

**Croom Helm
Descriptive
Grammars**

**West
Greenlandic**

**Michael
Fortescue**

WEST GREENLANDIC

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PREFACE

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglo-centrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), No. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Croom Helm), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description (e.g. Peter Cole on Imbabura Quechua) and field-workers with an interest in theory (e.g. John Davis on Kobon).

The aim of the Croom Helm Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single

volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available (thus, the monographs on Nkore-Kiga and Babungu are the first comprehensive descriptions of those languages). However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages, with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie
Norval Smith

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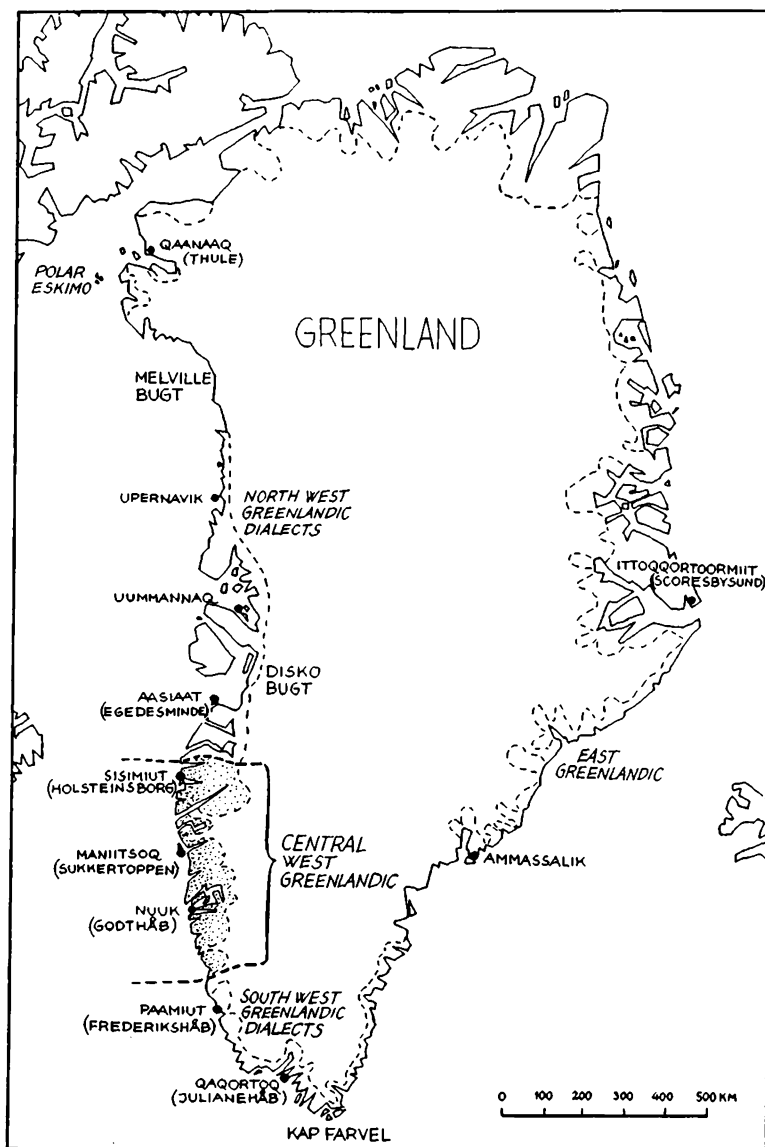
INTRODUCTION

Central West Greenlandic, the dialect of Greenlandic Eskimo treated here, is the source of the written and broadcast language of the majority Greenlandic population of Greenland - some 41,000 speakers of a total population of around 50,000 (plus around 2000 in Denmark). The Greenlanders' name for their language, now the official language of the country, is Kalaallit oqaasii, the language of the Kalaallit or Greenlanders, a partially mixed and distinct Inuit population (especially as regards the west coast). Danish, the minority language, is much used in the larger towns and, especially in the capital Nuuk/Godthåb where Danes represent over a third of the total population of 10,000, as the language of administrative, commercial and technological communication with the Danish segment of the population. Danish is still (though the tendency is reversing) the dominant medium of post-elementary instruction, and is the source of a fairly large number of loanwords - e.g. numerals over 12 and terms to do with administration and technology - but there is growing pressure, accelerating now that Greenland has received Home Rule status, against the haphazard introduction of further Danish loans (this has never been overwhelming, however, owing in part to the difficulty of integrating into the morphology of Greenlandic words from such a typologically alien language). There has been a concomitant increase of interest in the use of Greenlandic at higher levels of education and in more thorough training in the language within the school system as a whole - as regards both Greenlandic pupils and Danish-born teachers. As the majority language, it has never seriously been threatened as the means of daily communication among Greenlanders, although the long history of translation of material from Danish has doubtless affected its development. The total number of speakers is still on the increase following the post-war population explosion. Its adaption - largely lexical - to modern technological uses is being monitored by a language commission of native writers and scholars ('Oqaatsinut Udvalgi'), established in 1956, which publishes occasional proposed lists of words for particular

fields. See Petersen 1976 for a native speaker's account of lexical innovation here. West Greenlandic has a written literature stretching back to the early colonial period (18th century), at first largely religious works and translations until the introduction of weekly newspapers, etc. in the mid-19th century, and now including novels, poetry and a wide variety of school books. The precolonial legends have been preserved in written form. The language has moreover a distinguished history of linguistic description, including notably the sophisticated grammar and dictionary of Samuel Kleinschmidt from the mid-19th century, which represents the earliest thorough description of any branch of a 'native American' language and is still of great utility today.

Of the 41,000 Greenlanders in Greenland, the vast majority speak varieties of the dominant West Greenlandic dialect, with approaching 3,000 speaking East Greenlandic and 700 Polar Eskimo. Within West Greenlandic there are five or six mutually intelligible dialects (or sub-dialects rather), only the extreme areas of Upernavik and Kap Farvel (which both display certain East Greenlandic traits) presenting any significant problem for central dialect speakers (see Fortescue 1983 for a description of the dialect distinctions involved). The most central of these, both geographically and otherwise, is the Central West Greenlandic dialect spoken in Holsteinsborg (Sisimiut), Sukkertoppen (Maniitsoq) and Godthåb (Nuuk) and in smaller settlements in the area. Luckily, considering its status as the basis for the written language, it has preserved a number of old phonological distinctions that have been neutralized in neighbouring dialect areas. It is understood everywhere in Greenland (though East Greenlandic with its advanced phonological neutralizations and Polar Eskimo with its archaic western traits are not readily understood, in reverse, by Central West Greenlandic speakers). In the towns the percentage of the Greenlandic population that is entirely monolingual is low, most younger speakers at least being to some degree bilingual. In Nuuk itself there has been considerable mixing of neighbouring dialects, and the old Central West Greenlandic distinction between alveolar /s/ and post-alveolar /š/ (<*/ž/), for example, is no longer maintained by the majority of speakers (this is true of younger speakers throughout the area), and the distinction has therefore not been made in this volume - in line with the new orthography for West Greenlandic. This was introduced in 1973 and is now gradually being phased in to replace the old (still used in the majority of publications outside of school texts).

West Greenlandic is a variety of the Inuit (eastern Eskimo) language forming an approximate continuum across the American Arctic from the Bering Strait to the east coast of Greenland. Mutual comprehension between Greenlandic and Canadian and Alaskan dialects is in practice rather limited without prior exposure or study: the time depth for the break-up of the parent



language is about 1000 years, the time that has elapsed since the start of the Thule migrations out of North Alaska (the time depth from western Eskimo - Yup'ik - is double that). Compared to the more archaic dialects of the west, West Greenlandic as a whole has innovated in a number of phonological and morphological respects, notably as regards consonant cluster and vowel sequence assimilation, uvular metathesis (also present in eastern Canadian dialects), the devoicing of geminate voiced fricatives, the development of 'secondary' /ʔ/ (geminate only), the use of the -vuq indicative where more westerly dialects use -juq/zuq corresponding to the West Greenlandic participial mood, and the syncretism of two originally distinct contemporary paradigms. It also displays considerably more complex morphophonemic processes in nominal inflection (especially compared with eastern Canadian dialects) and of course has Danish rather than English loan-words. As with all varieties of Eskimo, the language possesses an extremely rich system of recursive derivation by suffixation.

Morpheme boundaries within phonological words are marked in the present work by a hyphen or before an enclitic with an equal-sign '='; lexicalized multi-morpheme bases and affixes are not broken down however (this sometimes applies also to complex bases when their morphemic analysis is irrelevant to the subject at hand). Inflectional endings cited in isolation are preceded by a hyphen and 'quasi-compounds' (see 2.2.6.3) are either indicated as unitary bases or by a hyphen between the two stems plus brackets round the optional stem-final consonant. English glosses of successive morphemes in example sentence words have not been separated by hyphens, these having been reserved for linking multi-word glosses of individual Greenlandic morphemes into readily distinguishable units. It should be borne in mind that owing to the complex morphophonemics of the language individual morphemes may appear in considerably varying guise according to context: the representation is on a near phonemic level close to the new Greenlandic orthography (but without 'e', 'o' and 'f' - respectively /i/ and /u/ before uvulars and /v/ when geminated or following /r/). The old Kleinschmidtian orthography is far more transparent morphologically. Nominals not marked in the glosses for case or number are understood as absolutive and singular, and verbal inflection glosses indicating only one argument are understood as referring to the subject (and fused subject-object inflections are glossed in that order).

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ABBREVIATIONS

abl.	ablative case
alien.	alienable possession
all.	allative case
caus.	causative mood
condit.	conditional mood
cont.	contemporative mood
equ.	equative case
habit.	habitual aspect
imp.	imperative mood
indic.	indicative mood
instr.	instrumental case
intens.	intensifier
inter.	interrogative mood
intr.-part.	intransitive participle
iter.	iterative aspect
loc.	locative case
neg.	negative
nom.	nominalizer
opt.	optative mood
p (or pl.)	plural
part.	participial mood
pass.-part.	passive participle
perf.	perfective aspect/perfect tense
pros.	prosecutive case
refl.	reflexive (i.e. 'fourth' person)
rel.	relative case
req.-conf.	request confirmation
s	singular
s.o.	someone
s.th.	something
½-trans.	half-transitivizer
voc.	vocative

Subscripts 'i' and 'j', etc. are used simply to distinguish pronominal referents.

ALPHABETICAL SYMBOLS

The symbols employed in this volume for West Greenlandic words have the following approximate phonetic values (see section 3.1 for more detailed descriptions - especially as regards the vowels, all of which are considerably more open/retracted before uvulars).

a	[a]
(f)	[f]
g	[ɣ] (geminate = [xx])
(h)	[h]
i	[i]
j	[j]
k	[k]
l	[l] (geminate = [t̥t̥] - also after /r/)
m	[m]
n	[n]
ng	[ŋ] (geminate nng = [ŋŋ])
p	[p]
q	[q]
r	[ʁ] (geminate = [XX];rng = [NN])
(r̥)	[r̥]
s	[s]
(s̥)	[s̥]
t	[t] (before /i/ = [t ^S])
u	[u]
v	[v] (geminate = [ff] - also after /r/)

The single uvular nasal [N] occurring for /q/ before a vowel-initial enclitic for many speakers is not indicated orthographically ('q' is preserved, as in the new orthography).

1. SYNTAX

1.1. General Questions

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Direct and Reported Speech

(a) Enclitic. Of the various ways of expressing indirect (reported) speech the simplest involves the use of quotative enclitic guuq (nguuq after /p/- or /t/- and sometimes /k/-final forms). It may follow any kind of word-form (in the case of verbs usually 3rd/4th person inflected forms, but see below) and indicates that the sentence is a quotation or at least information received at second hand. It is thus particularly frequent in narrative contexts, where it may be repeated (but need not be) in a number of successive sentences within the same narrative framework. Positionally it is rather strictly assigned to the first phonological word of the quoted sentence - or to the last word of a semantically cohesive, more or less lexicalized noun phrase in first position - though in (older) narrative contexts it can be found following other constituents as well. Sentential adverbs or conjunctive/phatic particles in first position may themselves take guuq or pass it on to the first 'content' word of the quoted utterance. If other enclitics are attached to the word to which it is assigned it will follow these (though una, etc., in the copular construction described in 1.2.1.1.1.(c) can in turn follow guuq). As with all enclitics, it forms one phonological word (under one intonational contour) with the preceding word-form and thus will usually fall under the intonational nucleus of the resultant word.

tassa=guuq Kangirlussuatsia-kkut umiar-passuit
that-is quote Kangerlussuatsiaq pros. (skin-)boat many
ilummukaa-pput

(several-)move-inwards 3p-indic.

'Well', it is told, many boats came inland by way of
K.(fjord)'

usimaanna Maalia-min=nguuq inuullua-ri-na
by-the-way Maalia abl.quote be-well future 2s-imp.
'By the way, Maalia says hallo'

Tuumasin=nguuq qilalugaq pisar-aa
Tuumasi-rel.quote beluga catch 3s-3s-indic.
'They say Tuumasi caught a beluga(whale)'

ingin-nia-ritsi=guuq
sit-down try 2p-imp.quote
'I was told to say "sit down" to you'

uanga=guuq
me quote
'They say (it should be) me'

With other enclitics within the latter word-form one would get for instance uangelumiguuq 'but (along) with me, they say'.

With a first person verbal form, imperative force may be understood:

ajunngil-anga=guuq
be-good 1s-indic. quote
'Say (to them) that I'm all right'

In combination with question-word qanuq 'how' it expresses a request for information - usually for something a 3rd person subject said, but also sometimes directly to a 2nd person. It may also be used as an 'opening' formula like English 'what's new?'.
'what's new?'.
qanu=ruuq
how quote
'What does/did he say?'

guuq is commonly used in formulas for sending greetings, as in the sentence beginning with usimaanna above, and with the 3rd person optative:

inuullua-ri-lin=nguuq
be-well future 3p-opt. quote
'Send my greetings to them (when you see them)'

The combination with copular particle tassa illustrated in the first example sentence above is commonly used to introduce a general or impersonal clarification of what the narrator has just been saying, not necessarily as a quotation but simply as a statement of something for which he or she is not the ultimate witness or source of information.

(b) Syntagmatic means. There are also means of expressing indirect speech by way of verbs of reporting followed by object clauses with subordinate mood verbs (see 1.1.2.2.3). Some of these, notably uqar- 'say', may also take following indicative mood, thus approaching direct speech (see (d)).

uqar-puq ikinngun-ni tiki-ssa-suq
 say 3s-indic. friend his-refl. come future 3s-part.
 'He said his friend would come'

uqar-puq Juuaat Sisimiu-niip-puq
 say 3s-indic. Juuaat Sisimiut be-in 3s-indic.
 'He said Juuaat is in Sisimiut'

It is possible for the object clause further to take enclitic quuq.

(c) Derivational affixation. Purely derivational expression of indirect speech is also common, particularly with affix nirar 'say that', which is itself transitive (but attaches to an Intransitive base), and takes as its object the subject of the verbal base:

pitsaa-nirar-paat
 be-good say-that 3p-3s-indic.
 'They say that it is good'

This affix, like (ga)sugi and suri 'think that' (see 1.1.2.2.2.(a)), may, unlike the majority of verb-extending affixes, follow a sentence-modifying affix such as ssa 'future' - i.e. take a whole utterance as its base, stripped only of its person-number inflection:

miiraq irniinnaq sini-li-ssa-nirar-paa
 child right-away sleep begin future say-that 3s-3s-indic.
 'He said the child would soon fall asleep'

It may also be used reflexively with intransitive inflection:

suli-uma-nirar-puq
 work want say-that 3s-indic.
 'He says he (himself) wants to work'

There is also a less productive affix (V)r (where 'V' indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel), which is intransitive and is added directly to whole lexical expressions (most commonly simple nominals) in the sense 'say' or 'shout', as in umiarsuaarpuq 'he shouted "a ship!"'. Other expressions used in exclamatory fashion to which it can be attached include palasi 'the priest (is coming)', aammalu '(let me have) more', naagga 'no', and kalippuq 'he's towing (something behind him)'.

Productive verbal affix sima of epistemic modality (apparently/they say/I have heard) also approaches the semantic territory of indirect speech by expressing narrated events (in the past) at which the speaker was not himself present (see 2.1.3.4.9).

(d) Direct speech. Direct quotes are introduced by a verb of saying or asking, etc. usually following the quoted material (though position before it is also possible):

angirlasi-nngil-anga Jensi uqar-puq
 be-home-sick not 1s-indic. Jensi say 3s-indic.

"I am not homesick," said Jensi'

niri-artu-rusup-pit Maalia apir-aa
 eat go-and want 2s-inter. Maalia ask 3s-3s-indic.

"Do you want to come and eat?" he asked Maalia'

1.1.1.2. Interrogative Sentences

There are two main categories of interrogative sentences, taking the same interrogative inflectional morphology but differentiated by intonational pattern, namely yes-no and question-word questions. A third category - alternative questions - can be regarded as a sub-type of (one or the other of) these two main types, as can a fourth category 'contrast questions'. Where slot items in the interrogative paradigm are lacking corresponding indicative forms are used (see 2.1.3.4.1).

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no Questions

A distinction can be made between neutral yes-no questions with no expectation as to a positive as opposed to a negative answer and leading yes-no questions which do have such an expectation.

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral

Neutral yes-no questions most commonly combine interrogative mood inflection with a high-(or level-)fall intonation pattern on the last two morae of the final word; this is the pattern for Nuuk and south, whereas north of Nuuk the fall is followed by lengthening of the final syllable with rising intonation (the tone peak is on the same mora in both variants).

niri-riir-pit or (north of Nuuk) : niri-riir-piit
 eat already 2s-inter.
 'Have you already eaten?'

Verbless yes-no questions (e.g. with a simple nominal) follow the same pattern:

una
 that
 '(Is it) that?'

illit kaagi-lia-t
 thou-rel. cake made thy
 '(Is this) cake made by you?'

It is also possible to find indicative morphology combined with yes-no question intonation (see under Echo-questions, 1.1.1.2.3 below) or with an 'exaggerated' declarative intona-

tion pattern with final rise (as for commands and exclamations). This latter may have a pragmatic effect of indicating less uncertainty on the part of the questioner, and thus belong under 1.1.2.1.2 below, though it may also be a matter of dialect (more common in the South?); it is particularly common with *immaqa* 'perhaps' and with truncated questions subsequent to an initial full question (it can also be found with the pre-suppositional causative-mood questions discussed below):

taamang=aasiit filmi asirur-puq
 thus as-usual film break 3s-indic.
 'So did the film break again as usual?'

immaqa aamma siallir-puq
 perhaps also rain 3s-indic.
 'Did it also rain perhaps?'

kisimiil-luni
 be-alone 4s-cont.
 'Alone?' (having ascertained that someone has arrived)

The causative mood plus this declarative intonation variant is also commonly used in yes-no questions when there is some (usually unexpressed) shared situational presupposition; as with the preceding pattern the effect is not strictly 'neutral' (it is close to the 'rhetorical' cases discussed below):

arraa iqqaavi-qa-nngin-navit
 hey rubbish-bin have not 2s-caus.
 'Hey, don't you have a rubbish-bin?' (on seeing someone throw rubbish out of their window)

ulluqiqa-nut saarullit-tu-ssa-gassi
 lunch all. cod eat future 2p-caus.
 'Are you going to have cod for lunch then?' (to someone carrying a cod)

If the speaker really is eliciting information he is not sure of, interrogative intonation may be used (and see further 1.1.1.2.4.1.1 for chained sequences of questions and answers involving the causative mood):

Danmarki-miit aalla-ssa-gami (or: aallassagami)
 Denmark abl. leave future 4s-caus.
 'Will he be leaving from Denmark?' (knowing that he is going somewhere on a trip)

For the 4th person verbal inflection here (referring to 'psychological subject') see 1.5.2.3.(c). The same interrogative intonation may be found in such cases if the speaker is expressing (genuine or feigned) surprise. Thus the common causative mood formula *tikikkavit* 'I see you've come' used on greeting an acquaintance upon his arrival may have declarative or interrogative intonation.

The causative mood may be used when the questioner wishes to ascertain more precise information than the yes-no that the corresponding yes-no question would elicit, i.e. when the speaker has a good idea as to what the answer to the immediate question might be but wants some further comment or explanation. As suggested by the basic function of the causative mood (the expression of cause/reason), the presupposed element is often causally connected to the overtly expressed clause. This applies also to question-word questions in this mood. Thus the question sumiikkavit 'where have you been?' in the causative mood, asked upon meeting an acquaintance after some length of time, could be glossed as 'because you have been (some)where (where was it)?'. A secondary consequence of the use of this mood is that the time-scope of the question may be pushed further back into the past: in the example given the question is clearly as to where the addressee has been over the past period of absence (whether hours, days or longer), whereas the corresponding interrogative mood form sumiippit lacking the situational presupposition would refer to the present or a moment before. This time distinction is not an essential element of this usage, as is sometimes stated (cf. the example with aallassagami above).

The word-order of yes-no questions is generally the same as that of corresponding declarative sentences, with a strong tendency to maintain SOV order in true interrogative contexts to maintain the interrogative intonation nucleus on the verbal inflection (there may at all events only be one such nucleus per utterance). Other material in the nature of a (non-essential) 'afterthought' - with its own contour - may follow the verb however, as may a relatively heavy subject/object constituent after a semantically light copula-equivalent:

imaap-pa EFi-mik illirsu-i-suq
be-so 3s-inter. Common-Market instr. defend $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-
part.

'Is that (the same as) a Common Market supporter?'

An enclitic added to an interrogative mood form may or may not attract the intonational nucleus onto itself (though it usually does), e.g. with quotative guuq:

aallar-pa=guuq (or: aallarpa=guuq)
leave 3s-inter. quote

'Did he_i/s.o. say that he_j's left?'

The former pattern may express greater surprise. A similar nuance may occur with aasiit 'as usual'. As an indirect report of a question aallarpaguuq may also mean 'I am to ask if he has left'.

A subordinate mood form may well stand on its own (i.e. if

the superordinate verb is not expressed overtly), as in asiruruni 'if it broke (what would happen)?'. The intonation is still that of an ordinary yes-no question.

Yes-no questions may also be used rhetorically, but it is more common to use verbal affix nir 'I wonder' in this function. The intonation found with ī is the declarative (as for question-word questions), and the verb will take indicative (or causative) or- in the case of greater doubt - interrogative inflections, again with the possibility of the nucleus being delayed to the final word if this does not contain the verbal inflection. Note the possibility of impersonal 4th person subjects with the contemporative. nir may also be used in copular constructions.

taamaan-nir-puq
be-thus I-wonder 3s-indic.
'I wonder if it is so?'

tassaa-nngin-nir-pa tuqun-nia-ga-at
be-that not I-wonder 3s-inter. kill try-to pass.-part.
their
'I wonder if he isn't the one they tried to kill?'


silanngajaa-lir-nir-suq=una
go-crazy begin I-wonder 3s-part. that
'I wonder if he's going crazy?'

ajunngin-niru-ssa-nngik-kaluar-nir-luni
be-good more future not but...I-wonder 4s-cont.
iqqaama-sa-ssiu-raanni
remember pass.-part.make-future 3p-4s-part.
'I wonder if it wouldn't be better to make something
to remember?'


This affix must follow any other in the word. It has a distinct function in subordinate object clauses of verbs of asking, doubting, etc. (see 1.1.2.2.4).


1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading

Negative questions are not in themselves 'leading', though they usually, all else being equal, expect a confirmatory aa (see below under Answers). A negative question may express surprise or annoyance or tentativeness not necessarily expecting confirmation, e.g.: puigugaqanngilagut 'haven't we forgotten something?' and utaqqisinnaannginnavit 'can't you wait?'. In contexts of wanting the addressee to perform the action of the verb a negative form with jumaar or niar may be used as a polite request (see 1.1.1.5); in asking for something, positive rather than negative verbs are normal (e.g. ikitsisiqarpit 'do you have a light?'). Note the tentative suggestion expressed by a negative question in such utterances as: uuqattaarusunngiligut 'why don't you try them on' (sales-


 Aata-mik ati-qar-puq aat
 Aata instr. name has 3s-indic. req.-conf.
 'His name is A., isn't it?'

It is also used following imperatives/optative verb-forms, in which case it does act as an enclitic, i.e. affecting a preceding final stop (see 3.4.1.3.(b)) and forming one intonational contour with the preceding:


 isir-nia-rin=aat
 come-in try 2s-imp. aat
 'Come in, won't you?'


 aallar-niar-ta=at
 leave try 1p-opt. aat
 'Let's go then'

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative Questions


The most general means of expressing alternative questions is by linking two independent interrogative mood verbs with conjunctive 'particle' *imaluunniit*, usually with final interrogative nucleus. The enclitic morpheme *luunniit* on its own can bear the meaning 'or' when the second alternative is a (co-referential) contemporative form, but it is otherwise principally used to link phrases rather than superordinate clauses (see 1.3.1.1.3 and - for its further use in connection with negative verbs - 2.1.2.1.13).

galluna-a-va imaluunniit tulu-u-a
 Dane be 3s-inter. or Englishman be 3s-inter. or:

galluna-a-va tulu-u-lluni=luunniit
 Dane be 3s-inter. Englishman be 4s-cont. or
 'Is he a Dane or an Englishman?'

su-tu-ssa-vit kavvi-mik tiimil=luunniit
 what eat/drink future 2s-inter, coffee instr. tea instr. or
 'What will you have to drink, coffee or tea?'

In combination with a question-word, as in the last example, the intonation pattern will be of the declarative type expected in that kind of question. The same is true of *(ima)luunniit* used in alternative questions without explicit question-word where two alternative phrases share the same interrogative verb (yes-no interrogative intonation can result in the inclusive sense of 'or'):


 Maniitsu-mi nuum-mi=luunniit najugaqar-pa
 Manitsoq loc. Nuuk loc.or live 3s-inter.
 'Does he live in Maniitsoq or Nuuk?'

Sentences like this may be ambiguous as to the exclusive/inclusive senses: they more commonly contain an explicit q-word which makes it clearly exclusive (e.g. sumi 'where' in the preceding), but intonation and inflection can help disambiguate - thus a causative mood question here would be inclusive probably (it is consistent with the causal implication). It is common in alternative questions to use high pitch on the contrasting constituents and relatively lower on any following material.

1.1.1.2.1.4. Contrast Questions

Although not representing a completely distinct category of question, 'contrast' questions with enclitic mi corresponding to English 'what about -' have the peculiarity of generally taking declarative-type intonation (as q-word questions, with which they may combine under one intonational contour):

(aqagu pivvissaaq-ssa-nngil-anga →) aqaguagu=mi
 (tomorrow have-time future not 1s-indic.) day-after-to-
 morrow what-about
 ('I won't have the time tomorrow' →) 'What about
 the day after?'

(qanu(q)-ip-pit→) ajunngil-anga illim=mi or:
 (be-how 2s-inter.) be-good 1s-indic.thou what-about
 illim=mi qanu(q)-ip-pit.
 thou what-about be-how 2s-inter.
 ('How are you?' →) 'I am fine. What about you?'

Not all occasions of mi in the context of a question are of this sort, however. If the contrast is between whole utterances rather than individual constituents it is possible to have yes-no question intonation in the contrastive sentence with mi on its first constituent, e.g. in the following sentence where the contrast is with a previous sentence concerned with the temporary absence of Danes from a settlement:

ilinniartitsisur=mi suli atuarvim-miik-kallar-pa
 teacher what-about still school be-in for-time-being 3s-
 inter.
 'But is the teacher still in the school?'

1.1.1.2.2. Question-word Questions

For a listing of question-words see 2.1.2.6.1.1 and 2.1.2.6.2. Verbs following question-words take interrogative inflections but declarative-type intonation with a fall-rise over the last three morae (the final mora may stay low). The word-order of q-word questions is generally the same as in

corresponding declarative ones (see further on this below).

qanuq aki-qar-pa
 how price have 3s-inter.
 'How much does it cost?'

kikkun-ni najugaqar-pit
 who-plur. loc. live 2s-inter.
 'Who are you staying with?'

umiarsuaq qassi-nut aalla-ssa-va
 ship how-many all. leave future 3s-inter.
 'When will the ship leave?' (i.e. what hour)

klassi-mi su-mi
 classroom loc. what loc.
 'in which classroom?'

Stem su- in particular has a wide range of interrogative uses (also indefinite, see 2.1.2.1.14), both verbal (as in suit 'what are you doing?' and sulluni 'why?') and nominal. In the latter case su- and also ki- may be expanded by other NP constituents, as in suatungaa 'in what direction', suna pingaartursuaq 'what so important', suup niqaa 'what kind of meat?', kina arnaq 'what woman?', and kia arlassi 'who of you?' (relative); note also 3rd person possessed form sua 'what part of it'. A very common use of these morphemes in copular-like constructions is illustrated by sunaana 'what's that?', plural suunuku 'what are those?' with enclitic una, etc. (which causes enclitic sandhi changes of final /t/ to /n/ for example), and similarly with ki- for persons: kinaana 'who is that?'. When this construction includes a verbal element in the participial mood it generally presupposes that the proposition is true for some NP filling the q-word slot:

kia=ana tiiturvik manna asiru-raa
 who-rel. that cup this break 3s-3s-part.
 'Who broke this cup?'

The interrogative mood is also possible here, with a still stronger presupposition that someone did/will do the action concerned:

kia=ana pulaar-niar-paatigut
 who-rel. that visit going-to 3s-1p-inter.
 'Who is it that's going to visit us?'

These combinations with enclitics are so common they are not broken even when the q-word is not in first position (where this kind of enclitic-attachment regularly occurs); the encli-

tic may however occur following other enclitic elements:

raaja-t su-mum-makku atu-ssa-gaat
shrimp pl. what all. these use future 3p-3p-part.
'What will they use these shrimp for?'

qajaq una kia=ana sana-a
kayak that who-rel. that made-thing his
'Who made that kayak?'

suur=mitaava=ana
why I-wonder that
'Why is that, I wonder?'

sunanngua=qanna
what little that-in-there
'What's that little thing in there?'

su- may be incorporated in various verbal derived forms, e.g. sumiippa 'where is he?', sumiirpiti 'where are you from?', suliiqaa 'what is he up to?', suutiqaqpit 'what do you have (on you)?', suturpa 'what is he eating?' and Upirnaviup suaniippa 'what part of Upernavik is it in?'. Similarly with kina and qassit and at least in echo-questions qanga or qaqugu - e.g. qangaava 'when was it (did you say)?', kinaavit 'who are you?' and qassinngurpa 'what time is it?'. qanuq 'how' is often followed by otherwise bound verbal stem it- 'be' (also in sumiippa above), which is treated as an independent stem or as the second element of a 'quasi-compound' (cf. 2.2.6.3), thus qanu(q)-ippit 'how are you?' [qanu ippit] or [qanoq ippit] (older also [qanoNippit] apparently). Note qanu(q)-ililluni 'how' (of manner), qanu(q)-ilimmat/qanu(q)-ilisukkut 'at what time?', qanu(q)-aa [qanoNaa] 'what did you say?' and abbreviated responses like maniitsurmiuullunga qanuq 'being from Maniitsoq how could I?', etc.; also nominalizations like qanu(q)-issusia 'how it is'. With verbs of price, thinking and calling it corresponds to English 'what' (see above for example), and note with tigi 'so': qanuq angitigaa 'how big is it?'

Besides the interrogative mood, q-words may also take causative mood inflections on the verb in similar circumstances as with yes-no questions (see 1.1.1.2.1.1):

sumi kalaallisut ilinnia-ravit
where Greenlandic learn 2s-caus.

'Where did you learn Greenlandic?' (having heard the addressee speak it)

kina uan-nut siani-ssa-gami
who me all. ring future 4s-caus.

'Who would be ringing me?' (hearing telephone ring - can be rhetorical)

Q-words are rendered more speculative by addition of enclitic mita(ava), maa(nna) or (with the optative) tuq:

qanur=mita sunniuti-qa-ssa-va
 how I-wonder effect have future 3s-inter.
 'What sort of effect will it have, I wonder?'

kia=tuq pi-liuk
 who-rel. I-wonder get 3s-3s-opt.
 'Who shall get it now?'

utuqqasaaq su-liri-sur=mitaava
 old-person what be-concerned-with 3s-part. I-wonder
 'What's the old fellow up to, I wonder?'

In conjunction with affix niar an element of reestablishing a reported fact may be present:

qanur=maa ati-qar-niar-pit
 how I-wonder name have try/future 2s-inter.
 'What did you say your name was?'

As mentioned above, a q-word is generally in the same position as the corresponding NP or adverbial would be in a declarative sentence, and, as the latter, can be thematized/emphasized by movement to a more marked position (e.g. initial for an object), though this is unlikely if much heavy material intervenes. suuq prefers initial position and qanuq stands preferably just before a verb. If other sentence constituents follow the main verb these may take the intonational nucleus, but if it is simply a matter of an 'afterthought' or other loosely connected material, the main verb will carry its own nucleus, both phonological phrases having declarative-type contours.

A strengthening nuance is added to q-word questions by particle aamma 'also'. Such sentences may have rhetorical force (and with 1st person forms may have a facetious element).

aamma su-sima-suq=una
 also do-what perf. 3s-part. that
 'What on earth has he done?'

suur=ni aamma telegrami-ssa-anga
 why but also send-telegram future 1s-inter.
 'Why on earth should I send a telegram?'

aamma su-llunga aggir-punga
 also do-what 1s-cont. come 1s-inter.
 'What did I come for then?'

1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements of the Sentence which Can be Questioned

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. Constituents of the Main Clause

Any element of the main clause can be questioned, i.e.

subject, object (including incorporated nominal bases within verb-forms), instrument, time, location, manner, degree, (copular) complement or any other oblique case argument or adverbial. Examples with appropriate q-words can be found above. As with yes-no questions, q-word questions may be abbreviated to just the constituent(s) being asked about when the topic/subject has been ascertained already:

suminggar-luni
come-from-where 4s-cont.
'coming from where?' (e.g. talking about wind)

su-mit pi-sug
what abl. come 3s-part.
'from where (does the film originate)?'

The q-word itself may be covert:

~
inirnr-a
(sum-)total its
'(What is) the total?' (of an addition problem given to a class)

For q-words in copular sentences with *una*, etc. see 1.1.1.2.2 and, with nominal complement, note also the following: sunaana nipi 'what's that sound?' and suumuna niqaa 'what's that the meat of?'. With the tassa construction (see 1.2.1.1.1.(b)) note:

pinissat tassa suu-ppat
pinissat that-is be-what 3p-inter.
'What are 'pinissat' (kamik stuffing)?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. Constituents of Subordinate Clauses

Questioning a constituent in a subordinate clause is largely limited to echo-questions (see 1.1.1.2.3.5) or object clauses - i.e. indirect questions (including nominalized forms such as qanu(q)-issusia mentioned above):

sava kia-p pigi-gaa ilisari-sinnaa-sar-paa
sheep who-rel. own 3s-3s-part. recognize can habit.3s-3s-
indic.
'He could tell who owned each sheep'

An important exception to this statement is the case of co-referential contemplative clauses such as those under 1.1.1.2.2.1.4 below - and cf. sulluni qiava 'why is he crying?' & sullutit maannarpit 'why did you come here?'. This is the normal construction with questions of manner, hence qanu(q)-ililluni 'how' mentioned above. The problem with the non-co-referential case is that q-words in such subordinate clauses will generally have their other, indefinite sense (see 2.1.2.1.13). Nevertheless it is possible to make a distinc-

tion between the following two cases with su- in a causative mood clause:

su-qar-mat pisiniar-pat
 what have 3s-caus. go-shopping 3p-inter.
 'Because they have what (in the shops) are they out shopping?'

su-qar-mat pisiniar-put
 what have 3s-caus. go-shopping 3p-indic.
 'They are out shopping because there is something (or other) in the shops'

Note also the following exchange where the causative mood question is reminiscent of the cases discussed under 1.1.1.2.2 above:

puigu-ruma-gama imir-tar-punga →
 forget want 1s-caus. drink habit. 1s-indic
 'I drink in order to forget' →
 suna puigu-ruma-gakku → iqaama-junnaar-para
 what forget want 2s-3s-caus. remember no-longer 1s-3s-indic.
 'In order to forget what?' → 'I can't remember'

Other exceptions include 3rd person (impersonal) causative qassinngurmat 'what day/hour (in past)?', the equivalent in the 'hour' sense of more common non-clausal qassinut (see 1.1.1.2.2 above), both followed by an interrogative mood main verb. Similarly the constructions in qanu(q)-ilimmat tuqua 'at what time did he die?', and suusurigavit apirivit 'who do you think you are, asking (that)?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. Constituents of Noun Phrases

Other constituents of the NP than the head noun (for which see above) may be questioned, e.g. a relative clause:

aningaasat su-mut atur-tu-ssia-a-su-t
 money what all. be-used intr.-part. material-for be
 intr.-part. pl.
 'money to be used for what'

A distinction can be made between cases where the q-word is the NP head or in (adjectival) apposition to it:

kina arnaq
 who woman
 'who (that is a) woman' (presupposing that the individual in question is female)

arnaq kina
 woman who
 'what woman'

Either possessor or possessum may be questioned: kia illua

'whose house' but illup sua 'what (part) of the house'. For examples of the incorporated nominal head of a derived verb-form being questioned see 1.1.1.2.2. Various kinds of adjectival modifier may be questioned:

qisuk qanu(q)-it-tuq
wood be-how intr.-part.
'what kind of wood'

illuqarvik qassi-nik inu-lik
town how-many instr. people provided with
'a town with how many inhabitants'

Similarly, the agent (in relative case) of a passive participial form (or its equivalent) may be questioned in apposition to the head of the NP:

atuqaq kia-p alla-kk-ia-a (or: alla-ta-a)
book who rel. write pass.part. made his (write pass.-
part. his)
'a book written by whom'

qajaq una kia=ana sana-a
kayak that who-rel. that made his
'Who was that kayak made by?'

More complex possibilities exist when the base in derived structures is questioned or when a rank-shifted (nominalized) participial form containing a question-word is in apposition to the NP head:

karsi suu-p ili-vvigi-sarta-ga-a
box what-rel. put have-as-place-of habit. pass.-part. its
'a box for putting what in'

umiarsu-it su-vvigi-sar-vi-at
ship pl.-rel. do-what have-as-place-of habit. place their
'a place for doing what to ships'

allakkat ki-mut allat-si-ta-ni
letter-pl. who all. write cause pass.-part. his-refl.-pl.
nassiup-pai
send 3s-3p-inter.
'He sent a letter written for him by whom?'

suna=ana Jaaku-p siulittaasu-u-vvigi-gaa
what that Jaaku rel. chairman be have-as-place-of 3s-3s-
part.
'What is Jaaku chairman of?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. Constituents of Postpositional Phrases

Although West Greenlandic does not have simple postpositional phrases apart from the possessed construction described under 1.2.4.2, elements of these can be questioned, as in

suup iqqaani 'near where' (and cf. Upirnaviup sua(niippa) under 1.1.1.2.2.1.1). Note also such common postpositional-like verbal constructions as:

kina pi-llugu
who do(-for) (4s-)3s-cont.
'for whom'

suna pissuti-ga-lugu
what cause have-as (4s-)3s-cont.
'what for'

kina ilaga-lugu (tikip-pit)
who accompany(2s)3s-cont. (come 2s-inter.)
'with whom (did you come?)'

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. Constituents of Coordinate Structures

It is possible to question a contemporative verb-form used in a conjunctive sense, but this will almost always be an echo-question (see 1.1.1.2.3.5). More common is the questioning of coordinate nominals:

Danmarki-mul=lu su-mut alla-mut tikiraar-niar-pugut
Denmark all. and what all. other all. visit future 1p-
inter.

'We are going to visit Denmark and where else?'

Hansi-kkut kina=lu ilagi-ssa-vigit
Hansi and-fellows who and accompany future 2s-3p-inter.
'You will be going with Hansi (or H.'s family/party) and
who (else)?'

With 'or' coordination, compare the following:

Hansi-kkut imaluunniit kikkut ilagi-ssa-vigit
Hansi and-fellows or who-pl. accompany future
2s-3p-inter.

'You will be going with H.'s family/party or who (else)?'

One of the coordinated elements may be expressed purely inflectionally:

kina=lu aallar-niar-pisi
who and leave future 2p-inter.
'Whom will you be leaving with?'

The latter may alternatively be expressed pronominally: illit taavalu kina aallarniarpa 'you and who will be leaving?' For coordinated nominals in alternative questions see 1.1.1.2.1.3.

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. More than One Element Questioned

More than one constituent may be questioned, though such sentences are not common except as echo-questions and in indirect question object clauses:

kikkut sumunnar-pat
 who-pl. go-where 3p-inter
 'Who are going where?'

apiquta-a-ginnar-puq naqinnir-it surli-it ki-mut
 question be only 3s-indic. letter pl. which pl. who all.
 nalunaarutiqar-nir-sut
 indicate I-wonder 3p-part.
 'The question is simply which letters stand for which
 person'

1.1.1.2.2.2. Position of the Questioned Element

The questioned element occupies the same position as the corresponding NP or adverbial would in a declarative sentence and may be moved for emphasis, etc. along with those constituents the corresponding element may move with in the declarative sentence. Clefting is possible (indeed common) in such cases (see 1.1.1.2.2).

1.1.1.2.2. Echo-questions

1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes-no Echo-questions

If a sentence element is not clearly grasped by the hearer or if he wishes to express doubt or surprise about it he may request clarification through an echo-question. Relatively high pitch will be maintained throughout with a marked final rise on a declarative-type intonational nucleus or, if greater surprise/desire to know, etc. is expressed, with yes-no question intonation. It is not common to echo verbal forms this way however: either the whole sentence will be repeated (as an ordinary yes-no question) or qanu(q)-aa mentioned under 1.1.1.2.2 will be used.

(ippassaq aallar-puq →) ippassaq or: ippassaq
 (yesterday leave 3s-indic.) yesterday
 ('He left yesterday' →), '(Did you say) yesterday?'

For speakers with final syllable lengthening in yes-no questions, the second variant of the second example would be:

ippassaaq? Utterances with declarative intonation here function more as confirmation-eliciting devices than as real questions expressing incomprehension (though the intonational nucleus may be exaggerated to express greater incredulity, etc.). It is usual only to repeat the particular constituent being questioned.

A rather specialized kind of echo-question with the optative mood plus yes-no interrogative intonation is found in response to a call where the recipient is not quite sure if it was intended for him/her:

(qaa-git →) qaa-langa
 come 2s-imp. come 1s-opt.
 ('Come!' →) 'Shall I come?'

This need not be an echo-question however (simply an offer).

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word Echo-questions

As above, but generally with question-word (declarative-type) intonation.

(Kaali ilaga-lugu Nuum-mut aallar-punga →)
 (Kaali accompany (1s-)3s-cont. Nuuk all. leave 1s-indic.)

su-mut

what all.

('I left for Nuuk with Kaali' →) 'For where?' or:

kina ilaga-lugu
 who accompany (1s-)3s-cont.
 'With whom?'

Truncation of the non-highlighted material is used in echoing rather than increased stress to emphasize the contrasted element (higher pitch also playing a role). One can also hear yes-no question intonation in q-word echoes (as in

kia 'who (did it)?') when great surprise or disbelief is expressed.

1.1.1.2.3.3. Question Echo-questions

Echoes of questions may follow the same pattern as above but generally with yes-no question intonation - even when it is a q-word question that is being questioned:

(suminggaaniir-pit →) suminggaaniir-punga
 (come-from-where 2s-inter.) come-from-where 1s-inter.
 ('Where have you come from? →) 'Where have I come from (did you ask)?'

(niri-riir-pit →) niri-riir-punga
 (eat already 2s-inter.) eat already 1s-inter.
 ('Have you already eaten? →) 'Have I already eaten (did you ask)?'

More common is the simple use of repetition-eliciting ganu(q)-aa. The questioner may himself repeat his own question more insistently if the elicited answer is not satisfactory, e.g. with suurmiguuq 'but why (do you say)?' after an initial suuq.

1.1.1.2.4.1.1. To Yes-no Questions

There are several response particles for yes-no questions whose use is determined by a system of pragmatic rather than propositional confirmation/disconfirmation. Thus aap (or more colloquially suu), corresponding to 'yes' after positive yes-no questions, is also used to express agreement with a statement corresponding to a negative yes-no question:

mama-nngil-a → aap (mama-nngil-aq)
 taste-good not 3s-inter. aap (taste-good not 3s-indic.)
 'Didn't it taste good?' → 'No (it didn't)'

Conversely, naagga, corresponding to 'no' after a positive yes-no question, is used to disagree with such a statement:

aningaasa-ati-qa-nngil-atit → naagga (piqar-punga)
 money alien. have not 2s-inter. naagga (have 1s-indic.)
 'Don't you have any money?' → 'Yes (I do)'

This may be expressed more argumentatively by naaggaluunniit 'sure (I do)' (with positive question: 'certainly not')

A third particle, naami(k) is equivalent to naagga after positive questions ('no') but sometimes to aap following negative questions, i.e. it may express in itself an emphatic negation:

savi-qa-nngil-a → naamik (piqa-nngil-aq)
 knife have not 3s-inter. naamik (have not 3s-indic.)
 'Doesn't he have a knife?' → 'No (he doesn't)'

This seems to be restricted to questions of having/being present, especially when the negative verb-form is repeated - cf. its other uses, expressing absence, as in Nuummi naami(k) 'not like in N./there are none in N.' and also in naamik piriarviqanngilaq 'he was nowhere to be found'. For younger speakers there is some general confusion here, however, and though naamik and naagga do tend to be synonymous in all cases (as in the original system), there is also some interference from the propositional yes-no response system of Danish, especially amongst Greenlanders resident in Denmark.

With all three particles the verb may be repeated in the appropriate indicative form or else be replaced by a corresponding form of taamaat- 'do/be thus' (with or without preceding particle); thus in the first example above aap could be replaced by taamaappuq. In some cases of derived verb-forms with incorporated nominal base the response may replace the base by 'empty stem' pi-, especially with affix qar 'have' as illustrated above (only possible with lexicalized combinations of pi- plus affix). The mood of a verb repeated in the answer will usually be the same as that of the question verb - apart from indicative corresponding to an interrogative mood question - thus tikikkavit → suu tikikkama ('You've arrived?' → 'yes,

I've arrived') in the causative mood. However, the immediate response may be suppressed by a more elaborate explanation, in which case a causative clause, for example, may follow a question in some other mood or constructional form:

illit kaagi-lia-t una →
 thou-rel. cake made thy that
 inuissiu-ssamaartuu-mmat ivviu-rama
 celebrate-birthday look-forward-to 3s-caus. bake 1s-caus.
 '(Is that) cake made by you?' → 'Since he (there)
 was so much looking forward to his birthday I baked
 (it)'

A special response construction for strong affirmation involves the use of *ila* or *ilaana* (both found as independent strong positive answers also) verbalized and provided with an inflection echoing that of the question verb. Either yes-no question or declarative-type intonation patterns are used in the answer:

taku-iuk → ila(ana)r-piuk (or: ilaana)
 see 2s-3s-inter. ila(ana)r- 2s-3s-inter.
 'Did you see it?' → 'You bet I did!'

For an analogous strong negative response with stem *su-* compare 1.1.1.2.3.5.

Both negative and positive answers may be strengthened by various affixal means:

naami-vik
 no really
 'No!'

taamaal-luinnar-pug
 be-such exactly 3s-indic.
 'Exactly so/yes indeed'

1.1.1.2.4.1.2. To Question-word Questions

The usual response to a q-word question is to fill the constituent slot questioned in the corresponding case or mood form required (though with adverbial answers this is not obligatory - cf. the alternative answer to the first question below). It is not usual to repeat more of the question than that constituent.

qanu(q)-ili-mmat tuqu-a →
 become-how 3s-caus. die 3s-inter.
 unnum-mat (or: arviniiqqqa-nut)
 become-evening 3s-caus. (half-past-five all.)
 'When did he die?' → 'Towards evening' (or: 'At half
 past five')

kia uqaatig-aa → uuma
 who-rel. talk-about 3s-3s-inter. he-rel.
 'Who talked about it?' → 'He (did)'

su-tu-ssa-visi → uanga hoffi
 what-eat/drink future 2p-inter. me hof
 'What will you have to drink?' → 'A Hof(beer) for me'

su-mut ilaa-gavit → helikopteri-mut
 what all. travel-by 2s-caus. helicopter all.
 'What did you come by?' → 'By helicopter'

suum=una niqa-a → savaaqa-p
 what-rel. that meat its lamb rel.
 'What meat is that?' → 'It's lamb'

The normal response to a question of reason is with a causative mood clause:

suuq qimaa-vit → irsi-qi-gama
 why run-away 2s-inter. be-scared very 1s-caus.
 'Why did you run away?' → 'Because I was scared'

1.1.1.2.4.1.3. Ig Echo-questions

The typical response to an echo-question is as for an ordinary question, i.e. with *aap* or *suu* (or just a sibilant intake of air between the teeth) or *taamaappuq* (or their negative equivalents) when a yes-no response is required, or with the repetition of the questioned constituent (or its correction) in the q-word case.

1.1.1.2.4.2. Incomplete Sentence Answers

As the examples above illustrate, answers are most commonly incomplete (not repeating the whole question formula). Apart from the response particles discussed under section 1.1.1.2.4.1.1 above there are a number of others that may stand as independent answers. These include *immaqa* 'perhaps', *asuki(aq)* 'I don't know', *massami* 'right!', *suurmi* and *qanurmi* 'why not/sure', *suurunami* 'of course', *ilumut* 'it's true/really' and *ila ila* 'right!' (and see 1.1.1.2.4.1.1 for *ila(ana)*). Other expressive response particles not so directly linked to question contexts include *qaami* for acceptance of an offer/suggestion, *tassaqa* for sceptical surprise ('you don't say...'), *tassami* 'sure/you bet (but...)', also used to introduce a correction of something just said, and formulas *piumasannik* 'as you want' and *aamma pigaluaqaq* 'you don't say!'

Further examples of incomplete answers, including an important use of *suli* 'still/yet' and cases where the expected yes-no response is bypassed, follow:

kina tikis-sinnaa-va → kina=luunniit
 who come can 3s-inter. who ever

'Who can come?' → 'Anyone (can)'

sinip-pa → suli (naamik)
 sleep 3s-inter. still (no)

'Is he sleeping?' → 'Not yet'

tama-ssi maaniip-pisi → immaqa Aatu
 all 2p be-here 2p-inter. perhaps Aatu

piqa-nngil-aq/naami (the latter very colloquial)
 have not 3s-indic./no

'Are you all here?' → 'Maybe not Aatu'

nassaara-ajuk → qujanartumik
 find 2s-3s-inter. luckily

'Did you find it?' → 'Luckily'

Answers to alternative questions are also usually 'incomplete' when the choice is between two NPs, though if the choice is between two verb-forms the answer will usually parallel one of them to form an independent sentence. Thus an answer to the last example under 1.1.1.2.1.3 would be: Maniitumi, while an answer to the first example there would be: tuluuvuq (or tuluk). With contrast questions, however, incomplete answers are not really possible. Thus an appropriate answer to the first example under 1.1.1.2.1.4 would be: aqaguagu ajussanngilaq 'the day after tomorrow would be fine'. An oblique answer to such a question may, as for the corresponding ordinary yes-no question, be incomplete however:

(ajunngil-anga) illim=mi →

(be-good 1s-indic.) thou how-about

(uanga) ippassaq imir-pallaa-rama

(I) yesterday drink too(-much) 1s-caus.

'(I'm fine). How about you?' → '(Because) I had too much to drink yesterday...'

1.1.1.3. Imperative Sentences

1.1.1.3.1. Positive Imperatives

Positive imperative sentences are expressed primarily by verbal imperative/optative mood inflections (although the comparative mood is also common for true - 2nd person - imperatives). The imperative mood as such (2nd person) can be treated together with the optative (1st and 3rd person) as one paradigmatic set: the only overlap is in the 1st person plural, where - in the intransitive and 3rd person object forms - a distinction is made between inclusive/exclusive, the latter patterning morphologically with the other optative forms, the former with imperative (see 2.1.3.4.3). The intonational contour in all forms of imperative sentence is of the declarative

fall-rise type, with a marked final rise, as also for exclamatory utterances - but see 1.1.1.2.3.2 for an optative mood offer with yes-no question intonation. Whereas the imperative proper represents commands or exhortations for immediate action (which may be softened in various derivational ways), the optative forms are used principally to express desired or suggested action, as in isirli 'let him come in' and isirta 'let us go in'. It is possible to have two clauses in apposition, the first of which is in the imperative, the second in a non-imperative (e.g. indicative) mood:

qaa-git aappa-ri-ssa-vakkit
 come 2s-imp. companion have-as future 1s-2s-indic.
 'Come and be my companion'

1.1.1.3.1.1. Person-number Combinations

Besides the intransitive forms, all combinations of subject-object transitive forms are found for three persons and two numbers).

niri-guk
 eat 2s-3s-imp.
 'Eat it'

uja-ri-sigik
 look-for future 2p-3p-imp.
 'Look for them'

urnil-lisigut
 come-to 3s-1p-opt.
 'Let him come to us'

marlun-nik pisi-riar-langa
 two instr. buy go-and 1s-opt.
 'Let me have/buy two of them'

See 1.1.1.2.1.2 for pleas expressed by imperative forms plus enclitic aat; with the optative and (contracted) enclitic aat note pilara-at 'do let me have it!'.
 In combination with a question-word plus enclitic tug 'I wonder/wish that', the 1st person optative often expresses a rhetorical (or self-exhorting) question:

qanur=tur=mi=una naatsumik nalunaar-langa
 how I-wonder yet that shortly inform 1s-opt.
 'How should I express (it) briefly?' (trying to fill out a telegram blank)

Compare this with:

kia=tug aappa-ri-linga
 who-rel. would-that companion have-as 3s-1s-opt.
 'I wish someone would come with me.'

1.1.1.3.1.2. Degrees of Imperative

An imperative utterance may be modified by affix gi, which puts off the time of desired compliance to a less immediate future (and may thus be somewhat more polite). It is found in conjunction with transitive subject-object inflections (imperative and optative), and in the 2nd person plural intransitive gisi (alongside more immediate -gitsi). But in the 2nd person singular intransitive the special ending -na is found replacing -git in the same 'future' sense as forms with gi (it is also found in some 1st and 2nd person transitive forms, especially in narrative style). Both these elements may be combined in 2nd singular form gina. Sometimes -na seems to add no extra meaning at all - thus either inuulluarna or inuulluarit for 'farewell'.

unnussiuaa-ri-si
 enjoy-evening future 2p-imp.
 'Enjoy yourselves this evening'

ikinngu-ti-n-nut tunniuk-ki-uk
 friend thy all. give future 2s-3s-imp.
 'Give it to your friend (later)'

ingin-niar-na
 sit-down try 2s-imp.

'You(will)take a seat' (less immediate than inginniarit)

See the last sentence under 1.1.1.1.(a) for an optative form with gi. An alternative form expressed as a 2nd person transitive imperative is inuulluaqqutikkigit 'say hallo to them'.

Imperatives are commonly modified by affix niar 'try to', which does not necessarily represent a softening of the imperative's force, but has the added element of urging or prompting; it suggests some effort on the part of the addressee at all events. Use of derivational affixes laar 'a little' or tsiar 'a bit', does clearly represent a softening effect, as does gallar 'a while/for the time being'. riar 'come/go and -' is closer to niar, but note the special use of combination riassa under 1.1.1.3.3 below.

matu mappir-nia-ruk
 door open try 2s-3s-imp.
 'Open the door'

mattak isaa-laa-ruk
 mattak pass a-little 2s-3s-imp.
 'Please pass the mattak (narwhal skin chunks)'

unik-kalla-at
 stop a-while 2s-imp.
 'Stop a moment'

1.1.1.3.2. Negative Imperatives

Negative 2nd person imperatives (prohibitions, warnings, etc.) employ the negative contemporative mood (and never the 'future' affix gi). 3rd person (and with suitable bases also 1st person) optative forms are possible with negative derivational affix nngit plus gi, at least for the intransitive and 3rd-3rd person subject-object transitive cases.

patin-nanga
hit (2s-)1s -neg.-cont.
'Don't hit me'

attu-nngik-ki-liuk
touch not future 3s-3s-opt.
'Don't let him touch it'

An utterance with the force of a negative imperative but with a more immediate sense of warning against dire consequences is expressed by affix qina plus (optionally contracted) indicative inflection. Since the basic meaning is 'watch out or- (could happen)', the imperative force is only indirectly expressed. It occurs more directly as a negative imperative in (contracted?) combination with the 2nd singular negative contemporative inflection -nak, as in qiaqinak 'don't cry' (plural qiaqinasi)- this may just be strengthener qi plus -nak however (qina containing a further morpheme na). As an example of its use with the indicative compare:

nakka-qina-vutit
fall qina 2s-indic.
'Watch out or you'll fall!'

With 3rd (and 1st) person the indirect force is more in the nature of a wish:

sarvaati-qina-vaa
carry-away-with-current qina 3s-3s-indic.
'As long as/I do hope the current doesn't carry it away!'

A 2nd person imperative urging that some action be stopped may be expressed with affix kisar, as in qiakisarit 'stop crying!'. A negative imperative may also be strengthened by use of affix llariaa before negative contemporative inflections; a similar effect is produced by using strengthened negative affix nngilluinnar (or its equivalent) followed by positive imperative inflection:

ilaaquti-llariaa-nak
go-along-with intens. 2s-neg.-cont.
'You mustn't go along (with them)!'

atu-nngil-luinna-ruk
 use not completely 2s-3s-imp.
 'Don't use it at all!'

1.1.1.3.3. Other Means of Expressing Imperatives

A positive command of a more distanced, less urgent kind is expressed through use of the contemporative mood (e.g. qaallutit 'come here' alongside qaagit). Another common type of sentence with imperative force involves affixes of futurity (or deontic modality), usually with indicative inflections. This includes ssa 'shall', which also occurs here in combination with affix riar of vivid/momentary action plus (especially transitive) participial inflection. This latter combination has the force of a strong suggestion (when in the 2nd person) - equivalent to ssagaluar plus indicative - or, especially with the 1st person, a proposal:

taku-riassa-git/taku-ssagaluar-pat
 see should 2s-3s-part./see should 2s-3s-indic.
 'You should see it!'

uanga=li maannakkut pitsi-riassa-gikkit
 I but now buy-for should 1s-2s-part.
 'Let me buy something for you now!'

Contemporative mood inflections are also possible here. Other affixes used in this connection are sussaa 'should', sariaqar 'must' (and sariaqanngit 'needn't/mustn't'), and jumaar 'will'. The latter is especially common in the context of giving advice as to what to do.

There are also a few non-inflectable imperative words, notably qaa 'come on' and tuavi 'hurry up'. Enclitic tuq 'would that' is used with optative inflections (or on simple nominals), strengthening the 'wishing' aspect of that mood. It may be attached to q-word qanuq in this construction:

aallar-niar-li=tuq
 leave try 3s-opt. would that
 'I wish he'd leave'

uanga=tuq
 me would-that
 'Let me!'

qanur=tuq ajurunnaa-ri-li
 how would-that get-better future 3s-opt.
 'I wish he would get better'

Another way of expressing wishes is with particle uvvami plus participial mood (and see 1.15 for the construction with nominal affix sussaq).

uvvami tiki-niassa-suq
 uvvami come future 3s-part.
 'If only he would come'

There is also a construction with lexicalized subject-object participial mood inflection -gaanni (see towards end of 1.1.2.4.2.1), where the subject is impersonal but is generally understood as including the speaker:

immaqa niri-gaanni
 perhaps eat 3p-4s-part.
 'How about eating?/I wish we could eat'

The 4th person contemporative may also be used here (immaqa nirilluni); compare too immaqa aallarutta 'perhaps we should leave' with 1st person plural conditional ending.

Finally, an imperative sentence may be expressed solely by an instrumental case nominal, some verb of giving or handing being understood:

savim-mik
 knife instr.
 '(Hand me a/the) knife'

1.1.1.4. Exclamatory Sentence-types

Exclamatory utterances generally lack an inflected verb-form (though these may be added) and although of varying type/origin share a declarative-type intonational contour with marked final rise (or at least wide pitch range). For more divergent or isolated patterns see 1.15.

