SOME ASPECTS OF LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION IN NORTHERN UNGAVA ESKIMO[1]

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Most of the peoples studied by anthropologists and many of those studied by linguists in recent years have undergone massive acculturation resulting in great linguistic and cultural changes. More attention has been paid to changes in the cultures than the languages of the non-Western peoples and the linguists have tended to concentrate on the problems of bilingualism as opposed to situations of less linguistic interference.[2] This paper will consider a situation wherein Eskimos have incorporated many loanwords and produced an even greater number of loanshifts in their attempts to adapt to the acculturative situation, with, as yet, very little bilingualism. The English speaking acculturative agents have, on the other hand, taken perhaps two or three words from Eskimo.[3]

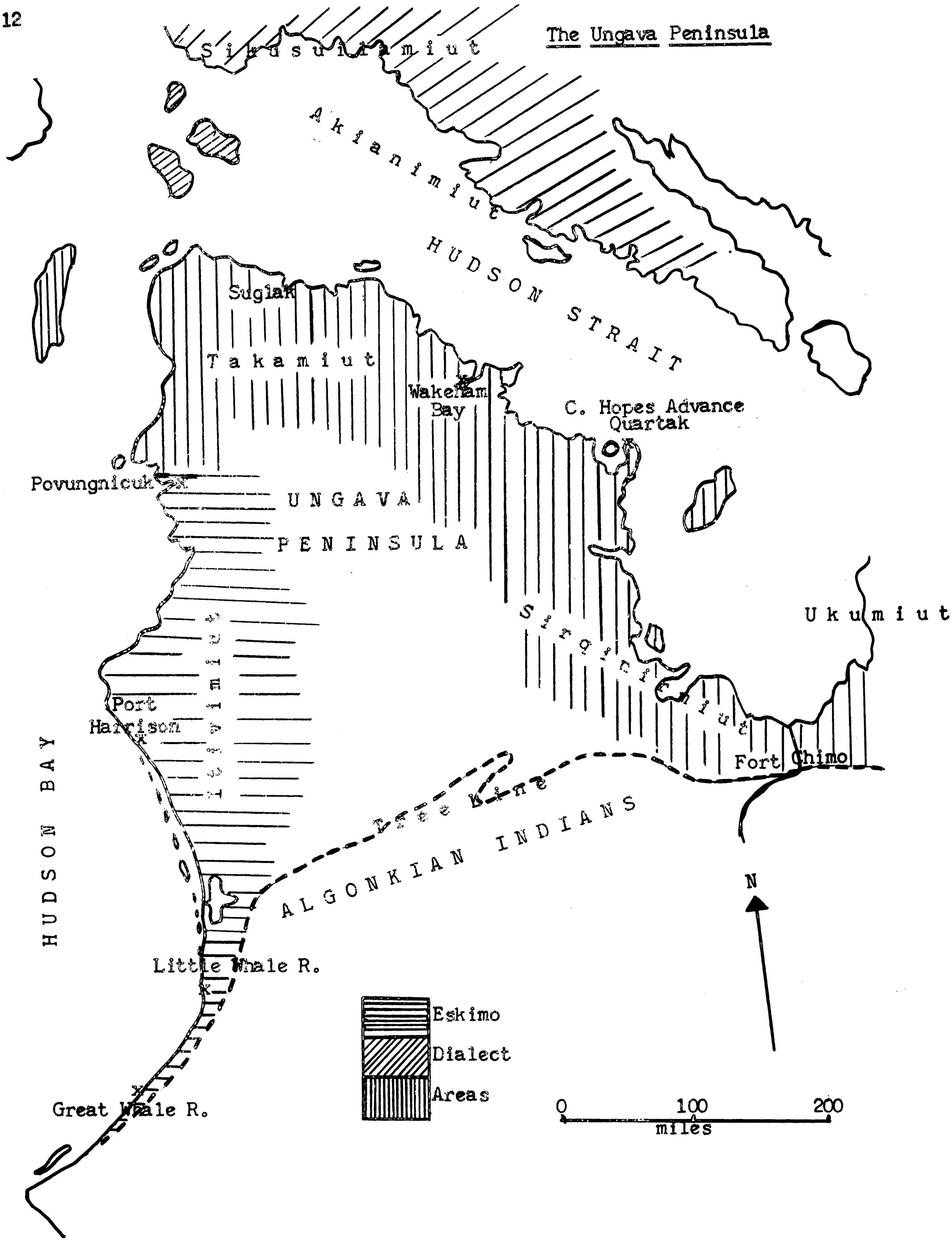
In such a situation there are two main problem areas which may be considered together.

1. The linguistic processes of the incorporation of "foreign" words and items at the descriptive level, involving a study of phonemic and morphemic (and perhaps grammatical) mechanisms and possible changes in the donor language.
2. The relationship between the various transfer mechanisms exhibited and the social and cultural situations and changes. In the case under consideration loanshifts are overwhelmingly more frequent than loanwords and I hope to show why. There is also the related problem of bilingualism which has been dealt with at length elsewhere but in this situation Eskimo bilinguals are a less significant factor than bilinguals of the Euro-Canadian acculturative agents.

The Ungava Situation[4]

Undoubtedly the Eskimos of this area had sporadic contacts with whalers and explorers in the eighteenth century and earlier though there is little in the literature to show that such contacts were intense or involved much linguistic interference.

During the nineteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts were opened at Little Whale River and Fort Chimo, i.e. at the southern limits of the Ungava Peninsula (Honnigman 1962:9; Turner 1896:167-168). These posts were originally opened for trade with the Indians of the area but in both places the Eskimos soon became involved. Their motivations were then, as now, the intense desire to acquire articles of advanced technology, particularly guns and other metal objects. The nature of the contacts between the Eskimos of this northern area and the trading posts is not entirely clear. Some authorities claim that the Eskimos sent a few representatives every year to trade their furs etc. directly for trade articles.[5] Others claim that these items only reached some Eskimo secondhand by intergroup trade among the


The Ungava Peninsula
Akianimiut
HUDSON STRAIT
Suglak
Takamiut
Wakeham Bay
C. Hopes Advance
Quartak
Povungnicuk
UNGAVA
PENINSULA
Ukumiut
Port Harrison
Fort Chimo
Tree Line
ALGONKIAN INDIANS
HUDSON BAY
Little Whale R.
Great Whale R.
Eskimo
Dialect
Areas
N
0
100
200
miles

Eskimos.[6] Probably both occurred; however, it is certain that the new items were highly valued by the Eskimos as bringing greater efficiency to their traditional hunting activities.

During the last decade or so of that century Anglican missionaries started work among the Eskimos at and visiting the two posts on the Indian-Eskimo boundary.[7] This was an extension of their work among the Algonkian-speaking Indians. The Rev. Peck translated the Anglican Prayerbook and parts of the Bible into Eskimo using an only slightly modified version of the syllabary originally designed for the Indians. Later, during his work on Baffin Island he and other missionaries revised these and added many Eskimo versions of common English hymns. Soon after the turn of the century these missionaries made extensive journeys from the southern posts to all parts of the Ungava Peninsula. In addition to converting all the Eskimos to Christianity they taught them to read and write in the syllabic script and distributed the religious works free to all adults. In fact their works had preceded them. Low (1906:65) states that when his ship's company distributed such books to the Eskimos of Wakeham Bay they found that the latter had already learned to read and write during their visits to trade at Fort Chimo. In fact the syllabic script is very easy to learn. I have seen young Eskimo children teaching their even younger playmates to read and write with some proficiency in a relatively short time. By now probably 98 percent or more of the adults in this area are literate.[8]

The dialect of these works was first that of the Eskimos of Southern Hudson Bay later modified to a considerable extent by the dialect of Baffin Island. The Eskimos certainly recognize the words and syntax in these tracts that are not of their area. In reading prayers and singing hymns they often substitute the local version.

Soon after the encroachments of the missionaries the Hudson's Bay Company, for the first time in its history, set up an all-Eskimo trading post at Camp Wostenholme in 1904. Though this was soon closed, many other posts were opened within the next two decades at major anchorages along this coastline. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and other smaller or independant organizations were involved. It was during this period that the major changes to winter fox-trapping and a white-controlled technology occurred. The major effects were: (i) cessation of the long trading trips to the southern posts; and (ii) fairly substantial migration from the latter areas to the northern coastline. This situation lasted until the effects of the Great Depression were felt. A number of posts were shut down culminating in the Hudson's Bay Company buying out all its competition.

Concurrent with this, in the middle and later thirties, the Oblate Fathers opened a number of missions alongside the trading posts. Although they made hardly any converts among the staunchly Anglican Eskimos and did not at the time use the "Anglican" syllabary, they became major factors in the social life of all the communities, especially during the lean period of World War II when trading posts were few and prices for natives' produce very low. They did attempt some instruction in both English and the Catholic religion but the effects were minor compared with their economic and organizational

contributions. These Catholic missionaries all learned Eskimo and have achieved great fluency. This is their language of communication with the Eskimos.

During and after the war military and para-military bases were opened in the southern parts of the region but had little direct influence in the northern area. Even the Radiosonde-Meteorological station at Cape Hopes Advance near Quartak had little direct effect on the local population.[9]

In the decade following the war the Canadian Government itself reversed its long-standing policies and set up agencies specifically attending to the welfare and education of the Eskimos. This was partly dictated by the establishment in 1948 of a monthly family allowance paid to the parents of all children who were Canadian citizens.[10] Although this was at first administered by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and the R.C.M.P., in the late fifties "Northern Service Officers" were appointed to the more important communities to oversee these and other matters.

In 1955 an Anglican missionary came to Sugluk and built a house for himself and a church for the community, supplementing the previous rather irregular visits of his compatriots from other communities. In addition to furthering his overwhelmingly successful faith in this and adjacent areas, he learned Eskimo and taught some English until the opening of the federal day school. He and his successor have been in residence ever since, exerting a more direct influence on their congregation than their predecessors. Up until this time the faith had been kept alive by very effective native catechists.

