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***A Mission for Grammar writing***  
***Early Approaches to Inuit (Eskimo) Languages***

**(1) Introduction**

The Inuit inhabit a vast area of--from a European point of view--most inhospitable land, stretching from the northeastern tip of Asia to the east coast of Greenland. Inuit peoples have never been numerous, their settlements being scattered over enormous distances. But nevertheless, from an ethnological point of view, all Inuit peoples shared a distinct culture, featuring sea mammal and caribou hunting, sophisticated survival skills, technical and social devices, including the sharing of essential goods and strategies for minimizing and controlling aggression. Living quite literally at the edge of the ice, Inuit frequently were threatened by unfavorable environmental conditions; access to resources was extremely limited. The traditional Inuit material culture was based largely on stone, bone, and skin. Only in the southern settlement areas along the Labrador coast and in southernmost Greenland was firewood accessible. Inuit were self-sufficient, but often this self-sufficiency teetered on the edge of disaster. One aspect of the survival strategies was an elaborated adaptability, the willingness to take advantage of all possible chances to secure or improve the livelihood of the group. Thus it is no wonder that Inuit were eager to trade and establish contact with outsiders who could provide them with goods otherwise inaccessible for them, such as metal knives and needles, and later on of course guns and traps. The extreme efficiency in coping with most

unfavorable environmental conditions, the skill in hunting, and the profound knowledge of land and sea thus form one side of traditional Inuit life. On the other hand, the utter destitution and harshness of traditional, pre-contact Inuit life must always be kept in mind, when the relations between Inuit and whites are considered. Even the poorest missionary who was from time to time in contact with his home country possessed goods and tools Inuit could never obtain themselves, goods and tools that improved hunting considerably and made life easier and more reliable. The records of the missions in Greenland and Labrador clearly show the ever returning, if not constant, shadow of famine and later on epidemics that threatened Inuit communities. Still, at least in some cases the missionaries themselves had considerable difficulties coping with the harsh environment; the first Moravian missionaries who arrived in Greenland were utterly unaware of the climatic conditions that awaited them. Thus the relation between missionaries and Inuit was always influenced by the unequal availability of food and other goods--a fact that in many respects troubled the relationship from the beginning.<sup>1</sup>

In the different regions of the Arctic, contact with Europeans and Euro-Americans was established at different times, by different people, and to a different extent, so that the history of the Inuit people varies greatly from place to place, as does their present-day condition. Today Inuit live in four different countries, namely Russia, the United States, Canada, and Greenland/Denmark. Due to historical factors and present-day conditions, the state of the languages varies from being close to extinction to flourishing. The speech communities in Russia are close to being destroyed; in Alaska Yup'ik is the most robust native language--but still the number of speakers does not reflect the number of people. Thus the westernmost branch of the Eskimo language family may be seen as

severely threatened throughout, as is Aleut, the other members of the family spoken in this area. The Eastern Eskimo languages comprise Inupiaq (North Alaska, North Slope), Inuktun (Mackenzie Delta), the varieties of Inuktitut (Central and High Arctic, Baffin Island, Northern Quebec), and Inuttut (Labrador). Kalaallisut, or West Greenlandic, shows great similarities with Inuktitut, but for historical and political reasons is considered a language of its own. It is the only language with an established standard. Kalaallisut is spoken by approximately 50,000 people, a number equalling the total speakers of all the other languages. Kalaallisut itself comprises three dialects that show considerable differences, namely, West Greenlandic, the variety the standard is based on, the Polar dialect, and East Greenlandic (Tunumiutut). The western varieties of Inuit languages, Yup'ik and the varieties spoken in Asia, are clearly distinct from the eastern varieties, which constitute a continuum to the effect that there is no general agreement concerning their status as distinct languages or mere dialects. Taking into account the enormous range of distribution, it is no wonder that there are considerable differences among the varieties; this is also true of the variants spoken in Greenland. In fact, it is the similarities that are more of a surprise. Knud Rasmussen's (1879-1933) statement that he could converse freely in Greenlandic with all the different Inuit peoples he visited on the Fifth Thule Expedition seems rather exaggerated, but nevertheless the similarities among the dialects of Eastern Eskimo are striking.<sup>ii</sup>

The oldest records of an Inuit language date back to the sixteenth century and are concerned with Greenlandic and the language spoken by the people then living on what is now called Baffin Island and which had been named Meta Incognita by Martin Frobisher (1535-1594). Frobisher had undertaken three voyages "in

search of a passage to Cathaia and India by the north-west"<sup>iii</sup> during the years 1576 to 1578. While the expedition had numerous contacts with Inuit and general descriptions of the way of conversing are given, no samples of the language can be found in the journals. A few years later John Davis (1550-1605) followed Frobisher in the search for the northwest passage; and in the journal of the second voyage (1586), which led Davis from southern Greenland to Meta Incognita and south to Estotiland (Labrador), a list of forty words and expressions is given: "they pronouce theyr language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them" (Davis 1880: 20). Although in a footnote the great similarity to Greenlandic is emphasized, as well as "great credit on the accuracy and perspicacity of Davis," this praise is a little hard to confirm. Compare, e.g., *ponameg* 'a boat' in Davis' list with Rink's<sup>iv</sup> *umiamik* 'by boat'. A kind of key word which reappears in later lists, for example in Olearius' (1599-1671) and the *Atlas Danicus* list, is *Yliaoute*. While Davis interpreted it as 'I meane no harm', it is later on associated with other meanings, e.g., 'sun'. The Greenlandic word for 'sun' is *seqineq* (Inuktitut *siqiniq*); 'daylight': *qau*.<sup>v</sup> Some other entries actually represent expressions of delight or wonder, e.g., *aoh* 'iron' (Davis 1880: 21), rather than real words.

Olearius (1656) describes the history of European contact with Greenlanders,<sup>vi</sup> and it is quite clear that Greenlanders were repeatedly captured and brought to Denmark. Most of them died, of disease or grief; some tried to escape and drowned or simply disappeared in their kayaks. In 1654 again Greenlanders were captured, a man and three women. While the man died during the voyage to Denmark, the three women arrived safely and were brought to the Danish court in Flensburg, where Olearius met them. He describes their language as "alien" and "not related to any European language."<sup>vii</sup> There then follows a list of one hundred words,

referring to tangible objects; body parts; sun, moon, and earth and related matters; tools; and a very few mental states, properties, and actions, such as "being happy, being sad, big, small, drink, sing." At the end the numbers from one to ten are listed.