There are a large number of uninflected 'particles' of an exclamatory nature that may form complete utterances. These include taamak 'it's (all) gone' (literally 'thus'), sussa ' (it's) too bad/can't be helped', tassa 'that's enough/stop', asu 'stop that now', atagu, 'look/let's see', ak 'here you are' (handing over something), ikkii 'brrr!(it's cold)', qangami 'it's been a long time', na'aa 'ow!', qujanaq 'thank you', taatuuna 'how disgusting (you are)!', sangatak 'hell!', kakkaak 'wow/great!', anirsalu(nnguaquna) 'that was nice of you', takanna 'help yourself/do start' (pointing at food), and uuma(ak) 'my!' (and see 1.1.1.2.4.2 under Answers). Some of these are commonly used with nominals in apposition, e.g. saviga taamak 'my knife is gone!', or with subordinate mood verb-forms - thus qujanaq and kakkaak above could be followed by a causative clause (e.g. tikikkavit 'for coming' and akisuummat '(because) it's expensive' respectively). Other particles such as tassaqa, taannaqa or sunaavva are commonly found alone or with a suitable verb-form to express reactions respectively of scepticism, confirmation of expectation and wonderment:

sunaavva piili-qar-tuq
 sunaavva car have 3s-part.
 'Why, there's a car!'

tassaqa ullumi sialli-ssa-va
 tassaqa today rain future 3s-inter.
 'I don't think it's going to rain today'

As illustrated, sunaavva commonly goes with the participial mood and tassaqa with the interrogative; taannaqa 'as I thought' goes with the indicative (which is a possibility also with the other two particles).

For 'exclamatory' variants of directional stems such as pavva 'up there!' see 1.2.1.1.3, and note with tassa sentences like tassa siku '(look at) all that ice!' and tass'ajuq 'how annoying!' Note also the enclitic construction in for example sianiitsuq-una 'what a fool he is!' (cf. 1.2.1.1. (c)), and, with jocular use of a nominal affix as stem, kullassuaq-una 'what a clumsy fellow!' (cf. kullak 'clumsy').

A number of these expressive particles are nominalized verbal bases with final consonants de-fricativized where necessary, e.g. mamaq 'delicious!' from mamar-. Others include nuann(iq) '(it was) fun!', iluallak 'that was good/helped!', turraq 'well done!' and nallinnaq 'poor fellow!', and practically any suitable derived base with the affixes naq 'such as to', gik 'good', paluk 'sound of', or innaq 'only'. A final /t/ is generally replaced by /k/, as in alianaak 'how splendid!'. Derivational nominalizing affixes ssusia (3rd singular possessed form of ssusiq 'quality of' - 2nd person forms are also possible -) and nnguarsi are used to express wonderment, etc., the latter most often in conjunction with particle qangali ('it's a long time since') - for which also see under 1.1.1.5 below.

angi-ssusi-a
 be-big quality its
 'How big it is!'

(qangali) nuannaa-nnguarsi
 (qangali) have-fun nnguarsi
 'What fun one had!'

Ordinary indicative sentences may be given exclamatory force by the addition to the verb of a strengthening affix of 'subjective coloration' (see 2.1.3.4.15), notably qi (contracted indicative qaq, etc.) as in usurnaqaatit 'you're lucky!'. The causative mood in declarative sentences may itself have exclamatory force - as illustrated under 1.1.1.5; with strengthening affix of degree ngaar it always does, as here with 4th person for 'psychological' subject:

isikkivi-gi-ngaa-rami
view have-good very 4s-caus.
'What a good view it has!'

Especially in narrative style it is not unusual to find a nominal constituent instead of the expected (subordinate) verbal head, with exclamatory force; in some cases it is a matter of a verb understood from context simply being omitted:

ani-rialla-rami siqinir-suaq pavva
go-out just-as 4s-caus. sun big up-there
'When he went out (there was) the sun up there!'

siursus-suaq tassa kisimi
rushing-sound big that-is alone
'A great rushing sound, that alone (was heard)'

The main verb may be omitted in other (non-exclamatory) contexts, e.g. in explanatory utterances consisting of a case-marked NP as in ila ittuutunirmit 'you see (it's) because of her shyness' following a comment on a child's unwillingness to greet a newcomer.

1.1.1.5 Sentence-types Used Regularly in Functions Other than their Normal Ones

The only use of indicative verb-forms outside of superordinate (declarative) contexts is in connection with certain lexicalized forms such as adverbial qularnanngilaq 'no doubt', ajurnaqaq (colloquially) 'a lot /very', allaanaviangilaq 'none other than', and question-word plus (pi)nirpuq (with affix nir 'I wonder'), as in:

suna pi-nir-puq taku-aa
what do/get I-wonder 3s-indic. see 3s-3s-indic.
'He saw something or other'

In narrative contexts it is common however to find subordinate moods replacing the indicative in superordinate position, especially with affixes such as riallar (taking participial mood endings):

ingirla-lluni ingirla-lluni qiqirtar-suaq
proceed 4s-cont. proceed 4s-cont. island big
irsi-rialla-raa
catch-sight-of just-as 3s-3s-part.

'He went on and on until the/a big island appeared before him'

Note that the 'subjective coloration' element of surprise adhering to riallar refers in fact to the action of the (following) superordinate verb if there is one; in the following the latter is itself in the participial mood:

iti-riallar-tunga ulluru-riirsima-suq
 wake-up just-as 1s-part. become-day already 3s-part.
 'When I woke up (why!) it had already become day'

The contemporative mood may in such contexts indicate habitual action, though lacking any aspectual marker of repetition:

inna-ssa-lluni=lu kiguti-ni
 go-to-bed future 4s-cont. and teeth his-refl.
 salil-lugit
 brush (4s-)3p-cont.
 'He would brush his teeth before going to bed'

For unusual uses of the interrogative and optative moods see 1.15.

The causative (and to a lesser degree other subordinate moods) is commonly encountered in declarative sentences with exclamatory force (note the 4th person forms):

ilami kilirnir-it iti-qi-gami
 my! cut thy be-deep very 3s-caus.
 'My, that cut of yours is deep!'

qangali kaagi-su-rama
 a-long-time-since cake eat 1s-caus.
 'It's a long time since I had cake last!'

Nuuk silarlut-sil-luni aatsaat tassa
 Nuuk be-bad-weather while 4s-cont. only-then that-is
 avaanngunar-tuq
 be-boring 3s-part.
 'There's nowhere as boring as Nuuk in bad weather!'

uvva Sisimiu-ni=luunniit unammi-gunik
 although Sisimiut loc. even have-match 4p-condit.
 'Why not have the match in Sisimiut?'

illa-runi illa-runi
 laugh 4s-condit. laugh 4s-condit.
 'He laughed and laughed'

ingga aju-rani
 it-yonder bad 4s-neg-cont.
 'That (girl) over there isn't half bad!'

Just as yes-no questions may appear in the causative mood (see 1.1.1.2.1.1), so may sentences in that mood appear in declarative function. They generally suggest some main verb that has been suppressed, the link being causal (and the effect not necessarily exclamatory):

illu-rput nakkar-mat
 house our fall-down 3s-caus.
 'Our house fell down' (that's why we're building a new

one)

(su-mut →) imirniartarvi-lia-ralua-rama
(what all.) bar go-to but... 1s-caus.

ulikaa-riirsima-gami
be-full already 4s-caus.

('Where (are you going)?' →) 'I was going to the bar
but it was full up'

ilami ajurna-qi-mmat
really be-impossible very 3s-caus.

'Really there was nothing to be done' (i.e. we had to
give up)

West Greenlandic does not make much use of indirect means of requesting (but cf. the means discussed above for softening imperatives); it is possible to express the latter by asking if the addressee is able or willing to perform the action concerned though:

igalaaq matu-sinnaa-viuk/matu-jumaa-nngil-iuk
window close can 2s-3s-inter./close will not 2s-3s-inter.
'Can you/will you close the window?'

Still more indirect/polite means are available, e.g.:

pisiari-gukku aju-ssa-nngil-aq
buy 2s-3s-condit. be-bad future not 3s-indic.
'It would be good if you bought it'

apiri-niar-pakkit niqi-si-sinnaa-sura-lunga
ask try 1s-2s-indic. meat buy can think-that 1s-cont.
'I would like to ask you if I could buy some meat'

Requests for permission may be expressed with affix sinnaa 'can' as well as with the optative mood (see section 1.1.1.3.1.1), as in ilaasirmaavunga 'may I come along?', where confirmation-requesting aat may further be added. Offers of assistance may be expressed by ssa plus interrogative mood (besides optative 1st person subject sentences):

ikiu-palla-ssa-vakkit
help quickly future 1s-2s-inter.
'Shall I help you a moment?'

A wide range of other speech acts may be performed with the indicative mood, e.g. apologizing (utuqqatsirpunga), promising (niriursuivunga), and naming (atsirpara); some of the formulas used are of Danish origin (by translation). Speech act expressions of greeting and parting have been directly borrowed: kutaa (from Danish 'goddag'), haluu and pai (from English). The only common native expressions here, takuqqikkumaarpugut 'so long' and inuulluarit 'farewell', are probably glosses of Danish 'vi ses igen' and 'lev vel'. There has also been a revival recently of a (half jocular) native

expression of greeting inuugujuq (literally 'and so he's alive'). Whether it really catches on remains to be seen. Note also alianaaqaatit (literally 'you are wonderful') used on greeting someone after an absence ('it's great to see you') or on parting, especially to one's host ('it was great to see you', with thanks understood - like Danish 'tak for i aften').

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. General Subordination Markers

Subordination is marked by verbal inflection alone: mood inflections are divided neatly into superordinate ones (indicative, interrogative and imperative/optative) and subordinate ones (causative, conditional, participial and contemporative), with the category of verbal 4th person (see 1.5.2.3.(b)) occurring normally only in the latter. Complex multiple embedding is rather frequent - especially in the written language. Important clues for relating subordinate clauses hierarchically to the main clause are inflectional anaphora, especially the 3rd versus 4th person distinction (also on possessed nominals), the use of specific subordinate moods in particular types of clauses, and to a lesser extent the word-order (subordinate clause constituents are for instance not often split by intrusive material or by having their object postposed). In the spoken language intonation and juncture may also play a role.

One of the subordinate moods - the contemporative - has both semantically subordinate and coordinate senses, depending partly on ordering relative to the main verb (see 1.3.1.1.1). For the incorporation of verb-extending affixes in complex word-forms resulting in what can be analysed as internal superordinate-subordinate relations see 2.2.2.2.

1.1.2.2. Noun Clauses

1.1.2.2.1. Noun Clause Markers and Ordering Relative to the Superordinate Clause

Noun clauses are, apart from the rank-shifted nominal cases described below, most commonly in the participial or in the co-referential subject case - the contemporative mood, though the causative is also common (and was once perhaps more so). Depending on the particular verb concerned, the superordinate verb may itself be transitive or intransitive, taking in the former case the object noun clause as its morphologically marked object. Except for short simple (especially contemporative) forms, an object noun clause usually follows the superordinate verb, particularly if it represents the essential new information or is notably 'heavy'.

A noun clause may itself contain an adverbial contempora-

tive 'co-verb' (or other embedded clause) and acts just as a main clause as regards word-order variations (see 1.2.1.2.6). It should be pointed out that most noun clauses are not in fact nominal and it is therefore preferable to speak of object (and subject) clauses.

1.1.2.2.2. Different types of Noun Clause

It is possible to divide noun clauses into six main subdivisions (including indirect statements, questions and commands):

(a) Mental states and activities. Among the principal superordinate verbs here are iqqaa(ma)- 'remember', niriug- 'hope', puigur- 'forget', pasi-, 'suspect', ilimagi- 'expect', paasi- 'understand', piqqissimissutigi- 'regret', qulari- 'doubt', ilisima- 'know' (objectively - fact/person), nalu- 'be ignorant about/not know', nalunngit- 'know/be acquainted with', kissaatigi- 'wish', isumaqar- 'think' and isumaliur- 'consider/think'. All of these are here transitive with the exception of isumaqar- and isumaliur-, niriug- and, optionally, iqqaa(ma)- and nalunngit-. The object clause verb is most commonly in the participial mood or, in the co-referential subject case, in the contemporative. The causative mood is also possible, though in the spoken language it is felt as somewhat archaic or formal, except in cases such as with iqqaama- 'remember' where it is a question of 'the time when', i.e. when the temporal (and causal) sense of that mood is appropriate. Dialect difference may also be involved (causative more common in the South?) and there may often be a nuance between use of the causative for a definite, objective fact and the participial for a proposition believed or otherwise mentally entertained. In more formal/literary style an object clause with 1st or 2nd person subject (or 4th person in-transitive - forms that contrast with 3rd person ones) may be in the participial or the causative mood even in the co-referential subject case (e.g. isumaqarpunga tikissasunga 'I think I'll come' and ilimagaa tikissagini 'he expected to come to them', and see the example with piqqissimissutigi- below). Occasionally the subordinate clause may be in the indicative mood, in apposition to the main verb (see the example with nalunngit- below). The contemporative may be found today in object clauses even in non-co-referential cases, but this is not considered strictly correct usage. All verbs mentioned here may be derivationally extended (e.g. passivized), the co-referential condition applying to the derived subject.

isumaqar-puq kinguraar-tariaqa-ssa-llugu
 think 3s-indic.replace must future (4s-)3s-cont.
 'He_i thought he_i would have to replace him_j'

ilimag-aa angaju-ni irniinnaq
 expect 3s-3s-indic. elder-brother his.-refl. soon
 aallar-niar-tuq
 leave future 3s-part.

'He_i expected his_i elder brother would soon leave'

Kaali-p siunirta-ri-gaa
 Kaali rel. goal have-as 3s-3s-part.
 nalu-junnaar-paa
 not-know no-longer 3s-3s-indic.

'He knew that K. had it as his goal'

paasi-nngil-luinnar-para
 understand not completely 1s-3s-indic.
 ilaa-juma-sutit
 come-along want 2s-part.

'I didn't understand at all that you wanted to come along'

iqqaama-vaa taamani Uummanna-mut
 remember 3s-3s-indic. at-that-time Uummannaq all.
 tikim-mat
 arrive 3s-caus.

'He_i remembered how he_j had arrived in U. that time'

piqquissimissutigi-sar-para taamaaliu-rakkit
 regret habit. 1s-3s-indic. do-thus 1s-2s-caus.

'I regret having done that to you'

ilisima-vaa urni-ssa-giga
 know 3s-3s-indic. come-to future 1s-3s-part.

'He_i knew I would come to him_j'

puigur-piuk tamaaniit-tariaqa-nngin-navit
 forget 2s-3s-inter. be-here must not 2s-caus.

'Have you forgotten that you shouldn't be here?'

nalunnigil-at arvini(q)-pingasu-nut
 know 2s-3s-indic. eight all.

atua-lir-pugut
 study begin 1p-indic.

'You know we started studying at eight o'clock'

paasi-niqar-puq tiki-ssa-sut
 understand passive 3s-indic. come future 3p-part.

'It was understood that they would come'

isumaqar-put taku-niqa-ssa-natik
 think 3p-indic. see passive future 4p-neg.-cont.

'They_i thought that they_i would not be seen'

The verb ilitsuri- 'come to/become conscious' is used in a similar construction, but note the special meaning that ensues:

ilitsura-anga taanna
 become-conscious 1s-indic. that
 taamaat-tu-u-suq
 be-thus intr.-part. be 3s-part.
 'That has been that way as long as I can remember'

Note also transitive derivational affixes suri and (ga)sugi 'think that' (for other affixes of mental activity see 2.2.2.2. (a)).

anaana-ata sinis-sur-aa
 mother his-rel. sleep think-that 3s-3s-indic.
 'His mother thought he was asleep'

As an example of a double-embedding:

isumaqar-punga pivvissa-nngur-tuq
 think 1s-indic. time become 3s-part.
 uqarvigi-ssa-llugit
 talk-to future (1p-)3p-cont.
 'I think the time has come to talk to them'

In archaic (literary) style the object marking of the superordinate verb may refer to the subject (or in the co-referential contemporative case also the object) of the subordinate noun clause rather than to that clause as a whole:

nalunngiI-aanga urni-ssa-ginni
 know 3s-1s-indic. come-to future 1s-4s-part.
 'He_i knew I would come to him_i'

(b) Sensory perception and experience. The principal superordinate verbs here include misigi- 'experience/feel', malugi- 'notice', sinnattur- 'dream', tupigi- 'be afraid', taku- 'see', tusar- 'hear', qinnguar- 'see through binoculars, etc.', tikit- and naapit- 'come across -ing', pi(liriar)- 'notice' and pinialir- 'discover'. Of these only sinnattur- and optionally tusar- is intransitive, though many of the others may take intransitive inflections in a reflexive sense (and as with other verbs governing an object clause intransitive - e.g. passive - derived forms are possible). Especially with the verbs of 'coming across' the participial mood is normal in the subordinate clause, where its sense may be close to the temporal use of that mood; a clearly temporal sense may be indicated by placing the clause before the superordinate verb (e.g. by putting takuaa last in the first example below, the interpretation then being 'when he (the other) was about to set off he saw him'). With the other verbs the causative mood is also possible, though generally only when a more or less causal element is present (or as an archaism). In the co-

referential subject case the contemporative is normal for all these verbs. With verbs of seeing or 'coming across' the object inflection of the main verb may agree with the subject of the subordinate verb as in sinittunga takuaanga 'he saw me sleeping', but this is no longer the case with the other verbs, which are usually analysable as taking the whole subordinate clause as their object.

taku-aa aalla-lir-suq
see 3s-3s-indic. leave begin 3s-part.
'He saw him leaving'

aa-gaanga taku-isiuk
fetch 3s-1s-part. see 2p-3s-inter.
'Did you see him fetch me?'

nakursa-kkut naapip-pavut umiar-tik
doctor and-family meet 1p-3p-indic. (skin-)boat their-refl.
amu-li-raat
pull-up begin 3p-3s-part.
'We came across the doctor and his family pulling their boat up'

misiga-aq issia-lluni
experience 3s-indic. sit 4s-cont.
'He found himself sitting down'

tupigi-nngitsuugassaangil-aq qallunaat
be-surprised cannot-help-but 3s-indic. Danes-rel.
uqaasi-i ilinniartitsissutissa-nut
language their curriculum all.
ilanngun-niqar-sima-nngim-mata
add passive perf. not 3p-caus.
'One can't help being surprised that Danish wasn't added to the curriculum'

In the older language a subject-to-object raising construction with, as it were, double object reference on the main verb was rather common, as in:

irnrir-it maluga-ara asa-nngik-kaatit
son thy notice 1s-3s-indic. love not 3s-2s-part.
'I noticed that your son doesn't love you'

The modern language prefers irnrirpit (in the relative case) following the main verb here, though the construction can still be heard and is in fact quite normal with naapit- and taku- (see the third sentence example above). There is thus a difference between nakursaq takuaa majuartuq 'he saw the doctor coming up' and takuaa nakursaq majuartuq 'he saw that the doctor was coming up'. Compare the construction with nominal object plus contemporative mood co-verb in conjunction with such verb in 1.5.2.3.(b) (the sentence beginning 'ajuqi aatsaat...'), and also the following where causative affix tit introduces a

further argument as direct object:

naminiir-sinnaa-lluta silarsuaq taku-tit-sigu
do-oneself can 1p-cont. world see cause 1p-3s-imp.
'Let us show the world that we can manage ourselves'

In the following sentence the final clause may perhaps best be regarded as loosely temporal or relative (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.1.) rather than parallel to the preceding examples:

irn-i qajartur-tuq
son his-refl. be-out-in-kayak 3s-part.
qinguar-paa natsirsu-up
see-through-binoculars 3s-3s-indic. hooded-seal rel.
sursuk-kaa
attack 3s-3s-part.

'He_j saw his son_j through his binoculars_j being attacked
by a hooded seal while in his_j kayak'

Note also the possibility of two superordinate clauses in apposition:

taku-ssa-vat nakussatsin-niqa-ssa-atit
see future 2s-3s-indic. strengthen passive future 2s-indic.
'You will see you'll be strengthened (by it)'

(c) Evaluation. This category concerns subject as well as object noun clauses (passive verbs in the other categories also result in the former, of course). The superordinate clause verb expresses positive or negative evaluation of the proposition contained in the subordinate clause. The causative mood in the latter is common (a causative or temporal sense being appropriate), but the participial is also possible, e.g. in the first sentence, and note also the common use of 'impersonal' 4th person contemporative verbs:

aju-raluar-puq siuli-vut
be-bad but... 3s-indic. ancestor our-pl.
allas-sinnaa-nngim-mata
write can not 3p-caus.
'It is a pity our ancestors couldn't write'

mianirsur-luni ajunngin-niru-ssa-aq
be-careful 4s-cont. be-good more future 3s-indic.
'It would be best to be careful'

Nassuttuq aasarsiur-viga-lugu
Nassuttuq pass-summer have-as-place-of (4s-3s)-cont.
nuanni-qa-aq
be-fun very 3s-indic.
'What fun it is passing the summer at N.!!'

uan-nut iluaquta-a-vuq
me all. advantage be 3s-indic.

naligi-ngaja-kka-n-nik
 have-as-equivalent almost pass.-part. my instr.-pl.
 qiturna-qar-mata
 child have 3p-caus.

'It was an advantage for me that they had children of
 the same age as me'

For an example with qutsavigi- 'be grateful' see 1.6.1.1 .

(d) Decision and intention. All three subordinate moods may be found, as for category (a) (of which this may be regarded as a peripheral sub-category); often a derivational affix of wanting or futurity is present (see also 1.1.2.4.2.3):

uuqattaa-ssa-vara kalaallisut allal-lunga
 try future 1s-3s-indic. Greenlandic write 1s-cont.
 'I shall try writing Greenlandic'

aalajangir-niqar-puq Nuum-mut
 decide passive 3s-indic. Nuuk all.
 ilinnia-qqik-kiartur-tussaa-sunga
 study further go-and should 1s-part.

'It was decided that I should go to N. to continue my
 studies'

isumaqatigiip-pugut maani ata-ssa-lluta
 agree 1p-indic. here stay-on future 1p-cont.
 'We agreed to stay on here'

1.1.2.2.3. Indirect Statements

Indirect statements (object clauses of reporting, etc.) are treated in the same manner as other noun clauses (but see 1.1.1.1 for enclitic guuq, affix nirar and other means available). There is no 'sequence of tenses'. The principal superordinate verbs found here include uqar- 'say', uqarvigi- 'say to', uqaatigi- 'say of s.th./s.o.', niriursur- 'promise', allag- 'write', taa- and iqqaa- 'mention', uqaluttuari- and uqaluusiri- 'tell about', uqaluttuut(i)- 'tell (about s.th.)', nalunaar- 'inform/announce', unnir- 'say(about)', and nassuiaa- 'explain'. Of these all are transitive except uqar-, allag-, nalunaar- and nassuiaa- (though these may have transitive derived forms and some of the others may be used intransitively in a reflexive sense). The subordinate clause is usually in the participial mood (contemporative in the co-referential subject case), though again the causative is found in more literary (or archaic) contexts or with a nuance of objectivity as opposed to hearsay parallel to the distinction under category (a) above (hardly with iqqaa-, however, whose other meaning under (a) would be understood).

uqar-sinnaa-vunga tama-asa uuqattaa-sima-llugit
 say can 1s-indic. all 3p try perf. (1s-)3p-cont.
 'I can say that I have tried them all'

uqaatig-aat iqiasut-tutit
 say-about 3p-3s-indic. be-lazy 2s-part.
 'They say you are lazy'

nalunaar-puq ilaa-sinnaa-nngin-nami
 announce 3s-indic. come-along can not 4s-caus.
 'He_i announced that he_i couldn't come along'

taa-riir-para Iruupa-mi
 mention already 1s-3s-indic. Europe loc.
 sursut-tu-nik tusar-tugut
 fight intr.-part. instr.-pl. hear 1p-part.

'I've already mentioned that we heard that they were fighting in Europe'

In the last sentence tusar-, used intransitively, takes an instrumental (nominal) argument.

With transitive derived verbs requiring an addressee object, inflectional agreement is with the latter rather than with the subordinate clause or its subject:

uqarvigi-ssa-vakka friir-tutit
 say-to future 1s-3p-indic. be-free-from-school 2s-part.
 'I shall tell them that you are free from school today'

Note the following examples of more complex embedding:

nuli-i uqaluttuup-paa irnirsiaq
 wife his-refl. tell (-about) 3s-3s-indic. foster-son
 avunna-ak-kuma-llugu
 go-north with in-order-to (4s-)3s-cont.
 kajumissaa-ssa-gamiuk
 encourage future 4s-3s-caus.

'He_i told his_i wife he_i would encourage the fosterson_j to go north with him_i.' (literally: 'because he_i wanted to go north with him_j')

kukku-ssa-nngil-anga uqa-ssa-guma
 make-mistake future not 1s-indic. say future 1s-condit.
 uqaluttuarnir-tik inuutissarsiu^ttigi-sa-raat
 telling-stories their-refl. make-living-from habit. 3p-3s-part.

'I probably won't be mistaken if I say that they made their living from telling stories'

A special construction can be found with intransitive unnir- and the instrumental case of (3rd person) intransitive participial forms (earlier it was used with other verbs such as uqar-, but this is archaic today):

unik-kuma-nngit-su-mik unnir-puq
 stop want not intr.-part. instr. say 3s-indic.

'He_i said he_i didn't want to stop'

unikkumanani with the contemporative would be more colloquial. The verb is related to impersonal quotative particle unnia used as follows:

unnia Qaanaa-mi najugaqar-tuq
they-say Thule loc. live 3s-part.
'They say he lives at Thule'

uqar- with the participial mood is far more common however (see 1.1.1.1. (b)).

1.1.2.2.4. Indirect Questions

Questions are indirectly reported by a main verb of asking, generally apiri-, and affix nir 'I wonder/whether' on a participial (or contemporative) mood subordinate verb.

aggir-sinnaa-nir-suq apira-ara
come can I-wonder 3s-part. ask 1s-3s-indic.
'I asked him whether he could come'

It is possible to use affix (ga)sugi/suri (plus contemporative) instead of nir here if the questioner is more sure of the probable answer, as in:

pirli-li-rasuga-lugu apira-ara
starve begin think-that (1s-)3s-cont. ask 1s-3s-indic.
'I asked (him) if he was hungry'

With a passive main verb the participial rather than the contemporative mood may be found even if the subject of the subordinate verb is grammatically co-referential with the superordinate subject:

apiri-niqar-tar-punga suna-rpiaq
ask passive habit. 1s-indic. what exactly
siunirta-ri-ni-riga
goal have-as I-wonder 1s-3s-part.
'I would be asked what exactly my goal was'

Main verbs not directly concerned with reporting questions may also be found in this construction with q-words (not necessarily with nir):

isumaliuutigi-saannar-paa suuq taama
think-about continually 3s-3s-indic. why thus
pi-sa-raani
do habit. 3s-4s-part.
'He_i would continually think about why he_j treated him_i thus'

iqqaama-nngil-ara qassi-riar-sima-nir-lunga
remember not 1s-3s-indic. how-many do-times perf. I-wonder
1s-cont.

'I don't recall how many times I did it'

su-tur-tuq nalu-ara
what eat 3s-part. not-know 1s-3s-indic.

'I don't know what he is eating'

tusaa-sinnaa-lluar-paa suna uqallisiri-gaat
hear can well 3s-3s-indic. what discuss 3p-3s-part.

'She could easily hear what they were discussing'

There are also non-finite (. nominalized) possibilities:

apir-aa suuq naluraa-ssa-nngin-nir-mi-nik
ask 3s-3s-indic. why wade future not nom. his-refl. instr.

'He asked her why he shouldn't go wading'

sumiin-ni-ni paasi-nngil-aa
be-where nom.his-refl. understand not 3s-3s-indic.

'He₁ didn't understand where he₁ was'

For the limited use of enclitic quuq with indirect question force see 1.1.1.2.1.1.

1.1.2.2.5. Indirect Commands

Indirect commands/requests, etc. are expressed by the use of transitive verbal affix qqu (also qu, especially in Maniitsoq) 'ask/want to', with or without a superordinate verb of asking/telling (in the former case the subordinate verb-form is in the contemporative mood); the negative qqunngit may express a prohibition. For a 'remote' object in the allative case when the underlying verb is transitive see the 2nd example below and 1.2.1.2.2. (b).

naalaa-qqissaa-qqu-aa
listen carefully tell-to 3s-3s-indic.

'He told him to listen carefully'

quaq uatsin-nut niri-qqu-aa
frozen-meat us all. eat tell-to 3s-3s-indic.

'He told us to eat the frozen meat'

niri-qqu-nngil-aatigut
eat tell-to not 3p-1p-indic.

'They forbade /didn't tell us to eat'

uqarvig-aat aggi-qqu-llugu
say-to 3p-3s-indic. come tell-to (4p-)3s-cont.

'They told him to come'

In combination with 'empty' stem pi- it forms an independent verbal base piquu(si)- which takes an object clause in the participial mood (more literary also causative):

naalagaq piquu-si-vuq aggi-ssa-suq
master order $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-indic. come future 3s-part.

'The master ordered that he come'

Other superordinate verbs of ordering, forbidding, warning against, suggesting, etc. require a subordinate clause in the participial or, with qqu, the contemporative mood:

siunnirsuutig-aa miiqqa-nut danskit uqaasi-i
 suggest 3s-3s-indic. children all. Danes-rel. language their
 ilinniartitsissuti-gi-niqa-li-ssa-sut
 subject have-as passive begin future 3p-part.

'He suggested that the children should be taught Danish'

inirtir-paanga ullumi aalla-qqu-nanga
 forbid 3s-1s-indic. today leave tell-to (4s-)1s-neg.-cont.

'He forbade me to leave today'

qinnuig-aa uqaasiqa-qqu-llugu
 beg 3s-3s speak-about ask-to (4s-)3s-cont.

'He asked him to speak (about s.th.)'

Note also the co-referential subject conditions in the following passive sentence, where passivization of the main verb appears not to affect the underlying anaphora (compare with 1.5.2.3. (b)):

naviir-niqar-puq taamaaliu-qqin-navii-qqu-llugu
 scold passive 3s-indic. do-thus again no-longer tell-to
 (4s-)3s-cont.

'He was scolded and told not to do it again'

Indirect questions and commands may be combined (a matter of successive dependency):

apiri-qqu-aatit ilaa-juma-nir-sutit
 ask tell-to 3s-2s-indic. come-along want I-wonder 2s-part.

'He said to ask you if you wanted to come along'

Commands may be directly quoted with enclitic guuq:

qaa-gitsi-guuq
 come 2p-imp. quote

'He/they said "come", or: 'I'm to tell you to come'

1.1.2.2.6. Non-finite Noun Clauses

Nominalizing affix niq can convert a clause of any degree of complexity to an NP acting as object or subject of a superordinate verb. The borderline between complex derived noun and rank-shifted clause may be obscured here (thus akiqanngitsumik nakursartittarniq 'free medical treatment' as an ordinary NP).

nunaqarvim-mi savaatiqarvi-u-su-mi
 settlement loc. sheep-herding-place be intr.-part. loc.

nukappiara-a-lluni sava-liri-niq
 young-boy be 4s-cont. sheep be-occupied-with nom.

nuannir-ta-qa-aq
 be-fun habit. very 3s-indic.

'It is fun looking after sheep when one is a young boy in

a sheep-herding settlement'

sungiusima-varput uqitsursiu-inna-rani
 be-used-to 1p-3s-indic. have-it-easy only 4s-neg.-cont.
 inuu-niq
 live nom.

'We are used to living not only in easy times'

umiarsu-up qassi-nut tikin-ni-ssa-a
 ship rel. how-many all. arrive nom. future its
 nalunngil-ara
 know 1s-3s-indic.

'I know when the ship will arrive'

In the first example savaliriniq 'sheep-herding' on its own is sufficient as nominal subject. Note the impersonal use of the 4th person contemporative mood in the full sentence; for examples of this in subject clauses see 1.1.2.2. (c). The contemporative in these constructions can be said to be non-finite in so far as it de-specifies the subject. The construction in for example nalunngilaat uqaasissalik 'they knew he had something to say' with denominal nominal affix lik 'having/provided with' is not strictly parallel to the nominalizations here discussed, since this affix is simply the equivalent here of qartuq ('have' plus participial mood). Other nominalizing affixes cannot be used this way.

Nominalization by niq removes the marking of mood, person and number required in the corresponding finite clause, but the resulting nominal may be inflected for case and for personal possession. The latter marking can reintroduce number and person referring to the subject of the clause. If the subject is overtly expressed it will be in the relative case:

nalu-aa qinnuta-ata qanuq
 not-know 3s-3s-indic. request his-rel. how
 naammassi-niqar-ni-ssa-a
 implement passive nom. future its

'She didn't know how his request would be implemented'

Any other verbal category represented by a derivational affix (e.g of tense or modality) is maintained in the nominalized form, but there are difficulties in maintaining an inflectionally expressed object if the underlying verb is transitive. If it is overtly expressed as an independent nominal it may appear in the instrumental case in the corresponding 'half-transitive' construction:

ikinngum-mi-nik tuqut-si-nir-a
 fricnd his-refl. instr. kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. nom. his
 tusar-para
 hear 1s-3s-indic.

'I heard of his killing his friend'

suggests more 'the way the country is governed (by someone)', whereas the former, less personal, is more 'government of the land' (especially as imposed from without). Compare these both with naalakkirsuunira 'his rule' on the corresponding half-transitivized base, and with:

timmisartut utir-tin-niar-ni-ssa-an-nut
 aeroplanes-rel.return cause try nom. future their all.
 pissuta-a-vuq
 reason be 3s-indic.

'It is the reason for trying to send the aeroplanes back'

This contrasts with the case of nominalizer (ss)ut (see 2.2.1.2) which may also be attached to transitive bases, in which case there is no underlying passive sense, thus pillaat 'punishment (given)' and pillaataa 'the punishment he meted out' and, with passive niqar, pillarniqaat 'punishment (received - its nature or cause)', both from pillar- 'punish'.

A nominalization with niq does not have to be marked for possession if the meaning is general (for any subject):

allannir-nik uqaasi-nngu-kka-nik
 letter instr.-pl. word become pass.-part. instr.-pl.
 paasi-nnis-sinnaa-nngin-niq qallunaatut
 understand $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. can not nom. in-Danish
 taa-niqar-tar-puq ordblindhed
 call passive habit. 3s-indic. ordblindhed
 'Not being able to understand letters (forming words) is called 'ordblindhed' in Danish'

An important exception to what has been said about the representation of inflectional objects in nominalized clauses is the construction consisting of such a clause followed immediately by one of the verbs ajur-, artur-, nalu- or sapir- (or one or two other less common ones) expressing inability or - in the case of ajur- (literally 'be bad') - habitual negation. Here the main verb may be transitive or intransitive depending on the underlying transitivity of the nominalized verb (though artur- can only be transitive), which can then be preserved, overt subject/object arguments not needing to be altered, and the underlying subject/object of the nominalized verb will be referred to by the transitive inflection of the superordinate verb:

kaman-niq ajur-puq
 get-angry nom. ajur- 3s-indic.
 'He never gets angry'

amaquu-t niri-niqar-niq ajur-put
 wolf pl. eat passive nom. ajur- 3p-indic.
 'One does not eat wolves'

niqi niri-niq ajur-paat
 meat eat nom. ajur- 3p-3s-indic.
 'They don't eat meat/can't eat the meat'

uqarvigi-niq sapir-para
 say-to nom. not-manage 1s-3s-indic.
 'I cannot/dare not talk to him (about it)'

Note also the related construction with impersonal *nar* giving the nominalized (transitive) verb a passive-like *senšē*, and the possibility of re-nominalization as a 'relative clause':

tamakku tigu-niq ajur-na-qa-at
 these-things take nom. ajur- be-such-as-to very 3p-indic.
 'They are impossible to take'

angut naala-nngitsuur-niq sapi-ga-a
 man obey happen-not-to nom. not-manage pass.-part. his
 'the man he had to obey'

In general, nominalized/rank-shifted noun clauses with *niq* can be used with the majority of verbs discussed under 1.1.2.2. 2 -5 (except for ones like *uqar-* that cannot take a nominal direct object and those like *naapit-* that take a person as direct object). They express the more abstract notion of fact or state or episode viewed as a whole (see Lyons 1977: 443ff. for 'third-order nominals') rather than experienced or reported action, etc. (Lyons' 'second-order nominals'), which are usually expressed by finite subordinate clauses. Thus the difference between *uqarpuq iisaqarnani* 'he said he'd had nothing to eat' and:

quliar-puq taassum-annga
 have-stomach-rumbles 3s-indic. that abl.
 iqqaa-sin-niqar-luni iti-rami=li
 remember cause passive 4s-cont. wake up 4s-caus. li
 su-mik ii-sa-qa-nngin-nir-mi-nik
 what instr. swallow pass.-part. have not nom. his-refl.
 instr.
 'His stomach rumbled, reminding him that he hadn't had anything to eat since when he woke up'

As simple nominals, e.g. *savaliriniq* 'sheep-herding' above, forms with *niq* refer to the activity, etc. in general (but with transitive stem cf. *naapinni* 'a meeting').

There are other nominalizing affixes such as *ssusiq* 'quality of' and *usiq* 'manner of', but they are only used with suitable verbal bases of quality and action (see 2.2.1.2): there are only very limited possibilities for attaching them to complex clauses - e.g. with semi-bound stem *it-* 'be' and its derivatives, as in *kalaallit qanu(q)-iliuusiat* 'the way Greenlanders do it'.

1.1.2.3. Adjective (Relative) Clauses

1.1.2.3.1. How Marked

The borderline between relative clauses and nominal constituents in simple apposition within a complex NP is not clear-cut since there is no morphological category of adjective in West Greenlandic nor any specific marker of relative clauses. Clausal modification of nominal heads is expressed principally by intransitive participial mood verb-forms (or their equivalents in suuq, as in angisuuq 'big') or by possessed or non-possessed passive participles agreeing in number and case with the preceding head; however, ordinary nominal forms (agreeing similarly) may also perform this function, both simple and derived (cf. 1.2.5.2.1):

niviarsiaq kalaallisut ilinnia-lir-suq
 girl Greenlandic learn begin intr.-part.
 'the/a girl who has begun learning Greenlandic'

angum-mut ippassaq naapi-ta-n-nut
 man all. yesterday meet pass.-part. my all.
 tunniup-para
 give 1s-3s-indic.
 'I gave it to the man I met yesterday'

nasaq tiqqissa-mi-gut puisi(p)-amir-ta-lik
 cap peak its-refl. pros. seal-skin pertaining provided-
 with
 'a cap (provided) with a peak of seal-skin'

Note that participial forms in suq, etc. have two distinct functions: in verbal usage (e.g. in object and temporal clauses) they form a fully inflectible intransitive correlate to the transitive participial mood (-gaa, etc.) whereas in nominal use ('intransitive participle') - either as head or modifier of a NP - they are generally not marked for person (other than the third). Forms in suuq only perform the second (nominal) function. 1st and 2nd person markings may reappear however in headless relative clauses occupying an intermediate position between the two functions, as in amirikamiuusugut piilitirpassuaqarpugut 'we Americans have many cars' (a personal pronoun, e.g. uagut 'we', or a general nominal like inuaat 'people', may precede the form as head). Note also the following:

kalaali-u-sugut taakku-u-lluta isirsima-vugut
 Greenlander be 1p-part. those be 1p-cont. be-inside 1p-
 indic.
 'Precisely us Greenlanders were there (in the house/
 room, etc.)'

There is some constraint on verbal affixes that can occur in participial forms used as relative clauses, namely 'senten-

tial' affixes on verbs (see 2.2) such as ssa and galuar and nguatsiar are not found here - except in derived forms clearly of a rank-shifted nature, as in aappilliunniq qaammataassa-
nguatsiartug 'a pink glow which presumably will be the moon'. In some cases it is possible, however, to substitute corresponding nominal affixes, e.g. ikinngutaa aqagu tikittusaaq 'his friend who is to arrive tomorrow' (instead of tikissasuuq, which is perfectly acceptable as, for instance, a noun clause). 'Strengthener' qi too is common here, e.g. angiqisuuq 'very big'. It is also not possible to create relative clauses with corresponding transitive participial mood forms. Usually it is possible to employ a possessed passive participle form as illustrated above when the verb in the relative clause is transitive; for more complex semantic relationships to the head, nominalized verbal bases with vvigi and utigi, etc. can be used (see 1.1.2.3.7 below). Sometimes (e.g. when the relationship is one of non-restrictive place or time) it will be necessary to have two independent sentences linked anaphorically:

Maniitsu-mut ilaga-akka tassani Hansi
Maniitsoq all. accompany 1s-3p-indic. there Hansi
naapip-para
meet 1s-3s-indic.

'I accompanied them to M., where I met Hansi'

A relative clause may occasionally have a nuance of 'for one who', as in the following:

uuma una qulingilua-nik ukiu-qa-lir-suuq
my! that nine instr. year have begin intr.-part.
angi-ngaa-rami
be-big very 4s-caus.

'My, she is big for a child of nine!'

Derived forms with affixes such as (v)vik 'time/place of', (ss)ut(i) 'means/reason for' and qat 'fellow', as in 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.1.1. (a) may also appear as relative-clause-like constituents in apposition to a head nominal (or headless), e.g. kangirluk puisinniarvik 'a fjord where one catches seals' and (headless) ilinnit savissiaara 'the knife I bought/got from you' with siaq 'thing bought/received'.

1.1.2.3.2. Restrictive and Non-restrictive Clauses

It is sometimes possible to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses by use of the causative mood rather than the participial in the latter case (the participial form may, however, have a non-restrictive sense):

kalaalli-t qallunaatut uqalus-sinnaa-gamik
Greenlander pl. Danish speak can 4p-caus.

(paasi-ssa-vaat)

(understand future 3p-3s-indic.)

'Greenlanders, who can speak Danish, (will understand him)'

kalaalli-t qallunaatut uqalus-sinnaa-su-t
Greenlander pl. Danish speak can intr.-part. pl.
(paasissavaat)

'Greenlanders who can speak Danish (will understand him)'

The addition of kisimi/taamaallaat 'only' before kalaallit in the last sentence makes the restrictive sense clear, whereas the addition of tamarmik 'them all (subject)' before qallunaatut can be restrictive or non-restrictive but in position after the participial form the sense is generally restrictive ('only all'). Note further tamatta kalaaliusugut 'all of us Greenlanders' in the restrictive or non-restrictive sense. A non-restrictive clause is more likely to have its own intonational contour.

1.1.2.3.3. Position of the Head Noun

A relative clause will follow the head noun just as in the case of (other) nominal constituents in apposition to a head nominal (see 1.2.5.2). Thus arnaq kalaaliq is '(the/a) woman who is Greenlandic' or simply '(the/a) Greenlandic woman', whereas kalaaliq arnaq is '(the/a) Greenlandic woman who is a woman' or simply '(the/a) female Greenlandic'. Either constituent can appear in a derived participial form to emphasize the relative (class-assigning) sense: arnaq kalaaliusugut or kalaaliq arnaasugut. With case-marked nominals expressing location (or other spatio-temporal relations) the head will follow unless it is relativized in participial form: pisiniarvimmi arnaq but arnaq pisiniarvimmiittuq 'the woman (who is) in the shop'. There is thus no independent marker of the relativized element to be moved or deleted and the head is not 'copied' within the relative clause.

For adjectival/relative clause complements in the instrumental case with affixes like qar 'have' that incorporate the head noun, see 1.2.1.2.2. (a).

1.1.2.3.6. Headless Relative Clauses

Participial forms as in the preceding sections are commonly used as independent arguments within the clause - referring to things as well as persons - and as such can be considered to be 'headless relative clauses' although they belong morphologically together with ordinary NPs (simple or rank-shifted nominals); note also derived nominals with affixes like (v)vik 'time/place for', si 'agent/one who -s' and lik '(one) provided with', etc.

sianigi-sa-ssa-ri-ti-taa-su-t
 look-out-for pass.-part future have-as cause passive
 intr.-part. pl.

'things/persons (he was) made to look out for'

Tasiusa-mik ati-lik
 Tasiusaq instr. name provided-with
 'a place called Tasiusaq'

pi-sa-a (aki-vuq)
 do(-to) pass.-part. his (reply 3s-indic.)
 'the one he'd addressed (replied)'

ataata-mi tuqut-si-sa-a
 father his-refl-rel. kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. agent his
 'his father's murderer/the one who killed his father'

alla-ninngaanniit nassiun-niqar-tu-t
 other abl.-pl. send passive intr.-part. pl.
 'things sent from elsewhere'

suq can only be attached to intransitive bases, except when the meaning is reflexive, as in akunnirmiuliuttuq 'mediator' (cf. akunnirmiuliuppa 'he put him in the middle'). As lexicalized nominals (especially following half-transitivized bases), these forms with suq may be equivalent to ones with agentive nominalizer si (see 2.2.1.2), which is not so strictly limited to half-transitivized bases, thus either ilitsirsurti or ilitsirsuisuq 'guide/overseer' from transitive ilitsirsur- 'guide'.

1.1.2.3.7. Elements which Can be Relativized

Any nominal constituent in a main clause may be followed by a relative participial clause (in apposition) agreeing as to person, number and case:

nukappiaraq qimmi-mut kii-sit-tuq pulaar-para
 boy dog all. bite cause intr.-part. visit 1s-3s-
 indic.

'I visited the boy who had been bitten by a dog'

nukappiaqqa-mut qimmi-mut kii-sit-tu-mut
 boy all. dog all. bite cause intr.-part. all.
 tunniup-para
 give 1s-3s-indic.

'I gave it to the boy who was bitten by a dog'

nukappiaqqa-p qimmi-mut kii-sit-tu-p
 boy rel. dog all. bite cause intr.-part. rel.
 uqaluttuar-aa
 tell-about 3s-3s-indic.

'The boy bitten by the dog told about it'

A relative case participial form used this way can only refer

to the subject (also relative case) of the main clause - i.e. its head.

With a possessed passive participial form (or equivalent) as a relative clause the subject of that clause (i.e. passive agent) may be in the relative case, as in illu ataatap sanaa 'a house made by (his) father'. But the ablative case can also be used, especially if other nominal arguments are involved (see the example below); thus either nanuq Piitamit tuqutaq or nanuq Piitap tuqutaa 'the bear killed by P.'. This is not possible, however with dynamic passive marker niqar plus intransitive participial forms (the latter only takes possessor inflections in lexicalized nominal forms).

The word order and case-marking of other arguments remains the same as in the corresponding main clause (reached by replacing suq by indicative -vuq in the following example):

nukappiaraq Maalia-mit qimmi-mik tuni-saa-juma-suq
 boy Maalia abl. dog instr. give passive want intr.-
 part.
 'the boy who wanted to be given a dog by M.'

A possessive relationship is possible between the head nominal and the relative element (in corresponding case and number):

pana savissa-a ipis-suq
 sword blade its be-sharp intr.-part.
 'a sword whose blade is sharp'

angut aallaasa-a tigu-sa-ni nigur-niar-paa
 man gun his take pass.-part. his-refl. avoid try
 3s-3s-indic.
 'He tried to avoid the man whose gun he had taken'

niuirtuq irnir-a siurna maaniis-sima-suq
 shopkeeper son his before be-here perf. intr.-part.
 (tuqu-vuq)
 (die 3s-indic.)
 'The shopkeeper whose son was here before (died)'

Constructions such as this (whose head nominal - and the participial form in apposition - may be in any case) are only accepted in short unambiguous clauses and some speakers at least prefer using in most cases two independent sentences linked by anaphoric taassuma 'his' (cf. 1.1.2.3.1 and 1.2.5.2.10. (a)). Apart from this, relations other than subject/object between the head and the relative element can only be expressed by possessed forms of the passive participle (or other suitable nominal forms) on various types of derived verbal base, for example ones with (v)vigi 'have as place/time for':

angut isir-vigi-sa-ra
 man go-in have-as-place-of pass-part. my

'the man to whom I went in'

savik tuqut-si-ssutigi-sa-a
 knife kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. have-as-means-for pass.-part. his
 'the knife with which he killed'

ulluq aallar-vi-ssa-t
 day leave place/time-of future thy
 'the day of your departure'

inuu-qati-mi-nut/inuu-qati-gi-sa-mi-nut
 live fellow-at his-refl. all./live fellow-at have-as
 pass.-part. his-refl.all.
 niqi pisiari-artu-qqu-aa
 meat buy go-and tell-to 3s-3s-indic.

'He told the person he lived with to go and buy the meat'

helikopteri-mit ilaa-vvi-a-niit sirmirsuaq
 helicopter abl. travel-with place-of his abl. inland-ice
 taku-niqar-sinnaa-vuq
 see passive can 3s-indic.

'The inland ice could be seen from the helicopter he was travelling in'

Headless forms are also found, e.g. aallarvigisara 'the time/place I left(from)'. Note the more complex (embedded) case in the following example, where the heavy NP has also been split by the main verb (and cf. the construction with unnir- under 1.1.2.2.3):

inuit qulit najuup-put angalasarnir-mi-kkut
 people ten be-present 3p-indic. travel their-refl. pros.
 iskimuu-qar-vin-ni pissutsi-nik
 Eskimo have place loc.-pl. conditions instr.
 paasi-sima-sa-qar-tu-nik
 understand perf. pass.-part. have intr.-part. instr-pl.
 uqaatigi-sariaqar-tu-t
 say-about must intr.-part. pl.

'Ten people were present about whom it had to be said that through their travels they had an understanding of conditions in Eskimo settlements'

Due to the impossibility of using transitive participial inflected forms in relative clauses one cannot attach a transitive relative clause - with relative case subject - to a main clause NP, but it may be possible to substitute a corresponding 'half-transitive' form with instrumental case object (not necessarily in the indefinite/deemphasized object sense that construction has in superordinate clauses):

piniartuq nannu-mik tuqut-si-suq
 hunter polar-bear instr. kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. intr.-part.
 'the hunter who killed a/the bear'

utuqqaq Maratsi-mik angumiri-nnit-tuq
 old-man Maratsi instr. manage-to-meet $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. intr.-part.
 'an old man who had met M.(before he died)'

The head noun plus relative clause in these examples can be in any case form required by the syntax of the main clause (note that relative case participial forms can be found in relative clauses, as in the third example sentence of this section).

1.1.2.4. Adverb Clauses

1.1.2.4.1. General Marking and Position Relative to the Superordinate Clause

Adverb clauses of time, manner, cause, etc. generally employ a verb-form in a subordinate mood, including the contemporative, which may appear in a wide range of adverbial functions - i.e. as a co-referential 'co-verb' to a superordinate verb, as in:

irrir-lunga isir-punga
 do-hurriedly 1s-cont. go-in 1s-indic.
 'I entered quickly/in a hurry'

Such contemporative mood forms take their full range of inflectional person/number endings. In this instance there is also a corresponding (uninflected) particle irniinnaq 'quickly' (with affix innaq 'just/only'). As a transitive example, observe also:

iluatsi-qqinnaar-lugu naapip-para
 be-lucky(-as-regards) completely (1s-)3s-cont. meet 1s-3s-
 indic.
 'I arrived just at the right moment to meet him'

When the semantic relation between a superordinate verb and a contemporative mood form - or in the non-co-referential case, the participial mood - is particularly loose an 'absolute' type of construction is approached, as in:

qanu(q)-ili-llunga angakku-nngu-ssa-anga
 act-how 1s-cont. angakkuq become future 1s-indic.
 uanga=lu nalu-llunga
 me and not-know 1s-cont.
 'How will I ever become an angakkuq (shaman), me being ignorant?'

aqagu unnu-kkut Iruupa-mi arstartartu-t
 tomorrow evening pros. Europe loc. football-player pl.
 pikkurin-nirsa-at isiginnaar-sinnaa-vatit asulu
 be-good-at most their-pl. watch can 2s-3p-indic. moreover
 qalipaati-qa-ri-llutik
 colour have also 4p-cont.

'Tomorrow evening you can see the best football players of Europe, in colour moreover'

The participial mood is often used to express temporal subordinate clauses and intransitive 3rd person singular forms in the instrumental case represent the most common means of forming adverbs of all sorts. These include complex derived forms and whole rank-shifted clauses:

pissusissamisuur-palun-nia-vis-su-mik
be-natural seem try really intr.-part. instr.
'trying hard to appear natural'

kulturi-kkut sunniuti-qar-luar-tu-mik
culture pros. effect have well intr.-part. instr.
'having considerable cultural effect'

Derived nominals with non-finite *nig* in various cases may also have adverbial function, as under 1.1.2.4.2.1 below. In most (finite) subordinate clauses the 3rd/4th person distinction enters (see examples below).

Ordering of adverbial elements relative to the superordinate verb depends very much on their heaviness and on whether or not they represent essential or new information in the sentence (see 1.13.2.3 & 1.11.2.2.1.4), though the commonest, least-marked position is initially (for sentential adjuncts) or just before the superordinate verb (for non-heavy predicate adjuncts), as discussed under 1.2.1.2.6. An adverb clause may include its own embedded subordinate clauses (e.g. contemporaneous co-verbs) and may or may not take its own intonational phrase-contour (the latter possibility is more common with co-verbs preceding a superordinate verb, for example).

1.1.2.4.2. Particular Adverb Clause Types

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time

The causative mood is used for expressing past time, whereas the conditional is used for future time:

apuum-mat atirviur-parput
arrive 3s-caus. go-down-to-meet 1p-3s-indic.
'When he arrived we went down to meet him'

apuuk-kuni niri-uma-ssa-aq
arrive 4s-condit. eat want future 3s-indic.
'When he arrives he will want to eat'

Note the use of verbalized time expressions in such forms as sapaatiuummat 'when it was/on Sunday' and ulluminngurmat 'earlier today/part of the day had gone since', and the repeated causative forms in pigami(li) pigami 'after some time/time passed and'. A derived variant of the causative mood is used to express contingent or habitual time:

ani-gaa-ngat anaana-a irsi-lir-sar-puq
 go-out every-time 3s-caus. mother his be-scared begin
 habit. 3s-indic.

'Whenever he would go out his mother would get scared'

Various 'conjunctive' affixes in combination with specific mood alternatives express temporal relations to the action of the main verb, the most important being the use of causative affix tit with subject/object contemporative mood forms for simultaneous (durative) action. The formal object marked on the contemporative inflection indicates the subject of the underlying verb if intransitive or its object if transitive (the 'remote object' being in the allative). The subject is, as usual with this mood, grammatically co-referential with that of the main verb - and this includes the reflexive case with 1st, 2nd or 4th person inflection:

aallar-sima-til-lusi Kaali uqaluup-para
 leave perf. cause (1s-)-2p-cont. Kaali speak-with 1s-3s-
 indic.

'While you were away I spoke with K.'

sinit-sil-lunga sinnattur-punga
 sleep cause 1s-cont. dream 1s-indic.

'While I was sleeping I had a dream'

pavaniit-sil-luni arviq taku-aa
 be-up-there cause 4s-cont. whale see 3s-3s-indic.

'While he_i was up there he_i saw a whale'

(Aggu-mut) arviq isigi-til-lugu tuqu-vuq
 (Aggu all.)whale look-at cause (4s-)3s-cont. die 3s-indic.

'While he_i (Aggu) was looking at the whale he_j died'

Compare the last example with the following, where the object of the underlying verb is the content of the main clause and Aggu is the underlying subject, coreferential or not with 'his':

Aggu isigi-til-lugu nuka-a
 Aggu look-at cause (4s-)3s-cont. younger-brother his
 ani-vuq
 come-out 3s-indic.

'While Aggu was watching, his younger brother came out'

Note also, with co-referential subject, arviq isigitillugu kaalirpuq 'while watching the whale he began to get hungry'.

A case seeming to break co-referential requirements arises when the main verb is passive, as in the following sentence, where the subject of the subordinate clause can either be the subject of the passive verb or someone else (cf. 1.5.2.3. (b)):

sinit-sil-lugu tuqu-taa-vuq
 sleep cause (4s-)3s-cont. kill passive 3s-indic.

'He was killed while he slept'

Reflexive sinitsilluni in the subordinate clause would be unambiguous (same subject). The subordinate verb may itself be passive, but this does not affect the co-referential conditions when tit is added, as in atit taaniqartillugu 'as long as your name is spoken' (the subject of the following main verb being other than 'your name'). The participial mood may also be used with similar meaning (it is even preferred if the tit construction would be ambiguous) - thus in the sentence above beginning '(Aggumut) arviq...' the subordinate clause could be (Aggup) arviq isigigaa (note the relative case subject).

The corresponding negative forms express time before (here with impersonal object):

qaammar-tin-nagu	aalla-ritsi
get-light cause (2p-)3s-neg.-cont.	leave 2p-imp.
'Leave before it gets light'	

Other conjunctive affixes of temporal relations (commonly with the participial or - in the co-referential case - contemporary mood) are: sinnar and riar 'after' with the contemporary mood, llar 'just as', riar 'as soon as' and nngikkallar 'before' with the causative, ruttur 'just as' with the participial, njar 'while' with the contemporary or participial, (t)sir 'until' with contemporary mood (cf. 1.2.1.2. 2. (b)), and qqaar 'only/just after' with the contemporary or causative, all of which - except (t)sir, a 'double transitivizer' like tit - preserve the transitivity of the underlying verb; (u)tigi 'at same time as' with the contemporary may be transitive or intransitive (as in isiitigaluni 'at the same time as coming in'). For riallar, expressing surprise, see 1.1.1.5.

isi-lla-rama	tamar-mik nipangir-put
come-in intens. 1s-caus. all 4p	fall-silent 3p-indic.
'When I came in (suddenly) they all fell silent'	

Kangirlussuar-mit	anisi-riar-luta
Søndre-Strømfjord abl.	come-out after 1p-cont.
sindirissa-mut pi-vugut	
coast all.	come 1p-indic.

'After leaving Søndre Strømfjord we came to the coast'

aa-jutiga-lugu	pulaa-ssa-anga
bring at-same-time-as (1s-)3s-cont.	visit future 1s-indic.
'When I bring it I'll pay a visit at the same time'	

ingin-nia-rit	uan-nut nalunaarvigi-tsir-lutit
sit-down try 2s-imp. me all.	inform wait-for 2s-contemp.
'Sit down until I tell you what to do'	

The affix is here used reflexively: compare with ilinnut nalunaarsirlunga - with an alternative stem form - of the same meaning, and also Aggumut arviq takutsirlugu 'until A. saw the

whale' (and with intransitive stem: Aggu tikitsirlugu 'until A. arrived').

ilisima-ria-nngik-kaa qaangiup-puq
realize intens. not 3s-3s-part. be-past 3s-indic.
'Before he realized it, it was past'

ui-ni angirla-nngit-suq nirisassiu-lir-puq
husband her-refl. come-home not 3s-part. prepare-food begin
3s-indic.

'She began to prepare food before her husband came home'

nngikkallar mentioned above also means 'before', but generally implies a contrast with the present, as in:

ui-ni tuqu-nngikkallar-mat
husband her-refl. die not-yet 3s-caus.
qiima-su-u-galuar-puq
be-cheerful intr.-part. be but... 3s-indic.
'Before her husband died she used to be cheerful'

In combination with enclitic li (cf. 2.1.1.6.8) the sense is 'already then/ever since', as in:

ui-ni tuqu-nngikkallar-mal=li qiimaat-su-u-vuq
husband her-refl. die not-yet 3s-caus. li be-depressed
intr.-part. be 3s-indic.
'She was depressed even before her husband died (and still is)'

The participial mood in clauses preceding the main verb usually has a temporal sense (see 1.1.2.2 for position following it, where it usually represents an object clause). The subject must be different from that of the main verb: the corresponding co-referential construction is with the contemporative (though there is overlap with other senses of the 'co-verb' use of this mood). With the addition of enclitic lu to a suitably 'punctual' verb-form the meaning in both cases has the nuance of 'just as' and usually precedes the main verb (see 1.3.1.1 for the relevance of ordering here). The use of the participial mood without lu may have more of the 'just as' sense (as when lu is present) than the causative mood - or be more colloquial - and certainly lacks any nuance of causality. It may also mean 'while' - see the sentence beginning 'irni sul' in 1.5.2.3. (b). There is a tendency to avoid the intransitive third person forms (suq, etc.) here as being too 'nominal' without lu or a preceding 'conjunctive' affix, except in impersonal time/weather expressions (see below). In general, the participial expresses time when/during which the main action occurred, while the causative expresses an action subsequent/consequent to which it occurred.

miiqqat itirsar-nia-ria-ssa-gaat
children rouse try intens. future 3p-3p-part.

uqarvig-ai sini-qqit-tussaa-sut
 say-to 3s-3p-indic. sleep further should 3p-part.
 'As they_i were about to rouse the children_j he said to
 them_i that they_j should carry on sleeping'

atir-tunga Antariarsi-p tikip-paanga
 go-down 1s-part. Antariarsi rel. come-to 3s-1s-indic.
 'When I went down A. came to me'

illu tikik-kaa qamutit aalla-riirsima-pput
 house arrive-at 3s-3s-part. sledge leave already 3p-indic.
 'When he reached the house the sledge had already left'

isir-luni=lu suaa-lir-puq
 come-in 4s-cont. and shout begin 3s-indic.
 'As soon as he_i came in he_i started shouting'

isir-tur=lu suaa-lir-puq
 come-in 3s-part. and shout begin 3s-indic.
 'As soon as he_j (another) came in he_i started shouting'

The participial mood is common in impersonal time clauses, as in sivitsunnngitsuq 'before long'. With transitive inflections the subject is usually the human 'patient' and the subject understood as some natural force, but in fixed impersonal time and weather expressions such as aasaraa 'in the summer' and anurliliraa 'when it began to blow', the object too is always 3rd person singular.

taama unnuaa-tigi-suaq suuq angirla-nngil-asi
 thus be-night so 3s-part. why go-home not 2p-inter.
 'It being so late (at night) why don't you go home?'

anurliliuk-kaani utir-sinnaa-junnaar-puq
 (wind-)blow-up-for 3s-4s-part. return can no-longer 3s-indic.
 'Caught in a strong wind he could no longer return'

unnuaru-nngik-kaa tass-unga pi-vugut
 night-fall not 3s-3s-part. there all. come 1p-indic.
 'Before nightfall we reached there '

sapaati-u-gaa ilisimma-lir-puq
 Sunday be 3s-3s-part. come-round begin 3s-indic.
 'Last Sunday he began to come round/back to normal'

With hours of the clock the grammatical object may be a numeral higher than one but is still treated as singular, as in pingasut qaangilaaraa (qaangilaarai is also possible) 'just after three o'clock with subject nalunaaquuttap 'clock' understood.

