not reach them,
 the river
 being rather wide
 it
 took a long time to get
 across,
 of the tents
 upstream
 striding across
 he crossed it.
 Having crossed it
 just opposite
 over there
 while the singing went on
 just opposite
 he started down (to lower
 ground).

Ablunighinnuarhuni¹
 pihuraalirami
 anmun
 qutiqqiblugu
 kuugaq,
 ujarahugjugaaluk
 angarjuangunnirtuq
 ulamirtarjuaraaluk
 nunamun
 manguhimajukaphaaluk
 nanurlukagvigigamiu-
 guuq.
 Talvani
 iarajingmanni
 irinartut

 nanurlukagvigiga-
 miuk
 taikunga
 akimun
 uvirtikaqqaa,
 kaivadturtikaqqaa-
 guuq.
 Talvani
 tariumun
 audlartuq
 imainnarmun.
 Tariumun
 audlarami
 nalulirtuq.
 Nalugaarpalirami

 itimangmingniguuq
 nattit
 qalugaalugit
 uqummirpakkait.

 Talvani
 nalugaarpakkami
 Ukadlingnun
 tikilirtuq.
 Ahungaangalingmun
 tikilirami
 nunalittuq.
 Nunalinnami
 ujaranngurtuq
 hiitqumigarami
 hiqiniq
 haattugu.

With small steps
 as he was walking slowly
 down
 following the banks of
 the river,
 an enormous rock
 really big
 a big round thing
 into the ground
 firmly set
 he stretched out upon it².

 Then
 because they had tired him
 those who were singing
 magic songs
 when he lay heavily against
 it
 over there
 on its other side
 he made it tip over,
 he made it roll over.

 Then
 to the sea
 he set off
 to the water.
 Into the sea
 when he set off
 he began to wade.
 While he waded slowly
 along
 with the palms of his hands
 seals
 scooping them up
 he would put them in his
 mouth.
 Then
 wading
 to Ukadlit
 he arrived.
 To Ahungaangalik³
 when he came
 he went on land.
 When he went on land
 he turned to stone
 while kneeling
 the sun
 facing.

1. For **ablurnikinnuarhuni**?

2. On elbows and knees, like a resting bear.

3. i.e. 'the place of Ahungaag (the name of the giant)'.

Mackenzie (XI)

"The Constellation Sivudliit"
(K. Rasmussen, vol. 10, p. 78)

Inuguuq	A man, it is told,
innaq	a grown man
angajuqatakapsak ¹	an old one
qulingmigut	above him
igalilik	had a skylight
tagpikuuna.	up there.
Nukatpiraalup	A young man
tikitkaa	came to him
mikijup;	a small one;
tikinnamiuk	when he came to him
igluagun	by his house (wall)
majuakkirtuq.	he began to climb up.
Majurami	When he had climbed up
suvaluujauttarluni	without making a sound
igaliq	the skylight
tikitarisigaa.	he approached.
Tikinnamiuk	When he came to it
itsuaraa.	he looked down into it.
Inuguuq-nutim	The man, (well) it is said,
sikingajuq	sitting with bent head
takugaa.	he saw.
Takugamiuk	When he saw
angun	the man
uqaudlagtuq	he said
pavunga	upwards
qiviaratarani:	without looking:
"Suum	"What (is it)
uvanga	me
taarpaanga?"	casting a shadow on?"
Saviatsiaq	A small knife
tiguva.	he took.
Tigugamiuk	When he had taken it
qinngi	his nose
ungavaraa	he removed
pilaglugu.	cutting it off.
Tajvaguq	It was (because)
qingaminut	by his nose
taarugaluni	thinking himself to be
	shadowed
	he cut it off.
	He removed it,
	(but) it didn't become light.
	Since it didn't become light
	again
	the knife
	taking
	his eyelids
	cutting them off
	he removed them.
	Well, why not,
	when it (still) didn't become
	light
	his eyebrows
pilakkaa.	
Ungavaraa,	
qaummanngitsuk.	
Qaummanngingmat	
suli	
savingmik	
tigujigami	
sirpini	
pilaglugu	
ungavaraa.	
Nau-ilaa	
qaummanngingmat	
qabluni	

ungavarmigai.
Ungavarmagit
qitusutsagtuq
nukatpiraq.
Tugsirtuq
angun:
"Qarligaaluuka,
qarligaaluuka!"
Arnaunra
nukatpidjap
takumanninniraa,
kiugaa:
"Ukua
tugturasualuup?"
"Qarligaaluuka,
qarligaaluuka!"
"Ukua
naujaak?"
"Qarligaaluuka,
qarligaaluuka!"
"Isunngaaluuk?"

"Aa-ma-ma-ma,
atigik!"
Nukatpiraaluk
paamungnirtuq.
Paami
angun
utaqqiniraa.
Anigami
iglu
kaibjaagsigaak.³
Kaibjaartuk,
malirsuijuk,⁴
qangattartuk.
Arnaq
suvaluirutingmannik

anivuq,
qummut
qiviartuq.
Nutim-nguuq
malirsuijuak
takugaik
tagpaga
qulvarnirtuak
unigtuk,
tagpagaguq
sivudlinngurtuk.

Tajva
mikinirsaq

he also removed them.
When he'd removed them
he creased up with laughter
the young man.
He begged,
the man:
"My (poor) trousers,
my trousers!"
His woman (whom)
the young man
hadn't noticed,
she answered him:
"(Are they) those
of poor caribou-skin?"
"My trousers,
my trousers!"
"Are they those
of young gull skins?"
"My trousers,
my trousers!"
"(Are they those of) arctic
gull?"
"Ye-e-e-es,
put them on!"
The young man
went to the entrance passage.
In the entrance
the man
he waited for him.
When he came out
the house
they began to run around.
They ran around,
chasing,
rose from the ground.
The woman
when there was no more
sound of them
went out,
up
she looked.
Why!
the two chasing
she saw them
up there
risen high in the sky
stopped,
up there, it is told,
they had turned into the
constellation Sivudliit.
it's
the smaller one

1. Perhaps for **angajuqagsaq** (but **kapsak** can mean 'rather').
2. i.e. (for) him.
3. Rasmussen has 'kaujaugarsigaak'.
4. Rasmussen has 'malirsuujuk' (and 'malirsuusuk' below).

sivudliujuq;
taaraangat
sivudliriipagtut,

is in front;
when it is dark
one is in front of the other,

ublurnialiraangat
kudjarpagtut¹.

(and) when day comes
one of them is lower than
the other.

North Slope (XII)

“The Whale”

(Harold Kaveolook, B.S.I.P. 1975)

Arvirsiurniq
isuglitcuužuq
June-ngurman
aasii
umiaqtuqtit
usidliivlugu
umiaqtik
unianiittuaq
surauttanik,
anguniarunnatik
suli
umiamun
ikuvlugič.
Tavžaasii
takudjirlutik
arvangažuut
umiat
nivingngarlugu
takujaq
takižuamun
qižungmun
napparlugu
umiamun.
Aasii
tulautivlugu
umiaqtik
nunamun.
Tavžagguuq
qagšuqtut.

Tavža
qagšuqqaarlutik
sivikitčuq
pianingman
taapkua
arvaktuat
umiat
itqanaijaarsižagtut
nalukatarnigšamun.
Umialingat
umiaqtuqtit
iñungidlu
itqanaijaruužut
nalukatarnigšamudlu
niqinaqinigišangannudlu.
Nalukatarniq
siłami

Whale hunting
reaches as far as
(to) June
(and)
the whaling crews
loading up
their umiaq
on their sled
with their things,
their equipment
and
in the umiaq
placing.
And then
putting up a flag
those who've caught a whale
the crew
hang up
a flag
on a long
wooden pole
raising
on the umiaq.
And
they take it (on land)
their umiaq
to the land.
Then, as they say,
'qagšuqtut' (they return to
the village).
Then
after returning to the village
shortly
after
those
that caught a whale
the crew
start to get ready
for the 'nalukatarniq'².
The captain
of the crew
and his men
get ready
for the nalukatarniq
and the feast.
The nalukatarniq
in the open air

aturuugaat
tapqami.
Ukilhaaržuanik
ajagutčiurlugič
uquuttaliuruužut
umianiglu
akiviglugič
tapqamun.
Niqit
maktaidlu
isagagšausužut
sirluamiñ
avguagšat
mikižužauttarlugič.
Mikižuut
aasii
niqit
maktaidlu
avguat
igšurlugič
kigiunnirnun
naagga
qattaržungnun
autaagagšiuurlugič
iļuqangiññun
iñungnun
qaižuanun
nalukataqtuanun.
Tavžasuli
umiam
iñungič
mapkuliuruummiut
nalukatautigiša-
mingnik
umiam
amingiññik.
Uvlua
nalukatarnigšam
niqinaqinigišavlu
isagutisuužuq
uvluq
qitiqqajasimman
uvlaami

they have it
on the beach.
Tarpaulin
putting on poles
they make shelters
(and) the umiaqs
carrying on their shoulders
to the beach.
Meats
and mattak
have to be taken out
from the ice-cellar
to be cut up
into small pieces.
The small
both
of meat
and mattak
pieces
they place
in containers
or
drums
to be shared out
to all
the people
coming
to the nalukatarniq.
And then
the umiaq's
crew
make the blanket
used for tossing

the umiaq's
from its skins.
The day
of the nalukatarniq
and the feast
usually starts
the day
when it is towards noon
in the morning

1. Rasmussen has 'kuvsarpagtut' (cf. W Gr. **kussar-** 'bend head down low').

2. The whaling celebration with blanket-tossing.

aasii
ariuvlutik
unnuaržuarmagu
Aasii
niringaiqamik
nalukatangaigamiglu
arriarsivlutik.
Qilaužžaqtit atuqtidlu
tunuanun
mapkum,
tunngažuum
marrarmun
atungairman
natiliutivlugu,

and
finishes
late in the evening.
And
after eating
and tossing in the blanket
they start dancing.
The drummers and singers
in back of
the blanket,
lying
on the ground
when it was no longer used
using it as a ground-sheet¹,

inidlaguuzut
aquvitlutik.
Umiaqtuqtit
umialiktiglu
angajužugšausuuzut,
arvaktualhaatkii,

atautčimiunnii
angajugumi
tavža
apai.
Iluqatik
iñuič
aliasungitčuužut!

take up their places
sitting.
The crew
and their captain
must (each) dance,
for they have caught a
whale,
at least once
if one dances
then
that's enough.
Everyone
the people
have lots of fun!

Kobuk (XIII)

“Raven’s Attempt at Fishing”
(from W. Zibell’s ‘Unipchaat 2’)

Tulugarruuq
una
kuukun
taatna
ukairmi,
ukaikšarataqtaumi

sikužaraliqsaumi,
mažža
tingmiižaarniqsuq.
Uvva-aašii
tingmiižaarhuni
tamaani
takauqsiñiqsuq
kanna
qalungmik
ittauružaaqtaumik.
Ikkattuužami
itkanniqsuq
kanna;
takukkanga
qaluk
tažža-aašii
qaluksarumaatčaaqsi-
ñiqsuq.
Taimma
angušarumaatčangniq-
suq
ingmiñi.
Tažža
qulangaiqataužaa-
qlugu,
kaivžaaqtauružaaqti-
ralauqami,
taimma
pijuumigiplugu,

Raven, it is told,
(it was)
along a river
(he)
in the autumn,
as it was at last becoming
autumn
as the ice was forming,
here (he was)
flying along.
And then
as he was flying along
there
he noticed
down there
a fish
staying in one place.
In a shallow place
it stayed
down there;
(that) he’d seen
the fish
and so
he prepared to catch it.

Then
he figured he could catch
(it)
for himself.
Then
hovering above it,

circling slowly,

(then)
wanting to get it,

takanna
qaluksaaqsiñiqsuq.

Tažža
takanunga
qaluksaqtirniqsuq.
Taatna
kajummarmiñiñ
tulugaq
sutilaarminiñ
naluzuq.
Taatna
tulugaq
sutilaarminiñ
nalupluni,
qanutun
taimma
nalugalauqami,
qauržaiqsilratarniq-
suq.
Tažža
qaurži’ami
uilratarniqsuq.
Tupqužam-guurnuti
ilauni
innirhuni.
Taatna
innitunriññiqsaumi

tupqužam
ilauni
qaurži’ami
qiniqtauružaaqsar-
huni;

1. i.e. for a dance-floor.

down there
he began to dive after the
fish.
Then
downwards
quickly he dived after it.
He
in his excitement
Raven
what happened to him
didn’t know.
He
Raven
what had happened to him
not knowing,
how long
then (it was)
not knowing,
at last he regained con-
sciousness.
Then
when he came to
he opened his eyes.
To his surprise a little house
inside
being, it seemed.
He
in (a place with) very little
room
the little house’s
inside
when he came to
he kept trying to look
around;

taamna	that	una	(it was)
tupquṣaq	little house	tuuqamiing	when it hit
mikidlapaiqtuq.	was really very small.	siku	the ice
Uvva-aašii	And then	qaluksaarmi	when he dived after the fish
kangiqsaiqsiniqsuq	he began to perceive that	sikuṣṣarmi	in the ice
qatigaangmi	his back	tuuqamiing,	when it hit it,
ilaunkun	into it	qatigaangmiñun	into his back
naiquni	his head	isiqtittirniraa.	it had forced it into.
isiqtittirniraa.	had been pushed.	Taṣṣa	Then
Sikumun	Into the ice	qanurviitčuq,	there was nothing could be
tutpagitluni,	ramming it so hard,		done,
taatna	he	taatna	that
naiquni	his head	taatnaaningniqsuq.	was that.

Seward Peninsula (King Island) (XIV)

“The Little Girl Who Was Stolen”
(Frank Ellana)

Niaqsaarṣuuṣaruuq	A little girl, it is told,	aippaaga	one (of them)
una	(there was)	panalik,	with a spear,
aniiqtuaq.	out playing.	aippaaga	the other
Aklam	A brown bear	pitiksijaangauṣalik,	with a little bow,
tiugaa.	stole her.	panaliik!”	you with the spear!”
Tavṣa	Then	Aklam	The bear
uuma	it	aviriaa:	asked her:
taamna	her	“Tutiing,	“Grandchild, ²
iṣiqluu,	hiding away,	tutiing,	grandchild,
aklunaamik	with a thong	tutiing,	grandchild,
quaqsimik	(of) rawhide	sunatani	what now
pitukluu,	tying her (to a pole),	pilguaqpiung?”	are you up to?”
panigiaa.	kept her as its daughter.	Niaqsaarṣuum	The little girl
Iwaraluaqluu	Although they looked for	kiugaa:	answered:
	her	“Utkuanga	“Those two down there
satuuṣiaat.	they had to give up.	quvanuanga ³	arctic geese
Tavṣaguq	Then, it is told,	ujuqtuk,	have returned,
uvarnamagu	when it was summer	ujuqtuk!”	have returned!”
angajuugik	her two elder brothers	Taununga	Then (again)
iligaarṣuuṣaak	two young boys	akpiṣutiaik:	she sang out to them:
maliraniuṣaatuk	went out hunting	“Juuwuutkuu,	“Juuwuutkuu,
tingmiaḷhuziṣanik	(with) things for catching	juuwuutkuu,	juuwuutkuu,
	birds	aippaaga	one
satkuuṣaliqlutik.	taking their little hunting	panalik,	with a spear,
	tools.	aippaaga	the other
Tavṣa	Then	pitiksijaangauṣalik,	with a little bow,
uuma	she	panaliik!”	you with the spear!”
niaqsaarṣuum	the little girl	“Tutiing,	“Grandchild,
natkiigaik	noticed them	tutiing,	grandchild,
uguak	those two	tutiing,	grandchild,
angajuungni	her two brothers	sunatani	what now
aniquatiingni	out together	pilguaqpiung?”	are you up to?”
maliraniaqtuak.	hunting.	“Utkuanga	“Those two down there
Akpiṣuṣaigik	She sang out to them		
angajuungni:	her two brothers:		
“Juuwuutkuuu,	“Juuwuutkuuu,		
juuwuutkuuu,	juuwuutkuuu ¹ ,		

1. Probably ‘you down there’. Like in many old songs in Inuit legends some of the words here are unusual in form.

2. Or, rather, ‘little one’ (affectionate).

3. (Archaic/poetic?) for **utkuak quvanuak** (dual).

quvanuanga
ujuqtuk,
ujuqtuk!"
Kiiitaimma
natkiigaak
najaktik.
Kiliksiplutik'aa

satamunga
ininun.
Angutižuuq
uvitluu
aklaq
taamna
turutpagaat.

arctic geese
have returned,
have returned!"
Finally
they saw her
their younger sister.
And so they went to warn
(them)
down there
to the village.
The men, it is told,
running to it
the bear
that
they killed it.

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Appendix A: Affix ordering

The principles of ordering successive affixes in a single word are the same for all Inuit dialects. All words are made up of a stem plus any number of affixes followed by a grammatical (inflectional) ending and, optionally, one or more enclitics beyond that. In the case of a verb, the stem is either verbal in itself or a nominal stem plus a verbalizing affix (groups 1 to 8 in the manual). In the case of a noun, it is either nominal in itself or built up from a verbal stem plus nominalizing affix (group 24). The change from nominal to verbal and vice versa can take place several times within one word. Inside a verbal word a 'sentential' affix (groups 19, 20, 22 and 23) follows any others. Of the latter, verb-extending affixes (groups 9 to 14) generally precede negation (21) and any verb-modifying affix (groups 15 to 18), though a new verb-extending affix can then follow, repeating the

building-up process. Some affixes of this category such as **suri** (think that) can even follow sentential affixes. Within the latter category, tense (19) precedes modality (20), which can in turn be negated and/or followed by an affix of subjective coloration (group 22). A conjunctive affix (group 23) comes right before the grammatical ending. A nominal stem can likewise be expanded by a noun-extending affix (group 25) followed by a noun-modifying affix (26). More than one affix from groups 15 to 18, 22 and 26 can follow in succession, in which case the order is determined solely by the meaning to be expressed. The statements above will be seen to apply to long words such as the following from West Greenlandic, broken up into morphemes and labelled according to affix group below:

aliikusirsuillamassuaanirartassagaluarpaalli

aliikut	lirsur	i	llammak	ssuaq	u	nirar	tar	ssa	galuar	paat	li
8	14	24	26	1	9	18	19	22			Encl.
(entertainment)	(provide)	(1/2-trans.)	(one good at)	(great)	(be)	(say)	(repet.)	(will)	(sure-but)	(they-him)	(how-ever)

An approximate English gloss would be: 'However, they will say that he is a great entertainer, but ... (e.g. we know otherwise)'.

The affix groups used in this manual thus relate to properties of ordering as well as to shared meaning. It is as a consequence of this that a number of affixes appear to belong to more than one group on the lists – e.g. W Greenlandic **sima** appears under groups 17, 19 and 20. This is because as an affix of aspect (under 17) it not only has a slightly different meaning from its entries under 19 (which concerns tense relationship to the time of speaking) and 20 (modality), but also acts differently as regards ordering relative to other affixes. Under 19 it cannot be followed by another affix of aspect (as it could under 17) but can be followed by one of modality, which it cannot if it is used itself as an affix of modality. If more than one enclitic is chosen, **guuq** will be last (following **mi**) – except if **una** is added – and **tuq** and **ttaa**q will precede **lu/li/luunniit** (before **mi**), usually at least; **aasiit** follows any of the latter. For further details and examples see Fortescue, 1980.

Apparent differences from W Greenlandic as regards ordering in other dialects can be resolved if one takes into account 'lexicalization' and 'semi-lexicalization' of combinations of more than one affix that may be different from those preferred in W Greenlandic: as far as possible these have been entered on the relevant lists. Thus in N Slope Iñupiaq for combinations of negation plus an affix of modality the prevailing order is with the negative affix first, whereas in W Greenlandic the preference is, as described, for negation to follow modality.

But even in W Greenlandic certain affixes of modality prefer the Iñupiaq order (e.g. **nnginnguatsiar** as opposed to **gunanngit**); all such '(semi-)lexicalizations' have duly been indicated on the lists, in so far as they go against the ordering principles described above. In Tarramiut all tense affixes can be strengthened by a preceding **tsa(r)**, on its own an affix of subjective coloration that should follow tense, and **gunnair**, an independent affix of aspect like W Greenlandic **junnaar**, is found following tense affixes in such combinations as **laursimaniarunnair** (will never again), where it is probably identical to its entry under group 20 as a modal intensifier ('certainly not'). The attempt has again been made to include mention of all such (common) special combinations. Likewise with the various combinations of affixes used in most dialects to express narrative/subjective coloration (under group 22): often affixes belonging independently elsewhere are involved – e.g. **lir** (begin) and **har** (try to), which in Polar Eskimo commonly appear in such combinations as **palughaliqi**, which has little if any of the meaning of the independent affixes. In every dialect there are a few special, fully lexicalized combinations that seem to be illogical when examined from the point of view of ordering and must be entered as units – thus in N Baffin the combination **jaujuma** is reported (as in **tuqutaujumajuq**, 'the one people wanted to kill'), which does *not* here mean 'want to be -ed'. In W Greenlandic such a combination is seen in **qqunngit**, which (as in most dialects) means 'tell/want not to' as well as the expected 'not tell/want to'.