During this same period schools were planned or opened for all the settlements of the area. The first was opened at Sugluk in 1957 and all the others in the early sixties. The teachers in these schools were specifically instructed to do all their teaching in English in addition to the fact that none knew much Eskimo when they arrived. In many places the language has been banned from use throughout the school day.[11] The curriculum was intended to follow, as closely as possible, that of the (Anglo-) Canadian schools down south.

This was the acculturational status of the area when the author first visited it in 1959. By the time of the second visit (1964) many more agencies had opened in Sugluk and a few more in the smaller settlements. In addition, an approximately monthly air service from the south had been established complementing the previous summer shipping season. The latter had and does employ a large number of Eskimos for manual labor for short periods and the volume had been increasing steadily since the war. The number of resident whites and probably the frequency of adult Eskimo-white contacts had at least doubled during this period. However the author did not notice any particularly great change in the number and status of loanwords and loanshifts among the adult population.[12]

The Eskimo Dialects

The Eskimo dialect regions correspond roughly to the geographical categories that the Eskimos traditionally and still use (see Map) with a slight modification. First, the major linguistic division is between on the

one side the Itivitmiut ("the people of the other side [of land]")[13] as far north as Povungnituk and the rest of the Eskimos of this area. The dialect difference in no way prevents mutual intelligibility but is a source of some amusement to people on both sides of the line. I have lived with Eskimos in both these areas. In addition there are a few localized idioms within each area which are noted by the Eskimos and apply, significantly, to introduced technological items. The speed of speech is also said by the Eskimos (and observed by the author) to vary slightly from place to place. Second, there had been, even in aboriginal times, social intercourse between the Takaamiut ("the people of the shadow"--from their northern position) and the Akianimiut ("the people across the water") across the Hudson Strait. These people, among whom the author lived in 1960, call themselves Sikusuilamiut ("the people of the area lacking land-fast ice"). Many Eskimos on both sides share relatives and have done so since back to the time when the crossing was quite an adventure in the "umiak" ("woman's boat"). The contacts are still maintained during the annual walrus hunt near Nottingham Island and more recently via visiting ships and airplanes.

In spite of centuries of sporadic contact, the Eskimo language has in no apparent way been influenced by the various Algonkian dialects of the Indians to the south.

Linguistic Contacts

In spite of the long-term and more recently intensive contacts between Eskimos and English- and French-speaking whites, Eskimo bilinguals are exceedingly rare. Probably there has never been more than one English-speaking Eskimo in the area at any one time.[14] On the other hand the vast majority of the whites who have had long-term dealings with the Eskimos have learned to speak a reasonable and often fluent Eskimo. This is perhaps a reversal of the usual position in "colonial" situations. This local situation has only recently been changed by the great influx of government personnel in the last half-decade.

The early explorers and whalers probably used interpreters, often taken on board at places further east,[15] or on the other side of the Hudson Strait where contact had been more intensive for a longer time. The Eskimos of Ungava who visited the early trading posts to the south undoubtedly used interpreters or were able to speak directly to the white agents who usually spoke Eskimo. The early Anglican missionaries all learned fluent Eskimo in the southern areas.

The first traders in the northern area had already become fluent in Eskimo in other areas before their arrival. Later traders either did the same or learned from their more experienced seniors already present. Similarly, the first Catholic missionaries also learned Eskimo outside the area, or served a year's "apprenticeship" to their seniors within the area. All did and do speak fluent Eskimo.[16]

It was only after World War II that there was an influx of whites who had had little preparation in Eskimo and whose duties or inclination prevented them from becoming fluent. These included mainly English-speaking personnel of the government, and they have had to work through the inevitably busy

interpreter or other white agents. The schooling may soon provide more interpreters and hence lessen the necessity of new white's learning Eskimo. The Anglican missionaries, whose duties involve much closer contacts with the Eskimos and the holding of services in Eskimo, have followed the lead of their forerunners of both persuasions.

Apart from the social, economic and religious concepts introduced during the times of (i) the first permanent traders (1904-1925) and (ii) the influx of government agencies (1957-present), these two periods probably saw the introduction of whole new ranges of material items. These were both for use by the Eskimos themselves and, observable by the latter, the inevitable paraphernalia of "civilized" life as lived by the local whites. In that most of the data to be considered were well established by 1959 and were in common use in adjacent areas some time before then the influences that are apparent are probably not the results of the most recent influx of personnel and schools.[17]

The Eskimo Phonemic System

The Eskimo language of this area is taken to have consisted aboriginally of the following:[18]

Consonants:

p	t	č*	k	q	(?)[a]
		ǰ*			
v*			g*		
	ɬ*	š*			
	l*				
m	n		ng*		
	r*		j*		

Vowels:

i		u
	a	

Length is phonemic for vowels and will be represented by the grapheme of reduplication.[d] Stress and tone are not phonemic.

(*Only occur intervocalically, or in non-initial clusters.)

Diphthongs: ai au

Consonant clusters:[e]

/k/ before	/l, p, s, t, v/
/ng/	/k, m, n, r/
/p/	/s, t, v, j/
/r/	all except /g/
/t/	/k, j/

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[a]The dominant allophone of /ǰ/ among the Itivimiut. Rare elsewhere.

[b]Possibly a major allophone is /r/ and there is extensive complementary distribution. This is not intended to be a paper on Eskimo phonemics and the topic is discussed elsewhere.

[c]The usual linguistic "eng" ŋ. A single phoneme not found on an ordinary typewriter.

[d]The problem of consonantal length (Gagné 1962:X) is avoided by the use of clusters.

[e]Gagné (1962:VII) would dispute the presence of some of these. However he used three informants from widely separated areas. I have included the maximum number in my area.

Loanwords[19]

In an acculturative situation there are many ways in which new meanings may be handled lexically.[20]

1. For introduced items:-
   (a) The word may be imported from the donor culture, with phonemic incorporation.
   (b) The meaning of a native word may be "extended" or in a productive language a new word may be formed from a combination of native morphemes. These are loanshifts.
   (c) A completely new morpheme may be invented.
2. For aboriginal items:-
   (a) A word may be imported.
   (b) A completely new word may be formed or invented; which may, of course, occur in non-acculturative situation.

In the Eskimo situation 1(a) and (b) are common and will be considered at length. 2(a) is very rare and I am unable to say whether 1(c) or 2(b) have occurred. I know of possible cases but they may well be the results of dialectic mixtures resulting from Eskimo migrations.

Before going on to consider the social and cultural implications of the changes, I will illustrate the regularity of phonemic shifts that occur for loanwords. It must again be emphasized that the speakers are not bilinguals; in most cases they do not know or need to know the foreign origins of the morphemes they use and, in the vast majority of cases, the uninitiated of the donor culture would not recognize the loanword.

I will start by listing a sample[21] of loanwords to illustrate the diaphonic and diamorphic shifts. All these words are in fairly common use and were not special imitations of the ethnographer nor the perquisites of a few individuals. Only the Eskimo words have been phonemicized.

English word	Eskimo	Previous Eskimo[a]	Phonemic Correspondences	Context
butter	/pata/	punirk	b = p	# a
			ə = a	t #
baptism	/paptisi-/	. . .	b = p	# a
			æ = a	p p
			(i = i	s m
			m = ø[c]	i #)
beans	/piinsi/[d]	. . .	b = p	# i
			iy = ii	p n
			ø = i	s #
cheese	/čiisi/	. . .	iy = ii	č s
			ø = i	s #
cocoa	/kuku/	. . .	ow = u	k k
			ow = u	k #
clubs	/kalaksi/	uuriit	ø = a	k l
			b = k	a s
			ø = i	s #
coffee	/kaapi/	. . .	o = aa	k p
			f = p	a i

English word	Eskimo	Previous Eskimo[a]	Phonemic Correspondences	Context
dollar	/tala/	. . .	d = t	# a
		(kinaujak)	o = a	t l
			ə = a	l #[e]
flour	/palaura/	sanaurak	f = p	# a
			ø = a	p l
			ə = a	r #
Germany	/jamani/	. . .	j = j	# a
			ə = a	j m
			ə = a	m n
God	/guuti/	. . .	o = uu	g t
			d = t	u i
			ø = i	t #
lion	/laija/	. . .	ɨ = a	j (n)#
			n = ø	a #
police	/pulisi/	. . .	o = u	p l
		(pukirktalik)	ø = i	s #
pussy (cat)	/pusi/	. . .	. . .	. . .
spades	/sipatisi/	puaqitik	ø = i	s p
			ey = a	p t
			d = t	a i
			ø = i	t s
			z = s	i i
			ø = i	s #
sweets	/suitisi/	uqumiak	w = u	s i
			iy = i	u t
			ø = i	t s
			ø = i	s #
tobacco	/tapaki/	. . .	ə = a	t p
			b = p	a a
			ae = a	p k
			ow = i	k #
wine	/vaini/	imirak/	w = v	# ai
		imiaaluk	ø = i	n #

[a]May include either aboriginal words or previous loanshifts.

[b]This word was probably "made up" by missionaries; therefore I am not sure of the fate of the English ending.

[c]ø represents zero-sound on one side of the diaphonic shift.

[d]All non-aboriginal allophones, clusters and positions are underlined.

[e]In that English rather than American-speaking whites were and are the major influence in this area, it is probable that the final /r/ was not sounded.

Two words may have come from the French contacts:-

cochon (pork)	/kukusi/[a]	. . .	o = u	k k
			ø = ku	?
			o = i	s #
Quebec	/kipik/	. . .	ɛ = i	k p
			b = p	i i
			ɛ = i	p k

[a]Cf. the reduplication in the Menomini /ko·hkoh/ (Hockett 1958:420).