Note the following, where the time element is in the superordinate clause:

qanga-nngur-puq aalla-ramik
 long-ago become 3s-indic. leave 4p-caus.
 'It's a long time since they left'

ullu-t arvinilir-pai nappa-li-rami
 day pl. start-the-sixth 3s-3p-indic. fall-ill begin 4s-caus.
 'It's the sixth day since he fell ill'

qangali niggir-nir-puq
 long-ago(-already) blow-from-south-west I-wonder 3s-indic.
 'It's a long time since we last had a south-west wind'

qangali=inna taku-ssaa-rakku
 long-ago that-time see no-longer 1s-3s-caus.
 'It's a long time since I have seen him'

As with the contemporative, a participial clause may have a very loose temporal sense of circumstance, as in:

immin-nut isir-puq anaana-ni kisimiit-tuq
 self-pl. all. go-in 3s-indic. mother his-refl. be-alone
 3s-part.
 'He_i went in to his_i(parents') house, his_imother alone
 being there'

One inflectional form of the transitive participial mood (3p-4s) has become lexicalized in an impersonal sense of 'when-(ever) one -'; it can be used with transitive or intransitive verb bases. Semantically it may have a conditional element besides the temporal:

ani-gaanni qiiana-qa-aq
 go-out 3p-4s-part. be-cold very 3s-indic.
 'When you go outside it's really cold'

It is possible to find temporal clauses embedded one within the other, e.g.:

niqi-si-sinnaa-sura-lunga apiri-ganni
 meat buy can think-that 1s-cont. ask 1s-4s-caus.
 angir-manga pisi-vunga
 say-yes(-to) 3s-1s-caus. buy 1s-indic.
 'When he replied "yes" when I asked him if I could buy
 some meat, I bought (some)'

Finally, there are various nominalized constructions used in a temporal sense. Most common is with nominalizer *niq* plus suitable personal possession and case inflection (the locative being more precise than the prosecutive):

qallunaa-qa-li-qqaar-nir-a-ni
 Dane have begin first nom. its loc.
 'when the first Danes came (here)'

ICC-ip pilirsin-niqar-nir-a-tigut
 ICC rel. initiate passive nom. its pros.

'at the time of the initiation of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference'

niri-riir-nir-mi-kkut uulit-tar-put
eat already nom. their-refl. pros. shake-self habit. 3p-
indic.

'After eating, they (i.e. puppies) shake themselves '

tiki-nngin-nir-an-ni
come not nom. their loc.

'before they came'

Such forms may be contained in 'post-positional' constructions such as atuarnaarnirmik kingurna 'after they had finished their studies' and in combination with tamaasa 'all' as in the following (absolute case) NP: agginnirit tamaasa 'every time he comes'. This latter construction lacks possessor marking and can be used with transitive verbs as well. For the normal treatment of underlying subject arguments and markers in transitive clauses nominalized by niq see 1.1.2.2.6. Other nominalizers involved in temporal expressions in non-inflected form are utaa, llaataa and ni(ari)utaa 'just as', and tsiisaa 'until' (also inflectable tsiisigalugu). Note also locative case nngilaatsiaani 'just before'. The subject of such forms is understood as co-referential with that of the following main verb (whatever person/number), though with tsiisaa/tsiisigi, which are transitive, reference conditions are as for tit above.

isi-itaa majuartarvit-sigut qummut aallar-puq
come-in just-as stairs pros. up leave 3s-indic.

'As soon as he came in he started off up the stairs'

qaammar-siisaa suliar-lara
get-light until work-on 1s-3s-opt.

'Let me work on it until it gets light'

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner

Adverb clauses of manner typically employ the contemporative mood, usually before the main verb (though heavier clauses may follow); instrumental case participial 3rd person singular intransitive forms are also found, not only as simple adverbials but also in derived and rank-shifted cases - see 1.1.2.4.1 for examples. The distinction between manner, temporal and circumstantial and non-sequential coordinated nuances of contemporative 'co-verb' forms is not always clear-cut (cf. 1.3.1.1.1).

uqa-nngua-rani ini-mi-nut isir-puq
say little 4s-neg.-cont. room his-refl. all. go-in 3s-indic.

'He entered his room without even speaking'

qiqirtaq tuqqar-lugu paa-lir-puq
 island head-for (4s-)3s-cont. paddle begin 3s-indic.
 'He began to paddle in the direction of/heading for the
 island'

tuqqarlugu in the last example can act as a simple adverbial of manner in the sense 'directly' (the verb stem means 'steer towards'). A number of such simple transitive contemporative forms function much like postpositions, as in illit sinnirlutit 'for/replacing you' (see 1.2.4.2 for further examples). Note also:

ataatsi-mut isiga-lugu
 one all. look-at (4s-)3s-cont.
 'on the whole/looking at it as a whole'

pisiar-aa 160 (et hundrede og tres) kuruuni-nik
 buy 3s-3s-indic. 160 kroner instr.
 akilir-lugu
 pay (4s-)3s-cont.
 'He bought it for 160 kroner'

Manner adverbials may be used in normal fourth person form even when the grammatical subject is other than the subject of the main verb (where there is an ownership relationship between subjects and the whole clause is clearly adverbial to the main verb - 3rd person possession rather than 4th being marked, as discussed in 1.5.2.3. (b)):

taava tassa iti-rlaaq uqami-vuq nipa-a
 then it-is wake-up one-who-just say-3s-indic. voice his
 sajul-luni
 shake 4s-cont.
 '"So this is it", said the one who had just woken up,
 his voice shaking'

Alternatively, the subordinate clause here can have 4th person possessed nominal plus 3rd person participial mood, i.e. nipini sajuttuq.

Note also the following with the participial mood:

suurlu uqarvigi-ginni taama iliur-puq
 like tell 1s-4s-part. thus do 3s-indic.
 'He did as I told him'

Accompaniment is expressed by derivational affix qatigi plus contemporative inflection or by independent verbs ilagi- 'accompany/be part of' or ilaa- 'come along/travel with' in that mood. For affix ut(i) expressing means, etc. see 1.2.1.2.3.

nakursaq uqaluqatiga-lugu napparsimmavim-mit
 doctor talk-with (4s-)3s-cont. hospital abl.
 ani-vuq
 come-out 3s-indic.

'He came out of the hospital talking with the doctor'

umiarsuar-mut ilaa-llunga angalaar-punga
 ship all. travel-with 1s-cont. travel 1s-indic.
 'I travelled around by ship'

In manner clauses with the equative case of 3rd person intransitive participial forms before quasi-independent verb-stem it- 'be' note the possibility of the transitivity of an underlying verb being carried over onto otherwise intransitive it-:

uqaatsi-ni kipi-innar-tu-tut il-lugit
 word his-refl.-pl. cut-off only intr.-part. equ. be (4s-)
 3p-cont.
 'seeming just to cut off his (own) words'

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose

Purpose or reason is expressed by derivational affixes of desire and futurity such as ssa, njar, juma and qqu followed by contemporative inflections - though the causative can also be found, especially in conjunction with affix niassa 'in order to'.

nassar-pakka ilissin-nut taku-qqu-llugit
 bring-along 1s-3p-indic. you all. see in-order-to
 (1s-)3p-cont.

'I have brought them along in order to show them to you'

kilum-mut ingip-puq malugi-qqu-nani
 background all. sit 3s-indic. notice in-order-to 4s-neg.-
 cont.

'He sat in the background, not wanting to be noticed'

suli-uma-llunga tikip-punga
 work want 1s-cont. come 1s-indic.

'I came in order to work'

arsaq tigu-aa Suulu-mut arsa-ri-qqu-llugu
 ball take.3s-3s-indic. Suulut all. ball have-as in-order-
 to (4s-)3s-cont.

'He took the ball so that S. could play (ball) with it'

tuttun-niassa-gamik qaqqa-mut
 catch-caribou in-order-to 4p-caus. mountain all.
 majuar-put
 climb 3p-indic.

'They climbed the mountain in order to catch caribou'

Note also the common use of ssa plus the contemporative in subject/object clauses of verbs of potentiality and custom, necessity, looking forward to, etc. as in the following (and cf. 1.1.1.2.2.2. (d)):

maani=mi iliqqu-u-nngil-aq inuit taku-sa-t
 here for custom be not 3s-indic. people see pass.-part. pl.
 tamar-luinna-asa ilassi-ssa-llugit
 all completely 3p greet future (4s-)3p-cont.
 'For here it isn't customary to greet just everybody'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause

Cause is expressed principally by the causative mood (context or derivative affixation only distinguishes this from its temporal function), but contemporative clauses may also have a causal sense, especially in connection with verbal base pissutigi- 'have as cause/reason':

kaa-ngaa-rami tuaviu-lir-puq
 be-hungry very 4s-caus. hurry begin 3s-indic.
 'Because he was very hungry he began to hurry'

kuki-ni asiru-qina-gamigit
 nail her-refl.-pl. break be-danger-that 4s-3p-caus.
 assaa-juma-nngil-aq
 dig want not 3s-indic.
 'She didn't want to dig since it might ruin her nails'

silarluk pissuti-ga-lugu
 bad-weather cause have-as (4p-)3s-cont.
 aallar-sinnaa-nngill-at
 leave can not 3p-indic.
 'Because of the bad weather they couldn't leave'

anurli-ssa -mmat aalla-ssa-nngil-agut
 be-windy future 3s-caus. leave future not 1p-indic.
 'Since it is going to be windy we shan't leave'

naalakkirsuisu-nit qaa-qqu-saa-lluni
 government abl. come tell-to passive 4s-cont.
 Danmarki-mut utir-puq
 Denmark all. return 3s-indic.
 'He returned to Denmark, summoned by the government'

The enclitic una construction discussed under 1.2.1.1.1. (c) may have a reason-giving function, as in the following statement accounting for the speaker's injury:

savis-su-um=una pika-nngaaniit nakkar-luni assa-ga
 knife big rel. that up-there abl. fall 4s-cont hand my
 iqqu-ramiuk
 hit 4s-3s-caus.
 'The big knife fell from up there and hit my hand'

Nominalized forms with niq in the ablative (in northern West Greenlandic also allative) case also express cause (the second example very colloquially):

qiaa-nir-mit uuli-li-qa-aq
 be-cold nom. abl. shiver begin very 3s-indic.
 'He shivered from the cold'

gasu-nnguatsiar-pusi etagehusi manna
 be-tired probably 2p-indic. block-of-flats this
 purtu-nir-mit
 be-high nom. abl.
 'You must be tired, this block of flats is so high'

Note also the expression with instrumental case participial
allatut ajurnartumik 'since there was no other way'.

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition

Condition is expressed by the conditional mood (context or derivational affixes alone distinguishing this from its temporal function), with or without ssa or other affix of futurity on the main verb:

pakasa-anna-rukku pissanganar-niru-vuq
 surprise just 2s-3s-condit. be-exciting more 3s-indic.
 'If you just surprise him it will be more exciting'

Contrary to fact/hypothetical condition (past or otherwise) employs affix galuar (or more remote ssagaluar) on the subordinate and ssagaluar on the superordinate verb; a more likely hypothetical case is expressed by the simple conditional in the subordinate clause, and ssagaluar (or ssa alone) on the main verb:

Nuum-mi najugaqa-nngik-kalua-ruma
 Nuuk loc. live not but... 1s-condit.
 sulia-ssar-si-sinnaa-ssagaluar-punga
 work future get can would 1s-indic.
 'If I didn't live in N. I would be able to find work'

ilin-nut taku-tik-kukku
 thou all. see cause 1s-3s-condit.
 tupigutsa-ssagaluar-putit
 be-surprised would 2s-indic.
 'If I showed it to you you would be surprised'

Without galuar the last sentence is a simple (non-remote) conditional utterance. A hypothetical conditional sentence may alternatively be expressed with affix qqajaqi:

danskit uqaasi-i-nik
 Danes language their instr.
 ilikka-laa-riirsima-su-u-gutta
 have-learnt a-bit already intr.-part be 1p-condit.
 ilikka-lirtur-niru-qqajaqa-agut
 have-learnt fast more would 1p-indic.
 'If we had (only) learnt a bit of Danish already, we would have learnt faster'

For the use of suq plus u here compare 2.1.3.3.2.1.13.

The contemporative mood may also have a conditional sense (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.8), as in:

su-mil=luunniit puuqattaq manna
 what instr. ever bag this
 immir-niqa-raluar-luni qarturar-niq ajur-puq
 fill passive but... 4s-cont. burst nom. cannot 3s-indic.
 'Whatever you fill this bag with it won't burst'

Observe also the use of particle aatsaat (or kisianni) in conditional statements:

ilaa-ssa-guit aatsaat aalla-ssa-anga
 come-along future 2s-condit. only-then leave future 1s-
 indic.
 'I shall only leave if you come along'

For the impersonal conditional function of participial inflection -gaanni see 1.1.2.4.2.1; note its use in 'postpositional' function following an NP with iqqaanngikkaanni 'apart from'. Various 'postpositional' forms in the contemporative mood of a conditional nature, such as naapirturlugu 'according to', are discussed in 1.2.4.2.

1.1.2.4.2.6. Result

Result is not generally distinguishable from cause and purpose as discussed above, but the consequence of an antecedent reason or cause can be expressed through a coordinate structure with conjunctive word taamaattumik 'therefore' or, related forms like taamaalilluni and taamaamat.

1.1.2.4.2.7. Degree

Degree is usually expressed by derivational means (see 1.8 and 1.9) and does not commonly involve clausal subordination (the standard of comparison is generally a nominal form in the ablative case). Thus the following sentence:

uanga atua-kka-n-nit
 me-rel. read pass.-part. my abl.
 amirla-niru-su-mik allap-puq
 be-much more intr.-part. instr. write 3s-indic.
 'He wrote more than I read'

The same construction is used with equational sentences, e.g. replacing niru above by tigi 'so' and putting the second constituent in the equative case (atuakkattut).

Note the possibility of clausal expression of degree with such derivational affixes as gi 'consider too':

aturtussat taakku namminniq atu-ssa-llugit
 equipment that self-pl. use future (4p-)3p-cont.

nutaa-nngi-g-aat

be-new not consider 3p-3p-indic.

'They considered that equipment not new enough to use themselves'

Also the 'postpositional' construction in the following (nominal) adverbial structure:

aggusti-mut naliqqiul-lugu marluriaammik
 august all. compare (4s-)3s-cont. twice (-as-much)

'Twice as much as (compared with) August'

Uivvak qanuq anurirsuar-tigi-su-mi

Uivvak how be-stormy so intr.-part. loc.

sapirsa-ssa-nngit-suq killuq

have-difficulty-catching future not 3s-part. killuq

qatsunganir-suar-mi ajunaar-sima-gami

still-weather big loc. die-by-accident perf. 4s-caus.

'Uivvak, who would never have difficulties catching anything however stormy it was, died (by accident) nevertheless/ironically in still weather'

killuq in the last sentence expresses a strong contrast, and as a stem means 'wrong' as in killurmut 'the wrong way' in the allative case.

There is further a non-clausal construction with akimur- 'do more than', as in:

qinnuti-ga akimur-paa

request my do-more-than 3s-3s-indic.

'He gave me more than I asked for'

1.1.2.4.2.8. Concession

Concession is expressed either by derivational affix galuar alone followed by various subordinate mood inflections, or (more strongly) by particles naak, uvva, massa or aali followed by a participial mood clause (or nominalized verb-form with affix galuaq):

urni-ssa-nngil-akkit akili-ralua-rumma=luunniit

come future not 1s-2s-indic. pay but... 2s-1s-condit. even (naamik)

(no)

'I won't come to you even if you pay me'

naak illiri-galua-rikka tama-asa

although be-attached-to but... 1s-3p-part. all 3p

tunniup-pakka

give 1s-3p-indic.

'Although I was much attached to them I gave them all away'

ilinnia-ruma-nngit-su-tut

.study want not intr.-part. equ.-pl.

derivational affixation) in a subordinate clause, is relative to the time (not necessarily marked overtly) of the superordinate clause, thus uqarpuq tikissalluni 'he said he would come/ he says he will come'.

1.2. Structural Questions

1.2.1. Internal Structure of the Sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular Sentences

Copular sentences consist either of derived verb forms (with or without external subject and complement modifier to the incorporated nominal) or of an equational construction with two nominal constituents separated by particle tassa. There is also the possibility of clefting with enclitic una, one of whose functions (with optional participial mood complement) is to express equational sentences with a causal nuance. Without overt copula the possibilities are limited but these include the case of adverbial complements discussed below.

1.2.1.1.1. Copular Sentences with Nominal Complement

(a) Derived copular sentences. Verbalizing affix *u* (be) and others expressing being or becoming (see 2.2.2.1. (a)) derive class- or role-assigning verbal forms from nominal bases - including simple NPs of more than one constituent. Adjectival or other modifying constituents (other than adverbial co-verbs) are left in the absolutive case (3rd person only) and are placed after the derived verb. Apart from that the word-order is as for other declarative sentence types. The incorporated nominal base may have a definite (defining or identifying) or an indefinite (class-assigning) sense, though the latter is more common.

illuqarvi-u-vuq (angisuuq)
town be 3s-indic. (big)
'It is a (big) town'

uanga Tuumasi-u-vunga
I Tuumasi be 1s-indic.
'I am T.'

kalaali-u-vuq akutaq
Greenlander be 3s-indic. of-mixed-descent
'He is a Greenlander of mixed blood'

naalakkirsuisu-nut ila-a-vuq
government all. member be 3s-indic.
'He is a member of government'

pisariu-su-mik
be-lengthy intr.-part. instr.

aallaqqaas-ir-lugu
beginning provide-with (4s-)3s-cont.
piniartu-lirsaaruta-a-vuq
hunter account-of be 3s-indic.

'It is a story about a hunter with a lengthy introduction'

savaatili-nngur-putin=nguuq pikkuris-suq
sheep-herder become 2s-indic. quote be-capable intr.-part.
'They say you've become a capable sheep-herder'

Note the difference between qisuk kaataavuq 'it is a wooden hammer' (lexicalised NP) and kaataavuq qisuk 'it is a hammer made of wood' and the person inflection in uangaavunga 'I am/it is me'. For further examples of complements in the participial or other subordinate moods with derived equative verbs such as pissutaa- 'be the reason why' and allaanngit- 'be none other than' see the last sentence of 1.2.1.1.3 and compare the following:

qangarsuarli iliqqu -u-vuq Tasiralim-mut
since-long-ago custom be 3s-indic. Taseralik all.
aasi-artur-lutik
spend-summer go-and 4p-cont.
'It has long been the custom to go and spend the summer at T.'

Often a construction with transitive derivational affix gi 'have as' corresponds to a copular sentence in English (cf. the corresponding intransitive construction with qar in 1.2.1.2.2. (a)).

anaana-ga-ara
mother have-as 1s-3s-indic.
'She is my mother'

Upirnavim-miut ila-g-aat
Upernavik dwellers-rel.member have-as 3p-3s-indic.
'He is one of the Upernavik people'

natturalik timissat nuna-tsin-niit-tu-t
eagle birds-rel. land our be-in intr.-part. pl.-rel.
an-nirsa-r-aat
be-big most have-as 3p-3s-indic.
'The eagle is the biggest bird in our land'

Such constructions may be in any mood, e.g. the causative in the following, said upon purchasing an item in a shop:

tunissuti-ssa-ri-gakku
gift future have-as 1s-3s-caus.
'It's for a gift' (understood: 'so please wrap it up')

The explicitly equative verb assigi- 'equal/be the same as' (as well as 'resemble') also belongs here (it contains gi), e.g. in

mathematical formulae of the form $X \text{ assigaa } Y$ (X equals Y). For existential predication with verbalizing affix qar see 2.1.2.1. 14.

(b) Copular particle tassa. The equational construction $X \text{ tassa } Y$ can be used to link nominal constituents of any degree of complexity (including rank-shifted nominalizations), though preferably not in differing cases: strictly nominal forms are generally both in the absolutive case, but verbal clauses in subordinate moods are also possible in the construction. 'X' represents the argument to be identified and 'Y' the identifying element. There need be no overt 'X' (e.g. tassa inuuniq 'that is life'), in which case the presupposed subject may be anaphoric or exophoric and the utterance may function as a clarification or expansion of the preceding discourse (when 'Y' is a whole indicative mood sentence here it can hardly be said that one has a copular construction at all - cf. 1.1.1.1.

(a), where tassa in the first sentence is conjunctional).

Hansi tassa pisurtaq pisurtaq tassa Hansi
 Hansi that-is leader but:
 'Hansi is the leader' 'The leader is H.'

tikit-tu-t tassa franskit
 arrive intr.-part. pl. that-is Frenchmen
 'The people arriving are (the) Frenchmen'

tasir-suar-tigut tuttu-t mallussiara-lugit tassa
 lake big pros.-pl. caribou pl. pursue (4s-)3p-cont. that-is
 kisimi nuannir-suq
 alone be-fun intr.-part.
 'Pursuing caribou by the big lakes, that's the life!'

uqar-niq ajur-nir-mi-nut
 say nom. cannot nom. his-refl. all.
 pissuti-gi-sa-a tassa ullu-ni
 reason have-as pass.-part. his that-is day loc.-pl.
 kingullir-ni misigi-sima-sa-ni
 last loc.-pl. experience perf. pass.-part. his-refl.
 'The reason for his inability to say anything was what
 he had experienced during the last days'

illit tassa ilinniartitsisug Jensi
 thou that-is teacher Jensi
 'Are you the teacher Jensi?'

tassa=guuq tuqu-li-rami uqaasi-i kingulli-it
 that-is quote die begin 4s-caus. word his-pl. last pl.
 'They say these were his last words when he died'

piqu-sa-ra tassa aalla-ssa-nngit-susi
 ask pass.-part. my that-is leave future not 2p-part.
 'What I am asking for is that you don't leave'

. Tassa may further be verbalized by u (be), especially in

a more strictly defining sense (or in introductory contexts of the type 'Now Aggu was the most respected hunter in the settlement' - Aggu tassaavuq., etc.). This is possible with other pronominal elements as well, as with taanna below.

siissisug tassa-a-vuq uumasur-suaq Afrika-miu
rhinoceros tassa be 3s-indic. animal big Africa dweller
ataatsi-mik nassu-lik
one instr. horn provided-with

'A rhinoceros is a big African animal with a single horn'

isigi-sa-ra taanna-a-nngil-aq Jutta
look-at pass.-part. my that be not 3s-indic. Jutta
nalunngil-lua-ga-ra
know well pass.-part. my

'The person I looked at was not (the) J. who I knew (so) well'

The anaphoric subject in such sentences (if no overt subject) may be the preceding textual topic. Tassa plus nominal is used to introduce or present, as in tassa nułiara 'this is my wife', or tassa Niisi Qaqurtumi ilinniartitsisuuq 'this is N., who is a teacher in Qaqortoq'. For the clarifying use of tassa compare the following (and cf. 1.1.1.4 for its use as an interjection):

najugaqar-punga Englandi-mi tassa tuluit nuna-an-ni
live 1s-indic. England loc. that-is tuluit-rel. land their
loc.

'I live in England, that is, the land of the Tuluit'

A complement NP in the subjectless tassa construction may be split by the particle, emphasizing the first element, e.g.:

uanga tassa isuma-ga
me-rel. that-is opinion my

'That is my opinion'

Another copular-like particle (followed by nominal or subordinate mood verbal forms) is suurlu, whose complement is the object of comparison (and when nominal often exclamatory):

siggu-a suurlu timissa-p siggu-a
snout its as-if bird rel. snout/beak its

'Its snout is like a bird's beak'

illit suurlu tikiq
thou as-if index-finger

'You who are (as thin) as an index finger!'

suurlu nuna immi-nut iqit-tuq
as-if land self all. embrace 3s-part.

'It was as if the land was embracing itself'

An equivalent to tassa (with which it may be combined in

the same sentence) is verbal base *imaat-* 'be thus' in the formula *X(tassa) imaappuq Y*. As with *tassa*, its complement may be a subordinate mood clause, and it may be preceded by adverbials such as *kalaallisut* 'in Greenlandic'.

imaap-puq *aviisi-qa-rata*
 be-thus 3s-indic. newspaper have 1p-neg.-cont.
inuu-li-ssa-sugut
 live begin future 1p-part.

'That is, we'll start to live without newspapers'

(c) Clefting with enclitics. The most general function of enclitic *una* (and other demonstratives) is to express focus, but this covers also a number of copula-like (identifying) constructions. The formula *X-una V-suq*, where *V-suq* is a participial verb form, identifies *X* (a definite nominal) as the subject of the complement clause; when the latter involves verbalizing affix *u* 'be' it will be a matter of indicating a class or specific role/function to which *X* is assigned. The formula *X-una Y*, where *Y* is another nominal, indicates that *X* is the one displaying the property of or belonging to the class of *Y*. In both the nominal and participial complement cases the function of *una* is to indicate that it is *X* (as opposed to anyone/anything else) that is to be identified by *Y(suq)*. The formula *X-una* without complement is most commonly found either as a question or as an answer (see 1.1.1.2.4.1.2), but may also be found in exclamatory utterances such as *uuminarpalaarsuin-uku* 'they are a pain!' or *illin-una* 'so it's you!'. Enclitic *una*, etc. is attached to the first nominal form in the sentence, though with more or less lexicalized NPs consisting of more than one constituent it may follow the whole NP. In such cases there may be a distinction of definiteness, the constituent preceding the enclitic usually being definite (or at least felt to be the focus), as in the contrast between the 3rd and 4th sentences below. The reference of the enclitic in the participial as well as the nominal construction may be anaphoric/exophoric, in which case the nominal to which it is attached does not represent the subject to be identified but rather forms a part of the complement (as in the 5th & 6th sentences below). See 1.11.2.1.4 for the focusing distinctions possible here.

Maalia-m=una *mattak tama-at niri-sima-gaa*
 Maalia rel. that mattak all 3s eat perf. 3s-3s-part.
 'It's M. who ate all the mattak'

Hansi=una *pisurtaq* (or: *pisurta-a-suq*)
 Hansi that leader (leader be 3s-part.)
 'It's H. who is the leader'

tuttu-m=una *ami-a*
 caribou rel. that hide its

The cleft construction with participial (or other) mood complement may involve a pragmatic element of explanation, presenting the proposition as a reason for an often just situationally presupposed state of affairs - cf. English 'it's that/the thing is' plus indicative sentence. Thus the first example sentence under (c) above could be understood as 'the thing is M. ate all the mattak (you see)'. Note also taava-ana tikittutit 'so you've come (already)'. This construction is a common way of initiating a discourse (by introducing a sort of artificial presupposition that needs elaboration). Cf. 1.1.1.4 for a similar but exclamatory construction with the participial mood following sunaavva, etc. and 1.1.2.4.2.4 & 1.11.1.1 for examples of the 'explanatory' una construction involving a causative mood clause. The minimal form for the construction is a single verb-form with the enclitic attached, as in:

ini-n-nuka-laar-niar-lunga=ana
 room my go-to a-little future 1s-cont. that
 '(It's that) I'm going to my room for a bit' (e.g. as
 reply to a question 'why did you ask when dinner would
 be ready?')

1.2.1.1.2. Copular Sentences with Adjectival Complement

Adjectival quality-assignment statements are made with simple verbs of quality (i.e. with no copula); however, derived forms with affix u 'be' as described above for nominal complements are necessary for the small group of quality-assigning nominals such as qursuk 'green' - thus qursuuvuq 'it is green'. The same affix is used for the attribution of long-term characteristic qualities, by extending the participial forms of adjectival verbs of quality. Thus angisuu(ju)vuq 'it is big/a big one' (see 2.1.4.2).

With numerical expressions verbalizing affix u is generally found following the numerical base (rather than nominal head), but it is also possible to find, in a slightly different meaning, u attached to the nominal head and the numeral following in the absolutive case, just as in the construction with u and a following participial or nominal modifier described under 1.2.1.1.1. (a) above:

ilinn artitsisu-t trissi-u-pput kalaallit
 teacher pl. 60 be 3p-indic. Greenlanders
 qallunaal=lu
 Danes and
 'The teachers are 60 (strong), both Greenlanders and
 Danes'

qimussi-t pingasu-u-vugut
 sledge(-and-dog)team pl. three be 1p-indic.
 'We are three sledge-teams'

kalaali-u-pput pingasut
 Greenlander be 3p-indic. three
 'They are three Greenlanders'

Numerals may also occur in the constructions with tassa and una as constituents of NPs (but rarely as independent complements); this may allow a definite numerical phrase as in kalaallit pingasut tassa uagut 'we are the three Greenlanders'.

1.2.1.1.3. Copular Sentences with Adverbial Complement

Tassa discussed above is itself of adverbial origin ('there'), and may be replaced by other forms of similar origin such as massa or tamassa in the deictic functions of pointing out, offering, etc.:

massa arnat tikiraa-t ina-at
 here-is women-rel. visitor pl.-rel. room their
 'Here is the women visitors' room'

Other demonstrative stems - both in adverbial and corresponding pronominal forms - are also found in deictic function of a more or less exclamatory nature following the construction's nominal head. The adverbial may also precede the nominal head, but with corresponding pronominal forms it is usual to use 'prefix' aa- here (cf. 1.2.1.1.1. (c) above).

samma tupir-paaluit
 down-there tent several
 'Down there are several tents'

aa-pakku nuissa-t
 aa those-up-there cloud pl.
 'See those clouds up there'

tuttu pavva
 caribou up-there
 'There's a caribou up there!'

Deictic adverbials may be further expanded with following locative expressions:

ataata-kkut pujurtuliira-at tappika
 (my-)father and-fellows-rel. motor-boat their up-there
 amutsivim-mi
 slipway loc.
 'The motor-boat of Dad and his friends is up there on the slipway'

In reply to questions, adverbials may appear in the enclitic una construction:

(qanui-ssa-anga →) asuli=una
 (pay-how-much future 1s-inter.) free that.
 ('How much do I owe? →) 'Its free!'

In suitable contexts outside of question-answers case-marked nominals may appear in this construction, as in the following comment made upon picking up a letter:

Jensi-min=una
 Jensi abl. that
 'It's from J.'

And observe the following, where focus is upon the first constituent (cf. 1.11.2.2.1.4):

Nuum-mi=una najugaqar-tuq
 Nuuk loc. that live 3s-part.
 'He's living in Nuuk'

Note with question-word naak demonstratives (not only enclitic) may follow, e.g. naak taanna 'where is it?' - cf. naak saviga 'where is my knife?'

Adverbial stems (locational) may be incorporated in locative derived verbal expressions with affix miit (niit in the plural or after possessed or adverbial forms), just as nominal phrases expressing place; these may be in apposition to a preceding locative case NP.

ika-niip-puq napparsimmavik
 over-there be-at 3s-indic. hospital
 'Over there is the hospital'

Nuu-p iqqa-a-niip-puq
 Nuuk rel. proximity its be-in 3s-indic.
 'It is near Nuuk'

umiarsuaqqa-p qa-a-ni sila-miip-puq
 boat rel. deck its loc. outside be-on 3s-indic.
 'It's (on the) outside on the deck of the boat'

In connection with the last example note that when a phrase consisting of a noun plus modifier is incorporated by miit, it is the modifier that is incorporated, while the nominal head stands in apposition in the locative case. Thus, from qiqirtaq qanittuq 'a nearby island':

qiqirta-mi qanit-tu-miip-puq
 island loc. be-near intr.-part. be-on es-indic.
 'It is on a nearby island'

Various locative expressions can be incorporated in verbal forms with affix u 'be', as in aqaguuppat 'when it is tomorrow' and even ullumiugaa 'earlier today' with the unusual, but now not uncommon, appearance of a derivational affix (other than it-) after a NP base in the locative case, as in Nuummiuvuq 'It was in N. (not anywhere else)'. Local and temporal expressions in other than the locative case may in fact occasionally be incorporated by u, as in:

ukiu-t tama-asa-a-nngik-kaluar-tut
 year pl. all 3p be not but... 3p-part.
 umiarsuar-siu-raa-ngamik
 ship go-about-on every-time 4p-caus.
 nalu-junnaar-sima-li-riir-paat
 not-know no-longer perf. begin already 3p-3p-indic.
 'They had got familiar with them (from) going aboard the
 ships, though it wasn't every year (they did this)'

It is possible to find a locative case NP as adverbial complement in the identifying copular construction with tassa. Thus the final NP in the following sentence can be replaced by ippassaani 'the day before yesterday' or - rather marginally - Nuummi 'in Nuuk'; however this probably represents a Danicism.

Mikaalli-mik naapit-si-vvi-ga tassa Kaali-p
 Mikaalli instr. meet ½-trans. place my that-is Kaali rel.
 illu-a
 house his
 'The place/time I met M. was (in) K.'s house'

For further examples of the 'headless' relative clause in cleft constructions see 1.2.1.1.1 (b), and note in particular copular sentences of reason, which may take a following causative mood clause as complement:

taassum-unnga pissuta-a-vuq inuunir-mik
 this all. reason be 3s-indic. life instr.
 taannaannaasu-mik allanni-i-su-u-sar-mat
 monotonous instr. provide -with-difference ½-trans. intr.-
 part. be habit. 3s-caus.
 'The reason for this was that it gave variety to a monotonous life'

1.2.1.1.4. Copular Sentences without Overt Copula

With the exception of the cases (e.g. interrogative) described above, the simple juxtaposition of two nominals without overt copula is not commonly encountered in the contemporary language, though in contexts with clear anaphoric reference from the subject to the preceding text sentences such as the following are possible:

immaqa=asiit irinna-t tamakku
 perhaps as-usual melody pl. these
 qasunar-tur-suit Mozarti-p irin-nia-i
 be-boring intr.-part. big-pl. Mozart rel. melody made his-pl.
 'I suppose (that means) as usual that boring music of Mozart's' (referring to the programme announcement of a concert)

The copular constructions with enclitic una and particle tassa cannot in themselves express such verbal categories as tense

or mood, though these may be introduced with the use of a participial mood complement in the first case and by verbalization with affix u 'be' in the second, thus X tassaanguatsi- arpuq Y 'X seems like/is probably Y'.

1.2.1.1.6. Different Types of Copula

As described above there are a number of different copular relations expressible in West Greenlandic. In defining function either tassa (or, more common in formal definitions, derived verbal base tassaa-) or derivational affix u on nominal bases is used, though the principal function of the former is equational or identifying and of the latter class- or role-assigning. The enclitic cleft construction with una also has an identifying function but as often as not involves a further pragmatic element of 'reason-giving' (and see 1.11.2.1.4 for its role in contrastive emphasis). Thus Hansiuna pisurtaq is similar in meaning to the equivalent sentence with tassa under 1.2.1.1.1. (c) above but has a stronger sense of focus ('it is Hansi who is the leader'). Hansi pisurtaavuq with affix u, on the other hand, may simply state H.'s role ('Hansi is leader'). However, the latter may also have a (weak) focusing sense of 'it is H. who is in charge'.

Other copular-like relations are expressed by derivational affixes such as ngur (cf. 1.2.1.1.1. (a)) and (with 'adjectival' stems) li 'become' and others (denominal) such as ssaqqig 'be good for' and giig 'be mutual -s' (see 2.2.2.1. (a)). The quasi-independent verbal stem it- 'be' is used only in combination with a preceding equational case nominal (or equivalent adverbial) or with q-word qanuq 'how' (cf. 1.1.1.2.2 and 1.1.2.4.2.2; it is also present in the locational affix miit discussed in 1.2.1.1.3).

1.2.1.2. Verbal Sentences

1.2.1.2.1. Subjects

Apart from the exclamatory utterances in which a verbal base is directly nominalized (with or without affixation, cf. 1.1.1.4) and the transitive contemporative mood inflections which overtly mark only the object, all verb-forms cross-reference (are inflectionally marked for) subject. An external subject argument - in the absolutive case when the verb is intransitive, in the relative case (in ergative function) when it is transitive - is optional, thus the simplest complete sentence is a verbal base plus mood inflection for person and number of the subject (and, transitively, the object). For superordinate moods the paradigms of subject inflections (see 2.1.3.4.1) include all combinations of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and singular and plural number (the corresponding dual forms are no longer found in the central dialect here being described). For subordinate moods the category of '4th person' (co-referential 3rd person) is added. 'Half-transitivized' verbs

(see 1.2.1.2.2. (c)) and transitive verbs used reflexively also take intransitive (subject - only) inflections.

There are no dummy subjects. For existential statements the verbalizing affix qar 'have' is used as in puisiqarpuq 'there is a seal/there are seals' (see the following section for the possibility of distinguishing number on an instrumental case modifier here). An 'indefinite' subject is created by the use of participial forms of the verbal base plus qar as in sinittuqarpuq 'there are people sleeping' and takusaqarpuq 'something has been seen'. For impersonal weather/temporal verbs with third person subject see 1.1.2.4.2.1, and note also transitive weather expressions such as the following, where sila 'the weather/the outer world/forces of nature' is probably understood as the unexpressed subject:

anurliliup-paatigut
catch-in-a-storm 3s-1p-indic.
'We were caught in a storm'

qaqqaq api-vaa
mountain snow-upon 3s-3s-indic.
'Snow has fallen on the mountain'

Compare the verbs here with intransitive stems anurlir- 'blow (of storm/wind)' and api- 'be snowed upon'; the affix in anurliliut(i)- consists of lir 'begin' and ut(i) 'do with/for' (see 1.2.1.2.3 - particularly under (f): 'atmospheric verbs') and is limited to a few atmospheric stems of this type. Sometimes a specific subject referring to a meteorological phenomenon is expressed, as in pujursuup unnuaruutippai 'night fell upon them (while still outside) because of the fog (preventing them from reaching their goal)', with 'fog' as the subject and an unusual contraction of ut(i) plus causative affix tit. Observe the possibility of 4th person subject in adverbial clauses as well as 3rd person, as in ukialirami (besides ukialirsuq) 'when it became autumn', especially when the main clause verb is also an impersonal time/weather expression, but also sometimes if this is not the case (with fixed expressions), as in:

ukiuli-guni aalla-ssa-agut
become-winter 4s-condit. leave future 1p-indic.
'We shall leave when winter comes'

Impersonal subjects corresponding to English 'one' or 'they/you' are expressed with the 3rd person plural:

kalaallisut qanuq uqar-tar-pat
in-Greenlandic how say habit. 3p-inter.
'How does one say (it) in Greenlandic?'

Whole clauses may appear as main clause subjects, as in the following (and cf. 1.1.2.2.2 (c) and (d)):

piariir-sima-nngit-susi irsiqqip-puq
 be-prepared perf. not 2p-part. be-clear 3s-indic.
 'It is clear that you are not ready'

kaagi mamari-gaat malun-nar-puq
 cake find-delicious 3p-3s-part. notice -able 3s-indic.
 'You can tell they are enjoying the cake'

Observe the use of nar 'be such as to' in the last example (cf. 2.1.3.1.2); passive forms too are often used in a subject-repressing function.

Derived verb bases may be transitive or intransitive according to the particular derivational (deverbal/denominal) affix involved. Of the intransitive affixes, see below under 1.2.1.2.2. (a) for qar 'have', under 1.2.1.1.1.(a) for u 'be' and 1.2.1.1.3 for miit 'be in/on'; examples are given there of complex NPs being incorporated by these affixes.

For the special subject marking of tamar- 'all', etc. see 1.2.1.2.2. (d) below.

1.2.1.2.2. Direct Objects

(a) External versus incorporated objects. Transitive verbal bases take fused subject-object mood inflections for all combinations of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person subjects, singular or plural, plus the same object possibilities. Subordinate moods further distinguish between 3rd and 4th person subjects and objects. These combined forms are largely transparent, the subject element coming first - after the mood marker -, the object element following, except in the case of the 3rd person object forms where the order is reversed (see 2.1.3.4.1). In most cases the object-referring element is related to corresponding possessive forms on nominals (though there are special 3rd person object forms for subordinate moods). No verbal inflection can indicate more than two actors/external arguments, and full noun phrases (both subject and object) are always optional; personal pronouns are generally only used for special emphasis.

Whereas transitive verbs take absolutive case external objects, the object may be de-emphasized/made indefinite by placing it in the instrumental case and inflecting the verb intransitively. A number of verb bases may be inflected either transitively or intransitively (see below) whereas the majority require a 'half-transitivizing' affix to take intransitive inflections in this context. The latter constituent is discussed under (c) below.

A common sub-class of verbal base incorporates the object head but maintains any modifier externally to the verb, namely those involving a verbalizing affix of possession or acquiring and the like - notably qar 'have', but also including si 'get', lisaar 'wear', lisar 'bring along one's -', tur 'eat/drink', liur 'make' and ssaaliqi 'lack'. In fact most affixes

listed under 2.2.2.1. (b), (d), (e) and (h) belong here. An underlying absolutive case modifying constituent appears preceding or following the main verb in the instrumental case (maintaining its number marking, otherwise lost on the incorporated head); any other constituent of a rank-shifted modifying phrase or clause is left unchanged, as in the fourth sentence below if qilalukkamut aliq is understood as a special type of line (the first constituent may also be taken as a clausal adverbial).

nutaa-mik umiarsuar-nut talittarvi-qar-puq
new instr. ship all.-pl. harbour have 3s-indic.
'There is a new harbour for ships'

Atuagalliuti-tuqa-a-nngit-su-nik
Atuagalliutit old be not intr.-part. instr.-pl.
atua-ga-ssa aliqi- nar-ta-qa-aq
read pass.-part. lack(-future)be-such-as-to habit.very 3s-
indic.
'There was really nothing to read apart from old copies
of Atuagalliutit'

kissartu-mik kavvi-sur-put
hot instr. coffee drink 3p-indic.
'They drank hot coffee'

qilalukka-mut ali-irsir-puq
beluga all. harpoon-line lose 3s-indic.
'He lost a harpoon line for a beluga/in the beluga'

nutaa-mik piili-siur-punga
new instr. car look-for 1s-indic.
'I am looking for a new car'

kavass-isaar-tar-puq angi-gi-laa-gar-suar-mi-nik
coat wear habit. 3s-indic. be-big consider(-too) a-bit
pass.-part. big his-refl. instr.
'He would wear a coat rather too big for him'

With qar the possibility of a corresponding non-incorporating construction exists using 'empty' stem pi- plus that affix, the 'object' appearing in the instrumental case externally. This requires number marking to appear on the object and thus allows a nuance of 'a (small) number of objects' as in ikinngutunik piqarpuq 'he has (some) friends', as opposed to ikinngutiqarpuq 'he has a friend/friends'. The incorporated structure merely indicates a state or condition on the part of the subject, whereas the external argument indicates a more specific (though still indefinite) object. In the case of derived base atiqar- 'be called', the complement (i.e. the name here) is in the instrumental case if it precedes the verb but in the absolutive if it follows, i.e. Hansimik atiqarpunga or atiqarpunga Hansi 'my name is Hansi'. See (d) below concerning the latter exceptional construction.

It is of course debatable whether 'incorporation' is the

best term to use here, since all verbalizing affixes like qar are bound forms, never stems.

(b) 'Double transitive' verbs. With transitive (verbal de-verbal) affixes tit 'cause/let', qqu 'tell/want to', sar 'try to get to' ((qa)suri/sugi 'think that', t(s)aali(ur) 'prevent from', and (t)sir 'wait for', the possibility exists of being attached to already transitive bases referencing two arguments. The object (patient) of these affixes, if expressed externally, must then stand in the allative case (as 'remote object'), since the absolutive case will still be used to indicate the object of the underlying verbal base - thus irninirminut akiqqani tuququai 'he wanted his son to kill his enemies'. Other oblique case arguments of the underlying verb remain unchanged. Ambiguity arises if the underlying base may have either a transitive or intransitive reading, as in niriqqaa 'he asked him to eat' or 'he asked that somebody eat it': on the underlyingly intransitive reading of niri- the object inflection refers to the subject of the latter whereas on the transitive reading it refers to its object. The ambiguity is removed (if not by context) by the addition of an external argument in the instrumental case corresponding to the object of the underlying verb, taken in an indefinite sense (cf. the half-transitive construction under (c)):

mattam-mik niri-qqu-aa
mattak instr. eat ask-to 3s-3s-indic.
'He asked him to eat some mattak'

Alternatively, the subject of the underlying verb, equivalent to the object of the transitive affix, is added in the allative case as described above; the absolutive case object of the underlying verb then has the definite sense.

nulia-mi-nut (mattak) niri-qqu-aa
wife his-refl. all. (mattak) eat ask-to 3s-3s-indic.
'He asked his wife to eat it (the mattak)'

The object inflection following such affixes indicates then the subject of an underlyingly intransitive verbal base, as in isirsurivaa 'he_i thought he_j had gone in', but the object of an underlyingly transitive one, as in the example with tuququai above. Other transitive derivational affixes can only be attached to intransitive bases (but for ut(i) see 1.2.1.2.3).

When attached to non-agentive bases (see (c) below) the sense of tit is one of indirect causation, e.g. ammartippaa 'he got someone to open it', as opposed to ammarpaa 'he opened it'; observe also the following:

assa-kka matu-mut kiggi-sip-pakka
finger my-pl. door all. jam cause 1s-3p-indic.
'My fingers got jammed in the door'

verb stems are exclusively transitive (being reflexive when used intransitively) or intransitive, and to produce intransitive correlates of the former one of several 'half-transitivizing' affixes (specific to each stem) must be attached.

The most common morpheme is si(ši) - corresponding to truncating i after most /g/- and /r/-stems - but see 2.1.3.2 for others. Agentive verbs may thus be regarded as transitive stems taking a \emptyset half-transitivizer. (and non-agentive ones as having a covert passive element when intransitive - but cf. 2.1.3.1.3).

As mentioned above, it is still possible to indicate external objects in the half-transitive construction by using the instrumental case; such an object is indefinite or 'de-emphasized' or numerically unspecific (at least in superordinate clauses where the construction is optional). The same is true of instrumental case 'objects' of agentive verbs used intransitively, as in mattammik nirivug 'he ate some mattak'. Compare the following:

inuit tuqup-pai
people kill 3s-3p-indic.
'He killed the people'

inun-nik tuqut-si-vuq
people instr. kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-indic.
'He killed people'

The construction sometimes has a nuance of repeated/habitual action (cf. 1.6.5.1) as opposed to the punctual meaning of the transitive equivalent. It is obligatory in, for example, rank-shifted nominalizations involving transitive verbs (see 1.1.2.2.6). When a derivational affix of the incorporating type described under (a) exists corresponding semantically to a transitive verbal base, a three-way distinction is obtained, for example with stem taku- 'see', which is either transitive-only or agentive in the contemporary language, and verbalizing affix si used in the sense of seeing/coming across:

tuttu taku-aa
caribou see 3s-3s-indic.
'He saw the caribou'

tuttu-mik taku-vuq/taku-nnip-puq
caribou instr. see 3s-indic./see $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-indic.
'He saw a caribou' (indefinite-referential)

tuttu-si-vuq
caribou come-across 3s-indic.
'He saw (a) caribou' (indefinite-non-referential)

In the last sentence it is a matter of the subject performing a certain class of action ('caribou-seeing'), the 'object' being completely de-emphasized/de-individualized by incorpora-

tion.

If the object nominal is marked as possessed in an independent/superordinate mood 'half-transitive' construction the meaning is either 'one of X's/a - of X', where X is the possessor (see 2.1.1.11), or, when there is a modal element of futurity/wanting/searching associated with the verb, 'a - for X', as in:

ikiurtti-ssa-n-nik angiluttur-punga
 helper future my instr. look-in-vain 1s-indic.
 'I looked in vain for a helper'

'Double-transitive' affixes like qqu may be attached to half-transitivized bases (with de-emphasized object) with the same relation to the underlying subject as when attached to other intransitive bases, and they may in turn themselves be half-transitivized, as in qaaqqusivuuq 'he invited/told people to come', with indefinite object understood. When such an affix is followed by intransitive inflections directly the usual reflexive sense results as in ilinnut takusaqquuq 'he wants you to visit him'. With tit 'cause/let' the resulting meaning is often 'become/start to' as in aallartippuq 'it began' (and cf. contemporative tilluni, etc. under 1.1.2.4.2.1). Observe the following example of qqu following a half-transitivized base:

arna-p miiraq niqi-mik aa-lli-qqu-aa
 woman rel. child meat instr. fetch ½-trans. tell-to
 3s-3s-indic.
 'The woman told the child to bring some meat'

There may be lexical differences between combinations of the same stem plus different half-transitivizing affixes, e.g. irruui- 'wash up (dishes)' but irruksi- 'wash clothes' from transitive irruur- (covering both concepts).

(d) Exceptional object marking. There are three principal exceptions to what has been said above about transitive verbs and their objects. Firstly, the construction consisting of a nominalized verb base with niq plus ajur- and other verb stems of inability/habitual negation (see 1.1.2.2.6), where the inflection of the finite verb refers to the arguments of the nominalized verb base rather than its own grammatical subject/object, the nominalization itself. Secondly, the case of verbs of naming/calling when the name follows the verb, as under (a) above and in the following transitive sentence:

taa-sar-paat ajuqi
 call habit. 3p-3s-indic. ajuqi
 'They call him Ajoqi'

Here the absolutive case name appears to be unattached grammatically to the verb (not marked on the latter's inflection); it can be thought of as a matter of direct quotation of the

name (the absolutive case being the 'quotation form' of names), rather than as an 'extra' object.

Finally, a striking exception to the basically ergative patterning of morphological transitivity in West Greenlandic concerns the NP constituents tamar- 'all', kisi- 'alone' and iluunngar- 'all of', which display nominative/accusative morphology for the 3rd person. These - and their derivational extensions - take inflectional endings like those for relative case nominal possession, but with a distinction in the 3rd person depending on whether they stand in an object or subject relation to the verb, irrespective of its transitivity. The subject forms correspond to 4th person possessive forms (and are also used when the relation is one of possessor to a nominal head).

kisi-mi tikip-puq/tikip-pai
alone 4s come 3s-indic./come 3s-3p-indic.
'He came alone (to them)'

Suulut kisi-at taku-aa
Suulut alone 3s see 3s-3s-indic.
'He saw S. only'

This anomaly is explicable in terms of the subject forms being originally adverbial in nature, the 4th person endings indicating co-referentiality with the subject of the main verb (cf. the 4th person in subordinate moods). The 1st/2nd person forms of these stems are the same for intransitive subject or transitive subject or object, just as with plural nouns and 1st/2nd person personal pronouns. In oblique cases note the ordinary nominal endings as in tamanut 'to everyone' and kisitsinnit 'from us alone'.

1.2.1.2.3. Indirect Objects

With suitable verbs an external argument in the allative case performs the function of indirect object:

niviarsia-mut uqar-put
girl all. say 3p-indic.
'They said (s.th.) to the girl'

aningaasa-t Niisi-mut tunniup-pai
money pl. Niisi all. give 3s-3p-indic.
'He gave the money to N.'

However, since the grammatical object of a transitive verb may stand in a variety of semantic relations to the verb including that of indirect object (cf. the examples with affix vvigi under 1.2.1.2.4 below), near equivalents to the above sentences can be produced with other forms of the same verbal stems with the 'indirect object' in the absolutive:

niviarsiaq uqarvig-aat
 girl tell-to 3p-3s-indic.
 'They told (it to) the girl'

Niisi aningaasa-nik tuni-vaa
 Niisi money instr.-pl. give 3s-3s-indic.
 'He gave money to N.'

As discussed in the preceding section, an instrumental case object will be less definite than an absolutive case one (the latter, as also an allative case indirect object, will usually have a specific - if not actually definite - sense).

The affix ut(i) by which tunniut(i)- in the second sentence example in this section is derived from tuni- in the fourth has a 'relation-shifting' function covering a range of semantic senses, roughly 'with/for/with respect to' and other prepositional glosses. The patient/beneficiary role is indicated by the object inflection of the derived verb, the subject remaining the same as in the corresponding non-derived form. The object of the latter (when itself transitive), if it appears externally at all with the derived verb, will be in a suitable oblique case, as illustrated with the allative, for tunniut(i)-above; cf. tikkuut(i)-in (c) whose underlying object would be in the instrumental. The semantic effect of the affix depends on the type of verbal base involved, and this can be broken down into a number of classes as exemplified below. The derived form follows the corresponding non-derived verb:

(a) Verbs of motion

<u>tikippuq</u>	<u>tikiuppa</u>
'he has arrived'	'he has brought it'

(b) Usual intransitive-only verbs

<u>kamappuq</u>	<u>kamaappaa</u>
'he is angry'	'he is angry with him'

(c) Usual transitive-only verbs

<u>tikkuarppaa</u>	<u>tikkuuppa</u>
'he points it out'	'he points s.th. out for him'
<u>nirlirppaa</u>	<u>nirliuppa</u>
'he feeds him'	'he gives it to eat (to s.o.)/ serves it to s.o.'

(d) Verbs of transferral

<u>nassiippaa</u>	<u>nassiuppa</u>
'he sends him s.th.'	'he sends it (to s.o.)'

<u>nassarpaa</u>	<u>nassaappaa</u>
'he brings it along'	'he brings s.th. along for/to him'

(e) Usual non-agentive verbs

<u>immirpaa</u>	<u>immiuppaa</u>
'he fills it'	'he fills s.th. with it'
<u>napivaa</u>	<u>nappuppaa</u>
'he broke it'	'he broke it along with something else' (e.g. a cigarette inside its pack)

(f) Atmospheric verbs

<u>unnuarurpuq</u>	<u>unnuaruuppaa</u>
'it became night'	'it became night for him/while he -'

(g) Usual agentive verbs (non-motion)

<u>atuarpuq</u>	<u>atuvvappaa</u>
'he read'	'he read (aloud) for him'

(h) Verbs of inability

<u>sapirpuq</u>	<u>sapiuppaa</u>
'he is unable/doesn't dare (to do s.th.)'	'he doesn't dare do it/s.th. with respect to it'

Of these classes only (g) more or less regularly has the benefactive sense (with human object). The verb stems that fall under the various classes are limited (indeed not all stems may take ut(i)), and in general there is a good deal of lexicalization. Other small sub-classes may be distinguished such as that involving verbs of binding and winding - thus qiliruppaa 'he tied it up (with a cord, etc.) - e.g. a boat to the shore - from qilir- 'tie (a cord)' and immuppaa 'he wrapped it up (inside s.th.)' from imu- 'roll up (s.th.)'. The 'case frames' of individual verbs here are often idiosyncratic - thus, for example, the stem mani- 'hold out/put out to dry' seems semantically parallel to tuni- 'give', but takes the object transferred rather than the recipient as its direct object and does not have a derived form with ut(i) parallel to tunniut(i)-; tuni- moreover has another sense - 'sell' -, where the object is the transferred object (and the recipient must be in the allative case). The non-agentive verb alittur- 'tear' on the other hand has a derived form alittuut(i)- which may take, unlike the majority of verbs under (e) above, a human patient

object at whom the detrimental action ('rip his clothes for him', etc.) is aimed: this may represent yet another small class. As will be seen from the examples given there are also idiosyncratic morphophonemic forms of this affix, and this may result in semantic distinctions - thus pisissut(i)- 'buy for s.o.' and pitsit(i)- 'buy as a gift for s.o.', both from pisi- 'buy'. The form of the affix exemplified in the first of these, ssut(i), is the only one that is more or less productive today (in the benefactive sense); it was originally limited to /t/- and vowel-final bases (and is now especially common following half-transitivizing affixes - e.g. tuqutsissuppa 'he killed s.th. for him'). ut(i) itself may occasionally be found attached to a half-transitivized base, e.g. aalliuppa 'he fetched s.th. for him', from aallir-, the half-transitive form of aa- 'fetch'.

ut(i) can be half-transitivized (e.g. tunniussivug 'he gives things') and under passivization the grammatical object is converted into the subject, as for other transitive verbs. Thus nassiunniqarpuq 'it was sent' but nassinniqarpuq 'he was sent (s.th.)'. It can also be followed by a 'double transitive' affix as in kivvannut aqqustitippara 'I had my servant bring it down' (from atir- 'go down' plus ut(i) plus tit). For the intransitive plural use of ut(i) for reciprocal/communal action see 1.7.1. Intransitive use of the affix with verbs of motion adds a nuance of arriving/returning from a shorter distance than the corresponding underived form (e.g. from within the same settlement) - thus tikiuppuq as against tikippuq 'he has arrived (e.g. from afar)'. Note also ikiuppuq 'he lent a hand' from transitive ikiur- 'help' and quua sirminnguuppuq 'his urine froze' (i.e. when it hit the frozen ground) from intransitive sirminngur- 'become ice'.

Other 'relation-shifting' derivational affixes (cf. 2.2.2. 2. (f)) include (ss)utigi, which consists of (ss)ut(i) above (or rather its nominalizing equivalent) plus gi 'have as'. Again the form with ss is more productive - often glossable as 'have as reason for' - and lexicalized distinctions may occur, as between allaatigaa 'he wrote about (or with) it' and allassutigaa 'he wrote for that reason' from stem allag- 'write'. Occasional examples of ssutigi used on transitive bases (as a double-transitivizer) may be encountered in older sources.

1.2.1.2.4. Other Arguments

In general, the cases required on oblique arguments are quite transparent semantically: extensions of case meaning from the purely spatial are not highly lexicalized in any arbitrary sense apart from the strictly grammatical functions of the allative and instrumental described under 1.2.1.2.2. (b) & (c). Thus the allative has generally the sense of goal, the ablativive of source, the prosecutive of path/medium and the instrumen-

tal of means. See 1.2.1.3.1.3 for the various functions of an adverbial nature performed by nominals in oblique cases. Individual verbs (or verb types) may optionally take an oblique argument in the instrumental or allative case, e.g. pulaar- 'visit', ingit- 'sit', ilimasug- 'expect (nervously)' and atur- 'use (for)' with the latter and apiri- 'ask someone (about)' and salig- 'clean s.th. (with)' with the former. On slightly more abstract plane, note for example assingu- 'resemble', which takes an allative case argument, and transitive niriursur- 'promise (s.o.)', which takes an instrumental argument (the thing promised). Some of the derived verbs with ut(i) in the preceding section indicate a human recipient or goal argument with allative case and an argument expressing means or object transferred (de-emphasized) with the instrumental (see examples with tuni-/tunniut(i)-).

allan-nir-mut atur-tar-paa
write nom. all. use habit 3s-3s-indic.
'He uses it for writing'

angalanir-a-nik apir-aat
journey his instr. ask 3p-3s-indic.
'They asked him about his journey'

In passive sentences the agent is expressed by an ablative case nominal (see 2.1.3.1.1).

To indicate the wide range of semantic roles the grammatical (absolutive case) object of the verb may perform note the following transitive verb bases derived with the same 'relation-shifting' affix (v)vigi (literally 'have as one's place of'), aalajangirvigi- 'hold onto/stick with', allagarsivvigi- 'get letters from', uqaluppiluvvigi- 'say rude things to', qutsavigi- 'be thankful for', imirvigi- 'drink from', nasaarvigi- 'take one's cap off before', naalagarsiurvigi- 'be subservient to', sulivvigi- 'work on/at', sallaalluurvigi- 'be gentle towards', naartuigi- 'get pregnant by', qinnuigi- 'ask for', itsuarvigi- 'look through', pulajarturvigi- 'move into', akiligassaqarvigi- 'owe money to', siallirvigi- 'rain upon', aturvigi- 'have as one's business', innuigi- 'be born on (day)' and (with the more productive form of the affix) innuuvvigi- 'be born in/at (place or year)'. There may be considerable lexicalization involved, thus note also avivvigaa 'he shares s.th. with him' (from avig- 'be divided') but avissivigaa 'he cut off a piece of it (for himself)' (from the half-transitive form avissi- 'cut off a piece').

