

West Greenlandic ("Kalaallisut") is a language of the Inuit branch of Eskimo spoken by about 45,000 people on the West Coast of Greenland. There is near hundred percent literacy and there is a flourishing literary tradition of all genres in the native language. Grammatically, West Greenlandic is typical of Inuit. Verbs and nouns are both highly inflected and there is an very unusually rich system of derivation in both categories. There are about 500 fully productive derivational

affixes altogether, all of which are semantically transparent and some of which are syntactically transparent.

The case marking is ergative and the syntax verb final. This sketch of the grammar of West Greenlandic is descriptive and non-technical in tone, but adheres to the principles of Autolexical Syntax in radically separating syntax, morphology, and semantics. In each of these components no mention is made of information belonging to the others. Rather, there is a separate chapter on matching and mismatching of

structures across components. The aim is both to make the basic structure of West Greenlandic clear to the general reader and to demonstrate that a grammar consisting of autonomous modules connected by a lexically centered interface is both feasible and illuminating.



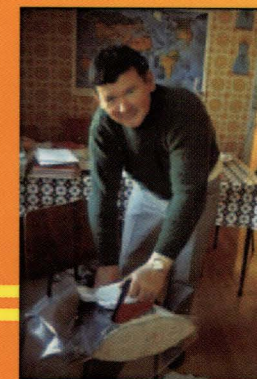
ISBN 3 89586 234 7

Cover design : ujl
Photographs: J. Sadock

A Grammar of Kalaallisut

(West Greenlandic Inuttut)

Jerrold M. Sadock



LE

LINCOM EUROPA

academic publications

Languages of the World/Materials

162

**A Grammar
of Kalaallisut**
(West Greenlandic Inuttut)

Jerrold M. Sadock

Languages of the World/Materials 162

2003
LINCOM EUROPA

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

iv

Introductory Remarks

1

1.1 Literature

1.2 Orthography

1.3 Pronunciation

2. Morphology

3

2.1 Words

2.2 Stems

2.3 Types of Affixes

2.4 Notation

2.5 The Structure of the Word

2.6 Morphological Subcategories. 2.6.1 Nominal and verbal stems. 2.6.2 Homophony of stems. 2.6.3 Morphological particles. 2.6.4 Transitive and intransitive forms

2.7 Inflectional Morphology. 2.7.1 Person and number.

2.7.2 Internal and External Person. 2.7.3 Nominal inflection 2.7.4 Verbal Inflection

2.8 Derivational Morphology. 2.8.1 Part-of-Speech Classes 2.8.2 Reconversion. 2.8.3 Length of words. 2.8.4 Transitivity Classes

2.9 Clitics

2.10 Derivational Clitics

2.11 Subclasses of Stems. 2.11.1 Nominal Stems. 2.11.2 Verbal Stems

2.12 Compounds

3. Morphophonology

12

3.1 Productive Affixes.

3.2 Null Suffixes.

3.3 Interaction at Boundaries.

3.4 Stem Variation.

3.5 Stem Selection. 3.5.1 Full and vocalic stem forms.

3.5.2 Factors influencing full vs. vocalic stem selection

3.6 Affix Variation. 3.6.1 Variable initial cluster. 3.6.2

Initial /G/ and /J/. 3.6.3 Continuant/stop alternation.

3.7 Nominal Inflection. 3.7.1 Geminating stems 3.7.2

Clustering Stems. 3.7.3 Additional classes in the ergative and plural. 3.7.4 Tabular summary of noun classes

3.8 Verbal Inflection. 3.8.1 Negation. 3.8.2 Verbs in final -E. 3.8.3 Future (-ssa-).

3.9 Special Derivational Forms of Verbs. 3.9.1

Antipassive. 3.9.2 The Active and passive participles.

3.10 Varia. 3.10.1 Replacive suffixation. 3.10.2

Assibilation. 3.10.3 Vowel lengthening. 3.10.4 Special stem alternates.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 4. Phonology | 20 |
| 4.1 Constraints on the Phonological Content of Words | |
| 4.2 Automatic Phonology. 4.2.1 Vowel lowering. 4.2.2 Sequences of vowels 4.2.3 Sequences of consonants | |
| 5. Syntax | 22 |
| 5.0 Syntactic Categories | |
| 5.1 Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases | |
| 5.2 Noun Phrase Categories | |
| 5.3 Verb Phrase Categories | |
| 5.4 The Clause. 5.4.1 Verbal clauses. 5.4.2 Verbless independent clauses. 5.4.3 Order of the principal constituents of the clause. 5.4.4 Sentence fragments | |
| 5.5 Internal Structure of the NP. 5.5.1 Basic structure. 5.5.2 Modifiers. 5.5.3 Determination. 5.5.4 Complements of nouns. 5.5.5 Order of elements within NP | |
| 5.6 NP Versus Clause | |
| 5.7 Internal Structure of VP. 5.7.0 Basic structure. 5.7.1 NP Complements. 5.7.2 Order of elements within VP. 5.7.3 Absolute complement versus absolute term. 5.7.4 Clausal complements. 5.7.5 VP complements | |
| 5.8 Adverbials. 5.8.1 VP adverbs. 5.8.2 Sentence adverbs. 5.8.3 Form of adverbials. 5.8.4 Order of constituents | |
| 5.9 Conjunction. 5.9.1 Restrictions on conjunction. 5.9.2 The conjunctive mood. 5.9.3 Free conjuncts. 5.9.4 Anomalous absolute conjuncts. 5.9.5 Position of conjunctions. 5.9.6 Agreement with conjoined NPs | |
| 6. Semantics | 37 |
| 6.1 Basic Semantic Categories | |
| 6.2 Semantic Subject | |
| 6.3 Semantic Functions | |
| 6.4 Scenes | |
| 6.5 Semantic Modification | |
| 6.6 Quantification | |
| 7. Reference | 40 |
| 7.1 Reflexive Reference | |
| 7.2 Definite Reference | |
| 7.3 Deictic Reference | |
| 7.4 Unrestricted Reference | |
| 7.5 Pragmatic Considerations | |
| 7.6 Definiteness and Indefiniteness | |
| 7.7 Reflexive Expressions | |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 8. Syntax and Semantics of Derivational Affixes | 45 |
| 8.1 General Features. 8.1.1 Semantics of affixation. 8.1.2 Syntax of affixation | |
| 8.2 Conversion. 8.2.1 Noun incorporation. 8.2.2 Verb incorporation or nominalization | |
| 8.3 Modification. 8.3.1 Nominal modifiers. 8.3.2 Verbal modifiers | |
| 9. Syntax and Semantics of Inflection | 55 |
| 9.1 Internal and External Person | |
| 9.2 Case. 9.2.1 Direct Cases. 9.2.2 Oblique cases. | |
| 9.3 Mood. 9.3.1 Independent moods. 9.3.2 Dependent moods | |
| 10. Clitics and Derivational Clitics | 61 |
| Appendix 1. Inflectional Forms | 63 |
| Appendix 2. Demonstratives | 67 |
| Appendix 3. Text | 69 |
| References | 75 |

Acknowledgments

This work has been made possible by the kind assistance of so many people and institutions that I hesitate to acknowledge it for fear of leaving someone out. Numerous fellow Inuitologists have, along the way, offered invaluable advice and encouragement without which my efforts could not have produced even in what modest results I may have achieved. I am especially indebted, however, to Robert Peterson, the former Professor of Eskimology in Copenhagen and founder of Ilisimatusarfik, The University of Greenland, for kindnesses that made my initial visits to Greenland so pleasurable and for continued support throughout the years. I am forever in the debt of Puju (Carl Christian Olsen), who got me interested in his marvelous language so many years ago and whose advice and assistance I have enjoyed ever since. To the fortunate accident of meeting Puju when he came to Chicago in 1969 I owe much of my career.

The non-Greenlandic linguists whose insights and assistance have been particularly helpful to me include Stig Bjørnum, Alana Johns, Jeff Leer, Willem de Reuse, Jørgen Rischel, and Tony Woodbury. This work owes an especially large debt to Michael Fortescue, whose agreements and disagreements with my ideas over a couple of decades have helped me immensely to clarify my thinking and avoid errors of fact and interpretation. The late Knud Bergsland provided me a role model of diligence and care. His apparent interest in my approach to grammar spurred me on at times when I needed it.

I cannot possibly thank enough the many people of Greenland whose warmth, hospitality and patience I have been privileged to experience. Simon and Arnajaraq Olsen welcomed me, a complete stranger, into their home, treating me as a member of the family and acting as patient tutors of language and culture on several occasions. The following people, among others, have volunteered to assist me in my grammatical struggles: Kuna Damgaard, Arnaq Jensine Grove, Agnes Johnsen, Nuka Kleiman, Jens Kleist, Miiti Kristiansen, Lise Lennert, Samuel Olsen, and Pilu Peterson.

Finally, I wish to express profound gratitude to my dear friend Inooaq Olsen. From our initial meeting in Sisimiut in 1970 to the present day, he and I, as well as our families, have been connected in personal as well as intellectual ways. His unstinting labors on my behalf and his deep mastery of his language have been invaluable to this project and to every other work on Inuit languages that I have ever done. Beyond these professional contacts, we have shared tragedies and joys, have known sadness and have had fun.

James Slotta read and corrected the entire manuscript. His diligence and knowledge of the structure of Inuit languages allowed him to find numerous errors of style and fact, and I am very grateful to him for that.

I have been fortunate enough to receive financial support in my study of Inuit languages from several agencies and institutions. Of direct relevance to the present work was the generous grant from the National Science Foundation (Award Number 05907-01-01). This little book can be considered a partial report on that project.

1. Introductory Remarks

West Greenlandic (WG) is a member of the Inuit branch of the Eskimoic family of languages. The only certain relative of Eskimoic is Aleut, though hints of related languages in Asia are fairly strong. (See Fortescue 1998.) Of the 100,000 or so present-day speakers of Eskimoic, nearly one half, around 48,000 or so, are speakers of West Greenlandic. As the name implies, WG is spoken on the west coast of Greenland, from the southern tip of that island at about 60° North to the villages above the town of Upernavik at about 74°. North of the WG area Inuktun, or Polar Eskimo is spoken (Fortescue 1999), a language that is actually more closely related to Canadian dialects than to WG. On the east coast of Greenland is found East Greenlandic, a sister of WG that has undergone some remarkable phonological and lexical alterations (Mennecier 1995).

WG is a highly synthetic language with complex inflection and remarkably developed derivational morphology. While details differ, WG is grammatically very similar to the other Inuit languages and indeed, to the more distant Eskimoic languages of the Yup'ik subfamily, suggesting that this extreme of synthesis constitutes a stable linguistic type.

Norwegians, Danes, and Germans missionized Greenland and formed colonies there beginning in 1721. This lengthy contact with Europeans has affected the language, but only in subtle ways. The response of Greenlanders to exposure to European culture was to exploit the existing synthetic resources of the language even further, making the average word length even greater in WG than it is in other kinds of Eskimo or than it was in earlier times in Greenland. This process was facilitated by the near universal literacy in the native language that has existed since the middle of the 19th century.

Since May 1979 Greenland has been a home-rule province of Denmark. WG is the official language of the country, along with Danish. WG is used for all purposes: in government, politics, education, and industry. With rare exceptions all native children speak WG as their first language.

1.1 Literature. A surprisingly large number of original books, translations, volumes of poetry, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, and teaching materials are available in WG. The total number of such things runs to the thousands. Atuakkiorfik, the principle publisher in Greenland, has a list of over 300 current West Greenlandic titles. There is also a long tradition of grammatical description dating back to the 18th century (Bergsland and Rischel 1986).

1.2 Orthography. The German Moravian missionary, Samuel Kleinschmidt, wrote the first grammar of WG (Kleinschmidt 1851) that was based entirely on the native categories of the language. He also produced a dictionary (Kleinschmidt 1871) and a translation of the Old Testament (1864), a photographic reprint of which is still in use (TastamantitorKamik 1961). He constructed a partially phonemic, partially etymological orthography for the language which was universally employed from the 1860s to the 1970s. The etymological aspects of this writing system, however, were difficult to master and its use of one special character and various diacritics made it typographically problematic. In 1977, over the objections of many older Greenlanders, a mostly phonemic, but partly phonetic spelling system was adopted that used only characters found on any Roman letter keyboard. The new orthography has completely displaced Kleinschmidt's.

The following characters are used to represent the native vocabulary:

Vowels: i, e, a, o, u

Consonants: f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v

All vowels and all consonants with the exception of *j* and *v* occur both singly and doubled. The only clusters that are found in native words are the diphthong *ai* at the end of

words and the combination of *r* followed by *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, and *t*. Foreign words can contain other graphemes and combinations of graphemes that are never found in the native vocabulary.

1.3 Pronunciation

1.3.1 The vowels spelled *e* and *o* are lowered allophones of /i/ and /u/ that occur always and only before the uvulars *r* and *q*. The same phonetic effect is found with the phoneme /a/, though it is not represented orthographically. Before non-uvulars /a/ is fronted and slightly raised, but it is a low back vowel before the uvulars.

1.3.2 The single consonants have a pronunciation more or less as in Spanish with the following exceptions: *q* is a uvular stop and *r* is a uvular continuant. The phoneme /t/ is strongly affricated before *i* and *e*, and somewhat affricated word finally.

1.3.3 The double segments are long and in careful speech have almost exactly twice the duration of the single segments. Except for the nasals, all consonants in geminates or clusters are voiceless including *r* and *g*, which are voiced continuants when single and voiceless continuants when geminate, and *l* which is voiceless (like *ll* in Welsh) when doubled or following *r*.

1.3.4 There is no stress in WG. The ends of words usually bear one of two distinctive tone contours, a non-final contour with high pitch on the penultimate vowel mora and a final contour with high pitch on the antepenultimate and final vowel morae.

1.3.5 The pronunciation of foreign words, in particular those of Danish origin, can vary with the skill of the speaker in the foreign language, though many such words that have been taken into the language have a standard Greenlandicized pronunciation.

2. Morphology

2.1 **Words.** A morphological word in WG is the largest unit of the morphology. It is generally also a phonological word, a syntactic word, and a semantic word, though there are many deviations from this rule. A primary characteristic of words in WG is that they may constitute a whole utterance, whereas their parts cannot.

Words of WG usually consist of more than one productive morpheme. The average number of productive morphemes per word ranges between three and five, depending on the kind of text. (In English, the figure is only slightly more than one.) Thus morphology—word structure—is a central part of the grammar of WG, as it is in all other Eskimo languages. Nevertheless, the basic principles of morphology are quite simple and for the most part not different from what is found in much more familiar languages.

2.2 **Stems.** A stem is a morphological unit that consists of one or more morphemes, may begin a word, and requires inflectional elaboration to be a complete word form. Noun stems, however, occur in the absolutive singular without overt inflection.

2.3 **Types of Affixes.** Affixes in WG can be divided into four types according to whether they are added to stems or words and whether they form stems or words. The following chart presents these four types with the approximate number of productive members of each type in the WG lexicon:

| Affix Type | Added To | Produces | Approximate Number |
|---------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|
| inflectional affix | stem | word | (1,000) |
| derivational affix | stem | stem | (500) |
| clitic | word | word | (12) |
| derivational clitic | word | stem | (7) |

2.4 **Notation.** The following notational conventions will be adopted here:

2.4.1 Forms in the standard orthography will be written in italics, e.g., *nerivoq* “He/she eats”.

2.4.2 The morphological analysis of forms will be written in parentheses, e.g., (niri=Vuq).

2.4.3 Inflectional affixes will be preceded by an equal sign in morphemic analyses and their glosses: *nerivoq* “he/she eats” (niri=Vuq) “eat=IND/3s”. An inflection written by itself will be preceded by an equal sign: (=Vuq) “=IND/3s”.

2.4.4 Derivational affixes will be preceded by a hyphen: *nerilluarpoq* “he/she eats well” (niri-(l)luaq=Vuq) “eat-well=IND/3s”. A stem written by itself will be followed by a hyphen: (niri-) “eat-”; (niri-(l)luaq-) “eat- well-”. A derivational affix by itself will be written with hyphens on both sides: (-(l)luaq-) “to do well”.

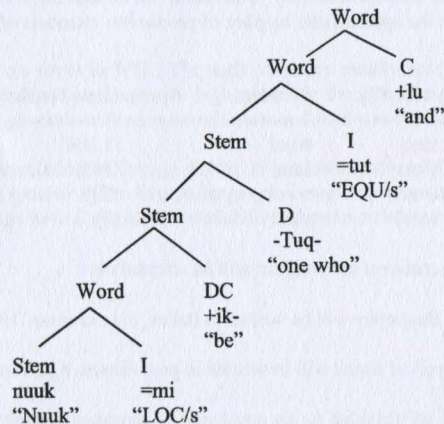
2.4.5 A clitic will be separated from its host word by a plus sign: *nerivorlu* (niri=Vuq⁺lu) “eat=IND/3s+and”. A clitic by itself will follow a the plus sign: (+lu) “+and”.

2.4.6 Derivational clitics are introduced by a plus sign and separated from what follows by a hyphen or an equal sign, as appropriate. *Illumiipputit* “you are in the house” (illu=mi+ik=Vutit) “house=LOC/s+be=IND/2s”. Written alone, a derivational clitic has a plus sign on the left and a hyphen on the right: (+ik-) “+to.be.(in)-”.

2.5 The Structure of the Word. From the definitions of the types of affixes in 2.3 it can be seen that derivational affixes can follow other derivational affixes and a clitic may follow another clitic, but that neither inflections nor derivational clitics may be iterated.

2.5.1 Morphological elaboration is sequential. Each affix has the entire preceding form as a base. The word in *Nuummittutullu*, for example, begins with the root *Nuuk*- "town of Nuuk", to which is added the inflectional affix (=mi) "=LOC/s", forming the word *Nuummi* "in Nuuk". To this word is added the derivational clitic (+ik-) "be" forming the stem *Nuummiit*- (nuuk=mi+ik-) "to be in Nuuk". To this stem is added the derivational affix (-Tuq-) "one who" forming the stem *Nuummiittuq*- (nuuk=mi+ik-Tuq-) "one who is in Nuuk". To this stem is added the inflection (=tut) "=EQU/s" forming the word *Nuummiittutut* (nuuk=mi+ik-Tuq=tut) "like one who is in Nuuk". Finally, to this word is added the clitic (+lu) "and" forming the whole word *Nuummiittutullu* (nuuk=mi+ik-Tuq=tut+lu) "and like one who is in Nuuk". Since affixation is sequential and all productive affixes are suffixes (cf. 3.1), it follows that:

2.5.2 The morphology of every word of WG can be represented by a branching structure in which all the branching is on the left. For the word analyzed above, this structure would be:



2.6 Morphological Subcategories

2.6.1 Nominal and verbal stems. The morphology of WG distinguishes between nominal and verbal forms. Patterns of inflection and derivation show that there are two major morphological classes in WG. To a large extent, these also correspond to the two major classes of words in the syntax (5.0.1) and will therefore be called nouns and verbs. There are subtypes of each of these major classes, but no other comparable morphological classes in WG. Most stems are of one or the other of these categories, though many phonologically identical forms occur either as a noun or a verb, usually with an incompletely predictable meaning relation between the two homophones.

Most derivational and inflectional affixes prefer one or the other of the major classes of stems. The derivational affix (-Juma-) "want to" selects verbal stems like (niri-) "to eat", and the derivational affix (-tuqaq-) "old" selects nouns like (niqE-) "meat". The inflectional affix (=Vuq) "IND/3s" applies only to verb stems, and the inflectional affix (=p) "ERG/s" applies only to noun stems. If we restrict our attention to stems that belong unambiguously to

one or the other major class, and to suffixes that make absolute demands on the class of the stems they can be added to, there is a perfect correspondence between the classes that operate in the derivational system and those that function in the inflectional system.

| Affix | Gloss | (niri-) "to eat" | (niqE-) "meat" |
|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (-Juma-) | "to want" | <i>neriuma-</i> | * <i>neqiuma-</i> |
| (=Vuq) | "IND/3s" | <i>nerivoq</i> | * <i>neqivoq</i> |
| (-tuqaq-) | "old" | * <i>neritoqaq-</i> | <i>neqitoqaq</i> |
| (=p) | "ERG/s" | * <i>nerip</i> | <i>neqip</i> |

(The asterisk in this chart and elsewhere in this book indicates an ungrammatical form.)

2.6.2 Homophony of stems. The neat division of stems into two distinct part-of-speech classes is somewhat complicated by the fact that there are quite a few stems that occur both as a noun and a verb. Bergsland (1955) estimated that about two hundred out of fifteen hundred roots are noun-verb homophones, the rest being roughly equally divided between the two classes, verbal roots preponderating slightly. There is, however, no regular meaning relation between homophonous noun/verb pairs of stems, as the following list of typical cases shows.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>iga</i> "cooking pot" | <i>igavoq</i> "to cook" |
| <i>imeq</i> "water" | <i>imerpoq</i> "to drink" |
| <i>kalleq</i> "thunder" | <i>kallerpoq</i> "to be thundering" |
| <i>kuuk</i> "river" | <i>kuuppoq</i> "to flow (of water)" |
| <i>niu</i> "leg" | <i>niuvoq</i> "to alight, to get out of a vehicle" |
| <i>sianeq</i> "bell" | <i>sianerpoq</i> "to ring, to telephone" |
| <i>siku</i> "ice" | <i>sikuvoq</i> "to be frozen over" |

2.6.3 Morphological particles. The lexicon of WG contains a number of full words that are neither nouns nor verbs, often called particles. Examples are *kiisa*, "finally" and *aamma*, "also", *qaa* "let's go", *naak* "where?", "although", and so on. Since particles are words and derivational and inflectional affixes attach to stems, such lexically listed words are, with a few exceptions to be mentioned, derivationally and inflectionally inert.

2.6.4 Transitive and intransitive forms. This distinction cross-cuts the contrast between nouns and verbs. Transitivity plays a role in both the inflectional and derivational parts of the morphology and is closely, though imperfectly, correlated with distinctions in both syntax and semantics.

It is easiest to display the distinction between transitive and intransitive in the inflectional system. Noun stems and verb stems both take either inflectional affixes that indicate the grammatical person and number of a single entity or inflectional affixes that indicate the person and numbers of two distinct entities. Those that are inflected for only one personal category will be called intransitives and those that are inflected for two person and number combinations will be called transitives.

| | V | N |
|--------------|---|--|
| INTRANSITIVE | <i>niuvoq</i> "he/she alights" <i>niupput</i> "they alight" <i>niuvutit</i> "you(s) alight" | <i>nanoq</i> "polar bear" <i>nannut</i> "polar bears" ---- |
| TRANSITIVE | <i>takuara</i> "I see it" <i>takuakka</i> "I see them" <i>takuakkit</i> "I see you(s)" | <i>umiara</i> "my umiak" <i>umiakka</i> "my umiaks" ---- |

2.7 Inflectional Morphology

2.7.1 Person and number. The category of person has four values, first (1), 2nd (2), third (3), and third reflexive (3R). The category of number has two values, singular (s) and plural (p). Other Eskimo languages also have a dual, but this is lost in modern WG.

For the intransitive noun there are only third person forms. In the intransitive verb, all persons can be found. In the transitive noun one of the personal dimensions is restricted to third person, while the verb can have any person in either of the person/number dimensions.

2.7.2 Internal and External Person. That component of the personal inflection of nouns that is restricted to third person and the morphologically parallel one for verbs will be called the *Internal Person* (IP). The other component of personal inflection, which is present only in transitive forms and can take any person value in both nouns and verbs, will be called the *External Person* (EP). In *niupput* "they alight", or *nannut* "polar bears" the IP is third person plural. In *niuvunga* "I alight", the IP is first person singular. In the transitive forms *umiakka* "my umiaks" and *takuakka* "I see them", the EP is first person singular and the IP is third person plural. In *takuakkit* "I see you (s)", the EP is first person singular and the IP is second person singular.

2.7.3 Nominal inflection. *The distinctive inflectional category of nominals is case.* There are ten morphological cases of nominals in WG:

| | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1) | Absolute (ABS) | <i>ataataa</i> | "his father" |
| 2) | Accusative (ACC) | <i>tamaasa</i> | "all of them" |
| 3) | Ergative (ERG) | <i>ataataata</i> | "his father's" |
| 4) | Nominative (NOM) | <i>tamarmik</i> | "all of them" |
| 5) | Instrumental (INS) | <i>ataataanik</i> | "with his father" |
| 6) | Allative (ALL) | <i>ataaamut</i> | "to his father" |
| 7) | Ablative (ABL) | <i>ataataanit</i> | "from his father" |
| 8) | Locative (LOC) | <i>ataataani</i> | "in his father" |
| 9) | Perative (PER) | <i>ataataatigut</i> | "through his father" |
| 10) | Equative (EQU) | <i>ataataatut</i> | "like his father" |

2.7.3.1 The direct cases (DIR) comprise the ergative, absolute, nominative, and accusative. The personal pronouns (2.11.1.2) and the intransitive plural of ordinary nouns show no difference between absolute, accusative, nominative, or ergative. In such a case, the case will be glossed as "DIR".

2.7.3.2 Most nominals occur in the absolute and ergative, rather than the accusative and nominative. The only nominals that take accusative and nominative inflection are the exhaustives (2.11.1.4), and for some speakers, the plural demonstratives (Appendix 2.2).

2.7.3.3 Cases other than the direct cases will be called oblique cases.

2.7.3.4 The four oblique cases, allative, ablative, locative, and perative, are the spatial cases. Demonstrative nominals (2.11.1.1) only have oblique forms in the spatial cases.

2.7.3.5 The complete inflection of a noun includes case, the internal person, and if the noun is transitive, the external person. A list of nominal inflections can be found in Appendix 1.2.

2.7.4 Verbal Inflection. *The distinctive inflectional category for verbs is mood.* In addition, verbs are inflected for internal person, and if transitive, for external person. The category of mood absolutely distinguishes verbs from nouns in the inflectional system.

There are nine verbal moods in WG illustrated by the following forms:

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1) | Indicative (IND) | <i>iserputit</i> | "you enter" |
| 2) | Interrogative (INT) | <i>iserpit</i> | "do you enter?" |
| 3) | Imperative (IMP) | <i>iserit</i> | "enter!" |
| 4) | Optative (OPT) | <i>iserli</i> | "let him/her enter" |
| 5) | Conjunctive (CONJ) | <i>iserlutit</i> | "you entering" |
| 6) | Past Subordinative (PSUB) | <i>iseravit</i> | "when you entered" |
| 7) | Future Subordinative (FSUB) | <i>iseruit</i> | "when you enter" |
| 8) | Habitual Subordinative (HSUB) | <i>iseraangavit</i> | "whenever you enter" |
| 9) | Participial (PART) | <i>isertutit</i> | "that you enter" |

2.7.4.1 The independent moods are the indicative, interrogative, imperative, and optative. These are distinguished by the fact that they do not allow 3R inflection in either person/number component.

2.7.4.2 The dependent Moods, are the conjunctive, past subordinative, future subordinative, habitual subordinative, and participial. These moods (with the exception mentioned in 2.7.4.4 (3)) allow 3R inflection in either the IP or EP.

2.7.4.3 The Directive Moods (imperative and optative) are further restricted as to person. The Imperative has only first person plural and second person semantic subjects. (See 6.2.) The Optative has only first person and third person semantic subjects.

2.7.4.4 Certain combinations of features are disallowed.

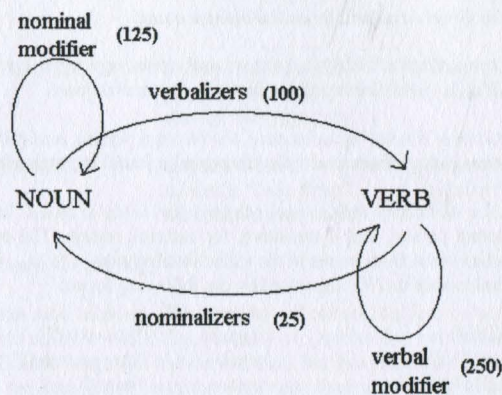
(1) *Except for the third person non-reflexive, there are no inflectional forms with the same person in both the IP and EP.*

(2) *There is no negative of the imperative.* The negative conjunctive is used in its place.

(3) *There is no 3R inflection in the intransitive participial or in the EP of the transitive participial.* The conjunctive is used instead.

2.8 Derivational Morphology

2.8.1 Part-of-Speech Classes. *Derivational affixes of WG are in general lexically specific as to whether they are added to noun or verb stems and as to whether the resulting stem is a noun or a verb.* There are, then, four major classes of derivational affixes with respect to their effect on part-of-speech classes: the converters verbalize nouns or nominalize verbs, and the modifiers make nouns stems from noun stems or verb stems from verb stems. These terms are displayed in the chart below along with an indication of the approximate number of each type.



2.8.2 Reconversion. Converters make it possible to alternate between verbs and nouns and vice versa. This is illustrated by the word *nuanneqateqanngilaq* (nuanniq-qat-qaq=ngilaq) “he/she does not have an equal in being pleasant”, which goes from verb (nuanniq-) “to be pleasant”, to noun (nuanniq-qat-) “an equal in pleasantness”, and back to verb (nuanniq-qat-qaq-) “to have an equal in pleasantness”.

Because of the possibility of cycling between nouns and verbs and thereby using the same suffix more than once, it follows that:

2.8.3 Length of words. There is no limit in principle to the length of a WG word. In actual practice it is rare to find more than a half dozen productive derivational affixes in a single word, but even with this artificial limit, assuming conservatively that an average stem can take any of a hundred different derivational affixes, there will be a trillion stems in WG, effectively an infinite number.

2.8.4 Transitivity classes. Derivational affixes can also be classified on the basis of whether the stem to which they are added is transitive or intransitive, and whether the stem that is formed is transitive or intransitive. In particular, there are transitivizers, detransitivizers, transitive modifiers, and intransitive modifiers.