In addition to the above, the majority of the Eskimo Christian names exhibit the same shift patterns. However, in these cases the missionaries themselves may have Eskimo-ized the names.

English	Eskimo	Previous Eskimo	Phonemic Correspondences	Context
Arthur	/aata	. . .	ar = aa	# t
	aatha/		th = t	a a
			ə = a	t #
Betsy	/piači/	. . .	b = p	# i
			e = ia	p č
			ts = č	a i
Charlie	/saali/	. . .	č = s	# aa
			ar = aa	s l
Charlotte	/salati/	. . .	ar = a	s l
			o = a	l t
			ø = i	t #
Cornelius	/kunilusi/	. . .	ɔ = u	k n
			iy = i	n l
			y = ø	l u
			ø = i	s #
David (Davy?)	/tiivi/	. . .	d = t	# i
			ey = ii	t v
Dorothea	/tulatia/	. . .	d = t	# u
			o = u	t l
			r = l	u a
			th = t	a i
Edward	/itua/	. . .	e = i	# t
			d = t	i u
			w = u	t a
			ɔ = a	u(d)#
			d = ø	a #
Elizabeth	/ilisapi/	. . .	z = s	i a
			ə = a	s p
			b = p	a i
			ith = i	p #
Elsie	/jalisi/	. . .	e = ja	# l
			ø = i	l s
George	/jaaji/	. . .	ɔ = aa	ǰ ǰ
			ø = i	ǰ #
Henry	/ainari/	. . .	h = ø	# ai
	/ainali/		e = ai	# n
			ø = a	n r
			(r = l	a i)
Jacob	/jaika/	. . .	j = j	# ai
			ey = ai	j k
			ə = a	k(b)#
			b = ø	a #
	/jeyku/	. . .	as above, with	
			ə = u	k(b)#
Jessie	/siasi/	. . .	ǰ = s	# i
			e = ia	s s

English	Eskimo	Previous Eskimo	Phonemic Correspondences	Context
Jesus	/jisusi	. . .	j = j	# i
			iy = i	j s
			ə = u	s s
			ø = i	s #
Larry (rare)	/laari/	. . .	æ = aa	l r
Luke	/luuka/	. . .	uw = uu	l k
			ø = a	k #
Moses	/mususi/	. . .	ow = u	m s
			i = u	s s
			(z)ø = (s)i	s #
Nancy	/nanasi/	. . .	æ = a	n n
			ø = a	n s
Nelson	/nilisi/	. . .	e = i	n l
			ø = i	l s
			ɨ(n) = iø	s #
Rebecca	/raibika/	. . .	e = ai	r b
			e = i	b k
			ə = a	k #
Satan	/satanasi/[a]	. . .	ey = a	s t
			ɨ = a	t n
Snowball	/sinupa/		ø = i	s n
			ow = u	n p
			ɔ = a	p(l)#
			l = ø	a #
Spike	/sipai/	kapuuti	ø = i	s p
			ay = ai	p(k)#
			k = ø	ai #
Thomas	/tumasi/	. . .	o = u	t m
			ə = a	m s
			ø = i	s #
Timothy	/timuti/	. . .	ɨ = u	m t
			th = t	u i
Winnie	/viini/	. . .	w = v	# i
			i = ii	v n
Willie	/uili/[b]	. . .	w = u	# i
Zakarias	/sakariasi/	. . .	z = s	# a
			æ = a	s k
			ə = a	k r
			ay = i	r a
			ə = a	i s
			ø = i	s #

[a]The -asi was probably added by missionaries, as in Paul-asi and Juan-asi.

[b]The Eskimos insist on writing this word JΔᓪ Guili, instead of ᐅΔᓪ Uili, in order to prevent confusion with "uilik" (undifferentiated in syllabics), meaning "there is a husband" (i.e. a married woman). It also suggests connection with the various European versions of this name which begin with g- .

Also perhaps:-

English	Eskimo	Previous Eskimo	Phonemic Correspondences	Context
Angel	/ingiɨik/	. . .	ey = i	# ŋ
			nj = ŋ	i i
			ɨ = i	ŋ l
			l = ɨ[a]	i(ø)i
			ø = ik	l #
Sunday	/sanataili/	. . .	ø = a	n t
			d = t	a ai
			ey = ai	t ø(li)[b]

[a]If this shift were not made, the word "ingilik" would mean "There is a pubic mound."

[b]This may also be taken as "sana-tai-li" meaning "work-absence of-there is."

From the above can be seen the following diaphonic shifts:-[a]

Vowels:

English	Eskimo	Context
æ	a	In all cases except
	aa	before /r/, as in Larry.
a	a	In all cases.
ah	aa	In the first syllable of two.
	a	In the first syllable of three.
e	ia	Before /s/.
	a	
	i	
	ja	Initial
	ey	
	ai	Initial
i (and ɪ)	i	In all cases.[b]
ɨ	u	In the center of a three-syllable word.
	a	Before /n/ of a final syllable (where retained)
	i	in other cases.
ə	a	In all cases except
	u	after /j/ initial (which, in itself is irregular).
o (as "pot")	a	Except
	u	in Dorothea,
	uu	in God.[c]
ɔ (as "caught")	a	In final syllables.
	u	In initial syllables.
u	u	In all cases.

[a]Both English and Eskimo phonemes are represented. A larger sample of loanwords could be provided.

[b]I know of two rather rare words that are irregular here.

[c]Probably Eskimo-ized by missionaries.

The above results would probably predict the vast majority of further incorporations. They are expected from the general rule: where the English phoneme falls within the regular range of its Eskimo diaphone there is regularity of incorporation; where it does not, there will be multiple possibilities depending on such factors as stress, length, syllable position, contextual consonants, etc. (The exact rules would have to be worked out from a larger corpus.)

Similarly for vowel diphthong shifts:-

English	Eskimo	Context
ay	ai	Except
	i	before /v/.
ey	a	(As for /e/).
	ai	
	i	
	ii	
	ey	
iy	i or ii	In all cases.
ow	u	In all cases except
	i	in tobacco (possibly the early traders said /təbæki/).
uw	uu	In all cases.

Consonants:-

b	p	In all cases, except
	k	before /s/, and
	b	in Rebecca (a very irregular Eskimo word).
d	t	In all cases, except
	ø	final.
f	p	In all cases
g	g	except
	ŋ	before nasals.
h	ø	Initial.
č	č	In all cases
ǰ	ǰ	except
	j	initial
	ŋ	after /n/ which goes to ø (in angel).
k	k	In all cases.
l	l	In all cases (except angel; see p. 21, note a under Angel and Sunday)
m	m	In all cases.
n	n	In all cases, except
	ø	final.
p	p	In all cases.
s	s	In all cases. (The dominant allophone of /s/ is /š/ in this dialect.)
š	s	In all cases.
t	t	In all cases.
v	v	In all cases.
w	u	In all cases, except
	v	initial (see p. 20, note b).

English	Eskimo	Context
y	i	In all cases.
z (and /z/)	s	In all cases.
th	t	In all cases. (th represents θ. No loanwords are known containing the phoneme δ.)
r	ø	Final or in cluster before /i/.
	l or r	The Eskimo dilemma is evident particularly in the alternate forms for Henry. The phonetic "coloring" of the Eskimo phoneme /r/ only partially overlaps the English. (See p. 16, note b.)

In general it is apparent that the Eskimos have considerably less trouble with English consonants than vowels. Where there is no close diaphonic correspondence the buccal constriction is maintained but a voiceless stop may be substituted. (A study of the reverse, i.e. English-speakers speaking Eskimo, would be most illuminating.)

Junctures

These are of two types: (1) Initial and final, represented by #, and (2) weak junctures within clusters.

(1) All final consonants, except /n/ which goes to ø, add /i/. One or two "religious" words add -asi. (See p. 20, note a.)

(2) The majority of the English clusters do not fall within the Eskimo range but the transfers are relatively simple: (i) After /s/, /l/, and /m/ insert /i/; (ii) after /k/, /p/, and /n/ insert /a/.

To summarize this section: (1) the Eskimo vowel system differs considerably more from the English than does the consonant system. (2) Many words are so successfully transferred that only a knowledge of the languages and the cultural situation enables one to detect them. (3) In a very few cases the English phoneme or cluster is retained even though it does not fall within the range of the Eskimo system. (4) Some loanwords have caused non-aboriginal positioning of certain final consonants. The latter two tendencies will probably increase greatly within the present generation of "schooled" children who may become far more bilingual. Generally speaking the rules for diaphonic and diamorphic shifts are regular, simple, and discoverable.

Loanshifts

The vast majority of changes are of this type (1(b) above). However, there are a number of mechanisms at work here and correspond to some extent with the semantic content of the transferred items. The range of introduced material items is enormous as is the range of differentiation from aboriginal Eskimo categories. Unlike the above section, wherein a substantial portion of the diamorphs were given, only a small sample can be given here. They are selected in order to represent the various linguistic mechanisms in use and the nature of some of the imported concepts.

I. First, there are many imported items which retain the aboriginal Eskimo morpheme with no suffixial modifiers but "stretch" the semantic content. (Starred words in these lists have alternate terms.)

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
airstrip	mipvik	alighting place (of birds)
bed	iłiq	sleeping platform
canoe	qajariak	Indian (wooden) canoe
chewing gum	kučuk	pine resin (chewing gum)
drive shaft (outboard)	kanak	shin/upright tentpole
calendar	takiit	months
Christmas	qitinguk*	midwinter festival
glasses (eye)	igaak*	slit sunshades
pray	tuksiavuk	beg or demand
price	aki	opposite (or meat bench of igloo)[a]
road	arquti	way or path
spirit (evil)	turngak	spirit/supernatural being
steering-handle (outboard)	aquuti	steering oar (of skin boat)
syringe (medical)	kapuuti	point of spear or dart
thimble	tikiq	index finger

[a]The "meat bench" of a snow house was opposite the sleeping platform where people spent most of their time at home. aki- is the general root for "opposite (across something flat)." The early traders used to pass metal tokens across the counter of the store as the Eskimos passed their skins in the opposite direction. Thus the trade value of anything became "its opposite" on the counter; similarly for buying.

