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# How are emotions expressed in Kalaallisut?

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## **Abstract**

Most of the emotion words in Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic) can be traced back to protoforms in Eskimo-Aleut. The description of emotion words here is based on Wierzbicka's (1999) six emotional categories. In all of these, most of the original Eskimo-Aleut words were preserved in Kalaallisut. For *happiness* and *pleasure*, however, most words are innovations, including the word for 'love', *asa-*, used only in Kalaallisut. The original emotion words falling under the notions of *fear*, *anxiety*, *envy*, and *contempt* are hypercognized. Words involving *anger* and *self-evaluation*, however, are hypocognized, hence few in number compared to other categories. Most of the metaphoric expressions seem to be calques of Danish metaphors, and are found in the category "*something bad happened*" expressing emotions of depression and the like. A few affixes with an emotional nuance in addition to their concrete meaning are also described.

## **Keywords**

Emotional categories, be happy, be unhappy, anger, envy/jealousy, emotional affixes, expressive emotion words.

## **Introduction**

This paper is a typological investigation of Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic) emotion words with a focus on inner states. Emotion words are expressed by verbs or nominals in Kalaallisut, which has only three word-classes: verbs, nominals and particles. Kalaallisut is an Inuit language like Inuktitut and Iñupiaq, and belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut language family.

Many of the emotion words used in Kalaallisut today can be traced back to Proto-Eskimo (PE) and/or Proto-Inuit (PI) forms in this family. Some of these protoforms have undergone meaning shift in some Eskimo languages, creating a need for "new" emotion words. Thus, *pilluarpoq* 'x is happy (lit. 's/he has got much') developed after the protostem *\*quvya(yuy)-* 'be happy' took on the sense 'be amused' in Kalaallisut. Some of the new emotion verbs seem to have been created at the time of Christianization of the Kalaallit during the 17th and 18th centuries, but others are calques of Danish emotion expressions and seemingly of recent date.

Almost all original emotion words are intransitive verb stems. Almost all - and also some of the new ones - combine with certain affixes, such as the (intransitive) *-sug/-tsag* 'feel', *-nar* 'be such as to cause' and (transitive) *-gi* 'have as' (Fortescue 2014: 1) to form a distinct category of emotion words (see section 3). Naturally *-gi* 'have as' is most used in the category 'thinking about other people/something', but there are also a few instances in the other five categories. In addition to the emotion verbs, there are six verbalizing affixes describing a

physical emotional state such as *-lup* ‘have a bad s.th.’, and verb stems such as *anner-* ‘feel pain’. These will not be dealt with in this paper.

Nominal emotion words may be formed by adding nominalizing affixes to verb stems, such as *-neq* ‘state’ in *kaman-neq* (be.angry-state) ‘angriness’<sup>1</sup>. Also some expanding nominal affixes (those with a concrete attributive meaning) can indicate the speaker’s attitude, cf. *-(r)suaq* ‘big, bad’ in *Piitarsuaq* ‘big Peter, dumb Peter’, as described briefly in section 4.

The categories set up by Wierzbicka (1999) are used to describe emotion words in this paper. Each category is checked for terms that can be traced back to protoforms found in the *Comparative Eskimo dictionary with Aleut cognates* (Fortescue *et al.* 2010, henceforth CED) so as to distinguish innovations from original emotion words.

The data are drawn from colloquial Kalaallisut and mostly from dictionaries such as *Oqaatsit* (Greenlandic-Danish dictionary, Berthelsen *et al.* 2006), *Ordbogen* (Danish-Greenlandic dictionary, Petersen *et al.* 2003), and CED. Older dictionaries have also been consulted<sup>2</sup>.

In section 1 the theoretical framework is outlined; in section 2 the emotion words are described; section 3 contains the description of emotion affixes, while section 4 deals with expressive nominal affixes. Section 5 contains a summary of the findings.

## 1. Theoretical framework

Emotion words are not easy to translate from language to language, because their semantic domains can easily diverge. This study explores the categorization of Kalaallisut emotion words based on the emotional categories set up by Anna Wierzbicka (1999). She shows (1999: 31f) that every culture has a unique emotion vocabulary and that seemingly universal emotion words such as English *anger* have different semantic interpretations in different languages. As a tool to find culture-specific emotion words, Wierzbicka operates with six emotional categories:

1. “something good happened” (e.g. joy or being happy)
2. “something bad happened” (e.g. sadness or grief)
3. “something bad can/will happen” (e.g. fear or anxiety)
4. “I don’t want things like this to happen” (e.g. anger or indignation)
5. “thinking about other people” (e.g. envy or Schadenfreude)
6. “thinking about ourselves” (e.g. shame or remorse)

These categories are used here to describe Kalaallisut emotion words.

### *Method*

Emotion words are placed in one of the six categories listed above and checked for any protoform in the CED. According to Fortescue (1994: 138f), emotion words have been very stable over time; hence, many modern emotion words are found in CED as proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) forms. Certain interesting semantic shifts of emotion words in Kalaallisut will be described. “New” emotion words are generally reanalyses of existing verb stems with

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<sup>1</sup> See the list of nominalizing affixes in Fortescue 1980: 277-278.

<sup>2</sup> All translations of emotion words are mine, and any errors are mine alone. More investigation of this topic is needed, especially regarding the expression of emotions in context.

existing affixes. The individual morphemes in these verbs will be distinguished. Fortescue (1994: 139f) claims that there are very few “real” metaphoric expressions in Kalaallisut, because the Eskimo and Inuit languages use concrete expressions, and most of the metaphoric expressions found are based on Danish models. Metaphorical expressions and their possible Danish sources will be noted. It will be shown that most emotion words derive from PE and/or PI terms, but there are sometimes metaphoric innovations.

## 2. The emotion verbs

Before describing the emotion words in Kalaallisut, we need to remark on the syntactic behavior of the experiencer in simple sentences and see how (in)transitivizing affixes added to words change the syntactic function of the arguments.

All emotion words dealt with in this article are shown without the inflection they always have, even in simple intransitive and transitive sentences such as 1 and 2 below, where the subjects are the experiencer of the verb, i.e. *angut* in (1) and *anaanap* in (2):

1. *angut*            *kamap-poq*  
man.ABS.sg    angry-IND.3.sg  
'The man is angry.'
  
2. *anaana-p*            *meeraq*            *asa-vaa*  
mother-REL.sg    child.ABS.sg        love-IND.3sg.3sg  
'The mother loves the child.'

At least ten affixes can change the voice of the verb, as when the transitivizing affix *-tit* ‘cause’ is added to an intransitive verb in (3), and a new subject is inserted, demoting the experiencer to the function of direct object of the verb<sup>3</sup>:

3. *arnap*            *angut*            *kamat-sip-paa*  
woman.REL.sg    man.ABS.sg    angry-make-IND.3sg.3sg  
'The woman makes a man angry.'

Note that basic intransitive verbs, i.e. without (in)transitivizing affixes, do not indicate the reason/stimulus for the emotion felt, but with the basic transitive verbs the direct object is normally the reason/stimulus for the felt emotion.

Coming back to emotion words, the broadest term for ‘feeling’, covering all kinds of feelings, is *misigissuseq*, composed of *misigi-* ‘feel, sense, experience’ and *-ssuseq* ‘quality of’, lit. ‘quality of a feeling or sensing’. At the next lower level, there are two basic verbs for feelings, *misigi-* ‘feel, sense, experience’ (4), and *malugi-* ‘discover, notice, feel that’ (5). *Misigi-* ‘feel, notice’ originates from PE *\*māciy-* ‘be clearly visible’ (CED 196), and has developed different meanings in the Eskimo languages. As a basic word for feelings, it is used very frequently in Kalaallisut. The other word *malugi-* ‘notice, discover, feel that’ originates from PI *\*maluyə-* ‘notice that s.th. has changed for the worse’ (CED 205), which has kept the

<sup>3</sup> See Fortescue (1984) and Sakel (1999) for further information on voice.

meaning ‘notice’ in all Inuit languages. In Kalaallisut the main meaning is ‘notice’, but the meaning ‘feel’ seems better suited in connection with emotion words, indicating both sensing and feeling at the same time. Both of these verb stems are used when talking about feeling, discovering, or sensing a specific feeling.

4. *misigaaq kamattorujussuanngorluni*  
 misigi -vaa                    kamat    -torujussua   -nngor    -luni  
 feel    -IND.3sg.3sg    be.angry   -very.much   -become   -CONT.4sg  
 ‘S/he<sub>i</sub> has a feeling, feels that s/he<sub>i</sub> is beginning to get very angry.’
5. *malugaa kamattorujussuannortoq*  
 malugi -vaa                    kamat    -torujussua   -nngor    -toq  
 sense   -IND.3sg.3sg    be.angry   -very.much   -become   -PART.3sg  
 ‘S/he<sub>i</sub> can feel that s/he<sub>j</sub> is beginning to get very angry.’

Both these emotion verbs are transitive, the complement being the emotion felt. The experiencer is the subject of the main verb, *misigaa* ‘feel s.th.’ and *malugaa* ‘sense s.th.’ i.e. a third person singular in both cases. The subject of the complement clause in (4) is coreferential with the subject of the main verb. Here the experiencer feels his own anger. In (5) the subject<sub>j</sub> of the verb in the complement clause is different from the subject<sub>i</sub> of the main verb. Here the subject of the main verb, *malugaa*, senses the other person’s anger i.e. subject of the complement verb.