The seventh volume of the *Atlas Danicus* by Peder Hansen Resen (Petrus Resenius), 1677, contains an extensive word list. Again, this list was compiled by questioning Greenlanders who had been brought to Denmark. While the general part is written in Latin and the first part of the word list contains Latin glosses to Greenlandic lemmata (altogether about 240 entries), the second part of the list is German - Greenlandic (p. 413-437). It is generally arranged in alphabetical order, though not within the respective subparts, and contains words for body parts, activities, fishing and hunting equipment, and animals, as well as for typically European terms and items such as *Creutz serningersong* 'cross', or *Einhorn Tugang, Tuaca, Tonach* 'unicorn'. Given as names for (the) land are *Invin, Nuna*.<sup>viii</sup> At the end, expressions and phrases are listed. Resen discusses similarities, or rather dissimilarities, to European languages and speculates about the vanished Norse settlements in Greenland, but finally emphasizes the differences and the alien character of the language (438/39),<sup>ix</sup> as did Olearius before him. He refers several times to Frobisher and Davis.

Dorais 1980 discusses two anonymous word lists dated 1717 and 1730 that contain words of the languages spoken by Inuit taken prisoner at the southern coast of Labrador.\* These word lists again reflect the common practice of collecting "names" for things and fit well into the tradition of compilations.<sup>xi</sup> The difficulties and potential misunderstandings inherent in this method are demonstrated nicely by Dorais (1980:7).

Closer investigation of an Inuit language started with Hans Egede's (1686-1758) attempts at Greenlandic following his arrival in 1721. Thus it seems to be justified to differentiate between the (more or less

arbitrary) superficial collections of single expressions that date back to a period when no continuous contact was established,<sup>xii</sup> and the treatises composed by missionaries from the first half of the eighteenth century onwards.

The first European mission in Greenland was established in 1721 by the Norwegian minister Hans Egede on behalf of the Danish crown. The Moravian mission was established in 1733; neither mission ever participated in trade, which was controlled by the Danish crown right from the start. Especially the first Moravians, who went to Greenland quite unaware of the climatic conditions and who were not able and willing to adopt hunting techniques, were threatened by starvation and frequently had to trade for meat. The Greenlanders mocked them for not being able providers, while the missionaries despised the "commercial" attitude of the Greenlanders, who were more interested in needles than in the Holy Ghost.<sup>xiii</sup>

The Labrador mission of the Moravians, which was established roughly 40 years after the Greenland mission, greatly profited from the experience gained in Greenland, to the effect that supplies were more adequate. Moreover, the Labrador mission took an active part in the trade with the Inuit, a fact that drew Inuit to the mission but that also engendered a fierce competition with free traders and in the long run had a negative impact on the relations between Inuit and missionaries.<sup>xiv</sup>

Over the years, the accounts of the language that were given by the various missionaries were exceedingly influential. Step by step they became the groundwork for a kind of "customary standard" as well as for later descriptions and interpretations. As part of these grammatical sketches, orthographies were developed which were introduced in school and which had considerable influence not only on the representation

of the language but, as will be shown below, on the linguistic behavior of the pupils. These early grammars followed closely the contemporary expectations towards the general outline of a grammar, namely, expectations concerning the "parts of speech." Of course, these expectations reflected generally held assumptions concerning the nature of language. Inuit languages deviate from these expectations in most important aspects; today they are considered to be ergative languages and their polysynthetic character is obvious even at first glance. Partly these differences were simply not recognized; partly they were forced into the straitjacket of traditional grammar. Quite a number of descriptive as well as explanatory problems that haunt the linguistics of Inuit languages today can be traced back to these early times.

As indicated above, neither the Inuit nor their languages share a homogenous history and development during the last few centuries. This paper will concentrate on the eastern part of Inuit territory, on Greenland, Labrador, and the Canadian Eastern Arctic. Following the historical line of contact with Europeans and Euro-Americans and Canadians, I will first focus on Greenland and then turn to the other regions. It must be emphasized that especially Alaska deserves closer investigation, its omission being a serious lack. But this gap cannot be filled without thorough research--research that has not been carried out yet.

## **(2) Kalaallit Nunaat - Greenland**

The green but icy land in the far northwest came to the attention of Europeans as early as the year 1000. Roughly at that time Viking settlements were founded on the southwestern shore of Greenland and flourished for close to five hundred years. But the links to Europe became weaker and finally broke in the fifteenth century. For the next two hundred years whalers and

explorers such as Frobisher and Davis visited the waters of the Eastern Arctic, but contacts with the native population were sporadic and very limited. Yet the colonies in the northwest were not completely forgotten; after many attempts, the Norwegian minister Hans Egede finally gained the support of the Danish king and sailed for Greenland to re-establish the lost connections. But when he landed in southwestern Greenland in 1721, close to the spot where today's capital Nuuk is situated, he only met "skraelinge" as the Viking settlers had called the "other" inhabitants. It would be inappropriate to call the Inuit "native" in comparison with the Norse Greenlanders. Both groups had entered Greenland at approximately the same time, the Inuit in the far north, the Vikings in the south. While the Vikings occasionally ventured north, the Inuit moved south. The encounters were not always peaceful, but whether or not Inuit were to blame for the demise of the Norse settlements is unknown. The disappearance of the Norse Greenlanders in the sixteenth century is still a mystery. There are a number of factors that may have caused the event, such as climatic change, lost contact to Europe, dwindling of the population, epidemics. Even a collective move to North America is possible.

Egede had to face many serious disappointments and difficulties when he arrived, just one being the absolutely unintelligible language. The word lists of the *Atlas Danicus* and Olearius were known to Hans Egede, but were of no substantial help. Learning the language had such importance that in 1723 an assistant was sent to support Egede. Albert Top (1697-1742) and Egede collected words, phrases, and inflectional endings.<sup>xv</sup> Hans Egede's son Paul (1708-1789), who grew up in Greenland and probably was the first and for a long time the only European who mastered the language, compiled the first grammar of Greenlandic, which was published in Copenhagen in 1760. While Egede's grammar was later on considered to be "trailblazing",<sup>xvi</sup> its



whole outline was based on traditional Latin grammar. Of course, this is not without consequences as far as single features and aspects of the language are concerned. Just to name the perhaps most striking example, Egede differentiates three tenses, but remarks "praeteritum formatur a praesenti ...."<sup>xvii</sup> No Inuit language shows inflectional tense features; temporal aspects may be introduced by affixes. See Nowak 1994b. On the other hand, Egede quite clearly recognizes that "pronomina sunt vel separata vel affixa,"<sup>xviii</sup> that there are no gender distinctions and that negation is accomplished by affixes. In many respects, Egede's grammar exhibits deep insight into the language; but equally it stands for the dilemma that plagued almost all of the grammars written later on. This dilemma is caused by the fundamental differences between Inuit languages and Indo-European languages. Grammatical frameworks were--and still are--modelled on Indo-European languages. This created serious descriptive inadequacies, the treatment of tense mentioned above being just one. While the inflectional capacities were recognized as long as they matched Indo-European inflectional patterns, they were set aside, not recognized, or misinterpreted as soon as they encoded unknown aspects, such as those later called "transitive" endings, establishing double agreement; the so-called fourth person, indicating anaphoric coreference; and of course the more complex structures that indicate conditional, contemporative, or causal relation of clauses.