In addition there are very many almost exact identifications, too obvious to set out, e.g. words for dog, needle, tent, etc.

II. Another common mechanism is the addition of a suffix to the aboriginal Eskimo root to distinguish the important item from that for the equivalent Eskimo item. (Starred words have alternate terms.)

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
a. -aluk, large, not only in the physical sense		
alcoholic liquor	imi-	drinking water
coal	auma-	embers/charcoal
boots/shoes	kami-	skin boots
oil and gasoline	uksu-*	oil from animal fat
oil lamp (for lighting)	qułi-*	soapstone oil lamp
b. -nguak, imitation of . . .		
map	nuna-	land
orange	amama-*	breast (of woman)
photograph	aǰi-	likeness
c. -kałak, stocky, "cute"		
car or truck	qamuti-*	Eskimo sled
measles	aupaluktu-	it is red

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
d. -ǰuak, large, extreme		
horse	qimi-	dog
priest (Catholic)	ičirak-	kneel
ship	umiak-	sealskin (woman's) boat
e. -vak, large, bulky		
cow	tuktu-*	caribou
f. -rak, smaller or lesser		
beverage (soft or wine)	imi-	drinking water
boat (wood, row)	umia-	sealskin boat
cribbage board	qiju-	wood or plank
g. -ujak, partially resembling		
bottle	puła-	(air) bubble
bread	niaqu-	head (from the old "cottage loaves")
connecting rod	kana-	shin/ upright tent pole
half breed	qałuna-	whiteman
money	kina-*	face (as on coin)
oil drum	qata-	(soapstone) cooking pot
rice	qupigu-	maggots
h. -apik, little (somewhat endearingly)		
Queen (cards)	arnqna-	woman/female
can (food)	qumuju-	preserve

Many of these items are becoming increasingly rare in their aboriginal forms and, in some cases, the distinguishing suffix of the loanshift is dropped, e.g. umiak = boat (cf. Casagrande 1954:220-221, 234; 1955:6; Lee 1943: 436). In both sections I and II the Eskimo version of the item is now distinguished by the addition of the suffix -tuinak, meaning "genuine, ordinary, native" e.g. umiatuinak = skin (woman's) boat (which has now passed from use).

III. Not entirely separable from the above categories are the vast majority of Eskimo words for introduced items and concepts where the process of word formation has little directly to do with the previous Eskimo equivalents (if any), but depends almost entirely on the perceived function of the new item. The majority of the Eskimo words in the category end with the suffix -uti. This expresses instrumentality and might be translated by phrases such as "having to do with," "aiding or causing" or "the thing for . . ." Examples will make the range of meaning more apparent though only a small selection of the total number could possibly be given in a paper of this size.

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
a. -uti, "instrumentally connected with . . ."		
accelerator	sukatuli-	fast-make (where relevant I have separated root and dependent morphemes).
accordion	nipǰa-	make a noise-
anchor	kisa-	moor-
aspirin	niaqu-	head-

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
battery (electric)	ikuma-	electricity (fire)-
brace and bit	kaivu-*	revolve-
camera	aǰiliur-	likeness-make-
cow	imuliu-	milk-make-
cup	tiitu-	tea-consume-
doctor	arniasi-	sickness- (The suffix -siuti may mean "the one who hunts/ is after." The morpheme -si- is often combined as -siu- in this more specific lexical sense.)
engine	aula-*	go, move-
flag	saimasa-	declaration of greeting- (Perhaps from the traditional greeting "Tsaimo/a." By no means certain.)
generator	ikumaliur-	electricity-make-
glasses (eye)	iji-*	eye-
guitar	kukitapa-	finger nails-use-
key	piir-	undo/ take off-
lighter	ikita-*	fire-
money	tata-*	fill up-
movie	takali-	see (repeatedly)-
playing card	qijura-	cribbage board
shotgun	tingmiangni-	bird-

There are many other suffixes that may be used in word formation, often quite applicable to the same roots as are above, for example:

b. -iji, the one who does for an occupation

cook	iga-	cook-
minister (Anglican)	ajukirktu-	teach/ guide-
dentist	kugutili-	teeth fix-

c. -ti (see note above to doctor - sickness)

radio operator	nalak-	listen to-
clerk	titirak-	write-

Other suffixes denote "function" in other ways:-

d. -lik, there is a presence of

lamp wick	uksulik	oil-

or "part for the whole" characteristics:-

R.C.M.Police	pukirkta-*	yellow stripes (from "pukirk," the yellow underbelly of the caribou. The R.C.M.P. uniform has yellow stripes running down the sides of the trousers.)

e. - sak, material for (potentially able to be or resemble) Very common.

cloth	anurak-*	clothes-
duffle (wool)	alirktik-	inner leggings-
film (camera)	aǰi(ŋuak)-	likeness (-imitation of)-
metal	kikiak-*	nail
writing paper	aglavik-	write-place for- (see below)

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
f. -vik, time or place for		
Christmas	kuviasuk-*	feel happy-
church	tuksia-	pray
store	niuvirk-	trade
g. -siq, manner of functioning		
hour	kaivaɬiaru-	revolve-more so again- (as clock)

A relatively few though important items are known, verbally, by their major characteristic of spatial location:-

h. -tak, an associated part of		
butt (of gun)	qiju-	wood
cloth	qaɬunak-*	whiteman
bannock (pan bread)	panirkti-*	dry-make to be-
i. -miutak, inhabitant of		
wristwatch	agau-*	wrist
j. -juk, third person singular verbal; it does/is . . .		
airplane	qangata-	rises up-
	tingmi-	flies
car or truck	nunaku-*	land-goer-
train	nunakuju-kutak	land-goer-long
pocket knife	pukta-	container-uses-

Others are obviously associated descriptions:-

anthropologist	apirkuk	the one who asks questions
Africa	ukiusuituk	there is not winter
Negro	anuraituk	he has no clothes
	qirnitait	the blacks
record player	ingijuk	it sings

The above examples encompass the vast majority of types of word formation that are in common use for denoting imported paraphernalia. Many more are not so commonly used. In addition there are few words which exhibit other kinds of mechanisms and some about whose origin I am in doubt.

IV. Examples of the former include:-

Frenchmen	uiuimiut	oui-oui-people
square-stern canoe	papigatuk	square-tailed small bird
"violin" (native copy)[a]	tautirk	onomatopœia(?)
whiteman	qaɬunak	qaɬuk mean "eyebrow"

[a]Most Eskimos do not realize that their instrument is a copy of the whiteman's item. They do, however, use the same term for the whiteman's item, but consider theirs to be "the real thing" as well.

Of the latter, more cryptic, category:-

English	Eskimo	Aboriginal meaning
helicopter	qolimaguli	
letter (epistle)/write	aglak*	(cf. aɬak = Indian; aklak = bear)
nail	kikiak	
paint	minguak	minguk = slime
paper (general)	sikutsajak	siku = ice
sheep	saurak	(invented by missionary for Bible?)

Language and Culture Change[22]

The major overall feature is the division of diamorphic shifts into loanwords and loanshifts, with the preponderance in terms of both number and mechanisms, on the side of the latter. Some explanation may be sought and offered at this level bearing in mind the acculturational circumstances. First, it is quite possible that of a range of English words available for transfer, some will be "easier" than others in terms of their "phonetic shapes." In other words there may be purely linguistic reasons for the selection. Eskimo phonemes and clusters fall along a phonetic range that only partially overlaps that of English and I have frequently observed that Eskimos trying to learn English have the greatest difficulty with certain pronunciations in making sounds that even they judge as adequate. The reverse of the coin is the fact that Eskimo is an extremely productive language[23] in which the limitations on combinations of root and dependent morphemes are relatively few. This is a partial explanation for the preponderance of loanshifts.

On the cultural side we must consider the opportunities, restrictions, and motivations present for all types of transfers. The earliest contacts were relatively diffuse and, while most whites did not speak Eskimo, most communication was through interpreters or "sign language." It was, however, during this period that many of the basic items and concepts of white civilization were first observed, e.g. metals, guns, ships, whitemen, writing, etc. The origin of some of the morphemes that were acquired around this time are obscure while others are in the large category of constructed compounds utilizing their perceived functional or visual characteristics. They are, as far as is known, all loanshifts.

With the advent of trading for civilized goods, either intertribal or by long journeys to distant posts, the new items were nearly all material and useful to the Eskimos. (The traders here, unlike in many other areas, refused to sell "useless baubles.") As such, their acquired Eskimo names were based overwhelmingly on what the Eskimos used them for, irrespective of their original uses. Most of these fall within category III above. However, those items which at that time (and later) appeared very similar to and replaced native Eskimo items tended to fall within categories I and II.

The advent of the missionaries, both itinerant Protestant and resident Catholic, brought enormous new influences. All of these men learned Eskimo outside the area and did not have need of interpreters (bilingual Eskimos). They did not bring with them a vast array of material innovations and many tended to live in simple style. However, they did bring new ideas, and, overwhelmingly important, reading, writing, and books. The religious tracts had all been written in the dialects of adjacent areas and, although the picture

of life presented therein was far from familiar, it was, perhaps, less extraordinary than contemporary life "down South." It is assumed that the Eskimo words for the most important new concepts were invented by the missionaries, (e.g. the words for God, Satan, angels, sheep, etc.) while the great majority in the texts, which was translated with Eskimo assistance (see Anautak), especially those describing everyday life, were those already familiar to Eskimos, e.g. the words for blood, soul, spirit, evil, hunger, etc. The former type are to be found among the loanwords (pp. 17-20) and the latter are either not mentioned (because the interference is low) or are among the lists of loanshifts.