Transitivity is much more fluid in WG than part-of-speech class. There are quite a few derivational affixes that are neutral with respect to the transitivity of the stem that they apply to. Some produce stems of a particular transitivity and some are transparent, applying to stems to produce stems of the same transitivity as those they are added to.

2.9 Clitics

2.9.1 Most clitics can be added to any morphological word whatsoever. Example: (+mi) “indeed”: *tikipormi* “he/she arrived indeed”, *toquppaami* “he/she killed him/her indeed”, *tuttumi* “a caribou indeed”, *nuliarami* “my wife indeed”, *immaqami* “perhaps, indeed”.

2.9.2 Several affixes that are otherwise derivational can be used as clitics in a limited way. As clitics they are usually added to nouns in oblique cases, pronouns, or particles. For example (-innaq) “only” is a clitic in *Nuammuinnaq* “just to Nuuk” (nuuk=mut+innaq), likewise (-l)uinnaq-) in *naamilluinaq* (naamik+(l)uinaq) “no!+absolutely”

2.9.3 The equative case ending (=tut) has a clitic use. This use is mainly found after the locative case as in *Danmarkimisut* “like in Denmark” (danmarki=mi+tut).

2.10 Derivational Clitics

2.10.1 Derivational clitics are added to oblique cases of nouns. There are four full-fledged examples of these, and two near examples. There is one clear example for each of the four spatial cases. Though they are not numerous, these affixes are quite frequently used.

Examples: 1) (+ik-) “to be (at a place or in a condition)”: *oqaluffimmi* “church/LOC/s”, *oqaluffimmiik-* “to be in the church”. 2) (+kaq-) “to go (to)”: *oqaluffimmut* “church/ALL/s”; *oqaluffimmukaq-* “to go to the church”. 3) (+q-) “to come (from)”: *oqaluffimmüt* “church/ABL/s”, *oqaluffimmeeq-* “to come from the church”, 4) (+q-) “to go (through, across)”: *oqaluffikkut* “church/PER/s”, *oqaluffikkoq-* “to go through the church”.

The derivational affix (-u-) “be” is used as a derivational clitic in such forms as *1980-miuvoq* (1980=mi+u=Vuq) “It was in 1980”. Also *uangaavunga* (uanga+u=Vunga) “I/me+be=IND/1s” or *uangaavoq* (uanga+u=Vuq) “I/me+be=IND/3s” “It’s me”; *kinaava?* “Who is he/she?” (kina+u=Va) “who(s)+be=INT/3s”; *kikkuuppat?* “Who are they?” (kikkut+u=(p)pat) “who(p)+be=INT/3p”, etc. The affix (-miuq-) “dweller in” is mostly derivational in its behavior, but it can be added to third person possessed forms of nouns: *Nuup eqqaamiuvoq* “He/she lives in the region of Nuuk” (iqqaq=a+miuq-u=Vuq) “region=ABS/3s/dweller.in-be=IND/3s”.

2.10.2 Derivational clitics cannot be considered derivational affixes. Forms such as *oqaluffimmukaq-* “to go to church” cannot be analyzed as the stem (uqaluffik-) “church” plus an ordinary derivational affix (-mukaq-) “to go to ___”. The correct analysis is ((uqaluffik=mut)+kaq)=Vuq as shown by the fact that all of the usual categories of nominal inflection, including Internal Person number and External Person are to be found in these forms, e.g., *oqaluffitsinnut* “church.1p/ALL” *oqaluffitsinnukarpoq* “he/she is going to our church”, etc.

2.11 Subclasses of Stems

2.11.1 Nominal Stems

2.11.1.1 Demonstrative Stems. Thirteen roots with demonstrative meanings are morphologically distinct from other nominals. (For a list of the forms that occur, see Appendix 2.) Demonstrative stems have a number of morphological peculiarities:

(1) *The demonstrative roots can occur with the only prefix in WG, (ta-).* The prefixed form of *pav-* “far up/east”, for example is *tappav-* “far up/east, as mentioned”.

(2) *The demonstratives occur as particles when followed by a unique suffix (=a).* From the root *pav-* there are the adverbial particles *paffa* “up there/there in the east” and *tappava* “up there/there in the east, as mentioned”.

(3) *The only oblique forms of the demonstrative stems are the four spatial cases.* The suffixes which they take are special to this class.

(4) *For most unprefix and prefixed forms there is a demonstrative noun meaning “the one which is located at”.* The demonstrative noun, being a noun, occurs in all of the

morphological cases. From the stem (ma-) “here” is derived the demonstrative noun *manna* “this one here” (absolutive singular) with case forms *matuma* (ergative singular), *matumani* (locative singular), and so on.

2.11.1.2 Personal Pronouns

- (1) *The first and second person pronouns have only one form for all the direct cases.*
- (2) *The third reflexive person pronoun does not occur in any of the direct cases.*
- (3) *There are no non-reflexive third person pronouns. Demonstratives are used instead.*

2.11.1.3 Interrogative Roots. The two interrogative noun roots (human and non-human) are intransitive noun stems with special direct case forms.

| | ABS/s | ERG/s | DIR/p |
|--------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| “who” | <i>kina</i> | <i>kia(p)</i> | <i>kikkut</i> |
| “what” | <i>suna</i> | <i>suup</i> | <i>suut</i> |

2.11.1.4 Exhaustives. Exhaustives are inflected for nominative and absolutive case in the third person and show no direct case distinctions in the first and second persons. There are three stems in this class: (tamaq-) “all, every”, (iluunngaq-) “whole”, and (kisi-) “only, alone” which are morphologically distinct from ordinary nouns. The stem (nalinginnaq-) “whoever, whatever” is occasionally used in a similar way.

| | NOM/s | ACC/s | NOM/p | ACC/p |
|--------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| “only” | <i>kisimi</i> | <i>kisiat</i> | <i>kisimik</i> | <i>kisiisa</i> |

A few derivational affixes, including (-r)suaq- “big”, (-vik-) “real”, (-rpiaq-) “exact”, (-ngajak-) “almost”, and (-r)luinnaq- “absolutely”, can apply to exhaustives which then retain the nominative-accusative contrast: *tamarsuarmik* “absolutely all of them (NOM)”, *tamarsuaasa* “absolutely all of them (ACC)”; *tamangajarmik* “almost all of them (NOM)”, *tamangajaasa* “almost all of them (ACC)”.

2.11.2 Verbal Stems. Except for the distinction between transitive and intransitive mentioned in 2.6.4, all verbal stems belong to the same morphological class. They differ semantically and morphophonologically, but in terms of morphology itself, there are no special characteristics that subcategorize verbal stems.

There is an interrogative verb root *su-* “to do what?” with no special morphological properties.

2.12 Compounds

2.12.1 Verbs of inability form compounds with other verbs suffixed with abstract nominalizer (8.2.2.7) (-niq-). The verbs in question are (ajuq-) “to never __”, (artuq-) “to be unable to/to be too weak to”, (nalu-) “to not know how to”, (sapiq-) “to be unable to, to dare not”, and their derivatives. For example, *pujortarnek ajorpunga* “I never smoke”, *nalunneq naluvunga* “I do not know how to swim”, *nalunneq nalunngilanga* “I know how to swim” ((-nngik-) “not”). As a part of a compound, the nominalized verb in (-niq-) must immediately precede the verb of inability and cannot be separated from it by other syntactic material. (See 5.7.5.1 for the syntactic properties of the verbs of inability.)

Except for the independent status of the two stems, each of which can be pronounced as separate words, these compounds are morphologically similar to a combination of a stem

and a derivational affix, the verb in (-niq-) being analogous to the stem and the verb of inability being analogous to the suffix. Thus *pujortarnek ajorpunga* “I never smoke” is the equivalent of *pujortanngisaanarpunga* (pujuqtaq-nggisaannaq=Vunga) “smoke.HAB-never=IND/3s”, which is formed with the derivational affix (-nggisaannaq-) “to never do”.

The compound stem (e.g. (pujurtarniq ajuq-) takes further derivational and inflectional suffixes as would any stem, namely at the end of the entire form: *pujortarnek ajussaaq* “He/she will never smoke” (ajuq-ssa=Vuq) “to.never-FUT=IND/3s”. Most of the verbs of inability are analogous to transitivity neutral verb modifiers (2.8.4). They are intransitive when combined with an intransitive verb in (-niq-) and transitive when combined with a transitive verb in (-niq-), e.g., *qitinneq saperpunga* “I cannot dance” (qitik-niq sapiq=Vunga) “dance-ANOM be.incapable=IND/1s”, *illinniartinneq saperpara* “I am incapable of teaching him/her.” (ilinniartit-niq sapiq=Vara) “teach-ANOM be.incapable=IND/1s/3s”. The verb (artuq-) is a transitive modifier. It is always transitive and can only be compounded with a transitive verb: *ammarneq artorpara* “I cannot open it”.

2.12.2 There are a few sporadic forms that can be considered compounds. One apparently genuine example is the collocation *siniffik pooq* “sleeping bag”, which consists of the noun *siniffik* “bed” and the noun *pooq* “bag”. The morphological oddity of this form is that though it appears to consist of two nouns, only one is inflectable; in the locative case, for example, it is *siniffik puumi*, not **siniffimmi puumi*. From the point of view of the morphology, this can be considered an unanalyzable stem, a fact reinforced by the pronunciation [siniffipooq] for many speakers. Other similar examples are: *iffiaq qaqortoq* “white bread” which behaves as if it is a single stem *iffiaqqaortuq-*, the numerals whose first element is *arfineq* “six” or *aqqaneq* “twelve”: *arfineq marluk* “seven”, *arfineq pingasut* “eight”, *aqqaneq marluk* “thirteen”. These are all inflected only on the second element: *iffiaqqaortumik* “white bread (INS/s)”, *arfineq marlunnik* “seven (INS/p)”, etc.

The noun stem (tungE-) “direction of” with transitive suffixes can be preceded immediately by possessed positional nouns with truncated ergative endings. Thus instead of *iluata tungaanut* “towards the inside of it” (ilu=ata tungE=anut) “inside=ERG/3s/s direction=ALL/3s/s”, the usual form would be *iluutungaani*. The parts of the word are often written together nowadays, but used to be separated by a hyphen or an apostrophe.

Somewhat more generally, proper names are treated as single stems. *Hanseeraq Olsen* has the Ergative case form *Hanseeraq Olsenip*, not **Hanseeqqap Olsenip*. Likewise, the numerals derived from Danish are treated as unitary items with the word they modify (generally a Danish word, if the numeral is less than thirteen): *to kuruuninik* “two kroner (INS/p)”. (Compare *kuruuninik marlunnik*, where the native numeral *marluk* “two” and the noun are both inflected.)

3. Morphophonology

Morphophonology is concerned with how the phonological content of words is determined as a function of the morphological content of the words. The way the phonological content of words of WG is determined is a rather complex affair, subject to forces that regard the lexicon, morphological patterning, and pure phonological content.

3.1 Productive Affixes. *All the productive affixes of WG are suffixes.* There are no infixes, circumfixes, reduplications, or the like, and the only prefix in the language is that mentioned in 2.11.1.1 (1). Since this prefix is found in only a limited number of combinations, sometimes with unpredictable meanings, it is properly handled in the lexicon, not the morphology. Appendix 2 contains an exhaustive list of the stems that have this prefix.

3.2 Null Suffixes. *There are only three phonologically null affixes in WG:* 1) the absolutive singular intransitive inflection of nouns: (qimmiq-) “dog” *qimmeq* “dog (ABS/s)”; 2) an emphatic derivative of verbs of degree: (ajuq-) “to be bad” *ajoo!* “How bad!” and 3) the reflexive derivative of transitive verbs (7.7.9): thus the transitive verb (uqarvigE-) “to speak to” can occur with intransitive inflection as a reflexive: *imminut oqarfigaaq* “he/she spoke to him/herself” (uqarfigE=Vuq). All other morphological processes are signaled by overt phonological content.

3.3 Interaction at Boundaries. *The addition of suffixes to a morphological host can involve adjustments of the content of both the host and the suffix.* This adjustment is at the boundary between the host and suffix and therefore affects the end of the host and the beginning of the suffix. The determination of phonological content at the juncture between host and suffix often requires reference to the identity or morphological class of the two joined elements.

3.4 Stem Variation. When the host is a stem that will be extended by a derivational affix or completed by an inflection, the stem often presents more than one form to which suffixes are added. To some extent these stem alternates are predictable from phonological content, but to some extent they are also morphologically or lexically determined.

3.5 Stem Selection. Before purely phonological adjustments are carried out, the correct form of the stem must be determined on the basis of properties of both the affix and the host. There is considerable lexical idiosyncrasy and detail in regard to stem selection, but there are also some very general patterns.

3.5.1 Full and vocalic stem forms. *For every stem there is full form, which can be taken as basic, and a vocalic form.* Affixes are lexically specific as to whether they are added to the full form or the vocalic form. The vocalic form is related to the full form as follows:

3.5.1.1 *For stems whose full form ends in a vowel, the vocalic form is the same as the full form.*

3.5.1.2 *For stems ending in a velar or uvular, the vocalic form is the full form minus the final consonant.*

3.5.1.3 *For stems ending in a dental, the vocalic form is the full form plus a variable vowel symbolized “E”.*

3.5.1.4 Examples:

| Stem | Full Form | Vocalic form | Gloss |
|------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| (nuna-) | /nuna/ | /nuna/ | “land” |
| (inE-) | /inE/ | /inE/ | “room” |
| (panik-) | /panik/ | /pani/ | “daughter” |
| (killing-) | /killi?/ | /killi/ | “boundary” |
| (irniq-) | /irniq/ | /irni/ | “son” |
| (angut-) | /angut/ | /angutE/ | “man, father” |
| (aallaas-) | /aallaas/ | /aallaasE/ | “gun” |
| (nalu-) | /nalu/ | /nalu/ | “to not know” |
| (ilagE-) | /ilagE/ | /ilagE/ | “to accompany” |
| (sinik-) | /sinik/ | /sini/ | “to sleep” |
| (uqaq-) | /uqaq/ | /uqa/ | “to speak” |

(In the examples above, and throughout this work, morphophonemic content is enclosed in slashes.)

3.5.2 Factors influencing full vs. vocalic stem selection

3.5.2.1 *Clitics are mostly added to the full form:* *angunaa* “Oh, Mister!” /angut+aa/; *arnaraa* /arnaq+aa/ “Oh, Lady!”; *arnarlu* /arnaq+lu/ “and a woman”; *arnarmi* /arnaq+mi/ “a woman, indeed”. The clitic (+ttaaq) “also” is added to the full form which is then truncated. Thus *anguttaaq* “a man too” /angut+ttaaq/. The quotative clitic (+Guuq) is added in the fashion of other /G/ initial affixes (see 3.6.2), but is added to the vocalic form of /k/ final words, like a /g/ initial affix. Thus *angunngooq* “a man, they say”, from /angut/- “man”, but *uppigooq* “an owl they say” from /uppi/- “owl”.

Note the nasalization of the final consonant of the base to which the clitic is attached in the several forms in the preceding paragraph. This occurs with all clitics beginning with a vowel and with /t/ final words followed by (+Guuq). The forms with a vowel-initial clitic can be illustrated with the copulative clitic (+tuna). For many speakers these clitics also nasalize a preceding uvular producing the otherwise non-occurring phonetic segment [N], a short uvular nasal. Thus (arnaq+una) “it was the lady ...” is [arnaNuna], a phonetic form that is unique to words formed with clitics.

3.5.2.2 *Vocalic forms are selected by affixes beginning in /k/, /g/, /q/, a vowel, or an invariable cluster:* (angut-) “man, father”: *anguteqarpoq* “he/she has a father” (angut-qaq=Vuq), *angutaavoq* “is a man” (angut-u=Vuq), *angutinnguaq* “little man” (angutinnguaq=Ø), *angutikka* “my fathers” (angut=kka); (piniaq-) “to hunt”: *piniaapput* “they are all hunting” (piniaq-a=Vut), *piniaassaqaq* “he/she is going to be hunting” (piniaq-ssa=Vuq), *piniannga* “hunt me!” (piniaq=nnga), (piniaqat-) “hunting partner”: *piniaqataa* “his hunting partner” (piniaq-qat=a) /pinia-qatE=a/.

3.5.2.3 *In other cases, affixes are lexically marked as to whether they are added to the full or vocalic form.* Where relevant, affixes that are added to the full form will be indicated in morpheme glosses with a superscript “+”. Since affixes that are added to the vocalic form are in the majority, no special indication will be given for them.

3.5.2.4 Examples of affixes added to the full and vocalic stem forms:

| | Added to full form | Added to vocalic form |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| (tuttu-) | <i>tuttorsuaq</i> "big caribou" | <i>tuttunnguaq</i> "little caribou" |
| "caribou" | <i>tuttumik</i> "caribou.INS/s" | <i>tuttukku</i> "caribou.PER/s" |
| (atuarfik-) | <i>atuarfissuaq</i> "big school" | <i>atuarfinguaq</i> "little school" |
| "school" | <i>atuarfimmik</i> "school.INS/s" | <i>atuarfikkut</i> "school.PER/p" |
| (irmiq-) | <i>ernersuaq</i> "big son" | <i>erninnguaq</i> "little son" |
| "son" | <i>ernermik</i> "dog.INS/s" | <i>ernikkut</i> "son.PER/p" |
| (angut-) | <i>angussuaq</i> "big man" | <i>angutinnguaq</i> "little man" |
| "man" | <i>angummik</i> "man.INS/s" | <i>angutikkut</i> "man.PER/p" |
| (taku-) | <i>takusaaq</i> "see often" | <i>takulaaq</i> "see a little" |
| "see" | <i>takuvoq</i> "see.IND/3s" | <i>takunngilaq</i> "see.NEG/IND/3s" |
| (atuaq-) | <i>atuartaq</i> "read often" | <i>atualaaq</i> "read a little" |
| "read.to" | <i>atuarpooq</i> "read.IND/3s" | <i>atuannngilaq</i> "read.NEG/IND/3s!" |
| (masak-) | <i>masattaq</i> "be often wet" | <i>masalaaq</i> "be a little wet" |
| "be.wet" | <i>masappooq</i> "be wet.IND/3s" | <i>masanngilaq</i> "be wet.NEG/IND/3s" |

3.5.2.5 Many affixes that are added to the full form of *-q* and *-k* stems are added to the vocalic form of *-t* stems:

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (atuarfik-) | <i>atuarfittaaq</i> "new school" | <i>atuarfitoqaq</i> "old school" |
| "school" | <i>atuarfipput</i> "school.ABS/1p/s" | <i>atuarfivut</i> "school.ABS/1p/p" |
| (qimmiq-) | <i>qimmertaaq</i> "new dog" | <i>qimmitoqaq</i> "old dog" |
| "dog" | <i>qimmerput</i> "dog.ABS/1p/s" | <i>qimmivut</i> "dog.ABS/1p/p" |
| (angut-) | <i>angutertaaq</i> "new man" | <i>angutitoqaq</i> "old man" |
| "man, father" | <i>anguterput</i> "father.ABS/1p/s" | <i>angutivut</i> "father.ABS/1p/p" |

3.6 Affix Variation. Though most affixes have the same shape regardless of what they are added to, there are many that have alternatives that depend on the shape of the host. The selection of an affix form seems to depend only on phonological content and not on morphological class or lexical idiosyncrasies of the host.

3.6.1 Variable initial cluster. Certain affixes begin with a single consonant and are added to the full form when it ends in a consonant but begin with a consonant cluster when the full form ends in a vowel. These will be indicated in morpheme glosses with a parenthesized first consonant.

3.6.1.1 Examples with nouns: (panik-) "daughter": (=+(r)put) "ABS/1p/s" *panipput* "our daughter"; (-+(r)Suaq) "big" *panissuaq* "big daughter"; (irmiq-) "son": *ernerput* "our son", *ernersuaq* "big son"; (illu-) "house": *illorput* "our house", *illorsuaq* "big house". With /t/ final stems there is some variation as to whether the affix is added to the full or vocalic form, (angut-) "man": *angupput* or *anguterput* "our father", but only *angussuaq* "big man", not **angutersuaq*.

3.6.1.2 Examples with verbs: (sinik-) "to sleep": (-+(l)luaq-) "to __well"; *sinilluaq* "to sleep well"; (iniq-) "to be finished": *inerluaq* "to be well finished"; (niri-) "to eat": *nerilluarpuq* "eats well"; (tikiut-) "to show up": *tikiulluarpoq* /tikiut-luaq=puaq/ or *tikiutilluarpoq*. (Compare (-liq-) "begin", an affix which is always added to the vowel form and gives only *tikiutillerpoq*.)

3.6.2 Initial /G/ and /J/. A number of affixes beginning with a velar or palatal display

complex allomorphy:

- (1) after vowel stems: the affix begins with *-g/* or *-j/*
- (2) after stems in */...k/* or */...t/*: the affix begins with *-k/*
- (3) after stems in */q/*: the affix begins with */t/* and is added to the vocalic form

Affixes with this behavior will be noted as (-G...) or (-J...) in morpheme glosses, depending on how they behave in case (1).

3.6.2.1 Examples:

- (1) (-Galuaq-) "although __": (iga-) "to cook", *igagaluaq* "cooks, but ..."; (inngik-) "to sit down", *inngikkaluaq* "sits down, but ..."; (atiq-) "to go down", *ateraluaq* "went down, but ..."; (tikiuk-) "to show up", *tikiukkcaluaq* "shows up, but".
- (2) (=Gami) "PSUB/3Rs": (iga-) "to cook", *igagami* "when he/she (reflexive) cooked"; *inngikkami* "when he/she (reflexive) took a seat"; *aterami* "when he/she (reflexive) went down"; *tikiukkami* "When he/she (reflexive) showed up".
- (3) (-Juma-) "to want": *igajuma* "to want to cook", *ingikkuma* "to want to sit down", *ateruma* "to want to go down".
- (4) (+Guuq) "(someone) says __": *Kaaligooq* "Karl, they say"; (angut-) "man", *angunngooq* "a man, they say". (But cf. the exception in 3.5.2.1.)

3.6.3 Continuant/stop alternation. A few important affixes to verb stems alternate between an initial continuant or stop. The stop version is added to consonant-final hosts and the continuant version to vowel-final hosts. These include the active participle (-+Tuq-), the habitual (-+Taq-), the indicative and interrogative mood signs in (=+V...), and the derivational suffix (-+Vallaaq-) "to do too much". The alternating consonant is indicated by a capital letter in morpheme glosses, e.g., *sinippoq* "sleeps" (sinik=Vuq), *sinittaq* "he/she regularly sleeps" (sinik-Taq-); *oqarpoq* "says" (uqaq=Vuq), *oqartarpoq* "he/she regularly says" (uqaq-Taq=Vuq); *tikiuppoq* "shows up" (tikiut=Vuq), *tikiuttarpoq* "he/she regularly shows up"; but *nerivoq* "he/she eats" (niri=Vuq), *nerisarpoq* "he/she regularly eats" (niri-Taq=Vuq).

3.7 Nominal Inflection. Nominal inflection is the most complex part of WG morphophonology. In addition to the general stem classes discussed above, there are the following classes with relevance only to the inflectional paradigms of nouns:

3.7.1 Geminating stems. A great many nouns have an alternate form with a geminate consonant. The full form of such nouns has the shape */...V₁(C₁)V₂q/* or less frequently */...V₁(C₁)V₂k/*. The geminate form has the shape */...V₁C₂C₂V₂/*, where C₂ is often, but not always, a geminate version of C₁.

3.7.1.1 The geminate stem occurs before inflections that begin with a consonant other than /r/. In the table below the full form is illustrated by the absolutive singular intransitive and the geminate form is exemplified by the intransitive allative singular (=+mut).

| Gloss | Full Form | Geminate Stem |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| child | <i>meeraq</i> | <i>meeqqamut</i> |
| cod | <i>uugaq</i> | <i>uukkamut</i> |
| rabbit | <i>ukaleq</i> | <i>ukallimut</i> |
| star | <i>ulloriaq</i> | <i>ullorissamut</i> |
| smoke | <i>pujoq</i> | <i>putsumut</i> |
| window | <i>igalaaq</i> | <i>igalassamut</i> |
| sea | <i>imaq</i> | <i>immamut</i> |
| stone | <i>ujarak</i> | <i>ujaqqamut</i> |
| eagle | <i>nattoralik</i> | <i>naittorallimut</i> |

A unique aberrant example is *qajaq* “kayak”, whose geminate form is /*qaanna*-/ (e.g., *qaannamut* “to the kayak”).

3.7.1.2 Several frequently used noun-forming derivational affixes form geminating stems. These include one allomorph of the passive participle (-*Taq*-), viz., /*gaq*/, geminate form /*kka*/, as in *ornigaaq* “something one is approaching”, plural *ornikkat*, and the noun-to-noun (*uuffiaq*) “little, young”, which has the geminate form /*aqqa*/, e.g., *qimmiaraq* “puppy”, *qimmiaqqat* “puppies” from (*qimmiq*-) “dog”. Likewise (-*liaq*-) “a made thing”, geminate form (for most speakers) /*lissa*/; (-*lik*-) “one who/which has ___”, geminate form /*lli*/.

3.7.2 Clustering stems. Some nouns that have a full form of the shape /...*V*₁*C*₁*iq*/ have a clustered form /...*V*₁*rC*₁*i*/ or /...*V*₁*qqi*/. There are only a few dozen such stems and their number is declining.

3.7.2.1 The clustered form occurs before inflections beginning with a vowel. Examples with the inflection (=a) “ABS/3s/s”:

| Gloss | Full Form | Clustering Stem + (=a) |
|---------|--------------|------------------------------|
| “tent” | <i>tupeq</i> | <i>toqqa</i> |
| “water” | <i>imeq</i> | <i>erma</i> (<i>ernga</i>) |
| “strap” | <i>aleq</i> | <i>arla</i> |

3.7.2.2 The clustered form is not used before consonant-initial affixes, the very environment that selects the geminate stem for those nouns that have one. The contrast between the geminating and clustering classes of nouns is displayed in the table below:

| | Full Form | Gloss | before (=a) | before (=tmut) |
|------------|-------------|-------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Geminating | <i>imaq</i> | sea | <i>imaa</i> | <i>immamut</i> |
| Clustering | <i>imeq</i> | water | <i>erma</i> or <i>ernga</i> | <i>imermut</i> |

3.7.3 Additional classes in the ergative and plural. There are even further classes of noun stems that occur with the suffixes (=p) “ERG/s” and (=t) “DIR/p”. This latter affix also represents the category “ABS/2s/s”, so that, for example, *illut* means either “houses (DIRp)” or “your house (ABS/2s/s)”. It is a firm rule in WG that the direct case plural and the second person singular absolutive case of a noun are the same.

3.7.3.1 Certain nouns have a strong final uvular that is retained as /r/ in the ergative and

plural. In this case the allomorphs of the inflectional suffixes are /*up*/ and /*it*/. The noun *qaqqaq* “mountain” has a normal (weak) final uvular and its ergative and plural are *qaqqap* and *qaqqat*. The noun *erneq* “son”, on the other hand, has a strong final uvular. Its ergative and plural are *ernerup* and *ernerit*.

3.7.3.2 Most nouns whose full form ends in a velar are like nouns with a strong final uvular, taking the allomorphs =/up/ and =/it/ in the ergative and plural. For the velar finals, however, the consonant of the stem usually disappears in these forms. (*nirrivik*-) “table”: ergative singular *nerriviup*, direct plural *nerriviit*. For about a half dozen velar-final nouns (depending on the speaker), the velar consonant of the stem shows up as a nasal, e.g., *assik* (assing=Ø) “picture=ABS/s”: ergative singular *assingup*, direct plural *assingit*.

3.7.3.3 Tabular summary of noun classes

| Class | =/Ø/ ABS/s | =/p/ ERG/s | =/mut/ ALL/s | =/a/ ABS/3s/s |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| V- | <i>nuna</i> | <i>nunap</i> | <i>nunamut</i> | <i>nunaa</i> |
| E- | <i>neqi</i> | <i>neqip</i> | <i>neqimut</i> | <i>neqaa</i> |
| t- | <i>angut</i> | <i>angutip</i> | <i>angummut</i> | <i>angutaa</i> |
| weak q- | <i>qaqqaq</i> | <i>qaqqap</i> | <i>qaqqamut</i> | <i>qaqqaa</i> |
| strong q- | <i>erneq</i> | <i>ernerup</i> | <i>ernermut</i> | <i>er nera</i> |
| k- | <i>igaffik</i> | <i>igaffiup</i> | <i>igaffimmut</i> | <i>igaffia</i> |
| ng- | <i>assik</i> | <i>assingup</i> | <i>assimmut</i> | <i>assinga</i> |
| geminating | <i>piaraq</i> | <i>piaqqap</i> | <i>piaqqamut</i> | <i>piaraa</i> |
| clustering | <i>ateq</i> | <i>aqqup</i> | <i>atermut</i> | <i>aqqa</i> |

3.8 Verbal Inflection

3.8.1 Negation. The basic negative element is a verbal derivational affix (-*nngit*-), but if the negation is the last derivational element in the verb stem and stands immediately before the mood inflection, it is fused to a greater or lesser extent with the inflection. For example, the negative corresponding to the conjunctive *takullugu* (with inflectional suffix (= +*l*)*lugu*) is the negative *takunagu* “not seeing it”, with the inflection /⁺*nagu*/, combining both the mood sign and the negation in one fused suffix. (The manner of negation in the various moods is shown in Appendix 1.1.)

3.8.2 Verbs in final -E. Verbs that are constructed with a few common derivational affixes, especially (-*gE*-) “have as a” and (-*qE*-) “to do very much” lose the initial /*V*/ of the indicative and interrogative moods and have an irregular /*a*/ version of the variable vowel /*E*/ in the conjunctive mood, which itself has a special form with a single /*l*/ rather than the usual geminate found with vowel stems.