1.2.1.2.5. Combinations of Arguments

Any combination of external arguments (subject, object or oblique) may be found, within the limits allowed by the voice/transitivity of the particular verb concerned, but none are obligatory, the minimal sentence consisting of a simple inflect-

ed verb-form. Separate clauses may be preferred to oblique case arguments if more than one in a particular case (but different functions) threaten to arise. Ambiguity may occur when both subject and object nominals are plural (see 1.11.2.1.3) and when a relative case nominal followed by a suitable possessed nominal and a transitive verb form can be understood as either a possessor or the sentential subject:

palasi-p qimmi-a taku-aa
 priest rel. dog his see 3s-3s-indic.
 'The priest saw her dog' or: 'She saw the priest's dog'

In such cases prosodic factors (cf. 3.4.4.1 for the optional NP-internal juncture process) may disambiguate if context alone does not.

1.2.1.2.6. Order of Sentence Constituents

The most neutral order for major sentence constituents is S O V (but for copular sentences it is of the type 'S tassa Complement' or 'S-una Complement' - see 1.2.1.1). For verbless (exclamatory) utterances see 1.1.1.4. Simple sentential adjuncts (adverbial) appear most commonly in first position and predicate adjuncts- including short contemporative co-verbs - just before the verb. Other arguments in oblique cases occur between O and V, with indirect object thus after direct object if both occur. A de-emphasized instrumental case object will also stand usually before an allative case indirect object, and in the 'double transitive' construction discussed under 1.2.1.2.2. (b) the 'remote' object in the allative case will generally stand after the absolutive case object. However, if there is a strong cohesion felt between the direct object and the underlying verb base in such constructions the remote object may precede the former. Compare the normal order in:

miiqqa-ni uan-nut paari-qqu-aa
 child her-refl. me all. look-after ask-to 3s-3s-indic.
 'She asked me to look after her child'

with the last example under 1.5.2.1. Most commonly both kinds of object are not overtly present in the same clause, and division into two clauses may be preferred, as in:

irni-ni inap-paa tammaarvik
 son his-refl. order 3s-3s-indic. camp
 qima-qqu-llugu
 leave tell-to (4s-)3s-cont.
 'He ordered his son to leave the camp'

instead of tammaarvik irnirminut qimaqquaa.

There is however considerable variation around these unmarked orderings owing to contextually determined focusing/emphasis, newness of information, heaviness of constituents, etc. (see 1.11 & 1.13). Especially in more literary style it is

possible to split complex object or complement constituents, the head only appearing before the main verb (see 1.13.3). Each subordinate clause may in turn have its own adjuncts (including co-verbs and embedded clauses), in which case the ordering principles are the same as in a main clause, though placing material after the head verb of the clause is avoided if it could lead to confusion: as a general tendency one can state that material belonging to the same subordinate clause is kept as a coherent sequence before the head verb of the clause. Thus constituents belonging with a contemporative verb-form (adverbial or coordinated) will precede it, though between it and a succeeding superordinate verb material belonging with the latter alone may intervene (e.g. its object or an adverbial), as in:

qurlurtuq palli-lir-lugu nipitu-ngaar-mat
 waterfall approach begin (4p-)3s-cont. be-loud very 3s-caus.
 suaar-ta-ati-innaq uqalut -tar-put
 shout iter. with only speak iter. 3p-indic.

'They approached the waterfall and shouting to each other because it was so loud they spoke'

inuit sapir-vi-irut-tur-su-u-pput
 people not-dare place/time no-longer-have intr.-part. big
 be 3p-indic.

allaat tuqu-suq ili-mmassuk
 even be-dead intr.part.bury 3p-3s-caus.
 mitaa tiga-lugu
 mock (4p-)3s-cont.

'The people became emboldened, even mocking the dead man as he was buried'

aqaguani Kangaamiut palli-lir-lugit
 next-day Kangaamiut approach begin (4p-)3p-cont.
 Kangirlussuatsiaq paaquti-lir-paat
 Kangirlussuatsiaq pass-mouth-of begin 3p-3s-indic.

'The next day, approaching Kangaamiut, they passed the mouth of Kangerlussuatsiaq (fjord)'

The shifting of constituents of an underlying clause out of that clause other than for focusing, etc. as described, is generally open to alternative descriptions, as for instance in the following sentence, where the derived participial form and its embedded adverbial clause are simply in normal apposition to the object of the main verb (cf. 1.1.2.3.7):

angut utuqqaa-vallaar-mat
 man be-old too 3s-caus.
 suli-llaqqik-kunnaar-tu-u-ti-ta-ni
 work be-good-at no-longer intr.-part. be consider pass.-
 part. his-refl.

itigartip-paa
turn-down 3s-3s-indic.

'He_i turned down the man whom, because he_j was old, he_i thought was no longer a good worker'

Such complex nominalizations are not typical of the spoken language (which would prefer a finite, causative mood form of the nominalized verb here).

For the ordering of consecutive adverbial constituents see 1.2.1.3.2. Cause, purpose, conditional and concessive clauses may either precede or follow the main verb, in the former case often before other adverbial adjuncts, and in the latter case especially if representing new, focused information or if functioning as an explanation or clarification (see 1.11.2.2. 1. 4). Temporal clauses most commonly precede the main verb unless specially emphasized. Object clauses most often follow the main verb (apart from simple contemporative/participial mood ones), especially if at all heavy, in which case a causal clause may in turn follow it, as in:

uqar-puq ikinnguti-ni irniinnaq
say 3s-indic. friend his-refl.-pl. right-away
tiki-ssa-sut taku-juma-mmatigit
come future 3p-part. see want 3p-3p-caus.

'He said his friends would come right away because they wanted to see them'

For contemporative mood clauses following the main verb see 1.3.1.1.1. If such a clause in turn has an embedded object clause the latter will follow. Contemporative mood clauses do not readily take further clausal material subordinate to them (as opposed to the main verb) between themselves and a preceding main verb, and thus the ordering of clauses in the following sentence is the only one stylistically at all natural:

ilinniartitsisu-p Aggu kana-ni taku-aa
teacher rel. Aggu down-there loc. see 3s-3s-indic.
isumaliu-raluar-luni illu qalipak-kaa
think but... 4s-cont. house paint 3s-3s-part.

'The teacher_i saw A_j down there, though he_i thought he_j was painting the house'

However, a simple clausal element (not an object clause) subordinate to a 'co-verb' may intervene between it and a preceding main verb, as in:

ui-a isi-ratar-puq qiia-gami
husband her come-in at-last 3s-indic. be-cold 4s-caus.
uulil-luni
shiver 4s-cont.

'Her husband came in at last, shivering because he was cold'

A contemporative mood verb with its own preceding object clause may stand before the main verb:

qallunaa-qata-asa arna-mik
Dane fellow his -pl.-rel. woman instr.
inuu-qati-qa-lir-suq
live fellow have begin 3s-part.
paasi-lir-lugu uqaluvvigi-lir-paat
understand begin (4p-)3s-cont. speak-to begin 3p-3s-indic.
'Learning that he had begun to live with a woman, his
fellow Danes spoke to him'

The subject (first) constituent is shared by both clauses here. Certain sentence patterns prefer the verb-initial ordering, especially in 'scene-setting' contexts, for example with derived locational verbs:

pika-niip-puq uqaluvvi-tuqaq
up-there be-at 3s-indic. church old
'Up there is the old church'

For 'naming' sentences with this order see 1.2.1.2.2. It is also common (though not obligatory) with semantically 'light' equational/class-assigning verbs such as ilagi- 'have as a member', imaat- 'be thus' and assigi- 'be like/equivalent to' to have the object after the verb:

nunaqarvim-mit nuut-tu-t
settlement abl. move intr.-part. pl.-rel.
ila-g-aat Jaaku-kkut
member have-as 3p-3p-indic. Jaaku and-family
Piita-kkul=lu
Piitaq and-family and
'Those moving from the settlement included the families
of J. and P.'

For the common order O S V in comparative sentences with derivational affix gi (where the object is the natural focus) see the sentence starting with natturalik under 1.2.1.1.1. (a). For the common sentence type involving incorporating affixes like qar 'have' & u 'be' where material modifying the incorporated nominal may stand after the verb (especially if heavy) see 1.2.1.2.2. (a) & 1.2.1.1.1. (a) and compare with the following:

niqi-liur-puq puis(p)-niqaa-nik
meat make 3s-indic. seal-meat instr.
'She cooked seal meat'

allaga-qar-punga angajuqaa-ssin-nut
note have 1s-indic. parents your all.-pl.
'I have a note for your parents'

The following sentence quoted by Schultz-Lorentzen (1945,

p. 96) illustrates a number of the above points:

ippassaq Pavia-p anguta-ata niuirtu-p
 yesterday Pavia rel. father his-rel. shopkeeper rel.
 qimmi-i angalanir-mit qasu-llutil=lu
 dog his-pl. journey abl. be-tired 4p-cont. and
 kaam-mata ungaluukka-mut
 be-hungry 3p-caus. yard all.
 isir-til-lugit puisi(p)-niqaa-nik nirlir-pai
 go-in cause (4s-)-3p-cont. seal-meat instr. feed 3s-3p-
 indic.

'Yesterday P.'s father fed the shopkeeper's dogs, because they were tired and hungry from the journey, with seal-meat, letting them come into the yard'

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

A large part of the burden of adverbial modification is performed by internal derivation of verbal bases (see 2.2.2.2. (g) & (h)), but the following sections deal principally with external adverbial constituents, which coexist with the former. External adverbials in general modify whole derived verb forms, not just their bases, as in:

tassanngaannaq niri-ssaar-puq
 suddenly eat stop 3s-indic.
 'He suddenly stopped eating'

In the case of contemporative mood co-verb forms tied closely to the following main verb, an aspectual affix on the main verb may include it in its scope and thus need not be repeated on the contemporative form:

isir-luni pujurta-lir-sar-puq
 enter 4s-cont. smoke begin habit. 3s-indic.
 'Entering he would light up his pipe'

The situation is rather different with 'verb-expanding' verbal (deverbal) affixes such as juma 'want to', sinnaa 'can' and qqu 'ask/want to', which may take an external adverbial belonging to the base along with the latter inside its scope as in the following, where the adverbials do not modify the derivational affixes, only the verbal base to which they are attached:

aqagu niri-uma-vaa
 tomorrow eat want 3s-3s-indic.
 'He wants to eat it tomorrow'
 isi-ruit siani-qqu-aatit
 come-in 2s-condit. ring ask-to 3s-2s-indic.
 'He asked that you ring when you got in'

Non-verbal adverbials may also be included under the scope of sar of habitual action (see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3).

1.2.1.3.1.1. Adverbs

The principal function of non-inflected 'particles' is adverbial (though they may also be exclamatory, conjunctive, etc. - cf. 1.1.1.4 and 1.3.1.1). Those used this way may be divided into deictic adverbials sharing the same underlying stem with corresponding demonstrative pronouns (see 2.1.2.5.2), such as pavva 'up there' and anna 'up north', and non-deictic particles such as assut 'very/a lot', aatsaat 'only/just (now)', immannguaq 'a little', and asuli 'in vain'. Note also derivatives of tassa 'there' and ima 'thus' such as tassuugu 'in a while', tassataava 'a while ago' and taamani 'at that time'.

Certain enclitics may also have (sentential) adverbial force (see 2.1.8.1.6 for aasiit and (t)taaq). Note in particular the temporal sense of enclitic li (otherwise 'but') in combination with adverbials expressing past time, in the sense 'already then'. It may follow simple adverbs (e.g. qangali - cf. 1.2.1.1.1. (a)), causative mood clauses or locative NPs with a temporal meaning:

Danmarki-mi=li kalaallisut ilinnia-lir-puq
Denmark loc. li Greenlandic study begin 3s-indic.
'He began studying Greenlandic already in Denmark'

1.2.1.3.1.2. Postpositional Phrases

See 1.2.4 and below.

1.2.1.3.1.3. Cases of Noun Phrases

The most common means of forming adverbials is with the instrumental case (singular) of intransitive participials (see 1.1.2.4.1 for rank-shifted clauses used this way). NPs in other oblique cases often function adverbially too - the locative for location (in space or time), the instrumental for instrument/means, the ablative, prosecutive and allative for motion from, about/through, and towards (as well as various temporal functions), and the equative for manner/degree compared to some standard. 'Adverbial' derivational affixes may sometimes be given independent status by addition to 'empty' stem pi-, as in pilirturtumik from lirtur 'fast'.

kigaat-su-mik
be-slow intr.-part. instr.
'slowly'

Sisimiu-ni/Sisimiu-ni(i)t/Sisimiu-tigut
Sisimiut loc./S. abl./S. pros.
'in Sisimiut'/'from S.'/'by way of S.'

qallunaa-tut
Dane equ.
'like a Dane/in Danish'

siullir-mik
first instr.
'first'

savim-mi-nik kigar-paa
knife his-refl. instr. score 3s-3s-indic.
'He scored it with his knife'

ukiu-ni sisama-ni
years loc. four loc.
'in/for four years'

unnua-kkut
night pros.
'at night'

For further uses of specific cases in adverbial expressions see 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5. The allative case has noteworthy uses in conjunction with, on the one hand, particle allaat to indicate upper extent of inclusion, and with clock time (with or without absolutive case nalunaaq(q)utaq in apposition). For the former see 1.2.5.2.8 and for the latter 2.1.1.6.1.1.

The absolutive case may be used in adverbial expressions of total duration of time, e.g. ulluq tamaat 'all day' and minutsit qassiit '(for) several minutes'; also for expressing the most recent time unit - e.g. ullaag 'this morning'. Note also the use of case endings on q-word su- followed by corresponding case forms of tama(t) 'this/ here' as in sukkut tamaana 'all over the place/in all directions' (and cf. tamaanga arlaannut 'to somewhere round here'); there is some overlapping with tamar- 'all' as in 1.2.5.2.6.

3rd person possessed forms of certain directional stems are found, with or without oblique case markings, in adverbial function; following NP head nominals in possessor form these have elsewhere been analyzed as 'post-positional' constructions (see 1.2.4). Thus siurna 'before', kingurna(tigt) 'afterwards' and, from the same stem, kingunitsiaa 'a little later' (cf. clausal equivalent kinguniriliraa). Also:

ukiu-t qulit matuma siurna-tigt
year pl. ten this-rel. before(-it) pros.
'ten years ago'

Occasionally an otherwise purely verbal stem may take case endings in adverbial function, e.g. utimut 'back' (cf. utir- 'return') and pisummik 'on foot' (cf. pisug- 'walk').

1.2.1.3.1.4. Adverbial Clauses

See 1.1.2.4 (especially 1.1.2.4.2.2). There are also various verbal forms (largely lexicalized) directly nominalized by defricativization of the final consonant where necessary and used as adverbials. Usually these involve affixes galuar ('but/formerly' - cf. 2.1.3.4.15), allag (suddenly a bit) and

innar (only), as in arpaannaq 'at a run/trot' from arpag-
'run'.

1.2.1.3.2. Position and Co-occurrence of Adverbials within the Sentence

As mentioned under 1.2.1.2.6 adverbials most often occur initially (as sentential modifiers) or just before the verb - though position between subject and object is also possible (cf. 1.11.2.2.1.4). If more than one adverbial occurs in the same position the most neutral order amongst them is probably time, manner, place, degree and from the widest to the narrowest scope within adverbials of the same category. However, if there is a contemporative mood 'adverbial' it will tend to be as close to the verb as possible, and manner adverbials in general may follow place adverbials if they are semantically closely bound to the verb. Sentential adverbials, especially heavier ones, tend to precede (or follow) all other main clause constituents, and in general there is considerable freedom of positioning of adverbials relative to subject and object constituents according to emphasis, etc. (see 1.2.1.2.6).

ukiug siulliq nuannirsumik iniqarvi-nngua-mi
year first happily flat little loc.
najugaqar-pugut
live 1p-indic.

'The first year we lived happily in a little flat'

Nuum-mi	Qaqurtu-mi	but:	Qaqurtu-mi	Nuum-mi
Nuuk loc.	Qaqortoq loc.		Qaqortoq loc.	Nuuk loc.
'in Q. (with)in N.'			'in N. (with)in Q.'	

Jensi-p aqagu issiavik niuirtukkun-ni
Jensi rel. tomorrow chair shopkeeper's loc.
pisiari-ssa-vaa
buy future 3s-3s-indic.

'J. will buy the chair at the shopkeeper's tomorrow'

ullaa-kkut ini-mi assut pirpalup-puq
morning pros. room loc. very make-noise 3s-indic.
'In the morning there was quite a din in the room'

Uummanna-mi ajunngit-sur-suar-mik
Uummannaq loc. be-good intr.-part.big instr.
piniqar-pugut
be-treated 1p-indic.

'We were treated very well in U.'

There are no strict constraints on co-occurrence of the various type of adverbial discussed in the previous sections, but simple predicate adverbials are unlikely to be separated from the head verb by the intrusion of heavier adverbial elements - though some adverbial particles such as kiisa 'at last'

can appear as sentential modifiers in initial position, isolated from the verb (these are probably best regarded as conjunctions). Such simple adverbials rarely take independent phrase-final intonation, but initiate or continue some longer stretch. It is also rare to find a whole adverbial clause (especially a heavy one) standing between two external arguments of the main clause, unless the first also functions as an argument of the subordinate clause itself (cf. the last sentence under 1.2.1.2.6).

The difference as regards ordering between sentential and predicate use of the same adverbial can be illustrated with an object clause construction:

aasaq qava-niit-tut tusar-pakka
 summer down-south be-in 3p-part. hear 1s-3p-indic.
 'I heard that they were down south last summer' or:
 'Last summer I heard...'

aasaq tusarpakka qavaniittut
 'Last summer I heard that they were down south'

tusarpakka aasaq qavaniittut
 'I heard they were down south last summer'

In the last example aasaq modifies the subordinate predicate only (as it may also do on one interpretation of the first example), not the sentence as a whole. The 'predicate' against 'sentential' distinction is thus not a strict matter of adverbial classes - only certain adverbial particles such as assut being necessarily predicate modifiers (cf. the sentence beginning 'ullaakkut' under 1.2.1.3.2). A clear instance of a sentential modifier is, on the other hand, imaallaat 'luckily' as in:

imaallaat filmi taanna Nuum-mi taku-ara
 luckily film that Nuuk-loc.see 1s-3s-indic.
 'Luckily I saw that film in N.'

Temporal adverbials in the participial mood are generally placed before the main verb to distinguish them from an object clause of the same form (which can, however, also precede it):

tikit-tunga uqaatigi-lir-paat
 arrive 1s-part. talk-about begin 3p-3s-indic.
 (ataatsimiinniq)
 (meeting)
 'When I arrived they started to talk about it (the meeting)'

uqaatigi-lir-paat tikit-tunga
 talk-about begin 3p-3s-indic. arrive 1s-part.
 'They started to talk about me arriving'

There is an interesting parallelism (in reverse order) between the successive ordering of independent adverbials in the external syntax and the ordering of adverbial-like derivational morphemes within complex verb-forms (minimal sentences): within the latter, sentential modifiers come towards the end of the word, following predicate modifiers, and if more than one of these latter occur there is a preferred ordering of degree then manner then time (aspect), though this can be disturbed (as can the external ordering of adverbials) by factors of emphasis and scope (see 1.11.2.2.1.4).

1.2.1.3.3. Obligatory Adverbials in Constructions

Apart from the copular constructions with adverbial particles like tassa and aana discussed under 1.2.1.1.1. (b), cases where an adverbial is obligatory are few - notably in connection with derivational affix tigi of degree 'so' or quasi-independent stem it- 'be' (and its derivatives like iliur- 'act'), where a preceding NP in the equative case, q-word qanuq 'how' or an adverbial of extent/comparison like taama is required (see 1.9.1 & 2.1.1.4.11).

1.2.2. Adjective Phrases

1.2.2.1. Operational Definition

There being no morphological distinction between adjectives and other nominals (or, predicatively, verbs), it is not possible to give a non-circular operational definition of an adjective phrase as opposed to a series of nominals and/or participial forms in apposition. However, one can state that within a complex NP the head nominal will usually be in initial position (though compare 1.2.5.5), and that any nominal/participial material following it within the phrase will have an adjectival (nominal head-modifying) function. Nominal bases may be modified along a number of semantic vectors by derivational affixes of an adjectival nature (see 2.2.1.1. (b)).

1.2.2.2. Adjectives with Arguments

Adjectival (property-assigning) verb bases act like other verbs as regards inflectional and derivational possibilities. Though intransitive, such simple bases may be transitivized with suitable derivational affixes such as gi and naar 'consider s.th. (too)'; note also intransitive ii 'become' found only on such adjectival/stative bases (e.g. milli- 'grow smaller' from miki- 'small'). Adjectival bases may take external arguments in various cases just as other verbal and participial forms:

nuna-mut ungasis-suq
land all. be-far intr.-part.
'far from the land'

immia-mik ulikkaar-tuq
 beer instr. be-full intr.-part.
 'full of beer'

atuar-nir-mut pikkuris-suq
 read nom. all. be-clever intr.-part.
 'clever at reading'

ajunaarnir-mut pisuu-vuq
 accident all. be-responsible 3s-indic.
 'He was responsible for the accident'

The external argument may be in any case except the absolutive, since only intransitive participial forms, not the transitive equivalents, may be used in such phrases. This does not apply to transitive derivations of these bases with *gi*, etc. when used predicatively (cf. 2.2.2.3). As with other verb types there may be more than one oblique case argument.

1.2.2.3. Adverbials Modifying Adjectives

Participial forms in attributive adjectival function may be modified adverbially in the same ways as the corresponding verbal base used predicatively. As with other verbal bases, much of this type of secondary modification is performed derivationally (see 2.2.2.2. (g) & (h)). The following adverbial elements can modify participial or other nominal forms in adjectival function:

1.2.2.3.1. Adverbs

assut kusanar-tuq
 very be-pretty intr.-part.
 'very pretty'

asuli tikit-tuq
 in-vain come intr.-part.
 'having come in vain'

1.2.2.3.2. Postpositional Phrases

(umiarsuaq) kujaa-mi qa-a-tigut
 (ship) keel its-refl.-rel. above its pros.
 ajurtunngur-sima-suq
 be-damaged perf. intr.-part.
 '(a ship) damaged above the keel'

1.2.2.3.3. Cases of Noun Phrases

piuma-sa-qar-nir-a-nit angi-niru-suq
 want pass.-part. have nom. his abl. be-big more intr.-part.
 'bigger than he wanted'

ila-a-tigut qursuk
 part its pros. green

'partially green'

1.2.2.3.4. Adverb Clauses

Kalaalli(t)-nunaan-nut naliqqiul-lugu
 Greenland all. compare-to (4s)-3s-cont.
 miki-suq
 be-small intr.-part.
 'small compared to Greenland'

(nasaq) angisuu-allaa-nngip-pat tulluut-tu-ssaq
 (cap) be-big too not 3s-condit. fit intr.-part. future
 '(a cap) which if it isn't too big will be fine'

1.2.2.4. Relative Order of the Constituents

The order of constituents in an adjective phrase is the same as in corresponding finite clauses (with predicative use of the base), the head nominal preceding it. An adverbial may appear before an oblique case argument or after it (just before the verb) - e.g. kalaallisut assut pikkurissuq or assut kalaallisut pikkurissuq 'very good at Greenlandic'. It is possible to have an adverbial element following the participial (adjectival) constituent, but this is generally in the nature of an 'afterthought':

amirla-qi-su-t ingammik aasa-kkut
 be-many very intr.-part. pl. especially summer pros.
 'many - especially in the summer'

Note also the possibility of splitting the modifying element from the participial form in the enclitic una construction:

assun=una iniquanartuq
 very that sweet
 'She's really sweet'

1.2.3. Adverbial Phrase

1.2.3.1. Operational Definition

Any adverbial consisting of more than one constituent may be assigned to the category 'adverbial phrase', though this is not a satisfactory operational definition since it does not distinguish between primary and secondary adverbial modification: two or more adverbials may either modify the main verb in apposition or the first such element may, when semantically appropriate, modify the following one(s). Adverbials that can have secondary modifying function are generally limited to simple adverbials rather than clauses, but see below under 1.2.3.2.4. For more than one adverbial in apposition see examples under 1.2.1.3.2.

1.2.3.2. Types of Adverbials which Can Modify Adverbials

Secondary adverbial modification is often performed by de-

rivational affixes on adverbials - notably those for degree such as (r)piaq, (r)luinnaq and innaq (see 2.2.4.4). Those external adverbials that may perform this function roughly coincide with those available for modifying adjective phrases as described above.

1.2.3.2.1. Adverbs

aatsaat aqagu
only-then tomorrow
'only/first tomorrow'

ingammik kusanartu-mik
especially beautiful instr.
'especially beautifully'

immikkut saqqummir-sin-niqar-lutik
individually appear cause passive 4p-cont.
'presented individually'

namminiq iluari-sa-ssa-n-nik
self like pass.-part. future thy instr.
'as you yourself want it'

A number of these secondary adverbials can also appear as emphatic NP constituents (see 1.2.5.2.8).

1.2.3.2.2. Postpositions

Only possible when modifying contemporative clauses used adverbially (though often such co-verb constructions will have a co-ordinate sense - see 1.3.1.1.1).

nirriviu-p qa-a-nut ili-llugu (isigi-qqu-aa)
table rel. top its all. put (4s-)3s-cont. (look-at tell-to
3s-3s-indic.)
'Putting it on the table (he told them/him to look at it)'

1.2.3.2.3. Cases of Noun Phrases

sapi-nngi-sa-mik sukkasuumik
be-unable not pass.-part. instr. quickly
'as quickly as possible'

minnirpaa-mik tallima-riar-luni
least instr. five do-times 4s-cont.
'at least five times'

1.2.3.2.4. Adverbial Clauses

Limited to rank-shifted participials (case-marked) and certain contemporative mood adverbials; there is considerable overlap with 1.2.3.2.1 and 1.2.3.2.3 (adverbials in which categories may also be analysed in some cases as rank-shifted clauses).

unammillirsu-nut alla-nut naliqqiul-lugu
 competitor all.-pl. other all.-pl. compare (4s-)3s-cont.
 sukkasuumik
 fast

'fast compared to the other competitors'

ippassaq ilimagi-sa-mi-nit
 yesterday expect pass.-part. his-refl. abl.
 ajunngin-niru-su-mik
 be-good more intr.-part. instr.

'better than he expected yesterday'

1.2.3.3. Relative Order of the Constituents

Adverbial modifiers of adverbials stand before the latter. Adverbial clauses in this function may in turn include adverbial modifiers (tertiary) within themselves (see the preceding section), and any of these levels can in turn include derivational affixes of an adverbial nature (e.g. with ippassaannaq 'just yesterday' in the last example).

1.2.3.4. Particular Types of Adverbial Restricted to Modifying Particular Types of Adverbial

There are no obvious restrictions (other than constraints of purely semantic compatibility) between the different types of adverbials discussed above. However, simple adverbs such as assut 'very' are unlikely to be further modified - though even here an adverb like aqagu 'tomorrow' can be further modified by, for example, pingaartumik 'especially'. In the case of an adverbial clause such as the first three constituents of the first sentence of 1.2.3.2.4 above followed by a simple adverb such as assut before the main verb, the former will modify the whole main clause sententially while the simple adverb will modify the following verb as a predicate modifier.

1.2.4. Postpositional Phrases

1.2.4.1. Operational Definition

There is no categorial distinction to be made morphologically between postpositional phrases and other instances of local case-marked NPs consisting of a relative case 'possessor' nominal plus possessed nominal head. The directional nominal heads concerned do not generally occur as non-possessed/non-case-marked free forms. Certain impersonal contemporative mood clauses also belong here, as illustrated below.

1.2.4.2. Postpositional Phrases and their Arguments

A few of the directional stems concerned here may be used without case-marking e.g. kingurna 'after(wards)' - and may be used adverbially without a preceding 'possessor' nominal in the relative case. The rest may be used adverbially in local

cases without an overt 'possessor' nominal preceding them but with possessed inflection indicating anaphoric/exophoric reference (in the case of the geographical directional stems the possessed - 3rd person singular - forms are lexicalized simply). Thus ataani 'underneath it' and kitaanut 'to the west'. No further argument beyond a preceding possessor NP (as in umiap ataani 'under the boat') is possible. The sole way in which such constructions may be modified is by the addition of derivational affixes of degree as in illup qarpiaani 'right on top of the house'. Geographical directional stems can be compounded with tungi- 'direction' or another geographical stem of the same sort, as in kitaatungaani 'to the west' and kujataata-kangikanniani 'in the south-east'.

As examples of contemporative clauses with postpositional force note the following three phrases.

aatsitassa-nut tunnga-til-lugu
minerals all. be-based-on cause (4s-)-3s-cont.
'concerning/with respect to minerals'

illit pi-llutit
thou do(-for) (4s-)-2s-cont.
'for you'

angi-ssusi-a naapirtur-lugu
be-big quality its consider (4s-)-3s-cont.
'according to its size'

taassuma sani-a-tigut
that-rel. side its pros.
'besides that'

Compare 1.2.1.2.4 for direct objects of derived verbs corresponding to a variety of pre/post-positional phrases in other languages.

1.2.5. Noun Phrase

1.2.5.1. Operational Definition

A noun phrase in West Greenlandic may be defined as a structural unit with nominal head (in any case or possessed form) acting as subject, object or oblique argument to a verb (or as subject or complement of a copular structure or as head of a nominal exclamatory utterance - and see 1.2.1.3.1.3 & 1.2.3.2 for NPs as/within adverbial expressions). It may range in complexity from simple noun or pronoun to a complex rank-shifted clause with multiple embedding. All following nominal constituents modifying or in apposition to the head agree as to number and case. In 'headless' relative clauses (cf. 1.1.2.3.6) the participial(-like) form itself acts as (noun phrase) head.

1.2.5.2. Types of Modifier

1.2.5.2.1. Adjective

Nominal forms in adjectival function (including ordinary nouns in apposition and those few nominals like nutaag 'new', utuqqaq 'old' & alla 'other' - which are principally adjectival - but most commonly intransitive participial forms of verb bases) follow the head nominal:

sursunniq kingu-lliq
war rear most-in-direction
'the last war'

illirviusaq qisuk
box wood
'a wooden box'

inuit pikkuris-su-t
people be-clever intr.-part. pl.
'clever people'

Verbal bases of (stative) adjectival nature may be extended with affix u 'be', thus involving two occurrences of participial morpheme suq, to indicate a long-term characteristic quality or one relative to other members of the class of head nominal, as in illuqarvik mikisuusuq 'a small town' (see also 2.1.4.2 and 2.1.3.3.2.1.13). Nominal bases extended this way (as headless relative clauses) indicate function/role or one performing the action for the duration, as in siulittaasuusuq 'present leader' (one who is performing this function for the time being).

A considerable part of adjectival modification of nominal heads is performed by derivational affixation (see 2.2.1.1. (b)).

1.2.5.2.2. Relative Clause

See 1.1.2.3. Relative clauses follow the head nominal (but compare 1.1.2.3.6 for headless relative clauses).

niutsivik niqi-mik ulikkaar-tuq
tureen meat instr. be-full intr.-part.
'a tureen full of meat'

pani-at angajulliq ui-lik
daughter their eldest husband provided-with
qiturna-at-sur=li
child be-without intr.-part. but
'their eldest daughter who is married but childless'

nassup-passuit tuttu-t kataga-ga-at
antler many caribou pl.-redrop pass-part. their-pl.
'lots of antlers dropped by caribou'

If the relative clause precedes the nominal it appears to modify, it is emphasized in relation to the latter (e.g. as new/essential information): one may then say that the relative clause itself is the head of the NP (and further modifying nominals will follow the simple nominal).

nunaqarvin-nit assigiinngitsu-niir-su-t
 settlement abl.-pl. various be-from intr.-part. pl.
 mi iqqa-t 14(fjorten)-it missaat
 child pl. 14 pl.-rel. about
 'fourteen-year-old children from various settlements'
 (i.e. 'those from various settlements (who are) 14-year
 old children')

1.2.5.2.3. Possessive Adjective

Personal possession is generally indicated morphologically by inflection of the head nominal (see 2.1.1.4.6), but it is possible to combine this with relative case external personal pronouns for special emphasis (note that first and second person pronominals do not distinguish relative and absolutive case). Thus *uanga illuga* 'my house'.

The possessor stands before the possessed nominal, and with the possibility of 'double' possession marking more complex relationships can be built up as follows:

Isurtu-p Uummanna-a
 Isortoq rel. Uummannaq its
 'Isortoq's Uummannaq (literally 'heart-shaped mountain')

Isurtu-p Uummanna-ata nuu-kasi-a
 Isortoq rel. Uummannaq its-rel. promontory annoying its
 'the (annoying little) promontory of I.'s U.'

Isurtu-p Uummanna-ata nuu-kasi-ata
 Isortoq rel. Uummannaq its-rel. promontory annoying its-rel
 tima-ata innaarsu-kasi-a
 inland its-rel. cliff annoying its
 'the steep slope inland from the promontory of I.'s U.'

A possessed nominal head will stand before a non-possessed 'adjectival' one, as in *illuga mikisuq* 'my little house', but observe also the following (passive participial forms usually do take a possession marker):

asa-sa-ra aja
 love pass.-part my aunt
 'my beloved aunt/dear aunt' (especially in letters)

The reverse order is also possible (*aja* as an address form does not need a possession marker): either (or both) of two nominals in apposition may be marked as possessed (cf. 1.2.5.2.10 (a)).

Note also the 'odd' person concordance in phrases like

kalaallit nunarput 'our, the Greenlanders', land' or 'the land of us Greenlanders', the first plural relative case nominal as if in apposition to the possessive inflection on the second (cf. also kalaallit uagut 'we Greenlanders').

If a possessor nominal is followed by a rank-shifted nominal as head, constituents belonging to the latter intervene between the possessor and the possessed head:

Niisi-p alla-nit ajuqirsuussuti-sia-a
 Niisi rel. other abl.-pl. training received his
 'the training received by N. from others'

1.2.5.2.4. Article

There are no articles. For distinctions of definiteness/indefiniteness see 2.1.1.10/11.

1.2.5.2.5. Demonstrative Adjective

A demonstrative nominal may stand in apposition following a head nominal or itself stand as head before a nominal further specifying the nature of the referent:

arnaq una
 woman that
 'that woman'

una arnaq
 'that female person'

There is a difference in juncture between the former case and the enclitic copular construction described in 1.2.1.1.1(c): [arnaq una] - or in more rapid speech [arna' una] - 'that woman' as opposed to [arnaNuna] 'it is a woman' with enclitic sandhi. In cases where the head nominal ends in a vowel, as in qimmia una 'that dog of his' or 'it's his dog', intonation and context alone distinguish the two. Note the combination of demonstrative head plus nominal in apposition as complement of a copular(-like) construction:

aajuna taanna qattaq
 over-there that bucket
 'There's that bucket (we were talking about)'

1.2.6.2.6. Quantifiers

Quantifiers, whether numerals, q-words or participial verb forms, etc. follow the nominal head, as with other attributive constituents:

puisi ataasiq
 seal one
 'one seal'

qallunaa-t amirlasuu-t
 Dane pl. many pl.
 'many Danes'

Certain 'partitive' and ordinal modifiers in possessed form follow a relative case head nominal (as with comparatives/superlatives - see 1.8.1). The resulting NP may in turn be in any case.

ikinnguti-ma ila-at/ila-an-nut
friend my-rel.-pl. one-of their/one-of their all.
'one of my friends/to one of my friends'

ikinnguti-ma arla-at
friend my-rel.-pl. one-or-other-of their
'one or other of/one group of my friends'

ullut pingajuat
days-rel.(their-)third
'the third day'

atuakka-p aappa-a
book rel. second its
'the second book (or other of two)'

qulit missa-at
ten-rel.direction-of their
'about ten'

There is a clausal equivalent to the last of these: qulit missiliurlugit. Quantifiers (apart from missaat) may appear as independent nominals with anaphoric/exophoric reference, and as such may be in apposition to other nominals in non-possessor form:

kina arla-at (aalla-ssa-va)
who one-or-other-of their (leave future 3s-inter.)
'Which/who of them (will leave)?'

The special stems tamar- 'all', kisi- 'only', and iluunngar- 'all of' following a head nominal agree in number and case with it except that - as described under 1.2.1.2.2. (d) - a distinction is made inflectionally between (third person) subject and object forms with respect to the verb. Thus for intransitive subjects, a nominal head in the absolutive case will co-occur with one of these nominals in 'subject' - i.e. relative - form:

inuit tamar-mik tikiup-put
people all 4p come-over 3p-indic.
'All the people came over'

For the normal case-marked NP use (not to be confused with the adverbial use of kisimi, equal to taamaallat 'only', also possible here) note the following:

amirikamiu-ni kisi-an-ni
American loc.-pl. only 3p loc.
'only with the Americans/at the place of the Americans'

Note the idiomatic combination of tamar- in directional cases with tamaani 'here', etc. as in tamani tamaani 'everywhere'. For analogous constructions with q-stem su- see 2.1.2.1.13. In constructions with the 'partitive' morphemes mentioned above, e.g. tamaanga arlaannut 'to some place or other (cf various possibilities)', the first stem is tama(t)- 'here' rather than tamar-.

1.2.5.2.7. Adverbials

It is not normal for NP head nominals to be modified by simple adverbials, but for rank-shifted nominals containing adverbials see 1.1.2.3.1. Case-marked nominals performing an adverbial function in the clause commonly do modify following NP heads:

qali-a-ni sinittarvik
loft its loc. bedroom
'a bedroom in the (house's) loft'

Nuum-mut pajuttu-ugaluaq
Nuuk all. supply-ship previous
'a previous supply ship to Nuuk'

(Piaati-p) kalaallisut aqq-a
(Piaati rel.) in-Greenlandic name her
'(P.'s) name in Greenlandic'

atuarvi-qar-nir-mik inatsit
school have nom. instr. law
'the law pertaining to schools (i.e to their being set up in settlements)'

This also includes the case of locational/directional stems as in samani tuttu 'the caribou down there', the equivalent of tuttu samaniittuq with corresponding derived modifier in participial form (tuttu samma is the corresponding exclamatory utterance using the demonstrative form of the same stem - cf. 1.2.1.1.3).

1.2.5.2.8. Emphatic Words

Noun phrases may be modified by various emphatic particles and enclitics, all of which may also function as clausal adverbials of an emphatic nature (cf. 2.1.8). Especially with the enclitics (adjoined by preference to the first constituent in the clause) there is considerable overlap/ambiguity of constituent and clausal emphasis here. The principal enclitics are luunniit 'even', mi 'as for/indeed' and (t)taaq 'also'. luunniit has the sense '(not) even' when the main verb is negative or at least contains some negative semantic element, whereas with positive verbs it has rather the vague sense of 'at least/or s.th.' (paralleled in clausal use - cf. 1.3.1.1.2). For mi compare also 1.11.1.1.

ajuqi(=lu)=mi
 catechist (and) indeed
 '(and) indeed the catechist'

Nuum-mi=ssaaq
 Nuuk loc. also
 'also in N.'

niuirtur=luunniit aningaasa-ati-qa-nngil-aq
 shopkeeper even money alien. have not 3s-indic.
 'Not even the shopkeeper has money'

tikaagullik suna=luunniit
 piked-whale what even
 'a piked whale or whatever/any kind of piked whale'

imniaaqa-mil=luunniit pi-laar-langa
 beer instr. even get a-bit 1s-opt.
 'Let me have a beer at least'

Uncertainty as to whether constituent (here the internally expressed subject) or clausal emphasis is involved arises in cases such as:

aalla-ssa-nngil-agut=taa
 leave future not 1p-indic. also
 'We shan't leave either' or: 'Nor shall we leave'

tupir-til=luunniit miki-gi-lir-paa
 tent their-refl. even be-small consider begin 3s-3s-indic.
 'He began to think even their tent was small' or:
 'He even began to think their tent was small'

Other emphatics are: aamma 'also/moreover', allaat 'even', namminiq '(ones)self' and pingaartumik 'especially'. Some of these may (and pingaartumik must) precede the head nominal. They can also be used as clause modifiers, either preceding or following the subject. Emphatic and clausal usage thus overlaps, and ambiguity may arise:

Marta Suurina=lu aamma taamaaliur-put
 Marta Suurina and also do-thus 3p-indic.
 'M. and S. also did so' or: 'Also M. and S. did so'

Note also the possibility of derivational morphemes equivalent to emphatics, as in Nuuppiaq 'the real Nuuk/Nuuk itself'. Examples of ordinary phrasal emphatics:

aamma Niisi-kkut
 also Niisi and-companions
 'also N. and his family/fellows'
 allaat qaja-a (piirup-puq)
 even kayak his (disappear 3s-indic.)
 'Even his kayak (has disappeared)'

pingaartumik takurnarta-t
 especially stranger pl.
 'especially strangers'

Allaat has a more positive sense than luunniit and is found commonly following the constituent to be emphasized - especially in the allative case (when the latter is nominal) in the sense 'up to and including (even - subject/object of clause)':

palasi-mut allaat kavvi-su-up-put
 priest all. even coffee drink with 3p-indic.
 'all of them drank coffee together - even the priest'

sam-unga-rsuaq allaat
 down-there all. big even
 'even (to) way down there'

namminiq (for 3rd person plural usually namminniq) generally follows a nominal or pronominal in the sense '(him)self (in person)'. It refers to the subject of the clause; this applies also to possessive constructions (where it precedes the head).

Piitaq namminiq
 Piitaq self
 'P. himself'

Piita-p namminiq pi-i
 Piitaq rel. self thing his-pl.
 'P.'s own things'

namminiq ila-kka
 self relative my-pl.
 'my own relatives'

namminiq in second position above would be adverbial to the following verb. It cannot modify a head nominal in object function within the clause (it would not refer to the subject of the clause) - taanna 'that (mentioned)' being a possible substitute - but oblique case NPs such as palasimut namminirmut 'to the priest himself' are acceptable. For its purely reflexive use see 1.6.1.1 .

1.2.5.2.9. Comparative/Superlative/Equative Structures

See 1.8 and 1.9. The standard or limit of comparison (a nominal in suitable case form) may be included in a complex NP, as in uumasut annirpaat 'the biggest of the animals'.

1.2.5.2.10. Others

(a) Nouns in apposition. Noun stems found principally in adjectival function have been mentioned under 1.2.5.2.1 above, but more needs to be said of purely nominal forms performing this function within NPs. An example was given under 1.1.2.3.2 of two nouns in apposition whose relative ordering produces

two possible readings; another would be tuluk ikiurtiga 'the Englishman (who is) my helper' as opposed to ikiurtiga tuluk 'my helper the Englishman', with different head. Other combinations of two nouns may be restricted purely semantically to one possibility, e.g. ilinniutit danskisuut 'Danish teaching material' (the latter noun being a nominalization of danskisut 'in Danish'). For q-words plus noun in apposition see 1.1.1.2. 2 and for derived forms in lik 'provided with' see 2.1.1.4.5. ff. The noun in apposition may itself be modified clausally or for possessor:

urpik panir-luni qisu-ssaq
(live-)wood dry 4s-cont. wood future
'wood when it is dried for fuel'

qisuk savi-up ipu-ssa-a
wood knife rel. shaft future its
'(a piece of) wood for the shaft of a knife'

ulluq frimærki-p atu-lir-vi-a
day stamp rel. be-used begin place/time its
'the day the stamp came into use'

Structures such as the last can be regarded as rank-shifted clauses (see below). It is also possible to have a possessed nominal itself in apposition to the head noun (in the absolute case usually but not exclusively) to which the possession marker refers semantically. Only simple (non-heavy) structures are normal today in everyday speech (especially in descriptive demonstrations). In such cases Kleinschmidt (1851, p. 104) recommended instead the use of two separate clauses connected by anaphoric taassuma 'its', etc. in the second clause.

savik ipu-a qisuk
knife shaft its wood
'a knife whose shaft is of wood'

savik ipu-ata nuu-a nassuk
knife shaft its-rel. tip its horn/antler
'a knife the end of whose shaft is of horn'

aappariit irnir-at sanasug
couple son their builder
'a couple whose son is a builder'

Compare the first two sentences above with saviup ipua qisuup kikiaa 'a nail from a knife with a wooden shaft' (examples from OIsen 1974). The head nominal may itself contain a possessor/possessed relationship: Piitap savia qisuk 'P.'s wooden knife'.

(b) Rank-shifted clauses. For examples of rank-shifted nominalizations functioning as NP modifiers see 1.1.2.3.1 & 7. The official term for the newly established Home Rule Authority is a further example:

namminirsur-niru-llutik uqar-tu-ssa-t
 do-oneself more 4p-cont. speak intr.-part. future pl.
 (literally:) 'those who have the right to speak with
 greater independence'

The following also illustrate complex NPs of a clausal nature
 (often with the contemporative mood):

raajarniut-it siu-mi-kkut
 shrimp-trawler pl. prow their-refl. pros.
 qamutili-lli-t tikaagullinniar-lutik
 cannon provided-with pl. catch-piked-whale 4p-cont.
 atur-ta-kka-mi-nik
 use habit. pass.-part. their-refl. instr.-pl.
 'shrimp-trawlers with harpoon-cannons on their prow for
 catching piked whales'

sirmiirsuus-su-i tuttu-p
 ice-scaper big their-pl. caribou rel.
 nassu-mirn-i qarsu-ruluur-lutik
 antler piece-of its-pl. bleach greatly 4p-cont.
 pinnirsaar-luinnar-lugit sanaa-t
 decorate completely (4s-)3p-cont. made-pl.
 'their big ice-scrapers made of caribou antlers comple-
 tely bleached and decorated over'

timmisartuq imma-mut mit-tariaqa-li-ssagaluvar-pat
 plane sea all. land must begin should 3s-condit.
 annanniutit qanuq ati-ni-ssa-at
 life-jackets-rel.how put-on nom. future their
 'how to put on life-jackets if the plane were to land on
 the sea'

Piita-p tuqu-li-rami uqaasi-i kingulli-it
 Piitaq rel. die begin 4s-caus. word his-pl. last pl.
 'P.'s last words as he was dying'

(c) Quasi-compounds. Common combinations of possessor nominal plus possessed head such as tuttu(p)-amia 'caribou-skin' tend to coalesce phonologically, the relative case marker disappearing, and when this process is complete 'compound' lexical items are produced such as ulluqiqqa 'midday' (from ullup qiqqa). However this has only produced a handful of such lexicalizations to date and is only marginally productive. Many incipient 'quasi-compounds' of this sort reveal themselves syntactically by acting like ordinary noun-bases as regards incorporation with such affixes as u 'be' or liar 'go to': see 2.2.6.3 for examples.

1.2.5.3. Order of Modifiers when More than One of Each Type

More than one token of any type of adjectival modifier may follow an NP head, though with relative clauses (heavy or multiple-argument participial mood constituents) there is usually

a conjunctive element such as enclitic lu present. When the head nominal is followed by several adjectival modifiers the tendency is to have constituents indicating more objective or permanent qualities earlier and more subjective/evaluative ones later, though the order can be modified according to what class of objects is being referred to, those constituents placed closest to the head forming the semantic kernel. Thus the core referent may be felt to be either of the following bracketed constituents: (piniartut kalaallit) pikkurissut 'capable Greenlandic hunters' or (piniartut pikkurissut) kalaallit 'capable hunters (who are) Greenlandic'. More 'objective' modifiers include those referring to material, size, shape, colour, sex and nationality. However, long strings of adjectival modifiers are not usual and will in any case probably involve clausal and other types of modifier (including derivational affixes). The following strings may be regarded as 'neutral', though it would be more natural to coordinate some of the later constituents with lu 'and' or to verbalize some of them with u 'be' (in participial or contemporative mood form):

kivvaq arnaq kalaaliq utuqqaq uqalluris-suq
servant woman Greenlandic old speak-well intr.-part.
'a well-spoken old Greenlandic female servant'

kaataq qisuk qirnirtuq takisuuq uqimaatsuq
hammer wood black long heavy
kusana-qi-sur(=lu)
be-beautiful very intr.-part. (and)
'a beautiful heavy long black wooden hammer'

It would be better in the last case to attach lu to at least the final constituent (and probably at least one earlier one) or, alternatively (or as well), to verbalize one or more of the constituents with u - e.g. with uqimaatsuullunilu in place of the penultimate constituent. See 1.3.1.3 under coordination.

1.2.5.4. Combinations of Modifiers not Admitted

Combinations of modifiers not usual on semantic grounds (or because of the head-modifier scope relationship) include the following - though relative clause readings of a number of them are possible : head noun plus possessed nominal in apposition (e.g. *kaataq qisuga) where the possession is meant to cover both constituents (cf. 1.2.5.2.10. (a) above); nominal of material followed by simple noun without derivational morpheme such as ssaq of futurity (e.g. *qisuk ipu); proper name plus simple noun of profession, etc. (e.g. *Petersen palasi); and possessed participial as head plus simple noun in apposition (e.g. *takusara savik).

1.2.5.5. Order of Head and Various Types of Modifiers

In general the head nominal (noun, pronoun or headless relative clause) is in first position within the phrase except

for when preceded by a possessor nominal (see 1.2.5.2.3) or adverbial clause or nominal in oblique case (see 1.2.5.2.7) or certain emphatic words (see 1.2.5.2.8). Clauses, when contained within or constituting an NP, maintain their own internal ordering of constituents. Enclitics (sentential) attach to the first clausal constituent (or to the end of a whole phrase - cf. 2.1.8.2), but those discussed under 1.2.5.2.8 when used emphatically attach to the constituent being emphasized even if that is not the first in the clause. Emphatic words that follow the head must also follow any other simple modifier of that head (in so far as they are not being used clausally); thus palasi utuqqaq namminiq 'the old priest himself'. It is possible, however, for a demonstrative - e.g. taanna - to follow the emphatic. Quantifiers, including tamar-'all', may precede or follow other modifiers depending on scope (see 1.1.2.3.2).

Scope is in fact the principle determinant of successive ordering here, the innermost kernel - the head of the phrase - being to the left of successive layers of modification. Simple nominal modifiers in apposition to the head generally precede participial (relative clause) modifiers, especially heavier ones. Demonstrative pronominals may either be in head position (see 1.2.5.2.5) or following the head and (optionally) other modifiers. All other modifiers between the head and a demonstrative are inside the scope of the latter's definiteness, whereas further modifiers to the right modify the demonstrative itself (subsuming the material to its left) or act as a non-restrictive relative clause expressing new information, as bracketed below:

qimmi-t qaqurtu-t marluk taakku
 dog pl. white pl. two those or:
 'those (two white dogs)'

qimmit qaqurtut taakku marluk
 'those two (white dogs)'

Nuum-miir-suq niviarsiaq taanna pinnir-suq
 Nuuk come-from intr.-part. girl that be-beautiful
 intr.-part.
 'that girl from N. (who is) beautiful'

palasi qallunaaq qisum-mik niu-lik (qanna)
 priest Dane wood instr. leg provided-with (he-in-there)
 'the Danish priest with a wooden leg (in there)'

kaata-t qisu-it qirnir-tu-t
 hammer pl. wood pl. be-black intr.-part. pl.
 'black wooden hammers'

The last phrase is ambiguous in as far as the last constituent could be taken as just modifying the noun in apposition to the head - i.e. 'hammers of black (pieces of) wood'.

Further examples of complex NPs (the next to last of which

belongs to a situation of demonstrating):

illu-t taa-sa-kka pingasut
house pl. mention pass.-part. my-pl. three
'the three houses I mentioned'

illu nutaaq aasaq 1979(nitten hundrede og halvfjerds)-mi
house new summer 1979 loc.
sanaaq
made
'the new house built in 1979'

savik ipu-ata nuu-a nassuk inngigis-suq
knife shaft its-rel. tip its antler be-sharp intr.-part.
qitir-mi-gut kigga-lik
middle its-refl. pros. split provided-with
'a knife, the tip of whose shaft is (made of) sharp horn
with a split in the middle'

kalaalli-t Danmarkii-mii-riir-tu-t
Greenlander pl. Denmark be-in already intr.-part. pl.
tamar-mik
all 4p
'all Greenlanders who have been in Denmark'

The addition of a pronominal form such as taakku following the last example would specify the restrictive sense more definitely. In the following example note that the head is ilaat (in apposition to the following proper names):

Maniitsu-mi nukappiara-qati-gi-sa-ma
Maniitsoq loc. boy fellow have-as pass.-part. my-rel.-pl.
ila-at Hansi Pavia Niisi=lu
member their-pl. Hansi Pavia Niisi and
'some of those I was a young boy in M. with, H., P. and
N.'

Finally, the combination of a relative clause (participial form) plus absolutive case nominal with anaphoric possessed marking in apposition to the head:

qattaq napparta-p kippa-a-tut
bucket barrel rel. cut-section its equ.
i-ngajat-tuq sina-a saanir-ta-lirsu-gaq
be almost intr.-part. side its bone pertaining provide-with
pass.-part.
'a bucket like a section of a barrel whose edge has been
decorated with bone'

The relative ordering and scope relations between head and following modifiers within NPs is largely parallel to that of the stem plus modifying affixes within derivationally complex word-forms (see 2.2).

1.3. Coordination

1.3.1.1. Means of Coordinating Sentences

Sentences may be coordinated either by enclitics and/or conjunctive particles or by the use of co-referential subject contemporative mood inflections on all but one of the coordinated clauses (or by a combination of all of these).

1.3.1.1.1. 'And'-coordination

Two sentences (or clauses in the same mood) may be conjoined by the addition of enclitic lu 'and' to the first constituent of the second sentence:

ippassaq tikip-put aqagu=lu ikinnguta-at
 yesterday arrive 3p-indic. tomorrow and friend their-pl.
 tiki-ssa-pput
 arrive future 3p-indic.
 'They arrived yesterday and their friends will arrive tomorrow'

ippassaq tikip-put aqagu=lu aalla-qqi-ssa-pput
 yesterday arrive 3p-indic. tomorrow and leave again future
 3p-indic.
 'They arrived yesterday and will leave again tomorrow'

However, it is more common in the co-referential case to place one of the verbs in the contemporative mood, with or without lu and before or after the superordinate mood verb (e.g. with lutik instead of -pput in the last example). See 2.1.3.4.16 for the complete paradigm for this mood.

Three different cases must be distinguished, only two of which represent true coordination. First, if the two actions are sequential, the first verb is in the indicative and the second in the contemporative plus enclitic lu, or the first is in the contemporative without lu and the indicative verb follows; the order is determined by the actual temporal sequence of actions, and if one verb is felt to be the principal or essential one it will be the one in the indicative:

isir-puq ingil-luni=lu
 come-in 3s-indic. sit-down 4s-cont. and
 'She came in and sat down'

ani-vunga miiqqal=lu urnil-lugit
 go-out 1s-indic. children and come-to (1s-)3p-cont.
 'I went out and approached the children'

urnil-lugit kuta-ar-pakka
 come-to (1s-)3p-cont. good-day say 1s-3p-indic.
 'Coming up (to them) I said hallo to them'

The second case is where the two actions are more or less simultaneous. Here the contemporative mood form - with or with-

out lu - may precede or follow:

pujurtar-luni(=lu) niri-vuq
 smoke 4s-cont. (and) eat 3s-indic.
 'He smoked and ate'

illu-at kusanar-puq kial-luni=lu
 house their be-pretty 3s-indic. be-warm 4s-cont. and
 'Their house is pretty and warm'

Both these cases must be distinguished from the subordinate temporal sense of the contemporative construction, where a suitable punctual verb in the contemporative plus lu precedes the superordinate mood verb in the sense 'as soon as':

isir-luni=lu niri-lir-puq
 come-in 4s-cont. and eat begin 3s-indic.
 'He started eating as soon as he came in'

The two actions are temporally sequential but not stages in the same coherent overall action as in the first case discussed above.

Adverbials within the first clause do not usually extend in scope over the other in the sequential action cases (though they may in the simultaneous action case, as with purely adverbial contemporative forms). Thus in the following sentence the 'going up' is not necessarily fast:

pilirturtumik irrui-vuq ini-mi-nul=lu
 quickly wash-up 3s-indic. room his-refl. all. and
 majuar-luni
 go-up 4s-cont.
 'He washed up quickly and went up to his room'

For a sentence containing both sequential and simultaneous action variants of this construction see the last sentence of 1.2.1.2.6. Note the difference in adverbial scope between the following (where the adverb may take the main verb in its scope):

pilirturtumik irrui-lluni=lu majuar-puq
 quickly wash-up 4s-cont. and go-up 3s-indic.
 'Quickly, as soon as he'd washed up, he went up'

and the (sequential) sentence without lu - or with lu on the first constituent - where the scope of the adverb will be taken as extending only over the first verb.

The distinction between adverbial and coordinated contemporative verbs without lu is not clear-cut: the notion 'co-verb' (as opposed to e.g. object clause uses of that mood) is applied in this work to a continuum of functions between the purely adverbial and true coordination performed by the contemporative mood.

For the coordination of a transitive plus an intransitive

verb sharing the same subject see the last part of 1.3.1.2.

Emphatic enclitic mi 'indeed/for/yet' on the first sentence constituent may, as with taaqa 'also', indicate a pragmatic link back to the preceding text without being formally conjoined to it - cf. 1.11.1.1. See 1.1.1.2.1.4 for its use in contrast questions, and 1.2.5.2.8 for taaqa in the sense 'subject/object too'.

Sentences may be coordinated in more specific ways by various conjunctive particles such as aamma(lu) and asulu 'moreover', kiisa(lu) '(and) finally', taamaattumik 'therefore', taava(lu) 'then', etc. For elaborating conjunctions tassa and imaattuq see 1.2.1.1.1. (b).

piniartu-t qaqqa-mut tarrip-put
 hunter pl. mountain all. disappear-behind 3p-indic.
 taava(=lu) kinguninnguagut tuttu takku-qqip-puq
 then (and) after-a-while caribou appear again 3s-indic.
 'The hunters disappeared behind the mountain, then after
 a while the caribou appeared again'

Inflected verbal derivatives of taama 'thus' are also commonly used conjunctionally, as in taamaalimmat and taamaalisurлу 'when it became thus/then', and taamaallutik 'they doing this/so', from stem taamaat-.