Among the loanwcrds, the great majority are proper names which were, and are, given to the child at Baptism. The original Eskimo pattern was to name the child while it was still in the womb and usually the names chosen were names of illustrious and recently dead ancestors (c.f. Casagrande 1955: 12-20). The names, therefore, had little or no reference to sex. This pattern still continues with the addition of the Christian name. Hence an individual gets one or many names before birth and then one or more in addition after birth. As a consequence living Eskimos have many names which may be of Eskimo or English origin and they may be known by any one or more or, quite frequently, combinations of names. The names usually get modified during the life span by the addition of adjectival suffixes, e.g. Juanasi-kutak "tall Juanasi" or Putiliapik "little Putulik." The Christian names were nearly all Eskimo-ized outside the area. In addition, many of the earliest whites in the area normally gave English names to the Eskimos with whom they had frequent dealings and the latter had to learn to respond to them (for instance, see Ballantyne 1857 or Hall 1864). It is not surprising then, that names comprise the bulk of the loanwords and can hardly occur as loanshifts. I know of one case of loan translation. A white man named Mr. Crow was called "tulugak" = raven.

Of the other loanwords, particularly those with no or rare Eskimo alternates, many indicate something which was presumably learned through intimate contact with whites, e.g. the names of suits of cards, some place names and a few objects which have never appeared in the land of the Eskimos. However, even in the latter category which may have become familiar through books and movies, the vast majority have loanshift terms based on function or appearance.

It is probable that the contact situations and agents referred to above set all the patterns for linguistic interference that were apparent at the time to which this paper refers. Latecomers, such as the resident Anglican missionaries and the government personnel have done little more than increase the number of loanshifts. The former learned Eskimo in the area but use the same texts as their predecessors. The latter, along with some Hudson's Bay Company personnel of late, work mainly through interpreters. Both groups have vastly increased the numbers of material items that the Eskimo have opportunities to observe and, to a lesser extent, use. Only the very recent advent of schools changes the pattern to any extent. Among the youngest generation this is creating another great influx of loanwords, probably of even greater proportions than that caused by the first missionaries. However, although very rarely some of these words have come into general adult usage, the effect was still very small during the times I was there.

The Eskimo language is still very much a living entity in the area. It is the medium of communication in pretty well all situations for all but one or two adults. It is still very productive, and will continue to be so, even with the increasing rate of introduction of new items and the massive impact of the school system. Recently, out of general interest, I examined a copy of an Eaton's Catalogue (the Eastern Canadian equivalent to the American Sears catalogue) with a group of older children most of whom had learned to read and write English. I asked them to name all the thousands of items shown. In at least 99 percent of the cases the informants without hesitation gave loanshift words, especially types II and III. Many of the items were only familiar, if at all, through pictures. In a number of cases the children made mistakes about the functions (and hence the correct root-morphemes) of the objects, but they made practically no attempt to give loanwords even in those cases where they could have done so.

A recent and decided change has been noted by the author and some northern residents among a very few (so far) adolescents who have progressed in school. They have not learned to become literate in Eskimos syllabics, hence their literate communications are either in English (to each other) or more rarely in the Latin orthography for Eskimo that the Canadian Government is now encouraging (Lefebvre 1958; Gagné 1962). They cannot, however, read the traditional religious texts nor can they communicate by letter to their parents or other Eskimo adults (for instance, from hospital).

Discussion

It is clear from a review of comparable literature concerning linguistic acculturation among American indigenes (Casagrande 1954, 1955; Diebold 1964; Herzog 1941; Lee 1943; Spicer 1943; Voegelin and Hymes 1953 et alia) that the case of the Ungava Eskimo involves a shorter period of less intense contact than any of the other cases reported. Other things being equal, it may, therefore, represent an earlier stage of acculturation and linguistic interference, one which other authors may have had to assume took place some time in the past for their areas. The major factors in this atypicality are the relative isolation of these Eskimos and lack of land or other resources alluring to white civilization. The case is, therefore, more comparable to those which might be found in certain parts of Africa, South America and New Guinea. Unfortunately there are as yet very few comparable presentations of this topic for these latter areas. The major relevant consequences of the isolation are, up until very recently, the general lack of intensive contacts of the majority of the population with speakers of languages other than their own and, concomitantly, a lack of Eskimo bilinguals. The reverse of the coin is that, owing to their technological orientation and their relatively small numbers, acculturation in the material sphere has been massive. Most probably the Eskimos are as dependant upon and as familiar with advanced technological apparatus, e.g. radios, outboard motors, electricity, modern medicine, etc., as many of the other Amerind groups at the times they were described by other authors; perhaps even more so than the Huave (Diebold 1964) and the Tewa (Dozier 1964). In addition the adults have a higher literacy rate (in their own or the dominant language) than not only other Amerinds but the American and Canadian white majority populations!

Diaphonics: This type of interference will only occur where there are loanwords and probably some degree of bilingualism. Most of the Eskimo words in this category fall within that type of interference that has been called "integration" (Diebold 1964:498, 501) or "naturalization" (Hockett 1958:417) in that the word forms an integral "part of the language" and would be learned by children just like any other part, without awareness of its origin. This is the usual end point of most loanwords in languages in similar circumstances and is the logical consequence of the continuing unilingualism of the majority of speakers (Weinreich 1963:64-65).

There is also apparent an incipient trend to phonetic and phonemic interference in which the loanwords are not "integrated" especially among the younger generation. It has generally been stated (Casagrande 1954:229; 1955:9; Spicer 1953:420-422) that the more completely the loanword is phonetically integrated the older it is and that (Hockett 1948:410) the first few members of a community to use it will exhibit a greater degree of phonetic interference. While these ideas may be true in a very general way, I think that the situation is more complicated and needs further explanation. It seems obvious to me that the first few speakers using a loanword will rarely be able to pronounce the word with more than a slight degree of phonic interference unless they are bilinguals. Thus the word at its initial importation will be immediately "integrated" and, if there is a need, can spread into general usage. This is an identical process to that of any people learning a foreign language; they "cannot" pronounce the foreign words correctly because they are not conditioned to be aware of it's phonemic (and hence phonetic) differentiations and fusions. Only later, if there is continued intimate contact and almost inevitably with the presence of bilinguals, the patterns of the foreign language can be transferred with the loanwords. In other words, earlier loanwords are more "integrated" not only because they have been in general use longer, but also because at the times when they were first acquired there were far fewer bilinguals around and hence far fewer people who could be aware of the foreign patterns. If bilingualism and intimate contacts continued to be few, I would expect "new" loanwords to be just as integrated as older ones. The reason that other writers have not been clear on this matter is that the vast majority have dealt with situations of more advanced linguistic acculturation and a far greater proportion of bilinguals already present by the times they did their studies. Even Diebold, whose Huave he states are "incipient bilinguals," had 20 percent full bilingualism and another 36 percent partial bilinguals (1964:505). These figures are considerably greater than the less than 1 percent of the adult population of the Ungava Eskimos. My contentions are further clarified by the fact that it is predominantly among the younger generation, who attempt to learn English in school, that the phonic interference is found. I do not claim that all, or even the majority, of the loanwords that appear to be integrated were learned by the adults when they were children learning their total language. Some were undoubtedly learned during their adulthood and immediately integrated, and this process is still the rule for the bulk of the unilingual speakers. An additional factor promoting integration of loanwords in the Eskimo case was that the vast majority, with religious connections, had already been integrated in the Bible and other religious texts at their original point of introduction.

It is probably true, however, that for the most part the occurrence of a rare or non-native phoneme or cluster may indicate a loanword only partially integrated (Casagrande 1955:23). If, however, acculturation has been intense and bilingualism has become the rule, the interference, once introduced and confined to loanwords, may spread first to the phonics of non-loanwords and later may even cause considerable shifts in the whole phonic patterning for all purposes "Weinreich 1963:23-25). This may be due to either the near disintegration of the "lower" language or the great prestige of speaking with the "accent" of the dominant language. This point has not yet been reached in the Ungava situation but could do so within the adult life of the schooled generation.

With respect to the phonemic system and its allophones Johnson (1943: 229-230) states that it is not the range of the latter but relative positions or the "holes in the pattern" (Weinreich 1963:22) that determine the types of diaphonic shifts. It should be obvious from an examination of the data on pp. 16-23 above that both factors are important in the Ungava case. For instance, where the English phoneme falls even at the edge of its Eskimo diaphone's range (e.g. $/z/_{Eng}$ and $/s/_{Esk}$) there is a completely regular shift, whereas if it falls outside the range of any Eskimo allophone (e.g. $/e/_{Eng}$) that is "where there is a hole in the pattern," it will have multiple diaphonic renditions.

Lexical Interference: A. Loanwords. These are relatively few in Ungava Eskimo and the majority are thoroughly Eskimo-ized. As such they are an integral part of the language and conform entirely to the word-forming and syntactic processes of Eskimo. As such these phenomena could perhaps be considered "loanblends" where (Hockett 1958:412-413) "the borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it by something already in his own language." In Eskimo the borrowed root morpheme can nowhere stand on its own, but must always have a dependent morpheme; for instance, a case inflection even in the "nominative" which, presumably, replaces the English case inflection normally represented by a zero-morpheme. If these can indeed be considered loanblends, such would be the case for most of the loanwords in other Amerind languages where "they are subjected to regular morphological processes" (Casagrande 1954:231).