For example: (*iga*-) “to cook” *igavunga* “I cook”, *igallugu* “cooking it”; but (*niri-qE*-) “to eat-very.much”, *nereqaanga* “I eat very much”, *nereqalugu* “eating it very much”. While the special conjunctive forms are obligatory, it is generally acceptable to use the regular indicative/interrogative with the suffix (-*gE*-). Thus (*oqaatigE*-) “to talk about”, with the suffix (=Vunga) is either *oqaatigaanga* or *oqaatigivunga*, “I talk about it”.

3.8.3 Future (-ssa-). The future derivational affix *-ssa* takes indicative forms without the initial /*v*/ of the mood sign in the intransitive only: Thus the future intransitive of the verb (*niri*-) “to eat” is, for example, *nerissaanga* “I will eat” (*niri-ssa*=Vunga), not **nerissavunga*.

But for the transitive (niri-ssa=Vara) it is the expected form *nerissavara* "I will eat it", not **nerissaara*.

3.9 Special Derivational Forms of Verbs

3.9.1 Antipassive. The antipassive of transitive verbs (8.3.2.3.3) is formed with a number of different suffixes or with none. E.g., (toquk-) "kill", antipassive: /toqutsi-/; (pigE-) "own", antipassive: /piginnik-/; (ujaq-) "look for", antipassive: /ujarlit-/; (taku-) "to see", antipassive: /taku-/. The form is partly predictable on phonological grounds, but partly a lexical matter.

3.9.2 The Active and passive participles. These two important derivatives of verbs are also formed in a few different ways. (For the syntax and semantics of these see 8.2.2.9.)

3.9.2.1 The formation of the active participle is fairly regular. The usual affix is (-Tuq), but certain verbs of large extent, e.g. (angi-) "to be big", (silik-) "to be wide", form their participles as if they contained the suffix (-tu-) "to have to a large extent". This suffix itself has an irregular active participle /tuuq/ rather than the expected /tušuuq/. Thus the active participle of (silatu-) "to be smart" (from (sila-) "intelligence" is *silatooq* rather than **silatusoq*, and the active participle of (angi-) "to be big" is *angisooq* "big one" rather than *angisoq*. The negative affix (-nngik-) has the active participle (-nngitsuq).

3.9.2.2 The form of the passive participle is largely predictable from the phonological form of the verb. Verbs whose stem ends in q- or k- generally have a nominal in /gaq/, e.g., *puiguq-* "to forget it"; *puigugaq* "something one has forgotten", *allak-* "to write it", *allagaq*, plural *allakkat* "something written"; those that end in a vowel have nominals in /šaqa/, e.g., (nalu-) "to be ignorant of it"; *nalusaq* "something unknown".

There are quite a few lexical deviations from the general pattern including some irregularities. The verb (sana-) "to fashion, build", for example has the passive participle *sanaaq* "something fashioned or built". Certain stems that are here listed as ending in k- take /taq/ e.g. (tuquk-) "to kill it"; *toqutaq* "something one has killed". (These are historically verbs that ended in t-, but except for the formation of the passive participle and a few other forms, they have largely fallen together with the k- class.)

3.10 Varia. There are a number of quite interesting additional morphophonemic alterations that are found in specific lexical combinations (including combinations of affixes) but are not entirely productive today. Some of these are quite frequently encountered but are nevertheless not general enough to deserve treatment outside of the lexicon.

3.10.1 Replacive suffixation. Several common affixes that are added to the vocalic form have an alternative use that truncates the rhyme of the last syllable of the geminate stem form, if the noun has one (3.71). The suffix itself then lacks an initial consonant it would otherwise have. E.g., from *qajaq* "kayak", *qaannat* "kayaks", the suffix (-liuq-) "to make" gives *qaanniortoq* "he/she makes a kayak" (or regular *qajaliorpoq*); *igalaaq* "window", *igalassat* "windows" plus the suffix (-liq-) "to provide it with" gives *igalasserpaa* (*igalaaq-iq*=⁺Vaa) "provides it with windows" (or regular *igalaalerpaa*); Similarly *aaq* "sleeve" *atsit* "sleeves" *atserpaa* "provides it with a sleeve" (or regular *aalerpaa*).

3.10.2 Assibilation. Most derivational affixes that begin with /t(t)/ have an alternate version in /s(s) / after certain stems ending in /i/. Ordinarily this is a non-alternating /i/, that is to say, not the morphophoneme represented by /E/, but the correlation is not perfect. Examples: *kaffisoq-* (kaffi-tuq-) "to drink coffee"; but *tiitoq-* (tii-tuq-) "to drink tea"; *panissaaq-* (panik-taaq-) "get a new daughter"; but *ernertaq-* (irmi-q-taaq-) "to get a new son".

Assibilation can also be found with the clitic (+t)taaqa "also": *oqarluni* "saying (CONJ/3Rs)", *oqarlunissaaq* "saying also".

3.10.3 Vowel lengthening. A few derivational affixes and derivational clitics lengthen the vowel of the preceding stem: *inuk* "human being" *inooraq* "young human being"; *aqqusinikkut* "along the street (perlative)" *aqqusinikkoorpoq* "goes along the street"; *Aammalu* "One more!", *aammaloorpoq* "he/she says 'One more!'"

3.10.4 Special stem alternates. A few common nominal modifying derivational affixes form stem with unusual stem alternations in certain parts of their inflectional paradigms. These include (-⁺(r)Suaq) "big", (-nnguaq) "little", (-innaq) "only a ___" behave as if they were of the form (-⁺(r)Suk), (-nnguk) and (-innak) when inflected in the ergative singular, the direct case plural, and with a third person possessor, e.g. from *qimmersuaq* "big dog" *qimmersuup* "big dog (ERG/s)", rather than (**qimmersuap*), and *qimmersuit* "big dogs", *qimmersua* "his/her big dog".

4. Phonology.

Those modifications of morphophonemes that depend solely on their phonological content without regard to the morphological environment in which they are found will be treated in this section. This section is briefer than might be expected since most phonological alternation in WG is sensitive to morphological factors and has therefore been treated in Chapter 3.

4.1 Constraints on the Phonological Content of Words

4.1.1 *WG words may only begin in a limited number of ways.* A native word may begin with a vowel or with a single consonant, namely /p/, /t/, /k/, /q/, /s/, /m/, or /n/. Borrowed words may also begin with /j/, /v/, /l/, /r/, and /ʃ/. Partly assimilated words may begin with a non-native phoneme or a consonant cluster depending on the speakers skill with the foreign language from which the word is borrowed.

4.1.2 *Words may end only in a limited number of ways.* Native words may end in a vowel or with one of the single consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, or /q/. Words with an interjectional quality are sometimes truncated so as to end in /n/ or /s/. Examples are *nuann!* "wonderful!" from *nuannerpoq* "It is nice," *nallinn!* "Poor dear!" from *nallinnarpoq* "It is pitiful," *qujan* "thanks" from *qujanaq*, and *takuss!* "See you!" from *takussaagut* "We will see each other".

4.1.3 *Vowels may be single or geminate in any position*

4.1.4 *There is only one diphthong, /ai/, which occurs only in word final position.*

4.1.5 *A consonant cluster can occur between syllables.* The only possibilities are: (1) two identical consonants. (2) the sequence /ts/, and (3) a uvular (written "r") followed by a labial, a dental, or /s/ in the dialect in which it is found. All non-nasal consonants in a cluster are voiceless. Phonetically, a cluster beginning with a uvular is a geminate version of the second consonant with uvular coloring of the preceding vowel. Emphatic truncation mentioned in 4.1.2 occurs inside a few word forms, producing an otherwise impossible cluster, e.g., *kusan'tarik* (kusanaq-tarik) "extremely beautiful".

4.2 Automatic Phonology. Even after the stem and affix adjustments discussed in Chapter 3, it can happen that disallowed sequences occur at morpheme boundaries. Automatic alterations occur to bring things in line with 4.1.4 and 4.1.5.

4.2.1 Vowel lowering. *A vowel is lowered before a uvular consonant.* (See also 1.3.1.)

4.2.2 Sequences of vowels

4.2.2.1 *A high vowel is preceded by a glide of opposite frontness when it follows a long /a:/. Furthermore, the back glide is realized as phonetic [v] following /a/ and before another vowel.* E.g. /igalaajuvuq/ from (igalaa-u =Vuq) "it is a window"; /igalaavi/ from (igalaa=i) "its windows".

4.2.2.2 *Except word finally, a vowel assimilates to a preceding short /a/. E.g. taamaappoq* (taama+ik=Vuq) "he/she is like that", *nunaavoq* (nuna-u=Vuq) "it is land"; *nunaalu* (nuna=i+lu) "and his/her countries" but *nunai* (nuna=i) "his/her countries", where the diphthong is final in the word. (There are no stems that end in /au/ or inflections that consist solely of /u/, so the sequence /au/ never occurs word finally.)

4.2.2.3 *A high vowel is followed by a homorganic glide to separate it from a subsequent non-identical vowel.* E.g. *Hansiuvoq* (hansi-u=Vuq) [hansijuvuq] "it is Hansi"; *anui* (anu=i) [anuwi] "its harnesses".

4.2.2.4 *Two identical vowels are the same as one geminate vowel.* Thus *Nummiippoq* (nuuk=mi+ik=Vuq) "he/she is in Nuuk" - cf. *ukiivoq* /ukii=Vuq/ "he/she spends the winter"; *nanuuvuq* (nanu-u=vuq) "it is a polar bear" - cf. *nuuppoq* (nuuk=vuq) "he/she moves"; *igaa* (iga=a) "his/her cooking pot" - cf. *ikaarpaa* (ikaaq=paa) "he/she crosses it."

4.2.3 Sequences of consonants

4.2.3.1 *When a consonant C₁ precedes an unlike consonant C₂, then C₁ assimilates completely to C₂, producing a geminate consonant.* Some examples: *angullu* (angut+lu) "and a man (ABS)"; *angutillu* (angut=p+lu) "and a man (ERG)" or (angut=t+lu) "and men"; *qimassimavaa* (qimak-sima=Vaa) "he/she had left it"; *sinitta* (sinik=ta) "let us sleep"; *siniffimmi* (sinik-vik=mi) "in the bed" or (siniffik+mi) "a bed, indeed".

4.2.3.2 *Vowel lowering (4.2.1) occurs before consonant assimilation (4.2.3.1).* If the first of two consonants is uvular, the preceding vowel is altered by 4.2.1 before consonant assimilation takes place. Thus the phonetic contrast between a cluster beginning with a uvular consonant and a geminate non-uvular consonant is actually in the vowel:

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------|------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>uppik</i> | "owl" | [up:ik] | <i>orpik</i> "tree" | [op:ik] |
| <i>issippoq</i> | "squats" | [is:ip:oq] | <i>ersivoq</i> "is afraid" | [es:ivoq] |
| <i>allit</i> | "lamps" | [æɫ:it] | <i>arlit</i> "harpoon thongs" | [aɫ:it] |

5. Syntax

5.0 Syntactic Categories. The syntax of WG is largely organized around the same categories as those that function in the inflectional morphology. In particular, the following category distinctions are central to syntax:

5.0.1 *The distinction between nominal and verbal forms (2.6.1)*

5.0.2 *The Internal and External Persons (2.7.2)*

5.0.3 *The categories of case for nouns (2.7.3)*

5.0.4 *The category of mood for verbs (2.7.4)*

5.1 Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases. There is a fundamental contrast in syntax between noun phrases (NPs) and verb phrases (VPs). Except elliptically as answers to questions, each of these phrase types contains an essential word that heads the phrase. Thus the head of an NP is in general a morphological noun and the head word of a VP is a syntactic verb (V).

5.2 Noun Phrase Categories

5.2.1 *Every NP in WG occurs in one of eight syntactic cases.* These match eight of the ten morphological cases, namely: ABS(olutive), ERG(ative), INS(trumental), ALL(ative), ABL(ative), LOC(ative), PER(ative), and EQU(ative). In this chapter the word “case” will be used to refer to syntactic case unless specifically indicated otherwise.

Note that the syntax always distinguishes ergative and absolutive, whereas the morphology sometimes collapses them as the direct case (2.7.3.1). Note also that the nominative and accusative cases of the morphology (2.7.3.2) are not syntactic cases. NPs whose head noun is morphologically nominative or accusative are syntactically either ergative or absolutive. The distribution of the nominative and accusative is related to semantic organization as discussed in 9.2.1.1.

5.2.2 *The case and Internal Person of an NP are the same as the case and Internal Person of the head noun.* The word *illuinut* (illu=inut) “house=ALL/3n/p” is allative in case and third person plural in Internal Person and either singular or plural in External Person. Therefore the phrase *illuinut aserfallattunut* “to his/her ramshackle houses” is allative in case and third person plural in Internal Person.

5.3 Verb Phrase Categories

5.3.1 *Every VP in WG occurs in one of nine syntactic moods.* These are the same as the morphological moods listed in 2.7.4.1.

5.3.2 *The head verb of a VP has the same mood and Internal and External Person values as the entire VP.* For example, the word *takummagit* “because he/she saw them” (see=PSUB/3s/3p) is a past subordinative mood verb whose External Person is third person singular, and whose Internal Person is third person plural. If it is the head verb of a VP, as it could be either by itself or in a more complex phrase like *erseqqissumik takummagit* “because he/she saw them clearly”, then the larger phrase is also past subordinative in mood, third person plural in Internal Person, and third person singular in External Person. This can be specified in terms of the rule below, where lower case Greek letters represent variables over the values of the features:

$$VP[MOOD\alpha, IP\beta, EP\gamma] \rightarrow V[MOOD\alpha, IP\beta, EP\gamma] \dots$$

5.4 The Clause. The vast majority of clauses in WG are verbal clauses containing a VP that is

the head of the entire clause. There are also independent clauses that do not contain a VP.

5.4.1 Verbal clauses

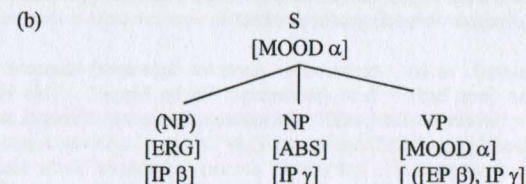
5.4.1.1 *The verbal clause consists of a VP and one or two direct-case NPs.* The direct-case NPs of a clause will be called the terms of the clause. All clauses contain an absolutive case term. If the verb phrase is transitive, the clause also includes an ergative term.

5.4.1.2 *The mood of the verb head of a verbal clause is also the mood of the clause.* The clause *Kaali aallarmat* “when Karl left” is a past subordinative clause because the head V, *aallarmat*, is in the past subordinative mood.

5.4.1.3 *The Internal Person (IP) value of the absolutive case term of a clause is the same as the Internal Person (IP) values of the verb phrase.*

5.4.1.4 *The Internal Person (IP) value of the ergative case term (if there is one) is the same as the External Person (EP) values of the verb phrase.* The relationships in 5.4.1.2 - 5.4.1.4 are captured in rule (a) which specifies structures of the kind schematized in (b).

(a) $S[MOOD\alpha] \rightarrow (NP[ERG, IP\beta]) NP[ABS, IP\gamma] VP[MOOD\alpha, (EP\beta), IP\gamma]$



5.4.1.5 *Some examples:* The clause *meeraq pinnguarpoq* “the child is playing” is intransitive and contains an absolutive term *meeraq* (miiraq=Ø) “child=ABS/s” whose IP value is third person singular. The verb *pinnguarpoq* (pinnguaq=Vuq) is an intransitive verb whose IP features are also third person singular. There is no ergative term, so the VP lacks an EP value. In *meeqqat pinnguarput* “the children are playing” the IP value of both the absolutive term (miiraq=t) and the IP of the verb (pinnguaq=Vut) are third person plural.

In the clause *meeqqap qimmiaaraq pinnguaqatigaa* “the child is playing with the puppy” there is an ergative term *meeqqap* (miiraq=p) and an absolutive term, *qimmiaaraq*, both of which are third person singular. The verb *pinnguaqatigaa* (pinnguaq-qatigE=Vaa) “play-have.as.companion=IND/3s/3s” is transitive and therefore has both IP and EP features. Both categories are third person singular, in agreement with the IP features of the two terms. If the absolutive term is changed to plural, then the Internal Person of the verb must also be third person plural: *meeqqap qimmiaqqat pinnguaqatigai* “the child is playing with the puppies”. If the ergative term is changed to plural, then the External Person of the verb must also be third person plural: *meeqqat qimmiraq pinnguaqatigaa* “the children are playing with the puppy”.

5.4.2 Verbless independent clauses

5.4.2.1 *Certain lexical items have the clause-forming power of independent mood verbs but are not morphological verbs.* For example, the word *naak* “where (is)?” in one usage combines with an absolutive NP to make a sentence the meaning of which is quite similar to the sentence formed by combining an absolutive NP with the verb stem *sumiik-* (su=mi+ik-) “what=LOC/s+be” when it occurs in the interrogative mood. Compare *Naak anaana?* “Where

is mother?", with *Anaana sumiippa?* "Where is mother?" (su=mi+ik=Va) "what=LOC/s+be=INT/3s".

Similarly *aajuna* (aa+una) "here+this", *aajuku* (aa+uku) "here+these", *aapanna* (aa+panna) "there it is up there", and so on. These consist of the particle *aa* and a cliticized, unprefixd demonstrative (2.11.1.1). The forms can be followed by an absolutive NP to make a verbless clause, e.g., *aajuku aqissit* "here are ptarmigans".

5.4.2.2 A number of particles can be used all by themselves with the force of an independent clause. For example *qaa* "Let's go, let's do it!", *Ta!* "Listen!". Some of these particles can also be used with other sentential constituents appropriate to their meaning, e.g., *aali* "can you imagine?" (with absolutive NP or participial clause); *anersa(lu)* "that's nice" (with past subordinative clause), *ata* "just look at (this)" (with absolutive noun or past subordinative clause); *kakkaak* "that's amazing" (with past subordinative clause); *qujanaq* "thanks" (with allative NP or past subordinative clause); *soorlu* "it's just as if" (with participial clause); *sunaaffa(ana)* "Well, what do you know" (with participial clause) and *usiuffa(ana)* "I would have thought" (with participial clause or absolutive NP).

5.4.2.3 The clitic (+tuq) "I wish" can form exclamatory sentences. These can consist of single words, e.g., *uangatoq* "I wish it were me". It can also be used as if it were itself verbal, i.e., with a subordinate clause as in *sumittoq* (su=mik+tuq) *tuniniarikkit?* "What do you wish me to give you?" in which there is a participial verb *tuniniarikkit* that would be appropriate as the complement of a verb like *neriuppit* "what do you hope (for)?".

5.4.2.4 The affix (=nnguarsi) makes exclamative particles of verb stems. Thus *nuannaanguarsi* "what fun (one had)!" from (nuannaq-) "to be happy". This is very frequently used with *qanga* "when (in the past)"; *Qanga seqqunnguarsi* "What a crash it made!" from (siqquq-) "to crash, pop, shoot".

5.4.2.5 The demonstrative *tassa* can connect two absolutive NPs to form a sentence. For example, *Aallassasoq tassa Joorut* "The one who will leave is Joorut" (aallaq-ssa-Tuq=Ø) "leave-FUT-APRT=ABS/s"; *Sodavandi tassa mamaq!* "Soda water, now that's delicious".

It is also possible to find a participial mood clause in place of one of the NPs in such a construction, e.g., *Peqqusara tassa aallassangitsusi* "My requestis that you not leave" (peqqusaq=ga aallaq-ssa=nngitsusi) "request=1s/ABS/s leave-FUT=NEG/PART/2p" (Fortescue 1984:72).

5.4.2.6 A noun alone can be used to form a clause that asserts the existence of the noun. For example *Ilalu Nuup eqqaani iliverpassuit* "Indeed, there are many cemeteries in the vicinity of Nuuk" (ila+lu nuuk=p iqqaq=ani iliviq-(r)passuaq=t) "indeed+and Nuuk=ERG/s vicinity=LOC/3s/s grave-many=DIR/p" (Lyng 1978:13) is constructed as if the last item were the verbalized *iliverpassuaqarpoq* (iliviq-(r)passuaq-qaq=Vuq) "grave-many-have=IND/3s". Using the unverballed noun lends the sentence an emphatic tone.

5.4.2.7 A participial clause with the first word followed by a cliticized demonstrative counts as an independent clause. The unprefixd demonstratives, especially *una* "this" and *uku* "these" can be used to connect absolutive-case NPs, predicating the meaning of the second NP of the first NP's referent. When the predicate is a participial-mood verb, the sentence focuses the first element (to which *una* is cliticized). Examples: *Piniartumuna* (piniartu=p+una) *nanog toqukkaa* "It was the hunter (*piniartup*) that killed (*toqukkaa*) the bear (*nanog*)"; *Nanog-una piniartup toqukkaa* "It was the bear that the hunter killed". When the word order is as in 5.4.3.3, a clause of this kind can focus the entire sentence. Thus the first example in this paragraph can also mean something like "The thing is, the hunter killed the bear".

5.4.3 Order of the principal constituents of the clause

5.4.3.1 The VP in a WG clause is normally the last constituent and the ergative term normally precedes the absolutive term.

5.4.3.2 Complements of the verb normally precede the verb.

5.4.3.3 The most natural order of clausal elements is therefore:

NP[ERG] - NP[ABS] - complements - V

5.4.3.4 The order in 5.4.3.3 applies also in the case of interrogative word questions. The interrogative word often occurs in its ordinary position and is never reordered out of its own clause.

5.4.3.5 Syntax is not the only factor influencing constituent order. Deviations from this pattern are quite frequent. The following additional forces influence constituent order:

- (1) Heavier constituents may occur later than what is found in 5.4.3.3.
- (2) Elements carrying a narrative surprise may occur later than what is found in 5.4.3.3.
- (3) Contrastive elements may occur earlier than what is found in 5.4.3.3.

5.4.4 Sentence fragments

5.4.4.1 Responses to questions, statements, etc. do not need to repeat syntactic material in the foregoing utterance. In answer to *Qanga tikippit?* "When did you arrive?" a perfectly normal response would be simply *Ippassaq* "Yesterday". In response to *Kina aallarpa?* "Who left?" an ordinary response might be *Kaali* "Karl", and so on.

The elliptical response is often in the form appropriate to the syntax of the question or statement that it responds to. The answer to *Qassinik ukioqarpi?* "How many years do you have?, How old are you?" may be a number in the instrumental case, since the interrogative word *qassinik* (qassiq=nik) "how many" is in the instrumental case for the reasons discussed in 8.2.1.2; but nowadays, especially among younger people, answers in the absolutive case are common regardless of the syntax of the utterance to which one is responding.

5.4.4.2 Subordinate clauses can be used by themselves with special rhetorical effects.

Examples: *Angingaarami!* "He/she is so big!" (angingaaq=Gami) "so.big=PSUB/3Rs"; *Illaruni illaruni* "he laughed and laughed" (illaq=Guni) "laugh=FSUB/3Rs" (Fortescue 1984:32).

Often the grammar of such fragments is just what would be expected if there were a main clause present, though it is usually not possible to specify exactly what that clause would be. Consider example (a) adapted from a version of the tale of Snow White (Bugge and Lyng 1934:115):

- (a)

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Illumut</i> | <i>iseriallarami</i> | <i>pinneqisoq</i> |
| <i>illu=mut</i> | <i>isiriiallaq=Gami</i> | <i>pinniq-qE-Tuq=Ø</i> |
| <i>house=ALL/S</i> | <i>enter=PSUB/3Rs</i> | <i>pretty-very-APRT=ABS/3s</i> |
| <i>"Upon entering the house [she saw] a very pretty one."</i> | | |

The sentence is constructed exactly along the model of (b) with an independent-mood verb.

- (b) *Illumut iseriallarami takuaa pinneqisoq*
 taku=Vaa
 see=IND/3s/3s

“Upon entering the house, she saw that it was a very pretty one.”

In particular, the reference of the third person reflexive morphology of the subordinate adverbial clause can be explained if some independent clause such as is found in (b) is implied. (See 7.7.)

5.5 Internal Structure of the NP. The NP consists of an optional possessive or demonstrative determiner combined with a nominal phrase (N') or is a determinerless N'.

5.5.1 Basic structure. An N' consists of a head noun and its modifiers and complements, if any.

5.5.2 Modifiers. Nouns can be extended by means of modifying NPs. The modifiers can be any of those nominals bearing the [+MOD] feature (5.5.2.4), such as *angisooq* “big” (angi-Tuq-) “big-APART-”, *takusara* “which I saw” (taku-Taq=ga) “see-PPRT=ABS/1s/s”, or *qisuk* “wood”. Regardless of their precise semantic effects, such extending phrases comprise a unitary syntactic class of nominal modifiers, symbolized “NP[MOD]”. MOD is a category of the grammar that, like case, or Internal and External Person, characterizes a phrase and is carried by the head of that phrase. NPs with this feature are the only ones that can function syntactically as modifiers of N.

5.5.2.1 Nominal Modifiers have the same Internal Person value and the same case as the head noun, but the External Person value of a modifier is independent of that of the head. For example, *illutsinnut* “from our house” (illu=tsinnut) “house=ALL/1p/n” is third person in Internal Person, first person plural in terms of its External Person features, and allative in case. A modifier of such a noun must be in the allative case and must be third person (singular or plural) in Internal Person, but does not need to agree in External Person features. Thus the noun may be modified by *angisuumut* (angisuuq=mut) “big.one=ALL/s”, to form *illutsinnut angisuumut* “to our big house” even though *angisuumut* lacks External Person features. The intransitive noun *illumut* “house.ALL/s”, which has no External Person features may be modified by an NP with External Person features, e.g., *pisiarisimasatsinnut* (pisiariE-sima-Taq=tsinnut) “buy-have-PPRT=ALL/1p/n” to form *illumut pisiarisimasatsinnut* “to the house which we bought”, and so on. It is also possible for a modifier to have its own External Person features different from those of the head as in *illutsinnut takusimasassinnut* “to our house, which you have seen” (illu=tsinnut) “house=ALL/1p/n” (taku-sima-Taq=ssinnut) “see-have-PPRT=ALL/2p/n”.

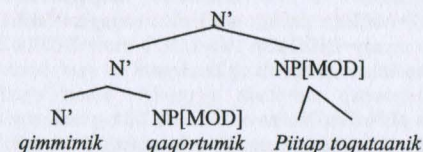
The general pattern is given by the following rule:

$$N' [\text{CASE}\alpha, \text{EP}\beta, \text{IP}\gamma] \rightarrow N [\text{CASE}\alpha, \text{EP}\beta, \text{IP}\gamma] \text{ NP} [\text{MOD}, \text{CASE}\alpha, \text{IP}\gamma]$$

5.5.2.2 Since nominal modifiers are NPs, they can include possessors or demonstratives. For example, the instrumental case NP *qimmimik Piitap toqutaanik* “a dog that Peter killed (INS/s)” contains a possessed modifier. The instrumental case phrase *qimmimik taassuminnga angisuumik* “that big dog (INS/s)” contains a modifier beginning with a demonstrative. In both phrases the head noun is *qimmimik* (qimmiq=mik) “dog=INS/s”, and the modifier is complex, consisting in the first example of the NP *Piitap toqutaanik* (Piitap=p tuquk-Taq=anik) “Peter=ERG/s kill-PPRT=INST/3s/s”, and in the second of *taassuminnga angisuumik* (taassuma=mik angi-Tuq=mik) “that=INS/s big-APRT=INS/s”.

5.5.2.3 Nominal modifiers can be iterated. The N' that contains a modifying NP[MOD] may

itself consist of an N' with a modifier forming iterated structures. For example, the simple N *qimmimik* (qimmiq=mik) “dog=INS/s” can be extended by a modifier such as the minimal NP *qaqortumik* (qaqurtuq=mik) “white=INS/s” that agrees with it in case and Internal Person features, the result being *qimmimik qaqortumik* “dog.INS/s white.INS/s”. This phrase may be further modified, for example by means of a possessed NP[MOD] like *Piitap toqutaanik* “one which Peter killed (INS/s)” to form *qimmimik qaqortumik Piitap toqutaanik* “the white dog that Peter killed (INS/s)”.



5.5.2.4 Only certain types of NPs can act as modifiers. Most ordinary, lexical N's do not belong to the category MOD and may not be directly appended to a noun to form an extended N'. Concatenations of nouns like *nuna* “land” and *qaqaaq* “mountain” are ungrammatical in either order **nuna qaqaaq*, **qaqaaq nuna*. In order to function as the head of a modifier, a noun must belong to one of the following classes:

(1) *The active and passive participles (APRT and PPRT) are the most important source of N[MOD].* (See also 3.9.2 and 8.2.2.9.) Thus from the verb (qaquq-) “to be white” is derived the active participle *qaqortoq* “a white one”, from the verb (tuquk-) “to kill (him/her)” is derived the passive participle *toqutaa* “one which he/she killed”, and so on. All of these are automatically N[MOD] and can therefore serve as the heads of NP[MOD]s.

If the sense of an ordinary noun is needed as a modifier, it must first be verbalized and then nominalized as a participle in order to acquire the MOD feature: if the sense of the intransitive noun *palasi* “priest” is to modify a noun, it must be verbalized as *palasiu-* “to be a priest”, and then made into the active participle *palasiusiq*. Similarly, the transitive noun *ilinniaqat* “fellow student” must be verbalized as “to have (him/her) as a fellow student”, *ilinniaqtigE-* forming the modifier in the phrases (*ikinngutitoqqavut*) *ilinniaqatigisimasavut* (*ikinngutituaq=Vut* *ilinniaqat-gE-sima-Taq=Vut*) (old.friends=ABS/1p/p fellow.student-have.as-perfective-PPRT=ABS/1p/p “our old friends who used to be our fellow students” (Villadsen 1979:26).

(2) *Certain other derivational affixes form N[MOD]s from nouns.* There are several derivational affixes that form nouns that can head modifiers: (-lik-) “one who has”, (-liaq-) “made (thing)”, (-siaq-) “acquired thing”, (-tuuq-) “one with much/large”. These are in many respects the functional and formal counterparts of participles of noun incorporation affixes (8.2.1), though they are not morphologically so.