In the following section the emotion words will be described according to Wierzbicka’s (1999, chapter 2) six categories of emotions. They are listed in tables 1 to 7 at the end of the paper<sup>4</sup>. There may be some emotion words not mentioned in this paper, based as it is on my own knowledge of the language and the existing dictionaries, and not on empirical research using texts<sup>5</sup>.

Tables 1-6 show that the largest number of new emotion words (9) are in table 1, *something good happened*. These are presumably innovations from the Christianization period, when words connected with a Christian life were created with a focus on good or happy events, though they may also be due simply to the effects of modern life. It is interesting that there are few words (seven original and four innovations) in table 2, *something bad happened*, which seems to indicate that the expression of bad experiences is avoided. In contrast there are many protowords (16) in table 3, *something bad can happen/will happen*, and few new stems (6), indicating that uncertainty was a feature of Eskimo life in earlier times. Another category with many protowords (17 in all with 5 innovations) is table 5, *thinking about other people/s.th.*, which seems consonant with the lack of privacy in Eskimo life, as many families lived in small places or together in a longhouse. The meanings *gratitude*, *appreciation* and *contempt* are particularly hypercognized.

<sup>4</sup> Protoforms are preceded by an asterisk (\*).

<sup>5</sup> I thank Michael Fortescue for making available to me the preliminary version of his forthcoming paper *The semantic domain of emotion in Eskimo and neighbouring languages: polysemy, shift, and cognitive motivation* which helped me discover the sources of some of the emotion verbs.

In such a community *thinking about ourselves* might be disapproved of, as suggested by the hypocognized emotion words in table 6 (7 original and 6 innovations). Table 4, *I don't want things like that to happen*, contains eight original verbs and five innovations, which is consistent with the description of Inuit culture as avoiding anger (Briggs 2000: 159).

In the rest of this section the six categories will be described.

### **“Something good happened”**

The emotion verb stems in category 1, “something good happened” (e.g. *joy* or *being happy*), include “good things” that happened, are happening, or will/can happen, and which imply “good feelings” (Wierzbicka 1999:50). This group includes emotion words for *joy*, *happy*, *pleased*, *delighted*, *contented*, *relieved*, *excited* and *hopeful*. The description of the words in Kalaallisut will follow this order of notions.

There are eight original emotion words in this group which can be traced back to a protoform, and eight innovations. The words for *joy* are *quiagi-* ‘find amusing’ from PE *\*quvya(guy)* ‘be happy’ (CED 350) and *tissigi-* ‘think funny, laughable’ from PE *\*təmci-* ‘be funny’ (CED 370). In Kalaallisut, *quiagi-* ‘find amusing’ has changed meaning from ‘be happy’, but in the Canadian dialects the old meaning ‘be happy’ is still found. There seems to be some dialectal variation in the use of these words, as *tissigi-* ‘think funny’ is not common in the Upernavik area and maybe in Northwest Greenland.

The most common word for being happy is *pilluar-* ‘be happy’, which is an innovation combining *pi-*<sup>6</sup> ‘dummy’ and *-lluar-* ‘a lot’ (lit. ‘get plenty of s.th.’), which has broadened its meaning. In the imperative mood *pilluarit(si)* means ‘congratulations’ in the second person singular or plural. It seems to be an innovation from the Christianization period when the derived form *pilluarfik* with a nominalizing affix *-fik* ‘place’ was used with the meaning ‘a heavenly place’ or ‘a place of salvation’ (Kleinschmidt, 1871: 291-92; also see Egede 1760 and Fabricius 1804)<sup>7</sup>. In the early dictionaries the meaning ‘be fortunate’ seems to be the second meaning, which is not the case today.

Another word for ‘be happy’ is an innovation, *tipaatsup-* ‘be happy, delighted’ from PI *\*tiipak-* ‘be promiscuous or randy’ (CED 337) with a change of form to *tipay-* ‘be wanton, frisky’ (Kleinschmidt, 1871, 367) with *-it* ‘negation’ and *-sug* ‘feel’ added. It is only used in Kalaallisut and seems to be an innovation from the Christianization period, to describe the feeling of happiness without sexual feelings, as it commonly used is in biblical texts, hymns and worship, but also when people are extremely happy. In *Oqaatsit* (Berthelsen *et al.* 2006), the meanings are ‘be happy, be delighted’.

Another more common word for ‘be happy, delighted, pleased’ is *nuannaar-* ‘be happy, be pleased’, from PE *\*nunannir-* ‘be enjoyable’ (CED 263). The original stem seems to be a noun *\*nuna* ‘land’, followed by *\*n(n)ir-* ‘be good to do’ meaning ‘enjoy being out on the land’ (Fortescue 2014:10). The modern word *nuanner-* ‘be enjoyable’ is normally used when attending any kind of pleasant event. The nominalized forms *nuanni* or *nuanneq* ‘magnificent, delightful, wonderful’ are also used to describe events, things, or even people.

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<sup>6</sup> *Pi-* is a so-called empty root, which has several meanings depending on both the context it is used in and the affixes added to it. The meanings are ‘do/say/go/see/get/happen’ (Fortescue 1984:139).

<sup>7</sup> Another derived form, *pilluaqqu-* ‘bless him/it, congratulate’ followed by *-qqu* ‘ask’, is used to congratulate people, and in church services to bless the congregation.

There is one word with the meaning *delighted*, namely *tulluup*- ‘be delighted’, which is an innovation composed of *tup*- ‘land’, *-lluar*- ‘well’, and *-up* ‘for’, cf. PE *\*tut*- ‘land’ (CED 387). This word is used when something has a surprising and positive result, for example, when a son has caught his first seal. It is a metaphor in which the image is that of a hunter in his kayak in bad weather who has reached the shore and is relieved to be on land<sup>8</sup>. A derived word *tulluusimaar*- ‘satisfied, proud’ which adds an affix *-simaar*- expressing ‘being in a state’, appears in category 6 below.

There seem to be two words for *contented*. The first is *iluarusug*- ‘feel pleasure, be contented’, an original word composed of *iluari*- ‘like, approve of’ and *-sug*- ‘feel’. Its protoform is PE *\*əturaqə*- or *\*ətakə*- ‘approve of’ (CED 119), which is not an emotion word. This word is used in a situation where one is relaxed, everything seems fine, and one has done what has to be done or one is being indulged. The second word is the intransitive verb stem *qujamasug*- ‘be thankful’, a derivative of *quja*- ‘thank’ < PE *quja*- ‘be thankful’ which is also not an emotion word. Contrary to the transitive verb *qujagi*- ‘be thankful for, delighted with’ described below, this verb stem does not allow for a direct stimulus for the feeling. This word is used in a situation where one feels gratified because, for example, one has hunted successfully, one’s children seem to be doing well in life, one is healthy, or one is receiving good help from others.

Of the two words for *relief*, the first, *eqqissi*- ‘be relieved, relax’, is an original emotion word from PI *\*ətqik*- or *itqik*- ‘be at ease’ (CED 131). It is used when a stressful situation is over, for example, when one was angry or very upset about something. The other word is *oqiliallap*- ‘feel relief’. It is an innovation composed of *oqip*- ‘light’, *-li*- ‘become’ and *-jallap* ‘a bit’. It is a calque of the Danish *lettelse* ‘relief’, which is a metaphor where the image is of being released from carrying a heavy burden.

For the notion of *excitement* there are six words, two of which have a protoform expressing an emotion. The first of these is *kajunger*- ‘yearn, desire, feel attraction’ from PI *\*kayunŋiq*- ‘be eager to’. The word is used when one looks forward eagerly to a coming event. The second is *qilanaar*- ‘look forward to’ from PE *\*qalanər(ar)* ‘want s.th. urgently’ (CED 321). This word is used when a specific event is approaching, and one can hardly wait until it arrives.

Among the four innovations *pissanga*- ‘be excited at’ indicates excitement about an upcoming positive event, or when a decisive event is coming which may have a positive or negative result. It is composed of *pi*- ‘happen’ and *-ssanga* ‘expect to do’, the literal meaning being ‘expect s.th. to happen’. It is not easy to say when *pissanga*- became part of the vocabulary of West Greenlandic, since it is first attested in *Ordbogêraq* (Petersen 1951:145). It is however a common word today.

Another word compounded with *pi*- is *pileri*- ‘desire, look forward to’, where the combination is *pi* ‘thing’<sup>9</sup> and *-leri* ‘be occupied with’, literally meaning ‘be occupied with s.th.’. Kleinschmidt (1871:283) gives two meanings: ‘plan to do something’ and ‘feel inclined toward something’, while Schultz-Lorentzen (1927:188) has the meaning as ‘feel inclined

<sup>8</sup> The image of “the hunter in his kayak” is from Fortescue 1994:142.

<sup>9</sup> The difference between *pissanga*- ‘be excited at’ and *pileri*- ‘desire, look forward to’ is that the former contains a dummy stem *pi*- attached to a verbal affix. *Pi*- ‘property’ in *pileri*- is however a nominal stem only added to verbalizing affixes.

towards something, like to'. Today the word is used in situations where one yearns for or looks forward eagerly to a coming event.

Another new word which includes the feeling of attraction is *ornigi*- 'feel attracted to, be interested in', composed of *ornip*- 'go to' and *-gi*- 'feel', the literal meaning being 'feel like going somewhere'. The protoform of the first component is a motion verb PE *\*urnæg*- 'go toward, turn to' (CED 415). Kleinschmidt (1871:267) has the meaning as 'have time to do', which is not included in the meaning today. Normally this word is used only when one is attracted to an existing activity, place or person. When one is waiting, the word is *erini*- 'wait impatiently for, long for', composed of *erini*- 'long for, be impatient' and *-gi*- 'feel'. The PE for the first component is *\*arəñir*- 'hurry to get s.th. done' (CED 127), a meaning found in the other Inuit languages. The word *erini*- 'long for' is reflexive and indicates only the feeling of the person, with no regard for the stimulus of this feeling, while with *erini*- the feeling is directed at a specific event or person, for example, when one waits impatiently for the arrival of one's husband.