Appendix B: Central Alaskan Yupik affixes

The following material – which does not include morphophonemic information – is for Central Alaskan Yupik as spoken around the Kuskokwim river, and is based on the new dictionary (Jacobson, S., forthcoming) from the Alaska Native Language Center. It is not valid for Siberian Yupik (Chaplino – Saint Lawrence Island, Naukan, and now virtually extinct Sirenik), nor for Pacific Coast Eskimo (Alutiiq), which are different enough from each other and from Central Alaskan Yupik to be considered separate languages. Besides the Kuskokwim–Yukon dialect represented here, Central Alaskan Yupik also includes the dialects of Nunivak Island, Hooper Bay–Chevak, and Norton Sound. In general Yupik morphophonemics and prosody (which affects the latter) is more complicated than in the Inuit language, and no attempt is made here to go into the details. But to compare the list with those for the Inuit dialects note that the ‘fourth vowel’ /e/ ([ə]) often disappears in context – thus the final syllable **te** on many affixes fuses with the indicative ending **-uq** to form **-tuq**, etc. The syllable **ar** in brackets also usually disappears (leaving vowel length). A /g/ or /r/ in Inuit dialects will often correspond to a /k/ or /q/ in Yupik affixes. An initial /j/ can alternate with /s/, and /c/ (close to the E

Greenlandic sound) corresponds to /s/ or, less commonly, /t/ (or /ts/) in Iñupiaq. Iñupiaq /tq/ corresponds to Yupik /sq/, and Yupik nasal plus stop corresponds to an Iñupiaq stop plus stop in clusters. /r/ and /g/ are voiceless when next to a voiceless consonant and can also appear unvoiced intervocally – in which case they are underlined. Yupik has voiceless nasals (underlined on the list) and labialized velars – the voiceless one appears once on the lists as ‘hw’ (‘w’ in Yupik orthography). A voiceless continuant in Yupik may sometimes correspond to its voiced counterpart in Iñupiaq, and, finally, original geminates (still found in Iñupiaq) have been reduced to single consonants in Yupik.

It should be pointed out that the divisions into semantic groupings has been made to facilitate comparison between Central Yupik and Inuit affixes and they do not *necessarily* fit the ordering rules discussed above for the latter. Thus many Yupik affixes under ‘Subjective coloration’ can apparently be followed by certain affixes of aspect, etc., while certain of the latter cannot in turn be followed by other affixes (Woodbury’s 1981 dissertation discusses this in greater detail).

1. Being & becoming

m(e)taur(ar)⁻ (be in/on – some time)
m(e)te⁻ (be in/on)
(qsig⁻) (be far – in direction)
(ng)u⁻ (be)
(ng)urte⁻ (become)

2. Lacking

(ng)icag⁻ (lack/need)
(ng)ir⁻ (have lost/removed)
(ng)irute/(ng)iute⁻ (no longer have)
(ng)ite⁻ (be without/lack)
tairute⁻ (there is no more –)
taite⁻ (there is no –)

3. Feeling

(ng)ir(ar)⁻ (feel cold in one’s –)
(ng)ir(ar)te⁻ (injure one’s –)
(r)jug⁻ (want)
(r)juumir⁻ (yearn for)
(liqe⁻)(l) (feel pain in/be afflicted by)
(lngu⁻)(l) (have a painful –)

4. Having

ke⁺(l) (have as)
kegci/kegte⁻ (have(a)good)
(kite⁻) (have little/a small)
(kili⁻) (have less)
lgir⁻ (have with one/take along)
lir⁻ (have plenty/lots of)
liqe⁻ (have (a) bad)
ngqer⁻ (have)
rlugte⁻ (have a bad/be inconvenienced by)
rpi/rpau⁻ (have a big)
tange⁻ (there is/are now)
tangqer⁻ (there are/it has)
(tu⁻) (1) (have a big/much)

5. Acquiring

ci⁻ (buy)
ksagute⁺ (get as one’s –)
linqigte⁻ (get another/change one’s –)
(liqe⁻)(2) (catch a lot of)
nge⁻ (get/acquire)
saag⁻ (fetch)
sur⁻ (search for/hunt)
tar⁻ (1) (go for/gather)
(te⁻)(1) (catch)

6. Movement

kuar/kuir⁻ (go by way of)
liar/lijar⁻ (go to)
te⁻ (2) (go to)
(tmurte⁻) (go to – deictics)
((q)vaqanir⁻) (go further towards – deictics)
(var⁻) (move towards – deictics)

7. Acting & seeming like

(r)ngate⁻ (seem like a)
(cug)ninarqe⁻ (taste/smell of)
rpagninarqe⁻ (smell strongly of)

8. Doing with & providing

((ng)ar(ar)te⁺) (hit on the –)
(car(ar)te⁺) (hit on the –)
(ng)ir⁺ (remove its –)
ir/lir⁺ (provide with)
kite⁺ (give to s.o.)
kiur⁻ (prepare)
kliute⁺ (take possession of – as one's –)
li⁻ (make)
liur⁻ (be occupied with/play with/make)
(mig⁺) (put s.th. in/on one's –)
(a)r (1) (verbalizer of loan-words)
tur⁻ (use/eat/wear)
(r)tuuma⁻ (do together with s.th..)
(viar⁺) (do to s.o. in a place – deictics)

9. Judging & saying

(u)ciite (not know where/whether one –)
cili⁻ (appear to have (been) -ed)
jue⁺ (think that)
ke⁺ (2) (consider)
najue⁺ (suppose that)
ngari⁻ (seem to be getting –)
ni⁺ (say that)
(a)r (2) (say)
tasiir/tasiar/taciar⁺ (measure/compare)

10. Wishing & waiting

ciar(ar)⁺ (wait patiently for s.th. to –)
(ner)cir⁺ (wait for s.th. to –)
jug (1) (want to)
jugar⁻ (enjoy -ing)
jugjaaqe (would like to)
junqeg (love to)
juumiir(ar)te (no longer want to)
juumiite (not care to)
juumir (desire to)
Ingu (2) (be tired of)

11. Causation & request

car⁺ (try to cause to)
cetaar⁺ (try to get to)
rqe⁺ (intentionally cause to)
sqe⁺ (ask/want s.o. to)
sqenrite⁺ (ask not to)
squma⁺ (ask/want to)
(te)staili⁺ (prevent from)
vkar/cete⁺ (cause/let)

12. Striving & intending

caar(ar) (try to)
jar(tur) (go in order to)
kunajaaqe (think about/consider -ing)
ngnaqe (try)
ngnaqsaar (try unsuccessfully to)
ngnatug (try hard to)
nrice⁺nar (have decided not to)
nrilkurte⁻ (keep oneself from -ing)
qcaar(ar) (try one's best to)
saag (1) (try to)
taar⁻ (try to make oneself appear –)
(ng)uar (pretend to)

13. Potentiality

(g)arkau (1) (must/is to be -ed)
(g)arkaunrite (needn't (be -ed))
(s)ciigali (no longer be able to)
(s)ciigate (cannot/not easily)
jaurte (can now)
ju⁻ (be good at/tend to/habitually)
jug (2) (tend to)
jugnga (can)
junaite⁻ (cannot be -ed/not such as to –)
junari⁻ (be the right time to)
junarqe⁻ (be such as to/one can)
juuma (be ready to)
lgu (can)
lguir(ute) (can no longer)
lguite (cannot)
naite⁻ (not be such as to)
naqsaaqe⁻ (one can)
nari⁻ (be time to)
na(r)qe⁻ (be such as to be -ed/should/-able)
ngig⁻ (be good at/can easily)
(niite⁻) (be unpleasant to)
(nirqe⁻) (be pleasant to)
nritarkau (mustn't (be -ed))
qainaurte (be ready to)
tar⁻ (2) (tend to/habitually)
turnir⁻ (be good/fast at)

14. Relation shifters

(g)au⁻ (passivizer)
 (s)ciur/(s)cir⁻ (passivizer – to s.o.'s detriment)
 (g)i⁻ (intransitivizer/adversative)
 kenge⁻ (intransitivizer – completed action)
 lguteke⁺ (do together with)
 (u)te⁺ (with/for/reciprocally)
 (u)teke⁺ (transitivizer – means/reason/about)
 vike⁺ (transitivizer – place/person/time)

15. Degree

(g)ar(ar) (barely/just)
 cuar (a little)
 (ng)iinar (more & more)
 jarpiar (almost)
 kaca(g)ar/kacgar (very)
 kaniir (a little more)
 kanirar (more and more)
 ksuar(ar) (a little/quietly)
 mcugte/mjugte (a little)
 mjag (not enough)
 nerkite (only a little)
 nertu (a lot)
 nritar(ar) (almost)
 nru/tru⁻ (more)
 (r)pag (much/hard)
 (qa)piar(ar)/(qa)pig(te) (very/really)
 rluar(ar) (a little)
 sijaag/saag (2) (too/so much)
 ta (so)
 (g)ur(ar)/tur(ar) (1) (a little)
 vakar (so much/so long)
 valag (intensely/too much)
 valur (most/mostly)
 vguar(ar) (a little)
 vlaag (insufficiently)
 vziar (further/more)

16. Manner

ar (at leisure)
 (g)ar(ar)te (suddenly)
 (g)arte (briefly/merely)
 curlag (badly/with interference)
 jaaqe (1) (in vain/nevertheless)
 jarar (early)
 jarar(ar) (very early)
 jugcali (heartily/with enjoyment)
 kajag (anyway/despite one's wishes)
 kiqainar (just/merely)
 laag (quickly)
 ler (suddenly (on purpose))
 lerjag (abruptly/in a huff)
 luaqar (well/it's good that –)
 luatar (well)
 lag (suddenly & surprisingly)

lugtur (quickly)
 (u)maar(ar) (slowly)
 mciur(ar) (a little at a time)
 mli (casually)
 naciur (late/take a long time -ing)
 nerlugte (with difficulty/have trouble from -ing)
 nginar (just/for no particular reason)
 ngsaar (in secret/unnoticed)
 ngsag/ngsi (to no particular purpose/pottering about)
 nqegcaar(ar) (thoroughly/completely)
 qaci (for no real purpose/at leisure)
 qer/qar (1) (briefly/merely)
 qerte (suddenly/fast)
 qtarar(ar) (slowly & with difficulty)
 tngurte (unexpectedly/after changing mind)
 vialug (clumsily)
 vlugte (sloppily)

17. Phase of completion

jaqtir (finally)
 juirute (no longer)
 jukaar(ar) (just about to/at any moment)
 ksaite (not yet)
 kug (going to/about to)
 (li/ri/liri⁻) (become)
 (u)ma/cima (perfective state/for a long time already)
 (u)mari/cimari (already)
 (nga/ngqa⁻) (state)
 nge (begin)
 (na)nriir (stop/no longer)
 pigainar (finally – after hesitation)
 qataar(ar) (start slowly to)
 qatar (going to/about to)
 (g)urainar/turainar (at last – after inability)

18. Frequency & duration

a(r) (repeatedly)
 (g)aqe (usually/would (narrative))
 juite (never)
 ksaitelar (have never -ed)
 lar (repetition)
 naur (1) (usually/would)
 nqigte (again)
 nqigngairute (will never again)
 qaqu/qaqur(ar) (now and then)
 qetaar (repeatedly)
 qu (one after another)
 raar (first)
 rlainar (constantly)
 rqe (2) (one after another/keep on)
 tu (2) (repetition/regularly)
 tuinar(lar/tu) (always/habitually)
 (ur) (piecemeal/bit by bit)
 (g)ur(ar)/tur(ar) (2) (keep on/continuously)
 (g)uralar/turalar (always)
 vaalug/vailug (for first time – in a long time)

19. Tense

(g)arkau (2) (*will (eventually)*)
 ci(i)qe (*future*)
 jaurciiqe (*will start -ing*)
 lru (*past*)
 nerar(ar) (*have just -ed*)
 ngaite (*will not*)
 (niar) (*near future*)
 niarar (*will soon*)

20. Modality

jar (*would – counterfactual*)
 jugnarqe (*probably*)
 li (*perhaps/I wonder*)
 lini (*apparently/now I know that –*)
 lkiite (*not be apparent that –*)
 ngate (2) (*seem to/perhaps*)

21. Negation

jaquna(-k/ku, etc.) (*negative imperative*)
 jugnaite (*definitely not*)
 nrite (*not*)

22. Subjective coloration

jaaqe (2) (*but ...*)
 ja(g)ar (*dear little*)
 ki (*non-immediate imperative modifier*)
 lkug (*no good/damned*)
 mi (*also*)
 naur (2) (*let's – 1st person imperative*)
 pacug (*poor dear*)
 qer/qar (2) (*polite – imperative*)
 urlur (*poor dear*)
 vag (*how –!/so much*)
 viiqna (*don't so much/stop – imperative*)

23. Conjunctional

(g)aq(e)(-an) (*whenever*)
 (ng)inanr(-ani) (*while*)
 juar(-tuq) (*lest he –*)
 li(-kan) (*if – hypothetical*)
 na(-luni) (*in order to*)
 natka(-anun) (*until*)
 ngra(r)(-an) (*although*)
 niar(-tuq) (*so that*)
 qaq(e)(-luni) (*(while) now and then -ing*)
 qaraa(-ltermini)/qaraa(-mi) (*when first*)
 raar(-luni) (*after (first)*)
 vailg(-an) (*before*)
 vakar(-luni) (*while*)
 vke(-nani) (*without -ing*)

24. Nominalizers

(g)aq (*passive participle*)
 (g)arkaq (*s.th. which should be -ed*)
 cetaaq (*s.th. to cause one to –*)
 (u)ciq (*state/fact/object clause*)
 jaiikun/jaiikutaq (*means to prevent*)
 jaraq (*way of/device for*)
 juli (*one good at -ing*)
 junqegli (*one who loves to/crazy about -ing*)
 (s)kar(aq) (*(the) one who -s*)
 ke/kengaq (*the thing one is -ing*)
 lria(q)/(l)nguq (*present participle active/one who*)
 leq (1) (*past participle active or passive/one's action*)
 lgun (*fellow at -ing*)
 ((u)n/(u)taq) (*means/time/instrument for*)
 neq (1) (*state/result/action, etc.*)
 neq (2)/leq (2) (*more/most*)
 neraq/neraraq (1) (*one who recently –*)
 suun (*means/instrument*)
 (s)ta (*agent/-er*)
 taciq (*degree of –*)
 ((u)tiq) (*celebration of -ing*)
 tuli (1) (*one who regularly/easily –*)
 vaa (*exclam.: how –!*)
 (r)vik (1) (*place/time for*)

25. Nominal extenders

cengaq (*one with a little –*)
 kelriik/kelriit (*pair/mutual -s*)
 kuaq (*remains of*)
 (kuci)q (*one of the same kind as – deictics*)
 lek (*owner/one provided with*)
 lgun (*fellow*)
 linraq (*remains of*)
 (lirni)q (*place to the – of*)
 (la)q (*thing from past*)
 lquq (*old broken piece of*)
 luk (1) (*one with a bad –*)
 miu (*dweller*)
 miutaq (*thing living in –*)
 ngalnguq (*one similar to –*)
 nkuk/nkut (*– and family/companions*)
 (qliq/qlikacaar(aq)) (*most in a direction*)
 qutaq (*thing to be used as*)
 (qva(ar)) (*far/near in a direction*)
 tuli (2) (*one who has lots of –*)
 (ng)uaq (*pretend/toy/thing like a –*)
 (r)vik (2) (*place/time*)

26. Nominal modifiers

ar(aq) (*small (bit of)*)
 cileq (*worthless/dilapidated*)
 cuar(aq) (*small*)
 cuk (*lously/ugly old*)
 cungaq (*dear/little*)
 (irun) (*deceased*)
 ja(g)aq (*small/young*)
 kaq (*future/material for*)
 (kar(aq)/ksuar(aq)) (*small*)
 kegtaar(aq) (*new/good*)
 kuineq (*a little bit of*)
 kujuk/kjugaq (*meagre little bit of*)
 liaq (*made (by)*)
 luataq (*good*)
 leq (3) (*former*)
 ler(aq) (*shabby old*)
 lkuk (*no good*)
 lruaraq (*meagre*)
 luk (2) (*bad/old*)
 ne₁raq/ne₁rar(aq) (2) (*new*)
 nginaq (*only/mere*)
 ngjaar(aq)/ngiar(aq) (*old*)
 ngnagaq (*poor quality/damned*)
 ngsak (*small/unimportant*)
 (r)pak (*big*)
 pi(g)aq/pik (*real*)
 qtaq (*cute/poor little/damned*)
 qucuk (*little*)

(rlainaq) (*all of/solely*)
 rlugaq (*good old*)
 rluk (*unpleasant*)
 rpaler(aq) (*huge*)
 rpatur(aq) (*mostly*)
 rugaat (*lots of/crowd of*)
 ruk (*large*)
 raq (*a little/few*)
 taq (*pertaining to*)
 (ng)un (*owned by/one's supply of*)
 urluq (*poor dear*)
 vialuk (*shabby/funny old*)

Enclitics

am (*then/again – contrast/emphasis*)
 gem (*I thought/it seems*)
 guq (*he/they say*)
 hwa (*maybe*)
 (juuq) (*vocative – added to pronoun*)
 (kika) (*exclamations*)
 kiq (*I wonder*)
 (i) (*emphasis – deictics*)
 li (*why! – emphasis*)
 lu (*and*)
 mi (*contrast/how about –?*)
 qaa (*interrogative*)
 tuq/kin (*would that/I wish –*)

Ilinniusiap kitaamiutuunngortinnera

Matuma kinguliini kalaallisuunngortitsinerit immikkoortunit tuluttut taaguuteqartunit: 'Introduction', 'Phonological and grammatical differences between the dialects' aamma 'Note on orthography' nutsigaapput. Kisitsisit oqaatsit naanerini qullaallallugit inissitat immikkut nalunaarsuutitut (kalaallisuunngortinneqanngikkallartunut) tunngatinneqarput. Oqaatsit titarnerit uingasut akorniniittut (/.../) oqaatsinit allanik isumalinnit immikkoortinneqarsinnaanissaannut ilisarnaatinut ('phonemic') tunngasuupput, allallu ungaluutit kipparissut akorniniittut ([...]) oqaatsit qanoq taanerit malilluarlugit ilisarnaataannut ('phonetic') tunngasuullutik. *-p nalunaarpaa iluseq pisoqaaq (misiliugaq). Ujarliummi naggataaniittumi (index) uiguutit sumiorpaluutsini sisamani pingaarneniittut tamarmik sumiorpaluuttip taassuma naalisarneranik (Kitaamiutut = WG, Tarramiutut = T, Qitermiutut = C, North Slope-miutullu = NS) aallaqqaateqarput, ujarliutip pingaarnerp (main list) taassuma immikkoortuata normua inissisimaffigisartik malitsigalugu ('Enc' = uiguutit annerit). Taamaallaat uiguut immikkut nalunaarsuutini (footnotes) taaneqarsimappat nalunaarsuutip normua (ungaluuserlugu) ilanngunneqartarpoq.

Nassuiaat

Ilinniusiaq manna misiligutaavoq uiguutit Kalaallit Nunaanni, Canadami Alaskamili Inuit oqaasiini¹ ator-neqartut imminnut assersuunneqarsinnaanngorlugit takussutissiaalluni immikkoortiterilluni aqqis-sugaasumik pisariuallaanngitsumik naleqqiussineqarsinnaasunngorlugu. Siullerpaamik taamatut ataatsimooortillugit saqqummiunneqarput aammalu assigiiaamik allanneqarlutik. Uiguutit pineqartut tungaasigut assigiinngissutaasut qularnanngitsumik tassaammata arlaanik sumiorpaluuseqartup allamik sumiorpaluuseqartumik paasinninnissaanut (namminerluunniit allameersumit paasineqarnissaanut) ajornartorsiuteqarfiunerpaasut ilagigaat neriuutiginarpoq atuagaq manna naggueqatigiit Inuit atassuteqatigiinnerata oqinnerulernissaanut oqaasilerisullu sumiorpaluuttip ataatsip oqaasiinik ilisimaarinnittut sumiorpaluuttip allap oqaasiinut paasissutissanik pissarsiorlutik soqutiginninnerannut ikiuutaajumaartoq. Oqaatsit nagguiisigut assigiinngissutaasut soorunami aamma nassaassaapput,² kisianni nagguiit oqaatsillu ataasiakkaat iluutsut aalajangersimavissunik isumallit sumiorpaluutsimi ataatsimi ator-neqartut uiguutitut ilusaat allanngorartunut naleqqiullutik ajornannginneralaar-

suarmik immikkoortinneqarsinnaapput isumaallu ordbogimi ujarneqarsinnaallutik inissinneqarsinnaallutilluunniit. Uiguutit nagguinnut amerlaqisunut uiguusiunneqarsinnaasut kisimik matumani ilanngunneqarput – nalorninartut qassikattannguit (ungaluuserneqarlutik) ilanngunneqarlutik. Amerlasuunik 'qerattarnerusimasunik' uiguuteqarpoq oqaatsini iluutsuni ataasiakkaani qassikattanni nassaassaasunik, taakkuli ataatsimut isigalugu sumiorpaluutisni tamani uteqqiat-tutut oqaatigineqarsinnaapput pinngitsooratillu ilinniartariaqarlutik nagguinnut atanerat najoqqutaralugu.