(3) *A few types of lexical nouns can function directly as heads of NP[MOD]s.* These include names of materials (*ujarak* “stone”, *qisuk* “wood”, etc.) and designations of the residence or origin of human beings, as in *Kalaaleq* “Greenlander”, *Danskeq* “Dane”, and therefore all nouns formed with the denominal suffix (-miuq-) “one.dwelling.at N”.

Some designators of maleness or femaleness are modificational nouns: *arnaq* “female human being”, *arnaviaq* “female animal”, *angut* “male human being”, *angutiviaq* “male animal” and some designators of age: *utoqaaq* “old person”, *pisooq* “old thing”, *nutaaq* “new thing”, etc. (Compare *inuusuttoq* “young person”, a regular active participle from the verb (inuusuk-) “to be young”.) The one color term *qorsuk* “green” is a modificational noun, whereas the others are intransitive verbs meaning “to be ___ in color” and need to be in the form of an active participle to act as nominal modifiers. (See the example of *qaqortoq* in (1) above.)

5.5.2.5 Paratactic Relative Clauses are indicative clauses introduced by a demonstrative. The demonstrative serves an ordinary syntactic function within the clause and refers to the head NP. Appropriate demonstratives are absolutive *taanna* “that one (mentioned)” or oblique forms of *tassa* such as locative *tassani* “there” (See Appendix 2).

Here is an example from Kleinschmidt (1851, 105):

| | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ikerasannguat</i> | <i>ilagaakka,</i> | <i>tassani</i> | <i>naapippakkit</i> |
| <i>ikirasannguaq=mut</i> | <i>ilagE=Vakka</i> | <i>tassa=ni</i> | <i>naapik=Vakkit</i> |
| <i>little.sound=ALL/s</i> | <i>accompany=IND/1s/3p</i> | <i>this=LOC/s</i> | <i>meet=IND/1s/2s</i> |

“I accompanied them to the little sound at which I met you.”

5.5.2.6 Adverbial Modifications of Nouns. Nouns not derived from verbs may occasionally take preceding oblique case NP adverbials (most often locatives). *Nuummi telefonbogi* “telephone book for Nuuk”: (Nuuk=mi) “Nuuk=LOC/s”, *Nuummi illut* (illu=t) “houses in Nuuk”. Other types of adverbs do not usually occur with nouns that do not contain a verbal stem.

5.5.3 Determination. An NP may contain a possessor NP or a demonstrative combined with the N'. For example, in *Kaalip illua* (Kaali=p illu=a) “Karl's house”, *illup igalaavi* (illu=p igalaaq=i) “the house's windows”, the first word is a possessor, and in *una inuk* “this person”, *taassuma arnap* (taassuma arnaq=p) “that.ERG/s woman=ERG/s” the first word is a demonstrative.

5.5.3.1 A possessor phrase is an NP in the ergative case. The case of the N' may be any of the morphosyntactic cases, but the possessor phrase is always an ergative case NP.

5.5.3.2 The Internal Person value of the possessor phrase is the same as the External Person value of the N' it possesses. For example, the NP *Piitap nunaanut* “to Peter's country”, is a phrase consisting of the noun *nunaanut* (nuna=anut) “country= ALL/3s/s” and an ergative possessor NP, the minimal NP consisting only of the name *Piitap* (piitaq=p) “Peter=ERG/s”. The Internal Person value of person for ordinary nouns is third person and therefore the Internal Person value of *Piitap* is 3s. The External Person person and number value of the head noun *nunaanut* replicates the Internal Person of the possessor. If the person and number of the possessor NP is altered to plural, then the head noun's External Person features must correspondingly be altered, as in *meeqqat nunaanut* “to the children's country” in which the possessor *meeqqat* (miiraq=t) “children” is third person plural and the noun *nunaanut* (nuna=annut) “country=ALL/3p/s” is third plural in External Person, while remaining third singular in Internal Person. If the possessor NP is first person plural, then the head N' will show first person plural EP morphology: *uagut nunatsinnut* “to our house” (uagut “we/us.DIR/1p”, *nunatsinnut* (nuna=tsinnut) “country=ALL/1p/n”, etc.

5.5.3.3 The rule for possessed NPs is (a), yielding structures that conform to the pattern in (b).

(a) NP[CASE α , IP γ] → NP[CASE ERG, IP β] N[CASE α , EP β , IP γ]

(b) NP[CASE α , IP γ]
 NP[CASE ERG, IP β] N[CASE α , EP β , IP γ]

5.5.3.4 A possessor phrase, being an NP, may itself be a possessed NP of the form NP[ERG] + N'. In the phrase *Piitap ataataata illuanut* “to Peter's father's house”, the N *illuanut* (illu=anut) “house=ALL/3s/s” is possessed by the NP *Piitap ataataata* “Peter's father's”. The phrase *Piitap ataataata* consists in turn of a possessed N *ataataata* (ataata=ata) “father=ERG/3s/s” and a possessor *Piitap* (piitaq=p) “Peter=ERG/s”.

5.5.3.5 Possessors may be nested. E.g., *Piitap ataataata qatanngutaata illuanut* “to Peter's father's sibling's house” (piitaq=p ataata=ata qatanngut=ata illu=anut) “Peter=ERG/s father=ERG/3s/s sibling- ERG/3s/s house=ALL/3s/s”, *Piitap ataataata qatanngutaata illuata matuanut* “to Peter's father's brother's house's door” (illu=ata matu=anut) “house=ERG/3s/s door=ALL/3s/s”, and so on. Note that all of the nested possessor phrases are ergative in case and that furthermore, each succeeding ergative NP agrees in External Person with the preceding possessor NP's Internal Person.

5.5.3.6 A demonstrative word (2.11.1.1) is a syntactic NP. In the sentence *una anneruvoq* “this one is bigger” (una angi-niru=Vuq) “this.ABS/s big-more=IND/3s” the word *una* is the absolutive NP term of the sentence. A demonstrative may precede an NP sharing case and IP values with it. Thus: *Taanna illu* “that house” (taanna illu=Ø “that.ABS/s house=ABS/s”. In this function, the demonstrative displaces any possible possessor.

5.5.4 Complements of nouns. Underived native nouns do not have complements. (But nouns derived from verbs contain a syntactic VP and so may take the same complements as the underlying verb. (See 8.2.2.1).)

5.5.5 Order of elements within NP

5.5.5.1 WG nominal modifiers follow the head noun. Thus *Kaalip biilia nutaaq* “Karl's new (nutaaq) car (biili)”, not **Kaalip nutaaq biilia* or **nutaaq Kaalip biilia*.

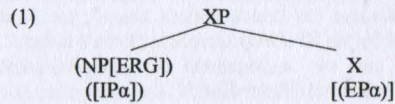
5.5.5.2 Possessor phrases precede the nouns they are combined with. If the noun is not derived from a verb, then the possessor will usually immediately precede the possessum, but if the noun is derived from a verb, the complements and modifiers of the verb may intervene:

| | | |
|---------------|------------------|---|
| <i>Olgap</i> | <i>erninermi</i> | <i>kingorna sulinngiffeqarallannerani</i> |
| <i>Olga=p</i> | <i>iriniq=mi</i> | <i>kingurna sulinngiffiqarallaq-niq=ani</i> |

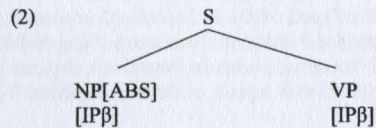
O=ERG/s give.birth=ERG/3Rs/n after be.on.temporary.leave-ANOM=LOC /3s/s
 “during Olga's leave after giving birth” (Dagsordner 2001)

5.6 NP versus Clause. There is a parallelism between the structure of NPs and the structure of clauses. This has been much remarked on in the literature on Eskimo languages and is sometimes misinterpreted as indicating a confusion of the categories of verb and noun as well as the complex categories of clause and noun phrase in these languages. But these constituent types are quite distinct in both syntax and morphology (2.6.1). There is, however, an important morphosyntactic property they share, namely the fact that a noun phrase or a clause may include an ergative NP whose IP features are the same as that of the EP features of the head N. The syntactic distinction between the two is that the clause has an additional NP in the

absolutive case with whose IP features the V agrees. The shared part of the two systems can be diagrammed as follows, where XP can be NP or S, and X accordingly N or V. The formula shows that when either type has a transitive head, the phrase includes an ergative NP whose IP features will determine the EP features of the head of the phrase. The parentheses indicate that when there is no EP value, there is no ergative NP.



The specialness of clauses is shown in (2).



These two simple structures can be said to form the core of WG syntax.

5.7 Internal Structure of VP. A VP contains a head verb and zero or more phrasal complements. The complements may be NPs, clauses, or to a limited extent, VPs.

5.7.1 NP complements. For the most part, NP complements of a verb are in an oblique case, but a small number of verbs take an absolutive case complement.

5.7.1.1 A simple verb can be found with zero, one, or two NP complements. What complements a verb takes is partly predictable from the meaning of the verb, but partly a lexical matter that will have to be indicated in the lexical entries of individual stems and stem-forming derivational affixes. The selection of complements is independent of the formal transitivity of a verb. Whether transitive or intransitive, a verb may select NP complements as well.

5.7.1.2 Examples with intransitive verbs:

- (1) (tuqu-) "to die". No complements, e.g., *toquvoq* "he/she died".
- (2) (taku-) "see". Instrumental NP complement, e.g., *puisimik takuvoq* "he/she sees a seal" (puisi=mik) "seal=INS/s".
- (3) (najuqaq-) "to dwell". Locative NP complement, e.g., *Nuummi najuqaqarpoq* "He lives in Nuuk" (Nuuk=mi) "Nuuk=LOC/s".
- (4) (iqqussi-) "to bring (something) into (someplace)". Instrumental and allative complements, e.g., *issiavimmik inimut eqqussivoq* "he/she brings a chair into the/a room" (issiavik=mik) "chair=INS/s", (ini=mut) "room=ALL/s".
- (5) (anniru-) "is bigger". Ablative complement, e.g., *Hansimit anneruvoq* "He is bigger than Hans" (Hansi=mit) "Hansi=ALL/s".
- (6) (angitigE-) "to be big (to a certain extent)". Equative complement, e.g., *ataatamisut angitigaaq* "he/she is as big as his/her father" (ataata=misut) "father=EQU/3R/n".
- (7) (ikaqaq-) "to cross (something)". Perlicative complement, e.g., *kangerlukkut ikaarpoq* "he/she crosses over a/the fjord" (kangerluk=kkut) "fjord=PER/n".

5.7.1.3 Examples with transitive verbs:

- (1) (taku-) "to see it". No complements, e.g., *takuarput* "we see it" (taku=Varput) "see=IND/1p/3s".
- (2) (ili-) "to put it (somewhere)". Allative complement, e.g., *nerrivimmuq ilivaa* "he/she puts it on the table" (nerrivik=mut) "table=ALL/s".
- (3) (tuni-) "to give him/her (something)". Instrumental complement, e.g., *atuakkamik tunivaa* "he/she gives him/her a book" (atuagaq=mik) "book=INS/s".
- (4) (tunniuk-) "to give it (to someone)". Allative complement, e.g., *meeqqamut tunniupaa* "he/she gave it to a child" (meeraq=mut) "child-ALL/s".
- (5) (piiq-) "to remove it". Ablative complement, e.g., *illumit peerpaa* "he/she removed it from the house" (illu=mit) "house=ABL/s".
- (6) (ikaartik-) "to let/make him/her cross". Perlicative complement, e.g., *ikaartarfikkut ikaartippaa* "he/she let him/her cross the/a bridge" (ikaartarfik=kkut) "bridge=PER/s".

5.7.1.4 Verbs of being and becoming take absolutive NP complements. All verbs of this type are derived with the suffixes (-u-) "to be a", (-nnguq-) "to become a", and (-gE-) "to have it as a". All three of these affixes incorporate the head of the complement, but case can be seen in modifiers that are stranded by the incorporation (8.2.1.2.). For example, from the noun *palasi* "priest" can be derived the verbs *palasiuvoq* "he/she is a priest", *palasinngorpoq* "he/she becomes a priest", and *palasigaa* "he/she has him/her as a priest". All three of these can have an absolutive NP complement such as *tusaamasaq* "famous one (ABS/s)" as a complement: *palasiuvoq tusaamasaq* "he/she is a famous priest", *palasinngorpoq tusaamasaq* "he/she became a famous priest", and *Kaalip* (ERG/s) *palasigaa tusaamasaq* "Karl has him/her as a famous priest", i.e., "He/she is Karl's famous priest".

5.7.1.5 Verbs of naming can take a complement designating the name in the instrumental case or a complement in the absolutive case. For example: *Hansimik ateqarpoq* "His name is Hansi" (Hansi=mik atiq-qaq=Vuq) "Hansi=INS/s name-has=IND/3s", or *ateqarpoq Hansi*. *Piitaaq Nukamik taasarpurput* "We call Peter 'Nuka'" (Nuka=mik taa-Taq=Varput) "Nuka=INS/s call-HAB=IND/1p/3s" or *Piitaaq taasarpurput Nuka*.

5.7.1.6 With few exceptions, oblique NP complements are optional in syntax. Thus almost all of the verbs in 5.7.1.2 and 5.7.1.3 can form well-formed verb phrases all by themselves. For example, the single word *anneruvoq* "he/she is bigger" is a grammatical VP, and hence a possible sentence all by itself. The exception is (angitigE-) "to be as big as", which requires an equative case complement. The verb (misigE-) used intransitively to mean "to feel like, to feel that one is" also requires an equative complement: *qanoq ilioriarsinnaanngitsutut misigaaq* "He felt unable to do anything" (qanuq ilioriarsinnaanngik-Tuq=Tut misigE=Vuq) "how be.unable.to.do-APRT=EQU/n feel=IND/3s" (Lyngé 1978:7). In general, equative complements, including those of verbs formed with (-tigE-) "to be as ___ as" must be explicit. Thus *Hansi orpittut angitigaaq* "Hans is as big as a tree" (urpik=tut angitigE=Vuq) "tree-EQU/s big-be.as=IND/3s", but **Hansi angitigaaq* is not grammatical. The clitic verb (+ik-) and its independent counterpart (ik-) "to be in a certain place or condition" requires a complement either in the locative or equative case: *Kalaallisut ippoq* "He/she is like a Greenlander" (kalaaliq=tut) "Greenlander=EQU/n"; *Nuummi ippoq* (or *Nuummiippoq*) "He/she is in Nuuk" (nuuk=mi) "Nuuk=LOC/s", but not just **Ippoq* all by itself.

5.7.2 Order of elements within VP

5.7.2.1 The normal position of an oblique complement is before the verb. The factors enumerated in 5.4.3.5 can, however, override this.

5.7.2.2 Absolutive-case complement NPs always follow the verb. Thus, while both of the

following sentences are grammatical, only in the second case can *tusaamasaq* be interpreted as a complement.

- (a) *Palasinngorpoq tusaamasaq.*
 palasi-nnguq=Vuq tusaama-Taq=Ø
 priest-become=IND/3s hear.about-PPRT=ABS/s
 "He became a famous priest."
- (b) *Tusaamasaq palasinngorpoq.*
 tusaama-Taq=Ø palasi-nnguq=Vuq
 hear.about-PPRT=ABS/s priest-become=IND/3s
 "The famous one became a priest," not "He became a famous priest."

This holds for both of the classes of verbs mentioned in 5.7.1.4 and 5.7.1.5.

5.7.3 Absolutive complement versus absolutive term

5.7.3.1 *The absolutive NPs discussed in 5.7.1.4 and 5.7.1.5 are complements and not terms.* This is shown by the fact that 1) they must follow the verb, 2) there can be a separate absolutive term, and 3) the verb does not necessarily agree with them. The sentence *Ilinniartitsisuiut nutaaq?* "Are you the new teacher?" (ilinniartitsisuiq-u=Vit nutaaq=Ø) "teacher-be=INT/2s new=ABS/s" would be ungrammatical with the word order reversed. It can start with the pronoun *illit*, agreeing with the Internal Person of the verb *ilinniartitsisuiut* "are you a teacher", whereas the absolutive complement is third person singular.

5.7.3.2 *Absolutive complements normally agree in formal number with the verb's Internal Person.* For example *Palasinngorput tusaamasat* "They became famous priests", where the verb is plural and the complement is also plural. Semantic considerations may override this principle. Thus with a formally plural NP like *Sisimiut* (the name of a town) it is possible to say either *Sisimiut illoqarfiupput kusanartut* or *kusanartoq* "Sisimiut is a beautiful town" (illuqarfik-u-Vut kusanaq-Tuq=t) or (kusanaq-Tuq=Ø) "town-be=IND/3p be.beautiful-APRT=ABS/p" or "be.beautiful-APRT=ABS/s".

5.7.4 Clausal complements

5.7.4.1 *A verb or verb equivalent may have a clausal complement in a dependent mood.* Complement-taking verbs are found among both transitives and intransitives. The mood of the complement is determined by the verb that governs it and by factors of coreference.

Most verbs of speaking and thinking can have complement clauses in the participial mood or, if the subject of the subordinate clauses is coreferent with the subject of the main clause, in the conjunctive mood. (See 9.3.2.1 for examples.)

The intransitive verbs agree only with their own absolutive subject. The transitive verbs have the speaker/thinker in the ergative case and agree in External Person with it. The Internal Person of the transitive verb can refer to an addressee, or be a default third person agreement, or agreement can reflect the Internal Person of the subject (ergative or absolutive) of the complement clause. Both of the latter two options are available with certain verbs such as (nalunngik-) "know". Thus: *Kaalip nalunngilaa aallassasunga* "Karl knows that I will leave", (nalunngilaa aallaq-ssa=sunga) "not.know=NEG/IND/3s/3s leave-FUT=PART/1s" with default 3s Internal Person agreement, vs. *Kaalip nalunngilaanga aallassasunga* with 1s Internal Person agreement, which means something more like: "Karl knows of me that I will leave". The past subordinative can sometimes be used where the participial/conjunctive would be expected, with 3 or 3R agreement in the term that refers to the semantic subject of the subordinate clause in keeping with 7.7. This usage is more common with factive superordinate

verbs, the past subordinative clause suggesting that the proposition is true:

Peqqissimissutigisarpara taamaliorakkit.
 piqqissimissutigE-sar=Vara taamaliuq=Gakkit
 have.regrets.about-HAB=IND/1s/3s do.that.way=PSUB/1s/2s
 "I regret that I did that to you." (Fortescue 1984:36)

5.7.4.2 *Complement clauses may precede or follow their governing verbs.* Factors that make it more likely for the complement to follow are:

- (1) length or complexity of the complement
- (2) newness of the information in the clause

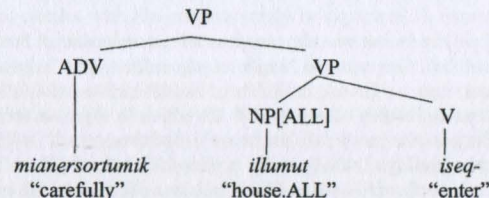
5.7.5 VP complements

5.7.5.1 *Certain verbs of inability subcategorize a VP.* The verb heading the subcategorized VP is suffixed with the abstract nominalizer (-niq-) and always appears immediately before the verb of inability as discussed in 2.12.1. These verbs of inability might be called auxiliary verbs and the verb suffixed with (-niq-) might be called an infinitive, though it is morphologically the abstract nominal (ANOM) of the verb. These are the only auxiliary verb constructions in WG.

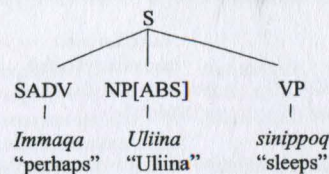
5.7.5.2 *The abstract nominal of the verb retains its complements.* For example, the subordinate verb (najuqaq-niq) "to dwell" selects a locative NP complement (5.7.1.2) just as it would as an independent verb in *Nuummi najuqaqneq saperpunga* "I cannot live in Nuuk" (nuuk=mi najuqaq-niq sapiq=Vunga) "Nuuk=LOC/s dwell-ANOM be.unable-IND/1s". If the subordinate verb, e.g., (uqaq-) "say" takes a complement clause, the compounded verb will as well: *Napparsimalluni oqarneq ajorpoq* "He/she (A) never says he/she (A) is ill" (napparsima=luni uqaq-niq ajuq=Vuq) "ill=CONJ/3Rs say-ANOM never=IND/3s".

5.8 Adverbials. *Verb phrases and clauses may be modified by adverbials.*

5.8.1 VP adverbs. *VP adverbs modify VPs, forming more complex VPs.* For example, the structure of the VP *mianersortumik illumut iseq-* "to enter a house carefully" (illu=mut mianirsuq-Tuq=mik isiq-) "house=ALL/s be.careful-APRT=INS/s enter-" is:



5.8.2 Clausal adverbs. *Clausal adverbs are a subordinate part of the clause whose meaning they affect.* The structure of the clause *Immaqa Uliina sinippoq* "Perhaps Uliina is sleeping" (immaqa Uliina=Ø sinik=Vuq) "perhaps Uliina=ABS/s sleep=IND/3s" is:



Other exclamatory particles such as *taannaqa* "I'm not surprised", *tassaqa* "I doubt it", and *immaqa* "perhaps" behave syntactically as adverbs within a clause, e.g., *Tassaqa Kaali tikissava* "I doubt that Karl will arrive" (tikik-ssa=Va) "arrive-fut=INT/3s". (Note the interrogative mood.)

5.8.3 Form of adverbials

5.8.3.1 *A number of particles function as adverbs.* Most of these are clausal adverbials, e.g., *immaqa* "perhaps", *taannaqa* "as you might expect", *tassaqa* "I doubt it", *unniit* "however", *naak* "though", *asulu* "moreover", *sooruna* "of course", *ila* "really", *taava* "then". A few are VP adverbials, e.g., *assut* "greatly, very much", *iluamik* "properly", *immannguqaq* "a little, somewhat".

5.8.3.2 *NPs in cases other than the ergative function as adverbs.* E.g., *ullut ilaanni* "one day" (ulluq=t ila=anni) "day=DIR/p some=LOC/3p/s", *savinnik marlunnik* "with two knives" (savik=nik marluk=nik) "knife=INS/p two=INS/p". Time adverbials can be expressed by the absolutive or accusative, depending on which inflection type the noun is subject to, e.g., absolutive *ullaq* "in the morning"; absolutive and accusative *ulloq tamaat* "all day". A few other notions can also be expressed this way, e.g., *nipi* (absolutive) *tamaat* (accusative) "at the top of his voice" (lit. "all the voice"). (The adverbial uses of the various oblique cases are explained under 9.2.2.)

5.8.3.3 *The suffix sequence (-Tuq=mik) "-APRT=INS/s" forms adverbials from intransitive verb phrase.* E.g. *arriitsumik* "slowly" (arriik-Tuq=mik); *qularnangitsumik* "undoubtedly" (qularnangik-Tuq=mik).

5.8.3.4 *Subordinate clauses in dependent moods can function as adverbials.* Some are S adverbials and some VP adverbials. For example *Nuummut pigamik unipput* "when they got to Nuuk, they stopped" (nuuk=mut pi=Gamik unik=Vut) "Nuuk=ALL/s arrive=PSUB/3Rp stop=IND/3p". Here the past subordinative clause is an S adverbial. In *illua avannaqullugu ingerlaguit* "if you go, sailing to the north of his house" (Sommer, et al. 1976:35) the Conjunctive clause *illua avannaqullugu* "sailing to the north of his house" (illu=a avannaquk=(l)lugu) "house=ABS/3s/s north.wind-sail.by-CONJ/3s" is a VP adverbial modifying *ingerlaguit* "if you go".

5.8.4 *Order of constituents.* Adverbials normally precede the constituents they modify. Thus clausal adverbials will normally begin a clause and VP adverbials will normally be first in their VP. This order is somewhat flexible, however, the factors influencing it being the same as those discussed in 5.4.3.5.

5.9 *Conjunction.* Conjunction is the joining of phrases of similar syntactic types to form a

phrase of the type of the component phrases. A syntactic conjunction is used to connect two or more conjuncts. The conjunctions of WG are morphological clitics (+lu) "and", (+li) "but", and (+luunniit) "or", as well as the morphological particles (aamma) "as well as", (kisianni) "however", and (imaluunniit) "otherwise" (etymologically "thus+or").

5.9.1 Restrictions on conjunction

5.9.1.1 *The conjunctions (-li) "but" and (kisianni) "however" may conjoin only two conjuncts.* The others may conjoin any number of conjuncts.

5.9.1.2 *The conjunctions (-li) "but" and (kisianni) "however" may not conjoin NPs.*

5.9.1.3 *Conjoined phrases are usually of the same major syntactic class.* Thus noun phrases are conjoined with noun phrases, nominal modifiers with nominal modifiers, adverbials with adverbials, and clauses with clauses.

5.9.1.4 *VPs cannot be conjoined and clauses of the same mood with coreferent subjects may ordinarily not be conjoined in WG.* This is a very important and characteristic feature of the language. Thus the sentence *Kaali angivoq pualavorlu* means only "Karl is tall and he/she (someone else) is fat". For how WG expresses "Karl is tall and he (Karl) is fat", see 5.9.2 below. An exception is that coordination with (+luunniit) "or" is possible for clauses that express mutually exclusive alternatives: *iseruit anigulluunniit* "whether you come in or go out" (isiq=Guit ani=Guit+luunniit) "enter=FSUB/2s go.out=FSUB/2s+or" (Fortescue 1984:123).

5.9.1.5 *Conjoined nominals must ordinarily be in the same syntactic case.* For example in the sentence *Puisip neqaat aamma qalerallit tunivaat* "They sold seal meat(s) and halibuts" (Kruse 1968:8), *puisip neqaat* "seal meat" and *qalerallit* "halibuts" both NPs are in the absolutive case. In *Suusaap Laarsillu akkaat* "Susan and Lars's uncle" (Kruse 1968:8), *Suusaap Laarsillu* (Laarsi=p+lu) "Susan and Lars's" are both in the ergative case. Since modifiers of nouns are NPs, they too may be conjoined, since they are naturally in the same case as the noun they modify (5.5.2.1): *qullernik aappalutunik qorsunnillu* "with red and green lights" (qulliq=nik aappaluk-Tuq=nik qursuk=nik+lu) "light=INS/p be.red-APRT=INS/p green=INS/p+and" (Fortescue 1990:79).

5.9.2 *The conjunctive mood.* The clitic conjunctions may conjoin a clause in the conjunctive mood with one in another mood. This characteristic construction is found where conjunction of VPs or clauses with like subjects might be expected. To express the notion "Karl is tall and fat", one of the clauses must be in the conjunctive mood with reflexive reference of its subject to the subject of the other clause: *Kaali angivoq pualallunilu* (angi=Vuq puala=(l)luni+lu) "be.big=IND/3s be.fat=CONJ/3Rs+and".

The same is true for all other moods. When clauses with the same subject are conjoined all but one of them is thrown into the conjunctive mood. Thus "because Karl is tall and fat" would be *Kaali angimmat pualallunilu*, with one clause in the past subordinative mood and the other in the conjunctive. (See also 7.7.)

When a conjunctive clause is conjoined with something else, the conjunction is associated syntactically with the conjunctive clause. The independent conjunctions are not subject to this rule. Thus *Kaali angivoq kisianni pualanngilaq* can mean "Karl is tall but not fat".

5.9.3 *Free conjuncts.* A free conjunct nominal can occur as part of a conjoined subject, the other part implied by the verbal inflection. Sentences like this are quite common, e.g., *Nularalu ajunngilagut* "My wife and I are well" (nulara=ga+lu ajunngik=lagut)

“wife=ABS/1s/s+and be.well=IND/1p”.

5.9.4 Anomalous absolutive conjuncts. *Where an ergative case subject consists of conjoined NPs the second of which is possessed by the first, the possessed NP may be in the absolutive case.*

| | | |
|--|--|-------------------------|
| <i>Hansip</i> | <i>nulianilu</i> | <i>inuulluaqqaatsit</i> |
| Hansi=p | nuliaq=ni+lu | inuulluaq-qqu=Vaatsit |
| H.=ERG/s | wife=ABS/3Rs/n+and live.well-bid=IND/3p/2s | |
| “Hans and his wife bid you farewell.” (Arnaq Jensigne Grove, p.c.) | | |

The same phenomenon is found with the free conjuncts mentioned immediately above. Thus *Nuliarahu inuulluaqqaatsigit* “My wife and I wish you well” (=Vatsigit) “=IND/1p/2s”, where *nuliara* is absolutive in case, though it is apparently part of the subject of a transitive clause and would therefore be expected to be in the ergative case.

5.9.5 Position of conjuncts

5.9.5.1 *A conjunction must occur between the next to last and last of a series of conjuncts.* E.g., *Kaalip Hansip Paviallu ataataat* “Karl’s, Hans’s, and Pavia’s father” (Pavia=p+lu) “Pavia=ERG/s+and”. (See also 5.9.2.)

5.9.5.2 *Conjunctions may precede each of a series of conjuncts.* This usage tends to indicate that the speaker does not have the entire list in mind, but is adding more and more items to it as he or she thinks of them: *uangalu Biibalu Luutivillu* “I and Biiba and Luutivik” (Lyngé 1978:15); *seqinerluunniit qaammalluunniit* “either the sun or the moon” (Lyngé 1978:13).

5.9.6 Agreement with conjoined NPs

5.9.6.1 *A conjunction of NPs is treated as plural if more than one individual is implied.* Conjunction with (+lu) “and” therefore usually demands plural agreement, but conjunction with (+luunniit) “or” usually doesn’t.