Thus it can be said that on the one hand inflectional features alien to Greenlandic were postulated, while on the other features inherent in the language were not recognized. Although inflection itself was familiar, the polysynthetic formation of words, the addition of a vast variety of semantic as well as grammatical affixes, was an even bigger problem, a problem that was mentioned only insofar as familiar processes such as passive or negation are accomplished via affixation.

Egede's grammar can be taken as typical for the work done on Greenlandic during the next 100 years, as far as the general approach is concerned. Early treatises hardly ever touched upon syntax, consequently another major source of misinterpretation: the ergative sentence structure was simply omitted.

The classical framework of grammar that was applied in close to all cases without major adjustments to the peculiarities of the language became a straitjacket and forced Inuit language into an alien structure, sometimes distorting it to the point of unrecognizability. With the exception of Kleinschmidt's (1814-1886) grammar of 1851, these shortcomings were not recognized until very recent times, and a comprehensive grammar featuring just these fundamental differences has yet to be compiled for nearly all Inuit languages.<sup>xix</sup>

To return to the development of grammar writing, it must be emphasized that the grammars which were produced are not only of historiographic and scientific relevance. These grammars in many respects entailed serious consequences for the speakers of the language, if not for the language itself. This is especially true of the grammar-writing tradition connected with the Moravian Brethren. The Moravian Church<sup>xx</sup> was active in Greenland and in Labrador and still is active in Alaska. It had considerable influence on the developments in Greenland and extraordinary influence on the situation in Labrador.

The first Moravians arrived in Greenland in 1733; originally they were sent in support of Hans Egede, whose mission was seriously threatened at that time. But very soon the disagreements on religious issues led to the establishment of a second mission station close to Egede's. The first brethren drew heavily on Egede as far as the acquisition of the language is concerned; most of them never really mastered the language. They were all laypeople, with no or almost no formal education. Consequently, the composition of a

description, let alone a grammar, of this confusing language constituted an enormous task which they could not accomplish to anyone's satisfaction. But because command of the language was a prerequisite of all missionary work, they had to try to at least write down what they heard and thought they remembered. The quality of these "field notes" can be easily imagined, but they constituted-- beside Egede's notes--the groundwork for the first descriptions. By 1755 Johann Beck (1706-1777), who had arrived in Greenland in 1734, had compiled a whole manuscript, "Eine grammaticalische Einleitung zur Erlernung der grönländischen Sprache," the first in a whole succession of grammars composed by Moravians.<sup>xxi</sup> These grammars added nothing to Egede's grammar; on the contrary, Beck's manuscript most certainly owes much to the manuscripts of the Egedes and Albert Top. Beck's grammar was copied several times, and various later works were based on it, such as the grammar of Königseer (1723-1786), (1777).<sup>xxii</sup> The grammar of Otho Fabricius, a Dane, deserves mention as well. In many respects Fabricius' grammar is an enlarged version of the older Egede grammar and contains a wealth of linguistic data. In the preface,<sup>xxiii</sup> Fabricius emphasizes his indebtedness to Paul Egede and points out that the grammar was composed for the instruction of missionaries. Since Fabricius' grammar dates to 1791, the increase in knowledge on the language is no surprise, considering the body of new material collected by Beck and others. Although Fabricius does not mention a collaboration, it is extremely likely that he had had access to the material compiled by the Moravians.

All these manuscripts were used extensively: they served as material of instruction for newly arrived missionaries and those missionaries setting out to the other parts of the Arctic; they were consulted for translations; and they were used for instruction in school. Exegesis of the Bible was essential for the Moravians, so literacy was regarded as necessary for

everyone. Consequently the establishment of a school had high priority and was accomplished as soon as 1738; equally important was the translation of the Bible, hymns, and prayers. It became quite obvious that Greenlandic lacked many important European and Christian features, names, and terms, as well as words for things and animals not in existence in Greenland. Whereas the missionaries gathered knowledge of the language by pointing at things and asking for their names, now they turned the procedure around and named all the concepts they were in want of. Especially during the first decades this was accomplished by taking German words, adjusting them more or less to Greenlandic, and giving them a Greenlandic ending.<sup>xxiv</sup> Kleinschmidt mocks the practice of adding Greenlandic cases to German numbers, such as *siebenunddreissigmik ukiorqarmat*, for 's.o. is thirty-seven years old'.<sup>xxv</sup> That the practice of introducing foreign terms together with the concepts was not given up in later years can be seen in Kleinschmidt's letter of April 26, 1872, where he discusses the motion to replace the already established *tôrnârssuk* and use *sâtanase*, *djaevele* or *teufele*<sup>xxvi</sup> instead (Holtved 1964: 90). *tôrnârssuk*, the mighty evil spirit, was of course built upon *tôrnaq* (*torngaq*), the native word for 'evil spirit'.<sup>xxvii</sup> Yet it was not only the invention of words, but the orthography set up by the missionaries that provided and, in the case of Labrador, still provides a serious problem.

... die älteren buchstabirbücher (enthalten) mehrere seiten der furchtbarsten sylben (...), wie sie dem grönl. organ durchaus unmöglich sind (baurng, beirng, u. dgl.). [Auch im labradorschen buchstabirbuch (1812, 20 und 42), finde ich ähnliche sylben (zug, zal, zom, jeing, urng, irng &c), die vermuthlich von wirklichem eskimoischen eben so weit abweichen, als z.b. das chinesische vom deutschen] (Holtved 1964: 22-23)<sup>xxviii</sup>

The method of transliteration had been very straightforward and simple: sounds were represented by

letters; sounds were perceived by ears used to listen to and to discriminate the sounds of German or Danish. It is no wonder that idiosyncratic sounds of Greenlandic were not recognized at all or interpreted incorrectly. The most prominent case is the vowel system; without any doubt it was assumed that there must be five vowels; even today these five vowels are represented in the Greenlandic orthography although it is well known since Kleinschmidt's analysis that there are only three vowel phonemes, [i],[e] and [o],[u] respectively being allophones. From other sources (Holtved 1964: 28,57) it can be concluded that the influence of the Moravians' interpretation of the language was not restricted to the outline of the grammar, the orthography, or the invention of words and terms. As teachers and persons of authority and at least in the case of Labrador of economic superiority, they influenced the speech behavior of their pupils quite directly. They even made a conscious effort to do so, as they prided themselves on knowing the language better "than the natives do."<sup>xxxix</sup>

One grammar is quite outstanding, and deserves special mention: Samuel Kleinschmidt's grammar of 1851.