The last notion in this group is *hopeful*, which in Kalaallisut is given by *neriup*- 'hope, expect' from PE *\*nəryu(γ)*- 'eagerly expect' (CED 253), but this word is not an emotion word.

### **"Something bad happened"**

For Wierzbicka (1999: 60) this group concerns real events (past or present) and includes emotion words for *sadness*, *unhappiness*, *distress*, *sorrow*, *grief* and *despair*. The emotion words in this group are listed in table 2. Words for *disappointment* and *frustration* fall under a subheading called *something good didn't happen* (Wierzbicka 1999: 71).

In this category there are six emotion words in Kalaallisut which can be traced back to a protoform and three innovations. The word *nikallunga*- 'be sad, unhappy, downhearted', from PE *\*nəka*- 'feel inferior or unworthy' (CED 246), covers both *sadness* and *unhappiness*. *Nikallunga*- is composed of *nikallor*- 'be depressed' (*nika-llor?* *-llor* seems to be a perfective affix) and *-nga* 'state'. *Nikallor*- is apparently a lexicalized form, 'become downhearted, depressed', and is first attested in Egede (1760). It competes with the intransitive *nika*- 'be downhearted, sorrowful, sad' (Kleinschmidt 1871: 247) whose transitive form *nikavaa* 'is depressed by it, mourns over him or it' (Schultz-Lorentzen 1927:163) seems not to exist today. *Nikallunga*- refers to a state, while *nikallor*- and *nika*- are both perfective and indicate the start of the feeling of sadness. *Nikallunga*- does not necessarily have a motivation/stimulus, while *nikallor*- and *nika*- must have one<sup>10</sup>.

The next emotion word *alidasug*- 'be sad, grieve' has a meaning that covers aspects of *sadness*, *grief*, *unhappiness*, and *sorrow*. It comes from PE *\*aliya*- 'be lonely' (CED 19) indicating that the experiencer is all alone, with *-sug* 'feel' added. This may, but need not to be linked to a loss. The word is used in the aftermath of a bad event that happened to the experiencer, for example death, divorce, cheating, beating, etc.

A more restricted emotion word including aspects of *sadness*, *grief*, *unhappiness*, and *sorrow* is *ilunngu*- 'feel hurt inside' from PE *\*ilulngu*- 'hurt inside' (CED 141). It is used when the experiencer is mourning or feels affected by an external event, for example when

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<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that *nikallunganar*- suffixing *-nar* 'be such as to cause' means 'make s.o. feel sad', while *nikanar*- has the meaning 'be insignificant, modest'.

seeing a dying person, or singing/hearing the Christmas hymn *Guuterput*<sup>11</sup>. It is a more concrete reference to the pain or feeling of the heart.

The last original emotion word in this group is *naalliup*- ‘suffer, torment, have a hard time’ from PI *\*naalyiuq*- ‘suffer’ (CED 224). The meaning fits with *distress*, because it involves having a hard time after some event, not being able to do anything about the situation.

There are three metaphoric innovations in this group. The first two are calques of Danish expressions, and include meanings of *despair* and *depression*. *Nanertisima*- ‘be depressed’ is composed of *naner*- ‘be pressed down by something heavy’, *-tip*- ‘passive’ and *-sima*- ‘perfective’ (lit. ‘have something heavy upon oneself’), and is from the Danish metaphor *nedtrykt* ‘depressed, in low spirits’ (lit. ‘pressed down’). The verb is used when one sees a person looking depressed with head down, unsmiling, etc. or when one reports one’s own situation. The second, *nakkanga*- ‘depressed’, composed of *nakkar*- ‘fall down’ and *-nga*- ‘state’, is also from a Danish metaphor, *er nede* ‘be down/depressed’. While the image of the Danish *er nede* is of a person at the bottom of something, the image in Kalaallisut refers to a falling down and the aftermath.

The verb for *despair* is *artor*- ‘be unable to bear s.th., to manage’ from PE *\*artur* ‘not be able to, not manage’ (CED 48). This is also a metaphor, the image being that of carrying something heavy. Both meanings, concrete and metaphoric, are used today: the concrete meaning is used to speak of something heavy, and the sense ‘not manage’ is used for feelings of despair or defeat. The derived word *artorsaateqar*- ‘grieve, worry’, composed of *artorsar*- ‘carry s.th. heavy’, *-ute*- ‘means’, and *-qar*- ‘have’, lit. ‘carry something heavy further’, is used to speak of one’s own or someone else’s situation.

The word for *disappointment* is *pakatsi*- ‘be disappointed’ from PI *\*pakak*- ‘knock into’ (CED 270). This is a metaphor where the image is one of running into something. It is used when, for example, one does not get the right gift for one’s birthday, fails an exam, etc.

The last verb *sapersar*- ‘feel defeated’ from PI *\*capiqša*- ‘be inhibited or in need’ (CED 75) is used when one has tried unsuccessfully to do something, for example, failed to pass an exam, tried to teach good manners to a child, lost a race, etc. The stem *saper*- ‘not manage’ also has the meaning ‘be fond of, love (a child/a person)’ (see category 5 below). An often-used phrase is *uanga taanna sapernermut* ‘I am so fond of him/her’, especially referring to children.

### **“Something bad can happen/will happen”**

This category includes hypothetical (essentially future) events and the emotion words involved include *fear*, *fright*, *dread*, *terror*, *horror*, *anxiety*, *apprehension*, *worry*, *concern* (Wierzbicka 1999: 60, 72f). The emotion words in this category are listed in table 3. Many (17) are original words, but there are also five innovations.

A fear of the unknown, things such as spirits, ghosts, and the weather, may be culturally specific. There are five words for *fear* and *dread* which can be traced back to protoforms. The first one includes both notions: *sioora*- ‘fear, dread’ from PE *\*civu(C)ura*- ‘be apprehensive’ (CED 97). It is used if one expects something bad to happen as a consequence of one’s own or someone else’s action, or if bad weather is coming. The next is *uloriasug*- ‘feel s.th. is

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<sup>11</sup> *Guuterput* is a Greenlandic Christmas hymn which everybody stands up to sing, making it very intense and ceremonious.

dangerous’ or *ulorianar*- ‘be dangerous’ from PE *\*uluryanar*- ‘be dangerous or threatening’ (CED 401), which is used when one is in a dangerous place like a steep beach, or when a child plays on the roof of a shed. The first expresses personal fear, while the second concerns the dangerousness of places or actions.

The third word is *nangiar*- ‘be afraid or giddy in a precarious place, be dizzy in a kayak’ from PE *\*nanjgyar* ‘be afraid in a precarious place’ (CED 235). It is especially used in connection with the sea, feeling fear in boat or kayak, but also for steep cliffs, high roofs, ladders, etc. The fourth word *ersi*- ‘be afraid’ from PI *\*iqci*- ‘be afraid’ (CED 155) expresses the personal feeling of an experiencer who is afraid of, for example, dogs or darkness. And the last word in this group, *qunu*- ‘be afraid of facing s.o./s.th., acknowledge oneself to be powerless’ from PE *\*qunu*- ‘be reluctant to part with s.th.’ (CED 345) fits the notion of *dread*<sup>12</sup>. It is used when a person does not dare, for example, to face an enemy or dreads catching flu during an epidemic.

Next there are seven words for notions of *anxiety*, *worry*, *apprehension*, *concern*, and *alarm*. The first, *ernuma*- ‘be anxious, be worried’ from PI *\*inruma*- ‘be anxious’ (CED 146) involves anxiety, nervousness and worry. It can be used when there is no specific reason for the feeling, but in some contexts there can be a specific motive, for example, going to see the doctor. A second word, *ilerasug*- ‘have a bad conscience, not dare talk about s.th.’ from PE *\*əlira*-, *əlirra* ‘want to ask for s.th. but not dare’ (CED 115), also involves anxiety, nervousness and worry. This word is used when one has done or said something that one knows is wrong, or expects some kind of negative reaction from a person. *Nviasug*- ‘consider dangerous’ from PI *\*navia(γə)*- ‘consider dangerous’ (CED 242) is used when a person judges a place or an action dangerous, usually with regard to children, but also when climbing or sailing generally. A special case of *anxiety* is expressed by the innovation *aarleri*- ‘be anxious bad weather will come, be afraid of s.th. happening’. Apparently, the base is *aarluk* ‘killer whale’ from PE *\*a(C)artuy*- ‘killer whale’ (CED 2), compounded with *-leri* ‘work with, be occupied with’. This is a metaphor based on the image of confronting a killer whale as a dreadful experience. Usually it is used with regard to the weather, but also when known dreaded events or persons are approaching.

For the notion *worry* there are three words, *quilterta*- ‘be worried, anxious, insecure’ from PI *\*quiliqta*- ‘tremble?’ [*sic*] (CED 341), which is used when one is afraid of something such as ghosts, insects or the like. Another word is *kappiasup*- ‘be worried’ from PE *\*kappəya*- ‘feel anxious’ (CED 174), which is used when a person is worried about a sick person, for example, or when someone has been injured or is in a bad situation. The third one is *isumagi*- ‘be worried about s.o.’ from *\*icuma*- ‘think’ (CED 133) which is not an emotion word. A derived verb *isumaalup*- ‘worry about’<sup>13</sup> has the PI source *\*icumaalugə*- ‘worry about’ (CED 133). The former is used when someone is concerned about a person in a specific situation, while the latter is normally reserved for the case when a man (husband, son) is out hunting or the like. A word involving *apprehension* and *worry* is *qulluumisaar*- ‘get the creeps’

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<sup>12</sup> This is not an innovation. The sentiment is the same, only the stimulus has changed.