The English words chosen for borrowing are, as in most other languages, nominals (e.g. Spicer 1943:412; Casagrande 1955:20). This does not mean, however, that they fall into any such equivalent category in Eskimo. The vast majority of root-morphemes in Eskimo can be either nounal or verbal depending on the inflecting morpheme. For example, it is just as easy for an Eskimo to say "tapakituktuk" as "tapakimik atuktuk" both meaning "he uses tobacco," i.e. he is a smoker. In other words, in this case the use and position of loanwords depends entirely on the structure of the language rather than on the nature of the item or the contact situation.

The relatively few imported morphemes have not so far impinged upon the field of dependent morphemes in any way, even the descriptive (adverbial and adjectival) ones as well as inflections and enclitics. It is doubtful whether such an effect will be felt for a long time. Similarly there are no loanwords in the "basic lexicon" contrasting with those languages in a more advanced state of acculturation (e.g. in Huave; Diebold 1964:502).

B. Loanshifts. These, as in the great majority of Amerind languages, form the bulk of all lexical interference (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:643-644). The process has been going on for so long that the origins of some of the roots are lost in obscurity or at least are beyond the unravelling of the limited skills of myself and my informants. The processes of word formation are identical to those used in non-acculturative situations and, unlike the more acculturated languages (e.g. Wintu'; Lee 1943:38-40), there seems to be no trend as yet into deviant channels.

One of the outstanding features of the Ungava case is the frequency of alternates, approximately 40 percent among the loanwords and perhaps 15 to 20 percent overall. However (i) the author has not compiled a "total lexicon" for this area and (ii) counting is extremely difficult in a language where root-morphemes may be combined in hundreds of ways to produce entirely separable lexemes. This feature is thought to be more common among the Eskimos than some of the other cases described. (Chippewyan, Voegelin and Hymes 1953:638; Huave, Diebold 1964:503; Pima, Herzog 1941:71; Yaqui, Spicer 1943:425.) In that the Eskimos are a widely scattered people and imported items were first seen or introduced in many different areas probably at about the same time, we might well expect there to be many versions for the new phenomenon. A study of a larger area would, no doubt, show an even greater number of alternatives.[24] This seems to be an identical situation to that of Dakota "the Dakota dialects have made different responses to the same new item of white culture" (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:64). The comparison may be carried even further, e.g. the words for various pieces of money in Dakota "something that causes to be a raven (eagle)" contrasted with "small thick piece" and in Ungava Eskimo "like a face" and "that which fills up." That there are alternatives within the one Ungava area shows that either (1) there has been considerable migration between areas (contrasting perhaps with the Dakota) and/or (2) possibly, even within a small area two competing forms may arise and persist. This last situation seems to be analogous to the cases of competing alternates described by other authors whose peoples were less widely scattered.

In some ways it is surprising that there are not many more forms among the scattered and nomadic Eskimos. It is well known, for instance, that the term for white man, "qaɬunak," is common almost throughout the Arctic, yet the first contacts took place at very different periods and in varying circumstances.[25] Presumably this shows one or more of the following factors: (1) the great internal homogeneity of the Eskimos through constant migration; (2) the great age of the form which has allowed time for all competing forms to have been eliminated by competition (see for instance, Hockett 1958:417, 418); or (3) that the processes of word formation were based on very regular mechanisms common to Eskimo thought patterns. In this case, where the word refers to the detailed characteristic of "eyebrows," in view of the many alternates for other items the last explanation is probably of minimal utility. We might hypothesize, therefore, that for importations that are well nigh universal to the Eskimos one can expect that the earlier the import the fewer the alternate terms, as would be expected from both explanation (1) and (2).

Apart from the historical implications, the alternates themselves throw light on the mechanisms for lexical interference. In a number of cases there are loanshift alternates for loanwords without specialization that resemble perhaps the Pima case where "there is displacement of initial loans (from

Spanish) by constructed words" (Herzog 1941:71). For example, in Ungava "magneto" may be "mangnituk" (rarely) or "ikumauti." Among the loanshifts themselves a number of alternates show that an imported item may be perceived in more than one way, e.g.:

car or truck	qamutikaɬak	sled-short (visual and functional analogy)
	nunakujuk	land-goer (space and function)
eye glasses	igaak	Eskimo sun-shades (visual and functional)
	iyauti	eye-instrument (associational)
cow	tuktuvak	moose (visual analogy, via tuktu = caribou)
	imuliukti	milk-maker (functional: the Eskimos have little chance to associate "beef" with "cow").

Within areas where more than one term is known there is a tendency for settlements or even camp (family) groups to use one term with no impairment of mutual intelligibility with their neighbors. A study covering a much wider geographical area might be both historically and linguistically revealing.

Grammatical Interference: Until relatively recently this phenomenon was thought to be practically non-existent or at least was "swept under the rug" (Weinreich 1963:29-46; see also Hockett 1958:410). The latter showed that it was however a process amenable to regular analysis and some of the other authors have mentioned its occurrence for Amerind situations (e.g. in Yaqui, Johnson 1943:32-33). I have hardly mentioned the topic previously for two reasons: (1) I am not at all sure that it exists in any regular form; and (2) I am less well acquainted with the very complicated Eskimo grammar than other parts of the language and it is therefore more difficult to say whether there has been interference at this level. However, there are a few hints most of which stem from the Catholic missionaries who are the most fluent white speakers of Eskimo in this area. I have heard it claimed, for instance, that "the Eskimos are getting sloppy with their language" or "they don't speak proper Eskimo any more." Apart from the numerous lexical changes, enquiries usually elicit explanations in terms of such matters as tense usage. There are at least forms for "present," "future today," "future tomorrow or later," "past today (just done)," "past yesterday and earlier," "past continuative," "past perfect," "past but irretrievably never again," etc. It is said that the Eskimos are failing to make the distinctions that they used to or that the younger generation isn't using this or that tense at all. I admit that I have witnessed a number of situations where two or more people have repeatedly failed to understand each other and this has on occasion led to disaster (e.g. dropping a baby into the water from a boat, or letting go the wrong line and having boats hit each other). I think there are a number of factors here which are partial explanations. First some, though not all, situations took place outside where wind and water noises create difficulties. Second, though there are the distinctions available in the language, it is by no means certain that in everyday speech the Eskimos ever used them obligatorily. In no language are all the distinctions made all the time by normal speakers. Third, the Catholic missionaries, though they have maximal linguistic contact with the Eskimos, have all partly learned or practiced the language "by the book." They have overwhelmingly European backgrounds and their patterns of language learning were well established in their school days. In addition, some have written or helped write dictionaries and grammars of the local language (e.g. Schneider n.d.) and both these factors have led to a particularly analytical

view of the language. (For instance, Schneider (n.d.) gives a 1st person singular interrogative transitive inflection: "-piq" which I have never heard and most Eskimos don't know. The normal pattern is to use the indicative with intonation.) The longer they stay in the area, and some have been there over twenty years, the more familiar they have become with the "correct" forms and, at the same time, the more fluent and hence attuned they have become enabling the sensing or "errors" which may in fact have always been part of Eskimo speech. It is no wonder that the Eskimos of one settlement complain that the missionary "corrects" their speech! (See note 16.)

There is, in addition, another matter which may be contributory to the above. It has been observed that where there has been a long term dominant-submissive relationship between two interacting language groups, e.g. trader and native, that there may develop a "pidgin" for the limited but essential communication (Casagrande 1955:12). Though there is no general form in this area that can be called a pidgin language, it is true that some of the traders and their assistants and many of the latter-day government personnel speak very poor Eskimo if they bother at all. (Though flattered by the Eskimos, the author would be hard put to escape entirely from this category.) Their initial model being English, the tendency is to string together a number of non-inflected root-morphemes or to use, for instance, only indicative inflections, and certainly to disregard such categories as dual person or intransitive verbs. The great majority of the adult population have been exposed to such "conversations" or orders from time to time and have to learn to understand or "interpret" them if they want to trade, etc., without having to come back at another time when there is a more competent bilingual present. Some of the adults sometimes use such forms between themselves for amusement. One, it is said, tends to use such forms in a large portion of his conversation with other Eskimos. He certainly does when speaking to whites such as the anthropologist, even though his attempts are far more difficult to understand than if he were talking normal Eskimo. Confusing examples might be: "Tuktu uvanga taku," literally "caribou I see" which might mean either "I see the caribou" or "the caribou sees me." The correct forms would be correspondingly "tuktup takuvara" and "tuktumik takuvunga" vs. "tuktu takuvanga" and "uvanik tuktu takujuk." (Intransitive forms precede in each case.)

This kind of behavior, while admittedly present, is very rare in this area and all the others where the author has lived. It is possible that with the increasing proportion of resident whites who know little or no Eskimo it is becoming more common. The extreme example in the Northern Ungava area is an old man who is considered very deviant in many of his behavior patterns. He thinks he gets prestige from his "pidgin" imitations (as indices of contacts with the dominant whites) but is the joke of the community and sometimes causes great irritation as a consequence. He has, in speaking to the author, "switched" back for forth between real and pidgin Eskimo on a number of occasions. He (and others) are quite capable, in spite of some white residents' contentions, of speaking good Eskimo. In other words, cultural not structural factors are at play in these cases.

Structure and Circumstance

Most of the authorities on linguistic contact and acculturation have taken both linguistic structure and the contact situation into account in the

explanations for the phenomena in this field. Weinreich "attempts to show to what extent interference is determined by the structures of the two languages in contact non-linguistic factors in the socio-cultural context" (1963:4) and anthropologists investigating acculturation "are urged to include linguistic evidence, . . . as indices of the acculturative process" (ibid.:5). Other authors, though concerned with specific instances rather than the subject in general, practically paraphrase the above (e.g. Casagrande 1955:20-21; Diebold 1964:495; Johnson 1943:427; Salzmann 1954:137; Spicer 1943:410 etc.). Some produce hypotheses showing the multiple factors while others are more simplistic (Dozier 1964:509. See later).