Kleinschmidt was born in 1814 in Greenland of Moravian parents and continued to be a member of the Moravian Church till 1859. One of the reasons for his leaving was the unwillingness of his fellow brethren to revise the existing grammars and orthography. Being a native speaker of Greenlandic and a genius on linguistic issues, Kleinschmidt composed a grammar that in many respects is unsurpassed even today. To begin with, he changed the existing orthography completely and tried to base it on a phonemic analysis.<sup>xxx</sup>

Although he did at last succeed in establishing the orthography as a standard, which actually was in use till the revision of 1972, he was not equally successful in upholding his grammar as he had been with his orthography. While the dominant role of word

formation (polysynthesis) and its peculiarities was eventually accepted, his extraordinary interpretation of the Greenlandic sentence structure was ignored by later grammarians or simply not noticed.<sup>xxx1</sup> Most striking is the fact that he felt it necessary to abandon the traditional notions of "subject" and "direct object" and to introduce a neutral term, "project"; a "project" may be case marked by the "subjective" case, the "objective" case, or one of the oblique cases. As far as the two former cases are concerned, the "subjective" describes a possessor or agent ("Thäter"), while the "objective" does not. He remarks that a Greenlandic sentence without a project in objective case is impossible and thus gives a somewhat unfamiliar, but still recognizable, description of ergativity. How exceedingly insightful and theoretically superior his approach is can easily be seen in comparison with grammars and treatises written later on. The syntactic peculiarity of Greenlandic and other Inuit languages was not recognized fully for a long time, Kleinschmidt's approach being without consequences for the linguistic discussion in general. In our century, the discussion first came up in the guise of rivalling interpretations of a striking feature of inflectional endings, namely, the apparent similarity of noun inflection concerning possession and the so-called transitive verb inflection. Moreover, there are two intransitive inflectional paradigms, the so-called indicative (e.g., *sinippuq* 's/he sleeps') and the so-called nominal participle (e.g., *aupaqtuq* 's.th. is red'). The fact that verbs inflected for third person singular, nominal participle, can be treated as nouns--for example, they can be case-marked--added to the difficulty in identifying the basic categories of nouns and verbs. This difficulty cannot be overcome with a purely taxonomic approach,<sup>xxxii</sup> and consequently Greenlandic was interpreted as a basically "nominal" language, but also as deficient, as lacking the "dynamic activity

exhibited in Indo-European languages."<sup>xxxiii</sup> This discussion was carried on with some enthusiasm--and the "nominalist hypothesis" attributing a basically "nominal" character to the language has not yet been totally given up even today. The "syntactic turn" taken later on just views the same problems from a different angle--the lack of an "agent" and the "undynamic" character of the language that finds its most extreme interpretation in the conception of the sentence as a succession of nouns.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

Besides Schultz-Lorentzen's grammar of 1945, a few other grammars appeared, such as Rasmussen's *Grønlandsk Sproglære* (1887), which in many respects is a more popular, didactic version and translation into Danish of Kleinschmidt's grammar. In 1955 the first contemporary scientific grammar, a descriptive grammar of West Greenlandic by Knut Bergsland appeared, followed by Michael Fortescue's grammar in 1984.

### (3) Mission in Labrador

...the proposal of sending a mission to the coast of Labrador was again brought upon the carpet and a beginning made of a negotiation with the Board of Trade. (September 23, 1768)<sup>xxxv</sup>

In the eighteenth century the coast of Labrador was frequently visited by whalers and fishermen; the encounters with the native population were most hostile, and the Labrador Inuit had gained the reputation of being very ferocious, unreliable, and adverse to any attempt at establishing permanent settlements, fishing stations, and trading or supply posts. The whole colony of Newfoundland was under military law at that time, so the subsequent negotiations of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel proved to be complicated. In 1769 a grant of land, 100,000 acres in Esquimaux Bay, was given in trust to the Uritas Fratrum and its Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (May 9, 1769). The Greenland mission was already flourishing at that time, as were the activities of the Moravians in other parts of the world. Because of "the murderous disposition" of the natives, the establishment of a Moravian mission was regarded as a precarious enterprise that needed thorough preparation. An Eskimo woman named Mikak, who was returned to her people after being captured and taken to England for almost one year, was instructed to prepare her people for the arrival of the missionaries.<sup>xxxvi</sup> When the missionaries finally arrived in August 1771 at a place they called Nain, they remained unmolested. Jens Haven and Christen Larsen Drachard had lived in Greenland and spoke Greenlandic, which is not entirely different from Labrador Inuttut. In later years, as well, the mission station never had to cope with hostility or attacks--the Inuit's reputation for being hostile and ferocious must be



viewed as a result of the "civilized" performance of the whalers, fishermen, and traders they had encountered before. In the years after 1771 a number of other stations besides Nain were founded, such as Okak, Hopedale, and Hebron. Right from the beginning the mission stations were supposed to operate as trading posts too. Jens Haven (...) saw a solution in the combination of Christianity and trade: "civilize" and "humanize" the Inuit, set up a barter trade in European manufactured goods in exchange for fish, whale and seal oil, he suggested. The British government approved the strategy. (Brice-Bennett 1990:223)

This combination subsequently influenced the development of the stations, the relation of the Inuit to the missionaries, and the relation of the missions to Hudson's Bay Company and the government of Newfoundland to a large extent. Much more so than in other regions, for example, Greenland, the Moravians not only gained hold of the "souls" of the Inuit and thus left their mark on the cultural and social change and the further development of their communities. They also got hold of the subsistence management of the Inuit and after a while controlled them economically.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

In the *Minutes* of the Labrador mission, where all the daily events, decisions, mishaps, successes, and everyday difficulties were described, efforts to master the language are hardly ever mentioned. But it is quite obvious that right from the beginning the Moravians knew about the closeness of Labrador Inuttut and Greenlandic and about the similarity of the peoples and their way of life. This can easily be concluded from the sending of the brothers Haven and Drachard as interpreters and is supported by other sources, as for example the correspondence of Kleinschmidt and Bourquin.

In the inventory of the Moravian mission's records from Labrador, a number of anonymous grammars and

dictionaries are listed, dating from 1800 onwards.<sup>xxxviii</sup> Translations of the Bible and other related texts date back to 1766 and consequently must be of Greenlandic origin. One of Johann Beck's sons, Johann Ludwig Beck (1737-1802), is actually listed in the Labrador register. So it is evident that the Labrador mission relied heavily on knowledge gathered in Greenland, both general knowledge and linguistic knowledge. It is interesting to note that more than a hundred years later Kleinschmidt refers to a kind of rivalry between the missions in Greenland and Labrador with respect to the work on the language.

In 1784 there is mention of a "collection of verses" which is supposed to be translated and printed. While printing was of course done in Europe, it is not clear who did these early translations. In later years translations done in Labrador were sent to London, sometimes to be edited and revised there by missionaries who had returned to Europe. As early as 1790 a school is mentioned in the Moravian's *Periodical Accounts* and in 1796 the Brethren Burckhardt, Morhardt, and Müller write,

some know their little schoolbook almost by heart. We are thankful that our Brethren are willing to permit more books to be printed in the Esquimaux language, and regret that we cannot send any manuscripts by this opportunity for want of time to revise them.... We can assure you, that this is a matter of great concern with us, that we obtain a true knowledge of the grammar and idiom of the Esquimaux tongue, and we are endeavoring, if possible, to send you a translation of the history of the Passion Week and Easter, revised and ready for the press, by the next return of the ship.  
(*Periodical Accounts* August 26, 1796: 60).