<sup>13</sup> Note *isumaalup*- ‘worry about’ but *isumalup*- ‘be cross, annoyed’ (category 4). The former includes the verbal stem *isuma*- ‘think’ and *-aluy*- ‘rather’, but the latter has a nominal stem *isuma* ‘thought’ and *-lug*- ‘(have a) bad’.

composed of *qullup-* ‘wince’, from PE *\*quṅluy-* ‘wince or jump in surprise’ (CED 345<sup>14</sup>), and *-umisaar-* ‘back and forth’. This verb is used when one sees creepy things like insects or small animals or when talking/thinking about ghosts or a *qivittut* ‘mountain wanderer’.

There are two words indicating *concern* and *worry*, the first one being *kisip-* ‘hold back, lack courage’ from PI *\*kəzǎ-* ‘hesitate’ (CED 189) which is used when one lacks courage to go to a place or person owing to a particular threat. The other one is *isumakulup-* ‘be concerned, worried’, another derivative of *\*icuma-* ‘think’, composed of *isuma* ‘thought’ and *-kulup-* ‘be bad’ (lit. ‘have bad thoughts’). This verb is only used in Kalaallisut, for when one is worried about bad situations or things.

A new word for *alarmed* is *annikillior-* ‘be powerless, alarmed’, composed of *annikip-* ‘be cramped’ and *lior-* ‘feel’ and used when one feels helpless or powerless in troublesome circumstances. It is a metaphor, where the stem originates from the PI *annəq(tu)-* ‘(broad) extent’ (CED 32). The verb *annikit-* besides the meaning of physical narrowness includes ‘feeling left behind or without support’ (Kleinschmidt 1871:34). The last meaning seems to have been lost today and the stem must have *-lior* ‘feel’ added to indicate the meaning ‘without support’. The image of the metaphor is ‘feeling squeezed’, a calque of the Danish ‘føle sig i klemme’, the image being ‘squeezed between two walls’. Another new word for *nervousness* is *annilaanga-* ‘be nervous, be anxious’ composed of *annilaar-* ‘be terrified’ where the stem originates from PE *atḡir-* ‘be in pain’ (CED 57), with suffix *-nga-*<sup>15</sup> ‘look like? (expect)’ (lit. ‘expect to feel terrified’). It is used when one meets a challenging situation, for example, an exam or a first date.

There are four words for *fright*. The first is *tupap-* ‘start, take fright, be startled by a noise’ from PE *\*tupay-* ‘be startled’ (CED 385), used for example when one hears a sudden loud sound or someone appears suddenly. The next is *quarsaar-* ‘be frightened’ from PI *\*quaqcaaq-* ‘get a shock’ (CED 338). It seems that this word is mostly used in peripheral dialects or by older people. The third is an innovation, *tingingajap-* ‘get a shock’, composed of *tingi-* ‘fly’ and *-ngajap-* ‘almost’ (lit. ‘almost fly’). It is a metaphor where the image is that of a bird being startled and flying away. It is mostly used among young people, and to my knowledge it is not yet included in any dictionary. The last is *annilaar-* ‘be terrified, shocked’, composed of *anner-* ‘get hurt’ and *-laar-* ‘a little’ (lit. ‘get hurt a little’). It is first attested in Egede (1760: 15) and then in Kleinschmidt (1871: 28) with the same meaning, but seems not to exist in other Inuit languages.

The last two words in this category include *terror* and *horror*. The first is expressed by *tatamip-* ‘get violently frightened, be frightened to death’ from PE *\*tatamə(t)-* ‘be startled or terrified’ (CED 364), used when a person gets terrified, sometimes going mad or screaming, and especially when children are terrified and cry hysterically. The second is an innovation, *amiilaar-* ‘shudder with terror’, composed of *ameer-* ‘lose skin’ and *-laar-* ‘a little’ (lit. ‘lose some of one’s skin’). It is thus a metaphor with a skinned body part as an image.

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<sup>14</sup> No Greenlandic example for this protoform was found for CED, but it is a known feeling, in Upernavik at least.

<sup>15</sup> It seems this meaning comes from the lexicalized unit *-ssa-nga* ‘future+expect’, different from *-nga* ‘state’. Here the meaning must conflate PE *-ḡa* ‘state’ (CED 460) and *-ḡa* ‘look like’ (CED 461), as the latter is attached to nominal stems only.

## “I don’t want things like that to happen”

In this section the emotion words in category 4, *I don’t want things like that to happen*, are explored. These are words such as *anger*, *indignation*, *fury*, *outrage*, *rage*, *consternation* (Wierzbicka 1999: 87f). In this category there are seven original emotion words and four innovations.

For *anger*, there are four emotion words, all original. The first one is *kamap-* ‘be angry’ from PE *\*kama-* ‘be nervously attentive’ (CED 168), the most common word for anger. This verb is intransitive and indicates that the experiencer feels angry because of some bad event, but his anger is not directed at someone responsible for the feeling<sup>16</sup>. Another word for *anger* is *ninngap-* ‘be angry, be hysterical (child)’ from PE *\*nəŋ(ŋ)ar-* ‘be angry’ (CED 248). The meaning may depend on the dialect, but in *Oqaatsit* (Berthelsen *et al.* 2006) the meaning is ‘bad-tempered’ and ‘hysterical (for a child)’. Interestingly the meaning has become ‘infection of a wound’ in Upernavik, Northwest Greenland. In Tunumiisut, East Greenland, the meaning is ‘be offended’ (Tersis 2008: 184), and in Inuktun, the Thule dialect, the meaning is ‘be jealous (woman)’ (Fortescue 1991: 64). The third verb, *qivip-* ‘go off into the mountains in chagrin’ from PE *\*qəvə(t)-* ‘go away angrily’ (CED 328), is very specific to Inuit culture, and is normally used when a person is chagrined because his/her beloved does not want or is not allowed to engage with him/her. In some cases the reason for the bitterness or shame<sup>17</sup> is that the person is humiliated by some kind of failure or by fruitless hunting. The last word involving *anger* and *consternation* is *narrap-* ‘get angry, be offended’ from PI *\*narru-* ‘dislike or be disgusted by s.th.’ (CED 239). Here the meaning has drifted from ‘dislike, be disgusted’ to the reaction to this feeling, getting angry or feeling offended. As will be seen in next section, the word *narru-* ‘dislike, be disgusted’ is still in use. *Narrap-* is used more for a reaction to unrealized expectations, or when one cannot accept the outcome of an event. *Narrap-* seems less intense than *kamap-*.

For *fury*, *rage* and *outrage* there is one innovation, *puup-* ‘be confused, be furious’ from PE *\*puvuy-* ‘peck (bird)’ (CED 296). This is a metaphor, the image being that of a bird pecking away and paying no attention to anything else. The difference between *kamap-* and *puup-* is that the former allows control so that the emotion may not even be noticed in some situations, while the latter is very explicit about lack of control: one is beside oneself.

For *indignation* there are four original words and three new words. The first original word is *ippigi-* ‘be troubled by, see as improper’ from PE *\*ikviy-* ‘suffer’ (CED 137). This word is used when, for example, someone uses improper language in West Greenland, or one finds the behavior of someone inappropriate. Normally the reaction is to talk about the incident to others or write angry notes in the newspapers or social media. A more personal word for *indignation* is *mamiasup-* ‘be offended’ from PE *\*mam(ə)ya-* ‘be offended or annoyed’ (CED 207). It is used when one’s feelings have been hurt by someone acting in a specific way, for example when one feels ignored or rejected. The third word is *isumalup-* ‘be annoyed’ composed of *isuma-* ‘thought’ from the PI *icuma(-)* ‘think’ (CED 133) and *-lup-* ‘have s.th.

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<sup>16</sup> Denbæk (2014, chapter 4) provides an interesting analysis of the word *kamag-* in myths, and situates it in a sequence going from a given event to *kamag-* and then to a desire to harm or kill, where the person killed or harmed is always someone who has infringed norms.

<sup>17</sup> *Qivip-* ‘go into mountains in disappointment or anger’ could also be placed in category 6, *thinking about oneself*, under *shame*.

bad' (lit. 'have bad thoughts'). Its meaning is unspecific in that it is used whenever one has unpleasant thoughts for any reason: one could have had bad dreams or a bad day, or met an angry man. The last word is *uumiller-* 'look or feel cross, make faces' from PI *\*uumila* 'grimace' (CED 395), related to PE *\*uyumi-* 'be infuriated' (CED 395). The sense of *uumiller-* seems to be a mix of these two protoforms, in that it is a reaction involving a feeling of indignation. Parallel to *uumiller-* 'look or feel cross, make faces' which is a perfective emotion verb, *uumila-* 'be a nuisance' describes a state, for example, a child who can easily be made to cry or react with a cry, and therefore 'be a nuisance'.