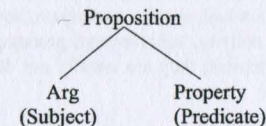
5.9.6.2 *The person of a conjoined NP is the highest of any of the conjuncts according to the hierarchy: 1 > 2 > 3R > 3.* If the group implied includes the speaker, then the agreement is first person plural, otherwise, if the group implied includes the addressee, the agreement is second person plural, otherwise, if the group implied includes reference to the subject of a superior term of the sentence (cf. 7.7.5 and 7.7.6), it is third person reflexive plural, and otherwise it is third person plural.

6. Semantics

The categories that are needed to describe the way meanings combine in WG are not very different from those that are needed for other languages. There is less variation in semantic structure from one language to another than there is in syntactic structure, just as there is less variation in syntax from one language to another than there is in morphology.

To a large extent, but not entirely, the organization of an expression according to the meaning of its parts parallels its organization in terms of syntactic categories, but since there are some significant differences between the two systems, it is necessary to consider semantic structure on its own terms. The semantic categories discussed below are those that play the most significant role in the grammar of WG.

6.1 Basic Semantic Categories. *The semantic structure of WG distinguishes between argument expressions and functions that apply to them.* Traditional grammar divides a sentence into a subject and a predicate, the meaning of a clause being the proposition that a particular entity has a certain property. As presented in 5.4.1.1, the WG transitive clause does not contain a constituent consisting of an NP and a VP. It seems clear, though, that semantically, WG does divide propositions into an argument, which can be called the semantic subject, and a property expression, the predicate.



6.2 Semantic Subject. Despite the fact that the semantic subject may be an ergative term or an absolutive term in syntax, there are a number of semantic phenomena in WG that point clearly to there being such a thing as a subject in the semantic organization of the language. These include:

- (1) The referential properties of the third person reflexive category (7.7.1) and the distributional facts of the conjunctive mood (9.3.2), both of which are centrally important to the grammatical system of WG.
- (2) The nominative case of exhaustives (2.11.1.4).
- (3) The restriction of morphological imperatives to first or second person subjects regardless of transitivity.
- (4) The fact that the subject (ergative or absolutive, depending on transitivity) of the complement of a verb like (*kajumissaaq-*) “encourage”, or the derivational affix (*-qqu-*) “bid, request” must be human.

6.3 Semantic Functions. Semantic functions fall into several classes depending on how many entities they relate, and whether one or more of the entities may or must be a proposition.

6.3.1 *A great many functions relate to only one argument, forming predicates directly:* *toqu-* “to die”, *suli-* “to work”, *aappaluk-* “to be red”, *qimmeq* “dog”, *qaqqaq* “mountain”, and so forth. The argument may itself be a proposition as with a verb-to-verb suffix such as (*-Gunaq-*) “certainly”, an independent verb like *qularnangilaq* “it is undoubtedly true”, or a particle like *immaqa* “perhaps”.

6.3.2 *Many functions relate two arguments by combining with one to form a predicate, which may then combine with the other to form a proposition.* The verb *taku-* “to see” presents a

relation between a perceiver and what is perceived, the noun *anaana* “mother” establishes a relation between a mother and a child, and so on. One of the arguments may be a proposition as with the verb *neriuk-* “to hope”, which establishes a relation between a person and a proposition that he or she hopes will be true, or the noun *isuma* “thought”, which relates a thinker and a proposition that he or she has in mind.

6.3.3 *Some functions relate three arguments.* These apply to an argument forming an expression of the same class as in 6.3.2, e.g., *tuni-* “to give”, which establishes a relation among a giver, a gift, and a recipient. For many of these, one argument is proposition, as in the case of the verb *oqaq-* “to say” or the suffix (*-niraq-*) “to say”, that relates a speaker, a proposition, and an addressee.

6.4 Scenes. The elements of language have content that relates to the external world as it is conceived of by human beings. To a large extent, this content represents scenes in which there are one or more participants and states they find themselves in, activities they are engaged in, goals that they are in the process of achieving, or have achieved, and the like. In the simplest cases, the participants in a scene are entities, literal or metaphorical, real or imagined. They have identities and can be recognized as conceptually the same thing over a period of time, despite changes that they may undergo. The entities and the types that they fall into are complexes of numerous properties that together identify the concept of the thing or of the type of thing that the entity is. The scenes in which entities participate, however, are generally of a simple sort, defined by a single state, activity, achievement, process, etc. While such scenes may be of long duration, or even permanent, they are usually not definitional of the entities that are involved in them.

6.4.1 *For the basic expressions of the language, the entities of a scene correspond to arguments in the semantic structure while the predicate-forming elements define the scene type.*

6.4.2 *If there is an asymmetry between the entities in a scene such that one is more agentive, more sentient, or more active in the event or situation, that entity will be the semantic subject.* In the vast majority of cases, then, the semantic subject of a verb that is not derived by means of a productive derivational suffix in WG will be the same as the nominative term of roughly synonymous verbs in languages such as English, Latin, or Hungarian. The verbs meaning “kiss”, “kill”, “love”, “see”, “read”, “find”, “fear”, “hold”, “build”, “tear”, “pass”, “approach”, and so on, have just the same entity as semantic subjects in WG as do the corresponding verbs in more familiar languages.

6.5 Semantic Modification. Semantic modification is the process of elaborating the meaning of a semantic unit without changing its semantic category. The most important kinds of modifiers in semantics are predicate modifiers and propositional modifiers. Thus “bad dog” signifies something that is bad in the fashion of dogs, and similarly, to “sing badly” is to sing, but in an unsatisfactory manner. In both cases we have a complex predicate, “bad dog” or “sing badly”. Propositional modifiers locate a proposition in time, or with regard to its likelihood of being true, or with regard to the conversational setting in which the proposition is put forward.

6.6 Quantification

6.6.1 *Quantifiers are semantic elements that produce arguments from propositions by focusing on the referential or statistical properties of one of the participants in an event described by the proposition.* Corresponding to a proposition that would be expressed as “A loves B” in English, there are two participants whose referential properties may be used to

form entity expressions, namely those entities who love B, and those entities that are loved by A. With regard to propositions containing only one argument such as “A is a dog”, there is, of course, only one entity expression that can be focused on, namely the one with the property of being a dog. From such propositions, arguments based on referential properties, such as “this one who loves Mary” or “this dog” can be formed by quantification, as well as arguments based on statistical properties, to form, for example, “all those who love Mary” or “all dogs”.

6.6.2 *Quantifiers may have variable scope with respect to other logical elements.* A sentence such as *Piniartut tamarmik aallanngillat* (*piniartuq=t tamaq=mik aallaq=nngillat*) “hunter=DIR/p all=NOM/p leave=NEG/IND/3p” is subject to two interpretations: “All the hunters didn’t leave” or “Not all the hunters left”. The negative element is interpreted either as including the meaning of the quantifier so that the meaning is “It is not the case that all the hunters left”, or the quantifier is interpreted as having scope over the negative proposition, in which case it means “All the hunters are such that they didn’t leave”.

7. Reference

There are three kinds of reference specifically encoded in the grammar of WG.

7.1 Reflexive Reference. *Reflexive reference is reference to a semantic subject.* Reflexive reference in WG is also subject to syntactic requirements as discussed in 7.7.5 below.

7.2 Definite Reference. *Definite reference is reference to something that is uniquely identifiable from the discourse context.* Definite reference is indicated by the Internal and External categories of inflection (2.7.2 and 9.1.1), by first and second person pronominals (2.11.1.2), and by the prefixed demonstratives (2.11.1.1 and Appendix 2).

7.3 Deictic Reference. *Deictic reference is reference to something indicated non-linguistically or something that is about to be indicated linguistically or otherwise.* Deictic reference is signaled by the unprefixed demonstratives.

7.4 Unrestricted Reference. *Entity expressions not restricted according to (1) - (3) are unrestricted in reference.* Referentially unrestricted expressions allow reference to anything that meets the expression's descriptive and quantificational requirements. There are no specific grammatical devices such as articles that determine unrestricted reference in WG. Therefore a simple sentence such as *Piniartut tikipput* (piniartuq=t tikik=Vut) "hunter=ABS/p arrive=IND/3p" could be translated either "Hunters arrived" or "The hunters arrived" depending on the context.

7.5 Pragmatic Considerations

7.5.1 *Using a less specific variety of referential device where a more specific one could be used suggests that the more specific reference is not to be understood.*

7.5.2 *Reflexive reference is more specific than definite reference or deictic reference.*

7.5.3 *Definite reference and deictic reference are more specific than unrestricted reference.*

7.6 Definiteness and Indefiniteness. Whether or not a referential device is understood as definite or not is a subtle matter in WG governed by the interaction of the syntactic and morphological resources of the language and the pragmatic principle in 7.5.1. Nevertheless some general tendencies can be identified.

7.6.1 NPs that are not cross-referenced by agreement with External Person and Internal Person inflection are usually interpreted as indefinite if they could easily be expressed as agreeing terms. Oblique complements of derived verbs that would be terms of the underived verb are therefore usually indefinite. This produces typical contrasts such as the following:

- (1) Transitive: *Nukappiaqqap issiaviit sanavai.*
 nukappiaraq=p issiavik=t sana=Vai
 boy=ERG/s chair=ABS/p make=IND/3s/3p
 "The boy made the chairs."
- (2) Antipassive: *Nukappiaraq issiavinnik sanavoq.*
 nukappiaraq issiavik=nik sana=Vuq
 boy.ABS/s chair=INS/p make=IND/3s
 "The boy made chairs."

- (3) Passive: *Issiaviit nukappiaqqamit sananearput.*
 issiavik=t nukappiaraq=mit sana-niqaq=Vut
 chair=DIR/p boy=ABL/s make-PASS=IND/3p
 "The chairs were made by a boy."

It must be stressed, though, that these interpretations are not as strict as the English translations suggest and that under certain contextual circumstances the translation might well require the opposite definiteness from what is given here.

7.6.2 NPs that are cross referenced by agreement are usually interpreted as definite if they could just as easily be expressed as non-terms in the clause. Therefore terms of derived verbs are usually definite if they would appear as non-terms with the underived verb.

- (1) Intransitive: *Niviarsiarq qaqqamut majuarpoq*
 niviarsiaq=Ø qaqqaq=mut majuaq=Vuq
 girl=ABS/s mountain=ALL/s ascend=IND/3s
 "The/a girl climbed the/a mountain."
- (2) Transitive: *Niviarsiaqqap qaqqaq majuarfigaa.*
 niviarsiaq=p qaqqaq=Ø majuaq-(v)vigE=Vaa
 girl=ERG/s mountain=ABS/s ascend-do.at=IND/3s/3s
 "The girl climbed the mountain."

7.6.3 Entities whose reference is indicated only by the External and Internal categories of inflection are understood as definite. Since there are no non-demonstrative third person pronouns in WG, this principle is quite strict.

Examples: *Sanavai* "He/she made them" (sana=Vai) "build=IND/3s/3p"; *Sanavoq* "He/she was making something" (sana=Vuq) "build=IND/3s"; *Sananearput* "They were built" (sana-niqaq=Vut) "build-PASSIVE=IND/3p"; *Majuarpoq* "He/she ascended" (majuaq=Vuq) "ascend=IND/3s"; *Majuarfigaa* "He/she ascended it" (majuaq-(v)vigE=Vaa) "ascend-do.at=IND/3s/3s".

7.7 Reflexive Expressions. An extremely important feature of WG that connects morphology, syntax, and semantics is the phenomenon of reflexive reference. The phenomenon mostly restricts reference to other entities that are referred to elsewhere in a sentence.

7.7.1 Expressions that carry reflexive reference are the 3R category of inflection, the conjunctive mood, and the roots, (immi-) and (nammi-). Both (immi-) and (nammi-) mean "self", but the former does not occur in the direct cases, whereas the latter does. (nammi-) cooccurs with a subject term stressing the idea that the subject is personally involved in an action, as in *nunamik nammineq tunngaviligassaminnik* "a land that they themselves would establish" (nuna=mik namminiq tunngavik-liq-Taq-ssaq=minnik) "land=INS/s self foundation-provide.with-PPRT-POT=INS/3Rp/n" (Fortescue 1990:85).

7.7.2 The entities referenced by a reflexive device and its antecedent are not disjoint. Since singulars refer to sets containing only one member, singular reflexives and their antecedents pick out the same individual. Plural reflexives and their antecedents can refer to identical sets, or to sets that include at least one common individual. In *Hansip illortik ilisarinnigilaa* "Hans did not recognize their (Hans's and somebody else's) house" (illu=(r)tik) "house=ABS/3Rp/s", the antecedent is a subset of the set referenced by the reflexive expression, here the 3R EP

category on the possessed noun.

The opposite kind of case, where the reference of the antecedent is more inclusive than the reference of the reflexive expression is much less common and perhaps does not occur (Fortescue 1984:152-3), though Bergsland 1955 cites some older examples.

Non-referring terms such as the IP of impersonal verbs like *api* "to snow" or existentials formed with the derivational affix (-*qaq*-) are not disjoint in reference and may occur as antecedent of a reflexive referential device, e.g., *Anorlerpoq apillunilu* "It is windy and it is snowing" (*anurliq*=*Vuq api*=(1)*luni*+*lu*) "be.windy=IND/3s snow=CONJ/3Rs+and" (Berthelsen 1980:27).

7.7.3 Plural reflexive expressions with plural antecedents can be interpreted as reciprocals. For example: *Hansi Amalialu imminnut qungujupput* "Hans and Amalia smiled at each other" (*immi*=*nnut qunguju*=*Vut*) "self=ALL/p smile=IND/3p"; ... *imminnut isimikkut isiginermikkut* ... "...by the way they looked into each other's eyes..." (*immi*=*nnut isi*=*mikkut isigE*=*niq*=*mikkut*) "self=ALL/p eye=PER/3Rn look-ANOM=PER/3Rn" (Fortescue 1990:77).

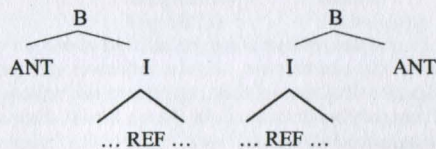
7.7.4 Since the reference of a reflexive expression is more specific than definite reference, a non-reflexive form in a grammatical position where a reflexive form might have occurred usually implies that the referenced set does not include any possible antecedents for reflexive reference. In clear cases, this implication is absolute. The third person EP in the example below cannot be interpreted as referring to Hans, since that reference would be signaled by *illuni*, which has a 3R possessive inflection.

- (1) *Hansip illua ilisarinngilaa.*
Hansi=*p illu*=*a ilisari*=*nngilaa*
H.=*ERG/s house*=*ABS/3s/s recognize*=*NEG/IND/3s/3s*
 "Hans (A) did not recognize his/her (B's) house."

Likewise, the non-reflexive third person participial in the following example cannot have the subject of the verb (*uqartaq*-) "often say" and the subject of (*ammassak*-*tuq*-) "eat sardines" interpreted as referring to the same individual, since the participial contrasts with the conjunctive *ammassatorluni* with its 3R subject inflection (9.3.2.1).

- (2) ... *oqartarporlu* ... 276=*inik ammassattortoq* ...
uqaq-*taq*=*Vuq*+*lu* 276=*nik ammassak*-*tuq*=*Tuq*
say-*HAB*=*IND/3s* 276=*INST/p sardine*-*eat*=*PART/3s*
 "...and she often said that he ate 276 sardines..." (Lyng 1978:104)

7.7.5 The antecedent for a reflexive expression normally occupies a superior syntactic position. By "superior syntactic position" is meant a syntactic position such that from the first branch in syntactic structure above the superior item it is possible to follow down the syntactic tree through at least one other category to the reflexive expression. This is illustrated below, where "ANT" is in a superior position, B is the first branch above it, "I" is a category dominated by "B", and "REF" is the reflexive expression.



7.7.6 The antecedent of a reflexive expression is a semantic subject. Therefore, the antecedent can be the absolutive term of an intransitive clause or the ergative term of a transitive clause, since both are semantic subjects (6.2).

- (1) *Kaalat uluminik pilappoq.*
Kaalat= \emptyset *ulu*=*minik pilak*=*Vuq*
K.=*ABS/s women's.knife*=*INS/3Rs flense*=*IND/3s*
 "Kaalat is flensing with her (Kaalat's) women's knife."
- (2) *Kaalap puisi uluminik pilappaa.*
Kaalat=*p puisi*= \emptyset *women's.knife*=*minik pilak*=*Vaa*
K.=*ERG/s seal*=*ABS/s ulu*=*INS/3Rs flense*=*IND/3s/3s*
 "Kaalat is flensing the seal with her (Kaalat's) ulu."

7.7.7 Neither term of a transitive clause can be a reflexive expression whose antecedent is the other term. This follows from 7.7.5 and from the basic sentence structure of WG (5.4), which is such that neither of the two terms of a transitive clause is superior to the other.

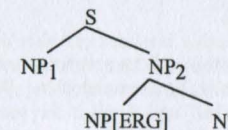
7.7.8 If the semantic subject and object refer to the same entity, then a transitive verb may be used as a morphological intransitive and the semantic object appears in the allative case. If the reference of the object is to a third person, the reflexive stem (*imm*-) "self" must be used to bear the allative case, while in the first and second person the personal pronouns may also be used in colloquial speech. Corresponding to a transitive clause such as *Biiba illaatiginngilaa* "he/she didn't laugh at Biiba", with *Biiba* in the absolutive case and the verb agreeing with it in its IP, the corresponding reflexive clause would be (1), with the semantic object in the allative case and the verb agreeing only with the subject.

- (1) *imminulluunniit illaatiginngilaaq* ...
immi=*mut*+*luunniit illaatigE*=*nngilaaq*
self=*ALL/s+or laugh.at*=*NEG/IND/3s*
 "he/she didn't even laugh at himself ..." (Fortescue 1990:115)

7.7.9 The reflexive can be formulated as a rule that operates on the lexical entries of transitive verbs that modifies the morphological field so as to make the verb intransitive and modifies the syntactic field so as to add an allative-case form of the stem (*immi*-):

morphology: $V[+EP] \rightarrow V[-EP]$
 syntax: $[VP _ X] \rightarrow [VP _ immi=ALL, X]$

7.7.10 The possessor of one term of a clause may have the other term as an antecedent of a reflexive expression. Since possessors are part of an NP, they are syntactically inferior to terms of the clauses in which they are found. The structure is illustrated below, where NP_1 is a term that is syntactically superior to the possessor, $NP[ERG]$.



Since possessive inflection has the same syntactic position as any other possessor NP

(9.1.1), it follows that:

7.7.11 Possessive inflection can have a term of the same clause as an antecedent of a reflexive expression.

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>Kaalap</i> | <i>ernini</i> | <i>asavaa</i> |
| Kaalat=p | irniq=ni | asa=Vaa |
| K.=ERG/s | son=ABS/3R/n | love=IND/3s/3s |

“Kaalat loves her (Kaalat’s) son.”

7.7.12 Since the semantic subject of a clause is generally the ergative term of a transitive clause, the antecedent of the possessor of a term is usually the ergative NP and the possessed term is usually the absolutive. This is illustrated in the example immediately above.

7.7.13 A term of a subordinate clause that is a reflexive expression must have a term of a superordinate clause as an antecedent. A subordinate clause term has reflexive reference when it is represented as 3R person EP or IP inflection on the subordinate clause verb. Since there is nothing superior to a term within its own clause, its antecedent must be in a higher clause. This is the case both when the reflexive term of the subordinate clause is itself a semantic subject as in (1) and (2) and when it is a semantic object and there is a semantic subject in the meaning of the same clause, as in (3).

- (1) *Kaali* *anigami* *orluvoq.*
 Kaali=Ø ani=Gami urlu=Vuq
 K.=ABS/s go.out=PSUB/3Rs fall.down=IND/3s
 “When he Karl went out, he (Karl) fell down.”
- (2) *Kaalip* *takugamiuk* *illalerpoq.*
 Kaali=p taku=Gamiuk illa-liq=Vuq
 K.=ERG/s see=PSUB/3Rs/3s laugh-begin=IND/3s
 “When Karl saw him or her, he (Karl) started to laugh.”
- (3) *Piitap* *takummani* *Kaali* *qissaserpoq*
 Piitap=p taku=(m)mani Kaali=Ø qissasiq=Vuq
 P.=ERG/s see=PSUB/3s/3Rs K.=ABS/s star.to.cry=IND/3s
 “When Peter saw him (Karl), Karl started to cry.”

7.7.14 Where there is only one syntactic clause, but two semantic propositions, as happens with agentivizing suffixes (8.3.2.3.6), a 3R inflection in an inferior position may have either the ergative or absolutive clause as an antecedent:

| | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Joorup</i> | <i>Piitap imminut</i> | <i>iperartortippaa.</i> |
| Juurut=p | Piitap=Ø | ipirartur-tik=Vaa |
| Jørgen =ERG/s | Peter=ABS/s | self=ALL/s |
| “Jørgen made Peter whip himself (Peter).” | | whip-cause=IND/3s/3s |

The ambiguity arises since both the ergative and the absolutive terms of the clause are superior to the reflexive device, and semantically, both are subjects. *Piitap* is the semantic subject of the suffixal verb (-niraq-) “to say that” and *Kaali* is the semantic subject of the verb (aallaq-) “to leave”. It should be noted, though, that some speakers have difficulty interpreting the reflexive as referring to the absolutive term in such examples.

8. Syntax and Semantics of Derivational Affixes

8.1 General features

8.1.1 Semantics of affixation

8.1.1.1 Nearly all affixes of WG have distinct semantic functions. With the exceptions mentioned in 8.2.2.9 below the derivational, inflectional, derivational clitic, and clitic affixes all have definable, and rather robust meanings and therefore determinable semantic functions as predicates, modifiers, quantifiers, operators, logical connectives, etc. It is this contentfulness of the affixes coupled with the great freedom of application of the derivational apparatus that gives WG much of its “polysynthetic” character.

8.1.1.2 For the most part, the scope of an affix within a word matches its semantic scope with respect to the meanings of the other pieces of the word. For example, in the word *nunasinngikkallarmatali* “but before they had acquired land” (*nuna-si-nngik-Gallaq=meta+li*) “land-get-not-temporarily=PSUB/3p+but” (Lyng 1978:6) both the morphological and semantic structure is such that each succeeding affix is applied to what comes before. The semantic structure corresponds and the word can be understood as “but (+li) when they had (=m)meta as yet (-Gallaq-) not (-nngik-) gotten (-si-) land (nuna-)”. But this scope principle is not strict. Exceptions arise from the lexicalization of collocations of affixes and certain restrictions on affix ordering (Fortescue 1983, de Reuse 1994).

8.1.1.3 Affixes may have semantic scope that includes more than the word they are found in. This includes logical elements such as negation. For example, the following sentence is ambiguous as to the scope of the negative affix.

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Inersimasut</i> | <i>kisi=mik</i> | <i>qamuteqanngillat</i> |
| inirsimasuq=t | kisi=NOM/p | qamut-qaq-nngi=(l)lat |
| adult=ABS/p | only=NOM/p | sled-have-not=IND/3p” |

(Kruse 1969:3)

It can mean either “Only adults don’t have sleds”, or (the intended meaning in the context in which it is found) “It is not the case that only adults have sleds”. Inflectional elements, clitics, and derivational clitics can similarly have semantic scope over semantic constituents that include words outside of the one they are part of. Several examples below will also make this clear.

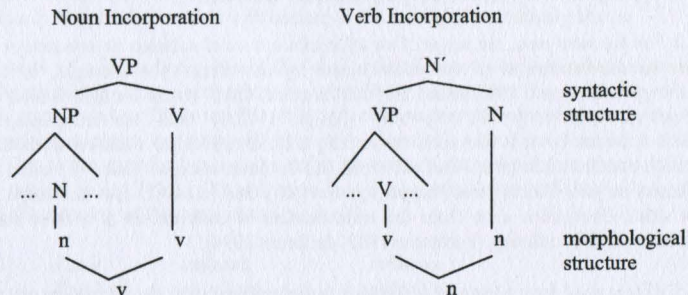
8.1.2 Syntax of affixation

8.1.2.1 Some affixes in all classes also count as independent syntactic elements in syntactic structures. This is a highly characteristic and unusual feature of WG grammar that is responsible for the rest of its polysynthetic character. A single word can not only have the meaning of an entire phrase or sentence in more isolating languages, but also the syntax thereof.

8.1.2.2 As a general rule, derivational affixes that change the part-of-speech category of a stem (converters) must be independently represented in syntactic structure and affixes that do not convert one category to another do not need to be.

8.2 Conversion. *Conversive derivational affixes are usually syntactic heads and combine morphologically with the heads of their syntactic complements.* A morphological verbalizing affix is in general a syntactic verb that takes a noun phrase as a complement and combines morphologically with the head noun of that phrase. A morphological nominalizing affix is in general a syntactic noun that takes a verb phrase as a complement and combines morphologically with the head verb of that phrase. (The symmetry is interrupted, however, by the fact that verbalizing affixes form VPs, while nominalizing affixes form syntactic N's, rather than NPs.)

This combination of syntax and morphology will be referred to as *incorporation*. When the incorporated head is a noun it is noun incorporation, and when the incorporated head is a verb it is verb incorporation.



8.2.1 Noun incorporation

8.2.1.1 *The NP out of which an N is incorporated is usually a semantic object and a syntactic complement in the instrumental case.* (An exception is discussed in 5.7.1.4.) This in line with the fact that semantic objects of formally intransitive verbs are usually syntactic complements in the instrumental case.

8.2.1.2 *If a modifier of an incorporated noun is stranded by incorporation of the head noun, that modifier agrees in number and instrumental case with the incorporated noun.*

| | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Suulut</i> | <i>pappiaramik</i> | <i>sanaamik</i> | <i>nasaqarpoq</i> |
| Suulut=Ø | pappiara=mik | sana-Taq=mik | nasaq-qaq=Vuq |
| S.=ABS/s | paper=INS/s | make-PPRT=INS/s | hat-have=IND/3s |

"Suulut has a hat made of paper" (Schwaerter 1961:14)

If the last word of the example were *nasarpassuaqarpoq*, with the incorporated noun stem (*nasarpassuaq-*) "many hats", then the modifier would have to be plural *sanaamik* in agreement with the number of the incorporated noun.

8.2.1.3 *The incorporated noun does not show overt inflectional categories.* This is because of the morphological requirement that the incorporating affix be added to a noun stem and the fact that in general, if a morphological and a syntactic requirement conflict, the morphological requirement, being more superficial, wins out.

8.2.1.4 *A possessor NP in the ergative case may be left behind when a possessed head noun is incorporated.* Since the NP out of which a noun is incorporated is usually indefinite, and since possessed NPs are usually definite, there are fairly tight restrictions on this phenomenon.

Mostly it is reserved for possessed NPs that can be interpreted with generic possessors, e.g., *puisiq neqaa* "seal meat" (*puisi=p niqE=a*) "seal=ERG/s meat=3s/s"; *puissiq neqitorpunga* "I ate seal meat" (*puisi=p niqE-Tuq=Vunga*) "seal=ERG/s meat-consume=IND/1s" or *kunngip panippassuaqarpoq* "there are many princesses" (*kunngi=p panik-passuaq-qaq=Vuq*) "king=ERG/s daughter-many-have=IND/3s" (Andersen 1965:33).

A few noun-incorporating affixes (e.g., (-u-) "to be", (-liri-) "to be concerned with", (-liaq-) "to go to") have uses with definite NPs: *Suuluvoq* "it is Suulut" (*suulut-u=Vuq*) "Suulut-be=IND/3s", *Piitap nulialerivoq* "He is involved with Peter's wife", *Københavniliarput* "They are going to Copenhagen".

8.2.1.5 *The incorporated noun may refer to a specific entity.* Incorporated nouns are often (perhaps typically) used to introduce specific new entities into a discourse whose denotation may then be continued as definite reference.

- (1) *Ernertaarput, atserlugulu Malamik.*
irniq-taaq=Vuqatsiq=lugu+lu Mala=mik
 son-get.new=IND/3p name=CONJ/3s M.=INS/s
 "They had a son and named him Mala." (Lyngø 1978:102)

8.2.1.6 *A modifier of an incorporated noun usually precedes, but may also follow the verb derived from the noun.* Thus either *Angisoorsuarmik illuliorpoq* "He/she built a huge house" (*illu-liuq=Vuq*) "house-make=IND/3s", or *Illuliorpoq angisoorsuarmik* are acceptable. (An exception is discussed in 5.7.2.2.)

8.2.1.7 *The possessor of an incorporated noun must precede the verb derived from the noun.* Thus *Siutituup neqitorarput* "They eat donkey meat" (*siutituup=p niqE-tuq-taq=Vut*) "donkey=ERG/s meat-consume-habitually=IND/3s" is correct, but **Neqitorarput siutituup* is not, except perhaps for poetic purposes.

8.2.2 Verb incorporation or nominalization

8.2.2.1 *Nominalizing suffixes combine syntactically with a VP and therefore occur with the same complements and adverbs as the host verb.* Some examples: *Nuummut aallaqtut* "those who left for Nuuk" (*nuuk=mut aallaq-Tuq=t*) "Nuuk=ALL/s leave-APRT=ABS/p"; *Kaalip ippassaq nerisai* "what Karl ate yesterday" (*Kaali=p ippassaq niri-Taq=l*) "Karl=ERG/s yesterday eat-PPRT=ABS/3s/p"; *puisimik pisaqaqaaq* "one who has caught a seal for the first time" (*puisi=mik pisaqaq-qqaaq=Ø*) "seal=INS/s catch-one.who.does.for.the.first.time=ABS/s"; *nakkarluni toqnera* "his/her death by falling" (*nakkaq=luni tuqu-niq=a*) "fall=CONJ/3Rs die-ANOM=ABS/3s/s". Note that since the absolutive and ergative terms of a clause are not complements within VP (5.4.1.4), they do not occur as complements of a nominalized verb.

8.2.2.2 *The syntactic result of nominalizing a VP is an N'.* This N' (and its noun head) will be transitive or intransitive depending on the properties of the suffix. If transitive, the N' may be possessed, as some of the examples immediately above and below show.