In 1801 the bill for printing an "Esquimaux spelling book" is mentioned; in 1807 a hymn book is supposed to

be printed, whereby explicit reference to a Greenlandic version is made; but only in 1810 (January 15, 1810) does the society at last agree to cover the costs. In 1812 the spelling book is revised (January 20, 1812) and in 1819 a new edition of "the Esquimaux school book" is desired (November 15, 1819): plans are made to print 750 copies! This enormous quantity shows clearly that there was a regular school service for the whole population. In the *Periodical Accounts* schooling is mentioned frequently. In 1824 a more detailed account of the translations and the instruction in the school is given (November 8, 1824): There are "Revelations" and an exposition of Christian doctrine by Brother Schmidtman, Psalms by Brother Morhardt. In school are taught the numbers, "arts of writing and cyphering, history of the world according to the scripture chronology." In November 1829 it is mentioned that "the Esquimaux version of the Psalms David made by Brother Morhardt and carefully revised by the older brethren with assistance of some intelligent Esquimaux of the Nain congregation, has been sent to us (to London) this year" (November 2, 1829). From notes in the *Periodical Accounts* it can be inferred that it was common practice to have "older" brethren revise the translations. Morhardt<sup>xxxix</sup> seems to have been one of the main translators; in a private letter he mentions the revision of the New Testament and a translation of the Books of Pentateuch in addition to the text already mentioned. But despite the obvious importance of the work, the production of school-books, no mention is made of the actual work done on language: neither who did it, who the people were who had "mastered" the language, nor the kind of work done. As far as can be understood from the *Minutes* and *Periodical Accounts* there was nothing comparable to Beck's work or Königseer's<sup>xl</sup> work. The son of Johann Beck, Johann Ludwig, was among the first missionaries sent to Labrador and he brought with him a copy of his fathers dictionary. It is most likely that Königseer's grammar

was copied and adjusted to the Labrador needs.<sup>xli</sup> From letters and other sources it can be concluded that it was the Brethren Morhardt, older and younger, Brother Freytag, and Brother Erdmann who did most of the language work. Brother Erdmann published a dictionary in 1864; in the introduction, a short sketch of the grammar is given as well, and there must have been a manuscript grammar by him.<sup>xlii</sup> In 1891 Bourquin's grammar appeared and was from then on the primary source for the work on language.

In the years 1865 to 1881, Kleinschmidt wrote a succession of letters to Bourquin (1833-1914), which were concerned primarily with linguistic questions, questions Bourquin had asked in connection with the creation of a Labrador grammar. Bourquin's task was to revise the existing grammatical material and to create a more adequate grammar. The impression that the work on Inuttut was heavily influenced by the already existing grammars and books on and in Greenlandic is strongly supported by this correspondence. Kleinschmidt complains of an attitude of superiority exhibited by Labrador missionaries, who, among other things, view the Labrador language as "correct" and Greenlandic as a corrupted dialect. Quite rightly he characterizes such a position as silly (Holtved 1964: 117), and reminds Bourquin of his opinion that Greenlandic and Labrador are very closely related and that in fact all Inuit languages are, an idea he first mentions in the preface to his grammar (1851: V) and repeats in a letter in 1870 (Holtved 1964: 60). Of course, this discussion allows of the interpretation that the Labrador missionaries not only had discovered the differences between the two languages, but the shortcomings of the older manuscripts as well. However, Bourquin met with even stronger resistance to changes than Kleinschmidt had, be it in the grammatical terminology used or be it in the orthography that had been in use for a hundred years. While Kleinschmidt

urged him again and again to break with this "nonsense," Bourquin could not stand up to the opposition. Consequently, Bourquin's grammar represents an old-fashioned, conservative level of description with all its features and shortcomings. The orthography is still in use in Labrador and has never been revised in any way.<sup>xliii</sup>

Bourquin's grammar exhibits the following structure: Introduction, orthography, pronunciation, parts of speech.

Part one (§31 -345) deals with morphology (*Formenlehre*), including person and number (§31) and *suffixa* (§32), whereby nouns and verbs are treated together. Part two, "Zusammensetzungslehre oder die Anhänge (Affixa) der Eskimo" (§ 346-510), is concerned with derivational processes and includes an alphabetical list of affixes. Part three (§511 - 578) is titled "Syntax" and is illustrative of the whole range of problems Kleinschmidt attempted to solve. Of course the chapter starts with case, turns to the above-mentioned "Suffixa," and finishes off with reflexives and "participles - and relative sentences in German,"<sup>xliiv</sup> tense, coordination, and at last structure of the sentence. The terminological problems, which are due to fundamental problems in understanding, can be illustrated by a brief quotation from the very beginning:

... der Intransitiv mit einem s.s. Verb (...)  
drückt unseren Nominativ auf die Frage wer? aus  
...der Intransitiv mit einem c.s. Verb drückt  
unseren Accusativ ... aus. (Bourquin 1981: 14)<sup>xlv</sup>

Obviously, "transitive" and "intransitive" are interpreted by Bourquin as an indication of case, while *cum suffixo/ sine suffixo* refers to the valence of the verb. This terminology can be traced back to Egede's grammar and was also customary among other grammarians such as Fabricius and Königseer. "Transitive" is the ergative case ending, while "intransitive" refers to the absolutive and consequently is interpreted in

analogy to the accusative; but with a verb without a suffix, i.e., an intransitive verb, it is interpreted as nominative. Altogether, Bourquin's somewhat awkward representation is not entirely different from much later accounts of ergativity. One of the standard descriptions still holds--that in an intransitive sentence the noun in the absolutive is interpreted as the subject, while the same noun in a transitive sentence is interpreted as the direct object, the noun marked as ergative ("transitive" in Bourquin's terms) being the subject. This representation of ergativity has been subject to many controversies during recent years. Part of these discussions is the insight that terminological problems turn out to be conceptual ones.<sup>xlvi</sup> Viewed from a present-day point of view, Bourquin and his predecessors seem to be hopelessly entangled in grammatical misconceptions. This fact could be easily attributed to their inferior scientific knowledge. But again it must be stated quite clearly that most of the problems Bourquin did not solve remain controversial today. The difficulties in establishing clearly separated word classes that can be identified as "nouns" and "verbs," respectively, were already mentioned. With regard to the extensive possessive inflection of nouns that moreover happens to resemble the verbal transitive inflection, some have argued that the term "transitive" be applied to noun inflection as well. Although this is contrary to the historically established understanding of the term, which refers to the capability of a verb to govern a direct object, it can be seen as indication of the fact that not only verbs are able to govern nominal complements, but that nouns are able to do so as well.<sup>xlvii</sup> father sees his (s.o.else's) hat