Matumani pingaarnertut itaq inissinniarneqarsimavoq Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani oqaatsit allanneqarlutik atugaanerusut – uannut sungiusimanarnerusut – oqaatsillu Inuit sumiorpaluusiisa atuakkami maani 'pingaarnertutillugit' eqqartorneqartut pingasuusut ator-neqarnerisa akornini assigiinngissutaasunut. Taaneqartut kingulliit uiguutaat imaaliillaannarlutik Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani atugaasunut naleqqiunneqarsinnaanngitsut atuagassatigut assersuutitigut ujarliutit pingaarnertit kingornisigut tullerriaagaallutik takuneqarsinnaapput. Sumiorpaluutsit allat ilaasa (pingaartumik killiunerusut) oqaasiinut takussutissat Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani oqaatsit nalunaarsorneritut naleqqiullutik qularnanngitsumik tamakkiinerunngikkaluarpur aammalu qanganisarpallutilluunniit qularnartunik ilusilinnik ilaqarsinnaagaluarlutik, taamaattariaqarsimavorli najoqqutarisama pissuserisaannut tatiginnittariaqarsimagama – naak paasissutissatut ilanngunneqartut eqqortuunerannut akisussaassuseq soorunami uanga kisima pigigaluariga.³ Misilissimavara uiguutit 'avissaartinneqarsinnaanngitsut' iluutsunngorlutik isumaqartut tamaasa (imaappoq uiguutit ataasiakkaat katiterlutik isumaasa katinnerinnarinngisaat) ilanngunniarlugit, taamaaliernerli ajornarsimapput uiguutit katiternerli 'ilaannakkuullutik avissaartinneqarsinnaanngitsut' nalinginnaaqisut, isumaalli siumut oqaatigereerneqarsinnaasut uiguutaat - ataasiakkaat najoqqutarlugit. Kingulliit taakkua nalinginnaanerpaartaat kisiisa ilanngussimavakka.

Allattaaseq ator-neqartuq kalaallit allattaasiata nutaap ('e', 'o' aamma 'f' ilanngunnagit) Canadamiullu Inuktitut allattaasiata Inuit Cultural Institutep sanaavata⁴ akornanniittutut oqaatigineqarsinnaavoq. Ilisarnaatit immikkut ittut pisariaqaraangat ilanngunneqartarput – assersuutigalugu Alaskamiut qilaap saamiutut nipeqartitaat 'i' aamma 'ñ'. Siunertaasoq tassa takutinniarneqarmat uiguutit sumiorpaluutisni assigiinngitsuni ullumikkut qanoq taaneqartartut taasinnermut ilisarnaataasut sapinngisamik nassuitsuutinniarsarlugit. Ilisarnaatit (naqinnerit) ator-neqartut taamaallutik oqaatsini atugaasuni ator-neqarfim-

minni tamani nipaqtigiipput (allaassutaasut qas-sikattannguit eqqaassanngikkaanni) tamannali ima isumaqartinneqassanngilaq Inuit ataatsimut allataasissaattut siunnersuutitut.⁵ Naak matumuuna inernertut missiliuussara immi oqaatsit taasarnernannut qanilluinnarluni uiguutit pineqartup sumiørpaluutsini sorlerniluunniit annerpaamik 'ilisariuminartuunisaanik' pisariaqartitsinermik tunngaveqaraluartoq, apeqqummut taamaattumut Inuit oqaasiinik soqutiginnittunit iluatinnaateqartinneqassagaluarluni, ataatsimut allattaatsitut atortuulersinneqarsinnaajumaartoq taamaallaat taakkunannga namminernit aalajangigasaajumaarpoq inooqatigiinnilu oqaatsitigut pisariaqartut tunngavigalugit.

Uiguutit aaqqissuunneqarput inoqarfiit pingaarnertit uku najoqqutaralugit: kalaallisut, Canadamiut Inuk-titoortut kangillit, Canadamiut Inuk-titoortut killiit aamma Alaskamiut Inupiaq-tut oqaluttut tulleriineralugu.⁶ Immikkoortut taakkua iluini tamani tamakkiingatsiaqsunik ujarluteqarpoq sumiørpaluutsimut 'pingaarnermut' tunngasunik (ilaatigut paasissutissat tatiginartut annertuullu atorsinnaassusiat aalajangiisoralugit), taakkunanngaanniilli sulii sumiørpaluutsit taakkua iluanni oqaatsinut allanut *assigiinngissutaasut* immikkut naqinnerit tulleriinneri malillugit ujarliuser-sorneqarsimasarput. Taamaalluni allaqussinnaangitsumik tamatigut oqaatigineq ajornaqaaq qaqugu uiguut aalajangersimasooq sumiørpaluutsimi 'pingaarnermi' atugaasooq sumiørpaluutsit qanitariit iluanni aamma siumugassaanersooq (tamatumani malugalugu assigiinngissutaat kisimik ilanngunneqarsimammata), naak uiguut taamaattoq sumiørpaluutsini qanitariinni tamani qularnangilluinnartumik ilisarineqarsinnaassagaluartoq. Sumiørpaluutsinit assigiinngitsunit inoqarfiit annerit ilaannut 'inuiaassuit illuarnerannut' eqqaanartumik assigiinngitsumik nussorneqartuarnerata inuillu sumiørpaluutsinit assigiinngitsuneersut akusaaleralutuinnaarnerisa kingunerisaannik uiguutit aalajangersimasut siumugassaanerintut erseqqissumik killiugaluartut qularisassaanngitsumik ujarliutit takutinniagaan-nit erseqqarlunnerulersimapput.

Uiguutit namminneq isumaat najoqqutaralugit immikkoortunut 26-nut inissitsiterneqarsimapput – tapiliullugu uiguutinut annernut (enclitics), oqaluutinut taggisinulluunniit atortartunut immikkoortoq. Immikkoortut siulliit arfineq-pingasut ('suunermut & sunngornermut', 'amigarnermut', 'misigissutsinut', 'pigisaqarnermut', 'pissarsinermut', 'nikinnermut', 'pissusilersornermut & isikkoqarnermut' aammalu 'qanoq-iliuinnermut & pilersuinnermut' tunngasut) nagguinnik taggisaa-sunik oqaluutinngortitsisarput.⁷ Tullii arfinillit ('isumaqarfiginninnermut & oqaaseqarfiginninnermut', 'kissaateqarnermut & utaqqinnermut', 'sunniinarnermut & piumasaqarnermut', 'periarnermut & pilersaarnermut', 'periarfissaqarnermut' aammalu 'ataqatigiinnermik allannngortitsinermut'⁸ tunngasut) oqaluutinik nagguisusunik tallisitsisarput oqaluutit akuleriaartilerlugit. Immikkoortut 15-imit 18-imut

('annertussutsimut', 'qanoq-iliornermut', 'ineriartornermut' aamma 'akuttussutsimut & sivissussutsimut' tunngasut) oqaluutinik nagguisusunik qanoq iliuuserisap annertussusianut qanoq-inneranulluunniit imaluunniit qanoq-iligallarnernut (qanoq periarnerpup annertusiartornerata piffissalluunniit ilaani qanoq inneranut) sammiviliisarput. Immikkoortoq 19 ('piffissamut' tunngasut) qanoq iliornerup oqaluninnermut naleqqiulluni qanga/qaqugu pinneranut uiguutinik imaqarpoq, immikkoortorlu 20 ('ilimasuninnermut' tunngasut) ima-qarpoq oqaluttup qanoq iliornerup ilimanartoqarneranik qanorluunniit inneranik naliliinneranik. Immikkoortut 21-mit 23-mut ('pinngitsorsutiutut', 'nammineq isumagisamik ilaartuinnermut' – imaappoq oqaluttup misigissutsitigut isumaqarneranut tunngasut⁹ – aammalu 'uiguutit kattutaasut' – oqaaseqatigiinnik annernik minnernut atassusiisartut) uiguutit oqaluutitut allannngorneqartartut naggasertarpaat. Immikkoortoq 24 ('taggisinngortitsisarput') oqaluutinik taggisinngortitsisarput, immikkoortoq 25 ('taggisaa-ginnartitsisut') nagguinnut taggisaa-sunut uiguutigineqarlutik taggisinik akuleriissitsisarput, immikkoortorlu 26 ('taggisinik sammiviliisarput') taggisinik nagguisusunik sammiviliisarput angissuseq, utuqqaassuseq namminerluunniit inuinnartut isumagisaq nalunaarlugu il.il. Uiguutit immikkoortunit tamakkunanngaaneersut uiguleriiaarne-risa tulleriinnerintut ataatsimut isigalugu oqaatiginninnerit ilanngussami (appendix A) takuneqarsinnaapput. Sumiørpaluutsit immikkoortuinit eqqartorneqartunit ataasiakkaanit tamanit misiligutitut atuagassat, sumiørpaluutsini taakkunani allattaatsinut assigiinngitsunut siumugassanut nassuiaatiminek, kiisalu naleqqiussuinanut soqutiginaateqartumik Alaskamiut Yuit ('Yupik') uiguutaasa aaqqissukkamik takussutissartaat ujarliutit 'pingaarnertit' aaqqissuunneqarnerata pissuseqataa ilin-nusiap naggataani takuneqarsinnaapput.

Ilinnusiaq imatut atoraanni pisariinnerussaaq: oqarta ilinnusia-mik atuisup Kalaallit Kitaamiut oqaasii sungiusimanerugai uiguullu sumiørpaluutsit 'pingaarnertit' taakkua pingasut ilaanni atugaasooq nalusani naammatoorlugu (imaassinnaavoq oqaluttumit tusarlugu imaluunniit atuarluni) naqinnerit tulleriinnerat malillugu atuakkap matuma imarisaanut ujarliut naggataaniittoq ujarlerfiginngikkuniuk eqqoriarsinnaavaa immikkoortut eqqartorneqartut 26-usut arlaannut sorlermut ilaanersooq. Immikkoortoq taanna qinerlerfigigaanni uiguut pineqartoq toqqaannartumik ujarneqarsinnaavoq (nagguik *ersiummik* naggatilik siuleralugu ilusissaa najoqqutaralugu). Uiguutip isumasiukkap tuluttut isumaa ilisimanngikkaanni Kalaallit Kitaamiut uiguutaat taamatut tuluttut isumalik qaninnerpaaq aqutigalugu tuluttut isumasiuineq pisinnaavoq.¹⁰ Uiguut ilisimanngisaq isummami (tuluttut) kingornatigut '%'-mik ilisarnaateqarpat aamma atorneranut assersuutissaaq ilanngussami tassunga naleqquttumi (Examples of affixes...) takuneqarsinnaavoq (ilisarnaat taanna isumaqarpoq uiguut pineqartoq Kalaallit Kitaamiut oqaasiinut toqqaannartumik naleqqiunneqarsin-

naanngitsoq). Illuatungaani paaserusukkaanni oqaaseq aalajangersimasooq qanoq ilusilissallugu tamatumani Kalaallit Kitaamiut tassunga uiguutaat nalunagu sumiorpaluutsimilu ujarlerfigisami nalullugu taamaallaat pisariaqartitaq tassaavoq periaaseq killor-mut atoraanni uiguut ujarlugu ujarliummi taamaaqataani tuluttut isumaasooq (isumaanulluunniit assingusooq) najoqqutaralugu. Uiguut misissorusutaq sumiorpaluut-simiippat sisamanit 'pingaarnernit' allaasumi ataatsimi ujarliummi sumiorpaluutsimut tassumunnga tunngasu-mi ujtartariaqarpoq (kingumut ersiut siuleralugu ilusaa najoqqutaralugu – tamatumani allaatigisat matuma ataaniittut iluaqusissavaatsit),¹¹ tassani nalunaarsi-manngippat misilissavat sumiorpaluutsit 'pingaarnernit' ilaanni (sumiorpaluutsimiluunniit qanitami allami) ilanngunneqarsimanersooq takuniarlugu. Akerlianik pitsaernerpaassaaq sumiorpaluutsimi 'pingaarnermi' qanitami uiguut nalunngeriigaq (assersuutigalugu Kalaallit Kitaamiut oqaasiiniittoq) naleqarpat taanna atorluaan-narlugu – nipitigut naleqquttunngorsareerlugu. Aatsaat sumiorpaluutsip pineqartup ujarliutaani taama ittumik uiguuteqanngippat assinganik (assingusumilluunniit) isumalimmik Kalaallit Kitaamiut oqaasiinut naleqqut-tumik oqaatigineqartutut iliortariaqarpoq. Naqinnerit tulleriinnerat malillugu ujarliutini tuluttut isumaattut allattukkat kingornisigut kisitsisit ilanngunneqarsimasut ujarliutit pingaarnernit immikkoortuinut 26-nut ata-ssutaapput. Ujarlerluarneqarilitoq!

Nipitigut oqaasilerinikkullu sumiorpaluutsit akornini assigiinngissutaasut pingaarnernit

Ujarliutit paasilluarsinnaanerujumallugit ilisimasari-aqarpoq sumiorpaluutsit akornini nipit qanoq imminnut naapertuuteqatigiinnersut sumiorpaluutsillu iluini qa-noq ilillutik allanngorartartut nagguiit uiguutit aallaavi-gisaat najoqqutaralugit. Nassuiaatit nalunaarsukkat matuma kinguliini takuneqarsinnaasut paasissutissanik maannamut pissarsiarisinnaasimasannik tunngaveqar-put,¹² immikkut ilisarnaatillu taasama ilaasa (nunat as-singinissaq matuma kinguliini takuneqarsinnaasut) sumiiffissinerat suli eqquvissutut isigisariaqarunangik-kaluarpoq – Inuit oqaasiimi ilumut uumassuseqarlutillu inuummarissuupput allanngorartuarlutik.¹³

Kalaallit Nunaat

Kalaallit Nunaanni sumiorpaluutsit assigiinngissu-taannik ataatsimut paasisaqarusuttunut unnersuussuti-gineqarsinnaavoq Robert Petersen-ip atuakkamut »Grønland«-imut ilanngutaa (1975). Paasissutissat maanna saqqummiutassakka amerlaqisutigut allaatigi-samik taassuminnga tunngaveqarput aammalu ilaqarlutik nipit eqqartorneqarsimasut uiguutinut ataasiak-

kaanut ujarliutiniittunut atassuteqarnerisa nassui-aataannik kiisalu eqqaallatsiarneqarput uiguutit ataasi-akkaat nipitigut allanngorarneri.

Kalaallit Nunaanni sumiorpaluutsit pingaarnernit pingasut (Kitaamiut, Tunumiut Avanersuarmiullu oqaasii) nipit tungaasigut assigiinngissutaat qular-nanngitsumik Sikuiutsoqarfiup sinnerani nunanilu ta-matuma kujatinnguaniittuni sumiorpaluutsit marluiit suulluunniit akornini assigiinngissutaasut annertutigi-gunaraluarput, uiguutilli qiviaraanni uissuummina-laartumik assigiiaarneqarpoq – qularisassaannngitsumik ilaatigut pissutigalugu Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani oqaasiusut avinngarusimanerusuni taakkunani ping-aartinneqaqimmata (ullumikkullu) allattaatsimi radiuk-kullu atugaaqalutik. Soorunami allaat Kitaamiut nam-minneq iluanni uiguuteqarpoq sumiorpaluutsimut aalajangersimasumut atasunik: taakku ilisimasakka eq-qartorneqarsimasarput ujarliut pingaarnep pillugu im-mikkut nalunaarsuutini, ujarliutit pingaarnep imara-lugu qiterpasinnerusuniittut Nuuminngaanniit Sisimi-unut sumiorpalunnerat. Ataatsimulli isigalugu uiguutit ujarliummi taassumaniittut Kalaallit Nunaanni sumilu-unniit paasineqartarput – naak pingaartumik Tunumi-utut ilusaat allaginartassagaluarlutik.

Naatsorsuutigaa Kitaamiut oqaasiisa ujarliummi allannerinut nipigititassatut isumagineqartoq atuartsa-mit ilisimaarineqareersooq.¹⁴ Ilutsit ujarliummiittut soorlu ilinniusiami tamarmi taamaattoq tassaapput nag-guiit ersiutinik naggatillit kingornisigut saqqummertar-tut. '+'-mik aallaqqaaserneqarsimanngikkunik naggui-up aappersarissamik naggatillup aappersariartaa king-ulleq peerneqartittarpaat (kisianni /g/ aallaqqaataaguni /r/-mut allanngortarpoq nagguiit r-mik naggatilik nang-illugu).¹⁵ '+'-p nalunaarpaa uiguutit aallaqqaataa aappersariaagaangami aappersarissamut siornaniittu-mut ilannguffigineqartartoq. Nipit nagguiup ersiummik naggatillup kingornatigunnaq siumugassaasut (ass. /r/ + (r)pallag-mi) ungaluuserlugit ilanngunneqartarput, taamatullu uiguutit tallilernerisa tulleriinneri allanngo-rartikkaluaaraanni isumaat allanngorneq ajortut (soorlu taanerit siulliit marluk (pilu)rujussuar-mi) kiisalu oqa-luummik oqaluutaaginnartitsisut 'halvtransitive' (kit-toraammik aallaqqaasikkat) assersuutigalugu si +tit-(-si)-mi.¹⁶ Uiguutit kingornatigut '+-' qullaallataq ator-neqaraangat tamanna isumaqartarpoq 'susalik' pine-qartoq taamalu '--' qullaallataq isumaqarluni 'susaqan-ngitsoq' pineqartoq. Uiguutit allat tamarmik susaqars-innaallutilluunniit susaqanngitsuusinnaapput. Oqaatsit naligiit allamulluunniit taarsiullugit atorneqarsinnaasut titarnermik kipungasumik '/' avissaartinneqarsimasar-put, allallu nagguinut ikittuinnarnut uiguusiunneqar-tartut (siumugassaaqisulli) nalunaarsorsimasarput – immikkut nalunaarsuutini eqqartorneqarsimanngikkun-ik – iluitsuullutik ungaluutilinni. /s/-ip (imaappoq ni-pip allattaatsimi 's'-itit ilisarnaaserneqarsimasup) Ki-taata qeqqamiut ilaannit qilaarsiorpalulluni ikkimmi-utut [ʃ]-tut taaneqartarluni¹⁷ atugaaffii Canadamilu Alaskamilu /j/-mut imlt. /ʒ/-mut naleqquffii ataatigut

titartarsimavakka. Aappersariaq siulliusoq /l/ ataagitut titagaq peeruttarpoq uiguut nagguinnut aalajangersimasut ilaannut uiguusiinneqaraangat aappersarissap marlunngorneranut pissutaalluni (ass. **liri ujaqqirivuuq-mi**)¹⁸ nalinginnaavorlu /t/ siulliugaangat tassunga nunguinartarnera /s/-innguulluni. +/j/ ataagitut titagaq /t/-nngortarpoq nagguik aappiuttartumik naggatilik uiguneqaraangat (ass. + **juar ~ tuar**). Nipitigut allanngornerit allat tassaapput +/v/~p/ aappersariaq maliinnarlugu; +/g/ imaluunniit +/j/~k/ aappersariaq maliinnarlugu (taaneqartumili siullermi /r/-ip nagguik **r**-imik naggatilik malikkaangagu); aamma +/s/~t/ aappersariaq maliinnarlugu. Uiguutit /t/-mik aallartitut /s/-imut allanngorartarput 'i' siuligerunikku (ataani Alaskamiut Inupiaq-toortut takukkit), aappersariaq akunnermiliuttooq ilagalugu ilaginagaluunniit (soorlu **nirisippaa** akerlianillu **paaritippaa**). Nipitigut allanngorarnerit malittarisaliuukkuminaatsut uiguutinut ataasiakkaanut tunngasut immikkut nalunaarsuutini eqqaaneqartarput. Canadamiut Alaskamiullu oqaasiinik ilisimaarinnittunut allattaatsip tungaa isigalugu qalleq-qissartariaqartoq tassatuaavoq aappersarissat sivitsukat Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani atugaasut tamarmik imernaalasuumgimmata – taamaalilluni allattaatsimi 'll'-itut allanneqartarput taaneqartarnera uanga 'tl'-mik allatama ('dl'-ip imernaalasup paarlattuata) allani taaserneranut assingulluinnarluni, taamatullu oqaatigisariaqarpoq 'rl' [ʀ], tamatumani aamma 'l' aappersariaalluni sivitsugaq imernaalanngitsoq.

Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani sumiorpaluffiit pingaarnerit tallimaapput (arfiniliullutilluunniit), tamarmik imminnut paaseqatigiissinnaallutik, naak ilaatigut Kitaata qeqqamiut marluiit iluineersut (Kitaani qiterliit aammalu Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaarsut) ungallersatik, tassa Avannaani Upernavimmiut Kujataanilu Nunap Isuata eqqaamiorpiarpatut paasiuminaatsitaraluaat.¹⁹ Ungalliusut taakku tamarmik (Paamiut ilanngullugit) Kitaamiut qiterliit /u/-at ilaatigut /i/-mik taarsertarpaat: ataatsimut isigalugu oqaatigineqarsinnaavoq taakkunani (Tunumiutullu) /u/ *atatiinnarneqartartoq* taamaallaat (a) taanerni siullerniikkuni, (b) /m/-ip imlt. /p/-p kingornaniikkuni (ass. **immuk**), (c) taanerup /u/-rtallup kingornatigut (ass. imlt. (b) pissutigalugit (ass. **immussuaq**) aamma (d) (Kalaallit Nunaatali Kujataani taamaaqqaaginnartutut) taanerup /u/-rtallup *siornatigut* aappersarissamik qarluukoortumik akunnermiliuttoqanngippat (ass. **irnisuttuq**, kisiani **irnisippuq**).²⁰ Sumiorpaluutsini taakkunani taamaalilluni uiguutit allanngorarneri siumugassaapput ass. **kkut** (taanernik /u/-juvissimagaluartunik ersiutitalinnik malinnittut) assigalugu **kkit** (ersiutinik allanik malinnittuq). Assersuutinik allanik takorusuttut atuar-sinaavaat Rischel (1975).

Upernavimmiutoortut ilisarnaataannit allanit ersarequtaasut tassaapput Kitaata qeqqamiut /g/-annik /r/-annillu sorlukoortitsisarneri tulleriinneri malillugit imaalillugit /ng/ aamma /r̥/; qeqqamiut /ts/-iat /ss/-ralugu: qeqqamiut /ss/-iat (imaluunniit /ss̥/) /ts/-eralugu

(nipit taakku taaneqartut akuleriissimannguatsiarlutik); aammalu nilaalasunik sivitsukkanik *taamaallaat* /ll/ atuutsillugu imernaalanngitsunngortitsisarneq. Kitaata qeqqamiut /rr/, /gg/ aamma /vv/-i taarserneqartarput /qq/, /kk/ aamma /pp/-nik – soorlu aamma Tunumiutut taamaattoq. /r/-p aappersarissallu sanileriinnerat kinguneqartarpoq aappersarissap /r/-mut saniliusup sivit-sortarneranik, taamaalilluni nerilittarmioq (/r/) ersi-ummit siulerisaminit iineqaannartarluni (tamanna kalaallisut 'kutannermik' taaneqartarpoq).

Kangaatsiamit-Uummannaamut sumiorpaluutsini Kitaata qeqqamiunit allaassutaasoq tassa Kitaamiut /g/-at sorlukoortinneqartarmat /ng/-nngorluni (naak Sulorsuup avannarpasinnerusortaani allanngoralaaarluni); taamatullu /tsa/-p /tsu/-llu /tta/-mik /ttu/-millu taarsertarneri, /l/-llu ersiutinut akunnermiliuttuulluni issuliiallaannartarnera (soorlu aamma Upernavimmi).²¹ Nuup avannaani Nuussuaq tikivillugu apequtini angigassani/naaggaagassani taaneq kingulleq sivitsorneqartarpoq (nipi qataalliallatsillugu), akerlianilli Nuummi Kujataanilu (soorlu aamma Nuussuup avannaani taamaattoq) apequtini taamaattuni nipi qatittuallanneqartarluni aammalu Nuummi Kujataanilu ersiutit oqaatsip iluaniittut (allaallu taanerit iluitsut kingulliit) sukkasuumik oqalunnermi iiorarneqqaqjaasarlutik.²²

Kitaata kjasinnerusortaani soorlu Qassimiuniit kujallernilu ilisarnaataasut (/i/-p eqqartorneqareersup sarniatigut) ilagaat ersiutip sivisuup kingornatigut aappersarissat kinguleriisungaannartut naalisinneqartarnerat (ass. **aama** atorneqarluni **aamma**-mut taarsiullugu)²³ – taamaalilluni nilaalasooq imernaalanngitsoq *ataasiartaq* Kitaata qeqqani aappersarissanut marlunnut imminnut malittunut imernaalanngitsunut sanilliunneqarsinnaassaaq (ass. [naaxa] »naagga« [x] tassaalluni /g/-p illuatungaa imernaalanngitsoq). Paamiunut immikkut ilisarnaataasut tassa /s/-p /s̥/-llu immikkoortinneqartarnerat (soorlu aamma Kitaata qeqqamiut ilaasa taamaaliorneq atugarigaat) Kitaatalu qeqqani /ua/-tut taaneqartup /ava/-mik taarserneqartarnera (soorlu oqartarlutik **inissavaq** qiterliit oqassagaluartut **inussuaq**).

Kiisalu Nunap Isuata eqqaamiut immikkut ilisarnaateqarput /g/-p sorlukoortittarneratigut /ng/-nngorlugu, aammalu qeqqamiut /gg/-ata /vv/-atalu (allattaatsimi »ff«-p) /kk/-mik taarsertarneratigut, qeqqamiut /rr/-iata /rv/-atalu /qq/-nngortittarneratigut, aammalu qeqqamiut /ll/-ata ikkimmiumik sivitsukkamik [d̥d̥]-mik (imlt. [tt̥]-mik) taarsertarneratigut. Taakkununga tunngasut Petersen-ip allaatigisaani assersuutitigut erseqqissarneqarsimapput. Malugalugu oqaluinnarniut **-vuq**, il.il. kujataani taaneqarajuttooq **-guq**-tut il.il. (**-nguq** Upernavimmi), aamma **-varsinga** (qeqqamiut **-vassi**) kiisalu **-vut** (qeqqamiut **-rput**).

Tunumiut sumiorpaluusiit 'i'-mik atuiitigaluni (soorlu siuliini taaneqartoq) nilaalasooersunillu aappersarissanik nilaalasuumjunaartitsisartoq (soorlu Upernavimmiut) ilisarnaateqarpoq aappersarissanik arlalinnik immikkoortitsisannginnermik Kitaamiut uiguutaasa

aappersarissat pineqartut ataatsimooqataat imaalliallaannarlugit ilisarilertugassaasaratik.²⁴ Kitaamiut /t/-at, /l/-at /s/-allu tamarmik /l/-nnguussimapput (Kal. Nun. Kitaata avannaani Kujataanilu, aammalu ilaatigut Qaanaami ikkimmiuulluni issullittumik atorineqartuq)²⁵ – soorlu Kitaamiut oqaasi **puisit** aamma **ataani** taaneqartarlutik **puilit** aamma **alaani** –, taamatullu aappersarissat pineqartut marlunggorneri tamarmik /tt/-nngorsimallutik – soorlu Kitaamiut **illu**-at **imaluunniit issi**-at taaneqartarluni **itti**. Nipinik immikkoortitsisannginnerit tamakku sunniutaat uiguutitigut allanngorartutigut takuneqarsinnaapput soorlu **lig** (Kal. Kit. **lug**) atorineqartarluni ersiutit kingornatigut kisianni (**t**)**tig** atorineqartarluni aappersarissap kingornatigut. /g/ /r/-lu sorlukoortinneqartarput /ng/ aamma /r/-nngorlutik²⁶ ersiutit marluk akornanniippata, (soorlu Kitaamiut **piirupput**-at taaneqartarluni **piiripuut**). Misaqqasut /k/ /q/-lu ersiutit akorniniikkaangamik sanngiillisimasarput nilaalasunngorlutik imernaalasut (soorlu Kitaamiut **nukappiaq**-at **nugappiaq**-nngorsimalluni), aappersarissallu imernaalasut kisimiittut – pingaartumik sorlukkootut /i/-t akorniniittut – ersiutit marluk akornanni nunguinnaarsimagajupput²⁷ (soorlu Kitaamiut **inuk**-at tassaalerluni **iik**, **tiguaa**-lu tassaalerluni **tiivaa**; /v/ qarlorimiuvoq – soorlu Qaanaamiututtaaq – maannali Kitaani tassaanerulluni kigutit qullit qarluullu alliup akornanni nipinitsinneqartartuq).²⁸ /t/ /i/-p siornaniippat [c] ([t^s])-nngortinneqarneq ajorpoq,²⁹ kisianni Kitaamiut /s/-at aallaqqaataalluni sivitsugaalluniluunniit qilaap saamiunngorsimavoq [ʃ]([tʃ]-ngajak), maani atorineqarluni 'c'-tut allallugu sivitsortilluguli 'ts'-tut allallugu (soorlu **culi** uiguullu pisussanut tunngasooq **tsa**)³⁰. Tunumiut Kitaamiullu oqaasiini nagguiit tunngavii assigiinngissutilerujussuupput (amerlanertigut taaneqartut siulliit paqinnartut taaguisaasiat tamatumani pissutaaqaluni).³¹ ullumikkulli Kitaamiutut allaaserisatigut radiukkullu aallakaatitigut sunniutaasut annertoorujuussuupput, oqariartaatsillu kitaaneersut pingaartumik inuusunnerusut akornanni atugaalersimallutik. Malugisariaqarpoq aallarfilertut atorlulerullu naggateqatigimata **-mi(k)** atorlugu, misaqqasut naggataasut erser nerlullutik³² (naak Thalbitzer-ip allariaasiatigut takuneqarsinnaagaluartuq siornatigut sorlukkootitsineqartarsimasooq). Ersiutit marluk sanileriit ilassuuttunngornerat Kal. Nunaata Kitaanisut ingerlariaqqitsigisimavoq. Grann malillugu allaat /ai/ naggataasooq /aa/-nngorluni.³³

Avanersuarmit sumiorpaluusiit nipitigut Kalaallit Nunaanni sumiorpaluutsinut allanut naleqqiulluni qanganisarpalunneruvoq taamalu Canadamiut Inuktitut oqaasillit qaninnerullugit (pingaartumik kiterpasinnerusuniittut). Ersiutit marluk sanileriit immikkut nipitik atuinnarpaat, soorlu /ai/ aamma /au/ (Kalaallit Nunaata ilaani allani /aa/-mut nunguinnaarsimallutik) aappersarissallu ilassuuttunngorsimanatik malittariissut suli atorlugit – soorlu **agpa** ([akpa]) Kitaamiut **appa**-anut naleqquttooq aamma **iglu** ([iglu])³⁴ Kitaamiut **ilu**-annut naleqquttooq. Nipitigut immikkut ilisarnaqu-

taasooq tassa /h/ (allanngorangaatsiartuq [h]-mit [ç] imlt. [ʃ]-mut) Kitaamiut /s/-iat imlt. /s/-iat naligalugu – Inuktitut oqaluttut kiterpasinnerusut amerlaqisut assigalugit (soorlu **hiku siku**-p nalinga).³⁵ /g/ /h/-lu malittariit (allakkaanni 'gh'-usussat) aappersariaapput sivitsorsimasut qilaarmiut nilaalasut [xx], taannalu /r/ /h/-mik ilalik (allallugu 'rh') tassaavoq aappersarissat sivitsorsimanerat nerilittarmiut nilaalasooq. /t/ /i/-mik siuleqartilluni allanngorneq ajorpoq, aammalu soorlu Inuktitut sumiorpaluutsini aalajangersimasuni (soorlu Kalaallit Nunaannilu allani Egede-p nalaani) aappersarissanik naggatit sorlukkootitsilluni naggatitut allanngorartarput – soorlu piffilerut **-mun** imlt. **-mut** (misaqqasooq siulleq ilaannakumik taaqqaaneqartuarluni). Tunumiut oqaasiitulli oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut Kitaamiut oqaasiinit assigiinngissutaasut annikitsuinaapput. Aappiuttartup pinngitsorsiutaa tassaaneruvoq **-nngidluni**, il.il. (imlt. **-nngitluni** – immikkut nalun. 34 takuuk)³⁶ **-nani**, il.il. atornerunani, aammalu soorlu sumiorpaluutsini allani kalaallisunngitsuni atorineqartut taggisaasat **-huq** imlt. **-gaa**, il.il. oqaaseqatigiinni oqaluinnarniutini namminersortuni atorineqakulapput. Kinaassusersiutit pingajuata ataasersiutit piginnittorsiutaasa pingaartumik ersiutit sanileriit kingornatigut **-nga** aamma **-ngit** atorajuppaat Canadamisut (Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani **-va**, il.il. /aa/-p kingornatigut atorineqarluni), taamalu oqaluutini taggisinilu marlorsiutit Kalaallit Nunaata sinnerani atorunnaarsimasut – eqqaassanngikkaanni Kitaata avannaani ilaatigut suli atorineqarnerat – Qaanaami atatinneqarput. Oqaaseqatigiinni -neqarpoq-mik atuisuni susooq piffilerummiikkajunneruvoq Kitaata qeqqamiutut aallarfilerummiilluni. Ilisarnaataagujorlu sakkortuseriarneq ('expressive stress') akuttunngitsumik oqaatsip ilaani ilimananngeqqinnaami pisartooq (amerlanertigut taanerup kingulliup tulliani) taanernillu sakkortuseriarneqanngitsunik ersigunnaarsitsisarnera.

Uiguutit immikkut Qaanaamut tunngasut nalunaarsorneri tunngaviusutigut nagguiisiorneqarnikuupput Holtved-ip allaaserisaa 'Polar Eskimo Texts' (1951) najoqqutaralugu, taamatullu Tunumiut uiguutaasa nalunaarsorneri pingaarnerusutigut tunngaveqarlutik Niels Grann-ip suliarisimasaanit (Institut for Eskimologi, tamanut saqqummiunneqarsimanngitsut). Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani uiguutit atorineqartut pillugit suliarpassuit pissarsiarineqarsinnaasut (ass. Kleinschmidt 1871, Schultz-Lorentzen 1917, J. Petersen 1951, Bergsland 1955, Berthelsen il.il. 1978) eqqarsaatigalugit taasariaqarpoq paasissutissat tamakku – kingullerli taaneqartuq pinnagu uiguutinik ullumikkut oqaasiliuutaallutik atorineqartunik tamakkiisimanngikkaluartuq – qanganitsanik qerattaassimasunillu ilaqarmata, taamalu ilanngunneqarsimasut ullumikkut atorineqarnerat immaqa tamatigut taamaattut oqaatigineqarsinnaanngikkaluarpog.

Naak Inuit sumiorpaluusii Amerikap avannarliup issinnersaani sineriak isortoqisoq inigalugu piffimmit piffimmut oqaatsimikkut kigaatsumik allanngoriartuaaraluartut iluarnertuissimavara immikkoortunut pingasunut pingaarnernut agguassallugit. Taamaalliluni eqqarsaatigineqarsinnaavoq Inuktitut oqaluttut kangillernut killernullu avissallugit Aggumiutut (North Baffinimiutut)-Aivilimmiutut oqaluttut immikkoortillugit aammalu Paadlermiutut Qaernermiutullu (Caribou-tut) Natsilimmiutullu oqaluttut immikkoortillugit. Kangerlinermi, killigititama ilaani inissisimasumi, sumiorpaluutsit sanilerisanit illugiinnit tamanit akoorneqarsimapput, Aivilimmiut sunniussimanerullutik. Nunanik agguinerit taamatut immikkoortiterinermut takussutissat pingaarnertit ukuninnga tunngaveqarput: (a) kiterpasinerusuni amerlanertigut /s/-ip /h/-nngortarnera, (b) killigititap kangiani taanertit ilaannik paarlatsitsisarneq kitaani pineq ajortoq (ass. **upirngaaq marr(u)uk**-lu, kitaanili **upinraaq malruk**-lu (Kalaallit Nunaanni 'uper-naaq' 'marlullu')), (c) killiit aappersarissanik malittariinnik qanganisarpaluttunik atuinerat, aamma (d) killiit taanernik torlukkut kipiseriasaartarnerat (qallunaatut 'stød') – naak taasaq kingullegit taanna aamma Itivimmiut kangilliusut atugarigaluaaraat. Assortorneqarsinnaanngitsup matuma Aivilimmiut aamma nipinik malittunnik qanganisarpaluttunik atuisuusut ukiunilu kingullerni Aivilimmiut Natsilimmiullu imminnut akuungaatsialeqisut killigititap erseqqikkaluarnera erser nerlutsileqqajaavaat. Canadamiut kangilliunerusut sumiorpaluusiiisa akornini nipitigut assigiinngissutaasunik nassuiaatit matuma kinguliiniittut amerlanertigut tunngaveqarput Dorais-p suliaanik (1977).

Pineqartut iluanni tamarmi oqaatsitigut ilisarnaataasut pingaarnersaat tassaagunarpoq Quebec-imi Labrador-imilu 'Schneider-ip maleruaqqusaliaata' atugaaffiata Baffin Island (Qikertaaluk)-milu (Aivilimmiunilu Hudson Bay-ip kitaaniittuni) maleruaqqusaliap taassuma atuuffiginngisaata akornanni assigiinngissutaasoq. Maleruaqqusaliaq taanna imaappoq aappersarissat malittariit (sivitsukkalluunniit) taanerni tulleriiaani atorineqassanngitsut oqaatsip aallaqqaataaniit naatsorsorlugit – taamaalliluni Tarramiut atorpaat **unnukut** imaannikuugaluaq **unnukut**. Tamanna nassuiaataavoq uiguutit allanngorarnerinut ass. **tsainar**-mut taanermik aappersarissamik ataasiinnarmik aallartittumik malinnaasartoq, **sainnar**-li taanermik aappersarissanik malittariinnik aallartittumik malinnaasarluni. Kangilliunerusut sumiorpaluutsit 'pingaarnertit', Tarramiut (tamaani allattaaseq malillugu utertarneqartoq 'Taqramiut'), maleruaqqusaliamik taaneqartumik tunngaveqarput, tamannalu eqqaamasariaqarpoq kangilliunerusut sumiorpaluusiiisa maleruaqqusaliamik taassuminnga malinninngitsut uiguutaat eqqartortillugit: Tarramiut pillugit ujarliummi aappersarissat Schneider-ip maleruaqqusaliaanit qaangiinnarneqartussaagaluit sumiorpaluutsinili taakkunani maleruaq-

qusaliap eqqugarinngisaani ataannartutut oqaatigineqarsinnaasut uiguuserlugit ilanngussimavakka.³¹ Taamaappoq **ggi(r)**, Tarramiutut **ggi** taaneq aappersarissamik ataatsimik aallartittoq malikkuniuk (ersiummilluunniit ataatsimik aallartittoq) soorlu uani: **ulimautiggiipuuq** (Kal. Kit. 'ulimaasisarpoq') – imatulluunniit **gir** aappersarissat malittariit malillugit soorlu uani: **arnagirpuq**, Aggumiutut tamatigut sakkukillisismanani **ggir**-tut atorineqartoq. Ilaannikkut Tarramiutut ilutsit marluusut ilannguttarsimavakka uiguutiniq allanik paarlaassinissaq ilimanaraangat.