Nominalizations can be modified in the same way as other N's. E.g. *Nuummut aallartut inuusuttut* "those young ones who left for Nuuk" (*nuuk=mut aallaq-Tuq=t inuusuk-Tuq=t*) "Nuuk=ALLs leave-APRT=DIRp be.young-APRT=DIR/p", *Nuummut aallartunit inuusuttunit* "from the young ones who left for Nuuk" (*aallaq-Tuq=mit inuusuk-Tuq=mit*) "leave-APART=ABL/p be.young-APART=ABL/p", *Kaalip toqnera alianartoq* "Karl's sad death" (*Kaali=p tuqu-niq=a alianaq-Tuq=Ø*) "Karl=ERG/s die-ANOM=ABS/3s/s saddening-APRT=ABS/s". Indeed, nominalizations may have internal VP modifiers and external

nominal modifiers at the same time:

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kaalip</i> | <i>ippassaq</i> | <i>toqunera</i> | <i>alianartuq</i> |
| Kaali=p | ippassaq | tuqu-niq=a | alianaq-Tuq=Ø |
| K.=ERGs | yesterday | die-ANOM=ABS/3s/s | sad=ABS/s |
| "Karl's sad death yesterday" | | | |

8.2.2.3 *Nominalizers are semantic functions that take propositions as arguments.* Roughly speaking, the nominalizer can be understood as a relatively general head noun with a limiting relative clause, e.g., "the one who ...", "the place where ...", "the fact of ...", and so on. Thus *ilinniartuq* (ilinniaq-Tuq-) "study-APRT" means "one such that he/she studies", *Aanip inunngorfia* (Aani=p inunnguq-(v)vik=a) "Anne=ERG/s be.born-place=ABS/3s/s" means "the place such that Anne was born there", etc.

Since nominalizations include semantic propositions, they may include modifiers whose meaning is appropriate to propositions: *Aanip inunngunguatsiarfia* (-nnguatsiaq- "probably") "the place where Anne was probably born". But since they apply syntactically to VPs, not Ss, sentence adverbials are not allowed: **Aanip immaqa inunngorfia* (*immaqa* "perhaps").

8.2.2.4 *The possessor of a nominalized VP refers to the semantic subject.* Thus *Suulup angissusia* "Suulut's bigness (height)" (Suulu(t)=p angissusia=a) "S.=ERG/s be.big-degree.of=ABS/3s/s"; *Hansip toqutaa* "the one Hans killed" (Hansi=p tuqut-Taq=a) "H.=ERG/s kill-PPRT=ABS/3s/s", etc.

8.2.2.5 *Most nominalizing affixes only apply to morphosyntactic intransitives.* Transitive verbs must be formally intransitized to accept them. This is most neutrally accomplished by means of antipassive derivation (7.6.1, 8.3.2.3.3, 9.2.3.1): *illumik piginnittoq* "one who owns a/the house" (illu=mik pigE-nnik-Tuq=Ø) "house=INST/s own-ANTIP-APRT=ABS/s/s"; Passivization will also accomplish this: *ujarneqartoq* "one who is being looked for" (ujaq-niaq-Tuq=Ø) "look.for-PASS-APRT=ABS/3s/s". (The sole exceptions are the passive participle (-Taq-) and the abstract nominalizer (-niq-) which are discussed below.)

8.2.2.6 *The passive participle and a few other affixes related to it apply to transitive verbs.* The possessor then corresponds to the ergative term of the clause: *Hansip pisaa* "what Hans caught" (Hansi=p pi-Taqa) "H.=ERG/s get-PPRT=ABS/3s/s". Cf. *Hansip pivaa* "Hans caught it" (Hansi=p pi=Vaa) "H.=ERG/s get=IND/3s/s". Since the ergative possessor is a semantic subject and is in a syntactically superior position to everything else in the nominal, it counts as a possible antecedent for reflexive reference within the nominalization (Cf. 7.7.4, 7.7.5): *tuaviorluni kaagiliaq* "a hurriedly made cake" (tuaviuq=(l)uni kaagi-liuq-Taqa=Ø) "hurry=CONJ/3Rs cake-make-PPRT=ABS/s" (Laggård 93:70).

8.2.2.7 *The abstract nominal (-niq-) "fact/act of -ing" can be added directly to transitive verb stems to form transitive noun stems.* In this case the possessor uniquely corresponds to the semantic object. For example *Maaliap ilinniartinnera* "Maalia's education" (Maalia=p ilinniaq-tik-niq=a) "M.=ERG/s learn-cause-ANOM=ABS/3s/s". (Compare the nominalization of the antipassivized verb: *Maaliap ilinniartitsinera* "Maalia's teaching" (Maalia=p ilinniaq-tik-si-niq=a) "M.=ERG/s learn-cause-ANTIP-ANOM=ABS/3s/s".)

8.2.2.8 *A special adverbial use of the abstract nominal occurs in the ablative singular, where it functions as a reason clause meaning "because of".* This sort of adverbial is derived from a clause in the syntax, rather than from a VP, as is the case with all other productive nominalizations. Since this usage adds the affix to the verb of a clause, an absolutive of an

intransitive, an absolutive of a transitive, an ergative of a transitive, or even both terms of a transitive clause can appear in this construction inside the scope of the nominalizing affix:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>etagehusi</i> | <i>manna portunermit</i> |
| | etagehusi=Ø | manna portu-niq=mit |
| | apartment.building=ABS/s | this.ABS/s be.high-ANOM=ABL/s |
| | "because of the height of this building" (Fortescue 1984:66) | |
| (2) | <i>Nuliata</i> | <i>kajumissaarnermit</i> |
| | nuliaq=ata | kajumissaq-niq=mit |
| | wife=ERG/3s/s | urge-ANOM=ABL/s |
| | "because of his wife's urging" (Bergsland 1955:28) | |

Note that the ordinary inflectional marks of a clause, in particular the agreement with the absolutive and ergative terms, do not emerge in this construction since the nominalizing suffix (-niq-) requires a morphological verb stem as a host.

Though well attested, these usages are rejected by some modern speakers.

8.2.2.9 *There are four conversive suffixes, one for each part-of-speech and transitivity combination, that serve a purely formal function, namely to convert formal nouns to verbs and vice versa, preserving their transitivity.* The conversion of a verb to a noun allows the stem to be used as a noun, i.e., as the head of a NP in syntax and an argument phrase in semantics, while retaining the basic meaning of the verb. The conversion of a noun to a verb allows it to be used as the head of a VP without change in semantic value.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (1) | Intransitive N → V: (-u-) "to be" |
| | <i>Paapajooq qimmiuvoq</i> |
| | paapajuuq=Ø qimmiq-u=Vuq |
| | P.=ABS/s dog-be=IND/3s |
| | "Paapajooq is a dog" |
| (2) | Transitive N → V: (-GE-) "to have as" |
| | <i>Paapajooq qimmeraara.</i> |
| | paapajuuq=Ø qimmiq-GE=Vara |
| | P.=ABS/s dog-have.as=IND/1s/3s |
| | "I have Paapajooq as a dog", i.e., "Paapajooq is my dog" |
| (3) | Intransitive V → N: (-Tuq-) "one who/which Vs" (APRT) |
| | <i>sinittoq</i> |
| | sinik-Tuq=Ø |
| | sleep-APRT=ABS/3s |
| | "one who is sleeping" |
| (4) | Transitive V → N: (-Taqa-) PPRT ("one who/which someone/something Vs") |
| | <i>takusara</i> |
| | taku-Taqa=ga |
| | see-PPRT=1s/3s |
| | "the one I saw" |

8.2.2.10 *The two semantically empty verbalizing converters are examples of noun incorporation, but their syntactic properties are different from the others.* First, their modifiers are in the absolutive case. Second, the modifier must follow the verb and cannot precede. These two properties are shared by only one other noun-incorporating affix, namely (-nnguq-) "to become", which, while clearly in the same semantic realm, is not purely formal, but adds inchoative meaning.

8.3 Modification

8.3.1 Nominal modifiers

8.3.1.1 Simple nominal modifiers preserve the morphosyntactic properties of the stem to which they are attached. For example, the intransitive stem (arnaq-) means “woman”, whereas the transitive stem means “mother”. Thus *arnannguaq* “dear woman” (arnaq-nnguaq=Ø) “woman-little/dear=ABS/s” and *arnannguaara* “my dear mother” (arnaq-nnguaq=ga) “mother-little/dear=ABS/1s/s”. Similarly, (qamut-) “sled” is inherently plural: *qamutit* (qamut=t) “sled=DIR/p”, not **qamut*. The same is true for simply modified derivatives *qamutitaaq* (qamut-taaq=t) “sled-new=DIR/p”, not **qamutitaaq*. The exhaustives (2.11.1.4) have nominative-accusative forms and so do their simply modified forms: *tamarmik* “all of them” (tamaq=mik) “all=NOM/p” *tamarsuarmik* “the whole lot of them” (tamaq-(r)Suaq=mik) “all-big=NOM/p”. Similarly, the personal pronouns occur in the direct case with no distinction between absolutive, ergative, nominative, and accusative: *Uanga takuarma* “you saw me” (uanga=Ø taku=Varma) “1s=DIR sec=IND/2s/1s”; *uanga takuakkit* “I saw you” (uanga taku=Vakkit) “DIR/1s see=IND/1s/2s”. Simple modification of the pronoun likewise does not distinguish among the direct cases. The modified form *uangakasik* “poor I/me” (uangakasik=Ø) “DIR/1s-poor=DIRs” may be used in both of the preceding sentences.

8.3.1.2 Simple nominal modifiers preserve the syntactic properties of the stem to which they are attached. As discussed in 8.2.2.1, a noun derived from a verb has the same complements as the verb and so does a noun derived from that noun by simple modification. Just like *Nuummut aallartut* “The ones who left for Nuuk” is *Nuummut aallartunnguit* “The dear little ones who left for Nuuk”, both with allative complements.

Since the stem plus the affix have the same syntactic properties as the stem alone, the suffix and stem cannot be individually modified by external modifiers. For example, a syntactically separate modifier such as *nutaaq* “new” can be intensified by means of the adverbial *assut* “very”: *illu assut nutaaq* “very new house” but a suffixal modifier such as (-taa-) “new” cannot: **assut illutaaq* (illu-taa-) “very house-new”.

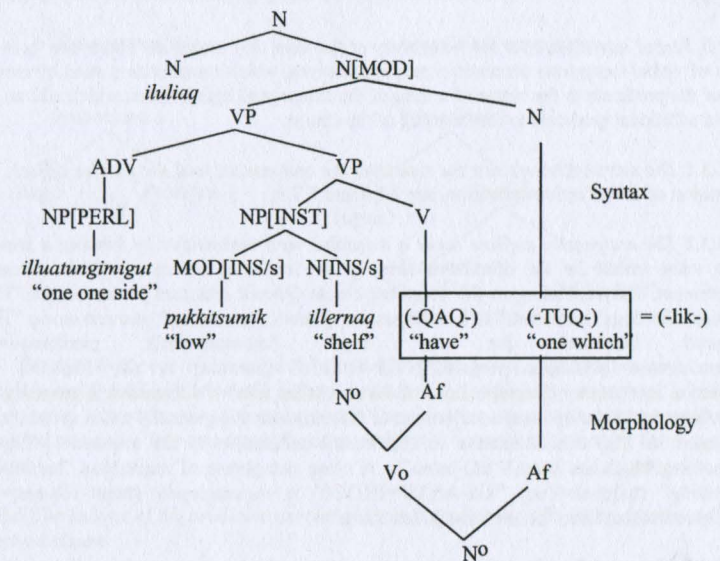
8.3.1.3 A noun stem derived by means of a simple modifier refers to a subset of what is referred to by the underived stem. Anything that is appropriately termed *arnannguaara* “my dear mother” is necessarily *arnara* “my mother”, anything that is *illutaaq* “new house” is also *illu* “house”, and so on. In other words, the semantics of the stem are included in the semantics of the simply modified stem.

8.3.1.4 Complex nominal modifiers are equivalent to the active participles of verbs formed with real or possible noun incorporating affixes. For example, (-kkaa-) “one with large” as in *niukkaa* “someone/something with long legs” is equivalent to (-*kkaa-Tuq-) “to.have.big-APRT”, though there is no actual noun-incorporating affix (*-kkaa-). The suffix (-liaq-) “traveller to” can be considered equivalent to (-liaq-Tuq-) “to.go.to-APRT”, though there is no overt nominalizer, and the very frequent suffix (-lik-) “one who/which has” behaves in the same way as (-qaq-Tuq-) “have-APRT”, despite the lack of a morphologically related noun incorporating suffix and the lack of an overt nominalizer.

8.3.1.5 Since complex nominal modifiers are like the participles of noun incorporation structures, they include noun phrases as syntactic complements. Just as in the case of noun incorporation, the incorporated noun stem may be modified: *aappalaartumik illulik* “one who has a red house” (aappalaq-Tuq=mik illu-lik=Ø) “be.red-NOM=INS/s house-one.which.has=ABS/s”.

Complex nominal modifiers also allow adverbial modifiers because they include a VP as syntactic complement of the covert nominalizer: *inuit assiinnariarlugit qimmissut uppattillit* “being just like human beings (but) with hindquarters like a dog” (inuk=t assiinnariaq=(l)lugit qimmiq=tut uppatic-lik=t) “human.being=DIR/p be.just.like=CONJ/3p dog=EQU/n hind.quarters-one.which.has=DIR/p” (Fortescue 1990:85).

Because of this complex syntactic structure, it is possible to have both a nominal modifier of the internal NP and an adverbial modifier of the internal VP at the same time, as in the phrase *iluliaq illuatungimigut pukkitsumik illernalik* “an iceberg having a low shelf on one of its sides” (iluliaq=Ø) “iceberg=ABS/s”, (illuatunngE=migut) “to.one.side=PERL/3Rs/s”, (pukkit-Tuq=mik) “be.low-APRT=INST/s” (illirmi-lik=Ø) “shelf-one.which.has=ABS/s” (Sommer et al. 1976a:62). The syntax and effective morphology of this example are diagrammed below. The covert morphology consisting of two affixes is realized morphophonologically as the single sequence of morphophonemes (-lik-).



8.3.2 Verbal modifiers. The major division among verbal modifiers is between those that preserve the transitivity of the stem, adding an adverbial or modal sense, and those with more complex properties with respect to the several components of the grammar. The former class will be called (after Fortescue 1983) simple verbal modifiers and the latter verbal extenders.

8.3.2.1 Simple verbal modifiers play no separate role in syntactic structures. The modified verb has just the same complements and just the same modificational possibilities as the unmodified verb. Thus the verb (aallaq-) “depart” takes an allative complement and so do the derived verbs (aallaq-asuaq-) “depart rapidly”, (aallaq-asuaq-sinnaa-) “be able to depart rapidly”, and so on.

8.3.2.2 Simple verbal modifiers are separately represented in semantic structure with scope appropriate to their meaning. The following example, in which the verb is derived with the aid of the affix (-Juma-) “to want to”, is ambiguous in the same way as the English gloss.

Aanisi kalaallimik katikkumavoq “Agnes wants to marry a Greenlander” (katik-Juma=Vuq) “marry-want=IND/3s”. The sentence means either that Agnes has a specific Greenlander in mind, or that she wants whomever she marries to be a Greenlander.

The semantic scope ambiguity introduced by verbal modifiers is quite clear in the case of the very important negative affix (-nngik-) either alone or fused with mood inflection. Though the affix always attaches to verb stems, it has an entire proposition in its semantic scope and therefore allows negative polarity items like *kinaluunnit* “anyone” to occur as either term of a clause: *Kinaluunnit tikiunngilaq* “no one showed up” (tikiuk=nngilaq) “show.up=NEG/IND/3s”; *Kinaluunnit ilisarinnngilara* “I didn’t recognize anybody” (ilisarE=nngilara) “recognize=NEG/IND/1s/3s”. Similarly, the sentence *Inersimasut kisimik qamuteqanngillat* (inirsimasu=t kisi=mik qamut-qaq=nngillat) “adult=ABS/p only=NOM/p sled-have=NEG/IND/3p” is ambiguous between “Only adults do not have sleds” and “Not only adults have sleds”, the latter being the intended reading in the text where it occurs (Kruse 1969:3).

8.3.2.3 Verbal extenders alter the transitivity of the stem they attach to. There are three main types of verbal extenders: detransitivizers, applicatives, which transativize a stem by elevating part of the predicate to the status of a term of the clause, and agentivizers, which add an agent and an additional predicate to the meaning of the clause.

8.3.2.3.1 The detransitivizers are the reflexive, the antipassive, and the passive affixes. For a discussion of the reflexive derivation, see 7.7.8 and 7.7.9.

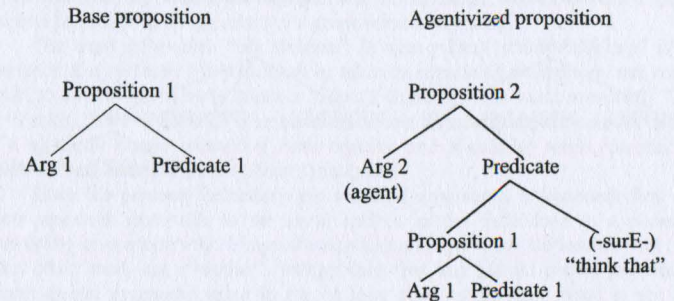
8.3.2.3.2 The antipassive suffixes make a transitive verb intransitive by forming a stem that takes what would be the absolutive term of the transitive as an optional instrumental complement. Corresponding to the transitive clause *Qimmit anussaat piareersarpai* “He/she prepared the dogs’ harnesses” is the antipassive *Qimmit anussaannik piareersaavoq* “He/she prepared harnesses for the dogs” (anussaq=annik piariirsaq-i=Vuq) “future.harness=INST/3p/p prepare-ANTIP=IND/3s” (Sommer et al. 1976b:36). (The translation is meant to reflect the fact that the absolutive term of a transitive is generally taken as definite, while the optional complement of the antipassive is generally taken as indefinite as discussed in 7.2.) An alternative to the lexical antipassive is the sequence (-Taq-qaq-) “something.which.has been(V’ed)-have-”. A close paraphrase of *toqutsivoq* “he/she killed something” (tuqut-si=Vuq) “kill-ANTIP=IND/3s” is *toqutaqarpoq* (tuqut-Taq-qaq=Vuq), literally something like: “he/she has a killed thing.”

8.3.2.3.3 The passive suffixes detransitivize a verb stem by forming one that takes what would be the ergative term of the transitive clause as an optional ablative complement. For example, corresponding to the transitive clause *ilaasa ikiunngilaat* “His family didn’t help him” (ila=isa ikiuq=nngilaat) “companion=ERG/3p/s help=NEG/INDIC/3p/3n” is the passive *ilaminit ikiorneqanngilaq* “He was not helped by his family” (ila=minit ikiuq-niqaq=nngilaq) “companion=ABL/3Rs/n help-PASS=NEG/INDIC/3s”. In a passive clause the term corresponding to the absolutive of the transitive is the semantic subject of a derived verb and therefore it can control reflexive reference, as in the example just discussed.

The passive in (-niqaq-) is very frequently used. Besides this affix there is also found a more stative and somewhat less frequent passive in (-Taq-u-) “PPRT-be-”. A few other verbal modifiers include a passive sense and serve a detransitivizing purpose when used with transitives, e.g., (-Tariaqaq-) *Nerisittariaqarpai* “He/she has to feed them” (niri-tik-Tariaqaq=Vai) “eat-cause-have.to=IND/3s/3p”; *Nerisittariaqarput* “They have to be fed” (niri-tik-Tariaqaq=Vut) “eat-cause-have.to=IND/3p”.

8.3.2.3.4 Applicatives elevate an oblique case complement or verbal modifier to the status of an absolutive term. Regardless of type, if the applicative is found on a transitive verb, the original absolutive is displaced and appears, if at all, in an oblique case. (*Hansimit sakkut tillippavut* “we stole tools (from Hans)” (tillik=Vavut) “steal=IND/1p/3p”, *Hansi (sakkunik) tilliffigaarput* “We robbed Hans of tools” (tillik-(v)vigE=Varput) “steal-locative.applicative=IND/1p/3s”; *oqalugiaat (siutequtinik) tusarpara* “I heard the lecture (with a hearing aid)”, *siutequtit (oqalugiaammik) tusaatigaakka* “I used a hearing aid to hear the lecture” (tusaq-utigE=Vakka) “hear-instrumental.applicative=IND/1s/3p”.

8.3.2.3.5 Agentivizers create transitive verbs that form a single clause in syntax but contain two propositions in semantic structure. The affix counts as a predicate in semantics that has an agent subject and a propositional object with the meaning of the unagentivized clause. The relation between the proposition expressed by a clause and that expressed by an agentivized clause (here with the suffix (-surE-) “think that”), is shown below:



The agentivizers in WG are: (-tit-) “cause, let”, (-qqu-) “ask, request”, (-sugE-), (-nasugE-), and (-surE-) “think that”, (-tsiq-) “wait for”, (-t(s)aali-) “try to prevent”, (-miraq-) “say”, (-saaq-) “try to make it the case that”. The first five occur with either transitive or intransitive stems, the last two normally occur only with intransitives, though there is some variation.

8.3.2.3.6 The subject of the predicate expressed by an agentivizing affix is the ergative term of the derived clause.

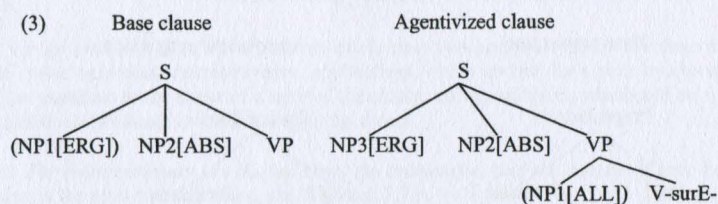
8.3.2.3.7 What would be the absolutive term of the non-agentivized clause is the absolutive term of the agentivized clause. This holds for intransitive stems: *nalunaaqutaavoq* “it is a sign”, *Moorsasip nalunaaqutaasoraq* “Moses thought that it was a sign” (muursasi=p nalunaaqut-u-sorE=Vaa) “M.=ERG/s sign-be-think=IND/3s/3s”, and it also holds for transitives: *Nuuk ajorinagu* “not disliking Nuuk” (Nuuk=Ø ajurE=nagu) “Nuuk=ABS/s dislike=NEG/CONT/3R/3s”, *Kaalap Nuuk ajorinningsoralugu* “Kaalat thinking that (someone) didn’t dislike Nuuk” (Kaalat=p ajurE-nngik-surE=(l)lugu) “K.=ERG/s dislike-not-think=CONJ/3s”.

8.3.2.3.8 With intransitive verbs, the subject of the base proposition appears as the absolutive of the transitivized clause.

8.3.2.3.9 With transitive verbs, the subject of the subordinate proposition appears, if at all, as an allative complement.

- (1) Ilinniartitsisup atuakkat pisiarai.
 ilinniartitsisup=p atuagaq=t pisiarE=Vaa
 teacher=ERG/s book=DIR/p buy=IND/3s/3p
 "The teacher bought the books."
- (2) Piitap atuakkat (ilinniartitsisumut) pisiarisorai.
 Piitap=p atuagaq=t ilinniartitsisup=mut pisiarE-surE=Vai
 Peter=ERG/s book=DIR/p teacher=ALL/s buy-think=IND/3s/3p
 "Peter thought someone/(the teacher) bought the books."

Thus the relationship between a base transitive clause and a transitivized version of it is as in the following diagram:



9. Syntax and Semantics of Inflection.

Certain categories of inflection count as independent elements of meaning with determinable semantic scope. In some cases, the categories of inflection also play the same sorts of roles in syntax that various phrase types do. On the other hand, there are inflections, or uses of inflections, that are purely morphological, having neither semantic content nor counting as syntactic constituents.

9.1 Internal and External Person

9.1.1 *The non-third person personal inflections of verbs and nouns in WG are definite referential arguments in semantics and absolutive or ergative terms in syntax.* Since the personal inflections can count as syntactic terms, a noun with its personal inflection can count as an NP in syntax and a verb with its personal inflection can count as a clause. And since the Internal and External Persons are arguments in the semantics, a noun or verb with its personal inflection can count as an argument or a proposition all by itself.

The word *qitornakka* "my children" (*qiturna*=kka) "child=ABS/1s/p" is a semantic argument and a syntactic NP which can be taken as containing an ergative case possessor NP, parallel to an NP like *Hansip qitornai* "Hans's children". The word *asavakkit* "I love you" (*asa*=Vakkitt) "love=IND/1s/2s" can be taken to be a semantic proposition with two arguments and a syntactic clause containing both ergative and absolutive terms, parallel to *Hansip paninni asavaa* "Hans loves his (Hans's) daughter."

Since the personal inflections are semantic arguments, independent first and second person pronouns that refer to the same entities as the inflections in a phrase are used emphatically or contrastively. *Uanga ilinniartitsisuuvunga* "I am the teacher (not you)", or "I, on the other hand, am a teacher". Independent first and second person pronouns are used without special pragmatic value in the oblique cases, since their value is not represented inflectionally on any noun or verb. They are also used non-emphatically in the direct case when the agreeing element is elided, as in short answers to questions as well as in contexts where the inflection is ambiguous.

- (1) *uanga illuga*
 DIR/1s house.ABS/1s/s
 "MY house"
- (2) *uanga illunni*
 DIR/1s house.ABS/1,2s
 "in my house"
- (3) *illit illunni*
 DIR/2s house.ABS/1,2s
 "in your house"
- (4) A. *Kia illua?*
 "Whose house (is it)?"
 B. *Uanga.*
 "Mine."

9.1.2 *The third person inflection is optionally a syntactic term and, if it is a syntactic term, it is optionally a semantic argument.* An overt third person term is therefore the actual term in syntax, the inflection in this case being purely an indicator of grammatical agreement. Where there is no overt term, the third person inflection counts as a syntactic term.

The singular third person is not a semantic argument in the case of meteorological verbs and existential verbs in (-qaq-) "for there to be": *Siallerpoq* "it is raining" (*sialliq*=Vuq) "to.rain=IND/3s"; *tuttoqarpoq* "there is/are reindeer" (*tuttu-qaq*=Vuq) "reindeer-

have=IND/3s". In such cases only the default singular is possible. In the plural, **siallerput* is impossible and *tuttoqarput* can only mean "They (e.g., certain locales) have reindeer".

9.2 Case

9.2.1 Direct Cases

9.2.1.1 For NPs of the type that are inflected as nominative or ergative, the nominative marks the semantic subject and the accusative is used in all other instances where oblique cases are not appropriate. For example, with an intransitive subject: *Uanga kisimi apeqqutaassaanga* "I alone will be the question" (uanga kisi=mi apiqqut-u-ssa=Vunga) "DIR/1s alone=NOM/s question-be-future=IND/1s" (Fortescue 1990:75). With a transitive subject: *Kisimi tikippai* "He alone came to them" (kisi=mi tikik=Vai) "alone=NOM/s arrive=IND/1s/3p" (Fortescue 84:88). But the accusative is used with a transitive object: *Qajaa kisiat nanivaat* "They found only his kayak" (qajaa=a kisi=at nani=Vaat) "kayak=ABS/3s/s alone=ACC/s find=IND/3p/n".

Time adverbials take the accusative case where applicable since they are not semantic subjects: *aasat tamaasa qeerlutuut manniliortarlutik* "every summer the ducks lay eggs" (aasaq=t tamaq=isa qiirlutuq=t manniliuq-Taq-(l)utik) "summer=DIR/p all-ACC/3p/p duck=DIR/p lay.eggs-HAB-CONJ/3Rp".

9.2.1.2 Ordinary NPs have direct cases assigned according to the alignment of a case hierarchy and a hierarchy of semantic function.

9.2.1.3 The case hierarchy is *ERG > ABS > OBL*.

9.2.1.4 The hierarchy of semantic functions is *SUBJ > OBJ > OTHER*.

9.2.1.5 The highest case on the case hierarchy that is found in a clause aligns with the highest semantic function in the corresponding proposition. Except in the case of impersonal propositions discussed in 9.1.2, the semantic subject is always present and is always the highest semantic function and will be represented by the term with the highest syntactic case available in the clause, viz., the ergative in a syntactically transitive sentence and the absolutive in a syntactically intransitive sentence.

Examples: *Qallunaap ilerri pisataat tillippai* "The Dane stole the belongings from the graves" (qallunaaq=p iliviq=t pisataq=at tillik=Vai) "Dane=ERG/s grave=DIR/p belongings=ABS/3p/n steal=IND/3s/3p"; *Qallunaaq ilerri pisataannik tillippoq* "The Dane stole belongings from the graves" (qallunaaq=Ø iliviq=t pisataq=annik tillik=Vuq) "Dane=ABS/s grave=DIR/p belongings=INST/3p/n steal=IND/3s". *Nukappiaraq allunaasamik annaappoq* "The boy was rescued with a rope" (nukappiaraq=Ø allunaasaq=mik annaak=Vuq) "boy=ABS/s rope=INST/s be.rescued=IND/3s"; *Nukappiaqqap allunaasaq annaatiqaa* "The boy was rescued by means of the rope" (nukappiaraq=p allunaasaq=Ø annaak-utigE=Vaa) "boy=ERG/s rope=ABS/s be.rescued-instrumental.applicative=IND/3s/3s".

9.2.1.6 For underived verbs, the absolutive marks the sole term of intransitives and the less agentive term of transitives, while the ergative marks the more agentive term of transitives. It is for this reason that the special term "ergative" is used. The distribution of cases with underived verbs follows from the alignment of the case hierarchy and the semantic functions discussed in 6.3.