Though some might claim so, the fact that there is considerable cultural contact of some kind does not automatically mean that there will be much linguistic interference in one or both languages. Though, perhaps, such a case is rarely reported in the literature, a fairly convincing example is presented in the Ungava situation. In aboriginal times the contacts between the Ungava Eskimos and their Algonkian neighbors to the south were few and mainly hostile, but certainly known to all. In more recent times, since the imposition of peace by the traders and missionaries, quite a few Eskimos in adjacent areas learned to speak Indian and vice versa. Friendships grew up and there were occasional intermarriages. However, though there were a few descriptive loanshifts, there have been no loanwords at all and certainly no phonic or grammatical interference. The same applies to the Indians though the author is by no means fluent in their language and therefore checking was unreliable and mainly dependent on the statements of the Indians themselves.[26] This is a case of what Casagrande calls "Primary Accommodation" (1954:217) which, although there were a few bilinguals, apparently never reached secondary accommodation as might have been expected from such intimate contacts. Perhaps the traditional and still underlying enmity between the two groups has dictated the very rudimentary nature of the linguistic interference. Possibly a similar situation existed for a time in a few places where the Eskimos first met the whites but had similar hostile experiences.

In the majority of reported acculturative situations linguistic interference soon rears its head in some form or another. The most obvious and universal reasons have been stated ". . . a given vocabulary is inadequate in the cultural environment" (Weinreich 1963:3) which is Hockett's "Need-Filling Motive" (Hockett 1958:405-407. Hockett specifically applies this to loanwords but it is valid for other mechanisms.). Though phrased in other more limited ways (e.g. "When a new trait was introduced to the Wintu', the language responded in one of three ways: it gave it a new name . . ." Lee 1943:435) most of the other authors have stressed this "need" aspect as opposed to Hockett's other motive, that of prestige. This is because the latter is less universal in application and corresponds best to situations where there is (incipient) bilingualism. However, all are agreed, one way or another, that when a people are faced with something new (which may or may not come from another culture) they feel the need to label it by one linguistic mechanism or another. The major problem area is to "predict typical forms of interference from the sociolinguistic description of a bilingual community and a structural description of its languages . . . [this] . . . is the ultimate goal of interference studies" (Weinreich 1963:86). The two main axes are the linguistic structures (of both the languages) and the contact situation. In other words, what mechanisms are brought into play by what factors?

This simplest explanation offered is that of Dozier who contrasts the abundance of loanwords and interference of Yaqui with the "less than 5 percent" among the Tewa. "These two contrasting acculturative situations, in both linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, appear to be due to the contact situation, one permissive and the other forced" (1964:516). While admitting that his statement may bear some truth, it seems that his previous statement, ". . . Tewa has no difficulty in coining words . . . unlike Yaqui . . ." (1964:515) is also a powerful explanation for the major difference which, he points out, is the relative percentages of loanwords as opposed to constructions from indigenous elements. Though partially true that "The Tewa language . . . has vigorously resisted acculturation" (ibid.:516) the situation is hardly different from that described by other authors (e.g. the sample given by Voegelin and Hymes 1953). In fact it has almost become an axiom that: "A language . . . in which formal methods of word derivation are numerous, will transmute new matter more readily than one in which new constructions are inhibited" (Herzog 1941:66). Or "With efficient means of word-building at hand, Comanche had little need to resort to linguistic borrowing" (Casagrande 1954:228).

The case of the Ungava Eskimo lends weight to the latter two propositions. They have been quick to grasp as many aspects of white culture as was allowed to them and the whole history of contact has been relatively "permissive," probably more so than the vaunted case of the Yaqui. Yet the proportion of loanwords is incredibly small, considerably less than 5 percent (c.f. the Tewa). Of these the great majority are Christian names bestowed at baptism and frequently not used in everyday life (see pp. 28-29 above). A major part of the truth is that Eskimo, along with many other Amerind languages, is highly polysynthetic (others are "agglutinative" or "compounding") and the Eskimo finds the everyday processes of word formation easier than the difficulties of diaphonic and diamorphic identification (e.g. the example on p. 29 above). This is, of course, only "half the picture." Still to be considered is the time dimension, "The greater the number of loanwords and loan translations, rather than extensions . . . the more intimate the contact . . ." (Casagrande 1955:24) i.e. the longer, more frequent or varied the linguistic interchange. And ". . . the tendency to incorporate the English name along with the trait is recent . . ." (Lee 1953:436).

A concommitant of both the time factor and the acculturative context is the amount of bilingualism. There is a general tendency for the proportion of loanwords to rise in direct proportion with the numbers of bilinguals (Lee 1943:435-436; Spicer 1943; Diebold 1964) up until the point where people stop using the old language. Naturally a tendency to resist change may go along with a refusal to learn the new language which in turn may depend on the "permissive" or other structural factors of the social situation. In this way, rather than directly, Dozier's statements are correct. To summarize, I contend that for languages with adequate mechanisms for word formation, the normal situation is the formation of loanshifts to the exclusion of loanwords. When the structural factors (economic, political etc.) of the contact situation make it imperative that there are bilinguals loanwords will enter the language to the extent that the foreign language is either necessary or prestigious. As the situation tends towards cultural assimilation or integration the proportion of loanwords will (up to a point) rise and become comparable with situations in other languages where word formation mechanisms

are relatively lacking. Up until this point we may expect the latter kind of languages to have a far greater proportion of loanwords irrespective of the nature of the contact situation.

Eskimo, like Pima, Comanche, Wintu' and many others has more than adequate mechanisms for loanshift formation without having to resort to extended circumlocutions (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:643-644). In that pressures for bilingualism have, until very recently, been practically non-existent in this area, there is a very low proportion of loanwords (following the hypothesis of the preceding paragraph). The majority of the few loanwords that are found derive from a phenomenon common to many contact situations of the past and present (and maybe future) i.e. missionary imposition. Compare:

> Imitations of forms of other languages . . . we would expect these to have introduced deliberately (into Dakota) by emissaries of Christianity. . . (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:639).

> . . . something like 25 loans are found scattered among 12,000 entires. . . Both English and French . . . may have been the models for such forms (in Ojibwa) as Galilean, Jew, catechism, Catholic, Nazarene, Pentecost, sacrament, eucharist and angel (ibid.:637).

However, in Eskimo, as in the other languages, many of the "religious" words have been formed by indigenous mechanisms (either by the speakers or the missionaries). We do not expect a greater proportion of loanwords in Eskimo until there are a larger proportion of bilinguals, for Hockett's first condition must be met:

> The speaker (of the recipient language) must understand, or think he understands, the particular utterance in (the donor) ideolect which contains the model (1958:405).

And this condition will be met more frequently the more the bilingualism. In addition, with more bilingualism there will be more discrimination of the phonemics of the donor language relieving the Eskimos of a great part of their struggle and embarrassment presently encountered in acquiring English words, and, concommitantly, giving a greater "yield" in their use.

Loan translations and similar more complicated forms of interference will have to await a similar increase of bilingualism before gaining a foothold in Eskimo.

Within the area of both loanwords and loanshifts there is no need to demonstrate exhaustively that the added vocabulary items reflect the cultural innovations in the contact situation. They could hardly do otherwise, though Casagrande points out (1955:21) that generally speaking those items which are newly represented are likely to have been "accepted" and those which are not present makes it seem likely that they are not generally known or widely accepted. We may also take as axiomatic the idea that material visible items are more easily labelled than abstract or esoteric ones which can only be transferred through the medium of language and, consequently, the latter category tendsto be ignored in the earlier or less intense stages of acculturation.

Having outlined the marginal position of loanwords in Eskimo and similar languages in limited contact situations, we are faced with providing an explanation of the various loanshift mechanisms exhibited and their relationships, if any, to the culture of the speakers and the culture contact situa-

tion. The majority of similar languages, while still intact, use familiar formative processes which, in Whorfian terms, may reflect the underlying thought processes of the indigenous culture. In that there are many ways of labelling a new item, the major categories being reference to Form, Function and Symbolic meaning (Casagrande 1954:218), we may expect the loanshifts to reflect the "genius" of the particular culture as well as the attitudes towards the various acculturative processes. Extensions of previous meanings assume native analogies and the ones chosen should also demonstrate the same patterns. This idea has, in fact, been demonstrated where the authors have searched for it:

> . . . as <u>form</u> is the most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by Comanche. . . . Naming equations solely on the basis of function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. . . . Newly coined words . . . are usually descriptive of the new traits. . . . Presence (in Comanche) of a set of instrumental prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use has led to the description of many new items, and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than (form) (Casagrande 1954:218-219, 222).

Thus extensions follow form and creations tend to follow function or activity in Comanche. Herzog tells us (1941:69-72) that for Pima newly-coined words follow the usual Pima descriptive patterns and that the suffix /-kut/ is used within its original instrumental connotations to fashion words particularly suitable for introduced functional implements.

Wintu' indigenous attitudes are "still at work" (Lee 1943:437):

> A large number of Wintu' nouns, even when applied to traits which are old and important in the culture are derivative in character. They are derived from words denoting some activity or state of being which is connected with the object under consideration. . . . A large number of other words are extremely graphic, referring to specific detail, mainly visual (idem).

However, Wintu' was in an advanced state of acculturation and the majority of the speakers used it as a second language and were almost completely under the influence of American culture, and there was an expected change in the relation between thought patterns and lexical acquisitions. "There is the definite suggestion that words concerned with the formal aspect of an activity are losing to those concerned with the essential or kinaesthetic aspect; and this in turn suggests that, under the influence of white culture, action is stressed to the detriment of observation" (ibid.:440).

Eskimo confirms the contentions of Casagrande that: "If an unanalyzable stem [root-morpheme] has been extended in meaning it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the native culture . . . in some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent" (1955:23). Words in categories I and II above represent such functional or visual analogies where there is no need to create a new word. In some cases suffixal distinction is maintained for a time to separate the native from the imported items (the suffix -tuinak). Analogous devices appear in many of the languages discussed and "the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers" (idem).