Indicative (or other mood) clauses, especially in vivid narrative style, may also simply be in apposition - in various semantic relations - and main clause verbs repeated to indicate prolonged or strenuous action/process, as in Bergsland's examples (1955, p.88):

itsuar-niq sapir-punga igalaa-t
 see-through nom. cannot 1s-indic. window pl.
 ilu-sima-pput
 be-frosted perf. 3p-indic.
 'I couldn't see through the windows, they were covered
 in frost'

ualiartur-puq ualiartur-puq
 afternoon-progress 3s-indic. afternoon-progress 3s-indic.
 'The day was gradually declining'

1.3.1.1.2. 'But'-coordination

Two sentences may be contrastively conjoined by the attachment of enclitic li to the first constituent of the second sentence. It may be attached to a co-referential contemporaneous mood clause coordinated with a preceding superordinate clause.

iqqa-a timmiar-passuar-nik ulikkaar-puq
 proximity its bird lots-of instr. be-full 3s-indic.
 siqqur-ta-nngil-aa=li
 shoot iter. not 3s-3p-indic. but

'Around (it) there were lots of birds, but he didn't shoot them'

qimmiq taanna nakuarsuu-vuq saamasuu-lluni=li
 dog that be-strong 3s-indic. be-gentle 4s-cont. but
 'That dog is strong but gentle'

A strengthened contrastive relation is expressed with conjunctive particles kisianni(li) 'but', or taamaattuq 'however'. Derivational affix galuar has a similar sense, but forms subordinate clauses with suitable mood inflections (see 1.1.2.4.2.8); it may be combined with luunniit.

arviq taku-aa kisianni naalin-nia-nngil-aa
 whale see 3s-3s-indic. but harpoon try not 3s-3s-indic.
 'He has seen the whale but won't try to harpoon it'

utuqqanga-galuar-luni(=luunniit) tappi-qa-aq
 look old but... 4s-cont.(even) be-keen-sighted very 3s-indic.
 'Even though he looks old his sight is excellent'

1.3.1.1.3. 'Or'-coordination

Two clauses (superordinate or subordinate) may be coordinated disjunctively with particle imaluunniit 'or'. Enclitic luunniit on its own is more commonly used to coordinate phrases (though especially in connection with the negative it can coordinate whole clauses); see however 1.1.1.2.1.3 for its use in alternative questions (direct or indirect), 1.2.5.2.8 for its sense of 'even' with nominals, and 2.1.2.1.13 for its sense '-ever' in conjunction with q-words. If it links two co-referential subject clauses one will generally be in the contemporaneous mood.

aningaasa-ati-qa-nngil-aq imaluunniit
 money alien. have not 3s-indic. or
 piqa-nngit-su-usaar-puq
 have not intr.-part. pretend-to 3s-indic.
 'He has no money, or pretends not to' or:

aningaasa-ati-qa-nngil-aq
 money alien. have not 3s-indic.
 piqa-nngit-su-usaar-luni=luunniit
 have not intr.-part. pretend-to 4s-cont. or

Two subordinate mood clauses can be coordinated with luunniit:

ullu-u-galuar-pat unnua-a-galuar-pal=luunniit
 day be but... 3s-condit. night be but... 3s-condit. or
 'whether it is day or night'

isi-ruit ani-guil=luunniit
 go-in 2s-condit. go-out 2s-condit. or
 'whether you go in or come out'

Contemporative mood anillutilluunniit here would give the vaguer sense of 'if you come in or go out or whatever'. With two conditional mood clauses coordinated in this fashion a similar meaning of 'for example/or something like that' may arise, and with other subordinate mood forms besides the contemporative (followed by an indicative clause) luunniit may mean this or 'even':

(attartu-rukku) pisiari-gukku=luunniit
 (borrow 2s-3s-condit.) buy 2s-3s-condit. even
 atuar-sinnaa-ssa-vat
 read can future 2s-3s-indic.
 'If you (borrow it or) buy it or something you will be able to read it'

nappar-sima-gami=luunniit inna-ruma-nngil-aq
 get-ill perf. 4s-caus. even go-to-bed want not 3s-indic.
 'Even when he got ill he didn't want to go to bed'

1.3.1.1.4. 'Neither-nor'-coordination

Negative 'or' coordination between co-referential clauses is expressed by enclitic lu or luunniit on the negative contemporative form of the first verb. In other negative contexts luunniit means 'not even' (see 1.2.5.2.8).

sila ajur-luinna-rani=lu
 weather be-bad completely 4s-neg.-cont. and
 pitsaa-lluinna-nngil-aq
 be-good completely not 3s-indic.
 'The weather was neither completely bad nor good'

In the construction of habitual negation/inability with verb stems like ajur- two conjoined clauses, being nominalized by niq, may be coordinated with lu(unniit) directly:

immu-a tuppallirsaa-ginnar-niq ajur-puq
 milk her comfort only nom. cannot 3s-indic.
 qaarsillar-tit-si-innar-nir=luunniit
 satisfy-hunger cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. only nom. or
 'Her milk would not just comfort or satisfy' (i. e. her children; it also had other good qualities)

To coordinate non-co-referential subject sentences this way it is necessary to use such conjunctive particles as aamma(lu) 'and/moreover' with both verbs in parallel mood forms (and semantically negative):

mattak mama-nngil-aq aammalu immiaq
 mattak taste-good not 3s-indic. also home-made-beer
 imi-ruminaap-puq
 drink not-good-to 3s-indic.
 'The mattak doesn't taste good, nor is the home-made beer drinkable'

1.3.1.2. Coordination of Two or More Constituents

There is usually only one coordinating enclitic for any chain of 'and'-coordinated clauses or sentence constituents, namely attached to the last of the chain. Each constituent after the first may however have its own enclitic lu attached to its first element (especially if there is no pause between items thus conjoined) or be separated by repetitions of a conjunctive particle such as aamma or taava. In the case of conjoined nominals the first (and following) may also have lu attached in a strengthened 'both-and' sense (see under 1.3.1.3 below). More than two (non-nominal) constituents conjoined by 'but' or 'or' conjunction is rare, but if this does occur the conjunctive particles discussed above must be used (kisianni and imaluunniit, etc.); for conjoined nominals each with enclitic luunniit see 1.3.1.3 below.

In a series of non-sequential coordinated contemporative mood forms following or preceding the main verb, enclitic lu 'and' is not obligatory (cf. 1.3.1.1), though the last of such a chain usually takes it (and if the construction is at all heavy, each may take its own lu):

illuqarvi-nnguaq atuarvi-qar-puq arlalin-nik
town little school have 3s-indic. several instr.
pisiniarvi-qar-luni(=lu) uqaluvvi-qar-luni=lu
shop have 4s-cont. (and) church have 4s-cont. and
'The little town has a school, several shops and a church'

Two or more coordinated contemporative clauses subordinate to the main verb (e.g. object clauses) require lu:

Naaja su-nik arajutsi-naviirsaa-ga-
Naaja what instr.-pl. not-notice try-not-to pass.-part.
qa-qqu-lluni
have tell-to 4s-cont.
alapirnaat-tua-qqu-lluni=lu
be-inquisitive continually tell-to 4s-cont. and
uqaluun-niqar-tuar-puq
tell passive continually 3s-indic.
'N. was continually told to pay attention to everything and be inquisitive'

Note the possibility of a coordinated contemporative form with lu preceding a superordinate coordinated verb which itself has an adverbial 'co-verb' (without lu). The three verbs in the following example are thus not all coordinated:

arnaquassaa-nngu-up qissimil-lugu=lu
old-woman little rel. look-askance-at (4s-)
nippal-luni uqa-ratar-puq
raise-voice 4s-cont. say at-last 3s-indic.
'The little old woman looked askance at him and raising

her voice spoke at last'

This last sentence also illustrates how a subject shared by a coordinated transitive contemporative mood verb and an intransitive superordinate verb following will usually be in the relative case, agreeing with the immediately following (subordinate) verb form. If the subject nominal were in the absolutive it would normally be understood as the object of the transitive verb, though when there is no possibility of ambiguity (e.g. with plural object on the contemporative verb, the subject being singular) or when the contemporative form is adverbial in nature rather than coordinated, the absolutive may also be found (cf. 1.5.2.3. (b)). If the contemporative verb is intransitive and the following main verb transitive then the shared subject will also generally be in the relative case (to agree with the superordinate verb) - in the plural there is of course no distinction possible.

arna-p suaar-luni kuta-ar-paa
 woman rel. shout 4s-cont. good-day say-to 3s-3s-indic.
 'The woman shouted hallo to him'

The following sentence illustrates the normal coordination of two (or more) sequential contemporative clauses:

Saamik qaanna-mi-nukar-puq anguikk-i=lu
 Saamik kayak his-refl. go-to 3s-indic. spear his-refl. and
 tigu-llugu illu-mut isi-riartur-luni
 take (4s-)3s-cont. house all. enter go-and 4-cont.
 'S. went to his kayak, took (out) his spear and went in-
 to the house'

Observe the complex coordination (non-sequential) involved in the following:

sivisuumik matta-ruma-nngil-aq
 a-long-time get-undressed want not 3s-indic.
 niri-uma-nani qia-lluni=lu
 eat want 4s-neg.-cont. cry 4s-cont. and
 uqar-tar-luni tuqu-ssa-lluni angajuqqaa-ni
 say iter. 4s-cont. die future 4s-cont. parents her
 assut annilaanga-til-lugit
 very be-anxious cause (4s-)3p-cont.
 'For a long time she wouldn't get undressed, didn't want
 to eat and, crying, would say she was going to die, causing her parents anxiety'

1.3.1.3. Means of Coordinating Major Sentence Constituents

Two or more NPs may be coordinated by enclitics lu or luunniit on the first constituent of the last, or on each NP in a stronger 'both-and' or 'either-or' sense (common also if the NPs are structurally not parallel, e.g. one of them being heavier). Alternatively, in a more deliberate list-like manner,

conjunctive particles such as aammalu or kiisalu 'and' or imaluunniit 'or' may be used between items:

tuluit qallunaat kalaallil=lu
Englishmen Danes Greenlanders and
'Englishmen, Danes and Greenlanders'

ini igavvil=lu qalia-ni=lu sinittarvi-it
(living-)room kitchen and loft loc. and bedroom pl.
marluk
two

'a living room, a kitchen and two bedrooms in the loft'

Maalia Piitaaq kiisalu Tuumasi
Maalia Piitaaq and-finally Tuumasi
'M., P. and T.'

palasi(=luunniit) niuirtur=luunniit
priest (or) shopkeeper or
'either the priest or the shopkeeper'

palasi=lu niuirtur=lu
priest and shopkeeper and
'both the priest and the shopkeeper'

With negative verbs two NPs may be conjoined with luunniit in the sense 'neither - nor'; a single NP with luunniit in such a context has the meaning 'neither/even - not':

ilinniartitsisur=luunniit atuartu-l=luunniit
teacher even pupil pl. even

tikiuti-nngil-at
come-along not 3p-indic.

'Neither the teacher nor the pupils came along'

uanga=luunniit piuma-nngil-anga
I even want not 1s-indic.

'I don't want to either'

In cases where it is two incorporated nominals that are negatively coordinated clausal 'neither - nor' coordination is necessary:

qalluna-a-nani=lu kalaali-u-nngil-aq
Dane be 4s-neg.-cont. and Greenlander be not 3s-indic.
'He is neither a Dane nor a Greenlander'

Similarly, 'X but not Y' must be expressed clausally (or by naamik, cf. 1.1.1.2.4.1.1):

Tuumasi tikip-puq nuli-a=li tiki-nngil-aq (or:
Tuumasi come 3s-indic. wife his but come not 3s-indic.
naamik)
(no)

'T. came but his wife didn't'

A single nominal with enclitic *lu* may have its conjoined term referred to solely by the inflection of the verb:

Hansi=lu aqagu aalla-ssa-agut
 Hansi and tomorrow leave future 1p-indic.
 'Hansi and I will leave tomorrow'

Kunuu-kkul=lu niri-artur-put
 Kunuuk and-companions and eat go-and 3p-indic.
 'He went off to eat with K. and his fellows'

When two absolutive case subjects of an intransitive verb are conjoined by *lu* and the second nominal is marked as possessed by the first, either 3rd or 4th person inflection is allowed on the possessed form. In the case of transitive verbs (the conjoined subjects being in the relative case) either relative case 4th person or absolutive 3rd person are used (in the older language absolutive 4th person was also possible here):

qimmiq piara-a=lu/piaqqa-ni=lu
 dog puppy its and/puppy its-refl. and
 miagguu-lir-put
 howl begin 3p-indic.
 'The dog and its pup began to howl'

Piita-p qatannguta-a=lu/qatanngum-mi=lu
 Piitaq rel. brother his and/brother his-refl.-rel. and
 arviq pisar-aat
 whale catch 3p-3s-indic.
 'P. and his brother caught the whale'

In such coordinated structures the possessive marker may refer back to the nominal stem of a derived nominal rather than the whole derived form or to a possessor not overtly expressed:

Kunuu-kkut nukk-i=lu
 Kunuuk and-companions younger-brother his-refl. and
 'Kunuuk and his younger brother'

nuli-a=lu inuullua-qqu-ti-kkit
 wife his and live-well tell-to cause 2s-3p-imp.
 'Say hallo to him and his wife'

More than one adjectival constituent (apart from simple nouns like *qursuk* 'green' which can only be in apposition to their head when not derivationally extended) may be conjoined with *lu*, *li* or *luunniit* on the last constituent. The same applies to adverbials (though see 1.3.1.5.3 below):

pual asuuq pinnirtur=li
 fat beautiful but
 'fat but beautiful'

Kanata-mi Alaska-mi=lu(unniit)
 Canada loc. Alaska loc.and (or)

'in Canada and/or Alaska'

arriit-su-mik mianirsur-tu-mil=lu
 be-slow intr.-part. instr. be-careful intr.-part. instr.
 and
 'slowly and carefully'

It is more common however to conjoin forms like the former, being verbal in origin, by the use of the contemporative mood, as with conjoined sentences, thus arriillunilu mianirsurtumik in the last example (or adjectival arriillunilu mianirsurtuq).

Note the clausal alternative to two adverbials conjoined by luunniit:

Nuum-mi-u-nngik-kuni Sisimiu-ni-u-ssa-aq
 Nuuk loc. be not 4s-condit. Sisimiut loc. be must-be 3s-
 indic.
 'It must (have) be(en) in N. or S.'

1.3.1.4. Coordination and Accompaniment

Accompaniment may be expressed with coordinating enclitic lu or with affix kkut 'and fellows' (plus lu) as in Kunuukkullu niriarturput in the preceding section, and with two nouns: Martakkut Sissiilu 'Marta and Sissii (together)'. It is more precisely expressed however by a derived contemporative mood form taking the person accompanied as object:

piniartuq ikiurtti-ga-lugu/angala-qati-ga-lugu
 hunter helper have-as (4s-)3s-cont./travel fellow have-
 as (4s-)3s-cont.
 'with the hunter as his helper/travel companion'
 Aalut ilaga-lugu
 Aalut accompany (4s-)3s-cont.
 'together with A.'

1.3.1.5. Structural Parallelism Required under Coordination

1.3.1.5.1. Adjectives and Participial Constructions

Since most adjectival modifiers are in fact participial there is no obvious restriction on coordinating them with each other or with the relatively few non-participial nominals used principally in adjectival function (or derived forms with lik 'provided with'). It is not usual however to find a heavy (i.e. rank-shifted) participial construction followed by a simple adjectival modifier to which it is coordinated. Nor is it possible to coordinate an adjectival/participial form with a simple nominal used adjectivally in apposition such as kalaaliq 'Greenlandic' or qursuk 'wooden' (with derived forms with u 'be' and nngur 'become' it is possible however).

angut utuqqaq isigiarsuttur=lu
 man old near-sighted and
 'an old near-sighted man'

An alternative way of 'and'-coordinating adjectivals is with the contemporative mood of the verbal(-ized) base of one of them; again there is no parallelism necessary (though it is usual).

miki-vallaa-rani=lu анги-vallaa-nngit-suq
 be-small too 4s-neg.-cont. and be-big too not intr.-part.
 'not too small and not too big'

utuqqaa-lluni=lu kiguta-arul-luinna-ngajat-tuq
 be-old 4s-cont. and tooth be-without completely almost
 intr.part.
 'old and almost entirely without teeth'

1.3.1.5.2. Nouns and Nominalized Constructions

No structural parallelism seems necessary; cf. the following sentence.

nuannar-aat ajuqi-tuqaq quianartu-nil=lu
 like 3p-3s-indic. catechist old amusing instr.-pl. and
 uqaluttuari-sarta-ga-i tama-asa
 tell iter. pass.-part. his-pl. all 3p
 'They liked the old catechist and all the amusing things
 he used to tell'

1.3.1.5.5. Different Types of Adverbials

It is usually only possible to coordinate adverbials when there is a certain structural parallelism, by form - e.g. case inflections - and/or semantically - e.g. various expressions of time. This means that adverbial particles are unlikely to be conjoined with a (rank-shifted) clausal adverbial and adverbials in one case form are likely to be conjoined with ones in another only within the same overall category (time, manner, place, etc.), as in the following:

timmiaaqqat inira-riir-nir-i-sigut
 fledglings-rel.be-mature already nom. their pros.
 ukia-riartu-lir-sil-lugu=lu
 become-autumn gradually begin while (4s-)3s-cont. and
 aalla-kaa-ni-ssa-min-nut
 leave in-flock nom. future their-refl. all.
 katirsu-uti-lir-nir-an-ni
 gather with begin nom. their loc.
 'when the fledglings have matured and towards autumn
 are gathering for departure'

It is possible to conjoin simple adverbs within one such category even when their form and origin is not parallel, as in aqagu ataasinngurpalluunniit 'tomorrow or on Monday'. Note the possibility of a contemporative mood form being conjoined with an instrumental case participial form as illustrated towards the end of 1.3.1.3 (again requiring a certain semantic parallelism), or, in the negative:

pitsaa-nani=lu sukkasuu-nngit-su-mik
 be-good 4s-neg.-cont. and be-fast not intr.-part. instr.
 'neither well nor fast'

Two adverbial clauses may be in apposition (semantically subordinate?) rather than formally conjoined as in the following:

isi-lla-rama taku-li-lla-rakku
 come-in intens. 1s-caus. see begin intens. 1s-2s-caus.
 (illa-raluttuaqa-anga)
 (laugh be-on-point-of 1s-indic.)
 'When I came in and saw you there (I almost cracked up with laughter)'

1.3.1.5.4. Active and Passive Verbs

No restriction on coordination. Note however as regards transitive verbs that it is not possible to coordinate with the contemporative two active sentences where the subject (intransitive) of the one equals the object (transitive) of the other - this requires passivization, as in:

Hansi isir-puq Kaala-mil=lu taku-niqar-luni
 Hansi come-in 3s-indic. Kaalat abl. and see passive 4s-cont.
 'H. came in and was seen by K.'

Though Hansi isirpuq Kaalallu takuaa 'H. came in and K. saw him' is quite acceptable here, with the indicative mood in both clauses, *Hansi isirpuq Kaalallu takullugu/takulluni is not (the co-referential subject condition for the contemporative mood is broken).

Observe also the possible coordination of an active clause and a quasi-passive intransitive one with for example sariaqar 'must':

qimmi-qar-nia-raanni iluamik
 dog have try 3p-4s-part. properly
 nirisa-qar-til-lugil=lu
 food have cause (4s-)3p-cont. and
 imiga-qar-tit-tariaqar-put
 drink have cause must 3p-indic.
 'If one wants to keep dogs one must feed them and give them water properly'

As illustrated in 1.3.1.1.1, any combination of (in)transitive clauses may be coordinated with the contemporative mood on one of them as long as the co-referential subject condition is met, thus the following are all well-formed: Hansi isirpuq ingillunilu 'H. came in and sat down', Hansi isirpuq takullugulu 'H. came in and saw him', Hansip takuaa kutaarlugulu 'H. saw him and said hallo to him', and Hansip takuaa qimaallunilu 'H. saw him and fled'. For the case-marking of the subject here when one clause only is transitive,

cf. 1.3.1.2. With the coordinated sentences in moods other than the contemporative there is always cross-reference from the verbal inflections to both subject and (for transitive verbs) object, regardless of whether an external noun phrase can be regarded as deleted under identity conditions or not. The only case where it is not possible simply to delete the identical noun phrase in the second of such clauses is when the object of the first is the subject of the second, as in:

Hansi-p Kaalat taku-aa taassuma=li
 Hansi rel. Kaalat see 3s-3s-indic. she-rel. but
 taku-nngil-aa
 see not 3s-3s-indic.

'Hansi saw K., but she didn't see him'

Here the anaphoric demonstrative taanna is required (as it would also be if an oblique case were called for); this is the case too in corresponding intransitive clauses, e.g. if taassumali takunngilaa above were replaced by taannali qimaavuu 'but she fled' (though it could in fact here be omitted since the resulting ambiguity as to the subject of qimaavurli would be clarified by context). Note further that two indicative sentences can be coordinated where the subject of the first is identical with the object of the second, as in Hansi isirpuq Kaalallu takuaa above, or where the object of both is identical, as in Hansip Kaalat takuaa nuliatalu niriartuquaa 'H. saw K. and his wife invited her to come and eat (the object of the last verb could also be understood as referring to the subject of the first).

1.3.1.5.5. Verb Categories that Cannot be Coordinated

Apart from very general semantic restrictions on the type of action/state verb capable of being coordinated with other types (e.g. a habitual state 'and'- coordinated with a punctual action), the only apparent constraint on the coordination of verb forms concerns mood inflection: it is not usual to coordinate clauses in different moods other than contemporative plus superordinate verb (as discussed under 1.3.1.1.1 above) and adverbial clauses of the same semantic type but different mood form. However, exceptions to this may be found, especially with li for contrast:

taama miki-tigi-suq taassuma=li angi-nirar-paa
 thus be-small so intr.-part. he-rel. but be-big say-that
 3s-3s-indic.

'It being so small but he said it was big'

siuliquata-anna-a-vuq
 introduction only be 3s-indic.
 pi-nngitsuur-niqar-sinnaa-nngi-vis-sur=li
 do happen-not-to passive can not really 3s-part. but

'It was only an introduction, but necessary'

taku-llugu=lu tusa-rumaar-pat
 see (2s-)3s-cont. and hear future 2s-3s-indic.
 'You will see and hear it'

And observe also - with 'double transitivizer' qqu -
atalisirlurluni ugursaquaa 'she asked him to get dressed and
put warm clothes on', mentioned in 1.5.2.3. (b).

Under coordination it is normal to omit a shared verb when
 there is a distinct object - or object complement - as well as
 subject in each (i.e. when 'gapping' is involved):

Hansi ataatsi-mik aqissir-puq uanga=lu
 Hansi one instr. catch-ptarmigan 3s-indic. I and
 pingasu-nik
 three instr.
 'H. caught one ptarmigan and I (caught) three'

nukappiaraq Jensi-mik ati-qar-puq
 boy Jensi instr. name have 3s-indic.
 niuarsiar=lu Sissii-mik
 girl and Sissii instr.
 'The boy is called J. and the girl S.'

Similarly in alternative questions with shared subject:

tuqu-suq ataata-vit
 be-dead intr.-part. father thy-rel.
 anaana-g-aa imaluunniit anaana-vit
 mother have-as 3s-3s-inter. or mother thy-rel.
 'Was the deceased your father's mother or your mother's?'

When two conjoined clauses share the same derivational aff-
 fix on different nominal bases the affix may be repeated in
 the second clause in the contemporative mood even though not
 strictly co-referential:

Suuvvia ataa-niip-pug Kaalal=lu
 Suuvvia below be-at 3s-indic. Kaalat and
 ini-mi-niil-luni/ini-mi-ni
 room her-refl. be-in 4s-cont./room her-refl. loc.
 'S. is downstairs and K. is in her room'

In response to questions with conjoined subjects (e.g. 'where
 are S. and K.?) such sentences can be verbless: Suuvvia
ataani Kaalallu inimini.

1.3.3. Elements in Phrasal Constituents that Can(not) be Omit- ted under Identity in Coordination

When two or more NPs are coordinated, shared modifiers
 must either be repeated following each head or, more naturally,
 placed without repetition following the conjoined heads. Since
 such modifiers must then be in plural form, there is possible
 ambiguity when the heads are already plural. With numeral mo-

difiers following two 'and'-conjoined nominals to indicate a (mixed) sum-total a preceding plural hyponym is necessary.

amaqqu-t tuttu-l=lu nujuarta-t
 wolf pl. caribou pl. and wild pl.
 'wolves and wild caribou' or: 'wild wolves and caribou'

atuarvik uqaluvvil=lu qaqurtu-t
 school church and white pl.
 'the white school and church'

miiqqa-t nukappiaqqa-t niviarsia-l=lu qulit
 child pl. boy pl. girl pl. and ten
 'ten boys and girls'

puisi-t tuttu-l=luunniit qulit
 seal pl. caribou pl. or ten
 'ten seals or caribou'

appa-t aapakku aakakku=lu
 guillemot pl. those-up-there those-down-there and
 'those guillemots up there and down there'

Possessive inflections (and derivational morphemes of any kind) cannot have within their scope elements outside of their own nominal base's NP, but external possessor arguments shared by coordinated NPs need not be repeated, nor is this necessary when a possessed NP is shared by two possessors:

Anta-p Aani-l=lu irnir-i/irni-at
 Anta rel. Aani rel. and son their-pl./son their
 'A. and A.'s sons/son'

piniartu-p irnir-a pani-a=lu
 hunter rel. son his daughter his and
 'the hunter's son and daughter'

When the heads of such constructions are verbalized by derivational affix the pattern is not changed in the first case but will require two clauses in the second:

Anta-p Aani-l=lu irnir-an-niip-puq
 Anta rel. Aani rel. and son their be-at 3s-indic.
 'She is at the house of A. and A.'s son'

nakursaq piniartu-p irnir-a-nii-riar-luni
 doctor hunter rel. son his be-at after 4s-cont.
 pani-a-nukar-puq
 daughter his go-to 3s-indic.
 'The doctor went to the hunter's daughter after being at his (the hunter's) son's place'

The only way of conjoining 'his son' and 'his daughter' directly in the last (i.e. 'their place') would be to have them as a conjoined object of an independent external verb.

For the omission of a pronoun conjoined to a nominal with

lu (and referred to by the inflection of the following verb) see 1.3.1.3.

Adverbials modifying coordinated adjectival or other adverbial elements following them are not repeated for each element. Ambiguity as to whether such an adverbial takes all or only the first following element(s) in its scope may arise, though this is generally clarified by the semantics.

ingammik pinniitsuq ipirtuur=lu
 extremely ugly dirty and
 'extremely ugly and dirty'

assut quinartu-mik piviusu-mil=li
 very amusing instr. realistic instr. but
 'very amusingly but realistically'

Possible ambiguity of scope in the latter would be avoided by using verbal intensifying affix qi 'very' (quinaqisumik for the first conjoined element), since the scope of 'adverbial' affixes of this sort cannot extend beyond the word and thus cannot extend to the second conjoined element. For the same reason shared affix ngajak in the following must be repeated:

nutaa-ngajat-tu-t
 be-new almost intr.-part. pl.
 atur-tar-niqa-nngi-ngajat-tu-l=lu
 use iter. passive not almost intr.-part. pl. and
 'almost new and almost unused (things)'

Paired adverbials such as ilaanni...ilaanni 'sometimes... sometimes' cannot of course be reduced further, however many conjoined elements there are:

ilaanni ullu-kkut ilaanni=lu unnu-kkut
 sometimes day pros. sometimes and evening pros.
 'sometimes in the day and sometimes in the evening'

1.4. Negation

1.4.1. Sentence Negation

Sentence negation is expressed derivationally by affix nngit (or compounds of it such as nngitsuur 'happen not to'). Other verbal affixes containing semantic negativity such as junnaar 'no longer' or lexicalized it (contradictory) produce predicate negation exclusively. There are special indicative and interrogative mood forms following nngit (3s nngilaq, etc.), and it is replaced in the contemporative by a special negative paradigm (4th person nani, etc.) - see 2.1.3.4.1 and 2.1.3.4.16. Within the verbal complex it is possible to distinguish sentential from predicate negation according to the relative position of nngit (see under 2.2 for the relative internal ordering of affixes). In the former function nngit comes closer to

the end of the verb-form (thus aspectual affixes cannot follow it, for instance) and includes all morphemes to its left within the word in its scope, also external adverbials usually. In predicate negation function it usually takes only the rest of the word to its left within its scope, and this cannot include any ('sentential') affixes of tense or modality. In practice most occurrences of nngit are potentially ambiguous as to predicate versus sentential negation since the two can be distinguished positionally only if other suitable affixal morphemes are present within the word (e.g. with double negation as discussed below). In superordinate clauses the sentential rather than the predicate reading takes precedence in such cases.

Sentence negation produces contradictory rather than just contrary statements on bases that are gradable, whereas bases with predicate negation - which often involve lexicalization - may remain gradable (e.g. assigiinniginnirupput 'they are more different'), and double negation within a word always produces the contradictory of the (first) negative base (see 1.4.3). There are predictable semantic differences depending on the relative ordering of nngit and other affixes: thus Kaalat tikinnikkallarpuq 'K. hasn't arrived yet' but Kaalat tikikkallanngilaq 'K. still hasn't arrived', where gallanngit can be regarded as a semi-lexicalized unit indicating unfulfilled expectation. There are few exceptions to the transparency of these internal scope relations, for example the (semi)-lexicalized combinations qqunngit 'tell not to/not tell to' and sariaqanngit 'must not/need not', and some lexicalized combinations of an affix of degree plus nngit may produce a contrary, as ngaanngit 'not very' from ngaar 'greatly'. Compare this with qqanngit 'very' from qqar 'barely/a little'. Note also the splitting of certain otherwise lexicalized combinations of base plus negation with intruding sentential affixes, e.g. ajussanngilaq 'it will be good' from ajunngit- 'be good'. Such semantically 'double' negative bases are common (cf. also for instance nalunngit- 'know' from nalu- 'not know'). Examples of sentential negation (and scope):

immaqa aatsaat taama saassut-sit-tu-mik
perhaps for-first-time thus attack cause intr.-part. instr.
tusa-li-nngin-nir-put
hear begin not I-wonder 3p-indic.

'Perhaps it wasn't the first time they heard (of) someone getting attacked like that'

nukappiaqqa-tut alla-tut alliautu-ssa-nngim-mat
boy equ.-pl. other equ.-pl. grow-up future not 3s-caus.
kisianni=una assigiinnigitsu-nik maliruagassa-qar-luni
but that various instr.-pl. rule have 4s-cont.

'For he was not supposed to grow up like other boys but had to follow various rules'

savi-ga ajursar-vi-qa-nngil-aq
knife my be-defeated place have not 3s-indic.

'There is nothing my knife cannot cut'

The negation in the first clause of the next-to-last sentence is clearly sentential (following future affix *ssa*), whereas a form such as alliartunngilaq 'he didn't grow up' is ambiguous, i.e. the negative may or may not take the preceding adverbial in its scope. Similarly, the following has two readings:

akulikitsumik tikit-ta-nngil-aq
often come habit. not 3s-indic.

'He often didn't come' or: 'He didn't come often'

Constituent negation in the adverbial itself (akulikinngitsumik 'not often') would on the other hand be unambiguous. Negative morphemes that are generally used as predicate negation as regards position within the verb form may occur in sentential use in the sense of taking a preceding external adverbial within its scope, as in:

annaa-sa-ni ugguutiga-lugit
miss pass.-part his-refl.-pl. be-annoyed-at (4s-)3p-cont.
iqqartu-nngisaanna-raluar-pai
mention never but... 3s-3p-indic.

'He would never speak with annoyance of the things he had missed (but...)'

Note the emphatic construction with alla 'other' plus a negative verb, and the colloquial use of naami(k) 'no' as a negative strengthener (cf. also 1.1.1.2.4.1.1):

alla upa-nngil-aa niviarsiaaraq kisi-at
other attack not 3s-3s-indic. little-girl only 3s

'It (the dog) attacked (none other than) the little girl'

naamik tusa-ralua-rukku
no hear but... 2s-3s-condit.
qitigiaqati-gi-navianngil-arma
dancing-partner have-as will-never 2s-1s-indic.

'If you had heard of that you would never have danced with me'

The combination of q-word plus negative verb produces a total negation ('not any/no one/nothing', etc.):

TV-mi su-mik suqutiginar-tu-qa-nngil-aq
TV loc. what instr. be-interesting intr.part. have not
3s-indic.

'There is nothing interesting on TV'

kina=luunniit taku-nngil-aa
who ever see not 3s-3s-indic.

'He didn't see anyone'

qanu(q) -iliu-nngil-anga
do-how not 1s-indic.
'I didn't do anything'

For the enclitic luunniit plus negative verb in the sense 'not even' see 1.2.5.2.8; the construction may occur in a single word-form, e.g. tikinngilarluunniit 'he didn't even come'. For habitual negation expressed with verbs like ajur- following nominalizations in niq see 1.1.2.2.6 and 1.3.1.1.4, where the second example sentence illustrates how this construction can display scope relations typical for predicate (as well as sentential) negation.

1.4.2. Constituent Negation

Constituent negation also employs verbal negation marker nngit. With nominals this requires verbalization with u 'be' first.

ataasi-u-nngit-su-ming=aasiit kalip-puq
one be not intr.-part. instr. as-usual tow 3s-indic.
'He was towing, as usual, not just one (e.g. seal)'

illu purtusuu-nngit-suq
house be-tall not intr.-part.
'a house that isn't tall'

It is possible to negate locative case expressions this way too, i.e. Qaqurtumiunngilaq 'it was not in Qaqortoq' (as opposed to Qaqurtumiinngilaq 'he is not in Q'). Cf. 1.2.1.1.3.

Contrastive constituent negation of NPs is expressed by verbal means, especially with the negative contemporative mood of 'empty' stem pi- (otherwise 'do/say/go/see/get/happen'), pinnagu, etc.

puisi pi-nnagu kassuq iqqur-paa
seal pi-(4s-)3s-neg.-cont. chunk-of-ice hit 3s-3s-indic.
'He hit a chunk of ice, not the seal'

There are no negative pronominals, q-words plus verbal negation being used instead, as exemplified in 1.4.1 above.

External adverbials either modify a following negative verb directly, or, especially with simple adverbials (e.g. particles), fall within the scope of the (sentential) negation of the verb, as illustrated in the following examples (and cf. the example with akulikitsumik in the preceding section):

asuliinnaq pi-nngil-aq
just-for-fun do not 3s-indic.
'He didn't do/say it just for fun'

piaara-luni tiki-nngil-aq
do-on-purpose 4s-cont. come not 3s-indic.
'He didn't come, on purpose'

Tului(t)-nunaan-nuka-nngil-aq ikinngun-ni=lu
 England go-to not 3s-indic. friend his-refl. and
 tikiraar-nagu
 visit (4s-)3s-neg.-cont.
 'He didn't go to England and visit his friend'

The only apparent exception to this is when a contemporative clause (without *lu*) preceding the negated main verb is so closely bound to it as to be adverbial in nature, i.e. does not represent true coordination (cf. 1.4.5 below); this also includes the subordinate construction with *lu* described in 1.3.1.1. Thus there is a slight difference between:

tikil-lugu taku-nngin-nakku
 come-to (1s-)3s-cont. see not 1s-3s-caus.
 'because I didn't come-up and see him'

and the corresponding clause with coordinated negative *tikinnagulu* in place of the first constituent, where the meaning is 'because I neither came up to nor saw him' (cf. 1.3.1.1.4).

1.4.5. Negation of a Subordinate Clause Expressed by Negation of the Superordinate Verb

Cases where a negative element is raised from a subordinate clause to semantically non-transparent position in a superordinate clause in West Greenlandic are of doubtful acceptability: they are felt by some speakers to reflect Danish usage. The natural (or original) construction is with the negative element strictly in the clause it belongs to semantically. Thus the first of the following pair of sentences is 'preferable', though the second can certainly be heard. Both can imply that the subject has gone to Nuuk, though the first further suggests that he went for some other reason and the second could be taken in the sense that he didn't in fact go. On that second reading the sentence is perfectly acceptable (not a Danicism).

angingaasar-siu-ssa-nanga Nuu-Iiar-punga
 money look-for future 1s-neg.-cont. Nuuk go-to 1s-indic.
 'I didn't come to N. to make money'

angingaasar-siu-ssa-llunga Nuu-lia-nngil-anga
 money look-for future 1s-cont. Nuuk go-to not 1s-indic.

The same applies to negated object clauses of thinking, etc. The first of the following sentences exemplifies the original Greenlandic construction, while the second (also widely heard) may be regarded as a Danicism:

isumaqar-punga ilaa-juma-nngit-suq
 think 1s-indic.come-along want not 3s-part.
 'I don't think he wants to come along'

isumaqa-nngil-anga ilaa-juma-suq
think not 1s-indic. come-along want 3s-part.

Note, however, that the equivalent derivational construction is quite natural (surinngit being a semi-lexicalized combination like qqunngit mentioned under 1.4.1):

ilaa-juma-suri-nngil-ara
come-along want think-that not 1s-3s-indic.
'I don't think he wants to come along'

1.5. Anaphora

1.5.1. Means of Expressing Anaphora

1.5.1.1. Deletion

Verbal inflections contain reference to external arguments (subject and/or object) as do possessed forms of nominals to their possessor; in both cases there is no necessity for any external argument to be expressed overtly, which is equivalent to stating that they may in all cases be deleted, the function of the inflection being anaphoric (or cata- or exo-phoric). There is a morphological distinction between 3rd and 4th (reflexive 3rd) person (apart from in the superordinate verbal moods generally), i.e. a system of 'switch reference'. 4th person inflections refer to the subject of the (superordinate) verb (though see 1.5.2.3 below - and 1.1.1.2.1.1 for 4th person forms used in questions and answers with no superordinate verb). That subject may itself be an external argument or referred to anaphorically solely by the superordinate verbal inflection. Impersonal or general subject reference - English 'one/you' - is expressed by ordinary 3rd person plural inflections (for verbal affix nar which sometimes has this force see 1.2.1.2.1). Subject-object inflections involving 4th person objects with 1st and 2nd person subjects are tending to be lost from the paradigms for younger speakers (replaced by corresponding 3rd person object forms) in the spoken language.

1.5.1.3. Ordinary Personal Pronouns

Independent inflectable personal pronouns exist and may be used anaphorically for combinations of all three persons and two numbers (2. 1.2.1.2). For 3rd person any of a number of inflected demonstrative stems (see 2.1.2.5.2) may be used, the most common of which in this function is una, plural uku 'that/those'. Personal pronouns corresponding to subject/object or possessor inflections are commonly not expressed where special emphasis is not required.

1.5.1.4. Reflexive Pronouns

For reflexive pronominal stem immi - see 1.6.1.1. below,

where also emphatic reflexive word namminiq is discussed.

1.5.1.5. Special Anaphoric Pronouns

All demonstrative stems may be made overtly anaphoric in the sense of 'the one(s) previously mentioned (or understood as if mentioned)' by addition of one of the only two 'prefixes' in the language, ta- (for aa- see 1.2.1.1.3). Thus taanna, taqqanna, tappinna (see 2.1.2.5.2 for meanings and idiosyncratic inflection of these). It also forms anaphoric counterparts to the adverbial correlates of these (e.g. tappava from pavva 'up there') and of non-pronominal ima 'thus': taama. Some of the derivatives of the latter are lexicalized in a not strictly anaphoric sense, e.g. taamaattuq 'nevertheless' from taamaat- 'do thus' referring to a previously mentioned action, and taamani in the locative case 'at that time', which may or may not be overtly anaphoric. Tamaani is largely synonymous with maani 'here' in the vaguer sense of 'hereabouts/in this country', etc. and taqqama (assut nuannirpuq) 'out there (it is really nice)' may refer to the weather outside - e.g. in response to a question about the latter (silu qanu(q)-ippa). tassa 'it/that is', etc. (discussed in 1.2.1.1.1. (b)) is itself of such anaphoric (adverbial) origin, and with case endings it refers to anaphoric place - e.g. tassunga 'to this/that place', to be distinguished from corresponding case forms of taanna (anaphoric equivalent of una 'it/that/he/she ') as in taassumunnga 'to it, etc.'.

Other pronominals of an anaphoric nature are ilaat 'one of them', aappaa 'its other/partner', and arlaat 'one or another of them'. The possessor referent (preceding nominal in relative case) may be - and often is- omitted. Rather formal/literary ways of referring to antecedent NPs and larger contextual units include taasakka 'the things I've mentioned', kingulliq/siulliq 'the latter/former' and siulliinni 'in the preceding (text)', all of which may be due to influence from Danish through translations, etc.

1.5.2. Means of Expressing Anaphora in Different Contexts and their Restrictions

1.5.2.1. Within the Clause

All of the means described above are found within the clause, either anaphorically or cataphorically (or exophorically if there is no overt referent) depending on the clause - internal word-order. However, anaphora expressed by ta- generally points back to an antecedent in the same or preceding sentence (as do the special anaphoric forms mentioned under 1.5.1.5 which refer to a preceding textual context). Ordinary pronouns are not normally used cataphorically either. With immi- the reference is usually cataphoric (to the inflection

of the main verb) if there is no independent argument referent, but if there is the antecedent usually precedes (see 1.6.1.1). There is no 4th person distinction in superordinate mood verbal inflections (but see the last example under 1.5.2.3), nor can 4th person possessed nominals appear as the subject of a main (superordinate mood) verb apart from in the coordinated structures discussed in 1.3.1.3.

(uuma) nulia-ni taku-aa
 (he-rel.) wife his-refl. see 3s-3s-indic.
 'He_i saw his_i wife'

nuli-a taku-aa
 wife his see 3s-3s-indic.
 'He_i saw his_j wife'

aalisartu-t ila-at ipi-vuq
 fisherman pL-rel. one-of their drown 3s-indic.
 'One of the fisherman drowned'

Nominal possession may involve recursion with both 3rd and 4th person anaphora mixed:

ataata-mi ikinnguta-ata irnir-a taku-aa
 father his-refl.-rel. friend his-rel. son his see 3s-3s-
 indic.
 'He_i saw his_i father's friend's son'

It is possible with the affixes discussed in 2.1.3.6.12.1.3 to have a 3rd/4th person possessed nominal embedded in a derived verb referring anaphorically (with or without external antecedent) to the subject of the verb:

angajuqaa-mi-niis-sima-vuq
 parents his-refl. be-at perf. 3s-indic.
 'He_i has been at his_i parents' place'

For possessive inflections on passive participial forms indicating the (passive) agent anaphorically, etc. see 1.1.2.3.7 & 1.6.5.2 ff.

A possession marker on a nominal argument (or adverbial) referring to the 'remote' object - i.e. underlying verb subject - of a 'double transitive' affix such as qqu 'ask/tell to' in a complex verb form will be in the 4th rather than 3rd person even though not equivalent to the subject of the derived verb form. Compare savimminik kapivaa 'he_i stabbed him_j with his_i knife' to the following:

Aalu-p (Pavia-mut) Suulut savim-mi-nik
 Aalut rel. (Pavia all.) Suulut knife his-refl. instr.
 kapi-qqu-aa
 stab tell-to 3s-3s-indic.

'Aalut told him (Pavia) to stab Suulut with his knife'

This last sentence is ambiguous as to whether the knife is Aalut's or Pavia's. The ordering Aalup savimminik (Paviamut) Suulut kapiquaa indicates less ambiguously that it is Aalut's knife (for word-order principles involved here see 1.2.1.2.6). If it was Suulut's knife in either sentence savik would take 3rd person possessed inflection. Breaking into more than one clause may be desirable to avoid any ambiguity at all when several possible antecedent arguments are present, as here.

1.5.2.2. Between Coordinate Structures

There are no constraints on type of anaphora possible here (either ana- or cata-phoric), though it is rare to find the 'antecedent' of an anaphoric element in the first of two conjoined clauses in subordinate moods overtly expressed only in the second. 4th -as opposed to 3rd -person inflections refer to the subject of the main verb of each clause separately if different (but see below on the 'psychological' subject). In the case of a superordinate mood verb plus a contemporative mood clause used in a coordinative sense (usually with enclitic lu), 4th person inflections on the latter (as for possessed forms of nominals within the clause) refer to the subject of the superordinate mood verb, as under 1.5.2.3 below. 4th person forms of the contemporative mood indicate only the subject or the object in a reflexive sense (see 1.6.2) and thus cannot indicate an object co-referential with the subject of the superordinate verb when it is different from the subject of the contemporative clause (but for the case with 'double transitivizer' qqu see 1.6.1.1). However, it is perfectly possible to have a 4th person possessed nominal as object of the contemporative verb form in such a context:

nikuip-puq pujurtaan-ni=lu qamil-lugu
get-up 3s-indic. pipe his-refl. and extinguish (4s-)3s-cont.
'He got up and put his pipe out'

For further remarks on anaphoric relations between subjects/objects of clauses coordinated in this manner see 1.3.1.5.4 (also for coordinated indicative sentences). See 1.3.1.3 for cases where two nominals, the second of which involves a possessed marker referring to the first, may be coordinated by lu using 4th instead of 3rd person forms when in subject position.

It is also possible to coordinate a superordinate mood verb with a contemporative one in the 4th person if the two clauses are structurally and semantically parallel (and contrastive), even though the subjects of the clauses are not strictly co-referential, as in X ajugaqqippuq Y-li ajursarluni 'X won again but Y lost', or:

nukappiaqqa-t tiivi-u-pput niviarsiaqqa-l=lu
boy pl. 20 be 3p-indic. girl pl. and

quli-u-llutik
10 be 4p-cont.

'There are twenty boys and ten girls'

1.5.2.3. Between Superordinate and Subordinate Clauses

(a) Ordering. Respective ordering of anaphoric elements and antecedents between different level clauses is not fixed, though in practice it is not common to find an overt nominal 'antecedent' in a following clause if separated by 'heavy' material. The following cataphoric cases are quite natural:

illu-a tiki-lugu Piitaq taku-aa
house his arrive-at (4s-)3s-cont. Piitaq see 3s-3s-indic.
'Arriving at his_i house he_j saw Piitaq_i'

tikim-magu illu tassangaannaq piir-puq
arrive-at 3s-3s-caus. house suddenly be-removed 3s-
indic.

'When he came up to it the house vanished suddenly'

tikim-mani Hansi-mut uqa-lir-puq
arrive-at 3s-4s-caus. Hansi all. say begin 3s-indic.
'When he_i came up to him_j he_j began to say (s.th.) to
Hansi_i'

immi-nut tikik-kami ajuqi isir-puq
self all. arrive 4s-caus. catechist enter 3s-indic.
'When he_i came to his_i place the catechist_i went in'

All of these could, in context, have the order subordinate-superordinate clause reversed (e.g. for emphasis). However, when pronominals (and other forms with anaphoric *ta-*) are involved, cataphoric ordering is not likely; the normal patterns is as below:

igavvik kian-niru-mmat tassani issia-vugut
kitchen be-warm more 3s-caus. there sit 1p-indic.
'Since the kitchen was warmer we sat there (in it)'

For cases of reflexive *immi-* in a subordinate clause referring to the subject of a superordinate verb (ana- or cataphorically) see 1.6.1.1 .

(b) Switch reference. The (3rd person) subject and/or object of subordinate verbs are either co-referential with the subject of the superordinate verb, in which case 4th person inflections are used, or they are not, in which case 3rd person inflections are used. Possessed nominal inflections on NP arguments also participate in this distinction, and this includes even subject NPs in subordinate clauses. Ambiguity may arise as regards nominal possessed forms since although a 4th person inflected form in a subordinate clause usually refers to the sub-

ject of its own clause it may (when it is different from the latter) refer to the subject of a superordinate clause; the first reading of the following is most normal, but in a suitable context ('topic' = subject of the main verb) the other is possible (see (c) below):

uqaatig-aa (Piitaq) nuna-mi-nut
 say-about 3s-3s-indic. (Piitaq) land his-refl. all.
 aallar-tuq
 leave 3s-part.
 'He_i said he_j (P.) was leaving for his_j/his_i country'

Usually a 4th person verbal inflection refers to the subject of the immediately superior clause (though ambiguity in cases of multiple embedding when the reference is to the subject of the highest clause may also arise here). See under (a) above for examples and note also the following:

qiturna-i atisa-lup-put
 child his-pl. clothes have-bad 3p-indic.
 arna-mik suqutigi-nngim-matik
 mother their-refl.-rel. care-about not 3s-4p-caus.
 'His children_i are badly dressed because their_i mother
 doesn't care about them_i'

nulia-ni qia-rii-rami isir-mat
 wife his-refl. cry have-finished 4s-caus. come-in 3s-caus.
 uqar-puq
 say 3s-indic.
 'When his_i wife_j came in because she_j had finished crying
 he_i said (s.th.)'

Without riir the last sentence could be understood as 'when his_i wife came in because he_i was crying he_i said (s.th.)', though a preferable word order would then be: qiaqami nuliani isirmat uqarpuq.

In the first of the following two examples the 4th person object ending of the first contemporative mood verb refers (reflexively) to the subject of the highest verb, not that of the intermediate level verb:

sava-ati-mi ilisara-luni
 sheep alien.his-refl.-rel.-pl. recognize 4s-cont.
 miirtur-vigi-lir-manni misiga-aq
 bleat have-as-place-of begin 3p-4s-caus. feel 3s-indic.
 qullili-lir-luni
 tears-come-to-eyes begin 4s-cont.
 'When his sheep, recognizing him, began to bleat at him,
 he felt tears coming to his eyes'

uqar-put niuirtu-kkut ilimagi-gaat
 say 3p-indic. shopkeeper &-family-rel. expect 3p-3s-part.
 urni-ssa-gaatik
 come-to future 3s-4p-part.
 'They_i say the shopkeeper and his wife_j expect that he_k
 will come to them_j'

In the last sentence the corresponding reflexively used contemporative inflection -ilutik would change the reference of the final 'he-them' inflection to 'they (the speakers)-them (the shopkeepers)'.

In subordinate (non-4th person) clauses 4th rather than 3rd person possessed forms are used even for a subject NP in the case of possessor co-reference with the superordinate subject:

irni-ni sulii sinit-tuq piniartuq aallar-puq
 son his-refl. still sleep 3s-part. hunter leave 3s-indic.
 'While his_i son was still sleeping the hunter_i left'
 nulia-ni isir-mat palasi ani-vuq
 wife his-refl. come-in 3s-caus priest go-out 3s-indic.
 'When his (own) wife came in the priest went out'

Complications arise with the contemporative mood used adverbally (in the sense of 1.1.2.4.1) since the third rather than fourth person possession markers may be used on subject NPs in such clauses (as when semantically coordinated) when referring to the subject of the main clause, as illustrated in the first sentence example in 1.1.2.4.2.2 and in 1.13.2.4. A further complication concerns the absence of subject when, in transitive use, the object is marked inflectionally (all else being equal the subject is taken as co-referential with that of the superordinate verb, as in the intransitive case). Usually the 3rd person object so marked refers to some argument other than the subject of the superordinate verb (as in puisi uniarlugu qanillivug 'he approached dragging a seal behind him'), but it is quite regular to find such forms referring to the superordinate subject when the subject of the subordinate clause is suppressed intentionally to exploit the resulting vagueness of agency:

igalaaq urnin-niar-lugu asirur-puq
 window approach try (4s-)-3s-cont. break 3s-indic.
 'When one tried to approach the window it broke'

The main verb in such cases is generally a non-agentive one (observe the passive-like nature of the intransitive forms of such verbs), as also in tukirlugu kitturarpuq 'kicking it, it snapped'. In those (few) instances where this is not the case (Bergsland 1955, p. 60, gives one or two examples from the ol-

der language) it is probably a matter of 'psychological' subject (the object of the contemporative clause referring to the latter, equivalent to the subject of the main verb), for which see (c) below; indeed this may be involved in the non-agentive cases here discussed as well.

The suppressed subject may semantically refer to the object of the relatively superordinate verb or to the possessor of its subject, as in the following examples from Bergsland; compare 1.1.2.2.4 for the first (an inclusion relationship may also be involved between the suppressed subject and the 1st person plural possessor in the first sentence:

taava uanga apiri-lir-para umiatsiar-put
 then I ask begin 1s-3s-indic. boat our
 qanu(q)-is-sura-lugu
 be-how think-that (4s-)3s-cont.

'Then I asked (her) what (she) thought of our boat'

qimmir-sua-ni pituussaar-lugit
 dog big his-refl.-pl. let-loose (4s-)3p-cont.
 qimmi-isa alittur-paat
 dog his-pl.-rel. tear-up 3p-3s-indic.

'Letting his dogs loose, they tore her to pieces'

Further, it may refer to the suppressed subject (agent) of an overtly passive superordinate verb; in the following example affix sariaqar 'must' is used with passive force (cf. 2.1.3.1.1):

Kangaarsuk avaqqul-lugu Qiqirtarsuatsiaat
 Kangaarsuk go-seaward-of (4s-)3s-cont. Qeqertarsuatsiaat
 pula-jartur-vigi-sariaqar-put
 enter go-and have-as-place-of must 3p-indic.

'Moving round beyond Kangaarsuk Q. must be moved (rowed) into'

In such 'impersonal' constructions where the contemporative verb is intransitive, its (4th person) subject may be different from that of the passive(-like) verb:

sinirsur-luni tuttu-rpassuit takussaa-pput
 follow-coast 4s-cont. caribou many can-be-seen 3p-indic.

'When one followed the coast a large number of caribou could be seen'

And in a somewhat similar instance involving passivization:

tuni-niqar-puq piqa-ngaa-qqu-llugu
 give passive 3s-indic. have greatly in-order-to (4s-)3s-cont.

'He was given (things) abundently'

Compare this with the regular intransitive use of the contemporative in piqangaaraluarluni tuniniqarpuq 'although he had a lot he was given (more)' (& cf. 1.1.2.2.5).

igalaa-qar-tar-put
 window have habit. 3p-indic.
 igalaar-ta-lir-lugu inalum-mik
 window pertaining provide-with (4s-)3s-cont. gut instr.
 'They usually have a window made of (stretched) gut'
 upirnaa-kkut aalla-lir-luni saviru-alaa-ga-ssa-t
 spring pros. leave begin 4s-cont. trim a-little pass.-part.
 future pl.
 'when one begins to move off in the spring, things to be
 trimmed a bit'

In the last example the semantic relation between the subject of the contemporative clause and the head nominal is very vague, but may be said to concern the suppressed passive agent of the latter. For similar cases where the superordinate term is a nominal with exclamatory force (and other mood forms - 4th person - are found besides the contemporative) see 1.1.1.4.

In general, nominalized clauses maintain any 3rd/4th person morphemes as in the underlying clause (but see 1.1.2.2.6 for the changes required for transitive inflections under nominalization).

Sometimes a 4th person subordinate verb-form other than in the contemporative refers to the suppressed subject of a superordinate impersonal or passive(-like) verb (compare the sentence beginning with 'Kangaarsuk' above):

qanit-tu-mik inu-qa-runi
 be-near intr.-part. instr. person have 4s-condit.
 iluatin-na-qa-at
 exploit be-such-as-to very 3p-indic.
 'If there is somebody nearby they (i.e. the seals) can
 be exploited/made use of'

ajuqi aatsaat taama
 catechist only-then so
 sukanga-til-lugu taku-gamikku
 be-severe cause/while (4p-)3s-cont. see 4p-3s-caus.
 aki-su-qa-nngil-aq
 reply intr.-part. have not 3s-indic.
 'No one replied, for they had never seen the catechist
 so severe/angry before'

And sometimes if a subordinate clause shares the same subject as the superordinate verb the subject may be in the case required by the subordinate rather than the superordinate clause (cf. 1.3.1.2):

Kunuu-p ilaga-lugit aallar-puq
 Kunuuk rel. accompany (4s-)3p-cont. leave 3s-indic.
 'K. left accompanying them'

The absolutive is also possible here (and is obligatory if the

nominal subject immediately precedes the main verb); if the main verb is transitive and the subordinate one intransitive there is again a choice of relative or absolutive case for the shared subject in such sentences. Agreement with the (final) main verb is more likely if the subordinate clause is more or less parenthetical, or at any rate not too heavy:

Kunuuk-p /Kunuuk qatannungum-mi-nit
 Kunuuk rel./Kunuuk sibling his-refl.-pl. abl.
 angajulli-u-gami uqarvig-ai
 eldest be 4s-caus. speak-to 3s-3p-indic.
 'Because he was the eldest (of his siblings) K. spoke to them'

A 4th person subordinate clause may have a plural subject (or object in the case of a transitive contemporative clause) while the superordinate (co-referential-subject) verb has a singular subject if the former includes the latter in its scope; the inverse of this relationship is not possible. The same applies if the superordinate subject is a part of the subordinate subject or in some other loose sense related to it. Note the necessity of 3rd person possessed forms (referring to the superordinate subject) on subjects within 4th person subordinate clauses (cf. the example under 1.1.2.4.2.2 with nipaa sajulluni alongside nipini sajuttuq):

inuqarvik inu-irup-puq inu-i
 town people have-no-more 3s-indic. people its
 nunaqarvin-nut nutsi-ramik
 settlement all.-pl. move 4p-caus.
 'The town was uninhabited since its inhabitants had moved to settlements'

ippassar-nit sukka-niru-llutik malug-aa
 yesterday abl. be-fast more 4p-cont. notice 3s-3s-indic.
 'He noticed that they (including himself) were faster than yesterday'

niviarsiaq sikkir-luni kiina-nngu-a
 girl giggle 4s-cont. face little her
 nui-ratannguar-puq
 appear at-last 3s-indic.
 'The little girl giggling, her little face appeared at last'

filmiliari-niqar-puq kalaallit
 make-into-film passive 3s-indic. Greenlanders
 inutta-a-llutik
 crew be 4p-cont.
 'It was filmed with a Greenlandic cast'

anguta-a danski-u-vuq arna-a=lu
 father his Dane be 3s-indic. mother his and

kalaali-u-lluni akutaq
 Greenlander be 4s-cont. person-of-mixed-descent
 'His father was Danish and his mother a Greenlander of mixed descent'

Compare the second sentence with the regular inclusion relationship with other persons:

ippassar-nit sukka-niru-lluta/sukka-niru-sugut
 yesterday abl. be-fast more 1p-cont/be-fast more 1p-part.
 maluga-ara
 notice 1s-3s-indic.
 'I noticed that we were faster than yesterday'

Here the reverse relationship is possible (replacing -lluta with -llunga and (ga)ara with (ga)arput), i.e. 'we noticed that I was faster than yesterday'.

For a similar case with a nominal fourth person plural form subordinate to a third person singular main verb see the sentence beginning 'imminut isirpuq' towards the end of 1.1.2.4. 2.1 (immi(C)- without person marker being 4th person).

(c) 'Psychological' subject. A further complication concerning anaphoric relations between subordinate and superordinate clauses concerns the possibility of a 4th person subordinate term referring to the contextually determined 'psychological' subject rather than the grammatical subject of the superordinate clause:

ningi -lla-ramiuk kiturar-puq
 let-down intens. 4s-3s-caus. break 3s-indic.
 'When he let it down into the water it (the line) broke'
 kingumut qivia-rami alligarnittuq qani-nngil-aq
 back look 4s-caus. bladder-dart-hunter be-close not
 3s-indic.
 'When he looked back the bladder-dart hunter was not near'

The context for these last two sentences makes it clear that the 'topic' upon which the narration is focused is the 4th person 'he' (something like 'he saw that' may be presupposed). In the following the 4th person subordinate clause subject (the people's laughter) is semantically connected in a loose way to the main clause (and psychological) subject - the people - in a way reminiscent of some of the examples at the end of (b) above:

ila nuannir-ta-qa-at avaalaar-palaar-suaq
 sure be-fun habit. very 3p-indic. shout sound-of big
 illar-palaar-suaq kisimi-u-sa-rami
 laugh sound-of big only be habit. 4s-caus.
 'They were sure fun (to watch), with nothing but shouting and laughing'

The same use of 4th person morphemes referring to the psychological topic rather than directly to the superordinate clause subject also concerns nominal possessed forms, as in the following where the final phrase is marked as possessed by a (4th) person whose thoughts are being reported:

Qinnqur-miut ilagi-ssa-vaat
 Qinnqoq dwellers-rel. have-as-member must-be 3p-3s-indic.
 namminiq taku-sima-nngisaanna-kka-ni
 self see perf. never pass.-part. his-refl.
 'She must have been one of the Qinnqoq people he himself
 had never seen'

It is even possible to find (in older/literary texts especially) 4th person object inflections on 3rd person subject indicative mood verbs (not normally possible) when the object is understood as the psychological topic, e.g. in the following where the boy is the topic (just been discussed) and even the subject nominal has a 4th person possessed morpheme:

ataata-mi qangarsuarli
 father his-refl.-rel. since-long-ago
 uqarvigi-sima-galuar-paani Akurninnar-miu
 say-to perf. but... 3s-4s-indic. Akorninnaq dweller
 sianigi-sima-qqu-llugu
 keep-eye-on perf. tell-to (4s-)3s-cont.
 'His father had told him ages ago to keep an eye on the
 man from Akorninnaq'

The phenomenon of 'psychological' conflicting with 'grammatical' subject lies behind some of the complications Kleinschmidt discusses (1851, p. 105) under the heading of 'Durchkreuzung der Sätze'; he gives further examples of conditions where a 4th person marker may be ambiguous (p. 91). Woodbury (1975, p. 98ff.) discusses some of these anomalies in terms of the extension of switch-reference conditions from the clause to coordinated and discursal structures.

1.5.2.4. Between Different Subordinate Clauses

What has been said above applies also between different subordinate clauses, but with the proviso that 4th person forms occurring in a subordinate clause must refer to an antecedent (usually the subject) in a superordinate clause and never to one in a parallel subordinate clause under the same superordinate one, unless of course it is the same referent as the subject of the superordinate clause. The overt antecedent to an anaphoric element in a subordinate clause may lie in a preceding (parallel) subordinate clause (less likely in a following one):

niviarsiaq aallar-sima-mmat angaju-a=lu
 girl leave perf. 3s-caus. elder-brother her and

angirla-nngikkallar-mat pulaartuq tikip-puq
 come-home not-yet 3s-caus. guest arrive 3s-indic.
 'While the girl was away and her brother had not yet come
 home the guest arrived'

1.5.2.5. Between Sentences

All means of anaphora are possible here, except that immi- and 4th person inflections can only refer to the subject of a clause within the same overall sentence as themselves (apart from cases of 'psychological' subject mentioned above - and cf. 1.6.2). Cataphoric reference to an overt 'antecedent' in a new sentence is not found. Note that the antecedent may be the incorporated nominal base of a derived verb-form:

illu-liur-sima-vuq angisuu-vuq
 house make perf. 3s-indic. be-big 3s-indic.
 'He made a house. It was big'

The antecedent of an anaphoric pronoun like taanna is most likely to be the last mentioned NP of suitably concordant number rather than an argument referred to solely by an inflectional ending if one follows such an NP in the preceding sentence. Taanna (plural taakku) is more specific in reference than tamanna (plural tamakku) when referring back to things previously mentioned; tamakku may thus sometimes be glossed as 'these sort of things'.