The first of the three innovations is *ajori-* 'consider bad, not like' from PI *\*ayuq-* 'be unable to reach' (CED 65) which is not an emotion word. It is used when one feels offended or indignant, for example, when children/adults do things they are not supposed to do. The next is *ajuallap-* 'be disappointed, offended' composed of *ajor-* 'be bad' from the same protoform *\*ayuq-* 'be unable to reach' as the preceding word, and *-allap-* 'suddenly a little'. This has a more restricted meaning, that one suddenly feels a bit bad about something. The meaning is similar to *mamiasup-*, but while with *mamiasup-* the feeling seems to last for a long time, with *ajuallap-* it is of short duration. The last word in this category is *mamaatsoor-* 'be disappointed' composed of *mamar-* 'taste good' and *-it-soor-* 'negative-participle, happen to' (lit. 'happen to get a bad taste in the mouth') which is a calque of a Danish metaphor 'få dårlig smag i munden'. It is used when one has an experience different from or worse than what one expected.

### **"Thinking about other people/something"**

This section deals with category 5, *thinking about other people/s.th.*, where *other people/s.th.* is contrasted with *ourselves* in category 6. The emotion words explored are based on the notions of *envy* and *jealousy*, *pity* and *compassion*, *gratitude*, and *admiration* and *contempt* (Wierzbicka 1999: 97f). There are fifteen words in this category which can be traced back to an emotion protoform, and six innovations.

For the notion of *gratitude*, there is a subcategory for the notion of *appreciation* which involves *missing* something appreciated. Even though this feeling itself is negative, there seems to be a positive element of compassion felt by others for the experiencer so that he feels understood and this entails his *gratitude*.

Starting with *envy* and *jealousy* there are five words with a meaning including one or the other of these notions. The first is *sinnga(gi)-* 'be jealous, envy' from PE *\*cikna-* 'be jealous' (CED 84). The focus here is on the experiencer's bad feeling of *envy* and *jealousy* when something good happens to other people. It is very common everywhere in Greenland.

While there is no focus on the stimulus in *sinnga(gi)-*, there is such a focus in the next word *usori-* 'envy someone, wish to be in their place' from PE *\*ucur-* 'praise or envy' (CED 391). This word is used when one wants to be in the place of the person experiencing a good event or getting a precious thing. A typical use is when someone says *usorn* 'I wish it was me' after someone else tells about a happy event or getting a new thing.

The third word is *tusu-* 'be envious' from PE *\*tucu-* 'admire or envy' (CED 377). It seems that this word is dialectal being used today only in Tunumiisut (East Greenlandic, Tersis 2008: 279), where the meaning is 'envy' or 'admire'.

Two words indicating *jealousy* only are *ningar-* ‘be jealous (between women)’ from PE *\*nəŋ(ŋ)ar-* ‘be angry’ (CED 248, cf. already category 4) and *sangiap-* ‘be jealous (between men)’ from PI *\*caŋiak-* ‘be jealous’ (CED 84). It is interesting to note that the meaning of *ningar-* was originally ‘be angry’ but has now shifted to ‘jealousy between females’, while ‘jealousy between men’ originates from ‘be jealous’ generally. Today both words are very common, and are used when there is rivalry among people of the same gender.

For *pity* and *compassion* there are five words, of which two are original and three innovations. The first of the original words is *nalligi-* ‘feel pity, compassion for’ from PE *\*naŋləγ-* ‘feel sorry for s.o.’ (CED 335). In Canadian Inuktitut this word means ‘love’, while it seems to have kept the original meaning in Kalaallisut. But in North Greenlandic Inuktuṅ, the meanings are ‘love, feel pity for’, where ‘love’ is older than ‘feel pity for’ (Fortescue 1991: 63), indicating close connection to Canadian Inuktitut. The word is used when another person is seen to be suffering from a bad situation. It could be a child crying because it fell or someone who is poor or in some other unfortunate situation. The word is also used when one cares for or loves a specific person, say, one’s grandchild, a person named after one’s dead mother, etc. Elderly women often call one of their grandchildren *nalligisara* ‘the one I love/care much for’.

The second word is *naakki(gi)-* ‘feel pity, compassion for’ from PI *\*naatki-* ‘pity’ (CED 224). This seems to be used when someone is in a bad situation, and one has sympathy for that person. It is also used in biblical texts about God or Christ, who feels compassion for everyone in the world, but never in the meaning of caring for/loving someone specific. Both words are very common today.

Perhaps because *naakkigi-* seems to lack the meaning of caring for/loving a given person while *nalligi-* is used only in such cases, a new stem, *asa-* ‘love’, has been created, apparently from PI *\*ažak-* ‘be gentle with’ (CED 66). Today the meaning is ‘love’ in the sense found in many Western languages. This renewed form is interesting because the verb stem has lost its final  $\gamma$ . The PI *\*ažak-* ‘be gentle with’ seems to have developed in two different ways in Kalaallisut. On the one hand, *asay-* with final  $\gamma$ , as in *asattuup-* ‘spare, bear with s.o., be gentle’ below and *asay-* ‘wash’, extends the original meaning of the PI stem. On the other, there has been a reanalysis where the antipassive *-ngnig* in *asanniy-* seems to be the reason for the loss of the final  $\gamma$  today in *asa-* ‘love’ (CED 67).

The word for *compassion* is *asattuup-* ‘spare, bear with s.o, be gentle’ with the same origin as *asa-* ‘love’, namely *ažak-* ‘be gentle with’ plus *-tuar-* ‘continue’ and *-up-* ‘with’ literally meaning ‘continue being gentle with s.o’, where s.o is the direct object of the verb. It is used when someone or something is fragile, as babies and old people, and needs protection or when someone has suffered for a very long time, and therefore must be treated with more care.

A final word for *compassion* is *misigeqatigi-* ‘feel empathy’, composed of *misigi-* ‘feel’, *-qati-* ‘companion’ and *-gi-* ‘have as’, lit. ‘have the same feeling as s.o’. This word is recorded in *Oqaatsit* (Berthelsen *et al.* 2006) but not in the older dictionaries. It is usually used when someone dies and one feels communion with the family of the dead person.

There is a single word for *gratitude*, *quja-* ‘be thankful, thank’ from PE *\*quya-* ‘be thankful’ (CED 350), but this not an emotion word. The feeling of gratitude expressed by its derivate *qujamasup-* ‘feel gratitude’ appears in the category *something good happened* because it does not necessarily imply gratitude to specific people or situations.

Another derived form is the transitive verb stem, *qujagi-* ‘be thankful for, delighted with’, with the transitive *-gi* added. This expresses directed gratitude with the stimulus as direct object of the verb. For example if one is thankful about a rainy day, one can say *silagimmat qujagaara* ‘I’m happy/thankful because the weather is good’, where the verb phrase *silagimmat* ‘because the weather is good’ is the direct object. The object phrase can also be a nominal phrase like *kaffi qujagaara* ‘I am thankful for the coffee (I have got)’. This verb stem is used whenever one has a specific reason to be thankful. It can be nominalized with a passive participle *-saq* to form the lexicalized nominal *qujagisaq* ‘beloved child’ (lit. ‘the one who is loved’), which means one is happy about the existence of the child, maybe because it is named after one’s late husband/wife, brother etc. When one feels thankfulness towards a specific person who has given some kind of positive support or help the word *qujanar-* ‘be thankful’ will be used, for example *Piitaq qujanarpoq* ‘(I am) thankful to Peter (because he is always helpful)’.

In connection with the notion of *gratitude*, there are four words involving fond memory, *missing* a person/thing that is no longer present, and including the meaning ‘not want to lose’. The first is *qillugi-* ‘not want to lose x’ from PI *\*qiyluk-* ‘regret a loss’ (CED 330) which seems to be dialectal to Southwest Greenland. It is used when, for example, a good employee is moving to another section and one would like to keep him. Another is *ujariatsi-* ‘miss s.o/s.th.’ from PI *\*ivariatci-* ‘miss’ (CED 161). It exists only in Kalaallisut and North Alaskan Iñupiaq. It is mostly used in peripheral dialects when something (such as food) or someone one is used to is not present any more<sup>18</sup>. A third word for *missing* is *maqaasi-* ‘miss s.o. or s.th.’ from PI *\*maqait-* ‘be absent’ (CED 210). The meaning of the protoform has changed in Kalaallisut alone to ‘miss s.o/s.th.’. It is attested in Fabricius (1804:241) with the meaning ‘miss s.th. or s.th. is lost’. It is in ordinary use everywhere in Greenland, usually for missing a person, but also for things or kinds of food. An example is *anaanaga maqaasivara* ‘I am longing for my mother’, if your mother is not present at the moment. An often used nominalized form is *s.o/s.th maqaasinaq* ‘s.o/s.th. (be) missed’.

The fourth is *qiip-* ‘die of longing for s.th.’ from PE *\*qi(C)əlir-* ‘be worked up (with longing?) [*sic*]’ (CED 329). Schultz-Lorentsen (1927: 100) gives the meaning ‘has died with longing for some enjoyment (which he could not obtain)’. In *Oqaatsit* ((Berthelsen *et al.* 2006: 269) the meaning has shifted to ‘be desperate of longing for s.o. or s.th.’. Today it is used when one longs unbearably for a kind of food or for sexual activity. The derived form *qiiler-* ‘be dying of longing for s.th.’, with *-ler* ‘be about to’ added, is more frequent and indicates that one’s longing is so bad that one is almost dead, presumably from the older meaning of *qiip-* indicating that one has actually died.