The majority of the Eskimo loanshifts, however, are "polymorphemic circumlocutions" (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:644; Type II) that lead one to assume that no close analogue was to be found in the native culture (Casagrande 1955:23). However, in Eskimo this is not quite so true. Many of the aboriginal Eskimo words were of the same type. It is of course possible, as I have hinted elsewhere (1961) that the Eskimos, having arrived relatively recently in this area with a relatively new mode of life, had to coin new words out of their stock of core morphemes that were stabilized during a past period of a somewhat different style of living. The general canonical patterns of Eskimo word-formation (see note 23) display the essential genus of the Eskimo linguistic-cultural system and are particularly suited to past Eskimo-English linguistic and cultural contact situations.

The Eskimos have always been a very utilitarian people. While many facets of their culture such as religion and social organization were relatively uncomplicated, it has been universally noted that their material equipment was both ingenious and functional. This is assumed to be a necessary consequence of the fact that no other peoples have ever been able to live in such an environment without outside support and without such a pronounced bent the Eskimos would never have been able to survive. On contact with the technologically superior culture of the white man the Eskimos were everywhere quick to grasp and adapt anything that could make their hazardous life more efficient.[27] With this approach to life, their linguistic behavior in the old and the contact situations certainly reflected their utilitarian bent. Most of the imports, whether their English names were available or not, assumed Eskimo labels which show predominantly their instrumental (-kut) aspects, their potential functions (-sak) or their spatial associations. (I have tried to show elsewhere (1961) that the Eskimo language is highly differentiated and exact with respect to concepts of space; a presumed necessary consequence of the need to relate location accurately in a barren and undifferentiated topographical environment.) Both the early acquisitions and most of the more recent ones have been turned to enhancing the activities and functions of their analogous traits though the differences of form may have been profound (e.g. mirquti = bone needle/metal needle/sewing machine). Where the forms are analogous as well as the functions, extensions tend to have been made; where this was not so, functional circumloculations have been formed.

Conclusions and Suggestions

The acculturative state of the Eskimo language at the time of the field work almost exactly matches that of Dakota as reported in 1852:

> Imitations of forms of other languages are few . . . introduced deliberately by emissaries of Christianity. . . . There are numerous extensions of old Dakota forms to referents reflecting the influence of white culture. . . . By far the most numerous group of entries reflecting white contact are new sequences of old Dakota morphemes. . . . Dakota dialects have made different responses to the same item of white contact. . . . Several circumlocutions for the same element of white culture can also be found within one dialect. . . . Such multiple creativity most often occurs for items associated with (the "cultural focus" of the group at that time) (Voegelin and Hymes 1953:639-640).

This does not, of course, mean that 110 years from now the Eskimo language will be in the same state as the Dakota language is today. It may reflect,

however, some striking similarities between the general acculturative states of Dakota then and Eskimo now, as well as some structural features common to both languages.

Technology and acculturation are moving faster these days than in the last century. This may produce the tendency for Eskimo to reach the present status of Dakota in far less than 110 years, other things being equal. However, they are not. Assuming the Eskimos remain in their present geographical position, there is never likely to be the massive personal and linguistic interaction of the kind that is inevitable in the continental United States today. Even with compulsory schooling and the rise of bilingualism the processes of further integration and later disintegration may be slowed or retarded compared with American Indian groups.

Weinreich complains that students of linguistic acculturation "have generally overlooked the possibility of contact-induced progressive changes in a language against the time dimension" (1963:103-104). The author fully intends to return to this area of Eskimoland and, either incidentally or with greater application, record both the linguistic and non-linguistic processes of progressive acculturation. Many predictions have been made in this paper with respect to trends in linguistic interference and the relation between interference and non-linguistic contexts. Maybe the major outlines of the path are already foreseen. However, a very interesting control case may develop. In that Ungava is part of Nouveau-Québec, the provincial government is negotiating to replace the federal English-speaking personnel with French-speakers. They already have token representatives in the area and this year the federal day schools have, in many areas, begun to teach French as well as English. If the negotiations are successful, the Eskimos of this area will be schooled in French (and Eskimo) and be administered by French-speaking personnel. Some French-speakers have noted, and the author concurs, that Eskimos are more easily able to pronounce French adequately and learn its relatively more inflecting grammar than they are English. Linguistically speaking, we may then expect a decided shift in loanwords and interference in general; one that is in the opposite direction to the usual positions of French (and Spanish) as against English in other Amerind historical contacts. However, for a number of reasons,[28] the Eskimos are outspokenly against the French influx and the prospect of their children having to learn French. They are fully aware that French is a minor language in North America and probably of considerably less utility in the years to come. Whether the cultural attitudes (if they remain) will counter the supposed linguistic affinities is a subject to which the author will pay great attention if the situation arises. For comparative purposes, the Eskimos directly across the Hudson Strait, who are in dialect and kinship closely related to the Ungava people, are at present in a similar linguistic, educational and acculturative state. However, whatever is the outcome in Quebec, they, being in the Northwest Territories which are under federal control, will continue along an identical cultural path but for the linguistics of administration and education. Such a closely controlled comparison would be hard to find in the ethnographic literature.

NOTES

[1]This paper is based on the expansion of parts of a previous paper; Graburn 1960b. The author has done field work in this area: 1959 under the auspices of the Northern Coordination and Research Center of the Dept. of Northern Affairs, Government of Canada; 1963-64 under the auspices of the Cooperative Cross-Cultural Study of Ethnocentrism. The author is indebted to Prof. N. McQuown of the University of Chicago and Prof. Dell Hymes of the University of California, Berkeley, for their most valuable comments and criticisms.

[2]The two major works on the topic are Weinreich 1953 (1963) and Haugen 1956. Both are primarily interested in linguistic contacts and bilingualism within the Indo-European field though the latter has a valuable summary of work done on North American Indian linguistic acculturation.

[3]e.g. Igloo = Eskimo snow-house; kayak = Eskimo one-man skin-boat.

[4]For more detail see Graburn 1960a.

[5]Turner (1894:176-178) speaks of the "Tahagmyut" trading into Fort Chimo.

[6]Low (1906:66) states that the people of Sugluk traded with their Eskimo neighbors whereas those of Wakeham Bay regularly visited Fort Chimo and learned to read and write there. (Both groups are "Tahagmyut".)

[7]The Rev. Peck at Little and Great Whale Rivers; the Rev. Stewart at Fort Chimo.

[8]I have only met one adult (out of nearly a thousand) who could not sign his name.

[9]One Eskimo family lives there for janitorial duties. Other contacts are relatively few and mainly sexual.

[10]Eskimos (unlike most Indians) are full Canadian citizens.

[11]This has caused tribulation among many Eskimo adults and some whites. Willmott (1961:105-108) speaks of a similar situation at Port Harrison.

[12]On neither occasion was the author specifically engaged in work on the language. In 1959 he was learning it and in 1963-64 he had reasonable fluency and used it.

[13]The orthography is modified after Lefebvre 1958, with reduplication for long vowels.

[14]In 1959 one Eskimo, of a total of 600 or so, spoke an ungrammatical English. By 1964 the federal day school had increased this to three or four. In the southern areas there may be as many as 5 percent bilinguals, as schools have been there longer.

[15]Low (1906:6) got his from Port Burwell where there had long been Moravian missionaries.

[16]Some have become authorities on the local language (see Schneider n.d.). Of one the Eskimos complain he speaks Eskimo "too well" and goes around "correcting" their speech!

[17]See Spalding (1960) who was in the area in the fifties and Schneider (n.d.) whose works are based on over twenty years' residence among the Takaamiut.

[18]Lefebvre 1958; Graburn 1960b; Willmott 1961; Gagné 1962.

[19]The terms used are those of Haugen (1956:45-47, 52).

[20]We are not here concerned with syntactic changes. Phonemic changes are dealt with in the ensuing listings. The various possibilities for the whole range of situations are considered in detail elsewhere; particularly in Haugen 1956 and Weinreich 1953.

[21]This is a substantial sample of the loanwords used by adults in this area; out of a total of probably less than two hundred.

[22]I do not intend to examine Eskimo concepts of measurement, time and space (aboriginal or otherwise). This has been done in my previous paper (1961) which is being revised for publication.

[23]The canonical shape of the Eskimo word is: R xG I yE, where: R = root morpheme, not specifically nounal or verbal; x = 0-600; G = adverbially modifying dependent non-inflecting morpheme(s); I = inflecting morpheme, denoting syntactic status, usually terminal; y = 0-2; E = non-inflecting enclitic, always terminal. See also Swadesh 1946.

[24]The author has lived in two other dialect areas but for shorter periods. This way and through literature more alternates are known, but will not be considered here.

[25]One might expect uniformity for those items introduced by missionaries with their standardized texts and literacy. However, many of these cases were known to be widespread before the missionary period; e.g. in addition to "qaɬunak," there are "savik" = metal (extended from "knife") and "kikiak" = nail, with its extension "kikiaksak" = metal in adjacent areas.

[26]During the author's most recent field trip to the area, (see note 1) the specific topic of investigation was the relationship between the Eskimos and the Indians and involved living with both groups.

[27]Balikci (1964) has suggested that even the quick adoption of Christianity served these ends. Coercion was never necessary to initiate trade relations in this area.

[28]Partly from their few previous experiences with French-speaking independent traders before World War II, the Eskimos feel a great threat to their economic livelihood if they were to come under French-speaking control. In addition, the great majority are Anglican (with English-speaking white affiliations) and they fear they would be "persuaded" or "encouraged" to become Catholics (with French-speaking affiliations) in spite of denials by the Quebec government. There are a few additional minor fears in the sexual and political fields.

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