To further complicate the matter, it must be stated that today the term "transitive" is used in a somewhat special way with regard to Inuit languages. Thus to apply the terms "transitive" and "intransitive" to verbs only does not solve all of the problem. As

already mentioned, transitivity in a traditional sense is ultimately connected to the sentential positions of subject and direct object--in other words to the ability of a verb to govern a nominal complement. But the feature called "transitive" in Greenlandic, Inuktitut, and Inuttut refers to double person marking, "intransitive" to single person marking<sup>xlviii</sup> the man sleeps properties exhibited by the two types of verbal inflection under consideration. "Transitivity" is thus essentially reduced to a designation of the possible person marking features in verbal inflection. This aspect plays only a subordinate role in the traditional interpretation of "transitivity." But this traditional, broader sense was never forgotten, let alone excluded. The extension of the terms to sentential relations was implicitly taken over without further examination; consequently a so-called transitive sentence was--and in many cases still is--interpreted not as merely showing agreement with two nominal constituents, the sentential status of which calls for further investigation, but as showing subject agreement and object agreement. This assumption does not stand up to closer examination. It can be shown that neither of these two noun phrases has object status, but that there is a direct object existing quite independently of ergative or absolutive and also quite independently of the so-called transitivity of the verb.<sup>xlix</sup>

To return to Bourquin's grammar, it must be stated that in addition to the problems already mentioned there are a number of others to be noted, which are similar to the ones already discussed for the older grammars; at the same time, none of Kleinschmidt's improvements are adopted. Nevertheless, Bourquin's grammar is still cited as the only comprehensive grammar of Labrador Inuttut today.

#### (4) Baffin Island, Eastern Arctic

When we turn to other regions of the Arctic, the picture is much more diverse. The reigning principle here can be described as "first come, first served." Across the vast area of the Canadian and Alaskan Arctic missionaries of a variety of Churches and congregations were the first to come. Astonishingly enough, most of them did not produce extensive writings. From the western Arctic the best known are Barnum 1901 and Hinz 1944.<sup>1</sup> Besides Barnum's grammar, a whole series of minor religious translations and observations of Jesuit origin on the language are listed in Landar's *Innuit Bibliography*.<sup>11</sup> While Hinz relies heavily on earlier Moravian grammars and Kleinschmidt's grammar, Barnum does not.<sup>111</sup>

To return to the Canadian Eastern Arctic and Québec, it is quite evident that an exchange of materials and experiences between the different missions was not an established practice from the beginning. On the contrary, a sometimes fierce competition--which can still be found today--prevailed, mutual help and support being the exception, not the rule. But as will be shown below, later on the Anglican missionaries made use of translations made by Moravians.

The political status of the area under consideration was not clarified for a long time. While Québec simply was expanding its dominion to the northern part of the peninsula, the status of the Arctic islands was a matter of dispute well into our century. Moreover, no settlements by white people were founded there; the presence of the Canadian state was largely confined to Hudson's Bay Company trading posts and--sometimes--a mission station. The establishment of a presence on the northern coast of Labrador had actually been a reason for the British to allow the Moravians to establish their missions. Since the Hudson's Bay Company literally owned the vast region called Rupert's Land, they had control over which missions they would allow



in their land. This is the reason why the eastern coast of Hudson Bay, now part of Québec, was not proselytized by Catholic missions, but by the Anglican Church, namely, the Church Mission Society.

By the mid nineteenth century, contact with Inuit at the eastern coast of Hudson Bay, let alone further north, had not been established on a permanent basis. The mission station at Moose Factory at the southern tip of James Bay and Fort George (Chisasibi) at the northeastern coast of James Bay lay in Cree country, but of course the missionaries had knowledge of the Inuit living further north. The Wesleyan missionary James Evans had developed a syllabic writing system for the Cree, which was widely accepted and also adopted by the Church Mission Society missionary and teacher John Horden, who arrived at Moose Factory in 1851. In the following years, Horden advocated and promoted the general use of the syllabic script for Cree, so that the Church Mission Society came to favor the use of the syllabic system to render North American Indian languages into written form.

In 1852 Reverend Watkins and his wife arrived at Moose Factory and, because the Church Mission Society was anxious to extend its missionary work to the Inuit of Lower Hudson Bay, were subsequently sent to Fort George (Chisasibi) at the northeastern coast of James Bay, where a mission post had been opened in 1839. In 1855 Watkins introduced the syllabic writing to the Inuit at Fort George and Little Whale River; in 1856 a revision of the syllabic system to make it better conform to Inuktitut, was initiated by the Church Mission Society, but it was only completed in 1865 by Horden and Watkins. As Watkins' knowledge of Inuktitut was limited, it is most likely that he did not do the actual translation work himself, but at least in some cases merely transliterated translations by the Moravians into syllabic script (cf. Harper 1985:146). So it is more than likely that not only translations made by the Moravians, but also grammars, dictionaries,

primers, and other schoolbooks were used by or at least known to the Church Mission Society missionaries. The missionary and educational work among the Inuit was successful; in the year 1871 it is reported that at Little Whale River all Inuit were baptized and most of them could read.

In 1876 the Reverend Edmund Peck arrived in Little Whale River. He is the person credited with the major work on the language of the Inuit, not only on the coast of Hudson Bay, but further north as well. In the 1880s the Church Mission Society had moved on to Baffin Island and established a post at Blacklead Island. The Baffin Island Inuit had a long tradition of contact with whalers; especially in Cumberland Sound, the Inuit were involved in the whaling activities of the Europeans and Americans.<sup>liii</sup> As mentioned earlier, the oldest records of Inuktitut consist of words from Inuktitut spoken on Meta Incognita, i.e., Baffin Island.<sup>liiv</sup> In 1858 the Moravians had made an attempt at Baffin Island, but Brother Warmow had spent only one winter in Cumberland Sound. And it was not until 1894 that the Church Mission Society missionary post at the same location was made into a regular station, and Peck started his work there. When Peck came to Baffin, he had spent almost 20 years among the Inuit on the coast of Hudson Bay and Ungava Bay and was considered to be an expert "in the Indian and Eskimo languages." Peck compiled a grammar which was used in manuscript form by missionaries for many years. This grammar was published by the Canadian government in 1919 "for the use of its officers in the north."<sup>lv</sup>

## **(5) Conclusion**

If we look at the language situation in the eastern part of Inuit territory, the writing systems in use represent the different historical developments and spheres of influence quite well. Peck used and promoted the syllabic writing system. Until today the spheres of

the different missions can be identified by the writing systems and orthographies, that the different varieties of Inuit languages are represented in. Greenlandic is written in Roman letters; the orthography Kleinschmidt introduced was in use till 1972, when a major revision was made: the letter kappa, indicating /q/, was replaced by the letter q; accent marks were abolished and double vowels and double consonant writing introduced.

In Labrador, the Moravian orthography going back to the late eighteenth century was never revised--and is still in use.

Northern Québec and the whole of the Baffin Region, the Keewatin (west of Hudson Bay), and the eastern part of the Kitikmeot (Central Arctic) use the syllabic writing system, while the western Arctic uses roman letters--but of course different orthographies from the ones used in Greenland or Labrador.