For *admiration* the closest sense is ‘esteem highly, cherish, venerate’, expressed by *illeri-* ‘value (one’s possession), honor, keep holy’ from PE *\*əplər-* ‘be revulsed by s.th.; respect a taboo? [*sic*]’ (CED 124). The meaning has changed to a positive sense only in Kalaallisut. It is used when one wants to keep one’s own possessions or one’s nearest relatives or friends. The meaning ‘holy’ is from the Christian religion, where it is used in a derived form *illernar-* ‘be holy’ with the affix *-nar* ‘be such as to’. A precious thing is called *illernartuut* ‘a precious thing owned’, while jewelry in cartoons or films is called *illernartuutit* ‘trinkets’.

<sup>18</sup> Interestingly the form in Inuktun (North Greenlandic) is *ivariatsi-*.

The last group contains six words under the notion of *contempt*, five of which are original, and only one is an innovation. The first two words involve the meanings of *dislike* and *disgust*. The first is *narru(gi)*- ‘reject, despise x’ from PI *\*narru*- ‘dislike or be disgusted by s.th.’ (CED 239), already cited in category 4. This word is used when one is upset with, for example, a suitor or things or food which are not good enough for oneself. The second word is *maajup*- ‘be disgusted, be finicky about food’ from PE *\*maruyug*- and *muruyug*- ‘feel disgusted’ (CED 212). This word is used when one feels disgusted by, for example, bad food, an untidy person or place, a dirty toilet or sink, etc.

The notions of *contempt* and *hatred* are involved in the next two words, firstly *uumigi*- ‘hate, be furious with’ from PE *\*uyumi*- ‘be infuriated’ (CED 395), used when the experiencer feels hatred for or anger towards someone who has done something the experiencer finds inadmissible, or someone who is a competitor in a given domain, for example, who is lucky in hunting. The hated person does not need to have done anything other than be luckier than the experiencer<sup>19</sup>.

There are overlapping meanings between *uumigi*- ‘hate, be furious with’, and the second word *qinngari*- ‘hate, despise’. *Hatred* or *anger* is the common meaning, but the latter seems to include *disdain*, *scorn*, *contempt*. The former is probably used more in all dialects, while according to my information the latter seems to be used mostly in Disco Bay district. *Qinngari*- ‘hate, despise’ originates from PE *\*qinngar*- ‘show displeasure’ (CED 335). Today this word is mainly used with the meaning of hostility to someone who acts in an irritating way that constantly affects the experiencer. The hated person’s behavior may be intentional but need not be. When someone persists with such behavior, the fifth word, *araju*- ‘become tired of x’ from PE *\*ar(ə)yu*- ‘be tired or homesick’ (CED 51), is used. This word is for when one is fed up with someone or something, for example, food, tools, children, or people.

The last word in this category is an innovation, *allagi*- ‘feel strange, perceive as different’ from PE *\*atla* ‘other’ (CED 56). The meaning includes *dislike* and *derision*, as it is used when one feels someone/something is abnormal. It could be that a young person has cut his hair in a very untraditional way or wears outlandish clothes. It is also used when a known person acts out of character or behaves abnormally, and again for things, for example, when a familiar place has changed or someone has put something somewhere it does not belong.

### “Thinking about ourselves”

This last section deals with *thinking about ourselves*, and describes emotion words where the experiencer’s idea is “how other people can think something (either good or bad) about me”, involving the notions of *shame*, *embarrassment*, and *pride*, and how the experiencer judges his/her own actions with notions of *remorse* and *guilt* (Wierzbicka 1999: 108f). In Kalaallisut there are seven original words and six innovations in this category.

The first group includes the emotion words for *shame* and *embarrassment*, eight words in all, of which six are original and two are innovations. The first, *kannigusup*- ‘be ashamed’ from PE *\*kayŋu*- ‘be ashamed’ (CED 178), has the same meaning in all the daughter languages. It is used when one finds an event, the clothes someone wears, or someone’s

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<sup>19</sup> This hatred is distinguished from jealousy proper, which involves wanting to be in the other’s place.

behavior embarrassing and is ashamed. The experiencer may feel shame for himself, but also embarrassment for someone else.

Another less used word is *qissaar-* ‘be shy, embarrassed’ from PE *\*qikə-* ‘be shy or respectful’ (CED 330). It is only found in some Yupik languages, North Alaskan Iñupiaq and Kalaallisut. In Kalaallisut it is attested in Petersen (1951:61) and *Oqaatsit* (Berthelsen *et al.* 2006:274). It is used in older songs and texts but not much in daily life today.

The third word is *qusa-* ‘be shy’ from PI *\*qukca-*<sup>20</sup>, apparently related to *\*qukəyə* ‘feel cowed before s.o. better than oneself? [sic]’ (CED 341). This too is less frequent today, but the elder generation knows and uses it. It is used when one feels inferior and hence embarrassed.

A much more common word for *shame* and *embarrassment* is *ittoor-* ‘be shy and ashamed’ from PE *\*əytuy-* ‘be anxious or timid’ (CED 110). It is used everywhere in Greenland when one lacks courage to, for example, say something to other people, especially older people, or go to someone else’s home. It is very widespread to refer to school children who do not dare raise their hands and speak out with everyone listening.

Another word related to feeling inferior is *ajukkup-* ‘feel humble, inferior’ from PI *\*ayuq-* ‘be unable to reach or do’ (CED 65) and *-gug-* ‘feel’<sup>21</sup> from PE *\*yuy* ‘want or tend to’ (CED 481). It is attested in Kleinschmidt (1871:10) and is today used everywhere in Greenland for situations where one feels one is not clever or handy enough to do a job, or feels unworthy of entering the home of someone one considers to be wealthier than oneself, etc.

An innovation with a more restricted sense is *peqqusiileqi-* ‘be shy, bashful, embarrassed, not know how to behave’ apparently from PE *\*pidqun* ‘request or order’ (CED 283). Kleinschmidt (1871:279-80) gives the origin of the word as *peqquseq* ‘indirect order’ composed of *peqqu* and *-useq* ‘manner in which’. There then seems to be another suffix *-ileqi* ‘lack’, which I am unable to find in any dictionary today<sup>22</sup>. This stem is used when a person does something that attracts unwanted interest from other people, for example, when everything in one’s shopping bag falls out in front of many onlookers.

Another inherited word is *takussugi-* ‘find too ugly to show to others’ from PE *\*takumcuq-* ‘feel pity’ (CED 355). The word is only found in some Yupik dialects, East Canadian Inuktitut and Kalaallisut, and the sense ‘find too ugly to show to others’ is only used in Kalaallisut. It is attested in Kleinschmidt (1871: 353). Today this word is used when one speaks of a piece of faded clothing, ugly/worn furniture, or a child/person who will not wear proper clothes or wash.

The last word involving the notions of *shame* and *embarrassment* is *innimisup-* ‘be shy, respectful, humble’ from PE *\*iññimi(yuy)* ‘be shy’ (CED 150). In the daughter languages of PE it is attested only in Central Siberian Yupik and Kalaallisut. It is used when one dares not touch other people’s belongings or when one considers other people more honorable or worthy of greater respect, for example, when a family member has died.

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<sup>20</sup> This protoform is found in the index list of the Kalaallisut verb stems (CED: 626) and not in the word list. PI apparently has another form *\*qukəyə* ‘feel cowed before s.o. better than oneself?’.

<sup>21</sup> *-gug* ‘feel’ is a allomorph of *-sug* ‘feel’, which seems to be used especially when comparing oneself to others.

<sup>22</sup> It is very common for example in *qisussaaleqi-* ‘lacking firewood’, where the stem is *qisuk* ‘wood’ with *-ssaaleqi* added, which seems to be a lexicalized unit today, presumably composed of *-ssaq* ‘future’ and *-ileqi* ‘lack’.

For the emotion *pride* there are only two words, both innovations: one is *perroor-* ‘be proud and reserved, haughty’ from PI *\*piruq-* ‘develop’ (CED 284). This word is attested in Kleinschmidt (1871: 281) and is used when people think someone is acting uppish or showing off new clothes, or behaving like a Dane, in life style or in dress or even by walking in a specific way. It is also used when one dresses up for a celebration. The other is *tulluusimaar-* ‘be proud of something’, built on *tulluup-* ‘be delighted’ in category 1, with the suffix *-simaar-* ‘state’. Given the original PE source *tup-* ‘land’ (CED 387), this word literally means ‘rest correctly on s.th.’ (cf. Kleinschmidt 1871: 375). It is used in situations where one is proud of something and wants others to know, for example, when one earns a degree or one’s child does.

For the notion *remorse* there are also two words: the first one is *ugguar-* ‘regret’ from PE *\*uyyur-* ‘regret’ (CED 393). It is attested in Fabricius (1804:516) with the meaning ‘annoyed, displeased because s.th. did not turn out well’. Today the meaning is ‘regret’, used when one learns that someone or something is unfortunately not present anymore, or things do not go as expected. The other is an innovation: *peqqissimi-* ‘regret, repent’ from PE *\*pinqiy-* ‘be careful or well’ (CED 284). According to Kleinschmidt (1871: 279) this meaning comes from *peqqip-* ‘do again, better than before, be healthy’. It is used when one regrets or repents of something one has done with undesirable consequences and which cannot be undone.

The last word in this section falls under the notion *guilt*. There is only one word with this meaning, an innovation, *pisuu-* ‘be guilty’ from *pi-* ‘do, happen’, *-soq-* ‘participle’, *-u* ‘be’, lit. ‘be the one who did s.th.’. Interestingly the word in Fabricius is *pirsōuvok* meaning ‘be worthy, deserve s.th.’. This word and its negative *pirsōungilak* ‘not deserve’ (my translations) seem to have been invented in the period of Christianization to capture the new notion of guiltiness. Today *pisuu-* is used in the judicial system, and also in private life when someone is accused of having done something wrong, often children by their parents.