Ujarliummi pingaarnermi najoqqutassat allat Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaamiuinut najoqqutarisat assigiinnarpaat, eqqaassanngikkaanni /j/ ataatigut titagaq tassaammat /j/ aallaqqaat (ilaannikkut /g/-usartoq ersiut malillugu) /r/-nngorsinnaasartoq nagguik **r**-mik naggatilik malillugu, piumagaannilu /ts/-nngorsinnaalluni nagguik **t**-mik naggatilik malillugu (taamaanngippat /g/-nngorluni). /g/ ataatigut titagaq tassaavoq nagguik /r/-talik siuleralugo atuinneqartartoq (/r/ kipitiinna-gaq). Malugalugu uiguutit +/j/-mik (kisianni +/(r)j/-nngitsumik) aallartittut – Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani +/s/-mut naleqquttut – /t/-mut allanngartar-ma aappersariaq siuleralugu, uiguutillu Tarramiuni /v/-mik aallartittut (kisianni Qikertaalummiunngitsaq) Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaanut naleqqiullutik kipititsiinnarajunnerummata. /j/ sivitsugaq tassa /dj/ taamalu /l/ sivitsugaq tassaalluni /dl/,³⁸ aappersarissallu sivitsukkat /gg/, /vv/ aamma /rr/ imernaalasupput. Allanneq 'r' atorpara misaqqasut siornaniikkaangat (I.C.I.-p 'q' taamatut inissisimasooq pillugu aalajangiineranit atornerullugu) pissutigalugit Kalaallit Nunaannut sammi-vissiorneq atuinneqartarlugu aammalu nipikkut innerisaa nilaalasugajummat sallaatsoq ([X] aappersarissap imernaalanngitsup siornani, [ʁ]-lu aappersarissap imernaalasup siornani),³⁹ soorlu sumiorpaluutsini taakkunani /g/ nipeqartoq [x]-mik imlt. [y]-mik aappersarissamat malitsigisamat ilanngutiinnarsimanani – taamaalliluni Qikertaalummiut atorlugu **igluqartunga** ([iyloqaXtunga]) Tarramiulli atorlugu **idluqartunga**. Taamaannera kalaallit /r/-annit taamatut inissisimasumit allaanerungaatsiartumik kinguneqarpoq taanna kalaallini suli sallaannerusumik taaneqartarmat. /r/ aamma /q/ pissutaapput Canadamiut Alaskamiullu oqaasiini amerlanerni ersiut taakkununga siuliusoq allanngartarmat (kisianni ataani Labrador-imut tunngasut takukkit), naak tamanna Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaanut naleqqiulluni malunnaanninnerugaluartoq, taamaani /r/-ip taanermut naggataasup tamanna pigaartumik sunniutigisinnaammagu.⁴⁰ Aappersarissanik sivitsukkat Qikertaalummiut/g/-annut /ng/-annulluunniit aappersarissamullu naleqquttut Tarramiut ujarliutaanni ataatigut titarsimasarput. Inuit /l/-at imernaalasunngitsaq qanganisaaq (Kalaallit Nunaanni /l/-usoq aappersarissamillu siuleqarluni /l/-tut sivitsorsimanera kisiat pinnagu) Tarramiut /s/-annut naleqquppoq – taamaalliluni **isuittuq** Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani **iluit-tuq**-mut naleqquppoq taamalu **tikitsuni** kalaallit **tikillu**-

ni-annut.⁴¹ /l/ kisiartaq /r/-imut malinnaasoq *imer-naalasuuvoq*. /ng/ atassutaasoq uiguutinit soorlu **u** aamma **innaq**-mit siulliusarpoq ersiutit marluk sanileriit malitsillugit; nagguik ersiummik naggatilik (**aq**-millu-unniit) malitsillugu tamatigit pisariaqartarpoq kinaassusersiutit pingajuata piginnittorsiutai **-(ng)a** aamma **-(ng)it** atussallugit.⁴² Malittariit uku marluk immikko-ortinneqarnikuupput: /rn/ ([Nn]) aamma /rng/ ([NN]) imlt. [Nŋ])⁴³ oqaatsini ataasiakkaani paarlangasunngortarsimasut soorlu oqaatsimi **paurngaq** (aamma Qaanaami taamatut taaneqartartoq Kalaallillu Nunaata Kitaani ilaannit taaneqartarluni **paarngaq**). Kalaallit Nunaata avataani sumiluunniit /t/ /i/-p siornaniilluni seersunngortinneqanngiinnartarpoq ilanngullugulu 'i₁'-toqaq malitsillugu /s/-nngussanani – soorlu **itirpuq** Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani tassaasoq **isirpuq**.⁴⁴ oqaatsillu allanngornera **-tuq**, il.il. allanngoraqqinneq ajorpoq **-suq**-mut. Matumani Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaamiut /tsi/-at /tsi/-mut naleqquppoq *imlt.* aappersarissamut /ti/ kinguleralugu (soorlu aamma Qaanaami).

Itivimmiut Hudson Bay-ip kangimut sineriaaniittut Belcher Islands-imiullu (Sanikidluarmi) sumiorpaluusii Tarramiut oqaasiinut (Schneider-ip Ungava-miutuut mik taasaanut) ilanngussimavakka sumiorpaluutsit taakku marluk uiguutaat assigiinnissuteqanngilluinnangajammata (tamakkulu Schneider-imit nalunaarsornikut immikkut nalunaarsuutini sumiorpaluutsinut pingaarnernut tunngasuni ilaapput). Itivimmiulli nipaasa tungaasigut Tarramiunit allaassutaavoq torlukkut kiperiasaartarneq /j/, /v/, /g/ imlt. /r/-ip sivitsugaasa aappersariaq siulleg taarsertarlugu – soorlu **i'vit** imaallilluni **ivvit** (Kal. Kit. 'illit'). Asulu nipeqarujog tuluit 'r'-annut assingusumik (uanga allani 'z'-mik allatannik) Inuktitut kangilliunerusut nalinginnaq /j/-nut naleqqiulluni.⁴⁵

Canadamiut kangilliunerusut sumiorpaluusiiit nipi-tigit allanngoriarnarpaasimasooq tassa Labradori-mi Inuttut tusaannarlugut Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaamiunut assingunnginnerusooq, oqarta avannarpassinnerusumi Aggumiut-Aivilimmiunut naleqqiullugu. Immikkut malunnaqutaanerusoq (inuusunnerusunit atugaanerusoq) qilaarmiut nerilittarmiullu (/g/-p /r/-llu) immikko-ortinneqartannginneri (oqaatsillu naggataani /k/-p /q/-llu immikkoortinneqartannginneri). Assigiinnissuteqarnerup tamatuma ersiutit tulliusut tunngavigineruai: qangaammat /g/-usut /r/-iusulluunniit taamaallilutik tamarmik /g/-tut taaneqartarput, taamaallaat /a/-t akornanniikkunik (imaluunniit minnerpaamik /a/ malikkunikku) nerilittarmioorpalunneri tusagassaallutik (/a/ pineqartoq tassaalluni sumiluunniit allami taamaattutut atorineqartumit ammanerullunilu qarngup ilorpassinneruffianeersooq). Taamaattoq /q/ naggataanani – soorlu Tarramiut oqaasiini – nerilittarmiusarpoq nilaalasooq [X].⁴⁶ Matumani Smith-ip aalajangersagaa maliinnarpa 'g' aamma 'k' atorlugit nipit pineqartut immikkoortinnagit. Taamaallilluni **siugak** Kal.Nun. Kitaani taaneqartarpoq **siuraq** oqaaserlu **an-nak** taaneqartarluni **arnaq**. Aappersarissat malittariit

Kalaallit Nunaannisut sivitsortarput naak tamatigit assigiilluinnangikkaluamik. Tarramiutut oqaluttut /t/, /p/ aamma /k/ aappersariarlululla tamaasa /t/-mut (imernaalasooq = /d/) aappersarissamullu allannngortissimagaat allaallu aappersarissannut sivitsuinnakkanut,⁴⁷ assersuutigalugu siornatigit **qablunaaq qadlunaaq**-nngorsimalluni, Labrador-imiut aamma /r/ aappersariarlululla allannngortissimavaat pissuseq taanna atorlugu (soorlu qulaani **annak**). /r/-mik /s/-millu (imlt. 'j₂'-mik) ataqtigiiissitsinerit inerneraat /ts/- taamaallilluni **umiatsuak** (Kal. Kit. 'umiarsuaq') – ataqtigiiillu /ng/-ertallit pilersittarpaat /nng/. Kalaallit oqaaserinngisaannit Labrador-imiut kisimik aappersarissanik sivitsukkanik nilaalasunik imernaalanngitsunik atuipput: [ff] (Smith-ip 'pv'-a), [xx] aamma [XX] (kingulliit taakku Smith-imi 'gg'-tut imlt. 'qq'-tut allanneqartar-tut)⁴⁸ – assersuutigalugu **ivvit** [iffit] aamma **magguuk** [maXXuuk]. Aappersarissat sivitsukkat /qq/ (Smith-ip 'kq'-a) taaneqartarpoq [qX]. Tarramiutoortunut akerli-usumik Labrador-imiut aamma kalaallit imernaalanngitsumik saneqqutsisuutaat /ll/, sivitsorlugu (<*app.+/l/) kisimiitilluguluunniit, atorpaat – soorlu **atlunaak** (Kalaallit Kitaamiut **allunnaaq**-vat), aammali **iluurtuk** (Kalaallit Kitaamiut Qaanaamiullu **iluar-tuq**-at). Ilisarnaat immikkut ittoq 'I' taamaallilluni ator-fissaqartinneqarpoq. /v/ maanna taaneqartarpoq qar-lormiutut kigutimuukkatut (amerlanertigit soorlu Tarramiutut Qikertaalummiutullu aamma taamaattoq). Inuttut oqaluttut oqaluutinik allannngortitsisarnermik-kut malunnaataasa ilaat tassa 'taggisaaanik' atuinernerat – ass. **-juk** il. il (kalaallit **-voq** –annut ilaanni taarsiullugu) allaat nagguinnut aappersarissamik nag-gatilinnut tapiliunneqartarlutik (aappersariartaak kipi-tillugu) – taamaallilluni **tusartuq**-ugaluaq **tusa-juk**-nngorluni.⁴⁹ Taamaaqataanik pisimasorsiutit nag-gataat soorlu **-gami** il.il allaat nagguuit **t**-mik naggatillit kingornini atorineqarput (ass. **tikigami**). Taggisit **t**-mik naggateqavikkaluit maanna **-tik** naggatigaat (ass. **uum-matik**) taggisillu ersiummik naggateqaraluartut amerla-nertigit maanna **k**-mik naasarput (ass. **tuttuk**). Immik-kuualuttut assersuutillu amerlanerusut takorusukkaanni Smith-ip (1978) allaaserisaa atuarneqarsinnaavoq. Maana erseqqissartariaqarpoq matuma siuliini oqaati-gineqareersut ukiuni makkunani atuuttuni oqaaserine-qartunut tunngammata qanganitsanut/upperisarsior-nermut tunnganatik (kingulliit taakku pillugit takuuk Bourquin 1891). Qanganisarpallutulli sulii atorineqarput pingaartumik upperisarsiornermut tunngasut iluini,⁵⁰ qularnanngitsumillu qanganisarpallutut uiguutaasa ilaat ullumikkut Nain-imiutoortut atunngisaat sulii utoq-qaanerusut akornanni atorineqarput – aammattaaq ku-jalliunerusut Rigolet-imiut qanganisarpalungaatsiaqi-sumik sumiorpaluusillit iluanni, taakkua akornanni aappersarissanik marlunnik allannngortitsisarnerat (eq-qassanngikkaanni **k/q** naggataallutik assigiinnalersi-masut) Aivilimmiut periaasiannut assingulluinnarluni, soorlu Dorais oqartoq.

Schneider-ip maleruqaqusaluaata avannamut killinga

qaangeraanni nalorninarsisinnaavoq erseqqissumik oqaatigissallugu sumiorpaluutsit Qikertaaluup kujasinerusortaaniittut qassiunersut,⁵¹ tamaanili sumiorpaluutsit tamakku tamarmik imminnut qanittuuararsuupput uiguutaat (oqaasilerinerlu) eqqarsaatigigaanni, taamaammat uanga ataatsimut sumiorpaluffittut sammivakka. Kinngarmiut uiguutaat Tarramiutuut qaninerulaarput, Eqalumniulli (Frobisher Bay-imiut) uiguutaasigut malunnarpoq sumiorpaluutsinit assigiingitsunit eqqaamioriissunit akusat tamaaniittut; aammalu Inuit najugaqarfiini annerni allani, assersuutigalugu Inuvimmi Nome-milu, pissutsit assigalugit maanissaq tuluit oqaasiinit annertuumik unammineqarneq innusunnersut akornanni malunnarpoq. Sumiorpaluutsini taakkunani ilisarnaqutaasunit taaneqarsinnaasoq tassa qanga atugaasimagaluartup /t/-p Saumiami (Cumberland Peninsula) (Qikertaaluullu kujataata-kangiata suaniluunniit utoqqaanersut akornanni) /t/-mik Kinngarmiunilu (Eqalumniullu ilaanni inuusunnerusuni) /s/-mik taarserneqartarnera. Taamaalliluni **agtunaag/agsunaag** Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani taaneqartarpoq **allunaag**. Maani aappersarissat malittariit assigiiaartunngorsimanerata annertussusia Aggumiutut ippoq, tassa /p/ (imlt. /b/) aappersariartaalu /t/ (imlt. /d/) -nnguussimalluni aappersariartalik (eqqaassanngikkaanni /p/ /s/-rtalik /ss/-nngorsimasoq). Kisianni /g/ aappersariarlutik attatiinnarneqarput (utoqqaanerniunerusoq) – taamaalliluni **aglu** Tarramiutut oqaluttuni **adlu**-uvoq.⁵²

Aggumiut sumiorpaluusiata nipikkut ilisarnaatigaa Labrador-imisut /t/-mik atuineq, /ts/-eqannginnerlu, kingulleq taanna (Aivilimmiut, taamaattoq Kangerli-nermi *pinnagu*) /tt/-mik taarserneqarsimalluni – ass. **nattiq-mi**. Aivilimmiutut⁵³ (Dorais-ip taasaa Aggumiut sumiorpaluusiata ilaattut) sumiorpaluutsinit taaneqareersunit allaagaluarpormi Iglulimmiunut naleqqiulluni aappersarissanik malittariinnik assigiingitsunik sulii amerlanerusunik atuiffiunermigut, soorlu /p/ (imlt. /b/) aappersariarlutik assersuutigalugu **qablunaag**-mi ator-neqarlutik – naak allaat tamaani inuusunnerusut akornanni aappersarissat malittariit assigiiaartunngorsimanerat malunnaraluartoq.⁵⁴ Sumiorpaluutsini tamakkunani inuit ilaat Oqqumiut (Baffin-ip kujataamiut) Itivimmiullu ilanngullutik aappersarissanik naggataasunik misaqqasunik taakkualu sorlukkootinnerinik assigiimmik atuipput (ass. piffilerut **-mun** imlt. **-mut**, ‘taggisaaasq’ **-juq** imlt. **-jurng**), misaqqasulli sumiluunniit atugaaneru-jartuunnartutut ippat. Qikertaalummi (Iglulimmiullu) aammalu Aivilimmi kinaassusersiutit pingajuata piginnittorsiu-tai **-a**-junngikkaangamik **-nga**-asarput il.il., taamaapporlu nagguik suugaluarpuunniit. Qikertaalummi oqaatsit ilaasa **tis** aallaqqaatigisarpaat **sit** atorna-gu (ass. **tisamat** – Kal. Kit. ‘sisamat’).⁵⁵

Oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut Canadamiut kangilli-nerusut tamarmik Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaanit allaassutaat pingaartoq tassa ‘taggisaaasap’ **-juq**-p (Kalaallit Kitaamiut **-suq**-ata) il.il. oqaaseqatigiinni namminersortuni oqaluinnarniummik oqaluuteqartartuni

atorneqarnera oqaluinnarniut ‘oqaluttuarpaluttoq’ **-vuq** il.il. assigalugu.⁵⁶ Aammalu susaqartillugu allanng-oriartarnera **-jaa** (imlt. **-janga**) il.il. oqaluinnarniummut susalimmut **-vaa**-mut naleqquppoq. Nagguiit **r**-mik naggatillit malitsillugit oqaluinnarniutit (aammalu apersuiniutit) allatut ittunik allanngoriarneqarsinnaasarput **-qquq** (Labrador-imi **-qquk**) il.il. atorlugit, (**-vuq** il.il. tamatumani atorneqarsinnaasarlutik), taamaattorli Labrador-imiunngitsoq tamaani uiguutini /r/-mik naggatillinni tamatigut (**-qquk**) ator-neqartutut ippoq soorlu immikkut nalunaarsuummi 46-mi eqqar-torneqartoq. Aappiuttartoq assigiingitsunik marlunnik iluseqarpoq, aappaa pereersunut naleqqulluni, soorlu Aggumiut taamatut atoraat **takudluni**,⁵⁸ aappaalu pere-ersuunngitsunut (aammalu inatsiniutinut) naleqquttu-mik, soorlu **takuluni** taamatut ator-neqartoq. Taamaallaat Labrador-imi assigiingitsumik atuineq taanna atorunnaaqqaaneqarpoq (tamaani ilutsit ‘pe-reersut’ ator-neqarnerullutik). Kalaallit Nunaannit allaasumik allanngorannerit tamakku kinaassusersiutit pingajuannik susaqarsinnaasarput⁵⁹ ass. **-luniuk** (sisamaannik ataasersiummik susoqarluni – pingajuannik ataasersiummik kinaassusersiutillimmik susa-qarluni) aamma **-lunidjuk** (sisamaannik qasseersiummik – pi-ngajuannik ataasersiummik). Aamma Tarramiuni ima-qalulu sumiorpaluutsini allani aappiuttartoq taanna ilallugu uteqqiinnermik imaqartarpoq **dla(r)** atorlugu, susaqaraniluunniit susaqartarpoq, amerlanertigut **lu** malitsigisarlugi. Taamaalliluni **itirlutit tiitudlapidlu** (iserlutit tiitorlutillu), Trinel (1970) malillugu, oqariar-taaseq taanna paasineqarsinnaalluni ‘aamma (susooq) ilanngullugu’. Taassuma susaqartilluni allanngorneri-sarpari ass. **-dlama** (‘aamma taassuma – uanga’) – taku-uk Inupiattoortut ‘aappiuttartoq 1’ -ata matuma kingu-liini eqqartorneqarnera. Kinaassusersiutit allamooru-taasa naggataat aamma uiguutip kattutaasup (**m**)**ma**-p kingornatigut ator-neqartarput soorlu **tikimma-nga**-ni.⁶⁰ Tarramiut pisimasorsiu-titut atorpaat **-(m)mauk** pingajuannik ataasersiummik susulik- pi-ngajuannillu ataasersiummik susalik (Qikertaalummi **-(m)magu**). Sumiorpaluutsini tamakkunani tamani (killernilu) marlorsiu-tit ator-neqarput,⁶¹ naak malunna-vissumik pingaartumik Labrador-imi Eqalunnilu inu-usunnerusut akornanni atugaajunnaariartoraluartut.⁶²

Kalaallit oqaasiinit oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut assi-giingissutaasut ilagaat assersuutigalugu sumiorpaluut-sini kangilliunerusuni amerlanertigut piffilerutit oqaaseqatigiinni uiguummik -neqarpoq-mik atuisuni susup imaluunniit ator-neqartup naggataatut atortarne-ra.⁶³ Ativiit atortulerummik naggateqarlutik oqaluin-narniummik oqaluutilinni susatut atorsinnaapput (ass. **Piitamik takuvuq**), tamannami Kalaallit Nunaanni ator-neqanngilaq.⁶⁴ Taggisit qasseersuutaat sumiluunniit assigiissaarneqarsimavoq **-it** atorlugu nagguiit ersium-mik ataasiartamik naasut nangitsillugit aappersariaq ilanngullugu ilanngunnagaluunniit. Tarramiuni kinaa-ssusersiutit sisamaat qasseersuut **-tik** (taasiinnarniut) **-nni**-mik taarserneqarsimavoq,⁶⁵ Tarramiuni-lu aamma

Labrador-imilu kingulleqqiutit soorlu **-ni** aamma **-nut**-lu taggisinut piginnittorsiutilinnut siulliannik ataasersiummik kinaassusersiutilinnut toqqaannartumik tapiliunneqarsinnaapput – ass. **nunagani** kalaallisut **nunanni**).⁶⁶ Sumiorpaluutsini tamakkunani tamani taggisit assigiinngisitaartumik allanngorarneri nalimmatserneqarsimasutut oqaatigineqarsinnaapput.⁶⁷

Canadamiut kangilliunerusut uiguutai pillugit ujarlitutit tunngavii annermik Schneider-ip allaaserisaanit annertuumit 'Dictionnaire des Infixes de l'Esquimaux de l'Ungava' (1968) pissarsiaapput, taassuma syllabics-inik allanneqarsimalluni atuaraminaakujukkaluartup imaralugit Aivilimmiut Caribou-miullu uiguutaannut paassissutissat taamatullu Kangersudjuarmi Tarramiunut paassissutissat sukumiilluinnartut. Labrador-imiut pillugit Smith-ip allakkiaa 'Survey of the Derivational Postbases of Labrador Inuttut' iluaqutaangaarsimavoq, Qikertaalummiullu pillugit (ataasiakkaani iluarsiisarlunga) Harper-ip allakkiaa 'Suffixes of the Eskimo Dialects of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island' Dorais-llu Kinngarmiut pillugit ujarliusiaa saqummiunneqarsimanngitsoq annertuumi iluaqutigisimavakka. Aammalu Spalding-ip Aivilimmiut Iglulimmiullu pillugit suliai atorsimavakka.⁶⁸