Today Inuktitut is still going strong in the syllabic-writing regions, while in other areas English has already replaced or is bound to replace Inuktitut as the first language of the young generation. It must be noted that since the introduction of compulsory education the use of Inuktitut and Inuttut as spoken and especially written languages has decreased alarmingly.<sup>lvi</sup>

Over the last decades efforts have been made to secure the survival of the language. It is to be hoped that the establishment of Nunavut as a self-governing region will support and promote the steps already taken.<sup>lvii</sup>

Greenland, having been a Danish colony, then province, has undergone a different development during the last decades. After a phase of enforced acculturation during the 1950s and 60s, today Greenland is not only a self-governing region but independent of Denmark in many other respects. All Greenlanders speak Kalaallisut as a first language, Danish being introduced as a second language in school. The established writing standard looks back on a tradition of at least 140 years, there

are newspapers and books published in Kalaallisut, and the language is taught in school.

From a linguistic point of view, the Inuit languages still provide a wealth of puzzles and unsolved problems for scientific investigation. Two aspects figure prominently: the ergative syntactic structure and the polysynthetic nature of all Inuit languages.

It must be stated that today ergativity itself is a topic discussed extensively but not necessarily satisfyingly with respect to Inuit languages. The growing interest in syntactic patterns strongly deviant from the familiar nominative-accusative system of Indo-European languages also puts the syntax of Inuit languages in the front line of discussion. The descriptive framework developed within language typology and further developed by other grammatical frameworks was applied to Inuit languages too, but the results are rather unsatisfying.<sup>lviii</sup> The obvious difficulties in deciding whether or not Inuit languages are ergative, and if so, which kind of ergativity it is, fosters the conclusion that again it is the concept of ergativity that needs closer examination. Taking language data seriously and not just as a source of support for a presupposed representation leads us to suspect that the generally held opinion concerning the (possible) basic structure of simple sentences has to be revised.

Polysynthetic processes have hardly been touched upon.<sup>lix</sup> Research done in that field points to very exciting conclusions, namely, a fundamental difference as far as language development and learnability are concerned. It might well be the case that in Inuit languages it is not syntax which comprises the predominantly productive module of the language, but polysynthesis. The relation of syntax and synthesis is yet another topic to be explored. All in all, it seems that the peculiarities of Inuit languages indicate an even more fundamental linguistic difference than was previously assumed. Moreover, since it is unlikely that

Inuit languages should be the only ones to exhibit these structures, a reexamination of languages that show similar structures, be it in syntax or be it in polysynthesis, seems to be necessary. It will be equally interesting to compare what kind of linguistic treatment these languages have received in the past.

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## Notes

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<sup>i</sup> See Brice-Bennett 1981, 1990.

<sup>ii</sup> The Fifth Thule Expedition was an ethnographic expedition carried out under the leadership of Knud Rasmussen. The Expedition lasted from 1921 to 1924 and was accomplished by dogsled. Its aim was to visit as many Inuit peoples as possible on the way from Greenland to Alaska, to collect items and record tales, and to document the ways of living, the intellectual and material culture, of Inuit peoples unknown or hardly known to that day. En route an enormous amount of geological, botanical and zoological material was collected as well.

<sup>iii</sup> See Frobisher 1867.

<sup>iv</sup> In this footnote in the 1880 edition of Davis's journals it is pointed out that the word list was compared to contemporary Greenlandic by "Dr. Rink, the Director of Royal Greenland Trade at Copenhagen, and formerly Royal Inspector of South Greenland" (Davis 1880: 21). Hinrich Johann Rink (1819-1879) played an important role in the recognition and promotion of Greenlandic cultural identity in the second half of the century. He was well acquainted with Kleinschmidt (see below), and the two of them worked together on many projects.

<sup>v</sup> For a detailed discussion of the wordlists see Nowak 1999a.

<sup>vi</sup> Olearius 1656: "Von den Grönländern," p.163-179.

<sup>vii</sup> "Ihre Sprache ist sonderlich und mit keiner europäischen gemein. ... Sie haben auch etliche Wörter die den Griechischen und Lateinischen nicht gar unehnlich scheinen als *Iliout* die Sonne, *Igne* Fewr, *Keileng* der Himmel, *Nau* ein Schiff ... aber daraus ist nichts gewisses zu schließen" (pp 170-71). As already mentioned, the Greenlandic word for 'sun' is *seqineq*; the word for 'boat' is *umiag*. 'Fire' is *ingneq*; 'heaven/sky': *qilak*. Note that in German and Danish no lexical distinction is made between 'heaven' and 'sky.'

<sup>viii</sup> Compare: *sáningassulik* 'cross'; *tugaag* 'tusk of a walrus, narwhal, or elephant'; *Invin* might be a garbled version of *inuit* '(Eskimo) people.' Olearius (1656: 171): "Die Grönländer nennen ihre Einwohner *Inguin*."

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*nuna* is correct for *land*. But see Nowak 1999a.

<sup>ix</sup> The pagination of the *Atlas Danicus* is somewhat inconsistent.

<sup>x</sup> Dorais 1980; both word lists are comparatively small, the one of 1717 comprising only 31 terms, the one of 1730, 144 terms. Dorais also compiled "words, phrases and proper nouns (of places of people) occurring in the accounts, memoirs and diaries of explorers who visited Southern Labrador (and the Lower North Shore) between 1694 and 1785" (pp. 5-6) and contrasted them with the entries in the word lists, his interest being in the reconstruction of the variety of Inuktitut that was once spoken in Southern Labrador.

<sup>xi</sup> See Nowak 1994a.

<sup>xii</sup> Dorais mentions that in Southern Labrador a kind of pidgin language had developed, mixing French, Inuktitut, and probably Montagnais elements (1980: 6); most likely Basque was involved in this trade language as well.

<sup>xiii</sup> See Israel 1969: 21. Metal needles were extremely valuable, since they were much superior to the traditional bone needles and made the sewing of skins a lot easier.

<sup>xiv</sup> For an extensive discussion, see Brice-Bennett 1981.

<sup>xv</sup> Egede's and Top's manuscripts were edited by Knut Bergsland and Jørgen Rischel in 1986. The editors emphasize the deep indebtedness of these works to traditional Latin grammar.

<sup>xvi</sup> "Egedes grammatik war der bahnbrecher, nicht nur in dieser sprache, sondern in dieser art von sprachen überhaupt ..." (Kleinschmidt 1851: VI).

<sup>xvii</sup> "Tempora sunt tria: Praesens, Praeteritum et Futurum, quod iterum duplex (hvilken igien ere dobbelt)" (Egede 1760: 70ff).

<sup>xviii</sup> Since Egede had obtained a degree in theology at the university of Copenhagen in 1705, he must have had some knowledge of Hebrew and was thus able to identify "affixa".

<sup>xix</sup> Again Greenlandic is the exception to the rule; M. Fortescue's *West Greenlandic* appeared in 1984.