### 3. Affixes with emotional meaning

The affixes referred to in the introduction which have special effects on emotion words in the Eskimo languages are *-nar* ‘be such as to/be -able’, *-gi* ‘have as’, and *-sug/-tsag* ‘feel’. The last, *-sug/-tsag*, seems to accommodate a meaning distinction since *-sug* is found only in lexicalized original emotion words such as *aliasup-* ‘be sad, grieve’, while *-tsag* is intransitivizing and expresses a sudden access of feeling when affixed to non-emotion words as in *tuaviu-tsap-* ‘suddenly feel a need to hurry’.

The first two, *-nar* and *-gi*, change the voice of the verb: *-nar* forms an avalent verb as in *kamannar-* (with a short form *kamannaq*) ‘it is annoying’. This is a highly productive affix with emotion words. As for *-gi*, it is found in lexicalized original words, but has to be added to *-nar* when used with emotion words as in *kaman-na-ri* ‘it is annoying that’. It transitivizes the verb which takes the stimulus of the emotion as direct object.

Other affixes commonly added to emotion words and nuancing a feeling are *-ummeer* ‘sudden feeling’, as in *sinnga-ammeer* ‘sudden jealousy’; and *simaar-* ‘perfective (enjoyment)’, as in *eqqissi-simaar* ‘enjoy relaxing’.

Two more affixes are *-rusaar* ‘slowly/at one’s ease’ and *-rujoor* ‘slowly/with enjoyment’. Both describe a drawn-out activity: the former seems to be used for all kinds of activities

including unpleasant ones. Thus *asanne-rusaar-*, which would be expected to mean ‘loving at one’s ease’ (?), actually refers to a troubled love affair. The latter, however, seems to be used only for positive activities, as *asanne-rujoor-* ‘enjoy loving x’.

In the next section nominalizing affixes indicating a kind of feeling will be briefly described.

#### 4. Subjective evaluation affixes

Some nominal modifiers have a function as *expressive emotion words* (Kövecses 2000: 2) which give a subjective evaluation of the referent, according to the speaker’s mood, intentions, etc. These affixes have a concrete attributive meaning, cf. *-(r)suaq* ‘big, bad’. The emotional import may be emphasized by intonation ranging from a very gentle to a very sharp tone of voice, to help the listener understand what sense is intended. The tone may be angry, endearing, teasing, etc., as the case may be. Thus, the affix *-nnguaq* ‘little, dear’ in *Arnannguaq* ‘dear/little Arnaq’ indicates that the person named is nice or beloved. On the contrary *-(r)suaq* ‘big/bad’ in *Piitarsuaq* ‘big/bad Peter’ indicates the person referred to is stupid and foolish. To refer to a nice, considerate person *-tsialak* ‘good/nice’ can be used as in *Piitatsialak* ‘good/nice Peter’ indicating, for example, that Peter helped the speaker with a boat, windows, a car, etc. The list of nominal modifiers appears in table 7.

#### 5. Conclusion

The emotion words in Kalaallisut have been categorized according to Wierzbicka’s (1999) six emotional categories. It has been shown that in all six categories, there are both original and new emotion words. The category with the most new emotion words is “*something good happened*”, where the innovations seem to date from the period of Christianization. In the remaining categories, original words predominate, but there are innovations in all categories. While the category “*I don’t want things like this to happen*” (*anger* and *indignation*) seems to be hypocognized, apparently because of traditional Inuit social organization, the category of “*something bad can/will happen*” (*fear* or *anxiety*) turns out to be hypercognized, most likely because of the precariousness of life in the polar region. Another hypercognized category is “*thinking about other people*” (*gratitude* or *contempt*), which seems to reflect a way of life where small numbers of people live in small places or longhouses, and social disorder must be prevented. In such a way of life, there is little place for “*thinking about ourselves*” (*shame* or *remorse*), which is also hypocognized, most of the words falling under the notion of *shame*. In addition to emotion words, there are some affixes nuancing feelings expressed by the verb process, and some nominal expressive affixes with a concrete attributive meaning.

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Table 1. “Something good happened”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	Innovations
<i>quiagi-</i> ‘find amusing’ < * <i>quvya(guy)</i> ‘be happy’ (PE)	<i>pilluar-</i> ‘be happy’ = <i>pi-lluar</i> ‘get-a lot’ (lit. ‘get plenty of x’)
<i>tissigi-</i> ‘think funny, laughable’ < * <i>təmci-</i> ‘be funny’ (PE)	<i>tipaatsup-</i> ‘be happy, delighted’ < * <i>tiipak-</i> ‘be promiscuous or randy’ (PI)
<i>nuanner-</i> ‘be pleasant, enjoyable’ <i>nuannaar-</i> ‘be happy, be pleased’ < * <i>nunannir-</i> ‘be enjoyable’ (PE)	<i>tulluup-</i> ‘be delighted, feel satisfied, feel fit’ (metaphor) < * <i>tut-</i> ‘land’ (PE)
<i>qujamasup-</i> ‘feel gratitude’ <i>qujagi-</i> ‘thankful, delighted with’ <i>qujanar-</i> ‘be thankful’ < * <i>quya-</i> ‘be thankful’ (PE)	<i>iluarusug-</i> ‘feel pleasure, contented’ = <i>iluari-sug-</i> ‘approve-feel’ < * <i>əturaqə-</i> or * <i>əlakə-</i> ‘approve of’ ( )
<i>eqqissi-</i> ‘be relieved, relax’ < * <i>ətqik-</i> or <i>itqik-</i> ‘be at ease’ (PI)	<i>oqiliallap-</i> ‘feel relief’ = <i>oqip-li-allap-</i> ‘light-become-a.bit’ Calque of Danish <i>lettelse</i> ‘relief’
<i>kajunger-</i> ‘yearns, desires, be attracted’ < * <i>kayunŋiq-</i> ‘be eager to’ (PI)	<i>pissanga-</i> ‘be excited to’ <i>pi-ssanga-</i> ‘do s.th. +expect to do’
<i>qilanaar-</i> ‘looking forward to’ * <i>qəlanə(ar)</i> ‘want s.th. urgently’	<i>pileri-</i> ‘desire, feel an urge, look forward to’ = <i>pi-leri</i> ‘thing-be.occupied.with’ (lit. ‘be occupied with s.th.’)
	<i>ornigi-</i> ‘feel attracted to’ = <i>ornip-gi-</i> ‘go.to-feel’ < * <i>urnəg-</i> ‘go toward or turn to’ (P )
	<i>erini-</i> ‘feel longing’ > <i>erinigi-</i> ‘wait impatiently, long for’ < * <i>əranir-</i> ‘hurry to get s.th. done’ (P )

Table 2. “Something bad happened”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	Innovations
<i>nika-</i> ‘be downhearted, sorrowful, dispirited’ > <i>nikallunga-</i> ‘be sad, unhappy, downhearted’ < * <i>nəka-</i> ‘feel inferior or unworthy’ (PE)	<i>nanertisima-</i> ‘be depressed’ = <i>naner-tip-sima-</i> ‘be.pressed.down-passive-perfective’
<i>aliasup-</i> ‘be sad, grieve’ < * <i>aliya-</i> ‘be lonely’ (PE)	<i>nakkanga-</i> ‘be depressed’ <i>nakkar-nga</i> ‘fall.down-state’
<i>ilunngu-</i> ‘feel hurt inside’ < * <i>ilulngu-</i> ‘hurt inside’ (PE)	<i>pakatsi-</i> ‘be disappointed’ < * <i>pakak-</i> ‘knock into’ (PI)
<i>naalliup-</i> ‘suffer, have a hard time’	

< * <i>naalyiuq</i> - ‘suffer’ (PI)	
<i>artor</i> - ‘be unable to bear, to manage’ > <i>artorsaateqar</i> - ‘grieve, worry’ < * <i>artur</i> ‘not be able to, not manage’ (PE)	
<i>sapersar</i> - ‘feel defeated’ < * <i>capiqša</i> - ‘be inhibited or in need’ (PI)	

Table 3. “Something bad can happen/will happen”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	Innovations
<i>sioora</i> - ‘fear, dread’ < * <i>civu(C)ura</i> - ‘be apprehensive’ (PE)	<i>aarleri</i> - ‘be anxious bad weather will come, be afraid s.th. might happen’ < * <i>a(C)arłuy</i> - ‘killer whale’ (PE)
<i>uloriasug</i> - ‘feel s.th. is dangerous’, <i>ulorianar</i> - ‘be dangerous’ < * <i>uluryanar</i> - ‘be dangerous or threatening’ (PE)	<i>annikillior</i> - ‘be powerless, alarmed’ = <i>annikip-lior</i> - ‘cramped-feel’
<i>nangiar</i> - ‘be afraid or giddy in a precarious place, be dizzy in kayak’ < * <i>nangyar</i> - ‘be afraid in a precarious place’ (PE)	<i>annilaar</i> - ‘be terrified’ = <i>anner-laar</i> - ‘get.hurt-a.little’, <i>annilaanga</i> - ‘be nervous, be anxious’ = <i>annilaar-nga</i> ‘be.terrified-expect’
<i>ersi</i> - ‘be afraid’ < * <i>iqci</i> - ‘be afraid’ (PI)	<i>tingingajap</i> - ‘get a shock’ = <i>tingi-ngajap</i> - ‘fly-almost’
<i>qunu</i> - ‘be afraid of facing s.o./s.th., acknowledge oneself to be powerless’ < * <i>qunu</i> - ‘be reluctant to part with s.th.’ (PE)	<i>amiilaar</i> - ‘shudder with terror’ = <i>ameer-laar</i> - ‘loose.skin-a.little’ (lit. ‘loose some of one’s skin’)
<i>ernuma</i> - ‘be anxious, be worried’ < * <i>inruma</i> - ‘be anxious’ (PI)	<i>isumakulup</i> - ‘be concerned, worried’ <i>isuma-kulup</i> - ‘thought-bad’ (lit. ‘have bad thoughts’) < * <i>icuma</i> - ‘think’ (PE)
<i>ilerasup</i> - ‘have a bad conscience, is anxious about something bad will happen’ < * <i>əlira</i> -, <i>əlirra</i> ‘want to ask for s.th. but not dare’ (PE)	
<i>naviasup</i> - ‘be anxious about doing, consider dangerous’ < * <i>navia(yə)</i> - ‘consider dangerous’ (PI)	
<i>quilerta</i> - ‘worried, anxiety, insecure’ < * <i>quiliqta</i> - ‘tremble?’ (PI)	
<i>kappiasup</i> - ‘be worried’ < * <i>kappəya</i> - ‘feel anxious’ (PE)	