Canadamiut killiunerusut

Canadamiut killiunerusut sumiorpaluusi tamarmik (Mackenzie kisimi pinnani) ilisarnaateqarput /s/-ip /h/-mut eqqaanartumik taarserneqarsimaneramik. Tamanna pingaartumik Qitermiunut (Copper-imiut taakku imminnut taagornerattut 'Inuinnartut' oqaluttunut)⁶⁹ ilisarnaqutaavoq, sumiorpaluutsip taassuma /i/-ugaluaq nipimik taassuminnga aamma taarsersimamma – taamaalliluni **ihuartuq** Natsilimmiutut Aggumiutullu tassaalluni **ihuartuq**, aammalu aappiuttartup 'pereersup' **-huni** il.il. nagguup **g**-mik imlt. **r**-mik naasup kingornatigut atormagu. Aappersarissat malit-tariit /h/-mik nilaalasumillu imernaalasunngitsumik ilallit allallugit isikkoqarput 'ph', 'gh' aamma 'rh' ([ff] imlt. erseqqinnerusumik [ɸɸ], [xx] aamma [XX]). Qitermiut Aivilimmiut aappersariaat malittariit pisoqaanerit tamaasa atorpaat allaat /l/-mik /t/-millu siulequtallit ilanngullugit (/lv/, /lg/ aamma /lr/, /tp/, /tk/ aamma /tq/). 't' 'd'-mit atorumaneruara (naak 'd' naqinnernut 'g'-mut 'r'-mullu atortakkannut naleqqunerugaluartuq) taanna (/t/) /q/-tut misaqqasut siornini-tutut erseqqissumik nilaalasunngortinneqarsinnaanngim-mat. Aamma 'p' misaqqasut imernaalanngitsut siornisigut atorpara sumiorpaluutsini kangilliunerusuni amerlanerni taamatut inissisimalluni saqquminngim-mat, aammalu /p/-ip /k/-ip /q/-llu misaqqasut siornini-illutik misaqqasuuneroqqajaasutut immata (naak ta-matamani 'g' 'r'-lu atuinnaraluarikka kangillernit kil-lernut nikeriarnepur ataqatigiinnera qalleqqissarniarlu-gu). /b/ aappersarissap imernaalasup siornaniilluni ni-laalasuuqikkuni misaqqasuussaaq (soorlu aamma /g/);

taasatut siullertut qarlormioq (inuusuttuni qarlormio-qkigutimiuunerulluni) /v/ taamaaqatigissavaa. /j/-p si-vitsornerisarpaa /dj/ (soorlu qasseersiutit **-dijat**-mik naggatillit Kalaallit Nunaanni **-ssat**-mik naggatilinnut naleqquttut) Canadamiuni kangilliunerusuni aappersarissatut sivitsugaangajattutut ilaanni taaneqartarluni (taamatullu /dl/); kisianni aamma malugiuk /bj/-ip uiguummi **bjag**-mi atorneqarnera /gj/-llu **nagjuk**-mi (nassuk). /ts/-ugaluaq /tt/-uvoq⁷⁰ aamma /p/ /t/-lu naggataasut (/k/-unngitsoq /q/-unaniluunniit) sorluk-koortuminnut allanngorartarput aalajangiisoralugu – taamaaqajaajuarmammi – aappersariaq malinnaasoq (sorlukkootuussaaq sorlukkootoq kinguleritillugu, misaqqasuulluni misaqqasoq kinguleritillugu, taakkuli arlaat sorlerluunniit ersiut kinguleritillugu qinerumasaq nammineq qiniinnarlugu). /lr/ aamma /nr/ qangatut atuinnarneqarput.⁷¹

Qitermiut uiguutaasa ujarliutaanni /l/ ataatigut tita-gaq nagguup appersariartaanut kingullermut nunguin-narsimasarpoq sumiorpaluutsini allanisulli, +/n/-lu ataatigut titagaq nagguummik **t**-mik (ersiummilluunniit naasumik malinnittoq) /g/-mut (/r/-mulluunniit) al-lanngorartarpoq nagguik /g/-mik (/r/-milluunniit) nag-gatilik malitsillugu. Uiguutit /tq/-mik aallartittut /qq/-mut allanngorartuupput nagguut **r**-mik **g**-milluunniit naggatillit malitsillugit. Allat +/j/-mik aallartittut +/g/-mut (/r/-mulluunniit) allanngorartar-put nagguik **g**-mik (**r**-milluunniit) naggitilik malik-kaangamikku +/t/-mullu allanngorartarlutik nagguik **t**-mik naggatilik malitsillugu. Suli allat +/j/-tallit – kisi-anni +/(r)j/-liunngitsut – +/t/-mut allanngorartarput aappersariaq malitsillugu, kisianni sumiorpaluutsini al-lanitulli taggisaasat pingajuat **+jaq** assigiinngisi-taangaatsiarpoq (ilaanni naleqatigisarlugu **gaq** nagguut **r**-mik naasut kingornisigut). Taggisaasat allanik ilusillit **-haq** aamma **-huq** suli Holman Island-imi atorneqanng-uatsiarput.⁷² Aappersarissanit malittariinnit pigineqar-tut uiguutit +/g/-mik +/v/-millu allartittut ilagalugit (allanngorarneralugit /k/ amma /p/ ilimagisariaqartu-tut) atuupput. Uiguutit ersiummik aallartittut assersu-utigalugu **u**-p nagguuillu ersiutinik sanileriinnik nagga-tillup akornanni aappersariaq kattutaasoq tassa /ng/ (soorlu pissuseqataanik kalaallisut /j/ **u**-p siornatigut atorneqartoq).

Oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut allanaqutaasunit malu-gisariaqarpoq taggisaasat **-juq**-mik il.il. naasut (susalit-taallu **-jaa** imaluunniit qaqutigoornerugaluamik **-gaa** il.il.) oqaluinnarniutit **-vuq**-mik il.il. atuisut annertu-mik kingoraarsimammattigit, naak **-vuq** suli atorneqa-raluartuq uiguutit **dja**-p **gi**-llu kingornisigut. Aappiut-tartoq 'pereersoq' akerlialu 'pereersuunngitsaq' pigine-qarput taamatullu aamma marlorsiuutit tamarmik. Tag-gisini piginnittorsiuteqanngitsuni marlorsiuutit akut-tunngitsumik kingunerisarpaa taanermut siullermut atatillugu aappersarissat marlunngornerat (taamaa-pporlu qasseersiut **-t**), ass. **nannuk** (nannut marluk). Pi-simasorsiuut **-(ng)mani** (kinaassusersiutit sisamaannik susalik) tamaani atorneqarpoq Canadalli kangisinne-

rusortaani atorineqanngitsutut illuni. Apersuiniut pingajuannik ataasersiummik susulik pingajuannillu ataasersiummik susalik tassaavoq **-vauk** siulliannillu ataasersiummik susoqarluni pingajuannik ataasersiummik susalik tassaalluni **-vigu**. Oqaaseqatigiinni -neqarpoq-mik atuisuni susoq atortulerutinik atuivoq⁷³ atorineqartorli piffilerummik atuiilluni. Pisimasorsiuat nagguuip **t**-mik naasup kingornatigut ilisarnaateqartarpoq **-nami** il. il. atorlugit (soorlu Canadami kangisinnerusumi aamma taamaattoq); malugisariaqarportaaq pissanersorsiuat/pisimasorsiuat aappaannik ataasersiummik susoqarluni pingajuannik ataasersiummik susalik ilisarnaateqarmat **-gungni/-gangni** atorlugit pissanersorsiuallu sisamaannik kinaassusersiutilik ilisarnaateqarluni **-gumi(k)**. Oqaluinnarniutit nagguut **r**-mik naasut malitsillugit ilutsit allat soorlu **-qquq** il.il. (sammiveqatigalugit inatsiniutit apersuiniutit ilisarnaataat **-qqit/-qqiuk** il.il.) illuatungiliutut atorsinnaavai.⁷⁴ 'Taggisasaq' (oqaluinnarniullunniit) kinaassusersiutilik pingajuannik ataasersiummik – pingajuannillu qasseersiummik ilisarnaateqarpoq **-jai/-jait** (iml. **-vai/-vait**) atorlugit.⁷⁵

Natsilimmiutoortut, tassa Arviligjuarmit Orsurto-umut, (Utkuhigalingmiutoortut siornatigut Chantry Inlet-imiuusut ilanngullutik) kangisinnerusuneersunit sunnerneqarsimapput, tamanna aamma nalunarani minnerunngitsumik inuusunnerusut akornanni Caribou-toortut nunavigigaluaanni. Tamanna pingaartumik erseqqippoq Talorjuarmi tamaani ilaqutariit arlallit Kinngineersut nunassissimallutik. Sumiorpaluutsip taassuma ilisarnaatigivaa /s/-p nipit [ʃ]-ip [h]-llu akornanniittut allanngorarnerannik taarserneqarsimanagera – kisiannili suli nalinginnaanerulluni tamatumani nilaalasup qilaap saamiup [ç] taamatut atorineqarnera – soorlu Avanersuarmit oqaasiini nipi taanna suli atorineqartoq, aammalu 'j₂'-ugaluartup [ʒ]-tut [z]-tut [ɹ]-tullunniit nipeqarluni atornera.⁷⁶ Torlukkut kipiseriasarneq (qallunaatut 'stød') Cariboutut oqaluttutut atorpaat (takuuk immikkut nalunaarsuut 79). /r/ sorlukkooortut siornatigut sorlukkooortinneqartanngilaq. /ts/ taaneqartarpoq [cc] immaqaluunniit eqqornerusumik [tʃ].⁷⁷ Misaaqqasut sorlukkooortullu allanngorartin-nerat Qitermiunut naleqqiulluni maani atugaannginneruvoq (misaaqqasut atorineqarnerullutik). Aappersarissat malittariit /ʒg/ siumugassaapput Qitermiut /lg/-annut Mackenzie-miut Caribou-miuvillu /jg/-annut (kangisinnerusullu /gg/-annut) naleqqullutik – assersu-utigalugu **aqizigiq**-mi (aqisseq). Naak paarlatsitsinerit /lr/-mit⁷⁸ /rl/-mut (iml. /rr/-mut) atorineqanngikkalu-artut /nr/ /nng/-nngorsimavoq – taamaalilluni **upinngaaq** (upernaq) atorineqarluni. Aggumiutoortut assigalugit Natsilimmiuni oqaatsit ilaat qanga /t/-rtaqarsimagaluartut /s/-itaqarput (/h/-nngorluni) – assersuutigalugu **ihirpuq**, Aggumiuni **isirpuq**. Oqaluinnarniut **-vuq** il.il. sumiorpaluutsinut killiunerusunut allanut tamanut naleqqiullugu atorineqarajunneruvoq. Qitermiut atugaat **-gumi** tamaani **-guni**-uvoq.

Caribou-miutut sumiorpaluuseq Qaernermiunit Qamanittuarmi, Paadlirmiunit Arviami (Tikerarjuarmilu)

inunnillu allanit Hudson Bay-ip sineriaanut timerpasin-nerusumit pisimasunit oqaaserineqartoq pingaartumik torlukkut kipiseriasaartarnerup tungaatigut ilisarnaate-qarpoq, soorlu oqaatsimi **qi'mi'naaqali(r)'mat** (qim-minnguaqalermat) inangiisup ' ' -p kipiseriasaarnerit nalunaarai. Tamanna isumaqarfigeqqajaanassagaluar-poq sumiorpaluutsini allani nalinginnaq sorlukkooortu-tamik nilaalasuuatimillunniit (/r/ < */q/ ilanngullugu) malittariit siornaniittumik taarsiinertut – ataatsikkoor-titsinertullunniit⁷⁹. Taamaattut sumiorpaluutsini su-niunniit kipiseriasaarnerit ujarliummi ilanngutinngi-lakka (oqaatsit oqaluttuarisaanerisa tungaatigut isigalu-gu sumi pineqartarnerusut paasineq ajornanngimmata) »eqqarsaatigissanngikkaannimalugeqqajaanarluinnartoq kipiseriasaarnerup /n/-mik ilaqarluni atorineqarnera so-orlu uiguummi **dnaaq**-mi (nnguaq) 'dn'-mik ilisar-naaserlugu atorineqartumi; taanna Qitermiut /nn/-annut naleqquttumi akuttunngitsumik atorineqartarso-rinarpoq.⁸⁰ Inuusunnerusut /j/ atorpaat /ʒ/ pinnagu, /t/ atorlugu soorlu oqaatsimi **iluartuq**-mi aammalu /nr/-toqqamat taarsiullugu atorlugu /rn/.⁸¹ Kingulliup taamaannera nassuiaatissaqarunarpoq Rasmussen-ip nalaaniit allanngoriartulersimanermik.⁸² /ts/ (immaqaluunniit eqqornerusumik [cc], allaallunniit [tʃ])⁸³ pi-giinnarneqarpoq, soorlu Kangerlinermi taamaattoq. **-juq** aamma **-vuq** ataatsikkut oqaluinnarniutitut atorine-qarput. Pisimasorsiuat **-gami** il.il. taggisasaallu siulliat **-gaa** il.il. illuatatungiliutunuk allanngoriarnearput ki-pititsisunik (taamaattumik: **nngigami** < **nngit** aamma **ligaa** < **lir**), taggisasaallu pingajuat kipititsisoq **gaq** (qass. **-kkat**) kangisinnerusunut tamanut naleqqiulluni maani atorineqarneruvoq.⁸⁴ Piffilerutit **-mut**-ip pissu-taasoq nalunaarniarlugu toqqaannartumik oqaluutitut nagguinnut uiggiunneqartarnera (suli kangisinnerusumi aamma atorineqartoq) malugeqqajaanartorujussuuvoq.

Mackenzie-miutoorneq qangatoortoq (tamaanimiut pillugit Rasmussen-ip allagaani takuneqarsinnaasoq)⁸⁵ nunaqarfinni makkunani utoqqaanerusunit suli atorine-qarpoq: Tugtuujaartuuq-mi, Paulartuuq-mi (qular-nanngitsumillu aamma ungasinngitsukkut tunngavi-lerneqartumi Sachs Harbour-imi) kiisalu Aglarvik-mi (taamaattoq kingullermi tassani, soorlu aamma Inu-uvimmiut taamaattut, Alaskamiut Inupiaq-toortut oqaasiinit sunnersimaneqarneq annertoqaluni). 'Inuvi-aluktun', soorlu tamaanimiut oqaatsitik taama taasa-raat, oqaatigisariaqarput sumiorpaluutsit katiternerat-tut Inupiaq-toortut tamaanga nutsernerata kinguneri-saa,⁸⁶ pingaartumik ukiut huntriitillit makkua aallartin-nerata missaani nutserneq annertunerpaasimalluni. Tamaani sumiorpaluutsip qangatoortup ilisarnaataasa ilagigujattaq qangatut /s/-ip /ts/-illu suli atorineqar-neri⁸⁷; /j/ ersiutit akornanniilluni Alaskamiut /ʒ/-annit atorineqarneruvoq,⁸⁸ misaaqqasut naggataasut sorlukkoo-ortuminnut /m/-mut /n/-mullu allanngorarput, /t/ qangatoortoq attatiinnarneqarpoq, aammalu /t/, soorlu Canadami tamangajammi Seward Peninsula-milu Inupiaq-toortuni taamaattoq, 'i₁'-ip kingornatigut /s/-nnguussimannigilaq. Suli immikkut ilisarnaqutaasu-

nit taaneqarsinnaavoq illuatungiliuttumik atorineqarsinnaasut **-juaq**-p il.il. 'taggisaaasap' **-juq**, il.il. pissuseqataanik atorineqarnerat (taakku tamarmik oqaaseqatigiinni oqaluinnarniutini atorineqarsinnaallutik – siullerli qanoq issutsip oqaluttuarineranut atorineqarneruvoq; taggisaaasat atorineqaraangami taggisit isumaqarnerusarpoq, kingullermi oqaluutitut atorineqarneruvoq, ass. oqaaseqatigiinni minneri taggimmut susaasumut taartaarpaluttuni atorineqarluni). Susalinni atorineqartussaq, Alaskamisut, tassaavoq **-jaa**-unnigikkuni **-gaa** il.il. Sumiorpaluuseq taanna sannamigut ilaatigut pisariillisaavigneqarsimannguatsiarpoq Mackenzie Delta-mi inuusunnerusut akornanni Inuit oqaasiinik sulituusuni, sumiorpaluutisimullu taassumunnga atatillugu ujarliummi uiguutit atorineqartut ilaat illumikkut inuusunnerusunit pineqartunit atorineqannginnguatsiarput.⁹⁰

Canadamiut killiunerusut oqaasii pillugit ujarliutit tunngavii tassaasimapput (uanga nammeneq Qorlortumi misissukkama saniatigut) Rasmussen-ip Thule-mik talimassaanik ilisimasassarsiornerminit allaaserisai (1931, 32 & 42), Schneider-ip pingaartumik Arviaq pillugu allaaserisai (1969), Métayer-ip Qitermiut pillugit allaaserisaa 'Unipkaat' (1973) kitaamiullu oqaasiinut ordbogi saqqummiunneqarsimanngitsoq kiisalu nangaanartoqarteqalugu Webster Zibell-ilu (1970) aamma Birket-Smith (1928). Allaaserisat naammaatitut atukkat Qamanittuarmeerlutillu Arviarmeersut aamma misissugarisimavakka, taamatullu najoqqutarisimavakka Mackenzie Delta-mi bāndimut immiussat Laurent Christensen-imit uannillu immiunneqarsimasut, R. Lowe-p L.-J. Dorais-illu Mackenzie-miutoorneq pillugu ujarliusiaat saqqummersinneqarsimanngitsoq.

Alaska

Inuit killerpaat nunaqarfiini sumiorpaluutsit 'pingaarnersaat' tassaavoq North Slope-mi Inupiaq-tut soorlu Utqiarvimmi (Barrow-imi) oqaaserineqartuq timerliit (Nunamiut) sineriammiullu (Tariormiut) sumiorpaluusiinit akusaq Nuvummi (Point Barrow-imi) sumiorpaluutisip qanganisap assigilluinnaangisaa (taamaattorli utoqqaanerusut akornanni qanganisaanerusoq taanna Nuvummi tusarsaavoq). North Slope-mi (Kuuvammilu) Inupiaq-tut oqaluttut anerusumik ilisarnaataasa ilaattut taaneqarsinnaavoq aappersarissaniq qilaap saamiunngorsimasunik /l/, /l/ aamma /ñ/-mik ([lʰ]-tungajak, [lʰ]-tungajallu [nʰ]-tungajallu nipilinnik) atuinerat; naqinnerit taakku atorineqartut ullumikkut Alaskami atorineqarput. Eqqaasannigikkaanni allaassutaasut ikittunnguit ilisarnaatit taakku atorineqartarput qanganisap 'i₁'-p kingornatigut,⁹¹ soorlu **ila**-mi, **siglaq**-mi aamma **iñuk**-mi. Nipimut /ž/-mut (Amerikamiut /r/-annut assingusumut – pingaartumik Utqiarvimmi – imaluunniit ilaanni franskit /j/-annut, soorlu 'je'-mi, eqqaanarnerusumik taagorneqartumut) Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani /s/-mut

naleqquttumut atatillugu ilisarnaat taannarpiaq (/ž/) ujarliummi maani sumiluunniit atorumaneruara 'r'-mut Inupiaq-miut allattaasianni nipimut tassunga atatillugu atorineqartumut taarsiullugu (allattaatsimi tassani Inuit nalinginnaq /r/-annut ilisarnaatitut atorineqartuq tassaavoq 'g'). Marloriesarneqaraluarluni imernaalarpiartarpoq, soorlu aamma nilaalasut imernaalasut allat taamaattut. Aamma 'j' 'y'-mut taarsiullugu 'ng'-lu 'ŋ'-mut taarsiullugu atorumaneruakka, kingulleq taanna marloriartillugu uannit allanneqartarluni 'ngng' /nng/-mit (/n/ aamma /ng/) allaassuteqaqqullugu, immikkoortitsineq sumiorpaluutsini allani pisariaqanngitsoq tamakkunani 'nng' aappersarissat sivitsukkat /ng/-tut allatat nalingimmassuk. Ilisarnaat 's' (Inupiaqtoortut allattaasianni 'sr') – Utqiarvimmi taamaallaat /r/-p /g/-lluunniit kingornatigut atorineqartuq – ikkimmiut-qilaarmiumut atortariaqarpoq (tuluit 'sh'-annut eqqaanartumik, kisianni oqqap nuuatunummut peqillugu soorlu imernaalasumik nalingatut /ž/-tut), tuluit oqaasiinnilu 'church'-imi nipimut siullermut 'č' atorineqarluni (Inupiaq-tut allattaatsimi 'ch'-tut 't'-tulluunniit 'i₁'-ip aappersarissallu akornanni). Nipi taanna sumiorpaluutsini allani 'i₁'-p kingornagut /t/-mut imlt. /t/-p kingornagut /s/-mut naleqquppoq.⁹² 'h' nipinut nilaalasunut taamaaqatiminut atuakkami matumani sumiluunniit ilisarnaataafigisaminut atorineqarpoq, kisiannili taamaallaat atugaalluni aappersarissat allat sanileralugit.⁹³ Soorlu sumiorpaluutsit allat allaaserinerini iliorsimasunga matumani aamma /l/-p sivitsornera 'dl'-tut /l/-llu sivitsornera 'tl'-tut nalunaarsimavakka (taamaalillunga kalaallit 'll'-ata paatsoorneqarnissaa pinaveersaarniarlugu); ilaanneeriarluni /tl/ allani atorineqartuq North Slope-mi Inupiaq-tut oqaluttut /dl/-annut (Kuuvammilu /tl/-mut) naleqquttarpoq.