<sup>xx</sup> The Moravian Mission or *Unitas Fratrum* is a

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fundamentalist Protestant congregation founded in 1722. It owes its existence to the suppression of Protestantism during the Counter Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia.

xxi For a closer investigation of the first Moravian manuscripts, see Nowak 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1999b.

xxii For a detailed discussion of the Labrador mission, its relation to the Greenland mission and the grammars written see Nowak 1999b.

xxiii "Til Læseren," the preface, is not included in the pagination of the grammar.

xxiv Examples for this procedure can be found in Holtved 1964: 21,90,107. Holtved 1964 comprises the edition of the letters written by Samuel Kleinschmidt to Theodor Bourquin between 1865 and 1881. The grammars by Kleinschmidt and Bourquin will both be discussed below.

xxv *siebenunddreissigmik* is a composition of German *siebenunddreissig*, 'thirty seven', and the case ending *-mik*; *ukiorqarmat* literally translates as 'because s/he has winters'.

xxvi Danish *djævel*; German *Teufel*, 'devil'.

xxvii The orthography is the one used by Kleinschmidt. The discussion of how concepts should be translated and applied in a terminological way constitutes a large part of the correspondence between Kleinschmidt and Bourquin.

xxviii "The older spelling books contain several pages with the most awful syllables, all of which are utterly impossible in the Greenlandic tongue (baurng, beirng and so on). [In the Labrador spelling book (1812, 20 and 42) as well, I find comparable syllables (zug, zal, zom, jeing, urng, irng &c) which are probably as different from true Eskimo as, for example, Chinese is from German]" (Holtved 1964: 22-23).

xxix Holtved 1964: 76; Nowak 1992a.

xxx In his letters to Bourquin he explains his method of investigation, which is nothing but the testing of minimal pairs. See, e.g., Holtved 1964: 40.

xxxi For detailed discussion, see Nowak 1987; forthcoming.

xxxii See Thalbitzer 1911; Hammerich 1951.

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xxxiii Schultz-Lorentzen 1945: 17,18.

xxxiv Besides the already mentioned Thalbitzer, Hammerich, and Schultz-Lorenzen, see Johns 1987.

xxxv Because the Moravians were not allowed to be active in the British Dominions, a British branch of the society was established, the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, the headquarters of which were in London. It supervised and coordinated the activities of the several missions and was in permanent contact with the Herrnhut headquarters, which actually had the last say.

The information referred to was taken from the Minutes of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1768-1830.

xxxvi See also Davey 1905.

xxxvii For a detailed account, see Brice-Bennett 1981, 1990.

xxxviii These grammars are discussed in detail in Nowak 1999b.

xxxix Apparently there were two Morhardt Brothers: Andreas Ludwig died in 1820; Johann Ludwig 1782-1854.

xl Königseer 1777. Königseer had worked on Greenlandic before he went there, and most probably he had used Beck's material. The use of material collected by others and its preparation for further use was common practice (cf. Nowak 1992a).

xli See Nowak 1999b: 178-180.

xlii Cf. Davey 1905: 32.

xliii Additional pressure was put on Bourquin by the fact that a considerable number of translations and Bibles had previously been printed in the old orthography; compare the above-mentioned number of schoolbooks! Nevertheless Kleinschmidt criticized Bourquin harshly in his letter of September 6, 1880; in fact he refused to comment on details but declared that the whole outline, especially the "un-orthography" disqualified the whole enterprise. "Als conditio sine qua non bleibt mir immer stehen, dass mit der bisherigen misshandlung der Sprache - durch unrechtschreibung und durch einmischung unnaturalisierter Wörter (und namen &c) - vollständig zu brechen ist; ohne das kann die grammatik allenfalls in einem oder anderen punkt etwas deutlicher



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oder besser sein, als die alte, aber im großen und ganzen bleibt sie verfehlt" (Holtved 1964:109).

<sup>xliv</sup> "Nennwörter und Verbalbegriff, besonders die Partizipien (und unsere deutschen Relativsätze)" (Bourquin 1891: 345).

<sup>xlv</sup> "...the intransitive with a s.s. [i.e. *sine suffix*, 'without suffix'- E.N.] verb expresses what we know as nominative, the answer to the question "who"... The intransitive with a c.s. [i.e. *cum suffix*, 'with suffix'- E.N.] verb expresses what we know as accusative." (Bourquin 1891: 14).

<sup>xlvi</sup> For a discussion of ergativity, see Dixon 1987, Introduction; Dixon 1994; Seely 1977; and Nowak 1996.

<sup>xlvii</sup> Consider, for example, genitive constructions that can be compared to possessive constructions, which in Inuit languages have much in common with transitive sentences in the traditional sense:

(1) ataataup nasaq  
 ataata -up nasaq  
 father -erg hat father's hat

(2) nasanga  
 nasa(q) -nga  
 hat 3.sg.poss, abs his hat

(3) ataataup nasanga takuvanga  
 ataata-up nasa(q)-nga taku- -vanga  
 father erg<sub>i</sub> hat 3.sg.poss,absj see3.sg<sub>i</sub>/3.sg<sub>j</sub>,tr

<sup>xlviii</sup> Example (3) in footnote 48 demonstrates double person marking. The following may serve as an example for intransitive inflection, i.e., inflection establishing only single person marking:

(1) angut siniktuq  
 angut-∅ sinik- -tuq  
 man -abs<sub>i</sub> sleep 3.sg<sub>i</sub>.itr

<sup>xlix</sup> See Nowak 1996.

<sup>1</sup> I do not include the Aleut grammar of Veniaminov (1846) here. The inhabitants of the Aleut Islands suffered a very sad fate and today their language is close to extinction. As far as grammar writing is concerned, there are striking similarities to the situation in the eastern parts of the Arctic. Besides a couple of word lists stemming from the expeditions of Bering (1741) and Cook (1778), the early linguistic

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work was carried out by the orthodox priest Joann Veniaminov (1797-1879). For a detailed account see Bergsland 1994: VIII.

<sup>li</sup> See Landar 1976: 108-139.

<sup>lii</sup> Whether Hinz belonged to the Moravians himself is not known to me, though it is very likely. His grammar was published by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, PA.

<sup>liii</sup> Boas had spent the winter 1883-84 at Kekerten/Cumberland Sound and received help from the tenants of the whaling station there.

<sup>liv</sup> Compare Part 1. Introduction and Nowak 1999a.

<sup>lv</sup> Cf. Millward 1930: 23.

<sup>lvi</sup> See Jeddore, Rose (1979: 84ff.), who points at gradual, unguided changes in the use of the Moravian orthography in Labrador. See also Nowak 1993b.

<sup>lvii</sup> *Nunavut*, 'our land', comprises the Inuit settlement area excluding the Western Arctic part. The establishment of Nunavut was agreed upon in 1993, as part of the land claim settlement between the Inuit and the government of Canada. It was implemented in 1999. See Nowak 1998, 2002b (forthcoming). Dorais 2002 (forthcoming)

<sup>lviii</sup> See, e.g., Marantz 1984; Johns 1987; Bok-Bennema 1993.

<sup>lix</sup> But see Fortescue 1993, 1992; Allen 1994; Nowak 2002a.