The association of ergative case with agents of transitive propositions and the absolutive with non-agents of transitive propositions is indirect and is not necessarily found with derived verbs. In the passive, for example, there is no ergative and the absolutive marks

the less agentive participant while an oblique case—the ablative—marks the more agentive participant. Multiple derivation can, in fact, reverse this association. In *Amaliap Kaali ikiortigaa* "Amalia has Karl as a helper" or "Karl is Amalia's helper", the absolutive term *Kaali*, refers to the more agentive participant, i.e., the person who is doing the helping, while the ergative *Amaliap* refers to the person who is helped. The verb (*ikiuq-*) receives two derivational affixes, first an (incompletely productive) agentive nominalizer, giving *ikiorti* "helper", and then the transitive verbalizer (*-GE-*) "to have as".

9.2.1.7 The absolutive is also used to express adverbials of time when neither a duration or the fact of containment of an event within the specified period is stressed. E.g., *ulloq taanna* "that day" (ulluq taanna) "day.ABS/s that.ABS/s", *aasaq* "in the summer", *ullut tamaasa* "every day" (ullu-t tamaq=isa) "day=DIR/p all=ACC/p", *nipi tamaat* "at the top of one's lungs" (nipi=Ø tamaq=at) "voice=ABS/s all=ACC/s".

9.2.2 Oblique cases. The oblique cases occur in specific syntactic constructions, as markers of adverbial NPs of various kinds, and as complements of specific verbs as discussed in 5.7.1.

9.2.2.1 Instrumental. The antipassive of verbs takes an instrumental case complement in the same semantic role as the absolutive of the transitive stem from which the antipassive is derived. This is the patient in the case of underived verbs, e.g., *inummik toqutsilluni* "killing a person" (inuk=mik tuquk-si=(l)luni) "human.being=INS/s" kill-ANTIP=CONJ/3Rs". The instrumental complement can represent another relation for derived verb stems, e.g., *meeqqanik tilli-ffi-ginnilluni* "stealing from children" (miiraq=mik tillik-(v)vigE-nnik=(l)luni) "child=INS/p steal-locative.applicative-ANTIP=CONJ/3Rs".

In adverbials the instrumental singular means "by means of", e.g., *savimmik* "with a knife" (savik=mik) "knife=INSS", or, when derived from the active participle of a stative verb, adverbials meaning "V-ingly": *naammaannartumik* "just sufficiently" (naammak-innaq-Tuq=mik) "do.enough-just-APART=INS/s"; *ajunngitsumik* "well" (ajunngik-Tuq=mik) "be.good-APRT=INS/s".

9.2.2.2 Allative. As a complement of verbs formed with one of the agentivizing affixes (8.3.2.3.6), the allative expresses the relation in the subordinate clause that would be expressed by the ergative of a transitive clause: e.g., *immussuaq Hansimut nereqqarput* "We asked Hans to eat the cheese" (immussuaq Hansi=mut niri-qqu=Varput) "cheese.ABS/s Hans=ALL/s eat-ask=IND/1p/3s".

A variety of verbs take allative complements usually in the role of a literal or figurative goal, e.g., "to go (to)", "to enter", "to look (at, toward)", "to say (to)", "to smile (at)", "to climb to", "to thank for", but also "to leave something (at a place)".

The allative forms adverbials with a goal interpretation, as well as time adverbials expressing a certain hour (i.e., "at X o'clock"), and adverbials expressing the cost of something, among others types.

9.2.2.3 Ablative. The ablative is used with verbs derived with passive suffixes (8.3.2.3.4) to express the relation that would be expressed by the ergative of the corresponding transitive verb. The ablative is also used to express the standard of comparison with verbs bearing the comparative derivational affix (*-niru-*). This standard may be any one of the roles in a scene: *uannit nerineruvoq* "He eats more than I do" (uannit niri-niru=Vuq) "ABL/1s eat-more=IND/3s", *ilimagisaminit anglerarserneruvoq* "he/she was more homesick than he/she expected (he/she would be)" (ilimagE-Taq=minit angirlarsiq-niru=Vuq) "expect-PPART=ABL/3Rs/s be.homesick-more=IND/3s" (Fortescue 1984:168).

Verbs with the appropriate meaning select complements in the ablative case to express an actual or figurative source, e.g., *meeraanimit* "since my childhood" (miiraq-u-niq=nnit)

“child-be-ANOM=ABL/1s”.

9.2.2.4 Equative. The equative expresses the obligatorily stated standard of comparison with verbs formed with the suffix (-tigE-) “to do as much as”. It also expresses manner adverbials meaning “as” or “like”, *sanasutut sulisarpoq* “He works as a carpenter” (sanasut=tut sulis-Taq=Vuq) “carpenter=EQU/s work-HAB=IND/3s”, *ataatamisut isikkoqarpoq* “He looks like his father” (ataata=amisut isikkuaq=Vuq) “father=EQU/3R/n appearance-have=IND/3s”.

9.2.2.5 Locative. The locative does not have any special grammatical uses and is used only for complements and adverbials. The adverbials express, among other things, duration of time, e.g., *ukiuni marlunni* “for two years” (ukiuiq=ni marluk=ni) “year=LOC/p two=LOC/p and adverbs meaning “at NP’s house”, e.g., *Inooqqami* “at Inooq’s house”, *Mikaalikunni* “at Mikaali’s family’s house” (Mikaali-kkut=ni) “M.-and.family=LOC/p”.

9.2.2.6 Perlativ. The perlativ forms complement and adverbial phrases expressing a literal or figurative path with meanings in the range of “through, over, across, along” as well as a variety of spatial and temporal relations not comfortably expressed by any of the other spatial cases: *Ilaatigut* “sometimes” (ila=atigut) “part=PER/3s/n”, *telefonikkut* “by telephone”, *majuartarfitigut* “by way of the stairs” (majuartarfik=tigut) “stairs=PERp”.

9.3 Mood

9.3.1 Independent moods. *The independent moods of WG are indicators of illocutionary force.*

9.3.1.1 Indicative. *The indicative is used for stating, relating, reporting, averring, etc.*

9.3.1.2 Interrogative. *The interrogative is for asking questions of all types, including yes/no questions, alternative questions, and interrogative word questions.*

9.3.1.3 Imperative. *The imperative is used for requesting, commanding, instructing, etc.*

9.3.1.4 Optative. *The optative is for producing speech acts expressing a desire for someone other than the addressee to do something.*

9.3.2 Dependent moods. *The dependent moods of WG are either selected syntactically by governing verbs (5.7.4) or have a semantic value that turns a proposition into a modifier of predicates or propositions.*

9.3.2.1 Participial/conjunctive. *The participial and conjunctive are used to express subordinate events that are not specified as to the time relation that they bear to the main clause.* These two moods are used in partial complementary distribution in both complement clauses and adverbial clauses. The conjunctive can or must be used where the subject of its own clause is not referentially disjoint from the subject of the superordinate proposition. The participial can or must be used otherwise. When the semantic subject of the subordinate and superordinate clauses is first or second person, either the participial or the conjunctive may generally be used. Both the conjunctive and the participial are possible in, e.g., *Oqarpunga qasullunga/qasusunga* “I said that I was tired”. But when the subject is third person, the choice between conjunctive and participial is associated with coreference and non-coreference with a superior subject. Thus *Meeraq oqarpoq qasulluni* and *Meeraq oqarpoq qasusoaq* mean different things, “Child (A) says that A is tired” and “Child (A) says that B is tired”.

The time relation between the main and subordinate events that is associated with the

conjunctive/participial is often one of simultaneity or near simultaneity, including the immediate precedence of the event in the subordinate clause with respect to that of the next. An example containing both an adverbial and a complement use of the conjunctive is the following:

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Mala</i> | <i>oqartaleriannuarluni</i> |
| Mala | uqaq-taq-liq-riac-nnguaq=(l)luni |
| M.ABS/s | say-HAB-begin-EMPH-poor=CONJ/3Rs |

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>niaqorloqalumi</i> | <i>napparpoq</i> |
| niaqurluk-qE=(l)luni | nappaq=Vuq |
| have.headache-much=CONJ/3Rs | be.sick=IND/3s |

“Poor Mala (A) fell ill, (A) saying repeatedly that he (A) had a bad headache.”
(Lyng 1978:103)

If the third singular participial form *oqartaleriannuarloq* is substituted for the conjunctive third singular reflexive form, the sentence would mean “When poor Mala (A) said repeatedly that he (A) had a headache, he/she (B) fell ill. If we instead substitute the third singular participial form *niaqorloqisoq*, while keeping the earlier conjunctive form, the sentence would mean, “When poor Mala (A) said that he/she (B) had a headache, he (A) fell ill”.

9.3.2.2 Conjunctive. *The conjunctive is also used to present a conjunction of an event with another that shares its subject.* *Ulimmanilu tineqqissannilaq* “it [the tide] will not flow and will not ebb again.” (ulik=nani+lu tinik-qqik-ssa=nngilaq) “be.high.tide=NEG/CONJ/3Rs+and be.low.tide-again-will=NEG/IND/3s” (Sommer et al. 1976:34). Conjunction of clauses with disjoint subjects is by means of two clauses in the same, non-conjunctive mood.

9.3.2.2.1 *In a special construction with the causative derivational affix (-tik-), the conjunctive expresses simultaneity.* Here it can be used whether or not the non-causative verb has the same subject as the superordinate clause because this agentivizing affix changes the semantic subject of the subordinate proposition. The apparent meaning of the construction is “(A) allowing (B) to VP1, A does VP2”. The idiomatic meaning is “While B does VP1, A does VP2”

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>Aallarsimatillusi</i> | <i>Kaali</i> | <i>oqaluuppara</i> |
| aallarsima-tik=(l)lusi | Kaali=Ø | uqaluut=Vara |
| be.away-cause=CONJ/2p | K.=ABS/s | speak.to=IND/1s/3s |

“While you were away, I spoke to Karl” (Fortescue 1984:57)

9.3.2.2.2 *The negative conjunctive is used for expressing prohibitions.* There is no negative form of the imperative.

9.3.2.3 Future subordinative. *The future subordinative expresses a proposition which bears a connection to the event expressed by the superordinate clause and which the speaker presents as not yet an established fact.* Thus the future subordinative can express a future tense where the connection between the events is either temporal, e.g., *Suaaruma tamaviat noqgoruukkumaarpugut* “When I yell, we will both pull against each other” (suaaq=Guma nuqquruut-Jumaaq=Vugut) “yell=FSUB/1p pull.on.either.end-FUT=IND/1p”, or conditional, e.g., *Ingerlaguit uanga illunnut apuutissaatit.* “If you go, you will arrive at my house” (ingirla=Guit uanga illu=nnut apuutE-ssa=Vutit) “go=FSUB/2s DIR/1s house=ALL/1s/n arrive-FUT=IND/2s” (Sommer et al. 1976:35). In these cases the main clause will ordinarily

bear a future derivational affix. Where the future subordinate represents a condition, however, it can refer to a past condition: *ippassaq radiokkut naalaartoqarsimaguni* “if anyone had listened to the radio yesterday” (ippassaq radio=kkut naalaaq-Tuq-qaq-sima=Guni) “yesterday radio=PER/s listen-APRT-have-perfective=FSUB/3Rs” (Dagsordner 1998).

9.3.2.4 Habitual subordinate. *The habitual subordinate expresses an event that is habitually associated with the event expressed by the superordinate clause.* E.g., *Sukatileraangagu qatimaluttut nipeqartarpoq*. “Whenever she touched its strings, it sounded like rumbling” (sukatiliq=Gaangagu qatimaluk-Tuq=tut nipiqaq-Taq=Vuq) “begin.to.touch.the.strings=HSUB/3s/3s rumble-APART=EQU/n sound-HAB=IND/3s” (Sommer et al. 1976:34). As seen in this example, the superordinate clause must ordinarily bear a habitual derivational affix.

9.3.2.5 Past subordinate. *The past subordinate expresses a proposition that the speaker presents as true and which bears a connection with the event expressed by a superordinate clause.* In the ordinary case, the past subordinate clause is therefore past tense and the connection between the two propositions is either temporal, e.g., *Uterami anussaanic piareersaalerpoq* “When he came home, he began to prepare their harnesses” (utiq=Gami anu-ssaq=anik piariirsaliq=Vuq) “return=PSUB/3Rs harness-FUT=INS/3p/p begin.to.prepare=IND/3s”, or causal, e.g., *Nunap timaannarsuanit aggersuummata timersernik taasarsimavaat* “Because they came from the deep interior, they called them inlanders” (aggig-Tuq-u=mmata) “come-APRT-be=PSUB/3p”. Where the past subordinate expresses a cause, it may be a future cause, in which case it will occur with a future derivational affix: *oqallinnissamut tunngavissaqarneruniassagatta* “because we will try to have more basis for future discussion” (uqallinniq-ssaq=mut tunngavik-ssaq-qaq-niru-niaq-ssa=gatta) “discussion-FUT=ALL/s basis-FUT-have-more-try-FUT=PSUB/1p”.

10. Clitics and Derivational Clitics

Clitics are morphological elements with very different properties in all components of the grammar from those of derivational or inflectional affixes. Despite their small number, they are very frequent in texts and in speech. There are three classes of clitics: conjunctive clitics, speech act clitics, and demonstrative clitics, each with its own syntactic and semantic properties.

10.1 Clitics are added morphologically to full words, not stems. To a limited extent, words containing a clitic can themselves accept further clitics. (See 2.9 for details.)

10.2 Clitics combine with phrases in the syntax. In this respect they resemble certain derivational and inflectional processes, but they do not have the syntactic status that other morphological processes do. In particular, clitics are not noun or verb heads in ordinary syntactic phrases.

10.3 Clitics are added to a peripheral word of a syntactic phrase. Certain clitics are positioned syntactically before a syntactic phrase and are suffixed to the first word of that phrase. Others are positioned at the end of a syntactic phrase and are suffixed to the last word of the phrase. The property of clitics provides a test for wordhood. It has been suggested, for example, that in a noun-incorporation structure with a stranded possessor (8.2.1.4) such as *Puisip neqitorpunga* “I ate seal meat” (puisi=p niqE-tuq=Vunga) “seal=ERG meat-consume=IND/3s”, the sequence (puisi=p niqE-) can be taken as a compound stem. But if this clause were introduced by a clitic like (+lu) “and”, it could be suffixed to *puisip*, giving *Puisillu neqitorpunga*. This confirms the wordhood of *puisip* in this construction.

10.4 The conjunctive clitics are: (+lu) “and”, (+luunniit) “or”, and (+li) “but”. As discussed in 5.9.5, clitics are positioned syntactically between phrases, either before the last of a series of conjoined phrases, or before each of a series of conjoined phrases. The conjunction is ordinarily associated syntactically with the following phrase, but this is overridden by the association of a conjunction with a conjunctive mood clause, even if that clause precedes the other conjunct. Thus clitic (+lu) “and” will show up as a suffix to the first word of the phrase it precedes or to the last word of a conjunctive clause followed by the clause it is conjoined with. These principles are illustrated by the following example:

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Piniagassat</i> | <i>nunamiut</i> | <i>imarmiullu</i> |
| piniaqassaq=t | nuna-miuq=t | imaq-miuq=t+lu |
| game=DIR/p | land-dweller=DIR/p | sea-dweller=DIR/p+and |

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>atisaralugillu</i> | <i>nerisaraat</i> |
| atisaq-GE=(l)lugu+lu | nirisaq-GE=Vaat |
| clothes-have.as=CONJ/3R/3s+ and | food-have.as=IND/3p/3s |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>taakkunungalu</i> | <i>atortussaminnik</i> | <i>piffigisarlugit.</i> |
| taakku=nunnga+lu aturtuq-ssaq=minnik | pi-(v)vik-GE-Taq-(l)lugit | |
| those=ALL/p+and tool-POT=INS/3Rp | get-place-have.as-HAB=CONJ/3R/3p | |

“They procured food and clothing from the sea and land animals that they caught, and also the equipment for catching them with” (Fortescue 1990:85)

The example contains a conjoined modifier *nunamiut imarmiullu* “land animals and sea animals”. The intervening conjunction attaches to the first (here the only) word of the second conjunct. The clause meaning “they used the land animal and sea animal game for

clothing" is conjoined with the clause meaning "they used them for food". The first clause is in the conjunctive mood, so the conjunction is associated with it. As a suffix, the conjunction is found on the last word of that clause, *atisarahugillu*. The resulting complex sentence, in the indicative mood, is conjoined with a following conjunctive mood clause meaning "from them they procured their tools". Since the conjunctive mood clause follows the clitic conjunction, the clitic is attached as a suffix to the first word of that clause, *taakkununnga* "from them."

10.5 The speech act clitics are: (+*mi*) "indeed", (+*tuq*) "I wish", (+*lusooq*) "it's as if", (+*taa*) "as well", (+*mita(ava)*) "(what/who) in the world" (with interrogatives), (+*Guuq*) "one says", (+*aa*) "Hey!", and (+*aasiit*) "as one might expect". It is not clear whether the speech act clitics really deserve representation in the syntax itself since their positioning has more to do with the emphasis, contrast, or emotional reaction to part of the meaning of expressions. The scope of these is often a proposition in which case the speech act clitics show up suffixed to the first word of the clause representing that proposition.

10.6 Demonstrative clitics are unprefix nominal forms of the demonstrative stems (2.11.1.1) used in a copular function. The most frequent are *una* "this" and its plural *uku* "these". In their use with participial clauses (5.4.2.7) these can be looked at as having no actual semantic content, but as serving to focus elements by creating a biclausal structure with the focal element in the main clause. The following example from Fortescue (1990:85-6) illustrates both this use of a demonstrative clitic and a speech act clitic simultaneously:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>immaqaakugooq</i> | <i>toqoriarlutik</i> |
| immaqa+uku+Guuq | tuqu-riaq=(l)lutik |
| perhaps+these+said | die-in.process=CONJ/3Rp |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>inuttut</i> | <i>isikkoqalertarsimasut</i> |
| inuk=Tut | issikuq-qaq-liq-Taq-sima=Tut |
| person=EQU/n | appearance-have-begin-HAB-PERF=PART/3p |
| "perhaps, they said, they took on human appearance when they died" | |

Here we have a focused clause with the verb in the participial mood and the demonstrative clitic (+*tuku*) attached to the first word of the clause, *immaqa*. That entire clause is rendered as reported by the speech-act clitic (+*Guuq*) "one says", which is suffixed to the first word of the clause, *immaqaaku*, which itself is formed with the demonstrative clitic *uku*.

10.7 Derivational Clitics (2.10) occupy the syntactic position of verbs that take an oblique-case complement. These are (+*kaq-*) "go to" (with an allative complement), (+*r*) "come from" (with an ablative), (+*q-*) "go across, over, through" (with a perlocative), and (+*ik-*) "be in" (with a locative) or "be as" (with an equative). When cliticized (which all but (+*ik-*) must be), they must follow their complements and therefore are cliticized to the last word of the complement, a nominal form in the appropriate case. Unlike derivational affixes, then, the derivational clitics need not attach to the head of their complement phrase:

- (1) *Illumi sungaartumiippugut*
illu=mi sungaaq-Tuq=mi+ik=Vugut
house=LOC/s yellow-APRT=LOC/s+be=IND/1p
"We are (living) in the yellow house"
- (2) *Illumi tassaniippugut*
illu=mi tassa=mi+ik=Vugut
house=LOC/s that=LOC/s+be=IND/1p
"We are (living) in that house"

Appendix 1. Inflectional Forms

A1.1 Formation of the Verbal Moods

The verbal moods are formed by adding a mood sign to a verbal stem followed by personal endings. When the last element of the verb stem is the negative affix, it is fused to a greater or lesser extent with the mood sign. The mood sign also varies somewhat depending on the transitivity of the stem and the content of the personal ending.

A1.1.1 Mood signs

| | positive | negative | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Indicative: | - <i>(p)pu</i> | - <i>nngilla</i> | intransitive 3p |
| | + <i>Va</i> | - <i>nngila</i> | transitive |
| | + <i>Vu</i> | - <i>nngila</i> | otherwise |
| Interrogative: as in the indicative except: | + <i>Vi</i> 2n | | |
| | - <i>(p)pa</i> 3p intrans. | | |
| | + <i>Va</i> 3s intrans. | | |
| Participial | + <i>Tu</i> | - <i>nngitsu</i> | intransitive |
| | - <i>GE</i> | - <i>nngikkE</i> | transitive |
| Conjunctive | + <i>(l)lu</i> | + <i>na</i> | |
| | | + <i>nak</i> | 2s |
| Past Subordinative | + <i>(m)ma</i> | - <i>nngimma</i> | 3n |
| | + <i>Ga</i> | - <i>nnginna</i> | otherwise |
| Future Subordinative | + <i>(p)pa</i> | - <i>nngippa</i> | 3n |
| | + <i>Gu</i> | - <i>nngikku</i> | otherwise |
| Habitual Subordinative | + <i>Gaanga</i> | - <i>nngikkaanga</i> | |
| Imperative | + <i>Gi</i> | (= conjunctive) | 2n only |
| Optative | + <i>(l)la</i> | | 1n |
| | + <i>(l)li</i> | | 3n |

A1.1.2 Personal Suffixes

Intransitive

Indicative and participial

| | | | | | |
|------------|------------|----------|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1s | 2s | 3s | 1p | 2p | 3p |
| <i>nga</i> | <i>tit</i> | <i>q</i> | <i>gut</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>t</i> |

Interrogative

| | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----|------------|-----------|----------|
| 1s | 2s | 3s | 1p | 2p | 3p |
| <i>nga</i> | <i>t</i> | Ø | <i>gut</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>t</i> |

Optative

| | | | |
|------------|----|------------|----------|
| 1s | 3s | 1p | 3p |
| <i>nga</i> | Ø | <i>gut</i> | <i>t</i> |

Imperative

| | |
|------------|--------------|
| 2s | 2p |
| <i>git</i> | <i>gitsi</i> |

Conjunctive.

| | | | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1s | 2s | 3Rs | 1p | 2p | 3Rp |
| <i>nga</i> | <i>tit</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>tik</i> |

Past subordinate and habitual subordinate

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 1s | 2s | 3Rs | 3s | 1p | 2p | 3Rp | 3p |
| <i>ma</i> | <i>vit</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>tta</i> | <i>ssi</i> | <i>mik</i> | <i>ta</i> |

Future subordinate = subordinate, except 3Rs *ni* and 3Rp *nik*

Transitive

Indicative

| | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------|------------|----|
| IP | 1s | 2s | 3s | EP | 1p | 2p | 3p |
| 1s | --- | <i>kkit</i> | <i>ga</i> | --- | <i>ssi</i> | <i>kka</i> | |
| 2s | <i>rma</i> | --- | <i>t</i> | <i>tsigut</i> | --- | <i>tit</i> | |
| 3s | <i>anga</i> | <i>atit</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>atigut</i> | <i>asi</i> | <i>i</i> | |
| 1p | --- | <i>tsigit</i> | <i>rput</i> | --- | <i>ssi</i> | <i>vut</i> | |
| 2p | <i>ssinga</i> | --- | <i>si</i> | <i>ssigut</i> | --- | <i>si</i> | |
| 3p | <i>annga</i> | <i>atit</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>atigut</i> | <i>asi</i> | <i>at</i> | |

Interrogative

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|----|
| IP | 1s | 2s | 3s | EP | 1p | 2p | 3p |
| 2s | <i>nga</i> | - | <i>uk</i> | <i>sigut</i> | - | <i>tit</i> | |
| 3s | <i>anga</i> | <i>atit</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>atigut</i> | <i>asi</i> | <i>i</i> | |
| 2p | <i>singa</i> | - | <i>siuk</i> | <i>sigut</i> | - | <i>sigit</i> | |
| 3p | <i>annga</i> | <i>atit</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>atigut</i> | <i>asi</i> | <i>at</i> | |

Participial. Same as indicative, plus (3R forms) (ref)

Conjunctive. Occurs only with 3R subject. The objective endings are like the intransitive but instead of 3R objects, there are non reflexive object suffixes: singular *gu* and plural *git*.

Past Subordinate and habitual subordinate

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| EP | 1s | 2s | 3Rs | 3s | IP | 1p | 2p | 3Rp | 3p |
| 1s | --- | <i>kkit</i> | <i>nni</i> | <i>kku</i> | --- | <i>ssi</i> | <i>tsik</i> | <i>tsik</i> | <i>kkit</i> |
| 2s | <i>mma</i> | --- | <i>nni</i> | <i>kku</i> | <i>tsigut</i> | --- | <i>tsik</i> | <i>kkit</i> | |
| 3Rs | <i>minga</i> | <i>misit</i> | --- | <i>miuk</i> | <i>misigut</i> | <i>misi</i> | --- | <i>migit</i> | |
| 3s | <i>nga</i> | <i>tit</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>gu</i> | <i>tigut</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>tik</i> | <i>git</i> | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1p | --- | <i>tsigit</i> | <i>tsinni</i> | <i>tsigu</i> | --- | <i>ssi</i> | <i>tsik</i> | <i>tsigit</i> |
| 2p | <i>ssinga</i> | --- | <i>ssini</i> | <i>ssiuk</i> | <i>tsigut</i> | --- | <i>tsik</i> | <i>ssigit</i> |
| 3Rp | <i>minnga</i> | <i>mitsit</i> | --- | <i>mikku</i> | <i>misigut</i> | <i>misi</i> | --- | <i>mikkit</i> |
| 3p | <i>nnga</i> | <i>tsit</i> | <i>nni</i> | <i>ssuk</i> | <i>tigut</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>tik</i> | <i>tigik</i> |

Future Subordinate. Like past subordinate, except 3R subject forms begin with *n-*

Imperative

| | | | | | |
|----|----------------|---------------|----|----------------|----------------|
| EP | 1s | 3s | IP | 1p | 3p |
| 2s | - <i>nnga</i> | + <i>guk</i> | | + <i>tigut</i> | - <i>kkit</i> |
| 2p | + <i>singa</i> | + <i>siuk</i> | | + <i>sigut</i> | + <i>sigik</i> |

Optative. Like indicative except:

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--------------|---------------|----|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| EP | 1s | 2s | 3s | IP | 1p | 2p | 3p |
| 3s | + <i>nga</i> | + <i>sit</i> | + <i>uk</i> | | + <i>sigut</i> | + <i>si</i> | + <i>git</i> |
| 3p | + <i>nga</i> | + <i>sit</i> | + <i>ssuk</i> | | + <i>sigut</i> | + <i>si</i> | + <i>sigik</i> |

A1.3 Nominal Inflections

In the tables below, the following are added to the forms labeled "other oblique":

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| INS | ALL | ABL | LOC |
| -ik | -ut | -it | -i |

Unpossessed

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|--------|------|---------------|
| | ABS | ERG | PER | EQU | other oblique |
| s | Ø | +p | -kkut | +tut | +m- |
| p | -t | -t | +tigut | +tut | +n- |

Possessed, singular possessum

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---------|---------|--------|---------------|
| EP | ABS | ERG | PER | EQU | other oblique |
| 1s | -Ga | +ma | -kkut | -ttut | -nn- |
| 2s | -t | +(r)pit | -kkut | -ttut | -nni- |
| 3Rs | +ni | +mi | +migut | +misut | +min- |
| 3s | -a | -ata | -atigut | -atut | -an- |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1p | +(r)put | -tta | -tsigut | -tsitut | -tsinn- |
| 2p | +(r)si | -ssi | -ssigut | -ssisut | -ssinn- |
| 3Rp | +(r)tik | +(r)mik | +mikkut | +mittut | +minn- |
| 3p | -i | -isa | -atigut | -atitut | -a/inn- |

Possessed, plural possessum

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------|---------|---------|---------------|
| EP | ABS | ERG | PER | EQU | other oblique |
| 1s | -kka | -ma | -kkut | -ttut | -nn- |
| 2s | -t | -vit | -kkut | -ttut | -nn- |
| 3Rs | +ni | +mi | +migut | +mitut | +min- |
| 3s | -a | -ata | -isigut | -isitut | -an- |
| 1p | -vut | -tta | -tsigut | -tsitut | -tsinn- |
| 2p | -si | -ssi | -ssigut | -ssisut | -ssinn- |
| 3Rp | -tik | -mik | -mikkut | -mittut | -minn- |
| 3p | -at/-i | -isa | -isigut | -isitut | -in- |

Appendix 2. Demonstratives

(In the following tables a hyphen indicates the absence of a form. Note that many of the interjections have specialized usages or meanings. Thus *massa*, for example, means "despite the fact that".)

A2.1 Demonstrative Stems and Interjections

| | Stems | | | Interjections | |
|-----|-------|---------|------------|---------------|--|
| 1. | ma- | tama- | massa | tamassa | "near speaker" |
| 2. | uv- | taav- | uffa/ugga | taava | "where indicated" |
| 3. | ik- | taak- | - | taaka | "close by" |
| 4. | av- | tav- | affa | taava | "north" |
| 5. | qav- | taqqav- | qaffa | taqqava | "south" |
| 6. | pav- | tappav- | paffa | tappava | "far up, east, or north" |
| 7. | sam- | tasam- | samma | tasama | "far down, west, or south" |
| 8. | pik- | tappik- | pikka/piga | tappika | "up" |
| 9. | kan- | takan- | - | takanna | "down" |
| 10. | kig- | takkig- | kigga | takkiga | "toward the outside, toward the south" |
| 11. | qam- | taqqam- | qamma | taqqama | "the other side" an enclosure" |
| 12. | - | tass- | - | tassa | "just mentioned /accomplished" |
| 13. | im- | taama- | ima | taama | "this or that manner/time" |

A2.2 Demonstrative Nominals

| | ABSs | ERGs | ABS _p | ERG _p |
|----|------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. | manna | matuma | makku | makkua |
| | tamanna | tamatuma | tamakku | tamakkua |
| 2. | una | uuma | uku | ukua |
| | taanna | taajissuma | taakku | taakkua |
| 3. | innga | issuma | ikku | ikkua |
| | taannga | taassuma | taajikkku | taajikkku |
| | /taajinnga | | | |
| 4. | anna | assuma | akku | akku |
| | taajanna | taajassuma | taajakku | taajakku |
| 5. | qanna | qassuma | qakku | qakkua |
| | taqqanna | taqqassuma | taqqakku | taqqakkua |

| | ABSs | ERGs | ABSp | ERGp |
|-----|----------------------|--|----------------------|------------------------|
| 6. | panna tappanna | passuma tappassuma | pakku tappakku | pakkua tappakkua |
| 7. | sanna tasanna | sassuma tasassuma | sakku tasakku | sakkua tasakkua |
| 8. | pinnga tappinnga | pissuma tappissuma | pikku tappikku | pikkua tappikkua |
| 9. | kanna takanna | kassuma/ katuma takassuma/ takatuma | kakku takakku | kakkua takakkua |
| 10. | kinnga takkiga | kissuma takkissuma/ takkinnga | kikku takkikku | kikkua takkikkua |
| 11. | qanna taqqanna | qassuma taqqassuma | qakku taqqakku | qakkua taqqakkua |

Notes:

- (1) Not all of these forms are accepted by all speakers.
 (2) The distinction between absolutive and ergative in the plural is not strict, especially in colloquial speech, where the form suffixed with *-a* can apparently be used with an emphatic meaning, regardless of syntactic function.