<i>isumagi</i> - ‘be worried about x’, <i>isumaalup</i> - ‘worry about’ cf. PI <i>*icumaalugə</i> - ‘worry about’ also <i>isumannar</i> - ‘be worried’ < <i>*icuma</i> - ‘think, thought’ (PE)	
<i>qulluumisaar</i> - ‘get the creeps’ = <i>qullup-umisaar</i> - ‘wince-back and forth’ < <i>*quyluy</i> - ‘wince or jump in surprise’ <sup>i</sup> (PE)	
<i>kisip</i> - ‘hold back, lack courage’ < <i>*kəzə</i> - ‘hesitate’ (PI)	
<i>tupap</i> - ‘start, take fright, be startled by a noise’ < <i>*tupay</i> - ‘be startled’ (PE)	
<i>quarsaar</i> - ‘be frightened’ < <i>*quaqcaaq</i> - ‘get a shock’ (PI)	
<i>tatamip</i> - ‘get violently frightened, be frightened to death’ < <i>*tatamə(t)</i> - ‘be startled or terrified’ (PE)	

Table 4. “I don’t want things like that to happen”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	Innovations
<i>kamap</i> - ‘be angry’ < <i>*kama</i> - ‘be nervously attentive’ (PE)	<i>puup</i> - ‘be confused, be furious,’ < <i>*puvuy</i> - ‘peck (bird)’ (PE)
<i>ninngap</i> - ‘be angry, be hysterical (child)’ < <i>*nəŋ(ŋ)ar</i> - ‘be angry’ (PE)	<i>ajori</i> - ‘consider bad, not like’, <i>ajuallap</i> - ‘disappointed, offended’ = <i>ajor-allap</i> - ‘be.bad-suddenly.a.bit’ < <i>*ayuy</i> - ‘be unable to reach’
<i>qivip</i> - ‘go into mountains in disappointment or anger’ < <i>*qəvə(t)</i> - ‘go away angrily’ (PE)	<i>isumalup</i> - ‘be cross, annoyed’ = <i>isuma-lup</i> - ‘thought-bad’
<i>narrap</i> - ‘get angry, offended’ < <i>*narru</i> - ‘dislike or be disgusted by s.st.’ (PI)	<i>mamaatsoor</i> - ‘be disappointed’ = <i>mamar-ip-soor</i> - ‘taste.good-negative-participle’
<i>ippigi</i> - ‘be troubled by, find s.o. improper’ < <i>*ikviy</i> - ‘suffer’ (PE)	
<i>mamiasup</i> - ‘be offended’ < <i>*mam(ə)ya</i> - ‘be offended or annoyed’ (PE)	
<i>uumila</i> - ‘be a nuisance’ > <i>uumiller</i> - ‘look or feel cross, make faces’ < <i>*uyumi</i> - ‘be infuriated’ (PE)	

Table 5. “Thinking about other people/something”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	Innovations
<i>sinnga(gi)</i> - ‘be jealous (of), envy’ < * <i>cikna</i> - ‘be jealous’ (PE)	<i>ningar</i> - ‘jealous between females’ < * <i>nəŋ(ŋ)ar</i> - ‘be angry’ (PE)
<i>usori</i> - ‘envy s.o., wish to be in s.o.’s place’ < * <i>ucur</i> - ‘praise or envy’ (PE)	<i>asa</i> - ‘love’ < * <i>ažak</i> - ‘be gentle with’ (PI)
<i>tusu</i> - ‘be envious’ < * <i>tusu</i> - ‘admire or envy’ (PE)	<i>asatuup</i> - ‘spare, bear with s.o, be gentle’ = ? <i>-tuar-up</i> - ‘continue-with’
<i>sangiap</i> - ‘be jealous (man to man)’ < * <i>caŋiak</i> - ‘be jealous’ (PI)	<i>misigeqatigi</i> - ‘feel compassion, have the same feeling as x’ = <i>misigi-qati-gi</i> - ‘feel-companion-have.as’
<i>nalligi</i> - ‘feel pity for’ < * <i>naŋləy</i> - ‘feel sorry for s.o.’ (PE)	<i>maqaasi</i> - ‘miss s.o. or s.th.’ < * <i>maqait</i> - ‘be absent’ (PI)
<i>naakki(gi)</i> - ‘feel pity, compassion for’ < * <i>naatki</i> - ‘pity’ (PI)	<i>allagi</i> - ‘feel strange, find different’ < * <i>atla</i> ‘other’ (P )
<i>qillugi</i> - ‘not want to loose (s.th. or s.o.)’ < * <i>qigluk</i> - ‘regret a loss’ (PI)	
<i>ujariatsi</i> - ‘miss s.th.’, <i>ujariagi</i> - ‘miss s.th. one has been used to’ < * <i>ivariatci</i> - ‘miss’ (PI)	
<i>qiip</i> - ‘die of longing for s.th.’ <i>qiiler</i> - ‘long for s.th.’ < * <i>qi(C)əlir</i> - ‘be worked up (with longing)’ (P )	
<i>illeri</i> - ‘value (one’s possession), honor, keep holy’ < * <i>əplər</i> - ‘be revulsed by s.th. or respect a taboo(?)’ (PE)	
<i>narru(gi)</i> - ‘reject, despise’ < * <i>narru</i> - ‘dislike, be disgusted by s.th.’ (PI)	
<i>maajup</i> - ‘be disgusted, be finicky about food’ < * <i>maruyug-</i> , <i>muruyug-</i> ‘feel disgusted’ (PE)	
<i>uumigi</i> - ‘be furious with, hate’ < * <i>uyumi</i> - ‘be infuriated’ (PE)	
<i>qinngari</i> - ‘hate, be angry with’ < * <i>qiŋŋar</i> - ‘show displeasure’ (PE)	
<i>araju</i> - ‘become tired of s.th. or s.o.’ < * <i>ar(ə)yu</i> - ‘be tired or homesick’ (PE)	

Table 6. “Thinking about ourselves”

Words traced back to a proto-Eskimo (PE) or	Innovations
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proto-Inuit (PI) protoform of similar meaning	
<i>kannngusup</i> - ‘be ashamed’ < * <i>kayŋu</i> - ‘be ashamed’ (PE)	<i>ajukkup</i> - ‘feeling humble, inferior’ < * <i>ayug</i> - ‘be unable to reach or do’ (PI)
<i>qissaar</i> - ‘be shy, embarrassed’ < * <i>qikə</i> - ‘be shy or respectful’ (PE)	<i>peqquusiileqi</i> - ‘be shy, bashful, embarrassed, not know how to behave’ < * <i>pidqun</i> ‘request or order’
<i>qusa</i> - ‘be shy’ < * <i>qukca</i> - ‘?’ (P )	<i>perroor</i> - ‘be proud and reserved, haughty’ < * <i>piruq</i> - ‘develop’ (PI)
<i>ittoor</i> - ‘be shy/ ashamed’ < * <i>əytuy</i> - ‘be anxious or timed’ (PE)	<i>tulluusimaar</i> - ‘be proud of something’ < * <i>tut</i> - ‘land or arrive’ (PE)
<i>takussugi</i> - ‘find ugly to look at’, also <i>takussunar</i> - ‘look pitiful’ < * <i>takumcuγ</i> - ‘feel pity’ (PE)	<i>peqqissimi</i> - ‘regret, repent’ < * <i>pinqiy</i> - ‘be careful or well’ (PE)
<i>innimisup</i> - ‘be shy, respectful, humble’, <i>innimigi</i> - ‘respect, not want to disturb’ < * <i>ijŋimi(yuγ)</i> ‘be shy’ (PE)	<i>pisuu</i> - ‘be guilty’ = <i>pi-soq-u</i> ‘do-participle-be’, lit. ‘be the one who did something’
<i>ugguar</i> - ‘regret’ * <i>uyyur</i> - ‘regret’ (PE)	

Table 7 List of subjective nominal affixes:

- araq* ‘little, sweet little’
  - ngusaq* ‘dear little’
  - kuluk* ‘bad/small/dear’
  - kasik/kassak* ‘bad/poor’
  - nnguakkuluk* ‘poor/little’
  - pajuk* ‘bad’
  - palaag* ‘bad’
  - palaarsuaq* ‘bad/damned’
  - piluk* ‘bad’
  - rajuk/rajussuaq* ‘damned’
  - ralak* ‘bad/poor’
-