1.6. Reflexives

1.6.1. Means by which Expressed

1.6.1.1. Reflexive Pronoun

A reflexive relationship can be expressed by use of either the reflexive pronominal stem immi- (plural immiC-) plus case inflection, or the usually uninflected emphatic word namminiq (optionally namminniq for 3rd person plural subject) which generally has adverbial function modifying the clause as a whole (e.g. namminiq takuaa 'he saw it himself'; see 1.2.5.2.8 for its emphatic use in NPs with possible simple case-inflection). Both may be found however in inflected possessed form for 1st and 2nd (& for namminiq also 4th) person in oblique cases other than simple allative for singular reflexive 'object' and in various derived verbal forms. In the 4th person (co-referential 3rd person) case immi(C)- alone plus case inflection is used, though imminirmi- (with 4th person marker) is also possible, as is namminirmi-. In the plural ambiguity arises between the reflexive and reciprocal senses of immiC- (compare 1.7.1), thus immitsinnut, for example, can mean 'to ourselves/our houses' or '(we) to each other/each other's houses' (but namminitsinnut can only have the former sense). The following

is also ambiguous:

immitsin-nut nirisip-pugut
ourselves/each-other all. feed 1p-indic.
'We fed each other/ourselves'

The usual reflexive use of immi- (all persons singular) is illustrated below:

immi-nut uqar-viga-anga
self all. speak-to 1s-indic.
'I spoke to myself'

immi-nit/namminir-mi-nit ani-vuq
self abl./self his-refl. abl. come-out 3s-indic.
'He came out of his house/place'

immi-nut tuqup-puq
self all. kill 3s-indic.
'He killed himself'

In the last sentence the ordinary non-reflexive pronoun can be found (though it is not considered quite correct) for the first person (uannut tuquppunga 'I killed myself'). In the plural a suitable person marker is required for the 1st and 2nd person, e.g. immitsinnut tuquppugut 'we killed ourselves'. As regards the use of immi- in the allative case (older also instrumental) with intransitive verbal inflection, see 1.6.1.3 below.

The antecedent of immi- is generally the subject of the immediate (same) clause:

uqar-puq Hansi immi-nut ikiur-tariaqar-tuq
say 3s-indic. Hansi self all. help must 3s-part.
'He said Hansi must help himself'

When reflexive reference is to the subject of a higher clause, namminiq rather than immi- is needed when the reflexive constituent (non-inflected) is in object function in the subordinate clause (not possible with immi-, lacking an absolutive form). It is optional, however, as the verbal inflection alone indicates the reflexive relationship.

Maalia uqar-puq Hansi-p namminiq
Maalia say 3s-indic. Hansi-rel. self
ikiur-tariaqa-raani
help must 3s-4s-part.
'Maalia said that Hansi had to help her (herself)'

Maalia-p Hansi uqarvig-aa namminiq
Maalia-rel. Hansi say-to 3s-3s-indic. self
ikiu-qqu-lluni
help ask-to 4s-cont.
'Maalia told/asked Hansi to help her (herself)'

These two examples are ambiguous as to which subject namminiq

refers to - thus in the first it may (indeed is more likely to be) understood as referring to Hansi (M. said H. himself had to help her'): as mentioned, namminiq is essentially an adverbial. There are also cases where immi- does indeed appear to refer to the subject of a higher clause; in this event one can speak of the 'psychological' over-riding the 'grammatical' subject (see 1.5.2.3. (c):

Naaja aallar-luni=lu
 Naaja set-off 4s-cont.and
 irsi-ummi-rujussuar-puq
 be-scared suddenly enormously 3s-indic.
 pasitsaal-lugu ilagisa-ni
 suspect (4s-)3s-cont. companion her-refl.-pl.
 qima-ssa-llugit immi-nit miki-niru-qi-mmata
 leave future (4s-)3p-cont. self abl. be-small more very 3p-
 caus.

'N., as soon as she set off, felt great fear, suspecting that she would leave her companions behind since they were much smaller than she (herself) was'

qutsavigi-umallir-paa maanna tikillugu
 be-grateful-for feel(-like) 3s-3s-indic. now until
 immi-nik paar-si-sima-mmat
 self instr. look-after $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. perf. 3s-caus.

'He_i felt grateful that he_j had looked after him_i up till now'

The lack of overt subject in the subordinate clause as in the last example may facilitate such a reading.

If the antecedent is overtly expressed it may precede or follow immi- (though the former is far more common), thus the following contextually/stylistically marked variants of corresponding sentences with Hansi in first position are quite acceptable:

immi-nut tuqut-tuq Hansi uqaatig-aat
 self all. kill 3s-part. Hansi say-about 3p-3s-indic.
 'They said that H. had killed himself'

immi-nut tuqun-nia-raluar-luni Hansi uqar-puq
 self all. kill try but... 4s-cont. Hansi say 3s-indic.
 'Hansi said he had tried to kill himself'

1.6.1.3. Verbal Inflection/Affixation

Fourth person verbal (& nominal) inflections, co-referential with the subject of the superordinate clause, are the reflexive correlates of the corresponding 3rd person inflections. Intransitive verbal inflections on otherwise transitive verbal bases also may have a reflexive sense, as in asappuq 'he washed himself' as opposed to asappaa 'he washed it', and tuqqurpuq 'he hid himself' (cf. tuqqurpaa 'he hid it' and half-

transitive tugquivug 'he hid s.th.'). Some such reflexively used verb forms require an oblique form of immi-, for example imminut tuguppuq 'he killed himself' and imminut uqarvigaanga 'I spoke to myself' in the preceding section, imminut aqqunartippuq 'he hurt himself' (with causative affix tit), and, with the instrumental case, imminik killuutigaag 'he betrayed himself'. immi- is only commonly left out in these cases upon repetition when, for example, referring to someone who has been stated to have killed himself but now specifying the place or time of the action - thus Nuummi tuguttuq 'the one who killed himself in Nuuk', though with a number of such verbs immi- may be said to be optional simply. Those containing causal morpheme tit may have a slightly different meaning with or without immi-, thus aqqunartippuq above may on its own mean 'he got hurt', with the possibility of a 'remote object' object in the allative (cf. 1.2.1.2.2. (b)) being added - e.g. Jensimut 'by Jens'. Those verbs here that do require immi- all seem to contain the notion of action normally directed outwards directed towards one self (as opposed to s.o. else). There will always be a contrast between these intransitively inflected transitive bases and corresponding half-transitive forms. Such cases should be distinguished from other pairs of transitive/intransitive verb stems where a change of meaning or subject/object relation adheres to the choice of form (see 1.2.1.2.2. (c) and note especially the 'non-agentive' as opposed to 'agentive' - \emptyset -half-transitive- class). In the case of transitive affix tit 'cause/let', intransitive inflections may indicate a clearly reflexive sense in context - as illustrated above - but most commonly indicate the initiation of an action/state, e.g. aallartippuq 'he set off' from aallar- 'leave' (for the conjunctive sense of 'while' with contemporative mood inflections see 1.1.2.4.2.1). With 'double transitive' affix qqu 'want/ask to' note ilinnut takusaqquvuq 'he wanted you to come and see him(self)', with 'remote' allative object.

1.6.2. Reflexivity Restrcted to the Clause

Though the scope of reflexivity is most commonly restricted to the clause, it need not be: see 1.5.2.3. (b) for 4th person inflections referring anaphorically/cataphorically beyond the clause and 1.6.1.1 above for extra-clausal reference of immi-. Note that with so-called 'double-transitive' affixes like qqu 'ask/tell to' immi- is regularly used in oblique cases referring reflexively to the 'subject' of the affix itself rather than that of the underlying non-affixed verb, and that this is still the case if the clause is embedded in another sharing the same subject (i.e. the scope of immi- can still be called intraclausal here):

palasi-p immi-nut niri-artu-qqu-aanga
 priest rel. self all. eat come-to ask-to 3s-1s-indic.

'The priest asked me to come and eat at his place'

palasi-p qinnuig-aanga immi-nut niri-artu-qqu-llunga
 priest rel. beg 3s-1s-indic. self all.eat come-to ask-to
 (4s-)1s-cont.

'The priest asked/begged me to come and eat at his place'

In the last example the final person marking is for 1st person object (contemporative forms not distinguishing subject and object marking for 1st, 2nd & 4th person); compare this with the sentence with ikiuqqulluni in 1.6.1.1 where the 4th person ending also refers to the clausal object but is co-referential with the superordinate subject (in reflexive use) and immi- cannot be used to refer beyond its clause (lacking an absolutive object form).

1.6.3. Intraclause Reflexivity where the Reflexive Element is a Verbal Inflection

For examples of the use of 4th person subject/object markers in subordinate mood inflections see 1.5.2.3 (Anaphora); the reflexive use of intransitive (subject-marked) superordinate verbal inflections has been exemplified above. The only restriction (apart from the special cases discussed) is that the reflexive element must refer to the subject of the clause.

1.6.4. Intraclause Reflexivity where the Reflexive Element is Not a Verbal Inflection

The following account of possible relations between antecedent (overt or not) and reflexive element is essentially for nominal possessive inflections plus pronominal stem immi-, but applies also to naminiq (with case inflections) in so far as its use overlaps with immi-, as described above. The position in the clause of both pronominal elements is as for other NPs, hence rather flexible. Though immi- can usually only refer to an antecedent which is the subject of its clause, this may be the (participial) subject of a relative or object clause (rather than that of the main verb, one of whose arguments it modifies). See 1.6.5.7 below also, and for the relative clause case 1.6.5.2.

nukappiaq immi-nut tuqut-tuq nalunngil-ara
 young-man self all. kill 3s-part. know 1s-3s-indic.

'I know that the young man has killed himself'

immi-nut tuqut-tu-mik tusa-ga-qar-punga
 self all. kill intr.-part instr. hear pass.-part. have 1s-
 indic.

'I have heard that someone has killed himself'

1.6.5.1. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Direct Object

For speakers in the central region immi- does not occur

without oblique case inflection so cannot occur as absolutive case direct object (for namminiq in subordinate clauses in this function see 1.6.1.1 above and for 4th person possessed objects see 1.5.2.1). However, in conjunction with the reflexive use of intransitive inflections of transitive verbal bases it may occur as object in the allative case (or with 'half-transitive' bases, in the instrumental):

immi-nut naalliut-sip-putit
self all. suffer cause 2s-indic.
'You caused yourself suffering'

Half-transitive imminik naalluutsitsivutit would suggest a proclivity rather than a specific event.

1.6.5.2. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Modifier of Direct Object

If one includes possessive markers under 'modifier', the following is an example:

tuukk-ia-ni ajuqi-mut tunniup-paa
harpoon-tip made his-refl. catechist all. give 3s-3s-indic.
'He gave the harpoon-tip he(himself) had made to the catechist'

It is possible to have a relative clause (headless or otherwise) incorporating immi- modifying an object nominal (or any oblique case nominal for that matter):

angut immi-n-nut qaaqqu-sa-ra
man self my all. invite pass.-part. my
taku-qqi-nngi-l-ara
see again not 1s-3s-indic.
'I didn't see the man I'd invited to my place again'

But it is also possible to use emphatic (uninflected) namminiq, as in:

kaagi namminiq sanaa-ni sassar-paa
cake self made his-refl. bring-forward 3s-3s-indic.
'He brought forward a cake he'd made himself'

1.6.6.3. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Indirect Object

The allative of immi- is usually -i.e. when used as 'object' of any sort- a semantic direct object (corresponding to an absolutive case object in the equivalent non-reflexive/reciprocal sentence), as in imminut tuquppuq above - plural imminnut tuqupput 'they killed themselves/each other'.

1.6.5.4. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Modifier of Indirect Object

nulia-mi-nut aningaasat tunniup-pai
wife his-refl. all. money-pl. give 3s-3p-indic.

'He_i gave the money to his_i wife'

1.6.5.7. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Complement or
Complement-modifier

The only context where it is common to have immi- here is within a relative clause acting as complement to an incorporated nominal subject or object:

ati-qar-puq immi-nut naliqqul-luar-tu-mik
name have 3s-indic. self all. suit well intr.-part. instr.
'He has a name just right for him(self)'

naalaga-nngur-puq immi-nut naalat-sit-si-sar-tuq
master become 3s-indic. self all. obey cause ½-trans.
habit. intr.-part.

'He became a master who caused others to obey him'

More direct incorporation of this sort with immi- modifying the head noun is possible, as in imminut naalagannurpuq (he became his own master), but emphatic/adverbial namminiq is more common, as in:

namminiq naalaga-ra-anga
self master have-as 1s-indic.
'I am my own master'

In copular structures lacking the possibility of a verbal subject immi- is not possible (apart from as an adverbial in the prosecutive case as in immikkut uqaatigisaq 's.th. talked about on its own'), though tassa immitsinnut qaaqqusarput 'that's the one we invited to our place' (cf. 1.6.5.2 above), involving a headless relative clause is possible. For reflexive ni on the complement of a tassa sentence see 1.2.1.1.1. (b).

tassa namminiq qimmi-kka
that-is self dog my-pl.
'Those are my own dogs'

1.6.5.13. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = (Modifier of)
Object of Adjective

As adjectival bases are verbal in nature these cases are covered by the corresponding verbal object cases - note for example the first example under 1.6.5.7.

1.6.5.15. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Passive Agent

This relationship is not possible. A corresponding active (reflexive) sentence would be used (as in 1.6.5.1).

1.6.5.16. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Modifier of Passive
Agent

nulia-mi-nit unatar-niqar-puq
wife his-refl. abl. beat passive 3s-indic.

'He_i was beaten by his_i wife'

qallunaa-mit siurnagut
 Dane abl. before
 taku-nikuu-nngi-sa-mi-nit
 see perf. not pass.-part. his-refl. abl.
 apiri-niqar-puq
 ask passive 3s-indic.

'He was asked by a Dane he'd not seen before'

1.6.5.17. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Other Case-marked Modifier

As described under 1.6.1.1 above immi- (or namminir-) can occur with any case-marked possessive inflection (or for 4th person without possessive marker) in constructions such as:

immi-nut/namminir-mi-nut angirlar-puq
 self all./self his-refl. all. come-home 3s-indic.
 'He_i returned to his_i place'

immi- may appear as oblique case object in reflexive sentences like those in 1.6.5.1 in a variety of semantic relationships to the verb, though it still performs the function of grammatical object, e.g.:

immi-nut pitsip-puq
 self all. buy-for 3s-indic.
 'He bought it for himself'

Compare this with Hansi pitsippaa 'he bought it for H.' with an absolutive case nominal object.

Note also adverbial immikkut 'separately/by oneself' (the prosecutive case of immi-), as in immikkut najugaqarpugut 'we live separately'.

1.6.5.18. Antecedent = Subject, Reflexive = Modifier of Other Case-marked Modifier

4th person possessed nominals in any case may further modify any oblique case argument in the sentence, thus the second example under 1.6.5.16 could have had takunikunngisaminut (and its head) in the allative case before a verb like pulaar- (visit) taking that case. Modifying a simple nominal in an oblique case observe:

savim-mi-nik kapi-vaa
 knife his-refl. instr. stab 3s-3s-indic.
 'He stabbed it with his knife'

The following exemplifies the use of a derived extension of immi- modifying an oblique case head:

tulun-nit
 Englishman abl.-pl.
 immin-niik-kallar-tu-nit
 self-pl. be-at for-time-being intr.-part. abl.-pl.
 tunissuti-sia-r-aa
 gift received have-as 3s-3s-indic.
 'He got it as a gift from the Englishmen while (they
 were) still at their own place'

Note also with a 'postpositional' construction:
akunnirminni ikiuqatigiipput 'they helped each other (among
 themselves)'.
 =====

1.6.5.19 Antecedent Other than Subject

As mentioned in 1.6.4 , the antecedent of immi- is by necessity the subject of the clause, even if it is only indicated there inflectionally - the external NP to which that inflection refers may itself however stand in some other relationship to a superordinate verb (this is also true for 4th person nominal possession), as in the following example with relative clause containing immi-:

nukappiaq immi-nut tuqut-tuq taku-ara
 young-man self all. kill intr.-part. see 1s-3s-indic.
 'I saw the young man who had killed himself'

The whole NP could be in any oblique case with a suitable main verb, e.g.:

nukappissa-mit immi-nut tuqut-tu-mit
 young-man abl. self all. kill intr.-part. abl.
 qimaa-vunga
 flee 1s-indic.
 'I fled from the young man who had killed himself'

namminiq as an emphatic possession modifier, as in namminiq pikka 'my own things', does not need to refer back to the subject of the clause, as can be seen in the example under 1.6.5.7 (& cf. also 1.6.9).

See 1.5.2.3. (b) and (c) (also 1.5.2.1) for exceptional situations where 4th person possession markers do not refer to the grammatical subject of the immediate clause.

1.6.6. Reflexives in Nominalized Clauses

A reflexive element may appear in a nominalized clause with no further restrictions than those discussed above (though nominalized verbs cannot take an absolutive case object). Immi- here will usually refer, as expected, to the subject (overt or otherwise) of the nominalized clause (except as illustrated below) and 4th person possessed markers will usually refer to the subject of the main verb (but cf. 1.1.2.2.6 for the possibility of their referring on object nominals to the subject of the no-

minalized verb). Transitive bases used reflexively with intransitive inflections may be directly nominalized.

immi-nut tuqun-nir-a uqaatig-aat
 self all. kill nom. his talk-about 3p-3s-indic.
 'They talked about his killing himself'

aja-mi tikin-ni-ssa-a qilanaar-aa
 aunt his-refl.-rel. arrive nom. future her look-forward-to
 3s-3s-indic.
 'He_i looked forward to his_i aunt's arrival'

kalaallit ilinniar-sima-sa-at tassa
 Greenlanders-rel.learn perf. pass.-part. their that-is
 alla-tut ajurna-vis-su-mut
 other equ. be-impossible really intr.-part. all.
 tunniun-niq
 give nom.
 'What Greenlanders have learnt is resigning oneself to
 the inevitable'

The only instance where *immi*-refers to the subject of the higher (not the nominalized) *verb* is in sentences like:

aja-mi immi-nik
 aunt his-refl.-rel. self instr.
 naapit-si-ni-ssa-a qilanaar-aa
 meet $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. nom. future her look-forward-to 3s-3s-indic.
 'He_i looked forward to his_i aunt meeting him_i'

If it is someone else's aunt (e.g. *Hansip ajami* 'H.'s aunt' in the last sentence), the meaning is 'He_i looked forward to H.'s aunt meeting him_i'.

For nominalizations with participial *suq* see 1.6.4 above.

1.6.7. Reflexives within Ordinary Noun Phrases

The use of 4th person possessed forms within ordinary NPs is common (cf. 1.6.5.4 above) in conjunction with passive participials (or their equivalents like *sanaa*- 'made (by-)'). For *namminiq* in NPs see 1.6.5.7 above.

1.6.8. Reflexive Structures Without Overt Antecedent

Examples have been given above of reflexive elements referring to person-marked verbal inflections rather than to overt antecedents; this is particularly prevalent in impersonal or nominalized structures:

tamaani immi-nut tuqut-tu-qar-sima-nngil-aq
 around-here self all. kill intr.part. have perf. not 3s-
 indic.
 'Around here there haven't been any suicides'

immin-nii-lluni pitsaa-niru-ssa-aq
 self-pl. be-at 4s-cont. be-good more future 3s-indic.
 'It will be best to stay at home/at one's own place'

1.6.9. Other Uses of Reflexives

For emphatic and adverbial uses of namminiq (as in namminiq iluarisassinnik 'as you (yourselves) please') see 1.2.5.2.8. Note that it may be found within post-positional phrases and the like without necessarily referring to the grammatical - as opposed to psychological - subject of the clause:

Aggu-p namminir=lu akunnir-min-ni
 Aggu rel. self and between their-refl. loc.
 isumaqatigiissuta-a-vuq
 agreement be 3s-indic.
 'It is an agreement between Aggu and himself'

Verbal and participial derivations of namminiq and immi- include namminirsurtuq 'private/independent (by occupation)' and imminiirpuq 'does something on his own'. For the impersonal temporal use of 4th person transitive participial form -gaanni see 1.1.2.4.2.1.

1.7. Reciprocals

1.7.1. Means by which Expressed

Reciprocal relations are expressed either by reflexive pronoun immi(C)- in conjunction with a plural verb form or by derivational means, principally by use of the verbal affix ut(i) (cf. 1.2.1.2.3), whose meaning with following transitive inflection is 'with/for/with regard to' the object argument. The reciprocal sense requires intransitive inflection, as in saqitsaapput 'they quarrel (with one another)' from saqitsar- 'quarrel with. s.o.'. It is possible for such a base to further take transitive inflection again to introduce a third argument, thus from stem iliur(ur)- 'do (something)' one has iliuruupput 'they alternate at doing s.th.' and transitive iliuruuppaat 'they alternate at doing it'. ut(i) is also found with certain intransitive verb bases to indicate communal partaking in the activity concerned, as in kavvisuupput 'they drank coffee together'. The basic sense of ut(i) with plural intransitive inflections (unsupported by immi-) is of mutual participation in an action aimed at (or at least affecting) both participants, as in apuraapput 'they knocked into each other' from apuraq- 'knock into'.

The ordinary reciprocal use of immi(C)- is illustrated below:

immin-nut uqarviga-at
 self-pl. all. address 3p-indic.

'They addressed each other'

As described in 1.6.1 case-inflected plural forms of immi(C)-most commonly have a reciprocal sense, though there is often ambiguity as to the reflexive and reciprocal sense of the morpheme in such cases (this is also true of the example sentence above). A clearly reciprocal sense can be reinforced by using an iterative affix:

immin-nut tuqu-rar-put
self-pl. all. kill one-after-another 3p-indic.
'They killed each other'

In other cases only a reciprocal sense is semantically appropriate, as in:

immi-tsin-nut tuni-vugut
self our all.-pl. give 1p-indic.
'We gave (things) to each other'

Other derivational affixes expressing reciprocal action (usually - but not necessarily - on intransitive bases) are qatigiig 'do mutually', niqqisaat(i) 'compete at -ing', and - on nominal bases - giig 'be mutual -s/in a converse relationship', as in uqaluqatigiipput 'they talk with each other' (and cf. with transitive stem naapiqatigiipput 'they met together'), ajunnginniqaapput 'they compete at being best', and nominal aappariit 'man and wife' (from aappaq 'companion') and irriiriit 'father and son' (from irniq 'son'), sometimes a non-derived transitive base used reflexively with intransitive endings has a reciprocal sense in the plural, e.g. kunipput 'they kissed (each other)'

1.7.2. Reciprocals Restricted to the Clause

The antecedents of reciprocal elements need not be in the same clause (and need not be overtly expressed at all) though immi(C)- generally refers to the subject of its own clause, inflectionally or overtly expressed. See 1.6.2 for the similar situation regarding reflexivity.

1.7.3. Intraclausal Reciprocal Relations where the Reciprocal Element is a Verbal Affix

It is not really meaningful to discuss the antecedent of derivational markers of reciprocal relations like ut(i) since these simply modify or extend the verbal base to which they are attached; the inflection following is understood as referring to the reciprocal actors of the action of the derived verb form. If the antecedent is overtly marked it will generally be the subject of the clause:

uqar-puq sulisartu-t (immin-nut)
say 3s-indic. workman pl. (self-pl. all.)

sinnirsira-at-tut

alternate with 3p-part.

'He said that the workmen were alternating (i.e. in shifts)'

1.7.4. Intraclausal Reciprocal Relations where the Reciprocal Element Is Not a Verbal Affix

immi(C)- in its reciprocal sense acts just as it does in its wider reflexive sense as regards position and antecedents (see 1.6.4 above). The only constraint is that it must be marked for plural personal possession in an oblique case (or just case-marked in the fourth person), and refer to the subject of the clause. It is optional in conjunction with ut(i) (see the example just above), but with most verbs with that affix it is quite redundant and usually left out.

1.7.6. Reciprocal Relations in Nominalized Clauses

Simple nominalizations of derived verb forms with reciprocal morphemes are straight forward, with or without immi(C)-, and may be in possessed form:

(immin-nut) uqalu-qatigiin-niq
(self-pl. all.) speak mutually nom.
'speaking together'

angut-it assurtu-un-nir-at
man pl.-rel. contradict with nom. their
'the men's contradiction of each other'

1.7.7. Reciprocal Relations in Ordinary Noun Phrases

Not possible except for noun-extending affix giit exemplified in 1.7.1.

1.7.8. Reciprocal Structures Without Overt Antecedent

Reciprocal structures occur without overt antecedent in the same contexts as reflexives (see 1.6.8), e.g.:

immin-nut uqarviga-luni pitsaa-niru-ssa-aq
self-pl. all. talk-to 4s-cont. be-good more future 3s-indic.
'Talking to each other would be better'

1.8. Comparison

1.8.1. Means by which Comparison is Expressed

Comparative degree is expressed derivationally with a comparative/superlative affix on the (verbal) base expressing the parameter of comparison and, optionally, a case-marked nominal expressing the standard or limit of comparison (this may also be a possessive inflection on the comparative morpheme when it

is in nominal form). The nominalizing comparative morphemes are nirsaq and nirpaaq 'most' (the latter more absolute, the former usually relative to a finite range/small set); less productive, more lexicalized equivalents are niq and - mostly on directional stems - (1)liq (also (1)lirsaq and (1)lirpaaq). Verbal morphemes (combined with u 'be') are niru 'more', nirujussuar 'much more', nirsaa and nirpaa 'most'; nirsaq further combines with gi 'have as' in a special construction exemplified below. The nominal standard of comparison is, with niru, in the ablative case (simple nominal or nominalized clause); in the older language niru could be left out in fact. With the superlative morphemes the range of comparison is expressed by a nominal form in the relative case, the comparative base being in corresponding personal possessed form, or in the ablative or locative cases (especially with heavier NPs and 'postpositional' base akurn(a)- 'between').

uqin-nirpaaq
be-light most
'the lightest one'

uqin-nirsa-at
be-light most their
'the lightest of them'

uqin-nirsa-ata tullir-aa
be-light most its-rel. next have-as 3s-3s-indic.
'It is the next lightest'

simia-t tuukka-tut ilusi-lli-t
wound-plug pl. harpoon-tip equ. form provided-with pl.
tuukkar-mil=li taki-nir-it
harpoon-tip abl. but be-long more/most pl.
'wound-plugs shaped like a harpoon tip, but longer'

kujataa-nit issin-niru-vuq
south abl. be-cold more 3s-indic.
'It is colder than the south'

ilimagi-sa-mi-nit angirlarsir-niru-vuq
expect pass.-part. her-refl. abl. be-homesick more 3s-indic.
'She was more homesick than she had imagined (she would be)'

kalaalli-t akurn-an-ni tuluttut
Greenlander pl.-rel. among their loc. English
ilisima-nirsaa-vuq
know most 3s-indic.
'He knows the most English of the Greenlanders'

uumasut imar-miut arviq an-nirsa-r-aat
whales-rel.sea-dwellers-rel. whale be-big most have-as
3p-3s-indic.
'The whale is the biggest sea-animal'

uan-nil=luunniit sianiin-niru-qa-aq
 me abl. even be-stupid more very 3s-indic.
 'He is even stupider than me'

kangirluk ua-ni nirukin-nirsa-qar-puq
 fjord there loc. be-narrow most have 3s-indic.
 'That is the narrowest part of the fjord'

1.8.2. Elements that Must/Can(not) be Omitted between the Comparative and Superordinate Clauses

The standard of comparison is not expressed clausally except in nominalized forms, as in the sentence containing ilimagisaminit in 1.8.1 above, and thus the question of retained or omitted material between two finite verbal clauses related in this manner does not arise. It is generally possible to nominalize (with niq or passive participial saq) clauses of any type in this way, but it cannot be said that the procedure is common except in the passive participial construction as illustrated. 'Shared' verbs are not generally repeated.

ikinngum-mi-nit uqila-niru-su-mik
 friend his-refl. abl. run-fast more intr.-part instr.
 arpap-puq
 run 3s-indic.
 'He ran faster than his friend (did)'

kammalaati-mi-nik taku-qqik-kuma-niru-vuq
 comrade her.-refl. instr. see again want more 3s-indic.
 ilinniar-ti-taa-lir-ni-ssa-mi-nit
 study cause passive begin nom. future her-refl. abl.
 'She wanted more to see her friends again than to study'

Here it is the derivational affix juma 'want' that is shared.

In the passive participial construction it may occasionally be necessary to repeat a shared verb base or stem, however, in the following way:

mattam-mik Laasi-mut tunnius-sa-mi-nit
 mattak instr. Laasi all. give pass.-part. his-refl. abl.
 an-niru-su-mik Piitaaq tuni-vaa
 be-much/big more intr.-part. instr. Piitaaq give 3s-3s-in-
 dic.
 'He gave more mattak (whale-skin) to P. than he did to L.'

Another way of expressing a comparative relationship between two clauses with different verb bases is by simple contrastive subordination:

ippassaaq annia-ngaa-ralua-rami ullumi
 yesterday be-in-pain very-much but... 4s-caus. today
 anniar-nirujussu-u-vuq
 be-in-pain much-more be 3s-indic.

'He is in even more pain today than (he was) yesterday'

1.8.5 Different Types of Comparative Structure

West Greenlandic has no comparative particle (or other type of comparative structure).

1.8.6. Correlative Comparison

This is not common but can be expressed by a subordinate clause (usually conditional) followed by a superordinate clause, both with niru:

amirla-niru-gunik ajunngin-niru-ssa-aq
 be-many more 4p-condit. be-good more future 3s-indic.
 'The more that come the better'

Note also the expression ajunnginniruinnassaaq 'so much the better'.

1.9. Equatives

1.9.1. Means by which Equatives are Expressed

Equative sentences are expressed by derivational affix tigi on the verb and require a nominal standard in the equative case or an equational adverb such as ima 'thus'. Unlike other case inflections, equative -tut may follow another case marker.

Maalia Ammaalia-tut ajur-tiga-aq
 Maalia Ammaalia equ. be-bad so 3s-indic.
 'M. is as bad as A.'

miitiri-sut untritilit-tut iti-tigi-nirar-paa
 meter equ.-pl. hundred equ.-pl. be-deep so say-that 3s-3s-
 indic.
 'He said it was a hundred meters deep'

ilimagi-sa-a-tut kusanar-tigi-suq
 expect pass.-part. his equ. be-pretty so intr.-part.
 'as pretty as he (had) expected'

ima taki-tiga-at
 thus be-long so 3p-indic.
 'They are so long'

Num-minngaaniit Sisimiu-ninngaani-sut ungasig-sigi-vuq
 Nuuk abl. Sisimiut abl. equ. be-far so 3s-indic.
 'It is as far from N. as it is from S.'

1.9.2. Elements that Must/Can(not) be Omitted between the Equative and Superordinate Clauses

As with comparatives, equative constructions never involve two finite clauses (as opposed to nominalizations of the stan-

sakku-g-aa
 weapon/tool have-as 3s-3s-indic.
 'He used it as a weapon/tool'

uummati-lup-puq
 heart have-bad 3s-indic.
 'He has a bad heart'

Note that gi takes the form ga before the contemporative mood (positive) as in sakkugalugu 'using it as a weapon', and takes the half-transitivizing morpheme nngi. There may be a further oblique argument in the construction with gi, as illustrated in the following:

piniartu-p amiq qimmi-mut anu-r-aa
 hunter rel. skin dog all. trace(s) have-as 3s-3s-indic.
 'The hunter used the skin for a dog-trace'

As the gloss here suggests, the meaning of gi is sometimes close to 'use as'-note also tamanna uqaasiriṅgilarput 'we don't use this (as a) word'.

1.10.2. Alienable (Temporary) and Inalienable (Permanent) Possession

The nominal affix ut(i) expresses personal possession that is alienable or temporary. It usually refers to something acquired and/or disposable, most commonly (in its original use at least) a catch or supply of game, skins, etc. related to the hunting way of life: in such cases it is obligatory. Dogs, kayaks, sleds and other single essential pieces of equipment do not take this affix - unless temporarily borrowed - although puppies and surplus hunting tools, for example, may. ut(i) is not used for family relationships or body parts, nor with affixes like taaq 'newly acquired' nor with passive participial forms (e.g. angusaa 'the seal he has caught' 'from angu- 'catch a seal') or with pi- 'thing'. The affix appears to have been extended in use in recent years to include the notion of legal ownership (or other forms of formally or tacitly recognized possession), e.g. for houses and girlfriends. Thus niquutaa 'his meat' means the meat caught/stored by or assigned to him, whereas niqaa would normally only be applied to an animal ('its flesh/meat'). Similarly, saviutaa 'the knife he has (now)/owns', may be opposed to savia 'his knife', regarded as an inalienable piece of a hunter's equipment.

There is a variant form qut(i) found after uvular stems, as in niviarsiaqutaa 'his girlfriend' and nukarliqutaa 'his youngest son/daughter' (this latter is used even though the base is a family relationship term - there is some subjective element of endearment besides that of ownership involved here). Both this and ut(i) need to be distinguished from deverbal homophones that have the sense 'means for -ing' (cf. 2.2.1.2). With

'quasi-compounds' such as tuttu(p)-niqaa 'caribou meat' ut(i) may simply be added to the last constituent, e.g. tuttu(p)-niqaataa 'his (supply of) caribou meat'. ut(i) usually occurs before a possessive inflection (unlike nominalizer ut(i) in 2.2.1.2 it cannot be the last morpheme in a word-form), but it may also be followed by derivational affixes, as in aningaasaasivik 'cashbox' from aningaasa(t) 'money' plus ut(i) plus livik 'container for'.

Another way of expressing temporary use or possession (more productively) is with gi 'have as' followed by passive participial saq plus personal possession inflection, as in illugisara 'the place I use as a house/my house for the time being'.

1.10.4. Possession Relative to Things rather than Persons

Similar in meaning to ut(i) above, but indicating a part belonging to a whole thing or group, is taq. Thus qisuttaa 'that part of it made of wood', arnartaat 'their woman' (i.e. the woman travelling with a group of men), and sinivittaa 'the bed belonging to it (i.e. the bedroom)'.

This morpheme is not to be confused with passive participial variant taq following g/t/r/ (i.e. abstractly C) 'catch', as in tuttutaa 'the caribou caught by him'.

Plain possessive inflections may be used for persons, things or animals, however, and the subject of qar and gi, etc. discussed in 1.10.1 above may belong to any of these categories.

1.10.5. Past and Future Possession

The possession morphemes qar, lik and gi discussed above may be combined with affixes expressing past and future, galuaq and ssaq:

illu-gi-galua-ra
house have-as previous my
'the house I used to have'

qaja-ssa-qar-puq (nominal: qaja-ssa-lik)
kayak future have 3s-indic. (kayak future provided-with)
'He has (material for) a future kayak'

pisa-ssa-ri-galuar-put
caught-thing future have-as previous/but... our
'the catch we should have had'

1.11. Emphasis

1.11.1 Sentence Emphasis

The question of sentence (and constituent) emphasis in West Greenlandic has not received adequate treatment in the existing literature, yet it is an important topic since the

pragmatic/contextual factors of thematization, etc. that are involved lie behind the relatively labile (though by no means 'free') word-order pervading the language. As a number of interacting factors come into play in any particular utterance, including rhetorical context and stylistic preferences, the present account must limit itself to a description of the principal parameters concerned and their typical syntactic realization. By and large these latter can be divided into ordering relations (movement in relation to a neutral pattern), enclitic and derivationally extended structures, and prosodic (in particular intonational) features. Clefting is widespread as a means of emphasis, whereas phonological stress is not. As regards functions in this area we may distinguish, using Halliday's terms (1967), between information structure, where the principal parameter is the given/new distinction, and thematization for highlighting the contextually determined topic or setting, etc. Halliday's third term 'identification' has already been treated under 'Copular Structures' (1.2.1.1); such structures are themselves subject to reordering, etc. according to the former two functions. A further important factor affecting word-order is the relative heaviness of constituents (see 1.13 below).

Information structure in West Greenlandic concerns the breaking up of utterances into intonational units, each with their own contour, and their relative ordering according to the basic principle of given information (if any) earlier, new information later in the utterance. The most neutral word order is S O V, as discussed under 1.2.1.2.6, the verb most commonly expressing the kernel of new information. The simplest prosodic pattern corresponding to such an utterance is a single intonational contour whose nucleus falls (in the declarative case) on the last three morae of the verb form (see 3.3.4.1 for further details). In fact any stretch of material of word-length or longer may have its own intonational contour (i.e. form a tone unit or phrase), depending on degree of syntactic coherence, speed and formality of register, etc. A stretch with its own such (phrase-final) contour will, all else being equal, be given greater independence and/or emphasis - than if it were run together into a unit of wider scope. Generally higher pitch (and/or slower speed) on a constituent - especially from its first heavy syllable on - has an emphatic effect too, as does an exaggeration of pitch range of the intonational nucleus. A common prosodic correlate to the introduction of new or emphasized material is a relatively high start to the new utterance; on the other hand, material added in the nature of an 'after-thought' or as a clarification/extension of preceding material will typically be at a lower pitch level. For the distinction between (phonological) phrase-final and phrase-internal contours/junctures (the latter indicating that more is to follow within one information unit, whether a pause intervenes or not)

see 3.3.4.1.

Thematization is essentially a matter of word-order and thus largely overlaps with information structure. The basic principle is that any constituent placed in a position other than that expected according to 'neutral' word-order will be contextually emphasized (see under constituent emphasis below). This cuts across the given/new distinction since a thematized 'new' constituent may thus be placed for example in initial position (otherwise for 'given' material). It should be noted too that introductory conjunctive particles or 'scene-setting' sentential adverbials have their neutral position at the beginning of the sentence and are not emphasized as 'theme' in that position. Following Halliday, we can say that the 'given' is what the speaker and listener understand as being spoken about already, whereas the 'theme' is what the speaker chooses as the starting point (or focus, if emphasized contrastively) of what he has to say. The latter is not necessarily in first position in my analysis, note, but an alternative approach clearly separating theme/topic (first position only) from focus would appear possible.

To illustrate some of these factors at play consider the following simple text and its ordering of new and given information, etc. Tone unit nuclei (\wedge for phrase-internal, \smile for phrase-final - including non-rising utterance-final-) are indicated according to the reading of one Central West Greenlandic speaker. One stretch (utterance followed by pause - see 3.3.4.1) corresponds to one written sentence in the translation.

nunaqarvimmi savaatiqarvi-u-su-mi
settlement loc. sheep-farm be intr.-part loc.

nukappiara-a-lluni sava-liri-niq
boy be 4s-cont. sheep be-concerned- with nom.

nuannir-ta-qa-aq
be-fun habit. very 3s-indic.

nukappiara=lu ullu-ni
boy and day loc.-pl.

savalirivvi-u-su-ni
sheep-herding-time be intr.-part. loc.

ulapit-tu-nut ilaa-sariaqar-tar-puq
be-busy intr.-part. all.-pl. go-along must habit. 3s-indic.

savarnia-qata-a-sar-luni
catch-sheep fellow-at be habit. 4s-cont. .

aamma-ttaa^q sava-t tikiun-niqar-pata^{mi}
 also too sheep pl. bring passive 3p-condit.

immikkuur-titir-i-nir-mi^{mi}
 separate one-after-another $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. nom. loc.

ikiu-uti-ssa-aq^{aq}
 help with future 3s-indic.

taamaaliur-sinnaa-vur-mi^{mi} sava-t
 do-thus can 3s-indic. forsheep pl.

siuti-mi-kkut^{mi}
 ear their-refl. pros.

nalunaaquta-qar-tin-niqar-tar-mata^{mi}
 indication have cause passive habit. 3p-caus.

nalunaaquta-al-lu ilikka-riirsima-sa-ramigit^{mi}
 indication pl. and learn already habit. 4s-3p-caus.

taava sava kia-p pigi-gaa^{aa}
 then sheep who rel. own 3s-3s-part.

ilisari-sinnaa-sar-paa^{aa}
 recognize can habit. 3s-3s-indic.

maanna=lu tusa-ssa-vat^{vat} nukappiaraq Tuuma
 now and hear-about future 2s-3s-indic. boy Tuuma

savaatilikkur-miu^{miu}
 sheep-herding-folk dweller

Tuuma aqqani(q)-marlun-nik ukiu-qa-lir-luni^{mi}
 Tuuma eleven instr. year have begin 4s-cont.

inuussiur-mat^{mat} angaju-ata^{ata}
 have-birthday 3s-caus. elder-brother his-rel.

qujasar-paa^{aa} savaliri-li-runik^{mi}
 promise 3s-3s-indic. herd-sheep begin 4p-condit.

savaaqqa-mik tuni-umaar-lugu^{lu}
 lamb instr. give future (4s-)3s-cont.

savalirimir^{mi} aallarti-ngaja-lir-puq^{puq}
 sheep-herding indeed start almost begin 3s-indic.
 'For a young boy in a sheep-farming settlement looking af-
 ter the sheep is great fun. (And) the boy has to go along

- A:
B: nukappissa-p nutsu-usaa-ralua-ramiuk
lad rel. tug keep-on but... 4s-3s-caus.
- A:
B: piuma-nngi-innar-mat taaka qanuq
want not just 3s-caus. over-there how
- A:
B: uqarvigi-gunar-lugu
speak-to seem-to (4s-)3s-cont.
- A:
B: kama-ammi-runar-luni alla-mik
get-angry suddenly seem-to 4s-cont. another instr.
- A:
B: avala-as-si-innar-puq
go-out-on-dance-floor with $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. just 3s-indic.
- A:
B: inuusuttu-p alla-p
youth rel. another rel.
- A:
B: avala-an-nia-lir-mani Maaliannguaq
go-out-on-dance-floor with try begin 3s-4s-caus. Maaliannguaq
- A:
B: piuminar-luinna-qa-aq
be-willing completely very 3s-indic.
- A:
B: qiti-lir-mal=lu inuusirinnir-a
dance begin 3s-caus. and attractiveness her
- A:
B: nakirna-qqinnaar-nir-a=lu Mikaalli-p suurlu
be-charming completely nom. her and Mikaalli rel as-if
- A:
B: iiura-anna-raa
swallow-down just 3s-3s-part.

'When he looked across he saw the lad who looked like he was a northerner going to take Maaliannguaq - though Mikaalli still hadn't got her name yet - out on the floor for a dance. But he was surprised when M. was unwilling. When she still didn't want to when the lad kept on tugging her he seemed to say s.th. to her (over there), get

angry, and simply take someone else out onto the floor. When another youth tried to take her out for a dance M. was perfectly willing, and when she began to dance Mikaalli seemed just to lap up her charm and attractiveness.'

1.11.1.1. Non-contradictory Sentence Emphasis

Besides ordering and prosodic means, non-contradictory sentence emphasis may be expressed through the use of exclamatory particles and structures, as discussed under 1.1.1.4. Sentential enclitics such as una (see 1.2.1.1.1. (c)), mi 'indeed' and aasiit 'as usual' also have an emphatic effect.

ullu-ni=una kingullir-ni Suusaat sulisartu-t
day loc.-pl. that last loc.-pl. Suusaat worker pl.-rel.
barakki-an-nut nutsir-sima-suq
dormitory their all. move perf. 3s-part.

'(It was that) during the past few days S. had moved to the dormitory of the seasonal workers'

aqaguani=mi piniartu-t pingasut taakku
the-next-day indeed hunter pl. three those
takku-qqip-put
show-up again 3p-indic.

'And sure enough, the next day those three hunters showed up again'

sunaavva=aku aalla-riir-sut
good-heavens those leave already 3p-part.

'Good heavens, they've already left! / It seemed they'd already left'

Certain 'sentential' verbal affixes of subjective coloration - notably qi, an intensifier - may express sentence emphasis (and for qaluar 'sure... but' cf. 2.1.3.4.15):

urlu-qa-anga
fall-over qi 1s-indic.
'I went and fell'

sinin-niq ajurna-qa-aq
sleep nom. be-impossible qi 3s-indic.
'It's really impossible to sleep'

aamma ilaat ajunngik-kaluar-put kisianni
also some-of-them be-good but... 3p-indic. but
miki-gamik
be-small 4p-caus.
'Some of them are good, sure, but (too) small'

1.11.1.2. Contradictory Sentence Emphasis

See 1.1.1.2.4.1.1 for means of expressing emphatic contradictory replies to questions. Contradictory emphasis may be expressed by exclamatory particles, enclitics and derivational affixes of an enhanced negative nature such as nngivig/

nngilluinnar 'not at all' and navianngit 'decidedly not'. Negative particle naami(k) is common in contexts of emphatic contradiction, both sentential and constituent-contrastive.

København-mi amirlasuu-nik putumajuit-su-nik
Copenhagen loc. many instr.-pl. sober intr.-part. instr.-pl.
qallunaa-qar-puq Nuum-mi=li naami
Dane have 3s-indic. Nuuk loc. but no
'In Copenhagen there are many sober Danes, but that's
not so in Nuuk!'

naami-vik taamaa-nngil-luinnar-puq
no really be-thus not completely 3s-indic.
'No no, it's not at all that way'

1.11.2.1. Constituent Emphasis

Non-contrastive constituent emphasis is essentially a matter of thematization by movement (see under 1.11.2.1.3 below) or of higher (or lower) pitch on a constituent as discussed under 1.11.1 above. Contrastive emphasis may be expressed by these means and/or contrastive enclitics (notably mi in questions, for which see 1.1.1.2.1.4), by clefting and by derivational verbal affix galuar:

(ullumikkut ilimaga-at ilaa →)
(today expect 2s-3s-indic. req.-conf.)
uqa-nngik-kaluar-punga ullumikkut
say not but... 1s-indic. today
'(You're expecting him today, right?) →) 'I didn't say
today, but... (yes I'm expecting him)'

galuar following a verb-extending derivational affix such as juma 'want to' (or its negation) implies a proposition containing the contradictory of the non-derived verbal base in cases such as the following:

tikik-kuma-galuar-puq (kisianni tiki-nngil-aq/
come want but... 3s-indic. (but come not 3s-indic./
tikis-sinnaa-nngil-aq)
come can not 3s-indic.)
'She wanted to come (... but she didn't/couldn't)'

Emphatic contrast may also be produced by expressing pronominal arguments overtly (where normally they would be referred to by verbal/possessive inflections alone):

uagut illu-rput qiianar-puq
us-rel. house our be-cold 3s-indic.
'Our house is cold'

uanga ajuri-nngil-ara kisianni nulia-ma
I-rel.not-like not 1s-3s-indic. but wife my-rel.
'I like it, but my wife...'

1.11.2.1.1. By Stress

The use of relatively higher pitch to emphasize a constituent, as illustrated on allamik for speaker A in the penultimate sentence of the second text under 1.11.1, is of doubtful systematic status though undoubtedly plays a role for many speakers of the language. This is of course not word-stress, and may involve stretches longer or shorter than the word.

1.11.2.1.2. By Particle

There are no emphatic particles as such, but cf. the various emphatic NP constituents (particles and enclitics) under 1.2.5.2.8.

1.11.2.1.3. By Movement

As stated in 1.11.1 above, a constituent in other than its neutral position may be focused/thematized, and this includes cases of covert constituent emphasis, the implied contrast being with other possible referents, etc. filling the relevant syntactic function. Observe the following variants of the same sentence according to emphasis (all of them of course require a rather specific context to be natural); the most neutral form would be piniartup puisi pisaraa 'the hunter caught the seal'.

puisi piniartu-p pisar-aa
 seal hunter rel. catch 3s-3s-indic.

piniartup pisaraa puisi

puisi pisaraa piniartup

The first of these treats the object as theme (what the sentence is about - not, as usual, the subject) and the second puts emphasis/focus on it (the seal - not s.th. else/as opposed to e.g. a walrus). The third sentence could be used - with non-lowered pitch on the final constituent - in answer to a question as to who performed the given action, with piniartup emphasized contrastively by virtue of its placement in the position most strongly felt to relate to new information (though normally the first constituent, as given, would be omitted then).

With both subject and object in the plural (where there is no morphological distinction) the possibilities for movement are somewhat more limited owing to the possible ambiguity as to which nominal is to be taken as the subject. The latter tends then to be kept more strictly before the object, as in kalaallit qallunaat ikiurtarpaat 'the Greenlanders helped the Danes', but the semantics usually makes it clear enough in cases like those given above - for example with plural forms puisit and piniartut.

Position following the verb taken by another constituent does not in itself necessarily mean contrastive emphasis, how-

ever - it may in fact represent 'afterthought' material in the nature of further clarification (usually with lowered pitch), or else be positioned there due to heaviness (see 1.13) or non-contrastive stylistic weighting (which may also be the sole factor behind the positioning of a constituent other than the subject in initial position). Thus in the first of the following two sentences the positioning of the object in the second clause clearly is contrastive, whereas in the second it is positioned after the verb for non-contrastive reasons and underlines the newness of the object's information (the verb being of lesser importance to the message):

immaqa uqaluvvik taku-at kisianni immaqa
 perhaps church see 2s-3s-indic. but perhaps
 taku-nngil-at uqaluvvi-tuqaq
 see not 2s-3s-indic. church old
 'You saw (perhaps) the church, but perhaps you didn't
 see the old church'

qanga-tsia-annar=li atur-ta-lir-sima-vara
 long-ago quite just li use habit. begin perf. 1s-3s-indic.
 uqaasiq paneskimoisme
 word 'paneskimoism'
 '(Since) a long time back I began to use the word 'pan-
 eskimoism' (introduction to talk on that subject)

Similarly observe the non-contrastive emphasis on the object in the following (a matter of thematization):

inuuniq imigassa-p asirur-tar-paa
 life drink rel. break habit. 3s-3s-indic.
 'Drink destroys life'

The relative ordering of subject, object and verb also has a bearing on the interpretation of NPs as definite or indefinite: an NP subject in neutral position, by virtue of filling the position most usual for 'given' information, will, all else being equal, be taken in a definite sense. An indefinite NP subject (or object), introduced for the first time, may well appear after the verb (though it is far from necessary) without further emphasis:

kinguninngua takkup-put angut-it marluk
 a-while-later show-up 3p-indic. man pl. two
 'A while later two men showed up'

taamani atuarvi-ga-arput illu
 at-that-time school have-as 1p-3s-indic. house
 ujaqqa-nik qarma-lik
 stone instr.-pl. wall provided-with
 'At that time we used to have a stone-walled building
 as our school'

Hence the common 'scene-setting' type of sentence as in the

following:

nipi-sia-ssa-tua-a-sara-aq
 sound received future only be habit. 3s-indic.
 timmia-nngu-it qarlur-nir-at
 bird small pl.-rel. twitter nom. their
 'The only thing to be heard would be the twitter of little birds'

For semantically 'light' introductory/elaborative verbs such as imaappuq 'it is thus' and tassaniippuq 'there was' plus following subject NP see 1.2.1.2.6.

In the following sentence the object preceding the subject has a definite sense as opposed to the indefinite subject (rather than emphasis being involved as such):

ursuq tulukka-p tinggup-paa
 blubber raven rel. fly-away-with 3s-3s-indic.
 'A raven flew away with the blubber'

This position for an object NP is particularly common if it refers back anaphorically to preceding context:

pisimasuq taannakingullarsuit tusaama-nngil-aat
 event that young-generation-rel. hear-of not 3p-3s-indic.
 'The younger generation has not heard of that event'

Compare this with the following sentence whose subject is fronted for clearly contrastive purposes:

taava ilaasuq alla naalakka-p saa-lir-paa
 then passenger other captain rel. turn-to begin 3s-3s-indic.
 'Then the captain turned to another passenger'

It should be borne in mind however that these are tendencies rather than strict rules and that subject and object NPs are most commonly not expressed overtly when given/understood from previous context (and hence definite), verbal inflection alone relating them to the predicate. For the relationship of the 'half transitive' construction to definiteness see 1.2.1.2.2. (c).

Also oblique case (e.g. indirect object) nominals and adverbials may be moved from their most neutral positions for emphasis, in particular to position following the verb for an indirect object indicating the new or essential information, and to initial position for a thematicized predicate adverbial (sentential adverbials come in this position neutrally). In the first example the effect may be of contrastive focus on the indirect object also (as theme?).

aallaan-ni=li tunniup-paa Aggu-mut
 gun his-refl. but give 3s-3s-indic. Aggu all.
 'But he gave his gun to Aggu'

assut illu-taa-t kusana-qa-aq
 very house new thy be-beautiful very 3s-indic.
 'Really your new house is beautiful'

More subtle factors of stylistic balance around the main verb are undoubtedly also involved, as in the common structure (scene-setting): adverbial + verb + object (definite as well as indefinite).

sila-mut ani-gama taku-akka ikinguti-kka
 outside all. go-out 4s-caus. see 1s-3p-indic. friend my-pl.
 kalaalli-t
 Greenlander pl.
 'When I went outside I saw my Greenlandic friends'

1.11.2.1.4. Clefting

See 1.2.1.1.1. (c) for examples of copular sentences with enclitic una, etc. for identification. The initial constituent, to which the enclitic is adjoined in this construction, is contrastively emphasized, as in Piitaq-una urlusuq 'it was P. who fell over'. There is a distinction between the case where the initial NP specifies/identifies the subject of the following participial clause, as in the preceding, and the case where the enclitic itself refers to the identifying element, in which case the identified NP may be split by the enclitic:

Piita-m=una arviq tuqu-ta-a
 Piitaq rel. that whale kill pass.-part. his
 'It is the whale killed by Piitaq'

arviq=una Piita-p tuqu-ta-a/tuquk-kaa
 whale that Piitaq rel. kill pass.-part. his/kill 3s-3s-part.
 'It is the whale killed by P./It is a whale that P. killed'

Piita-m=una arviq tuquk-kaa
 Piitaq rel. that whale kill 3s-3s-part.
 'It was P. who killed the whale'

The first sentence focuses on Piitaq and identifies the kind of object the referent of una is. The phrasal and clausal variants of the second also indicate the kind of object referred to by una but with (contrastive) focus on arviq. The third focuses contrastively on Piitaq, as in the first, but here he is identified as the subject of the following clause, whereas in the first una 'it/that' is identified by the (split) NP arviq Piitap tuqutaa. The third sentence may also have another reading, with the una construction used in its 'reason-giving' function (cf. 1.11.1.1), namely 'you see, it's (a fact) that P. killed the whale' (no contrastive emphasis on Piitaq); it is also more dynamic, describing an event rather than its result (the object in front of the speaker). In other words, una focu-

ses on the constituent it is attached to except in 'reason-giving' sentential function; it causes enclitic sandhi to apply at the boundary. In all cases the concrete existence of the entity to be identified or of the actual occurrence of the identifying clause is presupposed (e.g. here that somebody killed a specific whale).

There is no distinction between clefting and pseudo-clefting, however the extension of nominals (including intransitive participial forms) by u 'be' plus intransitive participial suq may have the function of identifying the performer of a role or function as in ilinniartitsisusurput tassa Hendrik '(the one functioning as) our teacher is H.'. Headless participial forms in copular sentences (cf. 1.2.1.1.1. (b)) are also reminiscent of pseudo-clefting structures, but there is no question of contrastive emphasis in such expressions.

It is possible also to use u 'be' in a cleft-like construction with focusing function:

taakku-u-pput sulii-niar-vigi-sa-ssa-a-galu-it
 those be 3p-indic. work try have-as-place-of pass.-part.
 future be but... pl.

'It is them that should be worked on (but aren't)'

1.11.2.1.6. Dislocation

As mentioned in 1.11.1 above, a constituent given its own phrase-final tonal nucleus, followed by optional pause, is given greater independence and hence emphasis than if it were run together with an overall sentential contour, and, on the other hand, a constituent with phrase-internal contour followed by pause leaves the phrase in suspense, awaiting its completion. However, such phenomena - including 'afterthought' material (often with lower pitch) optionally following a phrase-final pause as illustrated below - cannot be said to constitute a systematic syntactic expression of emphasis.

atuartitsisu-t akissaata-at
 teacher pl.-rel. salary their-pl.
 naamma-nngil-luinnar-put pingaartumik
 be-enough not completely 3p-indic. especially
 ilagisa-qqurtuu-ni
 family one-with-a-big loc.-pl.

'The teachers' salaries were by no means sufficient, especially for those with big families'

The possibility of left-dislocation is more problematical since neither word-order nor an intonational break could unambiguously indicate such a constituent; the nearest analogue is with a 'post-positional' contemporative mood clause such as aalisarniq pillugu 'as regards fishing' in first position (for a similar construction with tunngatillugu see 1.2.4.2).

1.11.2.1.7. Other Means

For 'contrast questions' with enclitic mi see 1.1.1.2.1.4, and for contradictory constituent emphasis (T'not X but Y') see 1.4.2.

1.11.2.1.8. Possible Combinations of the Above Means

There would seem to be no constraints on combining the means of constituent emphasis discussed above - see for example the combination of movement plus clefting under 1.11.2.1.4. 4. Affix galuar for contrastive implication can be combined with either of these two major means, for example by extending the third sentence there in the following way:

Piita-m=una arviq tuquk-kalua-raa
 Piitaq rel. that whale kill but... 3s-3s-part.
 'It was P. who killed the whale all right, but...' (for instance, he may not be the one who first sighted it)

1.11.2.2. Elements which Can be Emphasized by the Various Means

1.11.2.2.1.1. Noun Phrase

Noun phrases can be emphasized by any of the means discussed except affix galuar (the nominal equivalent galuaq simply indicates 'one that is/should otherwise (be)/former'). Examples are given under the relevant headings. See 1.2.5.2.8 for emphatic word/enclitic constituents on NPs.

1.11.2.2.1.2. Adjective

Adjectival bases act just like verbs as regards emphasis (including nominals extended by u 'be') when used predicatively, but when used attributively within an NP - e.g. in participial form - variations in relative ordering concern scope and kernel class considerations (see 1.2.5.5), and thus movement cannot be said to be available for emphasis here. Clefting may be used however, and enclitic una may follow the adjectival constituent rather than the head nominal (cf. 2.1.8.2):

qimmiq qirnirtuq=una kiisur-tu-u-suq
 dog black that be-ferocious intr.-part be 3s-part.
 'It's the black dog that is ferocious'

This (or the alternative positioning of una) could be understood as 'the black dog' (as opposed to some other animal); if one were simply to drop qimmiq the meaning would be clearly 'the black one'.

When copular tassa splits a possessor constituent from its possessed nominal the effect is also emphatic, as illustrated in 1.2.1.1. (b) (uanga tassa isumaga).

1.11.2.2.1.3. Verb

It is not strictly speaking possible to emphasize a verb

by movement alone, since any movement from its neutral clause-final position results rather in the emphasis of one of its nominal arguments moved relative to it (see 1.11.2.1.3). Nor is this possible with clefting, since una (and other enclitics) on a finite verb form, as in 1.11.1.1, will rather emphasize the whole clause non-contrastively. The usual means for contrastively emphasizing a verb is with galuar, as illustrated under 1.11.2.1 and in the following:

taama uqa-nngik-kaluar-puq
 thus say not but... 3s-indic.
 'She didn't say so (but may, for instance, have thought so)'

galuar only has this directly contrastive (implicational) sense as a 'sentential' affix; when filling an earlier slot in complex verb-forms as a verbal modifying affix it means 'in vain' or 'formerly'. For other verbal affixes of an emphatic nature see 2.1.3.4.15.

1.11.2.2.1.4. Adverbial

Adverbials may be emphasized by movement relative to the verb, either by being 'thematized' in initial position or by being put after the verb as new/essential information:

kingumut ataata-ata pi-lir-paa
 again father his-rel. say-to begin 3s-3s-indic.
 'Again his father spoke to him'

tamanna pi-sar-puq urtuupari-mi
 this take-place habit. 3s-indic. October loc.
 'This would take place in October'

Probably time adverbials, which normally precede ones of manner and degree, are emphasized somewhat by being placed after the latter (and similarly with other disruptions of the neutral order of adverbials in 1.2.1.3.2), but this is a very subtle matter.

Clefting also is possible:

aqagu=una tiki-ssa-suq
 tomorrow that come future 3s-part.
 'It's tomorrow he will come'

nuli-i=una naapik-kuma-nngin-namiuk
 wife his-refl. that meet want not 4s-3s-caus.
 pulaa-nngit-suq
 visit not 3s-part.
 'It's because he, doesn't want to meet his, wife that he hasn't come visiting'

Such sentences may however also be taken in the pragmatic 'reason-giving' sense (see 1.1.2.4.2.4). una in the last example could also have appeared following the second constituent to

emphasize clearly the whole adverbial constituent.