A2.3 Oblique Case Endings of Demonstrative Adverbs and Nominals

The demonstrative nouns take special oblique endings that are quite distinct from those of ordinary nouns. The singular forms are added to the *-m* of the ergative form, the plurals directly to the direct case plural form.

| | Singular | Plural |
|-----|----------|--------|
| INS | innga | ninnga |
| ALL | unnga | nunnga |
| ABL | annga | nannga |
| LOC | ani | nani |
| PER | uuna | nuuna |
| EQU | atut | natut |

Notes:

- (1) The adverbial stems listed in A2.1 take the singular form of the endings, but occur only in the local cases, the allative, ablative, locative, and perlativ.
 (2) Not all of the singular demonstrative nominals are accepted with oblique endings by all speakers. Some use the demonstrative adverbials with nominal meaning, e.g., *pavani* where the table above would predict *passumani*.

Appendix 3. Text

From *Ilissi Tassa Nunassarsi*, by Fr. Nielsen
 translation by Michael Fortescue
 (Fortescue, 1990: 84-87)

Nunaqarfiminni kiserngorukkiartuinnaarput.
 Nunaqarfik¹=minni kisirnguruk-Giartur-innar=Vut
 settlement=LOC/3Rp/s be.left.alone-more.and.more-just=IND/3p
 "They were becoming more and more alone in the settlement."

Ilaat aallakaapput, tamarmik avannamut, avannamut.
 Ila=at aallar-kaa=Vut tamaq=mik avannaq=mut
 some-ABS/3p/p depart-in.group=IND/3p all=NOM north=ALLs
 "Some had left, all of them heading northward, northward."

Akuttusinatik qimussit qavanna nalliuttaraat
 akuktusi=natik² qimussiq=t qav=annga nalliuk-tarE=Vut
 at.intervals=CONT/3Rp dog.sled=DIRp south=ABL occur-HAB³=IND/3s

tamarmik taama inoqartigisut, usitigisut.
 tamaq=mik taima inuk-qar-tigE-Tuq=t usi-tigE-Tuq=t
 all=NOMP thus person-have-so.much-APRT=DIRp loaded-so.much-APRT=DIRp
 "Frequently sledges would show up from the south, all of them loaded with people and goods."

Ilaanni ulliinnararaat, ilaanni
 ilaanni⁴ ulli⁵-innar-arE=Vut ilaanni
 sometimes spend.one.day-just-HAB⁶=IND/3p sometimes

qimusserfissanngorserlugu aasisaraat,
 qimussir-fik-ssaq-nngur-sir=(1)lugu aasi⁷-tarE=Vut
 dog.sled-place-POT⁸-become-wait=CONJ/3R/3s spend.summer-HAB=IND/3p

erinitsakkiartuinnaarlutilla imaq atussaasumik
 irinitsak-Giartur-innar=lutik+lu imaq=Ø atussaa-Tumik⁹
 grow.impatient-more.and.more-just=CON/3Rp+and sea=ABSs bear.weight-ly

¹ Lexicalization of productive morphemes: (nuna-qar-(v)vik-) "land-have-place".

² Lexicalization of incompletely productive (aku-tu-si-) "interval-having.large-get.more". Always in negative conjunctive.

³ One of several subtly different morphemes indicating occurrence more than once.

⁴ Lexicalization of (ila=anni) "some=ABS/3p/s"

⁵ From stem (ulluq-) "day" with unproductive replacive suffix (-i-) "to spend time".

⁶ See fn. 3.

⁷ From (aasaq-) "summer". See fn. 5

⁸ The potential morpheme is a nominal modifier meaning "a potential, or would-be N".

⁹ Lexicalization of (-Tuq=mik) "which=INSs". See 9.2.2.1.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| sikuniariartoq | taamak avannamut, | utertoqassanatu. |
| siku-niariar=Tuq | taamak avannaq=mut | utir-Tuq-qar-ssa=natik+lu |
| get.ice-just.when=PART/3s | thus northward=ALLs | return-APRT-have-FUT |
| | | =NEG/CONJ/3Rp+and |

"Sometimes they only stopped one day, sometimes they would spend the summer, waiting for good sledging conditions, growing more and more impatient for the sea to freeze over and become suitable for traveling on off to the north, and there were never any who returned."

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| Avatakkut | kisingajammik | uninngasuulersut |
| avataq-kkut=Ø | kisi-ngajak=mik | uninnga-Tuq-u-lir-Tuq=t |
| A.-family.of=DIRp | only-almost=NOMp | stay-APRT-be-begin-APRT=DIRp |

| | | |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|
| itsaq | inuit | nunarsuanni. |
| itsaq | inuk=t | nuna-(r)suaq=anni |
| old.days | person=DIRp | land-great=LOC/3p/s |

"Avataq and his family were almost the only ones left in the ancient land of the Inuit."

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Inuussutissat | naammattut | pigaat, | ukioq |
| inuusutissaq=t ¹⁰ | naammak-Tuq=t | pigE=Vaat | ukiuq=Ø |
| food=DIRp | be.enough-APRT=DIRp | possess=IND/3p/3p | winter=ABSs |

| | | |
|-----------------|----------|--------------------------|
| aasarlu | tamarmik | inuussutissaateqarput, |
| aasaq=Ø+lu | amaq=mik | inuussutissaq-ut-qar=Vut |
| summer=ABSs+and | all=NOMp | food-owned-have=IND/3p |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| angallaveqarpullu | ingiarniunneqarnissaminnik |
| angala-(v)vik-qar-Vut+lu | ingiar-niut-niqar-niq-ssaq=minnik |
| travel-place- have=IND/3p+and | preempt-give.means.for-PASS-ANOM-POT=INS/3Rp |

erngumanaateqanngitsumik.

irnguma-nar-ut-qar-nngik-Tuq=mik

worry-cause.feeling.of-reason-have-not-APRT=INSs

"They had ample sources of food, in both winter and summer they had supplies and hunting grounds where they did not need to worry about competition from others."

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Piniagassat | nunamiut | imarmiullu |
| pinigassaq ¹¹ =t | nuna-miuq=t | imaq-miuq=t+lu |
| game=DIRp | land-dweller=DIRp | sea-dweller=DIRp+and |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| atisaralugillu | nerisaraat | taakkunungalu |
| atisaq ¹² -GE=(I)lugit+lu | nirisaq ¹³ -GE=Vaat | ta-uku=nunnga+lu |
| clothes-have.as=CONJ/3R/3p | food-have.as=IND/3p/3n | AN-those=ALLp+and |

¹⁰Lexicalization of (inuu-ssut-ssaq-) "live-means.for-potential". A plural stem.

¹¹Lexicalization of (piniaq-Taq-ssaq-) "hunt-PPRT-POT", a plural stem.

¹²Lexicalization of (ati-Taq-) "put.on.clothes-PPRT".

¹³Lexicalization of (niri-Taq-) "eat-PPRT".

| | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| atortussaminnik | piffigisarlugit. |
| aturtuq ¹⁴ -ssaq=minnik | pi-(v)vik-GE-Tar-(I)lugit |
| tool-POT=INS/3Rp/n | get-place-have.as-HAB=CONJ/3R/3p |
| "They procured food and clothing from the sea and land animals that they caught, and also the equipment for catching them with." | |

| | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Soormi | taava nuna | taamaattoq |
| suuq+mi | taava nuna=Ø | ta-ima-ik-Tuq=Ø |
| why+indeed | then land=ABSs | AN-thus-be-APRT=ABSs |

| | | |
|---------------------|---------|---------------|
| qimassavaat | immaqa | nunassaq |
| qimak-ssa=Vaat | immaqa | nuna=ssaq=Ø |
| leave-FUT=INT/3p/3n | perhaps | land-POT=ABSs |

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ajorsarfissaq | asuli | tikiinnassallugit? |
| ajursar-(v)vik-ssaq=Ø | asuli | tikik-innar-ssa=(I)lugu |
| suffer.deprivation-place-POT=ABSs | in.vain arrive.at-just-FUT=CONJ/3R/3s | |
| "Why should they leave such a land, perhaps only to find themselves in one where they would suffer deprivation?" | | |

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Inuilli | tamaani | nunaqartut |
| inuk=t+li | ta-ma=mi | nuna-qar-Tuq=t |
| person=DIRp+but | AN-here=LOCs | land-have-APRT=DIRp |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| iluanni | pinngoriartorpoq | erinineq, |
| ilu=ani | pi-nngur-Giartur=Vuq | irini-niq=Ø |
| midst=LOC/3p/s | thing-become-more.and.more=IND/3s | long.for-ANOM=ABSs |

| | | |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| sumut | nalusamut | erinineq. |
| su=mut | nalu-Taq=mut | irini-niq=Ø |
| what=ALLs | not.know-PPRT=ALLs | long.for-ANOM=ABSs |
| "Amongst the Inuit living here there arose yearning, a yearning after something unknown." | | |

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| Siuasamik | nunaqarfitoqaat |
| siuaasaq=mik | nuna-qar-(v)vik-tuqaq=at |
| ancestor=ERG/3Rp | land-have-place-old=ABS/3p/n |

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|------------|
| qatsukkiartuinnarpaat | soorluuku | allamik |
| qatsuk-Giartur-innar=Vaat | suurlu ¹⁵ +uku | alla=mik |
| grow.tired.of-more.and.more-just=IND/3p/3n | as.if+these | other=INSs |

| | | |
|-----------|----------|--|
| nunamik | nammineq | tunngaviligassaminnik |
| nuna=mik | namminiq | tunngavik-lir-Taq-ssaq=minnik |
| land=INSs | self/s | foundation-provide.with- PPRT-POT =INS/3Rp/s |

| | |
|--|---|
| pigisagalissallutik | erinitsakkiartuinnartut. |
| pi-GE-Taq-qar-lir-ssa=(I)lutik | irinitsak-Giartur-innar=Tut |
| thing-have.as-PPRT-have-begin-FUT=CONJ/3Rp | grow.impatient-more.and.more-just=PART/3p |

¹⁴Lexicalization of (atur-Tuq-) "be.used-APART".

¹⁵Lexicalization of (suuq+lu) "why+and".

"They started to tire of the old land of their ancestors, as if they longed to acquire a land that they themselves would establish."

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Taamaannerminnummi | aamma | pissuteqarput. |
| Ta-ima+it-niq=minnut+mi | aamma | pi-ssut-qar=put |
| AN-thus-be-ANOM=ALL/3Rp/n+indeed | also | do-reason.for-have=IND/3p |

"And there was reason for this."

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Qangali | kujataanit | tikittartunit | tusaamalersimavaat |
| qangali ¹⁶ | kujat=anit tikik-Tar-Tuq=nit | | tusaama-lir-sima ¹⁷ =Vaat |
| already | south=ABL/3s/s | arrive-HAB-APRT=ABLp | hear.of-begin-PERF=IND/3p/3n |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| nagguqatitik | taqqavani | tasersuit | eqqaanni |
| nagguiqat=tik | ta-qav-mi | tasiq-(r)suaq=t | iqqaq=anni |
| fellow.tribesman=ABS/3Rp/n | AN-south=LOCs | lake-big=DIRp | vicinity=LOC/3p/s |

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| nunaqartut | sinerpartertalersut |
| nuna-qar-Tuq=t | sinirpartir-Tar-lir-Tuq=t |
| land-have=APRT=DIRp | go.to.coast-HAB-begin-APRT=DIRp |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| inussuarnit | allanit | ingiarnearinnaraminngooq. |
| inuksuaq ¹⁸ =nit alla=nit | ingiar-niqar-innar=amik+Guuq | |
| people=ABLp | other=ABLp | preempt-PASS-just=PSUB/3Rp+said |

"They had heard reports from those who had been coming from the south that their fellow Inuit down in the south around the great lakes had begun to move towards the coast under pressure from people of another race."

| | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Inussuit | taakku | sakkugissaartut |
| inussuaq=t | ta-uku | sakku-gissaar-Tuq=t |
| people=DIRp | AN-these.ABSp | weapon-have.good-APRT=DIRp |

| | | |
|--------------|-----------|--|
| tamaannga | nunap | timaannarsuanit |
| ta-ma=aannga | nuna=p | timE ¹⁹ -innar-(r)suaq=anit |
| AN-here=ABLs | land=ERGs | inland-just-big=ABL/3s/s |

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| aggersuummata | timersernik | taasarsimavaat. |
| aggr-Tuq-u=mmata | timirsir=nik | taa-Tar-sima=Vaat |
| come-APRT-be=PSUB/3p | inlander=INSp | call-HAB-PERF=IND/3p/n |

"Since these well-armed people came from inland they called them 'inlanders'."

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Isikkui | allanarnerpaat: |
| isikkuq=i | alla-nar-nirar=Vaat |
| appearance=ABS/3n/p | other-cause.feeling.of-say=IND/3p/n |

¹⁶ Lexicalization of (qanga+li) "when (in the past)+but"

¹⁷ This common affix has a subtle sense of perfectivity but also of indirect knowledge.

¹⁸ Lexicalization of (inuk-(r)suaq-) "person-big", a plural stem.

¹⁹ Metaphorical extension of (timE-) "body".

| | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| inuinnarnit | annerit |
| inuk-innar=nit | anner ²⁰ =t |
| person-just=ABLp | bigger.one=DIRp |

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| ilaat | timimikkut | meqqulissuit, |
| ila=at | timE=mikkut | miqquq-lik-(r)suaq=t |
| some/3p/n | body=PER/3Rn | hair-one.which.has-big-DIRp |

| | | |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| ilaallu | timimikkut | inuit |
| ila-at+lu | timE=mikkut | inuk=t |
| some/3p/n+and | body=PER/3Rn | person=DIRp |

| | | |
|---|------------|----------------|
| assigiinnariarlugit | qimmisut | uppatillit. |
| assigE ²¹ -innar-riar=(l)lugit | qimmiq=tut | uppat-lik=t |
| resemble-just-emphatic=CONJ/3R/3p | dog=EQUn | hind.quarters- |

one.which.has=DIRp

"Their appearance was strange, they said: they were bigger than Inuit and some of them had hairy bodies, while some of them were like Inuit except that they had thighs like dogs."

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----------------|
| Makkulu | tupinnarnerusimapput | saamikku |
| makku+lu | tupi-nar-niru-sima=Vut | saaq=mikkut |
| these+and | surprise-cause.feeling.of-more-PERF=IND/3p | front=PER/3Rp/n |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| imminnut | atasunik | igartallit. |
| immik=nut | ata-Tuq=nik | igaq-taq-lik=t |
| self=ALLp | be.attached-APRT=INSp | pan-part.which.is-one.which.has=DIRp |

"The most extraordinary ones were those who had pans attached in front of them."

| | | |
|-------------|--|---------------|
| Inuit | terlinganeerillutik | tamakkua |
| inuk=t | tirlinganiir ²² -i-(l)lutik | ta-makku=a |
| person=DIRp | approach.from.behind-ANTIP=CONJ/3Rp | AN-those=ERGP |

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| ilaannik | toqutaqartarsimagamik |
| ila=annik | tuqk-Taq-qar-Tar-sima=Gamik |
| some=INS/3p/n | kill-PPRT-have-HAB-PERF=PSUB/3Rp |

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| ersigisorsuugaluarlugillu | alapernaannermit |
| irsi-gE-Tursuu ²³ -Galuaq=(l)lugit+lu | alapernaak-niq=mit |
| fear-find.it.cause.for-greatly-although=CONJ/3Rp+and | be.curious-ANOM=ABLs |

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| misissortarsimagamikkik | tupigutsattarsimapput |
| misissuq-Tar-sima=Gamikkik | tupigutsak-Tar-sima=Vut |
| investigate-HAB-PERF=PSUB/3Rp/3p | become.surprised-HAB-PERF=IND/3p |

²⁰ Shortening of (angi-nir-) "big-one.which.is.more".

²¹ Lexicalization of (assik-gE-) "image-have.as".

²² Unproductive formation from (tirlik-) "a seal resting securely" and perhaps (=anit+r-) "ABL/3s/s+come".

²³ Lexicalization of (-Tur-(r)suaq-u-) "APRT-big-be".

timimikkut assigilluinnarmatik
 timE=mikkut assigE-luinnar=(m)matik
 body=PER/3Rn resemble-completely=PSUB/3n/3Rp

suanganeruinnaqalutik, immaqaakugooq toqoriarlutik
 suanga-niru-innar-qE=(l)lutik immaqa+uku+Guuq tuqu-riar=(l)lutik²⁴
 powerful-more-just-very=CONJ/3Rp perhaps+these+said die-in.process=CONJ/3Rp

inuttut isikkoqalertarsimasut.
 inuk=Tut issikkuq-qar-lir-Tar-sima=Tut
 person=EQU appearance-have-begin-HAB-PERF=PART/3p
 "When the Inuit sometimes ambushed and killed some of these and examined them with
 fearful curiosity they would be amazed that their bodies were just like their own, only more
 powerful—perhaps, they said, they took on human appearance when they died."

Sakkuiulu tupigilluinnqaat
 saku=i+lu tupi-gE-(l)uinnar-qE=Vaat
 weapon=ABS/p+and amaze-find.it.cause.for-completely-very=IND/3p/3n

saaniunngitsut ujaqqatut isikkoqaraluarlutik
 saaniq-u-nngik-Tuq=t ujarak=tut isikkuq-qar-Galuar=(l)lutik
 bone-be-not-APRT=ABS stone=EQU appearance-have-though= CONJ/3Rp

manngermerullutik ipissaqqissaakkat,
 manngir-niru=(l)lutik ipissar-qqissaar-Taq=t
 be.hard-more= CONJ/3Rp sharpen-well.intended.for=exquisitely-PPRT=DIRP

allaammigooq taamatut ittunik
 allaat+mi+Guuq taama=tut ik-Tuq=nik
 in.additon+indeed+said thus=EQU be-APRT=INSP

siutimik nuuatigut attataqartarput
 suit=mik nuuk=atigut attataq-qar-Tar=Vut
 ear=ERG/3Rp/n point=PER/3p/n attachment-have-HAB=IND/3p

tamannalu pillugu toqukkuminaappallaarsimallutik.
 ta-manna+lu pi=(l)lugu²⁵ tuquk-Guminar-ik-Vallaar-sima=(l)lutik
 AN-this+and regarding=CONJ/3R/3s kill-be.easy-not.be-too=CONJ/3Rp
 "They were amazed too by their weapons that looked like they were made of stone, not bone
 but were harder and very sharp; they said, moreover, that they had some kind of appendages
 attached to their ears, and because of this they were difficult to kill."

²⁴ The derivational affix (-riar-) followed by the conjunctive mood means "just as soon as".

²⁵ Lexicalized with meaning "because of".

References

- Andersen, H.C. 1965. *Oqalugtuaiat oqalugpalâtdlo*. trans. by Frederik Nielsen. Godhaab: Kalâldlit-nunânaqiterisitsissarfik.
- Bergsland, Knut. 1955. *A Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo Language of West Greenland*. mimeo. Oslo.
- Bergsland, Knut and Jørgen Rischel, eds. 1986. *Pioneers of Eskimo Grammar: Hans Egede's and Albert Top's early manuscripts on Greenlandic*. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhagen, Vol. XXI. Copenhagen: Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen.
- Berthelsen, Chr. 1980. *Kalaallisut sungiusaatit: Læsestykker i grønlandsk*. Nuuk: Pilersuiffik.
- Bugge, Aage and Arqaluk Lyng. 1934. *Atuainiutitât*. Nûk: ilfniarfigssûp naKiteritait.
- Dagsordner. 1998. (Transcript of the meeting of the Greenland Home Rule Government, May 18, 1998.)
- Dagsordner. 2001. (Transcript of the meeting of the Greenland Home Rule Government, September 21, 2001.)
- de Reuse, Willem Joseph. 1994. *Siberian Yupik Eskimo: The language and its contacts with Chuckchi*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1991. *Inuktun: An Introduction to the Language of Qaanaaq, Thule; En introduktion til Thulesproget*. Copenhagen: Institut for Eskimologi.
- Fortescue, Michael. ed. 1990. *From the Writings of the Greenlanders: Kalaallit atuakkiannit*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1983. *A Comparative Manual of Affixes for the Inuit Dialects of Greenland, Canada, and Alaska*. Meddelelser om Grønland, Man and Society 4.
- Fortescue, Michael. 1984. *West Greenlandic*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kleinschmidt, S. 1851. 1968. *Grammatik der grönländischen Sprache mit teilweiseem Einschluss des Labradordialekts*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Kleinschmidt, S. 1871. *Den Grønlandske Ordbog*. Copenhagen: Louis Kleins Bogtrykkeri.
- Kruse, Karl. 1969. *iluliarssûp atâne*. Copenhagen: Ministeriet for Grønland.
- Langgård, Karen. 1993. Inderivation af Verbalstammer. In *Kultur- og Samfundsforskning*. Nuuk: Ilismatusarfik.
- Lyng, Hans. 1978. *Nuuk: Nuumme pisartut erqaamasat*. Nuuk: Kalaallit-nunaanni naqiterisitsissarfik.
- Mennecier, Philippe. 1995. *Le tunumiisut, dialecte inuit du Groenland oriental, Description et analyse*. Paris: CNRS.
- Schwaerter, Adolf. 1961. *Suulut*. Godthåb: Det Grønlandske Forlag.
- Sommer, David, Erling Holm, and Chr. Berthelsen. 1976a. *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit 3*. Copenhagen: Ministeriet for Grønland.
- Sommer, David, Erling Holm, and Chr. Berthelsen. 1976b. *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit 3*. Copenhagen: Ministeriet for Grønland.
- TastamantorKamik agdlagkat ivdlernartut*. 1961. Copenhagen: S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri.
- Villadsen, Villads. 1979. *M/S Disko-me kingornalo*. Nuuk: Det Grønlandske Forlag.

Languages of the World/Materials:

- 01 **Ge'ez** (Classical Ethiopic) St. Weninger (1st ed., 2nd ed.)
- 02 **Kwamera** (Polynesian) L. Lindstrom & J. Lynch
- 03 **Mbalanhu** (Wambo, Namibia) D. Fourie
- 05 **Ukrainian** A. Danylenko & S. Vakulenko
- 06 **Cantonese** S.-Y. Killingley
- 10 **Koiari (Papuan)** T.E. Dutton
- 11 **Gunin/Kwini** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor
- 12 **Even** (Tungusic) A.L. Malchukov
- 18 **Sanskrit** D. Killingley & S.-Y. Killingley
- 19 **Ixtenco Otomí** (Otomanguean) Y. Lastra
- 20 **Maori** R. Harlow
- 21 **Chadian Arabic** S. Abu-Abi
- 22 **(Modern Eastern) Armenian** N.A. Kozintseva
- 27 **Passamaquoddy-Maliseet** (Algonquian) R. Leavitt
- 28 **Rural Palestinian Arabic** (Abu Shusha dial.) K.N. Shahin
- 30 **Northern Sotho** L.J. Louwrens, I.M. Kosch & A.E. Kotzé
- 31 **Saliba** (Western Oceanic) U. Mosel
- 34 **Sinhala** J.W. Gair & J. Paolillo
- 50 **Zulu** S.E. Bosch & G. Poulos
- 58 **Tokelauan** (Polynesian) R. Hooper
- 59 **Kunama** M.L. Bender
- 63 **Maldivian/Divehi** J.W. Gair & B. Cain
- 64 **Dogon** V. Plungian
- 65 **Corse** M. Giacomo-Marcellesi
- 66 **Bulgare** J. Feuillet
- 68 **Sumerian** J.L. Hayes
- 69 **Basilicatense** (Ital. dial.) R. Bigalke
- 70 **El Gallego** J.A. Pérez Bouza
- 71 **Pima Bajo** (Uto-Aztecan) Z. Estrada Fernández
- 74 **Abruzzese** (Ital. dial.) R. Bigalke
- 82 **Canaan-Akkadian** Sh. Izre'el
- 83 **Papiamentu** (Creole) S. Kouwenberg & E. Murray
- 88 **Nyulnyul** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor
- 89 **Warrwa** (non-Pama-Nyungan) W. McGregor
- 93 **Daur** (Mongolic) Chaolu Wu (Üjijedin Chuluu)
- 100 **Bare** (Arawak) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
- 101 **Acadian French** D. Jory & V. Motapanyane
- 103 **Chamling** K. Ebert
- 104 **Kodava** (Dravidian) K. EBERT
- 105 **Romanes** (Sinti) D. Holzinger
- 106 **Sepe ides-Romani** P. Cech & M.F. Heinschink
- 107 **Burgenland-Romani** D.W. Halwachs
- 109 **Karachay** (Turkic) St. Seegmiller
- 111 **Nivkh** E. Gruzdeva
- 114 **Hittite** S. Luraghi
- 116 **Songhay** R. Nicolai & P. Zima
- 117 **Macedonian** V.A. Friedman
- 125 **Czech** L. Janda & Ch.E. Townsend
- 127 **Modern Hebrew** O. Schwarzwald
- 129 **Siciliano** R. Bigalke
- 130 **Ratahan** N.P. Himmelmann & J.U. Wolff
- 133 **Tsakhur** W. Schulze
- 135 **Late Cornish** I. Wmffre
- 136 **Fyem** D. Nettle
- 137 **Yingkarta** A. Dench
- 139 **Svan** K. Tuite
- 141 **Evenki** N. Bulatova & L. Grenoble
- 145 **Russian** E. Andrews
- 147 **Georgian** M. Cherchi
- 148 **Serbo-Croatian** S. Kordic
- 152 **Central Breton** I. Wmffre
- 155 **Chagatay** A. Bodrogligeti
- 158 **Vogul** T. Riese
- 159 **Mandan** (Siouan) Mauricio Mixco
- 160 **Upper Sorbian** G. Schaarschmidt
- 162 **A Grammar of Kalaallisut** (West Greenlandic Inuttut) Jerrold Sadock
- 165 **Dagaare** (Gur) A. Bodomo
- 170 **Tol** Dennis Holt
- 179 **Toba** H.E. Manelis Klein
- 180 **Degema** E.E. Kari
- 183 **Jaqaru** M.J. Hardman
- 184 **Madurese** W. D. Davies
- 185 **Kamass** A. Künnap
- 186 **Enets** A. Künnap
- 190 **Esperanto** Ch. Gledhill
- 193 **Kiliwa** (Siouan) M. Mixco
- 201 **Irish Aidian** Doyle
- 204 **Ket** Edward J. Vajda
- 207 **Damana** (Chibcha) Marí a Trillos Amaya
- 208 **Embera** (Chocó) Daniel Aguirre
- 209 **Hiligaynon / Ilonggo** Walter L. Spitz
- 212 **Udmurt (Finno-Ugric)** Erberhard Winkler
- 217 **Latvian** Nicole Nau
- 242 **Modern Scots** Alexander T. Bergs
- 251 **Xakas** Gregory Anderson
- 252 **Old Saxon** James E. Cathey
- 258 **Biri (Pama-Nyungan)** Angela Terrill
- 261 **Lingala** Michael Meeuwis
- 268 **Urak Lawol'** David Hogan
- 278 **Isleño Spanish** Felice Coles
- 301 **Oneida** C. Abbott
- 302 **Sapuan** P. Jacq & P. Sidwell
- 305 **Ostyak** I. Nikolaeva
- 323 **Santali** Lukas Neukom
- 325 **Pileni** Áshild Næss
- 328 **Tobelo** Gary Holton
- 329 **Ogbronuagum** E. Kari
- 330 **Old Nubian** Gerald M. Browne
- 333 **Wolof** Fallou Ngom
- 338 **Old Church Slavonic** Boris Gasparov
- 340 **Kunming Chinese** Ming Chao Gui
- 341 **Warembori** Mark Donohue
- 344 **Mandarin Chinese** Hua Lin
- 345 **Chichewa** Mayrene Bentley
- 348 **Persian** Yavar Dehghani
- 366 **Pech** Dennis Holt
- 369 **Sundanese** Franz Müller-Gotama
- 372 **Tundra Yukaghir** Elena Maslova
- 376 **Mapudungun** F. Zúñiga
- 380 **Northern Talysh** Wolfgang Schulze
- 382 **Danish** Michal Herslund
- 384 **Bagri** Lakhani Gusain
- 385 **Shekhawati** Lakhani Gusain
- 386 **Mewati** Lakhani Gusain
- 388 **A Short Grammar of Tetun Dili** Williams-van Klinken/Hajek/Nordlinger
- 393 **Polish** Ronald Feldstein & Steven Franks
- 401 **Scottish Gaelic** William Lamb
- 411 **The Bisu Language** Xu Shixuan
- 415 **Rotuman** Marit Vamarasi
- 416 **Ndebele** Claire Bowers and Victoria Lotridge (eds.)
- 417 **Kazak** Somfai Dávid
- 418 **Written Oirat** Attila Rákos
- 421 **Low German** Yaron Matras, & Gertrud Reershemius
- 423 **Kyrgyz** David Somfai
- 426 **Lakota** Bruce Ingham