Inupiaq ataatsimut isigalugu oqaatigineqarsinnaavoq ilisarnaquteqartuq aappersarissaniq malittariinnik qanganisarpaluttunik (pingaartumik Kuuvammilu). Aappersarissaniq malittariinni nerilittarmiullutik qilaarmiullutillu taanernut naggataasartut soorlu 'q' amma 'k' kangisinnerusumi atugaasunit pissuseqataannit 'r'-mit 'g'-millu atorumaneruakka malittariinni iisarnermut tunngaviusut immannguag allaassuteqarmata: /q/ taamaalilluni misaqqasup allap siornatigut misaqqasuinnartarluni aatsaallu nilaalasunnortarluni (/r/) misaqqasuunngitsup siornatigut (taaneqarluni [X] misaqqasuunngitsoq imernaalanngippat).⁹⁴ Erseqqinnerusumik oqaatigalugu, misaqqasumik nilaalasumiluunniit taaguineq naapertorlugu assigiiaarneqarluinnarsimavoq: misaqqasup siornaniittoq misaqqasuulluni, nilaalasup siornaniittoq nilaalasuuulluni aammalu – pinngitsoorani Tikeqqami Nuvummilu qilaarmiut nerilittarmiullu eqqarsaatigalugit – sorlukkortup siornatigut sorlukkortuulluni. Taamaappullu **arvaluqtuq** [aXfaloqtoq] (ammalortuuvuq), aamma **taursirñiariga** [tauXserñiariga] – Nuvummi [tauXseNñiariga] – (pisiariniarpara).⁹⁵ Inupiaq-tut allattaaseq malillugu 'r' allattarpara /l/-p, /v/-p, /ž/-p imaluunniit sorlukkort-

tup siornatigut – kisiannili aamma /s/-p, /š/-p aamma /l/-p siornatigut.⁹⁶ Misaqqasut naggataasut pillugit malugisariaqarpoq taakkuninnga sorlukoortitsisarneq kangisinnerusunisut periaasiunngimmat sukkulluunniit ator-neqarsinnaasoq, taamaallaallu tunngalluni nag-gatinut aalajangersimasunut (qangaammat sorluk-koortunut) soorlu piffilerummut **-mun**, aallarfilerum-mut **-miñ**, assilerummut **-tun**, pisimasorsiummut **-man**, inatsiniummut **-in**,⁹⁷ allamoorummut **-m**-mut tag-gisinullu soorlu **angun**. Sorlukoortitsineqarneq ajor-poq assersuutigalugu qasseersiummi **-ič**-imi; ator-tulerummilu **-mik**-imi.⁹⁸ North Slope Inupiaq-mut tunngatillugu nipisiuiner-mut paasissutissat anner-tunerusut Kaplan-ip ilisimatuutut allaaserisaani (1979) atuarneqarsinnaapput.⁹⁹

Utqiarvimmiut uiguutaasa ujarliutaanni /i/ /u/-luunniit ataatigut titagaq tassaavoq taama ittoq taanermi siulliusumi 'i₂'-mik (/i/-mik qilaap saami-orpalutsitsinngitsumik) kipititsisunngitsog (pisariaqar-pallu assigiiaarneqartitsilluni) uiguutit ersiutini-k tamakkuninnga aallartittut ileqquattut – ass. **kamnguž** (kamiuvoq) **kamik**-meersog. Aappersariaq /g/ (Kuuvammi /ng/) uiguutinut soorlu **u**-mut kat-tutaasoq taamaallaat ersiutip takisuup ersiutilluunniit tapitaleriit kingornatigut ator-neqartarpoq. /s/ ataatigut titagaq (malugalugu Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaani /s/-mit allaasoq) nagguip /k/-mik (/q/-milluunniit) naggatillip kingornatigut /g/-mut (/r/-mulluunniit) allanngortar-poq, taamatullu nagguik /t/-mik naggatilik malitsillugu +/č/-mut allanngortarluni. /l/ ataatigut titagaq sumior-paluutsini allanisulli ator-neqarpoq,¹⁰⁰ kisiannili +/l/ aappersarissap kingornatigut /t/-mut allanngortarpoq (Inupiaq-tut oqaluttut allanit immikkoortutigisaat), soorlu taamaattoq **+liq/tiq**. /q/-p ataatigut titakkap /t/ siulerisani nipaarutitinneq ajorpaa (malittariissittar-lugilli /tq/), taamatorluinnarlut pissuseqarput ataatigut titakkat /k/ **h**g/-lu (/tk/-nngorlunilu /nng/-nng-ortartoq). Nagguik **k**-mik naggatilik malitsillugu +/j/ /g/-mut (/kk/-mulluunniit) (nagguillu **q**-mik naggatilik malitsillugu /r/-mut) allanngortarpoq, nagguilli **t**-mik naggatilik malitsillugu +/č/-nngortarluni. Nagguik aap-persarissamik naggatilik malitsillugu +/ž/ /t/-mut al-lanngortarpoq (/s/-nngortarluni 'i₁'-p kingornatigut), uiguutilli +(r)/ž/-mik aallartittut taamaannngillat (taak-kunani /r/ taamaallaat atortarluni nagguik ersiummik naggatilik malitsillugu).

Kuuvammiut (allatut Malimiut) sumiorpaluusiut¹⁰¹ North Slope-mi oqaaserineqartumut qanittuuvog uiguutit – nalinginnarlut oqaatsit ator-neqartut – tung-aasigut, nipilli tungaasigut assigiinngissuteqarpoq er-siutit sanileriit marloqiusat immikkut ittumik ator-nerisigut. Taamaallilluni North Slope-mi /ai/ /ia/-lu tamarmik [e:] -tut takisuutut taaneqartarput, /au/ /ua/-lu [o:] -tut, /iu/-lu [i:] -tut, /ui/ kisimi pissusis-samisoorluni. Kuuvammut atatillugu ujarliummil taaneqartoq siulleq 'ai' -tut allanneqarpoq, tullia 'au' -tut pingajuallu 'ii' -tut. Kuuvammiutoortut allanneri al-lanngortarput oqaatsit taagornerinut tulluuartitat

(uanga soorlu atukkama) ersiutillu sanileriit tunngaviullutik nalingisa akornanni Utqiarvimmi ator-neqarnerattut (kingulleq taasaq tassaavoq Inupiaq-tut allattaatsit ator-umaneqarnerusoq). Torlukkut kipiseriasaaneq aamma kingumut Kuuvammi (aam-malu Nunamiutoortuni Anaktuvuk Pass-imi)¹⁰² siumu-gassaavoq; nipi taanna ator-neqarpoq pisimasorsiummi appersarissap aallaqqaataagaluartup taartaatut (taamaallilluni **-ami** il.il.) tusarsaavorlu misaqqasup malitaatalu sorlukoortup, /v/-p imlt. /j/-p imlt. /l/-p imlt. /l/-p malittariinniittup akornanni soorlu /tn/ [t'n]-imi. Imminik ingerlasuummat ujarliummil ilanngun-neqanngilaq. /č/ aamma /š/¹⁰³ tamarmik immikkut er-siutit akornanni North Slope-misullu aappersarissat kingornini ator-neqarput (soorlu **asiaq**-mi, North Slope-miutut **asiaq** – 'paarnga'). Allaallu North Slope-miunut naleqqiullutik aappersarissamik malittariinnik assigiisaarinerat annikinneruvog (pissuseq Seward Peninsula-miutoortunut assigiissutigisaat – naak malit-tarisaat assigiinngikkaluartutik) misaqqasullu pinngit-sooratik nilaalasunit malitsiminnit iineqarneq ajorput – taamalu assersuutigalugu /tl/, /kl/, /qs/ aamma /ks/ taamaattut ator-neqaannarput.¹⁰⁴ Oqaatsit ilaanni Kuuvammiut avannarliunerusut /č/, /j/ imlt. /ñ/ ator-paat 'i₁' -mut malitsigalugit North Slope-miut taamatut atoraat /k/, /g/ imlt. /ng/, soorlu **tikičaa** North Slope-mi tassaasoq **tikičkaa** (malugalugu /i/-t aappaat 'i₁' -ummat) **piñašut**-lu North Slope-mi tassaalluni **pin-gasut**.

Seward Peninsula-mi Bering Strait-imilu qeqertani¹⁰⁵ sumiorpaluutsit imminnut qanittut ilisarnaatigaat aap-persarissamik aalajangersimasumik inissisimasunik sak-kukillitsisarnerat aappersarissanillu qilaap saamiunik /l/, /l/, /ñ/ aammalu /č/-mik atuinnginnerat (aappersarissat pineqartut taarserneqarsimallutik nalingin-naanerusunik /l/, /l/, /n/ aamma /t/-mik). Kingulliit nassuiaataat immaqa tunngassuteqassaag Inuit qanganit ersiutaasa sisamaata /ə/-p (soorlu tuluit oqaasianni 'the' -mi ator-neqartup) aamma maani siumugas-saananeramik /i/-mut qilaap saamiortalunngortit-sisunngitsumut naleqqulluni.¹⁰⁶ Kaplan malillugu /ə/ taamaallaat Diomede Islands-ini sulit Yupik-tut immik-koortinneqartumik ersiutitut ator-neqarpoq, naak qularnanngitsumik ungasinngitsunnguakkut aatsaat nunavimmi aamma atugaajunnaarsimagaluarluni. /a/ ilaanni ator-neqartarpoq allami sumilluunniit /i/ (< */ə/) -mut naleqqulluni. Aappersarissamik sakkukillit-sisarneq eqqarsaatigalugu taasariaqarput misaqqasut /q/, /k/ aamma /p/ kiisalu /s/, /š/ aamma /l/ ersiutit akornini atortartunut sallaallisinneqarsimammata tul-leriinneri malilluaannarlutik /r/, /g/, /v/ aamma /z/, /ž/ /l/-mullu, /g/ /r/-lu ersigunnaarsimallutik (eqqaas-sanngikkaanni /r/ ersiutip ataasiartap oqaatsimi aallaq-qaataasup kingornatigut ator-neqartartoq)¹⁰⁷ aammalu /v/ /w/-nngorsimalluni (imlt. ersigunnaarsimalluni) malit-sillugit taanerit eqqaamiuusuni Yupik-toortuni taal-luartaagaasussaannngikkaluut – pingaartumik taanerit aallaqqaatalutik ammasut imlt. taanerit matoqqasut

takisuulluunniit kingornanni. Tamatuma kingunereq-qajaavaa aappersarissanik taanerit marlunngorneri tamaasa 'sallaalisartunik' atuineq (kisianni sallaalleriarneqartarani ersiutit takisuut tapitaleriilluunniit kingornisigut). Taamaallilluni King Island-imi tusar-neqartussaa voq **manniraqtuut** (manniuteqarpugut), il-luatungaani **maniqaatugut** (aningaasaateqarpugut). Oqaatsimi ersiutip siulliup kingornaniinneri eqqaas-sannngikkaanni aappersarissat sivitsukkat aappersaris-satut ataasiakkaatut naligisamittut passunneqarpugut;¹⁰⁸ soorlu Kaplan-ip oqaatigigaa (oqaloqatigiitsilluta): 'aappersarissap takissusia taamaallaat pingaaruteqar-tarpoq oqaatsimi ersiutip naatsup siulliup kingornatigut, taamaangippat aappersarissat taanerni sallaalleriar-neqanngitsuni talleqqajuttuusarpugut'. Taamaallilluni aappersarissat qangaanit ataasiartaannaagalulluunniit sivitsoqqajaajuarsinnaapput. Amerlanertigut aapper-sarissanik sallaallisitsineq ingalassimaarneqartarpoq taanerni tulleriiginnartuni, tamannalu ersertarpoq taanerit allanngorarnersigut soorlu uiguutini ukunani: **qaa/raq**, matuma qulaani atorneqartuni (North Slope-mi **qaa**), tamatumani iluseq taaneqartoq siulleg /q/-p aappersarissap allap siornaniilluni sallaalleriar-nerata inernerallugu. Sakkukillisaanngitsut kisiisa ujar-liummut ilannguppakka. Ersiutit marluk sanileriit North Slope-miit ippit, eqqaassanngikkaanni /ai/ [e:] -usoq /au/-lu [o:] -ulluni.¹⁰⁹ /t/ allanngorani atuin-narpoq 'i,'-ip kingornatigut oqaatsini soorlu **itigak**-mi North Slope-miut Kuuvammiullu Kalaallit Nunaata Kitaanisut /s/ atoraat. Kipiseriasarneq Kuuvammiutut atorneqarpoq. King aamma Diomede Islands-ini /nr/ aamma /lr/ paarlatsinneqartarput /rn/-imut /rl/-imullu. Fish River-ip eqqaaniittut Qawiažarmiut sumior-paluusiata allanaqataa /s/-ip /č/-mik taarserneqartar-neraniippoq.

İñupiaq-tut sumiorpaluutsit oqaasilerinerup tung-aatigut Kalaallit Nunaannit allaassutaasa ilagaat 'tag-gisaasap' -**žuq**-p il.il. (susallitaa -**gaa**, il.il.)¹¹⁰ oqaluinnarniutitut atornera. Taamatummi atorneqar-nera allaat kangisinnerusunut naleqqiulluni anner-tuneruvoq oqaluinnarniut -**vuq** oqaaserisani 'oqaluttuarpaluttuni' pisimasunik uummaarissunik oqaatiginninniartuniinnaq atorneqarluni, oqaasearaq **kiisaimmaa** tapertarigajullugu. -**žuq**-p taggisaasaan-nartut atorneqarnera tamatigorluinnaq taarserneqar-simavoq -**žuq**-mik, il.il., kingullermi taanna aamma oqaluutaannarni atorneqartarujog - taamatut **nirizuanga**-mi (nerivunga).¹¹¹ Taamatut atorneqarluni - soorlu Utqiarvimmi - susalimmik naleqarpoq -**žaa** (imlt. -**žanga**) il.il. atorlugit, taassuma imaralugit tag-gisaasat pingajuat kinaassusersiutillu piginnittorsiu-taat (soorlu Inuktitut -**jaa**). Taannalu tunulequtaavoq ilut-sinut MacLean-ip taasaanut 'taggisaasat I'-annik taaneqartutut naggatillinnut (naak susaqaanngitsut amigaatigigaluarlugit) sulilu allanut kinaassusersiutit sisamaannik susalinnut, ass. -**ža(ng)ata** imlt. -**ža(ng)an** (pingajuat ataas. - sisamaat ataas.) aamma -**žani** (sisamaat ataas. - sisamaat ataas.). Ilutsit taakkununga

assingusut (MacLean-ip 'taggisaasat II'-tut taasai) ator-neqarput **kkaq** aallaavigalugu naggatillu piginnittors-iutit ilannguttarlugit (kin. pingaj. ataas. - sisam. ataas. -**kkangan** imlt. -**kkangasta**). Ilutsit taakku marluk ta-marmik taggisut (tuluttut 'that which/who'-mik aallartittunut naleqqukkajuttumik) oqaaseqatigiinnilu-unniit namminersortuni atorneqarput; taamatut **tautun-gakkaqput** ('taanna takusimasarput' imlt. 'takuarput'). Suli ilutsit pingasut kattutaasutut atortut (MacLean-ip taasai 'aappiuttartoq I, II aamma III') kangisinnerusumi tamani taamaani qaqutigut atorneqartut¹¹² İñupiaq-tulli oqaluttunit atugaaqisut pigineqarput. Taakku uiguutit **dlaq**, **ngnga(q)** aamma **mma(q)** tunngavigalugit ilusiler-neqarput kalaallilu oqaasiattut **kisimi**-tut, il.il. nagga-serneqartarlutik susaqaanngitsumik atortillutik (taamaallilluni Kuuvammi **aliašungngarmi** atorneqar-poq). Ilutsini susalinni soorlu -**dlamni** (sisam. ataas.). -**dlaan** (pingaj. ataas.) aamma -**dlarma** (siull. ataas.) su-soq qanorluunniit ittumik kinaassusersiuteqarsin-naavoq. Taakkua nalunaartarpaat oqaaseqatigiinni an-neri iliorneq qanga imaluunniit qanoq ililluni pisoq. Naggatit marlorsiutaat tamarmik suli atugaaajuarsinnar-put. Canadamiut Inuktitootut sumiorpaluusii amer-lanerit assigalugit immikkoortinneqarput aappiuttartoq 'pereersog' -**vluni** (-**luni** misaqqasup imernaalaanngitsup kingornani) allalu 'pereersimanngitsoq' -**luni**, il.il.¹¹³ Malugalugu aamma taggisaasaqarmat -**žuni/tuni** atorlu-git, soorlu **nirizuuni** (kalaallisut 'nerineq')¹¹⁴ Pisimasor-siutip ilusai illuatungiliuttutut atortartut kipititsisartut soorlu -**gami** nagguip **q**-mik naasup kingornatigut atorneqarput, kinaassusersiutillu sisamaata ataasersi-utip pissanersorsiuataa tassaavoq -**gumi** (Qitermi-utut).¹¹⁵ Kinaassusersiutit pingajuata piginnittorsiu-taa -**a**-unngikkaangami -**nga**-asarpoq (qass. -**it/ngit**).¹¹⁶ Oqaaseqatigiinnik minnernik taggimut taartaarpa-luttunik ilusiliisartoq immikkut ittoq uiguummik **til-aaq**-mik ilaqartarpoq taassuminnga oqaaseqatigiit susat nalunaarneqartarlutik soorlu **uqautigigaa nakuutilaanga** (oqaatigaa ajunngitsoq). Oqaaseqatigiit kalaallisut -ne-qarpoq-mik atuisunut naleqquttut susoq atugarinngi-laat. Naggataatigullu: naggatit annerit oqaaseeqqallu kisimiissinnaasut arlallit sumiorpaluutsinik kangilli-unerusunik ilisimaarinnittunut uissuumminartumik al-latut isumaqartillugit maani atorneqarput. Taama **ag-laani**, suli aamma **naagga**, (tulleriinneri malillugit ka-laallisut isumaqarlutik -li/allaat, -lu aamma -luunni-it).¹¹⁷

North Slope-miut oqaasiinut paasissutissat ping-aarnerit MacLean-ip uiguutitut ujarliutaaneersuupput (neriunartumik İñupiaq-tut ordbogi erniinnaq naqinne-qarumaartoq ilutigalugu naqinneqarumaarluni),¹¹⁸ ta-pertarineqarsimallutillu İñupiaq-tut allakkat assigiinng-itsut Barrow School İñupiat Program-ip Fairbanks-imi Alaska Native Language Center-illu saqqummiussa-saat. Taakku kingulliit 'Unipchaat'-lu Zibell-imit ka-tersorneqarsimasut Kuuvammiut sumiorpaluusiannut paasissutissatut assersuutit pissarsiaritissimavaat, Se-ward Peninsulamullu tunngasut (tamatumani paasissu-

tissamernit saqqummiunneqareersimasut ikittuin-naallutik) pillugit Kaplan-ip King Island-imiut (King-imiunut qanittut) uiguutaannut ujarliutaa saqqummiunneqarsimanngitsoq iluaqutaangaarsimavoq. Ki-isalu Holtved-ip Larsen-illu Kingimmiuni bándimut immiussaataamma allaaserisat Seward Peninsula-mi atuarfinni atorneqartut National Bilingual Materials Development Center-imeersut assigiinngitsut misissor-neqarsimapput.

Allattaatsinut tunngatillugit eqqaasariaqakkat

Sumiorpaluutsinit allanit paasissutissat paasiuminar-nerusinnaanerigaluat ajoraluurtumik akornuserneqarsimavoq allattaatsit atorneqartut tungaasigut ularussinartumik assigiinngissutaasunit. Taakku ataatsimut kattillugit pingaarnerusunut pingasunut immikkoortinneqarsinnaapput.