Adverbials may be contrastively emphasized by the negative coordination constructions described under 1.4.2:

ataasinngurmat pi-nnani marlungurmat
on-Monday do 4s-neg.-cont. on-Tuesday
'not on Monday, on Tuesday'

nirrivi-up qa-a-nut pi-nnagu (kisianni)
table rel. top its all. do (4s-)3s-neg.-cont. (but)
ata-a-nut (ili-vaa)
under its all. (put 3s-3s-indic.)
'(He put it) under the table, not on it'

nuna-rpun=una siumukar-tin-niqar-tuq kisianni
land our that progress cause passive 3s-part. but
uagu-u-nngit-su-nit qallunaa-nil=li
us be not intr.-part abl. Dane abl.-pl. but
'You see our land has been made to progress, but by the
Danes, not by us'

It is impossible to emphasize contrastively an adverbial-like verbal affix (as opposed to a verbal-expanding affix like juma 'want', as in 1.11.2.1 above) without emphasizing the whole verb it is incorporated within. Certain such affixes may however be strengthened by repetition, like juar 'continuously' and ruju(ruju)ssuar 'enormously', as in irsigirujurujussuaqaa 'he was really really scared of it'.

1.11.2.2.2.1. Constituents of Main Clause

There would appear to be no constraints on type of emphasis applicable to main clause constituents apart from what has been said about the emphasis of verbs and adverbs above. The positioning of subordinate clauses relative to the superordinate clause is rarely a matter of emphasis alone (heaviness especially playing an important role), though as mentioned under 1.2.1.2.6 object and certain types of adverbial clauses find a natural position after the main verb if they represent essential/new information and thus fronting may have a thematizing effect, as in the following:

nillirra-tigi-niqar-nir=mi
shout have-as-reason-for passive nom. for
kannungar-tu-u-suq arsaattu-t
be-shameful intr.-part be 3s-part. football-player pl.-rel.
tamarmik nalunngil-aat
all 4p know 3p-3s-indic.
'For to be the cause of an uproar every football player
knows is shameful'

This follows upon a description of someone getting booted during a game of (Eskimo) football and the object clause is fronted to 'given' position both by virtue of referring back by seman-

tic anaphora, as it were, to the preceding context and by being the thematized topic of the sentence.

A limit is set on the applicability of contrastive clefting by the size of the constituent thus emphasized (usually a simple word or phrase).

1.11.2.2.2.2. Constituents of Subordinate Clauses

In principal all the means available for emphasis within the main clause are also available for subordinate clauses (though the neutral order is more commonly maintained). Thus with fronting of the object to 'given' position:

sava kia-p pigi-gaa ilisari-sinnaa-sar-paa
sheep who rel. own 3s-3s-part. recognize can habit. 3s-3s-
indic.

'He could recognize who owned which sheep'

taku-lir-paa qajaq sarva-p ingirlak-kaa
see begin 3s-3s-indic. kayak current rel. move-along 3s-3s-
part.

'He saw the kayak being moved along by the current'

For the context of the first sentence see 1.11.1. Note also the positioning of the embedded conditional clause in the following sentence, moved to position of maximal 'newness':

isumaqar-punga ajunngin-niru-suq angirla-ruit
think 1s-indic. be-good more 3s-part. go-home 2s-condit.

'I think it would be best if you went home'

For a cleft construction in a subordinate clause compare:

iqqaama-vara taamani Hansi=una pisurta-a-suq
remember 1s-3s-indic. at-that-time Hansi that leader be
3s-part.

'I remember H. was the leader at that time'

This is only possible however with the participial mood (i.e. 'X-una Y' with nominals is not a possibility here); nor is it possible in adverbial clauses except to emphasize the whole clause in relation to the main one as in the sentence beginning 'nulii-una' under 1.11.2.2.1.4.

Verbal affix galuar 'but...' discussed under 1.11.2.2.1.3 above may be used in subordinate clauses, but generally in the 'non-sentential' sense 'in vain/formerly' or as a concessive clause (for which see 1.1.2.4.2.8):

uqar-put pulaar-nia-ralua-raatigut
say 3p-indic. visit try in-vain 3s-1p-indic.

'They said he tried to visit us in vain'

Nominalized (non-finite) clauses are treated just as any other NP as regards emphasis (by movement or - less commonly - clefting), though heaviness will usually be a dominant factor.

The internal constituent ordering will be the same as in the corresponding finite sentence (cf. the first sentence in the initial short text under 1.11.1, where the first four constituents may be analysed as a single nominalized clause).

In general, movement of a constituent to position outside its clause altogether is not possible (though note the 'double object' construction mentioned under 1.1.2.2. (b)).

1.11.2.2.2.3. Constituents of Noun Phrases

As stated under 1.11.2.2.1.2 above, constituent ordering within the NP is relatively fixed, with the order of successive modifiers determined by scope relations. There may be emphasis involved though in the resulting difference between ikinngutaa aalisartuq 'his friend the fisherman' and aalisartuq ikinngutaa 'the fisherman (who is) his friend'. The addition of a demonstrative after a headless modifier may have the effect of contrastive emphasis, e.g. qirnirtuq taanna 'the black one' (when several - e.g. dogs - are being talked about).

1.11.2.2.2.4. Constituents of Coordinate Constructions

Coordinated structures may have the coordinating element itself emphasized by the use of emphatic (extended) variants of the coordinating particles and enclitics discussed under 1.3.1.1 (where examples of, for instance, aammalu 'and' and kisiannili 'but' can be found). Such structures may undergo movement for emphasis as a whole, like the corresponding simple structures (though heaviness is likely to be the principle factor):

taassum-unnga pissuta-a-simassa-aq
 that all. reason be probably 3s-indic.
 kalaali-u-nngin-nir-a kalaallisul=lu
 Greenlander be not nom. his Greenlandic and
 uqalus-sinnaa-nngin-nir-a
 speak can not nom. his
 'The reason must have been that he wasn't a Greenlander
 and couldn't speak Greenlandic '

A coordinated object may in fact be split by the verb if the second is in the nature of an afterthought:

Kaali sukut isaati-laa-kkit kaagi=lu
 Kaali sugar-pl. pass a-little 2s-3p-imp. cake and
 'Kaali, pass the sugar please, and the cake'

Clefting is less likely, though with two simple nominals it is possible: Hansikkun-uku Niisilu isirsimasut 'It's H. and N. who have come in'. To emphasize just one of such a coordinated pair note the following alternative constructions:

Hansi=una Niisi=lu isir-sima-suq
 Hansi that Niisi and come-in perf. 3s-part.

'It was H. who came in with N.'

Hansi=una ilaga-lugu Niisi isir-sima-suq
 Hansi that accompany (4s-)3s-cont. Niisi come-in perf. 3s-
 part.

'It was with Hansi that N. came in'

1.11.2.2.2.5. More than One Constituent Simultaneously

It is not usual to emphasize more than one constituent of a sentence simultaneously by the same means, though various combinations of different means are possible, as described under 1.11.2.1.8 above. Two-way contrast with no particular emphasis is expressed in such sentences as the following:

Juulut Sisimiu-nut nuup-puq Aggu-kkul=li
 Juulut Sisimiut all. move 3s-indic. Aggu and-family but
 Nuum-mut
 Nuuk all.

'J. moved to Sisimiut, but Aggu and his family to Nuuk'

anguti-ta-at nataarnar-tar-sima-pput
 man pertaining their-pl. catch-halibut iter. perf. 3p-indic.
 ilaat arlalin-nik
 some-of-them several instr.-pl.

'Their men caught halibut, some of them several'

Greater emphasis is expressed in the first case by the following cleft construction:

Juulun=una Sisimiu-nut nuut-tuq Aggu-kkul=li
 Juulut that Sisimiut all. move 3s-part. Aggu and-family but
 Nuum-mut
 Nuuk all.

'It was J. who moved to S., Aggu and his family to N.'

1.11.2.2.3. Material Left Behind under Movement

Nothing is 'left behind' under movement processes, the inflection of the main verb and the case of its arguments indicating the grammatical relationships of the latter whatever their relative position. The only exception is when a heavy NP object (or subject) is split and only the modifiers of the head are placed after the main verb (see 1.13.3).

1.11.3. Focus of Yes-no Questions

See 1.1.1.2.2 for the use of enclitic una, etc. on q-words where it is presupposed that the action/state indicated by the proposition is or was or will be true for some value of the questioned slot. The same means of marking an NP as the emphasized focus of a yes-no question are available (with the same presupposition):

Hansi-m=una pulaar-nia-raatigut
 Hansi rel. that visit future 3s-1p-part.
 'Is it H. who is going to visit us?'

uatsin-nun=una Hansi pulaar-niar-tuq
 us all. that Hansi visit future 3s-part.
 'Is it us H. is going to visit?'

aqagu=una Hansi-p pulaar-nia-raatigut
 tomorrow that Hansi rel. visit future 3s-1p-part.
 'Is it tomorrow H. is going to visit us?'

In the first sentence above the 'reason-giving' (sentential) reading of the una construction is also possible: 'is it (a fact) that H. is going to visit us?'

Movement alone may have a similar effect, but without the strong presuppositional element. The first sentence below is neutral, the second thematizes the object, and the third the adverbial (which would neutrally come before the verb):

Piita-p takurnartaq tuqup-paa
 Piitaq rel. stranger kill 3s-3s-inter.
 'Did P. kill the stranger?'

takurnartaq Piita-p tuqup-paa
 stranger Piitaq rel. kill 3s-3s-inter.
 'The stranger, did P. kill him?'

piaara-luni Piita-p takurnartaq tuqup-paa
 do-on-purpose 4s-cont. Piitaq rel. stranger kill-3s-3s-inter.
 'Did P. kill the stranger on purpose?'

External arguments being grammatically optional in most cases, the absence of non-focused/given constituent(s) may represent a form of emphasis on the remaining constituent(s) (cf. 1.1.1.2.3.1 under Echo-questions). This is the only way to focus on the verb alone, as in the first of the following utterances spoken with an 'exaggerated' yes-no question-intonation nucleus to emphasize surprise, etc.:

tuqup-paa
 kill 3s-3s-inter.
 '(He) killed him?'

Piita-p
 Piitaq rel.
 'Piitaq (killed him)?' (understood: someone did)

takurnartaq
 'the stranger?' (understood: P. killed someone)

1.12. Topic

West Greenlandic is not a 'topic-prominent' language (cf. Li & Thompson 1976). Fronting of a constituent from its neutral position as described in 1.11 may have the effect of highlighting a 'topic' at the outset of a stretch of discourse, but this is subsumed under the general subject of thematization described in the preceding sections. Thus in the following sentence, taken from a context where the arrival of the Jensen family in Greenland is already being discussed but how their luggage reached them has not been mentioned, the object NP is thematized by fronting:

Jenseni-kkut piquta-at umiarsu-up Malik
 Jensen &-family-rel.luggage their-pl. ship rel. Malik
 Dani-p nassar-pai
 Dan rel. bring 3s-3p-indic.

'The ship Malik Dan brought the Jensens' luggage'

However, 'topic'-creation is not the only function such fronting can perform - cf. 1.11.2.1.3), and it is by no means obligatory to thematize new material in this way.

For the notion of 'psychological subject', relevant to switch reference choices, see 1.5.2.3.(c) and for the doubtful possibility of distinguishing 'left-dislocation' see 1.11.2.1.6.

1.13. Heavy Shift

1.13.1. Heavy Shift Processes

Complex structures (especially nominal) containing several constituents are often moved from their syntactically neutral position to avoid excessive suspension of essential/new information - especially the main verb - or simply to give the sentence stylistic balance. What in a given context and register is considered 'heavy' by a given speaker varies considerably however and it is vacuous to attempt to state rules in this area: only the various factors behind and realizations of these tendencies can be described here. It is difficult in practice to separate factors of heaviness from ones of emphasis. In general the written medium and formal registers allow considerably heavier structures than does everyday speech, just as they also allow considerably more complex derived word-forms. It is also more common to find heavy shift amongst the constituents of superordinate rather than subordinate clauses since in the latter case this can lead to the entanglement of otherwise distinct embeddings (cf. nevertheless the sentence beginning 'Naajap...' under 1.13.2.6 below).

1.13.2. Kinds of Structures Subject to Heavy Shift

Most phrasal and clausal structures are subject to heavy shift. In the case of subject NPs, however, there will always be some 'highlighting' involved in such a movement process, as in the following:

sana-niqa-riirsima-pput illu-nngu-it
 build passive already 3p-indic. house small pl.
 qisu-inna-at ilaqtariin-nut inissia-t atuarvik
 wood only pl. family all.-pl. flat pl. school
 napparsimmavil=lu
 hospital and

'There had already been built some small wooden buildings of family flats, a school and a hospital'

The verb left in initial position this way will generally have weak semantic content (on the scale of newness/essentialness to the sentence in context); the ordering is particularly common with copular/existential constructions as exemplified in 1.2.1.2.6.

1.13.2.1. Adjective Phrases

For an example of a heavy adjectival structure moved after the verb, leaving the head of the NP behind, see 1.13.3 below. As mentioned under 1.2.1.2.2. (a), modifiers of nominal heads incorporated by affixes of having and getting like qar may either precede or follow the verb in the instrumental case; if heavy the preference is for the latter. When such a head is incorporated by affix u 'be' this ordering is in any case obligatory (see 1.2.1.1.1. (a)).

1.13.2.2. Object Noun Phrases

Heavy object NPs commonly undergo heavy shift to position following the verb.

kia puiur-sinnaa-sima-ssa-vaa
 who-rel. forget can perf. future 3s-3s-inter.
 narsar-suaq aasa-mi unnu-kkut putsu-p
 plain big summer loc. evening pros. fog rel.
 pula-tin-nir-a-tigut putsu-mik
 move-in cause nom. its pros. fog instr.
 milluaa-sima-sur=lusuuq
 suck-in perf. intr.-part. as-if

'Who could ever forget the great plain which seemed in the summer evening to have inhaled the fog as it crept in over it'

tassani naapik-ku-jarput
 there meet and-so 1p-3s-indic.
 ilisari-sima-llua-ga-ra sursunnir-su-up
 know perf. well pass.-part. my war big rel.

nala-a-ni Nuum-mi ilinniartitsisu-u-suq
time its loc. Nuuk loc. teacher be intr.-part.

'And so there (at last) we met my acquaintance who was
a teacher in N. during the World War'

It is also quite common for such an object to be split leaving only the head before the verb, as exemplified under 1.13. 3. Such cases are somewhat different from the following where the material following the verb is in apposition to the object:

atuarvik tikip-para illu angisuuq
school come-to 1s-3s-indic. house big
'I came to the school, a big building'

The shifted material may involve a possessed head (cf. 1.2.5.2. 10. (a) for such NP constituents) - for example if iqqaa alianaatsuq '(whose) surroundings were splendid' followed the verb in the last sentence. It is therefore perhaps best treated as a (curtailed) relative clause.

In the following the object NP may be regarded as fronted due to heaviness, but this is inextricable from factors of emphasis since the heavy constituent is 'anaphoric' to what has just been discussed (ancient remedies handed down) and represents a reformulation of what is understood as 'given' here:

siulirsua-tta iluaquti-ssa-nik
ancestors our-rel. advantage future instr.-pl
misiliraal-lutik paasi-sa-at
experiment 4p-cont. understand pass.-part. their-pl.
kingua-asa iluaquti-gi-sar-paat
descendant their-rel.-pl. advantage have-as habit. 3p-3p-
indic.
'The useful things our ancestors learnt by experimenting
their descendants make use of'

The object here also needs to precede the subject as antecedent to its possession marker.

1.13.2.3. Adverb Phrases

Heavy adverbials may also be subject to heavy shift, though again it is difficult to separate this from factors of emphasis, especially since certain types of adverbial clause (e.g. of cause and reason) optionally follow the main verb in any case.

nukappissat aningaasar-parujussuit qaammat-it tama-asa
young-men-rel. money lots-of month pl. all 3p
atur-tar-paat imigassa-mut alla-nul=lu
use habit 3p-3p-indic. drink all. other all.-pl. and
nuannaarniuti-nut
pleasure all.-pl.

'The young men spent a whole lot of money every month on
drink and other pleasures'

In other cases such material is postposed in the nature of an afterthought or additional elaboration (cf. 1.11.2.1.6).

1.13.2.4. Verbal Phrases

Verbal complexes consisting of a main verb plus one or more contemporative 'co-verb' forms may be subject to heavy shift. In the coordinate structures discussed under 1.3.1.1.1 heaviness is certainly one of the factors involved in placing such a contemporative form after rather than before the main verb.

maniiallanni-nnguag
sudden-rough-spot little
qarsut-tuur-lugu
pass-over happen-to (4s-)3s-cont.
tinggallap-puq irniinnaq qamuta-i
go-flying-suddenly 3s-indic. immediately sledge his
silaannar-mi ui-riir-lutik
air loc. turn-over after 4p-cont.
'He went flying over a sudden rough spot, his sledge
immediately turning over in the air'

1.15.2.5. Indirect Object and Other Oblique Case Noun Phrases

Like any other heavy noun phrase these can be postposed:

timmisartu-aqqa-mik iskimuu-qar-vi-liar-pugut
plane small instr. Eskimo have place go-to 1p-indic.
siullirmik Port Burwelli-mut qiqirtaasar-su-up
first Port Burwell all. peninsula big rel.
Labradori-p avanna-mut isurpia-a-nut nuna-tta
Labrador rel. north all. tip its all. land our-rel.
kujam-mut isu-ata avannar-pasi-qati-gi-sa-a-nut
south all. end its-rel. north lie-towards fellow have-as
pass.-part. its all.

'We went by small plane to (various) Eskimo settlements,
first Port Burwell, on the northernmost tip of the La-
brador peninsula on the same latitude as the southern
tip of our land'

qimmi-qar-pugut pingasu-nik qimmiaqqa-nil=lu
dog have 1p-indic. three instr. pup instr.-pl. and
tallima-nik
five instr.

'We have three dogs and five pups'

In the spoken language the last two constituents could also have been in the absolutive.

1.13.2.6. Object and Subject Clauses

Object (and somewhat less commonly subject) clauses, finite or non-finite, are subject to heavy shift. However, as has been pointed out (1.2.1.2.6) postposition is the neutral

position for all but the very simplest object clauses (e.g. single co-referential contemporative clauses in this function - cf. 1.1.2.2.3):

ilaatigut piqqissimi-ssuti-gi-sar-para
 sometimes regret reason-for have-as habit. 1s-3s-indic.
 taamanikkut siulittaasu-u-suq kingurna
 at-that-time director be intr.-part afterwards
 naapi-sima-sa-ralla-rakku tamanna
 meet perf. habit. for-time-being 1s-3s-caus. this
 pillugu siunirsiur-sima-nngin-nakku
 about ask-advice-about perf. not 1s-3s-caus.
 'Sometimes I regret not having asked the then (school)
 director about it when I met him later'

uqaluttuari-niqar-put=taaq pillaa-llutik
 tell-about passive 3p-indic. also punish 4p-cont.
 tuqut-si-sima-sut
 kill $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. perf. 3p-part.
 tuqu-tar-til=lu imaa-nut
 kill pass.-part. their-refl. and sea all.
 kivirsar-sima-llugu
 sink-to-bottom perf. (4p-)3s-cont.
 'There was also told about those who had killed (men) as
 punishment, lowering the body (bodies) to the bottom of
 the sea'

It is also possible to encounter subordinate mood clauses shifted to after the main verb when the latter contains a verb-extending derivational affix that (grammatically rather loosely) also takes the clause in its scope. In the following the quotative enclitic is obligatory.

Jensi-mik ati-qar-nirar-puq
 Jensi instr. name have say-that 3s-indic.
 panim-mi-nun=nguuq Paamiu-ni
 daughter his-refl. all. quote Paamiut loc.
 ui-qar-tu-mut tikiraar-tuq
 husband have intr.-part. all. visit 3s-part.
 'He said his name was J. (and that he was) visiting his
 daughter who had a husband in P.'

1.13.3. Position to which Such Structures are Moved

The most common position to which heavy structures are moved is following the main verb. Movement to initial position is also found (cf. 1.13.2.2), but here it is difficult to distinguish heaviness from contextual emphasis of one sort or another. It is also quite common - at least in the written language - to split a heavy constituent (phrase or clause), leaving the head (independently or incorporated in the verb) but shifting everything else to after the verb:

suurlu taa-tsia-rii-riga ilinniavissuaq
 as mention briefly already 1s-3s-part. seminarium
 isirviga-ara sunaavva kingurna ukiu-ni
 enter 1s-3s-indic. it-turned-out afterwards year loc.-pl.
 iki-nngit-su-ni ilinniartitsisu-tut
 be-few not intr.-part. loc. teacher equ.
 suli-vvigi-li-rumaa-ga-ra=ttaa^q
 work have-as-place-of begin future pass.-part. my also
 'As I have briefly mentioned, I entered the Seminarium,
 in which it would turn out later I would work as a tea-
 cher too for many years'

ukiu-riartu-lir-nir-a-nut
 become-winter gradually begin nom. its all.
 nunaqarvi-tsin-ni nalunaqquta-a-tit-tar-parput
 settlement our loc. sign be consider habit. 1p-3s-indic.
 angallat-it nuna-mut amuu-rar-niqar-nir-at
 vessel pl.-rel. land all. haul-up one-after-another passive
 nom. their
 'In our settlement we would consider it as a sign of the
 approach of winter when the boats would be hauled up on
 land'

nukappiar-ta-at ipum-mik
 young-man pertaining their-pl. paddle instr.
 taamaattu-mik pisi-uma-lla-ara-at
 such instr. buy want intens. habit. 3p-indic.
 nulia-ssa-min-nik
 wife future their-refl. instr.
 naapit-si-ssa-gunik tunissuti-ssa-min-nik
 meet $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. future 4p-condit. gift future their-refl.
 instr.
 'Their young men would want to buy such a paddle to give
 as a gift to the future wives they might meet'

tusagaq amiilaarnartuq illuqarvim-mut anngup-puq
 news frightening town all. reach 3s-indic.
 Juulu-kkut ila-asa=lu
 Juulut and-family-rel. relatives his-rel.-pl. and
 annilaar-utigi-sa-at
 fear have-as-reason-for pass.-part. their
 'The frightening news, which J. and his family had
 feared, reached the town'

In fact such structures do not need to be particularly heavy (a purely stylistic choice being involved), as for example: illusimmavissatsinnut ingirlappaatigut illuqarvimmut 'he took us back to our lodgings, to the town'. This may be a matter of 'afterthought' (cf. 1.11.2.1.6).

1.13.4. More than One Heavy Phrase Moved to the Same Position

Heavy shift is not really applicable to more than one con-

stituent at a time except when a group of consecutive constituents are moved as a whole (their relative ordering remaining the same), as for example when two conjoined object clauses or two NPs in apposition are postposed, or when a post-posed object clause contains its own embedded clauses (see the examples under 1.13.2.6).

1.14. Other Movement Processes

Depending on one's theoretical perspective there are various phenomena besides those treated above that one might want to analyse in terms of movement (and that have been so treated in the literature). These can be subsumed under two general types, both of which find their natural place elsewhere within the present descriptive framework. On the one hand there are the shifts in arguments concomitant with passivization and other derivationally based processes. For these see 2.1.3.1.1 (passive), 2.1.3.1.2 ('anti-passive'), 2.1.3.1.3 ('double-transitivizers') and 1.2.1.2.3 (role-shifting with *ut(i)*). On the other hand there are the syntactic reflexes (including scope relations) of adding verbalizing and verb-extending affixes to nominal and verbal bases respectively, affecting constituents in the outer syntax. Some investigators (e.g. Sadock 1980, Woodbury 1975 and Rischel 1972) have preferred to analyse constructions of this sort in terms of raising form underlying structures. For the phenomena attracting such 'internal syntax' approaches see 1.2.1.2.2. (a) (*qar*, etc.), 1.2.1.3 (scope of verbal extending affixes), and 1.2.1.2.2. (b) ('double-transitivizers').

The position taken here, most consonant with the organization of this series, is to treat internal derivation (under Morphology) as distinct, regarding categories and processes, from external syntax, despite the interesting areas of overlap/interaction. A three-level description, further distinguishing between sentence and phrase level, has the advantage of allowing a pragmatic/functional approach at the highest level to deal with the labile, highly context-sensitive areas of word-order, etc. discussed under 1.11-1.13 as well as the conditions of sentence-type use discussed under 1.1.1, at the same time as providing a largely autonomous phrase-level description at lower levels free of movement processes, whereas the 'internal' word-level is confined to description in terms of its own morphological categories and transparent ordering principles (see Fortescue 1979). Within such a framework the two interesting areas of overlap between the three levels (which lie behind the 'internal' versus 'external' syntax controversy) can be discussed under one and the same heading, namely 'rank-shift' (to use Halliday's term). At the interface between the sentence- and phrase-formation levels we thus find clauses rank-shifted to NPs (a common process in many langu-

ages), and at the interface between the phrase- and word-formation levels we find, analogously, phrases rank-shifted to verbal or nominal bases, to which derivational affixes may be added as for any other base, as in Kalaalli(t)-nunaannukarpuq 'he went to Greenland', and aamaruutissanik piiaavviulirpuq 'it became a place for excavating coal'. As a complex sentential example note the following, where the instrumental case object of the half-transitivized base siumu- 'come across' follows the verb after it has been further extended derivationally to form an ordinary intransitive base whose subject precedes it:

ilaanni arsaattu-t
 sometimes football-player pl.-rel.
 aqutigi-sa-at
 pass-by pass.-part. their
 siumu-i-vvi-ssa-a-sar-puq
 come-across $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. place future be habit. 3s-indic.
 anguti-nik
 man instr.-pl.
 innarluuti-qa-lir-sima-gallar-tu-nik
 injury have begin perf. for-time-being intr.-part. instr.-pl.
 angirla-assu-ga-ssa-nik
 go-home with-one-after-another pass.-part.future instr.-pl.
 'Sometimes where the football-players have passed there
 can be found men with serious injuries who have to be
 taken home'

This latter phenomenon can of course be found in other languages (including English), but is particularly widespread in West Greenlandic owing to its highly developed system of productive derivation by affix. The present descriptive framework is neutral as to how one might wish to convert such surface facts as the obligatory instrumental case of (number-marked) adjectival modifiers of nominal heads incorporated by qar 'have', etc. into process terms (see 1.2.1.2.2 under 'External versus incorporated objects' for a discussion of this particular construction). Cross-references are made from the sections on morphology where such affixes are described to sections of the syntax where their influence on the external syntax is discussed.

1.15. Minor Sentence Types

See 1.1.1.4 for various 'incomplete' sentence types in exclamatory function. Other productive minor sentence types include the use of the optative mood after intensifying affix qi following suuruna 'of course' or other expressive particle:

suuruna annia-qi-li
 of-course hurt very 3s-opt.
 'Wow, that must have hurt!'

Another use of qi, followed by interrogative inflections, especially used to children, is as in:

iniquana-qa-at
be-sweet very 2s-inter.
'How sweet (you are)!'

Other special uses of the interrogative and other (e.g. causative) mood question forms:

su-ssa-gama
do-what future 1s-caus.
'Why should I bother/it's nothing to do with me '

su-ssa-galua-ratta=mi
do-what future but... 1p-caus. what- about
'Why not? (let's)'

qanurtuq=una ili-ssa-suq
how-on-earth that do future 3s-part.
'How on earth is he to deal with it?'

qanuq inu-iruti-allat-siga-a
how human-being have-no-more suddenly so 3s-inter.
'Now there's a bit more space!'

kina uqar-tu-ssaq/uqa-ssa-va
who say(-something) intr-part. future/say(-s.th.) future
3s-inter.
'No one spoke a word (why should they?)'

Note further the following exclamatory utterance types with particles anirsa, aali, usiuvva and aatsaat:

anirsa kukku-galua-nngill-at
anirsa make-mistake but... not 3p-indic.
'As long as they haven't made a mistake...'

usiuvva=ana tuttu
usiuvva that caribou
'I thought it was a caribou (but I was wrong)'

anirsa urnik-kamma
anirsa come-to 2s-1s-caus.
'It's lucky you came to me'

aali ajuqi
just-think catechist
'And him being a catechist! (how could he?)'

aatsaat tassa mamari-sa-ra
for-first-time that-is find-delicious pass.-part. my
'I've never tasted anything so delicious!'

The construction with anirsa may contain 'intensifying' affix qi before negative nngit (otherwise that affix must appear directly before the inflection - see 2.1.3.4.15), e.g. anirsa

nakqaqinngilaq 'I hope it hasn't fallen down'.

There are various other idiomatic ways of expressing wishes and the like:

urnik-kuma-mmi-nagu=lu

come-to want why! (4s-)3s-neg.-cont. and

'I do wish he would go to him/it's a pity he won't go to him'

asirur-mi-gami

break why! 4s-caus.

'What a shame it went and broke!'

tikin-niar-tu-ssa-t

come future intr.-part. future pl.

'I wish they would come/as long as they come'

Ortu-nnguakkuluk qivis-sima-nngin-niassa-sug

Ortu poor-old run-off-into-mountains perf. not in-order-to 3s-part.

'Let's hope poor old Ortu hasn't run off into the mountains (to die)'

puiu-nngik-kaa-ngakku

forget not every-time 1s-3s-caus.

'As long as I don't forget it...'

aatsaal=li=uku

nuja-anna-a-sigut

for-first-time but those hair just their pros.-pl.

tigu-llugit unia-ga-ssa-t

take (4s-)3p-cont. beat pass.-part. future pl.

'I'd just love to grab them by the hair and give them a thrashing!'

piili ajurnaq

car ajurnaq

'It would be great to have a car...'

ajurnaq in the last, rather colloquial utterance indicates something like 'is not to be had' (the literal meaning of the base is 'impossible'), and can be replaced by inurnaallak from the base meaning 'be unobtainable'. It is used on its own as an exclamatory much like English 'great!' by younger speakers. Compare the contingent form of the causative mood in the antepenultimate sentence example above with the following (also not indicating habit/repetition):

ingammik nuannaar-tara-at

especially be-happy habit. 3p-indic.

'They became still happier'

1.16. Operational Definitions for Word-classes

West Greenlandic words (excluding enclitics) fall with few

exceptions into three easily distinguishable major classes: nominals, which take number, case and personal possession inflections; verbs, which take mood, person and number inflections; and particles, which remain uninflected. Further subdivision according to morphological and syntactic criteria is possible, as described below, but it should be borne in mind that stems in the language do not always belong unambiguously to one or another of these word classes - for example *ila* may be nominal ('part/relation') or verbal ('add'), and there is indeed a particle of this form (see 1.1.1.2.1.2). Owing to the extensive possibilities for derivational extension, a base (consisting of stem plus any number of derivational morphemes) is not unambiguously nominal or verbal until the addition of an inflection marks it clearly as one or the other. Thus it may be a little far-fetched to describe the following two forms as respectively a 'noun' or a 'verb', though their function is clearly determined by their final morpheme(s) and they are fused together as unitary phonological words by complex internal morphonemic processes and by virtue of falling under a single (potential) intonational tone unit:

ilinnia-qqik-kiartur-tin-niqar-tu-ssaq
 study further go-and cause passive intr.-part. future
 'one who should be sent to further his studies'

aliikkus-irsu-i-llammas-sua-a-nira-ssa-gukku
 entertainment provide-with $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. one-good-at big be say-
 that future 1s-3s-condit.
 'if I should say that he is a good entertainer'

Clearly the distinction is between nominal and verbal forms, and 'noun' and 'verb' should be understood in that sense in the following (rather than as relating to different types of lexical stem).

1.16.1. Noun

A noun may be defined as any non-pronominal base taking nominal inflections and functioning in the sentence as or in a NP (subject, object, complement or oblique argument) either as head or as a modifier (or possessor) in apposition to the head.

1.16.2 Pronoun

A pronoun may be defined as a pronominal stem taking nominal-type inflections. The material realizations of these inflections differs somewhat from those for nouns (and preclude personal possession marking except in the case of reflexive *immi-*) - cf. 2.1.2.1.20, 2.1.2.5.6 and 2.1.2.6.1.3. For reflexive/emphatic *namminiq*, which lies between being a pronoun and an adverbial particle morphologically, see 1.6.1.1. Demonstrative pronominals may also form distinct adverbials.

1.16.3. Verb

A verb may be defined as any base taking verbal inflections and functioning as a minimal (verbal) clause or sentence. Non-derived nominalized forms of verbal bases (used in exclamatory or adverbial function) present a classificatory problem however (see 1.1.1.4).

1.16.4. Adjective

There is no morphological category of adjective in West Greenlandic. Adjectival function is served by a subset of (stative) verbal and nominal bases (notably including intransitive participial forms of the former in attributive position).

1.16.5. Post-position

Post-positions in West Greenlandic are a subset of nominal stem referring to relative location and rarely occurring in non-possessed form (though also to be found in purely nominal function). Without an overt possessor head nominal they correspond to other adverbials consisting of case-marked nominal bases.

1.16.6. Numeral/Quantifier

Numerals and other quantifiers do not form a distinct morphological word-class, but are a subset of nominal bases. Some of the stems concerned (e.g. amirla- 'be many' are verbal until nominalized.

1.16.7. Particle

A particle may be defined as any stem incapable of being inflected (though some derivational extension may be possible). This category covers a wide range of functions - conjunctive, exclamatory, etc. - including the adverbial. Adverbs as such do not form a morphological word-class: typical non-clausal adverbials are particles or case-marked nominals, especially the instrumental of intransitive participial forms.

1.16.8. Other

A special group of stems difficult to categorize is constituted by tamar- 'all', kisi- 'only' and iluunngar- 'all of' (see 1.2.1.2.2. (d)), which may be inflected with endings reminiscent of the intransitive causative and conditional moods (and relative case personal possession markers) rather than those of nominals to which they may nevertheless stand in apposition. Like namminiq mentioned under 1.16.2 above, their form and function align them with adverbials (i.e., in their case, co-referential adverbial clauses) though they take oblique case markings just as ordinary nominals. There are a few other fossilized adverbials displaying the same relative possessed inflections, such as attarmik 'together'.

2. Morphology

2.1. Inflection

Verbal or nominal inflections follow any derivational affix - with few exceptions (discussed under 2.2.4.4) - and precede any enclitic, and thus can be clearly distinguished from those two classes of morpheme. The morphophonemics of their attachment to bases is largely similar to that for the attachment of derivational affixes - except for the differences with 'strong' and 'weak' consonant stems below - (enclitics follow a slightly different pattern, as described under 3.4.1.3 (b)). I use the term 'base' to refer to a nominal or verbal stem derivationally extended by one or more derivational affix, though in practice I often use the term 'stem' to include the notion of base when discussing the attachment of derivational or inflectional morphemes since the distinction between simple stem and historically derived stem when the latter has become completely lexicalized is not always easy to make.

2.1.1. Noun-inflection

Nominal bases are inflected for number and case and, optionally, for personal possession (person and number of possessum). Case and number (and personal possession) markers are fused into items forming paradigms that are largely transparent morphologically and which are attached to different nominal base classes according to the processes discussed under 3.4.1.1 ff.

2.1.1.1. Means of Expressing the Syntactic and Semantic Functions of Noun Phrases

2.1.1.1.1. Bound Affixes

Nominal inflections form the following paradigms according to case and number:

- (a) Non-possessed

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
absolute	(-q/t/k/∅)	-(i)t
relative	-(u)p	-(i)t
instrumental	-mik	-nik
allative	-mut	-nut
locative	-mi	-ni
ablative	-mit	-nit
prosecutive	-kkut	-tigut
equative	-tut	-tut

These endings are of the 'additive' type when starting with a single consonant, except as described below. Nominal bases fall into two major classes as regards attachment to inflectional endings, the 'strong' consonant class and the 'weak' consonant/vowel class. The former includes most /k/-stems and some /q/-stems (or bases); the final consonant is not truncated by the oblique-case endings listed above, but assimilated to them, and they take singular relative case and plural absolute/relative case variants -up and -it, thus panik 'daughter', paniup, panimmik, paniit, etc. The second class includes all vowel- and most /q/-stems, as well as a few /k/-stems, and does lose its final consonant (if the absolute singular form has one) before consonant-initial endings, thus qimmik 'dog', qimmip, qimmimik, qimmit, etc. and illu 'house', illup, illumik, illut, etc. /t/-stem nominals - apart from loan-word proper names - have a final /i/ ('i₂') that surfaces before the consonant-initial plural morphemes above, thus angut 'man', angutip, angummik, but plural angutit, angutinik, etc. (and equative angutitut for both singular and plural). They are historically vowel-stems, but have recently come to act like strong consonant-stems in the singular oblique cases, with assimilation - in fact there is evidence of some neutralization of /k/- and /t/-stems recently in absolute singular forms, at the expense of the latter.

Within each major class there are sub-classes involving respectively gemination of the initial consonant of the final syllable - e.g. nanu(q) 'polar bear', nannup, nannumik, etc. -, metathesis - e.g. aliq 'harpoon line', arlup, alirmik, etc. -, 'i₂'-dropping - e.g. tupiq 'tent', tupqup, tupirmik, etc. -, or final consonant 'retaining' - e.g. irniq 'son', irniup, irnimik, etc. Only the first of these belongs to the 'weak' class.

(b) Absolute possessed

<u>possessor</u>	<u>singular possessum</u>	<u>plural possessum</u>
1st singular	-ga	-kka
2nd singular	-(i)t	-tit
3rd singular	-a	-i
4th sing. (reflexive)	-ni/i	-ni
1st plural	-(r)put	-vut
2nd plural	-(r)si	-si
3rd plural	-at	-i/at
4th plural (reflexive)	-(r)tik	-tik

The consonant-initial endings here are of the additive type for the singular but truncating for the plural possessum forms except for -ga (of the 'fusing' type - see 3.4.3) and -ni which is truncating in both singular and plural for all except /t/-stems. In the latter case there is much variation today, both aallaanni with assimilation and aallaasini for example being found for either 'his (own) gun' or 'his (own) guns' (the first form is more common - especially for the singular); the stem here is aallaat (from *aullai₁ti₂). The recessive final 'i₂'

of /t/-stems becomes /a/ before all vowel-initial inflections (cf. 3.4.4.1). Bracketed /r/ is inserted following vowel- and /t/-stems - as in illursi from illu and angutirput from angut. 2nd person singular -(i)t follows the same pattern as for plural marker -(i)t under (a) above. See 3.4.1.3. (a) for the 4th person singular variant -i. The 3rd person plural form -at for plural possessum is found after stems in /a(C)/ or 'i₂', as in

qiturnaat 'their children' from qiturnaq and inaat 'their rooms' from ini. Weak consonant-stems lose their final consonant before consonant-initial inflections here (except for the case of -ga and the forms with bracketed /r/, as mentioned), with compensatory gemination as necessary, e.g. miqqatik 'their (own) children' from miiraq (cf. 3.4.1.3. (a)).

(c) Relative possessed

<u>possessor</u>	<u>singular possessum</u>	<u>plural possessum</u>
1st singular	-ma	-ma
2nd singular	-(r)pit/ vit	-vit
3rd singular	-ata	-isa
4th singular	-mi	-mi
1st plural	-tta	-tta
2nd plural	-ssi	.-ssi

3rd plural	-ata	-isa
4th plural	-mik	-mik

The morphemes with single initial consonant are of the additive type in the case of a single possessum again, truncating for plural possessum (the single possessum forms with initial double consonant are by necessity truncating too). Weak consonant stems lose their final consonant before all such endings, including 4th person singular form -mi for both singular and plural possessum, but /t/-stems may assimilate with them like strong consonant-stems, thus ikinngummi 'his friend's' (also 'his firends' alongside ikinngutimi). There is a tendency for strong /q/-stems to lose their final consonant before single consonant-initial morphemes here too, thus irnimi 'his son's/his sons''. As under (b), bracketed /r/ surfaces after vowel- and /t/-stems, as in illurpit 'of your house'.

(d) Oblique case possessed. The (additive) case markers -nik (instrumental), -nut (allative), -ni (locative), -nit (ablativē), -kkut (or -gūt) (prosecutive) and -tut (equative) are added to forms of the relative possessive morphemes given under (c), namely 1st and 2nd person singular -C- (historically p and k respectively), 3rd person singular -ā-, 4th person singular -mi-, 1st person plural -tsiC-, 2nd person plural -ssiC-, 3rd person plural -aC-, and 4th person plural -miC- to produce paradigms such as the following for the locative case. Note the 3rd person forms with -i- for plural possessum: the -ani/anni variants are only found after stems in /a(C)/ or 'i₂'.

<u>possessor</u>	<u>singular possessum</u>	<u>plural possessum</u>
1st singular	-nni	-nni
2nd singular	-nni	-nni
3rd singular	-ani	-ini /ani
4th singular	-mini	-mini
1st plural	-tsinni	-tsinni
2nd plural	-ssinni	-ssinni
3rd plural	-anni	-ini/anni
4th plural	-minni	-minni

Those morphemes with a single initial consonant here, i.e. which may be additive, are so after strong consonant-stems for singular possessum (and may optionally be so for /t/-stems, singular or plural), thus panimmi 'at his daughter's' as opposed to panimni 'at his daughters''. There is no distinction with /q/-stems, weak or strong, thus qimmimni 'on his dog(s)' and irrirmini 'at his son(s)' (cf. the distinction that may

arise for strong /q/-stems in the non-oblique case under (c), where the form without the uvular is being generalized). In the 2nd person singular -rni may alternatively be found after /q/-stems (especially further north).

The paradigms for the other oblique cases are quite parallel, though there is a variant -gut (plural -tigut) of prosecutive -kkut for 3rd person possessor, as in illuagut 'through his house' - today usually illuatigut - and illuisigut 'through his/their houses'. The corresponding 4th person forms are illumigut 'through his (own) house(s)' (illumikkut for plural possessor), and with 1st and 2nd person plural possessors the combinations are -tsigut and -ssigut, as in illutsigut 'through our house(s)'. Compare these with 3rd person plural possessor singular possessum -atigut, as in illuatigut 'through their house'. With the equative case marker -tut there is a variant -sut after 'i₁', including in those cases where the original vowel is now hidden by assimilation, as in miiraasut 'like his/their children' from miirai + tut. The combinations with 1st and 2nd person plural are -tsitut and -ssitut. Full paradigms for the various sub-classes of nominal are presented explicitly (and often with over-elaboration of sub-classes) in most grammatical treatments of the language, e.g. Schultz-Laurentzen 1945, though all forms are derivable from what has been said above.

2.1.1.1.3. Enclitics

For the limited use of enclitics lu and li to express semantic relations of noun phrases see 2.1.1.4.4 and 2.1.1.6.8 respectively.

2.1.1.1.4. Post-positions

Post-positional constructions involving locational stems in oblique case possessed form are described under 1.2.4. These are adverbial in function - e.g. illup qaani 'on top of the house' - and indicate more specific locational functions than simple case inflections.

2.1.1.1.5. Word-order

Word-order has no strictly grammatical function except in so far as the nominal subject in copular constructions must stand before the complement (see 1.2.1.1) and head nominals must stand before appositional modifiers (see 1.2.5.5). Where ambiguity is possible however, e.g. with two plural arguments, the neutral ordering of subject before object may be all that determines the assignment of those two functions to the nominals concerned (see 1.11.2.1.3).

2.1.1.1.6. Derivational Processes

Incorporation of nominal objects or complements by derivational affixes such as qar 'have' and u 'be' is discussed under

1.2.1.2.2. (a) and 1.2.1.1.1. (a). For verbal affix ut(i) 'do with/for, etc.' see 1.2.1.2.3, and for nominal-extending affix lik see 2.1.1.4.5 ff.

2.1.1.1.7. Other Means

For nominals as object (or oblique complement) of comparative mood clauses of an adverbial nature, as in Danmarkimut naliqqiullugu 'compared to Denmark' see 1.2.4.2. Compare also 1.2.1.2.4 for direct objects of derived verb forms with transi-tivizer vvigi 'have as place/time for' in a wide range of semantic functions covering most of the oblique case functions.

2.1.1.2. The Expression of Syntactic Functions

2.1.1.2.1. Subject of Intransitive Verb

The subject of an intransitive verb is expressed (when not by verbal inflections alone) by an absolutive case nominal, as in ilinniartitsisug anipallappug 'the teacher came out quickly'. There is no distinction between agentive/non-agentive here - compare for example the sentence with affix suur 'happen to' under 2.2.2.2. (f).

2.1.1.2.2. Subject of Transitive Verb

The subject of a transitive verb is expressed (when not by verbal inflection alone) by a nominal in the relative case - usually, though, as can be seen, not exclusively, an animate agent:

akkam-ma aataaq aallaa-vaa
uncle my-rel. harp-seal shoot 3s-3s-indic.
'My uncle shot the harp seal'

umiarsu-up Qaqurtuq aqqusaar-paa
ship rel. Qaqortoq stop-by-at 3s-3s-indic.
'The ship stopped (en route) at 0.'

There is no distinction between agentive/non-agentive here. Thus compare the examples with affix (s)i of detrimental occurrence in 2.1.3.1.3.

2.1.1.2.3. Subject of Copular Construction

The subject of a copular construction with tassa is in the absolutive case, thus siulliq tassa Nuka 'The first is Nuka' (and cf. 1.2.1.1.1. (c)).

2.1.1.2.4. Direct Object

A nominal functioning as direct object of a transitive verb is in the absolutive case (see 2.1.1.2.2 above). There is no change in inflection if the subject of the verb is only expressed in the inflectional ending. For the 'half-transitive' construction where the object is in the instrumental case and the verb itself intransitive see 1.2.1.2.2. (c), and for incorpora-

ted nominal objects 1.2.1.2.2. (a).

2.1.1.2.5. Indirect Object

An indirect object is in the allative case in so far as it is not merely the (absolute case) direct object of a suitably derived verb; for examples see 1.2.1.2.3. 'Remote' objects in the allative case in connection with 'double transitive' affixes are discussed under 1.2.1.2.2. (b).

2.1.1.2.6. Object of Comparison

An object of comparison is in the ablative case:

ussuk natsi-mit an-niru-vuq
bearded-seal ringed-seal abl. be-big more 3s-indic.
'A bearded seal is larger than a ringed seal'

2.1.1.2.7. Object of Equation

The equative case is used:

ilit-tut utuqaa-tiga-aq
thou equ. be-old as 3s-indic.
'He is as old as you'

2.1.1.2.8. Other Objects Governed by Verbs

As discussed under 1.2.1.2.4 absolute case objects of suitably derived verbs may correspond to a wide variety of functions covered by prepositional phrases in many European languages.

2.1.1.2.9. Complement of Copular Construction

As illustrated in 2.1.1.2.3 above, the complement in the copular construction with tassa is in the absolute case. With such constructions involving derivational affixes u 'be' (and nngur 'become'), the complement is incorporated, as in:

Maalia kalaali-u-vuq
Maalia Greenlander be 3s-indic.
'M. is a Greenlander'

2.1.1.2.10. Subject-complement

The subject-complement is incorporated with such intransitive affixes as nngur 'become', as in savaatilinggurpuq 'he became a sheepfarmer'.

2.1.1.2.11. Object-complement

The object-complement is incorporated with such transitive affixes as nngur(tit) 'make into':

irn-i ilinniartitsisu-nngur-tip-paa
son his-refl. teacher become cause 3s-3s-indic.
'He made his son (into) a teacher'

Note also the following complement-like construction with the 'complement' expressed adverbially:

aappalut-tu-mik qalipap-para
be-red intr.-part. instr. paint 1s-3s-indic.
'I painted it red'

2.1.1.2.12. Objects Governed by Adjectives

'Adjectival' verbal bases act as any other verbal stem and may thus take a nominal argument in suitable oblique case, as in:

alla-nit assigiinngil-aq
other abl.-pl. be-different 3s-indic.
'He is different from others'

Incorporated structures may correspond to such constructions in European languages, e.g. angusisarpuq 'he is like/resembles his father'.

2.1.1.2.13. Agent in Passive and Impersonal Constructions

The agent in passive constructions (if expressed at all) is in the ablative case:

qimmi-mit upan-niqar-puq
dog abl. attack passive 3s-indic.
'He was attacked by the dog'

The agent in transitive impersonal expressions with 3rd person plural subject can only be marked inflectionally, as in takuppasuk 'if they see/s.o. sees him'.

2.1.1.3. Syntactic Functions of Non-finite/Nominalized Verbs

2.1.1.3.1. 'Absolute' Constructions

The usual equivalent to an absolute construction involves a finite subordinate clause (especially causative mood, but cf. also 1.1.2.4.1).

2.1.1.3.4. Nominalizations

The subject of nominalizations with affix nig (and others discussed under 2.2.1.2) is expressed by a possessive nominal inflection. If the underlying verb is transitive this may also be the case, but the object, if expressed, must be in the instrumental case and the verbal base itself be in its 'half-transitive' - or corresponding intransitive - form (cf. 1.1.2.2.6). Oblique arguments remain in the same form as in the finite clause.

Urtu-p ajurnaar-nir-a
Ortu rel. have-accident nom. his
'Ortu's accident'

piniartu-p tiriannia-mik aallaa-nnin-nir-a
 hunter rel. fox instr. shoot ½-trans. nom. his
 'the hunter's shooting of a/the fox'

ikinnguti-mi-nut niqi-mik tunnius-si-nir-a
 friend his-refl-pl. all. meat instr. give ½-trans. nom.his.
 'his giving of meat to his friends'

2.1.1.4. Non-local Semantic Functions

All of the oblique case-marked nominal and (participial mood) relative clause expressions discussed below may appear as attributive noun phrase constituents as well as adverbially within clauses (cf. 1.2.5.2.7). The same applies to expressions with affix lik 'provided with' and most contemporative mood expressions mentioned. They do not generally appear within copular constructions with tassa however (see 1.2.1.1. (b) for the restrictions there); various other means of verbalization are available, however, as indicated. For the simple apposition of nominals in various semantic relationships to each other, as in qisuk paatissiaq 'a piece of wood for making a paddle out of', compare 1.2.5.2.10 (a).

2.1.1.4.1. Benefactive

A benefactive function may be expressed by verbal affix ut(i)/ssut(i) as in sanaappaa 'he made s.th. for him' from sana- 'make' plus ut(i) 'do for/with, etc.' (the combination also has the alternative sense 'he made s.th. in his place'), and pisissuppai 'he bought s.th. for them' from pisi- 'buy'. If the object of the underlying verb is expressed it is in the instrumental case (and semantically de-specified/de-emphasized in comparison to the specific, absolutive case beneficiary argument) e.g. qaannamik sanaappaa 'he made a kayak for him'.

Alternatively, a beneficiary role may be taken by an absolutive case object of the contemporative mood forms of stem pi- 'do/say/go, etc.':

illit pi-llutit taamaaliu-ruma-vunga
 thou do(-for) (1s-)2s-cont. do-thus want 1s-indic.
 'I want to do it for you'

In the 'in place of' sense of English 'for' here, stem sinnir- 'replace' is used in a similar manner:

illit sinnir-lutit taamaaliu-ruma-vunga
 thou replace (1s-)2s-cont. do-thus want 1s-indic.

Sometimes an allative case nominal has a beneficiary role, as in:

tunissuti-ssaq niviarsia-mut pisiara-ara
 present future girl all. buy 1s-3s-indic.
 'I bought a present for the girl'

This may in turn be nominalized: savik (nannumut) kappussaa 'the knife he killed(a/the bear) with'.

A more productive means of expressing the instrument of an action clausally is with stem atur- 'use', as in savini aturlugu 'using his knife'. The negative of this construction - or similar derived forms - may express a negative instrumental relation:

savi-ni atur-nagu nanuq
knife his-refl. use (4s-)3s-neg.-cont. polar-bear
tuqup-paa
kill 3s-3s-indic.

'He killed the bear without (using) his knife'

savi-qa-rani aallar-puq
knife have 4s-neg.-cont. leave 3s-indic.

'He set off without a knife'

Note the use of the instrumental case to express means rather than instrument in the following:

naja-nngua-n-nik aallartit-si-viga-ara
younger-sister little my instr. send $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. have-as-
place-of 1s-3s-indic.

'I sent word to him by (way of) my little sister'

2.1.1.4.4. Comitative

A comitative relation may be expressed by derivational means, as discussed under 1.3.1.4. This includes the use of affixes qatigi 'do together with', lisar 'bring along' and, in combination with verb stems of motion, ut(i) again:

naja-lisar-puq
little-sister bring-along 3s-indic.
'He has brought his little sister along'

miiqqa-t tiki-uti-nngil-akka
child pl. come with not 1s-3p-indic.
'I didn't bring the children with me'

The enclitic lu 'and', with or without collective affix kkut 'and company/family', may express a comitative relation too, as in:

Hansi=lu aqagu aalla-ssa-agut
Hansi and tomorrow leave future 1p-indic.
'H. and I will leave tomorrow'

For further examples see 2.1.2.1.18. Alternatively, a clausal construction may be used with the contemporative mood of ilagi- 'accompany' as illustrated in 1.3.1.4. The negative of this - or other derived verb bases with affixes such as those mentioned above - may express a negative comitative relation, as in:

illuqarvik famtuusinti-nik inu-lik
 town 5000 instr. people provided-with
 'a town of 5000 inhabitants'

Note also verbal expressions with equivalent verbal affix
qar 'have':

qitir-mi-gut 82 (to og firs) centimeteri-nik
 middle its-refl. pros. 82 centimeter instr.-pl
 nirutu-ssusi-qar-puq
 be-wide quality have 3s-indic.
 'It is 82 centimeters around the middle'

Reference quantity is expressed by simple appositional ex-
 pressions:

raaja-t tonsi-t 9000 (ni tuusintit)
 shrimp pl. ton pl. (nine thousand)
 '9000 tons of shrimp'

sukkut kiilu ataasiq
 sugar kilo one
 'one kilo of sugar'

suppa qillirtuusa-t marluk
 soup tin pl. two
 'two tins of soup'

2.1.1.4.10. Material

Again lik in an appositional construction is possible:

illu qarma-lik
 house peat-wall provided-with
 'a peat-wall house'

An exhaustive material relation can also be expressed with
 a (quasi-) passive construction, as in:

illu qisum-mit/qisum-mik sanaaq
 house wood abl./wood instr. made
 'a house made of wood'

Apposition of simple nominals is also possible, e.g.
tuttuusaq qisuk 'a toy/thing like a caribou made of wood'. See
 2.1.1.4.2 above for expressions of material involving u 'be',
 and 2.2.1.1. (b) for ssaq 'material for'.

The negative equivalent of such expressions requires clau-
 sal negation, as in:

illu qisum-mik atu-rani sanaaq
 house wood instr. use 4s-neg.-cont. made
 'a house not made from wood'

2.1.1.4.11. Manner

Manner (positive or negative) is typically expressed by the

instrumental case intransitive participial forms of verbal bases (or by the contemporative mood), as described under 1.2.1. 3.1.3. Nominal bases may be used in the equative case, however, to express a manner relation, as in:

ataata-tut ataqqi-vaa
 father equ. respect 3s-3s-indic.
 'He respected him as a father'

sianilluanngit-su-tut iliur-puq
 be-stupid intr.-part. equ. act 3s-indic.
 'He acted stupidly'

2.1.1.4.12. Cause

The ablative case may be used:

nappar-sima-nir-mi-nit nikallur-puq
 become-ill perf. nom. his-refl. abl. be-depressed 3s-indic.
 'He was depressed because of his illness'

qiaa-nir-mit uuli-li-qa-aq
 be-cold nom. abl. shiver begin very 3s-indic.
 'He began to shiver from (the) cold'

As an example with a simple nominal note kiammit 'from the heat'.

The contemporative mood of verbal base pissutigi- 'have as cause', from 'empty' stem pi- (cf. 2.1.1.4.1 above) plus affix ssutigi (for which see 1.2.1.2.3), is still more common:

nappar-sima-nir-a pissutiga-lugu
 become-ill perf. nom. his have-as-cause-for (4s-)3s-cont.
 'due to his illness'

For reason or motive the equivalent form piqqutigalugu may be used. pillugu illustrated in 2.1.1.4.15 may also have a causal sense.

2.1.1.4.13. Purpose

The allative case and/or the nominal future affix ssaq are used:

aalisar-nir-mut aturtu-ssa-t
 fish nom. all. equipment future pl.
 'things to be used for fishing'

aningaasat kavvi-si-uti-ssa-t
 money-pl. coffee buy means-for future pl.
 'money to buy coffee with'

Without ssaq a habitual purpose can be expressed:

aalisar-nir-mut atur-tar-para
 fish nom. all. use habit. 1s-3s-indic.
 'I use it for fishing'

Note also ssiaq 'material for/thing intended for' as in annuraassiaq 'material for an anorak'.

2.1.1.4.14. Function

A relation of function is expressed with verbal derived forms using affixes gi 'have as' or liut 'make of/use as':

kaata-ra-ara
hammer have-as 1s-3s-indic.
'I used it as a hammer'

arna-ata puu-liup-paa
mother his-rel. bag make-into 3s-3s-indic.
'His mother made it into a bag'

Nominalized forms may be used attributively, e.g. qisuk kaatarisara 'the piece of wood I used as a hammer'

2.1.1.4.15. Reference

The direct object of transitive derived referential verbs such as uqaluusiri- 'talk about' is in the absolutive case:

pisimasuq taanna uqaluusiri-uma-nngil-aat
event that talk-about want not 3p-3s-indic.
'They didn't want to talk about that event'

However, the instrumental and prosecutive and equative cases may also be found in similar function:

uumasu-nik uqaluppalaaq
animal instr.-pl. story
'a story about animals'

nuli -ata tuqu -sima-nir-a-nik iqqaasip-paa
wife his-rel. die perf. nom her instr. remind 3s-3s-indic.
'It reminded him of his wife's death'

matumuuna tamar-mik assigniip-put
this-pros. all 4p be-alike 3p-indic.
'In this respect they are all the same'

kigartukka-mi-gut ilisima-niqar-tuq
carving his-refl.-pl. pros. know passive intr.-part.
'know for his carvings'

iqqumiitsuliurtu-tut tusaamaniqar-nir-a
artist equ. be-famous nom. his
'his fame as an artist'

A clausal construction with pi- is also common:

tamanna pi-llugu uqaluqatig-aa
this pi- (4s-)3s-cont. speak-with 3s-3s-indic.
'He spoke with him about this'

See also 1.2.4.2.

2.1.1.4.16. Essive

Essive function usually requires verbal expression with affix u 'be':

Sisimiu-ni ilinniartitsisu-u-vunga
Sisimiut loc. teacher be 1s-indic.
'I am a teacher in S.'

However the equative case can be used in expressions such as the following:

ilinniartitsisu-tut sulivunga/Sisimiu-niip-punga
teacher equ. work 1s-indic./Sisimiut be-in 1s-indic.
'I am working/am in S. as a teacher'

2.1.1.4.17. Translative

Incorporation of the nominal head with affix nngur(tit) is required:

iqqartuusisu-nngur-tip-paat
judge become cause 3p-3s-indic.
'They appointed him judge'

2.1.1.4.18. Part-whole

Simple possessive constructions are used:

puisi-p taliru-a
seal rel. flipper its
'the seal's flipper'

qaqqa-p inngi-a
mountain rel. peak its
'the peak of the mountain'

2.1.1.4.19. Partitive

A partitive relation is expressed with nominal stem ila 'part of/one of', or, in the sense 'one or another of' (or referring to groups/teams), arlaq. They are marked for plural possessor when the head nominal is plural:

nuna-p ila-a
land rel. part its
'part of the land'

nukappiaqqa-t ila-at (marluk)
boy pl.-rel. part their (two)
'some(two)of the boys'

qallunaa-t arla-at
Dane pl.-rel. one-of their
'one of the Danes'

Note also ilarput 'one of us' but ilavut 'some of us' with plural possessum; arlarput 'one or the other of us' but arlavut

'one of our (two) groups'. ilaat in the 3rd person is either 'one of them' or 'some of them' (the singular and plural possessum endings falling together). 'One of a pair' is expressed with stem illu(k) with singular possessum:

kamim-ma illu-a
 boot my-rel. one-of-pair its
 'one of my boots/my other boot'

For aappaa 'the other (of two)' see 1.2.5.2.6. Note the extension of ila, ilaannaq 'only part', as in niqip ilaanna 'only part of the meat'.

With numeral quantifiers it is also possible to use expressions such as the following:

taakkun-annga nukappiaqqa-t marluk/nukappiaqqa-nit marluk
 those abl. boy pl. two/boy abl.-pl. two
 'two of the/those boys'

2.1.1.4.19.3. Partitive Quantifier

With non-numeral quantifiers the construction is the same as above, i.e. nukappiaqqa-t ilaat can mean 'one/some of the boys'. This may be contrasted with the non-partitive construction with simple apposition:

nukappiaqqa-t arlallit
 boy pl. several
 'several boys'

ilaat also may have a non-partitive sense when following a nominal head referring to a whole class, e.g. uumasut ilaat 'some animals'.