Syllabics-it ('Qaniujaaqpait')

Canadamiunut kangilliunerusunut paasissutissat amerlanersaat (atuagassiat aviisillu il.il. inoqarfinni assigiinngitsuni naqittartut) – kisianni Labrador-imiunngitsoq taamaattorli Natsilimmiut Caribou-miullu ilanngullugit – syllabics-it atorlugit allataapput; allaaseq taanna suliarineqaaqqaarsimalluni ukiut 1800-it naalerneranni ajoqersuisumit J. Peck-imit. Inuit Cultural Institute-p maanna tamanut ammasumik anguniagaa tassaavoq latinerit naqinnerisa (takuuk matuma ataaniit-toq) syllabics-illu ataatsikkut atorneqarsinnaanissaat, Inuit pingaartumik utoqqaanerusut tamaanimiut kissaatiginngimmassuk kingulliup kingornussarsiamik ilaattut atorunnaarnissaa. Taassuma aqqissuunneqaaq-qinnera ilikkaruminaatsunngilaq ilisarnaatip ataatsip taaneq ataaseq nalunaartarmagu (soorlu /ti/, /ta/ imlt. /tu/) – ilisarnaatit atorneqartut tamarmik takuneqarsinnaapput atuagassiami 'Ajurnarmat'-mi (aasaq 1978) – kisiannilli tassaniinnaanngitsoq aammattaarli allani. Ajornartorsut uaniippoq paasissutissat pisoqaanerusut – nutaanerusullu ilaasa – ersiutit takissusii allaalluunniit taanerit naggataat ilisarnaateqartinnngimmatigik (taamaallilluni /tar/, /tag/ aamma /ta/ imlt. /taa/ tamarmik ilisarnaammik ataatsimik matuneqarsimallutik). Ullumikkut paasissutissani syllabics-it atorlugit allatani malunnavissumik allattaatsit pisoqaanerusut nutaanerusullu akuleriiaarneqartarput latinerillu naqinnerinut allaqqiineqassappat allanngorarnerit tamakku ilanngusorneqarluaassagaluarpot.

Latinerit naqinneri atorlugit allattarneq ('phonemic')

Naak Inuktitut allattaaseq latinerit naqinnerinik atuisoq Inuit Cultural Institute-p atulersissimasaa atuarniarne-

rup tungaatigut ajornartorsiuatissaqarfiungaannikkalu-artoq taammaattoq eqqaamasariaqarpoq sumiorpalu-utsini assigiinngitsuni aappersarissaanik tulleriinnik marlunnik assigiiaarinikkut qanoq issusia naapertorlugu allanngorarneqarsinnaasoq naak 'kt' 'qt'-lu il.il. uanga 'gt'-mik 'rt'-millu il.il. allatannut naleqquttuaannartut (immaqa Canadamiunut killiunerusunut tunngatillugu taamatuttaaq allattarsimasariaqaraluarpunga). Uanga 'dl', 'tl' 'dj'-millu allatannut 'll', '&&' 'jj' (Labr. 'tj')-lu naleqqupput. Aammalu naggataallutik sorlukoortitat (misaqqasunut naligisaannut illuatungiliuttut), kipiseri-asaarneq, /j/-illu /ž/-mut allanngartarnera nalunaarsimagajunngillat. 'qr' /rr/-tut atorneqarpoq, aammalu /q/ /k/-lu malittariinni misaqqasut allat siorniniittuni atorneqarput (soorlu oqareersunga) tamatumani kalaallisut 'r' 'g'-lu atorneqartut; aamma /u/-p /i/-llu 'o'-mut 'e'-mullu kalaallisut allanngorarneri atorneqannngillat. Ilisarnaat immikkut ittoq ataaseq, '&', /l/ imernaalasunngitsumut ilisarnaatit atorneqarpoq (sumiorpalu-utsini taassuminnga atuisuni), allaaserisanillu Inuunngitsut aqqissuutaanni taanna 't'-mik ilisarnaaserneqarsimagajuppoq – taannalu Alaskami atuakkamilu maani atorneqarpoq. Kiisalu ataqatigiissitsinerit soorlu 'uva' aamma 'ija' atorneqarput – taakku kalaallisut al-latsimi nutaami (/v/-p /j/-llu taamatut inissisimallutik sakkukillisarnerat pissutigalugu) 'ua'-tut 'ia'-tullu al-lanneqartarlutik.

Allaatigisani pisoqaanerusuni latinerit naqinneri atorlugit allattaatsit allat siumugassaapput: Labrador-imi allaaseqarpoq ajoqersuiartortitanit Qatannguti-giinnianit atorneqarsimasumik (Kleinschmidt-ip kalaallisut allaasiliaanik tunngaveqartumik), Canadallu ilaani assigiinngitsuni nunaqarfimmit nunaqarfimmut assigiinngisitaartunik latinerit naqinneri atorlugit allat-taaseqarpoq Hudson Bay Company-mit suliarineqarsimasunik sulilu Qitermiuni Mackenzie-miunilu atugaasunik. Allattaatsini tamakkunani /k/ /q/-lu immik-koortinneqarneq ajorput ilami ersiutit imaluunniit aappersarissat takissusii ersersinneqarsimanatik. Qi-termiuni maanna misiligarneqartoq atuarfinni atortus-satut naqinnerit tulleriiaarnerat I.C.I-p atugaanut assingusorujussuaq 'q'-mulli taarsiullugu 'k' pamiulik atorneqarluni.

Alaskami atorneqarpoq allattaaseq oqaasilerisunit Summer Institute of Linguistics-imeersunit suliarine-qarsimasooq ilisarnaatinik immikkut ittunik 'l', 't' aamma 'n'-mik aappersarissanut qilaap saamiunut tunngatita-nik atuisoq. Qangaanerusooq 'k'-usoq 'q'-mik taarserne-qarsimavoq, 'r'-li [ɹ] (uanga 'ž'-mik ilisarnaasigara) (Alaskamiunngitsunut) nalaatsorluinnartumik atatiin-narneqarsimavoq /ɹ/ 'g'-mik ilisarnaasersimalluni. Taamalu 'qh' [X]-tut atorpaat, 'kh' [x]-tut, 'ch' qilaap saamiutut /č/-tut kiisalu 'sr' uanga /š/-ttut. Sumiorpalu-utsini 'ersiutini sanileriinni aappaannaanik taanilinni' ersiutit tunngaviusut (Utqiarvimmisut) nalunaarsorsima-gajupput (naak tamatumani allanngoralaarneq naa-tsorsuutigisariaqaraluartoq). Alaskamiut Yuit qiterliit kujalliillu (Sugpiaat) maanna allattaaseraat Alaska Na-

tive Language Center-imi suliarineqarsimasoo kalaallit allattaasiannut nutaamut qanittoq, kisianni 'll' atorneqarluni saneqqutsisumut imernaalasuumngitsumut *ataasiartamut* (nilaalasunut allanut assingusumik), 'ñ' il.il. sorlukkootunut imernaalasuumngitsunut, 'ũg' il.il. qilaarmiunut qarluukkootunut, 'c' [tʃ]/[ts]-itut, 'e' 'ersiutit sisamaattut' [ə]-tut, immikkoortinneqarlutillu 's' ([z]) imernaalasoq 'ss'-lu ([s]) imernaalanngitsooq. Siberiami Yupik-tuumut paasisutissat (Native Language Center-ip suliaasa saniatigut) russitut cyrilic-imik allatapput.

Kalaallit Nunaamiuumngitsunut kalaallini allattaatsimik pisoqqamik (Kleinschmidt-ip) allattaaseq nutaap peqatigalugu sulit atorneqartumik ilismaarinninngitsunut qalleqqissarneqassaaq /q/ 'K'-mik angisuumik allanneqarsimammat, /s/ ('j₂'-meersoq) 'ss'-ulluni, ersiutillu aappersarissalluunniit sivitsukkat avisaartinneqarsimallutik qangaanit malittariit pileqqaarfii takutinniarlugit tulleriinnerilu maanna assigiiaarinikkut erseqqarlussisimallutik – pingaartumik tamanna malugissaalluni 'vdl', 'tdl' imlt. 'gdl'-ip tamatigut /ll/-imik allanneqarsimaneratigut. Ilisarnaatit immikkut ittut pingasut, 'ː', 'ːː' aamma 'ːːː'-p (sukassutip, sivitsuutit sukassutaasallu), nalunaartarpaat – tulleriinneri malillugit – aappersarissap tulliusup sivitsorsimanera, ersiutit sivitsornera aammalu ersiutit aappersarissallu ataatsiklut sivitsornerat. Taasariaqarporlu pilersaarutigineqarmat kalaallit allattaasiata nutaap 'neruttorneqarnissaa' Tunumiut Avanersuarmiullu oqaasii ilanngullugit: tamatumanilu pisariaqarumaarpoq naapiffeqarsinnaanissaq pingaartillugu Tunumiut /r/-at (</q/) 'q'-mik allattariaqarumaannguatsiarmat sammiveqatigiissumik allattaaseqarnissaq pissutigalugu, sumiorpaluutsummi avinngarusimanerusut taakku maanna Kitaani oqaatsinik sungiusereersimaqaat.

Immikkut oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut allattaaseq ('phonetic')

Oqaatsinik atorneqartunik allaganngortitsinerit, assersuutigalugu Rasmussen-ip Holtved-illu nalunaarsuineri oqaatsit taasernerisa allannorarneri erseqqissumik nalunaarniarlugit naqinnerit nunani tamani atorneqartut (I.P.A.) atorlugit (allanngulaartarlugilluunniit) allaganngorsimagajupput, tamatumani pisariaqartillugu nippip aalajangersimasup ('phonemic' – tak. kitaamiutuumngortinnerup quppernera siulleq) ilisarnaammik ataasiinnaanngitsumik ilisarnaaserneqarnissaa oqaatigisat ataqatigiit pissuserisaat naapertorlugu. Tamatumanimi immikkut sungiusarsimannngitsut ajornartorsiutissinneqarsimasinnaapput oqalunnermi sukkassuseq taalluartaarinerlu pissutigalugit allannorarneri il.il. mianersuutigisariaqarmata aammalu allaaserinnissimasup tusakkani naapertorlugit nammineq naqitanngortitsisimanera oqaasilerinikkullu tunulequtaa sunniuteqarsimassammata. Taamaalluni Rasmussen-ip kalaallisut oqaluttarnerata qularnannngitsumik kingunerisarsimajunnarsivaa nilaalasut sivitsukkat imer-

naalanngitsut taamaattut tusarlugillu allattarsimasinnaammagut ilaanni sumiorpaluutsumi taamaattunik imernaalaqqajaasoqaraluartuni. Paasisutissani assersuutigalugu Rasmussen-ip allagaani qallunaat nipisiuinerat naapertorlugu naqitani I.P.A.-p ilisarnaataanit allaassutaasut ilaat (takukkit 'Principles of the International Phonetic Alphabet'-ip naqinneri) makkuupput: 'L' [l]-tut atorneqartoq, 'ç' [ç]-tut, 'ŋ' [ŋ]-tut, 'R' [X]-tut, 'g' [ɣ]-tut aammalu toorneq ersiutit aappersarissalluunniit kingornatigut atorneqarluni sivitsorsimamera nalunaarniarlugu.

Allaaserinnittut ilaasa naqinnerit nalinginnaq atugaareersut oqaatsillu taagornerisa naapiffigisinnaasat nassaarisutut illugu allaaserisatit ilusilertarsimavaat. Taamaappoq M. Métayer Qitermiunik allaaserinnissimasoo kalaallit allaasiannut nutaamut eqqaanartumik periaaseqarluni, kisiannili ersiutit aappersarissallu takissusilertarneri ularussinartumik allannorartillugit; taanerup takissusia taamaallaat kisiat nalunaalaqqajaarsimavaa oqaatsimi malunnarluraangat ersarequtaalluni oqaatsimiluunniit immikkut ilisarnaqutaalluni. Taamaalluni 'ng' sivitsorlugu allanneqarajunngilaq – uiguutinullumi aallaqqaataalluni taasinerup tungaatigut assersuutigalugu **nnigut-p ngit**-mut allannorartutut pisarnera nipisiuineri ilumootortaqaassaaq. Aamma Schneider-ip oqaasilerinikkut oqaatsinullu ujarliutitigut Tarramiuni suliai pingaaruteqartut maanga eqqartukamut tunngatinneqarsinnaapput. Métayer-ip allaasia assigalugu allaaserisai atuaruminarnerusussaapput periaasia ilisimareeraanni; immikkut malugisariaqarpoq /k/-p aappersarissallu /t/-mut aappersarissamullu assigiiaarneqartalernerat maanna atugaalersimasooq nalunaarsorsimannngimmagu, 'rgr' /rr/-tut atormagu 'rngr'-lu imlt. 'nng' /rng/-itut kiisalu 'o' /u/-tut 'e'-lu /i/-tut atorlugit aappersarissat allat nerilittarmiunat allaasut siornini.

Suliami matumani assersuutit allakkiani (normulerineri najoqqutarlugit) allaaseq atorneqartoq pillugu assigiinngitsualuit taasariaqarput:

Tunumiut (I) – Misaaqasut naggataasut tamaasa nalunaartarpakka naak taaneqarlunngikkaluaraangataluunniit taamalu tusaanngitsooqqajaanarsinnaallutik ersiutit siulerisamik sunnerneqarnerisigut pinngippat. /k/-t /q/-llu ersiutit akorniniittut tamaasa nilaalasunut nalingisaannut annikillilertarpakka naak allanneqaaqqarne-ranni taamaaliorneqarsimannngikkaluartoq (oqaluttup, Petersen malillugu, oqalunnini ilaatigut Kitaamiut oqaluttarnerannut naleqquttunngorsarsimasarpaa). Malugalugu ilaanni oqaatsini assigiissuni /i/-p /u/-llu akornanni allannorarneqartarmat: tamatumani ingasattajaartumik naqqiiniarneqarsimavoq (akuttunngitsumik Kitaamiut oqaasii najoqqutarlugit).

Avanersuarmiut (III) – Holtved-ip sorlukkootut misaaqasullu akornini allannorartitsinera (oqaasilerinerup tungaatigut pisariaqarlunngartunik tamatigut tunngaveqannngikkaluq) atuinnersimavara sumiorpalu-

uttip taassuma nipaasa tungaasigut immikkut ilisarnaatitut pingaarutaat pissutigalugu. Tulleriit /ija/ aamma /uva/ atuinnaarsimavakka, sumiorpaluutsinut tamanut tunngasut taamaallaat kalaallit kitaamiut tunumiullu pinnagit aappersarissallu malittariit tamarmik /l/-mik ilallit allanneqarput imernaalasutillugit.

Labrador-miut (VI) – Nilaalasut sivitsukkat imernaalasunngitsutut paasisassaapput (soorlu kalaallit Nunaata Kitaanisut) /q/-lu atorineqarfimmini nilaalasutut (taamatullu Tarramiuni Kinngainilu /q/ kingullinngitsaq). Aappiuttartup ('pereersup') illuatungiliut-tumik ilusai /l/-mik imernaalasullit tamatigut atatiin-nartarpakka.

Caribou-miut (VIII) – 's' allannngortippara 'h'-nngorlugu 'v'-lu aappersarissamik ilalik 'b'-nngorlugu aappersarissamik ilalik sumiorpaluutsit killiunerit allat assigalugit. Torlukkut kipiseriasaarneq ilisarnaasertarsimanngilara (naak 'd' aappersarissamut allamut siulliutillugu taamaaliortariaqartassagaluq, soorlu aamma aappersariaq imernaalasooq /m/-p siornaniittoq amerlasoorpassuurtigut taamatut pisariaqartitsisartoq misaqqasumut imernaalasunngitsumut qanga atugaasimasumut naleqqutsilluni). 'ng'-ip sorlukkootullu atorineqarneri arlallit naqqippakka 'r'-mut sorlukkootumullu (Inuit killiunerisut syllabics-inik allattartut nerilittarmiunik qilaarmiunillu taamatut inissisimasunik immikkoortitsigajunngillat).

Natsilimmiut (IX) – Kipiseriasaarneq immikkut nalunaarneqanngilaq (sorlukkootooq misaqqasorluunniit imernaalasunngitsooq naleqquttooq atornerusarpara). 'h' 's'-tut atorpara, 'l'-lu [lʁ]/[ʒr]-tut. Rasmussen-ip aappiuttartua '-klugu' il.il. taarserpara **-glugu**-nngorlugu il.il. Killiunerisut (aamma Iglulimmiut) allaaserinerini amerlanerini /l/ ('L') imernaalasunngitsooq taamaallaat nagguiit **r**-mik naasut kingornisigut taassuma atorpara. Allattaatsima immikkoortittanngilai aappi-

uttartoq 'pereersooq' 'pereersimanngitsor'-lu nagguiit **t**-mik naggatillit kingornatigut ([lʁ] kisianni [llugu] il.il.).

Mackenzie-miut (XI) – Rasmussenip 'f'-ia tamatigut 'j'-mik taarsertarpara (atorineqarfiani /ʒ/ tusartarsimassagaluarpaa) 'L'-lu 'l'-mik aappersariaq imernaalasunngitsooq erseqqissumik isumagineqanngikaangat (soorlu 'iglu'-ani). **-dluni** ikkuteqqittarpara '-vluni' nagguiup **t**-mik naggatillup kingornagut atoraaqagu. Akuttunngitsumik 'gl' imlt. 'bl' /dl/-tut taassuma atorpara. 's' 'c'-mit atorumaneruara aappersarissap kingornatigut.

Kuuvammiut (XIII) – Ersiutut sanileriit aappaannaanik taanilinnut allannngortittarpakka ('ai' aamma 'au' allaaserisama ilaani nassuiarpakka). Kipiseriasaarneq nalunaarneq ajorpara ersiutit akornanniinngikkaangat (nalunaaraangakku atorarlugu inangiisooq ' ' ').

Seward Peninsula-miut (XIV) – Aappersarissat sakkukillimaneri naapertorlugit taamaattut tamaasa nalunaartarpakka. Malugalugit 'w' aamma 'z' immikkut atorineqarmata /v/-p /s/-illu sakkukillinerisut. Aappersarissat sivitsukkat sakkortuumik inissisimasut taamatut allattarpakka qangaaniit oqaatsinut tulluaraangata allaat oqaatsini (soorlu **aippaaga**) aappersarissap kisiartap naligisaanik immikkoortinneqarsinnaanatik.

Ajornartinnagu oqaluttuat allaaserisalluunniit iluitsutillugit asserssuutitut atuagassanngorlugit qinertarsimavakka, kisianni soorlu takuneqarsinnaasooq ilaat suli-anit annernit tigusaapput (assersuutigalugu oqaluttuali-amit iluitsutit "Sanaaq"-mit tigusaq). Oqaatsit qularnaateqartut uteqqitalluunniit ikittunnguit kisimik atuagassani ilanngunneqartarsimanngillat. Canadamiut killiunerisut pillugit atuagassat ilaat ullumikkut pisoqaaginartinneqarsinnaapput.

Nutserisooq: Inooraq Olsen

Index for main dialects

There are a few conventions in connection with the following index that should be noted. The numbers (plus 'Enc' for enclitic) following the abbreviations for the four dialects concerned refer to the affix groups on the main lists where the affix can be found, or, if it is found only in a footnote to one of the main dialect lists, to the footnote number in the corresponding set of footnotes (in brackets). Copper affixes with an /h/ will be found under corresponding forms with /s/ except when the item has no direct counterpart in other dialects. North Slope forms with /q/ or /k/ before another consonant (or finally in verbal affixes) will be ordered along with forms that have /r/ or /g/ in other dialects – except where there is no direct counterpart elsewhere. North Slope items with /ž/ or /č/ are listed together with corresponding forms in other dialects with /j/ or /s/ if these exist, and in the same circumstances /ngng/ finds its place along with /nng/ in other dialects. Copper forms

with /tt/ are listed with correlates in /ts/ where these exist. Letters with diacritic marks follow entries with the simple letter (and forms with diacritics can be found listed with correlates with the simple letter). Nominal forms ending in /k/ and /q/ are distinguished from verbal ones ending in /g/ and /r/ from the same source for all dialects except North Slope, where these fall together. As everywhere in the manual, forms quoted are those found after vowels, so when looking up an affix following a consonant it may be necessary to check under /v/ for an initial /p/, and under /g/ for initial /k/. Similarly, for West Greenlandic, an affix with initial /t/ might be found under /s/, for North Slope one with a /g/ might be found under /s/, and one with /t/ under /ž/ (or /l/), and, finally, for Copper and Tarramiut, one with initial /t/ might be found under /j/, and one with /g/ under /j/ also.

a WG 4, 18; T 4, 18; C 18; NS (96)
 aa WG Enc
 aasiit WG Enc; T (aasit) Enc; NS (aasii(ñ)) Enc
 adlag(hi) C 16
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 dluquumi T 16
 dlurig T 16
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 dluumi T 22
 dluur T 9
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 gaaq NS 18, 22, 24
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 gajait NS 20
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