2.1.1.4.19.5. Partitive Negative Quantifier

Enclitic luunniit 'even' is used in conjunction with a negative verb, usually with arlaq 'one of':

sulisartu-t arla-anna-al=luunniit takkuti-nngil-aq
 worker pl.-rel. one-of just their even show-up not 3s-indic.
 'Not even one of the workers showed up'

This is also possible with numeral expressions:

kuruuni-nik marlu-innar-nil=luunniit piqa-nngil-anga
 kroner instr.-pl. two just instr.-pl. even have not 1s-indic.
 'I don't have even two kroner'

With non-countables ila may be similarly used, as in:

matta-ap ila-a=luunniit niri-sima-nngil-aa
 mattak rel. part its even eat perf. not 3s-3s-indic.
 'He hasn't eaten any of the mattak'

But commonly a simple negative sentence corresponds to expressions with 'no' or 'none' in English:

matta-qa-nngil-luinnar-puq
mattak have not completely 3s-indic.
'There is no mattak at all'

angirlasima-su-qa-nngil-aq
be-at-home intr.-part have not 3s-indic.
'There is no one home'

2.1.1.4.20. Price

The instrumental (or sometimes the allative) case is used in expressions of price with suitable verbs. Note the Danish order of numeral plus money unit, both elements being loans:

fam kuruuni-nik akilir-pakka
5 kroner instr.-pl. pay 1s-3p-indic.
'I bought them for five kroner'

And with incorporation:

aqissi-t tuni-niqar-put haltrissi
ptarmigan pl. sell passive 3p-indic. 50
uuri-lir-lugit
øre provide-with (4s-)3p-cont.
'The ptarmigan were (being) sold for 50 øre'

Expressions of cost with affix qar 'have' may also be incorporating or independent:

fam kuruuni-qar-puq/fam kuruuni-nik aki-qar-puq
5 kroner have 3s-indic./5 kroner instr.-pl. price have
3s-indic.
'It costs 5 kroner'

The unit to which the price applies may be treated as the verbal subject:

ataasiq ti uuri-qar-luni
one 10 øre have 4s-cont.
'10 øre each/a piece'

Otherwise the expression is in the allative case as for other distributive constructions (cf. 'Extent' below):

kiilu-mut ti kuruuni-qar-put
kilo all. 10 kroner have 3p-indic.
'They are 10 kroner a kilo'

2.1.1.4.21. Value

Stem nali 'worth/value' is used in conjunction with affix lik 'provided with' or its verbal equivalent qar 'have':

atuagaq haltrissi kuruuni-nik nali-lik
book 50 kroner instr.-pl. value provided-with

'a book worth 50 kroner'

atuakka-t haltrissi kuruuni-nik nali-qar-put
 book pl. 50 kroner instr. value have 3p-indic.
 'The books are worth 50 kroner'

2.1.1.4.22. Distance

The absolutive case is used:

miitiri-t qassit tingi-vit
 meter pl. how-many jump 2s-inter.
 'How many meters did you jump (on skis)?'

kilumiitiri-t tallimat isurartu-tigi-su-mi
 kilometer pl. five stretch-a-long-way so intr.-part.
 loc.
 'for a distance of five kilometers'

But note with the equative case:

kilumiitiri-sut untritilit-tut ungasis-siga-aq
 kilometer equ.-pl. hundred equ.-pl. be-far so 3s-indic.
 'It is a hundred kilometers away'

2.1.1.4.23. Extent

This is usually expressed by affix qar 'have' on derived bases expressing the quality concerned, the numeral being in the absolutive case:

illursuaq untriti miitiri-t purtu-ssusi-qar-tuq
 building 100 meter pl. be-high quality have intr.-
 part.
 'a building 100 meters high'

tiivi kiilu sinnir-lugu
 20 kilo be-more-than (4s-)3s-cont.
 uqimaassusi-qar-puq
 weight have 3s-indic.
 'It is over 20 kilograms'

Alternatively the parameter can be expressed in the prosecutive case:

takissusi-mi-gut tu miitiri-u-vuq
 length its-refl. pros.2 meter be 3s-indic.
 'It is two meters long'

Expressions of distribution or rate over a unit of time are in the allative case:

angum-mut ataatsi-mut immiaqqa-t pingasut
 man all. one all. beer pl. three
 'three beers per man'

nalunaqutta-p akunnir-a-nut 25 (fem og tyve)
 clock rel. (space-)between its all. 25

kilumiitiri-nik ingirla-vuq
 kilometer instr.-pl. travel 3s-indic.
 'It travels at 25 kilometers an hour'

ukiu-mut marlu-riar-luni
 year all. two do-times 4s-cont.
 'twice a year'

Note the equative case in conjunction with affix of extent tigi 'so' in 2.1.1.4.22 above and the following:

miitiri-sut arvinilit-tut taki-tigi-suq
 meter equ.-pl. six equ. be-long so intr.-part.
 'six meters long'

aasa-kkut-tut kiak-sigi-nngit-suq
 summer pros. equ. be-warm so not intr.-part.
 'not as warm as in the summer'

With numeral expressions of temperature, and also of age, the instrumental case is used:

25 (fem og tyve)-nik issit-tuq
 25 instr. be-cold intr.-part.
 'in 25 degrees of frost'

tiivi-nik ukiu-lik
 20 instr. year provided-with
 '20 years old'

2.1.1.4.24. Concessive

Concession is usually expressed clausally (see 1.1.2.4.2. 8), though a nominalization of verbal forms in galuaq may be used adverbially here:

naak silarluk-kaluaq (aallar-put)
 although be-bad-weather but... (leave 3p-indic.)
 'Although the weather was bad (they set off)'

Note also contemporative mood expressions such as:

kaman-nir-a suqutigi-nagu
 be-angry nom. his not-care-about (4s-)3s-neg.-cont.
 'regardless of his anger'

kaal-luni=lu qiia-galuar-luni
 be-hungry 4s-cont. and be-cold but... 4s-cont.
 'despite hunger and cold'

2.1.1.4.25. Inclusion

Verbal base ilanngut- 'include' is used:

pulitikiri-t kalaali-u-su-t
 politician pl. Greenlander be intr.-part. pl.
 ilanngul-lugit
 include (4s-)3p-cont.

'(including) Greenlandic politicians too'

2.1.1.4.26. Exclusion

This is clausally expressed:

(tamar-mik) uanga kisi-ma pi-nnanga
(all 4p.) me alone 1s pi- (4s-)1s-cont.
'(everyone) except for me'

2.1.1.4.27. Addition

A 'post-positional' construction with sani 'side' is used:

Aggu-p sani-a-tigut (aammattaaq Jenseni-kkut)
Aggu rel. side his pros. (also Jensen and-family)
'besides A. (also the Jensens)'

Note also the simple use of enclitic lu 'and' in:

pingasu-u-vugut siulittaasur=lu
three be 1p-indic. chairman and
'We were three besides the foreman/chairman'

2.1.1.4.28. Vocative

There is a vocative enclitic aa attachable to common and proper nouns and to special forms of pronouns (it is not obligatory):

Suulun=aa
Suulut voc.
'Suulut!'

ajuqi=aa
catechist voc.
'Hey, catechist!'

The special vocative forms of pronouns to which it may be added are uumaak, plural ukursii, 'you there!', e.g. uumaangaa. Other demonstrative stems than una may be expanded this way, e.g. qassumaak 'you in there!'. These forms may be regarded as lengthened variants of the relative case singular (see 2.1.2.5.6). Similar lengthening plus final k may be found in vocative function on family relation stems, as in irniik from irniq 'son' (and cf. hypocoristic anaanaaja 'Mummy' from anaana).

2.1.1.4.29. Citation Form

The absolute case is used as a citation form (also for labels). Bound morphemes lack conventional citation forms and it is thus hard to isolate affixes (derivational or otherwise) in order to name them. A practice has developed in connection with instruction in the language to cite bound affixes, when necessary, in combination with a typical 3rd person indicative inflection, e.g. 'uvuq (he) is'. Both verbal affixes and bases are presented this way in the majority of dictionaries (thus

'naammappuq - is enough').

2.1.1.5. Local Semantic Functions

All nominal and contemporative mood verbal forms cited below may be used adverbially as clause modifiers and also within noun phrases, as under 2.1.1.4. All forms with locative case -mi/ni may be verbalized to miit/niit 'be in/on, etc.', as in atuarvimmiippugut 'we are in school'. Most of the 'post-positional' stems cited can be extended by tungi 'direction', as in siurnatungaanut 'towards the front'; they may also take affix (I)liq 'most in a direction' as in kingulliq 'one furthest behind/last'. None of these expressions (apart from purely nominal ones in the absolutive case such as kingulliq) is normally found in copular sentences with tassa (see 1.2.1.1. (b)).

2.1.1.5.1. General

(a) At rest. The locative case is the most general means of expressing location, regardless of the size or orientation of the location, thus Kalaalli(t)-nunaanni 'in Greenland', Nuummi 'in Nuuk/Godthåb', immami (or imaani) 'in the sea', atuarvimmi 'in school', qaqqani 'in the mountains', etc.

The prosecutive case may also indicate general location, but rather in the sense of field/sphere of action (it is also widely used in non-local extensions of this sense - cf. 2.1.1.4.15 & 2.1.1.6.2 ff.).

kangirlu-up qinngu-a-gut nui-vuq
fjord rel. head its pros. appear 3s-indic.
'It appeared at the head of the fjord'

tui-mi-gut nammap-paa
shoulder his-refl. pros.-pl. carry 3s-3s-indic.
'He carried it on his shoulders'

qiqirta-t ila-ati-gut tammaar-put
island pl.-rel. one-of their pros. camp 3p-indic.
'They camped on one of the islands'

nanuq siku-kkut ingirla-vuq
polar-bear ice pros. move 3s-indic.
'The polar bear moved over the ice'

The allative case can be used with certain verbs presupposing movement to the location/over some boundary, though overtly indicating action at a locality:

issiavim-mut ingip-puq
chair all. sit-down 3s-indic.
'He sat on the chair'

qaqqa-p sani-a-nut ili-vaat
mountain rel. side its all. bury 3p-3s-indic.
'They buried him beside the mountain'

Note also the absolutive object in such sentences as tasiq qajarturpaa 'he paddled his kayak around the lake' form qajartur- 'paddle in a kayak' (usually intransitive), and compare with the productive use of affix vvigi 'have as place of':

tasiq aalisar-vig-aa
lake fish have-as-place-of 3s-3s-indic.
'He fished in the lake'

(b) Motion to. The allative case is used, e.g. qaqqanut 'to the mountains' and Nuummut 'to Nuuk'. This may be further verbalized in the form mukar (plural nukar) or, less productively, muur (and see 2.2.2.1. (f) for liar):

qaqqa-nukar-put
mountains go-to 3p-indic.
'They went to the mountains'

Nuum-muka-ssa-atit
Nuuk go-to future 2s-indic.
'You will go to Nuuk'

avam-muur-puq
out-to-sea go-towards 3s-indic.
'He moved away from the coast (out to sea)'

With directional demonstrative stems nar is used following (an abbreviated form of) their allative case forms:

maan-nar-put
(to-)here go-to 3p-indic.
'They are coming here'

Compare the latter with allative case form maanga 'hither' (stem ma(t)-).

Prosecutive case ending -kkut may also be verbalized in the sense of movement through or *vīa*, as in nunakkuurpuq 'he went overland' (cf. nunakkut 'by/through the land'). Derivational affix siur may have a similar sense, e.g. imarsiurpuq 'he travelled by sea/went about on the sea'. A number of otherwise intransitive verbs of motion may take direct objects in this sense, e.g. saqivaa 'he wandered round it (the place)'.
Note also 'post-positional' use of tungi 'direction' in:

kuu-p tunga-a-nut
river rel. direction its all.
'towards the river'

Other cases are possible in such combinations, e.g. kuup tungaani 'towards the river' (location).

(c) Motion from. The ablative case is used, as in Nuummit 'from Nuuk'. In the purely local sense (and also temporal expressions) there is a variant -miit for -mit here; the morphophonemics are the same - i.e. -niit after plural stems. Especially on place-names and pronominals (but also some other no-

minal bases) there is a further variant -minngaaniit (older -minngaaniit), as in Sisimiuninngaaniit 'from Sisimiut', and tassanngaaniit 'from there (anaphoric)'. -mit may be verbalized, as in Sisimiuniirsuuvuq 'he comes from S.'

(d) Motion past. This is expressed by independent verbs, as in:

Qaqrtuq qaangir-parput
Qaortoq pass 1p-3s-indic.
'We passed Qaortoq'

Paamiut aquti-ga-lugit
Paamiut way have-as (4s-)3p-cont.
'via P.'

Paamiut aqusaar-pai
Paamiut go-via 3s-3p-indic.
'He went via P./stopped en route at P.'

kuuk ikaar-paa
river cross 3s-3s-indic.
'He crossed the river'

Such expressions may combine with the post-positions mentioned below, e.g. Qaqrtup iqqa qaangirpaa 'he passed near Q.'

2.1.1.5.2. Proximate

Stem iqqaq 'vicinity' is used post-positionally:

Maniitsu-p iqqa-a-ni
Maniitsoq rel. vicinity its loc.
'near M.'

iqqa-tsin-nut
vicinity our all.
'to near us'

Note the derived base with affix siur:

illu iqqa-siur-lugu
house (its-)vicinity move-about-in (4s-)3s-cont.
'moving about near the house'

2.1.1.5.3. Interior

Stem ilu 'interior' is used post-positionally:

illu-p ilu-a-ni
house rel. interior its loc.
'in the house'

kangirlu-up ilu-a-nit
fjord rel. interior its abl.
'from the interior of the fjord'

Note adverbial illumut 'inwards' and verbalization illumukar-

puq 'he entered (it)'.

The prosecutive case may be used of going through the interior of something:

kata-kkut isir-puq
entrance-passage pros. go-in 3s-indic.

'He entered (the peat house) by the entrance passage'

Stem timi 'body/interior of land' is used in the special sense of inland/away from the sea:

qiqirta-p tima-a-ni
island rel. interior its loc.

'in the interior of the island'

Note derivatives timirpasippuq 'it lies inland', timmukarpuq 'he went inland', timaappaa 'he went to the landward side of it (the reef)' and timangirpaa 'he put himself between it and the land (of s.th. out to sea)'.

2.1.1.5.4. Exterior

'Post-positional' stem silat- is used especially of the space outside a dwelling or other enclosed form:

uqaluvvi-up silata-a-ni
church rel. outside its loc.

'outside the church'

As with other such stems this construction may be in any local case, e.g. uqaluvviup silataagut in the prosecutive when the main verb refers to an action taking place in the area outside the building. Note matup silataa 'the other side of the door' and adverbial silammut 'out(wards)', also derivatives silatangirpaa 'he stood outside of it/his place' and intransitive silatangiuppuaq 'he stood outside the house'.

Post-positional stem avat- is used in the wide sense of external environment, especially with reference to the coastline:

avata-a-ni
outside its loc.
'out to sea (from it)'

Note adverbial avammut 'outwards/away from land' and verbalizations avammukarpuq 'he went out from land', avaquppaa 'he passed around it (to the seaward side)', avasippuq 'it is out to sea', and avatangirpaat 'they positioned themselves towards the sea from it/surrounded it'.

2.1.1.5.5. Anterior

Post-positional stem siu(niq) is used to express space or direction in front (note the metathesis before vowel-initial inflections):

siuni-tsin-ni
front our loc.
'in front of us'

siuni-k-kut ingirla-vuq
front my pros. move 3s-indic.
'He went in front of me'

siurn-a-nut tup-puq
front his all. land 3s-indic.
'It landed in front of him'

Note adverbial siumut 'forwards' and derivatives siuqqiuppuq 'he is turned directly (facing) this way/comes directly this way', siulliuvuq 'he is in front/foremost', siuarpuq 'he comes in front/in advance', and many others from siu (literally 'front part' - e.g. of kayak), of which siuniq is an extension.

Post-positional stem sa(a)- (cf. saaq 'front side/facade') also has this meaning, but refers more specifically to the front side of s.th. with a vertical surface, i.e. right in front of it, as in:

qui-p sa-a-ni qiqar-puq
shed rel. front its loc. stand 3s-indic.
'He stood in front of the shed'

saa-n-nit aallar-puq
front my abl. leave 3s-indic.
'He went away from (in front of) me'

Note derivatives saangiuppuq 'he stood in front', (Paamiut) sarsuppai 'he passed in front of it (Paamiut)', and saappaa 'he turned to/faced him'.

2.1.1.5.6. Posterior

Post-positional tunu is the converse of sa(k) above:

matu-p tunu-a-ni
door rel. behind its loc.
'behind the door'

tunu-tsin-nut
behind our all.
'to behind us'

Note adverbial tunumut 'backwards' and derivatives tunuqquppai 'he went behind them', tunuatiguurpuq 'he went round back (of it)', and tunuarpuq 'he moved back'.

Post-positional stem kingu(niq) is the converse of siu(niq), referring to space or direction behind (cf. kingu 'front part of kayak'):

kinguni-ssin-ni
behind your loc.
'behind you'

miiqqa-t kingurn-an-niit
 child pl.-rel. behind their abl.
 'from behind the children'

Note adverbial kingumuinnaq 'just back(wards)' and derivatives kinguqqiuppuq 'he turned away', kinguarput 'they moved back', kingusippuq 'it is a long way back' and many others.

There is a stem kilu referring to the rear part of a dwelling, particularly the rear of the traditional sleeping platform, as in adverbial form kilummut '(to) further back on the sleeping platform'.

2.1.1.5.7. Superior

Post-positional stem quli- expresses position above without contact; as a simple nominal it may mean 'upper part of/ space above' as in umiap qulaa 'the upper part of the umiaq ('women's boat')', qaqqap qulaa 'space above the mountain', and qulirput 'that which is above us'.

qiqirta-p qula-a-ni nuia-qar-puq
 island rel. above its loc. cloud have 3s-indic.
 'There are clouds above the island'

quli-tsin-nit
 above our abl.
 'from above us'

qaqqa-p qula-a-nut timmi-vuq
 mountain rel. above its all. fly 3s-indic.
 'It flew to above the mountain'

Note adverbial qummut 'upwards' and verbalizations qulaappaa 'he moved/shot over it', qullarpaa 'he lifted it up', qulangirpaa 'it took up a position above it', etc.

2.1.1.5.8. Superior Surface

Post-positional stem qa(a)- is used (cf., as simple nominal, immap qaa 'the surface of the sea' and umiarsuup qaa 'the deck of the boat'):

illu-p qa-a-ni
 house rel. top its loc.
 'on the top of the house'

nirrivu-up qa-a-nit
 table rel. top its abl.
 'from on top of the table'

Note derived verb-forms qarsuppaa 'he passed over it (a surface)' and qaangirpaa 'he passed it (in general)' as mentioned under 2.1.1.5. (d).

2.1.1.5.9. Inferior

Inferior position, with or without contact, is expressed

with post-positional stem ati- ('lower part/space below' as a simple nominal):

nirrivi-up ata-a-ni
table rel. below its loc.
'under the table'

ati-n-nit
below thy/my abl.
'from below you/me'

Note qaqqap ataaniippuq 'it is below the mountain (at its foot)'. The associated adverbial is ammut 'downwards'. Note also derived forms atangirpaa 'he took up a position below it', ataappaa 'he went under it', and atsippuq 'it is (far) below'.

When referring to under the surface of the sea (not at the bottom), ikiaq 'layer between' is used:

imma-p iki-a-ni (aaligar-passua-qar-puq)
sea rel. layer-between its loc. (fish many have 3s-indic.)
'under the sea's surface (there are shoals of fish)'

2.1.1.5.11. Lateral

The post-positional stem here is sani ('side' as an independent nominal).

sani-a-nut tup-puq
side his all. land 3s-indic.
'It landed beside him'

sani-ssin-ni najugaqar-pugut
side your loc. live 1p-indic.
'We live beside you'

illu-p sani-a-tigut
house rel. side its pros.
'beside the house'

Note adverbial sanimut 'sideways' and derived forms sanimukarpuq 'he went to the side', sannirpuq 'he turned sideways/broadside', and saniquppaa 'he passed to the side of it'.

Stem illu(k) is used in expressions like illuttut 'on both sides', illuanit illuanut 'from one side to the other', and illuata tungaanut 'to one side'.

Stem nali indicates position level with (in a direction), as in:

qajaq ilulissa-p nala-a-niip-puq
kayak iceberg rel. level its be-at 3s-indic.
'The kayak was level with the iceberg'

This is also used with temporal expressions, as in qimussirviup nalaani 'at the time for going out by sledge'. Note also derived verb-form nallirpaa 'he came level with it'. This stem contrasts with another, missi - indicating 'on a line

with (in a direction)', as in:

qiqirta-p missa-a-ni
island rel. direction its loc.
'on a line with/towards the island'

It also means 'approximately' with numerical expressions (see 1.2.5.2.6).

2.1.1.5.12. Lateral Contact

Simple case inflections are used:

iikka-mi nivinga-vuq
wall loc. hang 3s-indic.
'It is hanging on the wall'

iikka-mut tali-sip-paa
wall all. lean cause 3s-3s-indic.
'He leant it up against the wall'

2.1.1.5.13. Citerior

A 'quasi-compound' consisting of the relative case of stem ma(t)- 'this' and tungi 'direction' is used:

kuu-p matumatunga-a-ni
river rel. this-side its loc.
'this side of the river'

Sometimes stem killik 'boundary/limit' can be used in this sense:

quirsu-up killing-a-ni
warehouse rel. killik its loc.
'near/all the way up to the warehouse (from here)'

Note however sirmirsuup killingani 'at the edge of the inland ice'.

Stems sagqaq 'sunny side' and assuq 'windward side' may be used in post-positional constructions of the same sort:

qiqirtar-su-up assu-a-ni
island big rel. windward its loc.
'on the windward side of the big island'

2.1.1.5.15. Ulterior

The post-positional stem here is ungat, which as an independent nominal means 'the far side of s.th.' or 'the side wall of a dwelling':

kuu-p ungata-a-ni
river rel. far-side its loc.
'on the far side of the river'

Note derived forms ungasippuq 'it is far' and unqaqqupaa 'he went round the other side of it'.

Note also stems mumik 'the reverse side of a skin', alannuq

'shady side' and uqquq 'leeward side, e.g.:

kangirlu-up alanngu-a-nit
fjord rel. shady-side its abl.
'from the shady side of the fjord'

For aki 'the opposite side' see 2.1.1.5.20 below.

2.1.1.5.17. Medial

Post-positional stem akunniq 'space between' expresses both position between two objects and among several (note the metathesis with vowel-initial inflections):

atuarvi-up uqaluvvi-ul=lu akurn-an-ni
school rel. church rel. and between their loc.
'between the school and the church'

akunni-tsin-nit
between our abl.
'from amongst ourselves'

akurnini (with plural possessum) is often encountered instead of akurnanni 'between them'. Note related forms akulliq 'the middle one' and akulluqqupai 'he went between them (e.g. islands)' (stem aku on its own means 'mouth of a river' or 'middle part').

The stem qitiq 'middle' may also be used post-positionally, as in umiarsuup qiqqani 'in the middle of the ship'.

The prosecutive case may have a sense of (movement) through or among, as:

urpippassuar-tigut
woods pros.
'through the woods'

igalaa-kkut itsuar-puq
window pros. look-in 3s-indic.
'He looked through the window'

2.1.1.5.19. Circumferential

Independent verb kaajallag- 'go around (once)' and others of similar meaning such as ungu- 'surround' must be used:

illursuaq kaajallal-lugu
building go-around (4s-)3s-cont.
'around the building'

naatsiivik ungu-llugu ungulu-qar-puq
garden surround (4s-)3s-cont. fence have 3s-indic.
'Around the garden there is a fence'

nirrivik ilu-llugu ingip-put
table surround (4p-)3s-cont. sit-down 3p-indic.
'They sat down around the table'

Note illursuaq kaavippaat 'they went around the building (not just once)'. These expressions may occur within noun phrases:

naatsiivik ungu-llugu ungaluq
garden surround (4s-)3s-cont. fence
'a fence around a garden'

2.1.1.5.20. Citerior-anterior

Post-positional stem aki is used to express position, etc. across from, especially about stretches of water; as simple nominal it can mean 'the front platform in a peat house' or 'thing on the other side'.

Nuu-p aki-a-nut
Nuuk rel. opposite its all.
'to the other side of the fjord from Nuuk'

aki-tsin-ni
opposite our loc.
'opposite us across the fjord/river'

Note derived forms akiquppaa 'he sailed past s.th. on the other side of the fjord', akimuurpuq 'he crossed to the opposite side' and akiliraa 'it is situated opposite it'.

Note also, with stem illu(k) 'one of a pair' and tungi- 'direction', illuatungaa 'the other side', which may occur in various case forms.

2.1.1.5.21. Movement in Relations to Long Objects

General verbs of motion past and case endings or post-positional constructions as discussed above may be used for movement along or across long objects. For ikaar- 'cross' see 2.1.1.5.8. Note also:

aqqu-sini-kkut ingirla-vugut
road pros. travel 1p-indic.
'We travelled along the road'

aqqu-siniq napi-llugu
road break(-across) (4s-)3s-cont.
'across the road'

There is a verb stem paarlag- 'cross/go past in opposite directions', and one sini- 'follow along (e.g. coast)' from sini 'edge' (besides saniqqut- 'pass' mentioned in 2.1.1.5.11). The two adverbials tukimut (allative case of tuki(k) 'length-wise direction') and sanimut (allative case of sani 'side') indicate respectively along and across a long object, for instance when cutting it.

2.1.1.6. Location in Time

The adverbial expressions discussed below, just as the spatial ones in the previous sections, may appear attributively within noun phrases (though this is largely limited to nominal

and contemporative mood verbal expressions), thus:

ullaag aallar-tuq
this-morning leave intr.-part.
'this morning's flight'

marlu-nut nutaarsiassat
two all. news
'the two o'clock news'

Likewise, they are not usually used as complement or subject of copular constructions with tassa. There are varied possibilities for verbalization, however, especially with u 'be', which may incorporate even locative-case expressions, e.g. juunimiuvuq 'it was in June (s.th. happened)', as the examples given illustrate.

With expressions indicating a definite point in the past the 'perfect tense' affix sima (see 2.1.3.2.1.3) is generally not used, whereas it may be with expressions indicating the extent of time within which a not specifically dated event occurred. When the time expression indicates habitual or repeated events, the main verb requires affix sar or its equivalent (see 2.1.3.2.1.8).

2.1.1.6.1.1. Time of Day

Clock time is expressed in the following ways. For the whole hours the numeral is incorporated by affix nngur 'become' when expressed clausally (the grammatical subject nalunaaqutaq 'clock' is optional in all expressions of clock time):

(nalunaaqutaq) ataasi-nngur-puq
(clock) one become 3s-indic.
'It is one o'clock'

The causative mood is used in adverbial expressions referring to a previous day, and the conditional when referring to one in the (relative) future, i.e. ataasinngurmat and ataasinngurpat respectively for 'at one o'clock'. However, for corresponding expressions referring to the same day, the allative case (or the absolutive) of the numeral is used:

tallima-nut/naalunaaqutaq tallimat
five all /clock five.
'at five o'clock'

For clausal expression of the half hours:

marlu-nut qitiqqup-puq
two all. reach-half 3s-indic.
'It is half past one'

To express the point in time, the possessed allative case of qitiq 'middle/half' is used:

quli(t)-qiqq-a-nut
 ten half its all.
 'at half past nine'

With ataasiq 'one', the relative case singular is used as expected: ataatsip qiqqa(nut) 'half past twelve'. With marluk 'two' used for clock time note the idiosyncrasy in the allative case: marlunut, etc. as opposed to marlunnut as an ordinary numeral (by analogy ataatsinut 'at one o'clock' may be heard too for ataatsimut). There are quasi-compounds, also involving qitiq 'middle': ulluqiqqa and unnuaqiqqa, 'midday' and 'midnight' respectively. Thus ulluqiqqanut 'at midday' and unnuaqiqqata missaani 'around midnight'.

For smaller divisions the clock face is envisaged as divided into twelve segments of five minutes each, to which the minute hand - tanniq, literally 'the longest' - progresses:

marlu-nut tanniq tallima-nngur-puq
 two all. long-hand five become 3s-indic.
 'It is 25 past one'

sisama-nut tanniq pingasu-nut/pingasut
 four all. long-hand three all./three
 'at quarter past three'

ataatsi-mut tanniq qulingilua-nut/qulingiluat
 one all. long-hand nine all./nine
 'at quarter to one'

It is possible to express still more detailed time (if a little artificially) in the following manner:

nalunaaqutaq pingasu-nut qiqq-a minutsi-mik
 clock three all. half its minute instr.
 ataatsi-mik inuur-lugu
 one instr. not-reach (4s-)3s-cont.
 'at 29 minutes past two'

nalunaaqutaq pingasu-nut qiqq-a minutsi-mik
 clock three all. half its minute instr.
 ataatsi-mik qaangir-lugu
 one instr. pass (4s-)3s-cont.
 'at 29 minutes to three'

Note also pingasut qaangilaaraa 'at a little after three', where the grammatical subject is understood as nalunaaqutaq 'the clock'.

2.1.1.6.1.2. Period of Day

Period of day expressions referring to the present day are generally in the absolutive case, e.g. ullaag 'this morning', ualiq 'this afternoon', unnuk 'this evening', and unnuaq 'tonight'. The addition of manna 'this' indicates that the period referred to is still going on, e.g. unnuk manna '(later) this

evening'. When referring to the coming period these expressions take the affix gu, e.g. ualiru 'this (coming) afternoon', and unnugu 'this (coming) evening'. Note also ualiartug 'this afternoon (earlier today)' and the use of the prosecutive case (as for frequentative expressions) in combinations like ippassaq unnukkut 'last night' and aqagu ullaakkut 'tomorrow morning'. Also in combination with clock time:

uali-kkut nalunaaqutaq pingasut
 afternoon pros. clock three
 '(at) three o'clock in the afternoon'

Further expressions of period of the day include the following: unnuppuq 'it has become evening' and unnuuppaq 'it became evening for him', and impersonal transitive unnuqigaa 'late in the evening'. Thus:

aggi-ratta unnu-uti-lir-paatigut
 be-coming 1p-caus. become-evening with begin 3s-1p-indic.
 'Evening arrived while we were on our way'

Note also ulluqiqqata kingurnagut 'after midday/in the afternoon' and ulluqiqqarmat 'at midday (in the past)'.
 2.1.1.6.1.3. Day of the Week

Days of the week are expressed by numerals incorporated with verbalizing affix nngur 'become', in the causative mood for the last such day and in the conditional for the coming one:

ataasi-nngur-mat
 one become 3s-caus.
 'last Monday'

marlu-nngur-pat
 two become 3s-condit.
 'on (next) Tuesday'

But for Sunday loan-word sapaat is used, which requires verbalizing with u:

sapaati-u-mmat
 Sunday be 3s-caus.
 'last Sunday'

To state the day of the week further derivation is necessary:

sisama-nngur-nir-u-vuq
 four become nom. be 3s-indic.
 'It is/was Thursday'

This is based on the nominalized citation form sisamangurniq 'Thursday' (thus also ataasinngurniq 'Monday', marlungurniq 'Tuesday', pingasunnurniq 'Wednesday', tallimangurniq 'Fri-

day' and arvininngurniq 'Saturday'). It is also possible to verbalize the causative mood forms with u 'be', as in sisamannurmaavuuq 'it was on (last) Thursday', as if the verb form were a /t/-stem nominal.

Note adverbials aqagu 'tomorrow', aqaguagu 'the day after tomorrow', ippassaq 'yesterday', ippassaani 'the day before yesterday', ullumi 'today', sapaatip akunnirani qaangiuttumi (or kingullirmi) 'last week', and sapaatip akunnirani tullirmi 'next week'. For impersonal subject transitive expressions of time, including for days of the week, see 1.1.2.4.2.1.

2.1.1.6.1.4. Month of the Year

The month, expressed by Danish loan-words, stands in the locative case, e.g. juunimi 'in June'. In combination with dates:

juuni-p femteni-an-ni
June rel. fifteen their loc.
'(on) the fifteenth of June'

Ungrammatical forms such as juunip femteni are also heard (the ni belonging to the stem, not a locative case marker) when the numeral is a Danish -teen expression (ending in '-en' in that language). Cf. juunip aappaani 'on the second of June' with native ordinal aappaa - literally 'its other'. For the first of the month note fipruaaripsiullianni (or aallaqqaataani) 'on the first of February'. The possessor of the ordinal expression (apart from aappaa) is plural (cf. 2.1.6.4), since ulluisa 'its days' is understood. Note also qaammami tullirmi/kingullirmi (or qaangiuttumi) 'next/last month'

2.1.1.6.1.5. Year

Danish numeral expressions in the locative case are used (the absolutive is also found):

1982-mi (nitten hundrede og to og firsi-mi)
1982 loc.
'in 1982'

Note also ukiug ataasiq allurtaglu 'every other year', ukiup aappaani manna nallirpagu 'this time next year', 1950-ikkunni 'in the 1950s' (cf. 2.1.1.8.4), and adverbials siurna or ukiigatta 'last year', aappaagu 'next year' and ukiug manna 'this year'.

2.1.1.6.1.6. Festivals

Danish names of festivals are used in the locative case:

juulli-mi
christmas loc.
'at Christmas'

Note derivatives like juullisiurput 'they are celebrating

Christmas', and with 'collective' kkut: juullikkunni 'at Christmastime'.

2.1.1.6.1.7. Seasons

Nominals expressing the season are in the absolutive case when referring to the previous season and take affix gu when referring to the coming one; manna is added if the season is still going on:

upirnaaq
spring
'last spring'

upirnaa-ru
spring future
'next spring'

upirnaaq manna
spring this
'this spring'

For autumn the locative case is needed in ukiarmi 'last autumn'.

In combination with a year, derivatives with u 'be' are used (these may also appear on their own):

1943 (nitten hundrede og tre og fyrrer)-p/1943-mi
1943 rel. /1943 loc.
aasa-a-nir-a-ni
summer be nom. its loc.
'in the summer of 1943'

Note verbal expressions such as upirnivug 'he spent the spring (somewhere)' and upirnalirpuq 'it is getting to be spring'.

See 5.1.6 for a listing of season expressions.

2.1.1.6.2. Frequentative

The prosecutive case is used, except with time of the day:

ullaa-kkut ullaakkursiur-tar-pugut
morning pros. eat-breakfast habit. 1p-indic.
'We eat breakfast in the morning'

ukiu-kkut
winter pros.
'in the winter'

ataasinnurni-kkut
Monday pros.
'on Mondays'

The last example could also have been expressed clausally by ataasinnurnirugaangat. With sapaat 'Sunday' the locative case may also be used: sapaammi, as is usual with the loan-word months and festival terms, e.g. juunimi 'in June'. There is a

nuance in meaning between frequentative expressions in the prosecutive case and ones of naturally repeating/habitual state or action in the locative. Thus the latter is used in the following, where the prosecutive, stressing 'every winter', would be inappropriate:

ukiu-mi qiaa-sar-pugut
winter loc. be-cold habit. 1p-indic.
'In the winter we are cold (habitually)'

With hours of the day the allative case is used:

quli-nut innar-tar-put
ten all. go-to-bed habit. 3p-indic.
'They go to bed at ten o'clock'

Clausal expressions such as ataasingguraangat 'at one o'clock (every day)' are also possible.

The absolutive case is used in combination with tamaasa 'all':

ukiu-t tama-asa
year pl. all 3p.
'every year'

Prosecutive case expressions such as unnukkut 'in the night-time' and ullukkut 'in the day-time' are not necessarily frequentative.

2.1.1.6.3. Punctual-future

The verb qaangiut(i)- 'be past' is used in the conditional mood:

nalunaaqutta-p akunnir-a qaangiup-pat
clock rel. (space-)between its be-past 3s-condit.
'in an hour'

ukiuq ataasiq qaangiup-pat kati-ssa-pput
year one be-past 3s-condit. get-married future 3p-indic.
'They will get married in a year'

2.1.1.6.4. Punctual-past

A post-positional construction with matuma siurna(ti)gut is used:

nalunaaqutta-p akunnir-i pingasut matuma
clock rel. (space-)between its-pl. three this-rel.
siurn-a-gut
before its pros.
'three hours ago'

2.1.1.6.5. Duration

Duration (past or present) is generally expressed by the absolutive case of the time expression:

minutsi-t pingasut uqar-tu-qa-nngil-aq
 minute pl. three say(-s.th.) intr.-part. have not 3s-
 indic.

'No one spoke for three minutes'

unnuaq tama-at
 night all 3s

'all the night/all through the night'

Duration in the future ('for' a length of time) is expressed by the locative case, as are expressions of duration in the past that are broken (cumulative rather than consecutive) and of length of time in which an action is completed:

ukiu-mi ataatsi-mi Danmarki-mi najugaqa-ssa-anga
 year loc. one loc. Denmark loc. live future 1s-indic.

'I shall live in Denmark for a year'

ullu-ni pingasu-ni suli-nngitsuur-punga
 day loc.-pl. three loc. work happen-not-to 1s-indic.

'There were three days when I didn't work'

nalunaaqutta-p akunnir-i-ni marlun-ni
 clock rel. (space-)between its-pl. loc. two loc.
 naammassi-vara
 finish 1s-3s-indic.

'I finished it in two hours'

Note also for expressing duration of an entire period:

nalunaaqutta-p akunnir-a
 clock rel. (space-)between its
 naa-llugu qia-vuq
 complete (4s-)3s-cont. cry 3s-indic.

'He cried for a (whole) hour'

2.1.1.6.6. Anterior-duration-past

A clausal construction is used:

ippassaq tikil-lugu (pi-su-qa-nngil-aq)
 yesterday come-to (4s-)3s-cont. (happen intr.-part. have
 not 3s-indic.)

'Until yesterday (nothing happened)'

marlunnurniq tikil-lugu
 Tuesday come-to (4s-)3s-cont.

'until Tuesday'

The allative case of tungi 'direction' is also found in expressions like:

sapaati-p tunga-a-nut Nuum-miis-sima-vuq
 Sunday rel. direction its all. Nuuk be-in perf. 3s-indic.

'He was in Nuuk until Sunday'

isirmat 'since he came in at 2 o'clock'. The same construction may be used with months and years. And observe with not such obvious continuation: ippassarli uqarpunga 'I said (it) already yesterday'.

Note the following construction:

tuqunir-a-nit ukiu-t tiivi-t qaangiup-put
death his abl. year pl. 20 pl. pass 3p-indic.
'Twenty years have passed since his death'

Observe also the temporal use of killik 'boundary' as in killinganit (tassaniippuq) '(it has been here) from the beginning', and:

tamanna killi-ga-lugu
this boundary have-as (4s-)3s-cont.
'from this time on'

2.1.1.6.9. Posterior-duration-future

The usual construction is with ablative -miit, but again kingurna is possible when referring to a limited duration of time, as in:

ataasinngurnir-up kingurn-a-gut Jenseni-kkun-ni
Monday rel. after its pros. Jensen and-family loc.
najugaqa-ssa-aq
live future 3s-indic.
'He will live at the Jensens' (for a time) after Monday'

aqagu-miit
tomorrow abl.
'from tomorrow on'

ukiu(q)-manna-miit
this-year abl.
'from this year on'

Note the difference with numerals indicating respectively day and hour: ataasinngurnirmiit 'from Monday on' but ataatsimiit 'from one o'clock on'.

2.1.1.6.10. Anterior-general

Post-positional stem siurna- or various verbal expressions may be used:

unnuaiqqata siurn-a-gut tuqu-vuq
midnight-rel. before its pros. die 3s-indic.
'He died before midnight'

unnuaru-nngik-kaa tass-unga pi-vugut
become-night-for not 3s-3s-part. there all. go 1p-indic.
'We went there before nightfall'

juuni siuqqul-lugu tassunnar-sima-vunga
June do-before (4s-)3s-cont. go-there perf. 1s-indic.

'I went there before June'

ataasi-nngur-tin-nagu sulia-ssa-ni
 one become cause (4s-)3s-cont. work future his-refl.
 ini-riirsima-vaa
 finish already 3s-3s-indic.

'He finished his work already before one o'clock'

All of these expressions may be used of anterior-general time in the future too, e.g. with tassunnassaanga 'I will go there' in the third sentence - in fact tinnagu is more common in the future, as in upirnaatinnagu 'before the spring' (this may refer to the past, though, as upirnaanngikkallarmat must). When there is no indication of precise time in the past the main verb may have perfect tense affix sima (see 2.1.3.2.1.3). It will take affix of repeated action sar if several actions are involved, though this may be omitted if referring to a sum total of occurrences:

apriili siuqqul-lugu pingasu-riar-lunga
 April do-before (1s-)3s-cont. three do-times 1s-cont.
 tassunnar {-tar}-sima-vunga
 go-there (iter.) perf. 1s-indic.

'I went there three times before April'

2.1.1.6.11. Posterior-general

Post-positional stem kingunig is used (cf. 2.1.1.6.8 and 9):

marlungnurnir-up kingurn-a(-gut) tiki-ssa-pput
 Tuesday rel. after its (pros.) arrive future 3p-indic.
 'They will arrive after Tuesday'

1972(nitten hundrede og to og halvfjerds)-ip kingurna
 1972 rel. after

tamaani aalisar-tu-qa-lir-puq
 here fish intr.-part. have begin 3s-indic.

'After 1972 there began to be fishing around here'

juuli-p kingurn-a-gut Nuum-miis-sima-vuq/Nuum-mukar-puq
 July rel. after its pros. Nuuk be-in perf. 3s-indic./Nuuk
 go-to 3s-indic.

'After July he was in Nuuk (for a time)/went to Nuuk'

Note also with qaangiut(i)- 'be past': ukiuq ataasiq qaangiuttuq 'one year later'.

2.1.1.6.12. Point in Period-past

The locative case is used in such expressions:

nalunaqutta-p akunnir-a-ni ataatsi-mi
 clock rel. (space-)between its loc. one loc.
 tallima-nik pulaartu-qar-sima-vugut
 five instr. visitor have perf. 1p-indic.

'In one hour we have had five visitors'

ukiu-ni kingullir-ni marlun-ni
 year loc.-pl. last loc.-pl. two loc.
 tallima-riar-luni maannar-tar-sima-vuq
 five do-times 4s-cont. come-here iter. perf. 3s-indic.

'In the last two years he has been here five times'

sima is optional in such expressions (though usual), as is the morpheme sar of repetition in the last sentence, which may be omitted when referring to the sum total of occasions.

An alternative construction with ingirlaniq 'course' is possible:

ukiut pingasut ingirlanir-an-ni
 years-rel.three-rel.course their loc.
 ataasia-annar-luni maannar-puq
 do-once only 4s-cont. come-here 3s-indic.

'During three years he came here only once'

2.1.1.6.13. Point in Period-future

This is expressed clausally:

sapaati-p akunnir-i marluk
 Sunday rel. (space-)between its-pl. two
 qaangiut-sin-nagit uti-ssa-anga
 pass cause (1s-)3p-neg.-cont. return future 1s-indic.

'I shall return within two weeks'

Note also decemberi naatinnagu 'before the end of December'.

2.1.1.7. Double Case-marking

Relative (and other) case may combine with personal possession inflection as described under 2.1.1.1.1. (c), with the same fused morpheme marking the noun phrase as possessed by one argument and as possessor of another (or subject of a transitive verb), as in the following:

niviarsia-p ikinnguta-ata qimmi-a
 girl rel. friend her-rel. dog his
 'the girl's friend's dog'

As regards the combination of case-markers with other case-markers, however, the only regular possibility is with equative case -tut, which may follow any other oblique case marker as illustrated under 1.9.1. Following 'i₁' in such endings it regularly becomes -sut, as in Maniitsumisut 'like in Maniit-soq'.

More sporadic combinations of case markers occur with time expressions, especially those in the prosecutive case, as in maannakkumut 'up to now' from maannakkut 'now' and ullumikkut 'some time today' (also ullumimut 'up to today') from ullumi 'today'. Note also siurnagurnit 'from before' and siullirmirnit

'than the first time'; the ablative case variant -rniit occurring in these forms also occurs in pleonastic ablative case markings of demonstrative stems, as in tassanngarnit 'from there' (alongside tassannga). Similarly qulaaninngaaniit 'from above it' (alongside qulaani(i)t) and tamatumuunakkut 'this time' (alongside tamatumuuna). For ablative variant -minngaa(n)niit on other nominals see 2.1.1.5.1. (c).

2.1.1.8. Number-marking System

All nominals are marked for singular or plural number (the dual has been lost in the central dialect area here described, but has been retained in part further north).

2.1.1.8.2. Obligatory Nature of Number-marking

Number-marking is obligatory and attributive nominals (and numerals) in apposition to the head must agree for number (and case). Modifiers of incorporated nominal heads must also show number agreement (see 1.2.1.2.2. (a)).

2.1.1.8.4. Distinction between Collective and Distributive plural

A collective sense can be produced by derivational means, as in qimmialuit 'a number of dogs' and inuppaaluit 'a crowd of people'. Nominal affix kkut 'and family/companions' is used on proper and (suitable) common nominal stems to form a collective meaning:

palasi-kkut pular-put
 priest and-family visit 3p-indic.
 'The priest and his family are visiting'

All these morphemes are themselves plural, note. Observe too the possibility of the plural form of ataasiq 'one' with nominal stems indicating single objects that are grammatically plural (mostly names of vehicles):

qamutit ataatsi-t
 sledge one pl.
 'one sledge'

Words for boats and ships such as umiarsuaq in the plural may refer to the vessel plus crew, e.g. umiarsuit 'a ship (plus crew)'.

2.1.1.8.6. Realization of Number-markers on Nouns

Singular number is indicated by \emptyset (or the final consonant of a consonant base), and plural number by -(i)t (in the absolutive and relative case). For the fused nominal inflections involving number, case and personal possession see 2.1.1.1.1. The plural marker takes the form -it with nominals of the 'strong consonant' class - with or without metathesis or other morphophonemic process in the base - whereas it is of the form

-t in the vowel/'weak consonant' class, causing gemination in the preceding syllable where applicable (see 3.4.1.3.(a)). Examples of the different sub-classes:

nuna	'land'	- nunat	}	'weak' class
nanuq	'polar bear'	- nannut		
ujarak	'stone'	- ujaqqat		
irniq	'son'	- irnirit	}	'strong' class
panik	'daughter'	- paniit		
aliq	'harpoon line'	- arlit		

2.1.1.8.7. Number-marking of Foreign Words

Loan-words (virtually all from or via Danish) take the usual native plural morpheme, as in rådhusit 'town halls' (Danish 'rådhus') and ruujurit 'pipes' (Danish 'rør'). Since recent loan-words are all of the 'weak' class the morpheme is simply -t. 'Collective' morpheme kkut may also be used on loan-words, as illustrated in 2.1.1.8.4. A few foreign words are given plural forms lacking in the source language - e.g. sukkut 'sugar' from Danish 'sukker' (sukku in the singular is a piece of sugar). Note also tonsi 'ton' (from the English plural via Danish 'tons'), plural tonsit. Loan-words for vehicles may be treated as grammatically plural by younger speakers, e.g. piilit 'car' (cf. 2.1.1.8.4), from Danish 'bil'.

2.1.1.9. Noun Classes

The only division of nominal stems into classes concerns their pattern of morphophonemic variation under inflection. This is largely a matter of transparent phonological conditioning, though bases not ending in a vowel in the absolutive case singular must be marked as to whether they belong to the 'weak' or 'strong' type. Within these classes they need further to be marked as to whether they undergo gemination or metathesis, etc. - though this was once largely predictable there has been much leveling in the direction of the two simple patterns of the major classes. With the minor exception of the plural marker -(i)t and the singular relative marker -(u)p the inflectional endings are the same for both classes, only their mode of attachment varying.

There are no semantic criteria for distribution between these classes, nor does the language have noun classifiers.

2.1.1.10. Definiteness in Noun Phrases

The choice between the transitive and 'half-transitive' construction is largely determined by the definiteness of the object noun phrase, which when in the absolutive case governed by a transitive verb form usually has a definite sense. For a general discussion of the relevance of noun phrase definite-

ness to word-order relative to the verb (especially in the case of subject arguments) see 1.11.2.1.3. An NP containing a demonstrative constituent in apposition is of course always definite.

2.1.1.11. Indefiniteness Marked In Noun Phrases

This is only relevant for direct objects. For the use of the instrumental case with objects of 'half-transitivized' bases in an indefinite sense see 1.2.1.2.2. (c). Objects of other grammatically intransitive verbal stems may occur in the same case with an indefinite sense:

atuakka-nik atuar-puq
book instr.-pl. read 3s-indic.
'He read some books'

As opposed to:

atuakka-t atuar-pai
book pl. read 3s-3p-indic.
'He read the books'

The same distinction occurs with singular objects, e.g. atuakkamik atuarpuq 'he read a book' or 'he was reading (in a book)' as opposed to atuagaq atuarpaq 'he read the book'. When the sense is 'one of' with a plural possessor indicated on the head noun a singular possessum form is possible:

gallunaa-t aallaas-su-an-nik piqa-ruma-vuq
Dane pl.-rel.gun big their instr. nave want 3s-indic.
'He wanted to have a big Danish gun'

This could also refer to a specific gun - though the usual expression for that would be aallaassuisa ilaannik 'one of their big guns' with ila- 'one of'. A corresponding plural possessum form on its own is also possible (aallaassuinik) when the number is vague, e.g. for 'one or several guns' in the above sentence.

Though there is no morphological class of mass nouns, nominals indicating indefinite masses like imiq 'water' will commonly be in the instrumental case as object (when not incorporated). Thus niqimik nirivuq 'he ate some meat', as opposed to niqi nirivaa 'he ate the meat'. The near-equivalent incorporating structure, niqiturpuq, indicates 'he ate meat', with even less suggestion of a specific amount.

Note the instrumental case of external modifiers of nominal heads incorporated by qar 'have'; though the sense is indefinite it may be specific, as the choice between singular/plural marking on the modifier indicates:

apiri-su-qar-puq kamat-tu-mik
ask intr.-part. have 3s-indic. be-angry intr.-part. instr.
'There is an angry questioner/somebody asked angrily'

nalunaar- in:

ajuqi kui-sik-kusu-lir-nir-a-nik
 catechist baptize cause want begin nom. his instr.
 nalunaar-puq
 report 3s-indic.
 'The catechist reported that he (another) wanted to get
 baptized'

2.1.1.12. Referential and Non-referential Indefiniteness

As stated above, a direct object referred to by a transitive verbal inflection is taken, all else being equal, as specific/referential (if not actually definite), and oblique case objects (not so referred to) are, all else being equal, taken as indefinite (albeit with the possibility of being referentially specific). The latter interpretation applies also to incorporated nominal heads indicating the action-type performed, as in nannuppuq 'he caught a bear' as opposed to nanuq pisaraa 'he caught the bear' (for the instrumental case object equivalent see above). However, the number of incorporating affixes like this that have exact independent verb equivalents is limited, e.g. qar~piqar- 'have'; tur~niri- 'eat', atur- 'use', etc; si~pisi- 'buy', taku- 'see', etc; and liur~sana- 'make', etc. See 1.2.1.2.2. (a) for other affixes of getting, having, making, etc. that behave this way. Nominal bases incorporated in this fashion may indeed be referentially specific, especially with a non-incorporated modifier in the instrumental case:

(sukkasuu-mik) piili-si-vuq
 (fast instr.) car buy 3s-indic.
 'He bought a (fast) car'

Givón's term 'non-definite' (Givón 1978) is applicable here, the incorporated object referring to a specific member of a class that is however not envisaged as an individualized object.

A somewhat different distinction is made between the use of arlaat 'one or another of them' and ilaat 'one/some of them' in noun phrases, as discussed under 2.1.1.4.19:

miiqqa-t arla-at nassiri-vuq
 child pl.-rel. one-or-another-of their have-stomach-ache
 3s-indic.
 'One (or other) of the children has a stomach-ache'

miiqqa-t ila-at nassiri-vuq
 child pl.-rel. one-of their have-stomach-ache 3s-indic.
 'One of the children has a stomach-ache'

Though both constructions can be said to be referentially 'indefinite', arlaat is less (referentially) specific within the group concerned. ilaat may sometimes be glossed by an indefinite article - especially in (copular complements of) defini-

tions.

Observe also the referential 'indefinite' sense that may be produced by marking nominals with derivational affix ssaq 'future' for personal possession as in suilaaqqutissat 'something for you to pass the time with' and the following:

tuti-sa-ssa-ra nalu-ara
 step-on pass.-part future my not-know 1s-3s-indic.
 'I don't know where to put my feet down'

Compare this with incorporated inissarsiurpuq 'he is looking for a place to live' from ini 'place', and:

puu-ssa-qar-ti-nngil-ara
 bag future have cause not 1s-3s-indic.
 'I have no bag for it'

The usual distinction between definite (absolutive) and indefinite (instrumental) object is found with future tense main verbs however, as illustrated in the sentence beginning 'Jensip aqagu...' in 1.2.1.3.2, where an indefinite sense would require the instrumental.

2.1.1.13. Genericness in Noun Phrases

This is not marked (nor is the relative importance of noun actors). Examples of generic usage can be found in 1.2.1.1. (a) and (b).

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Free Personal Pronouns

Free personal pronouns for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, singular and plural, are found - the 3rd person forms being demonstrative stems. They are optional as subject or object (when the verbal inflection already refers to such arguments), but are necessary in oblique cases, as in:

ilin-nut niri-qqu-aa
 thou all. eat tell-to 3s-3s-indic.
 'He told you to eat it'

If the verbal inflection already indicates the person, free pronouns (1st and 2nd person at least) usually have some emphatic or contrastive effect, though they may also be used to disambiguate between 1st and 2nd person singular inflections when these fall together phonologically in oblique possessed forms (cf. 2.1.2.4). They are not normally used in imperative utterances (though may occur for emphasis). On the other hand they are required in copular/cleft constructions, as in the following response to a question as to who is there(outside):

uanga=ana
 I that
 'It is me'

2.1.2.1.1.4. Free Pronouns in Emphatic/Non-emphatic Contexts

There is no difference in form between emphatic and non-emphatic uses of the free pronouns (cf. the preceding).

2.1.2.1.2. Person Distinctions in the Pronoun

First person - singular uanga, plural uagut - second person - singular illit, plural ilissi - and third person - singular una, plural uku - are distinguished. For other demonstrative stems used for 3rd person see 2.1.2.5.

2.1.2.1.3. Inclusive/Exclusive

There is a distinction between 1st plural inclusive and exclusive of addressee in the imperative/optative moods (see 2.1.2.4.3), but not as regards free pronouns.

2.1.2.1.4. Number-marking of Pronouns

All pronouns have (obligatory) plural forms, as illustrated above. Note that the plural morpheme for demonstrative stems is -ku. There is no overlapping of reference between singular and plural.

2.1.2.1.4.6. Pronouns Associated in NPs with Numerals

The numeral stem is extended by verbalizing affix u 'be' and takes suitable intransitive participial mood inflections (cf. 1.1.2.3.1):

uagut marlu-u-sugut
 we two be 1p-part.
 'we two'

ilissi quli-u-susi
 you ten be 2p-part.
 'you ten'

In oblique cases the person marking of the verbal form is lost:

uatsin-nut marlu-u-su-nut
 us all two be intr.-part. all.-pl.
 'to us two'

There is no obvious limit on the size of the numeral component, though higher numbers are rarely found in this construction.

2.1.2.1.6. Different Degrees of Proximity in the 3rd Person Pronouns

The various dimensions whereby demonstrative forms used for 3rd person pronouns are distinguished, including proximity, are

described under 2.1.2.5; una (plural uku) and its corresponding anaphoric form taanna (plural taakku) are the most commonly used and have very general reference. una most commonly refers to a person or thing not too distant from either the speaker or the hearer; manna 'this' (near the speaker) is not used of persons (see also 2.1.2.5.1.1 below).

2.1.2.1.7. Anaphoric 3rd Person Pronouns

Any demonstrative stem used pronominally may be made anaphoric in the sense of 'thing or person just mentioned/understood as present topic' by the addition of prefix ta-, as in taanna from una and tappanna from panna 'thing/person up there'.

2.1.2.1.8. Gender/Class and Other Distinctions in Pronouns

See 2.1.2.1.2 for the 1st and 2nd person, and 2.1.2.5.2 for the 3rd person pronominal forms. There are no further markings for gender, class, tense, status or the like.

2.1.2.1.13. Non-specific Indefinite Pronouns

There are no indefinite pronouns as such. There is however a nominal form used adverbially or as an NP constituent in a manner reminiscent of namminiq 'self' (cf. 1.6.1.1), namely naliginnaq 'any (old)/commonly', as in:

naliginnaq piuma-suq ilaa-li
any want intr.-part. come-along 3s-opt.
'Anyone who wants to can come along'

naliginnar-nut atu-ga-ssa-a-vuq
any all.-pi. use pass.-part future be 3s-indic.
'It is to be used by anyone'

See also 2.1.6.6.1.

The combination of a question-word plus enclitic luunniit 'even/-ever' has a non-specific indefinite sense, as in sunaluunniit 'whatever' and surlirluunniit 'whichever'.

kina=luunniit aappa-ri-niar-para
who ever companion have-as future 1s-3s-indic.
'I will take anyone as my companion'

This is also the construction with non-pronominal q-words (all except naak 'where'), e.g. qaqaguluunniit 'whenever', sumiluunniit 'wherever/somewhere or other' as in:

sumi=luunniit isirtur-simassa-aq
where ever hide probably 3s-indic.
'He must be hiding somewhere or other'

In a subordinate context note:

su-mil=luunniit puuqattaq manna
what instr. ever bag this

immir-niqa-raluar-luni qarturar-niq ajur-puq
 fill passive but... 4s-cont. burst nom. cannot 3s-indic.
 'Whatever you fill this bag with it won't burst'

And without luunniit: sumut pigaluaaraangama 'wherever I go'
 (see 1.1.2.4.2.1 for the contingent form of the causative mood here).

The combination of q-word plus stem tamar- 'all' produces a universal sense (for the opposite sense of 'nothing/none' see 1.4.1):

suut tama-asa isumag-ai
 what-pl. all 3p think-of 3s-3p-indic.
 'He thought of everything'

Note corresponding adverbial expressions such as sukkut tamaana 'everywhere' with tama(t)- 'here' rather than tamar-, and the use of affix nir 'I wonder' with a q-word as in:

kikku-u-nir-su-t maaniis-sima-pput
 who-pl. be I-wonder intr.-part. pl. be-here perf. 3p-indic.
 'Some people (I wonder who) have been here'

There is a verbal use of hesitation filler imaattug (literally 'it being thus') when a specific verbal expression is purposely blurred over or simply escapes one for the moment, as in:

imaattur-pai
 immattur- 3s-3p-indic.
 'He did something or other to them'

This is to be distinguished from related imaappug 'it is thus', taamaaliurpai 'he did thus to them', and other verbalizations of ima 'thus'.

2.1.2.1.14. Specific Indefinite Pronouns

Impersonal incorporating structures with affix qar 'have' are found instead of free pronominal forms:

aggir-su-qar-puq
 be-coming intr.-part. have 3s-indic.
 'There is somebody coming'

apiri-sa-ssa-qar-pit
 ask pass.-part. future have 2s-inter.
 'Do you have something to ask?'

Question-words plus luunniit in conjunction with a negative verb give a negative (non-specific) indefinite sense as illustrated under 1.4.1, but stem su- 'what' may in some contexts - e.g. with affix qar - have a specific indefinite sense, as in:

su-qar-puq
 what have 3s-indic.

'There is something'

su-mik irsinar-tu-qar-puq
 what instr. be-frightening intr.-part have 3s-indic.
 'There is something frightening'

With a negative verb the sense is again non-specific however, as in:

aqqusiniq su-mik inus-si-vi-ssa-a-nngil-aq
 road what instr. human-being see/meet place future
 be not 3s-indic.
 'There was no one to be seen on the road'

Note also the possibility of incorporating personal pronouns in the construction with qar, as in illiqanngippat 'if it weren't for you', where an indefinite sense is of course precluded. For ilaat 'one/some of them' and arlaat 'one or another of them' see 2.1.1.4.19. The stems concerned take plural possessor endings (any person), and there is a possible possessum number distinction, e.g. ilavut 'some of us' but ilarput 'one of us'. Note that ilaanni in the locative case used in temporal expressions may mean either 'once' or 'sometimes'. Note further with arla(q) in the sense 'something or other' plus a modifying participial form:

arla-an-nik illigi-sa-n-nik
 arlaq their instr. find-tasty pass.-part. thy instr.
 uulli-nia-rit
 cut-up-to-put-in-pot try 2s-imp.
 'Cut up something you find tasty to put in the pot'

Sometimes a simple adjectival form (or 'headless relative clause') may have a similar sense:

Kangaarsu-up uummanna-a
 Kangaarsuk rel.heart-shaped-mountain its
 saqqaqqul-lugu
 pass-to-sunny-side-of (4p-)3s-cont.
 qirnir-tu-nngua-nik uparuartu-lir-put
 be-black intr.-part. little instr.-pl. point-at begin 3p-
 indic.
 'They began to point at some small black things as they passed to the sunny side of K.'s heart-shaped mountain'

2.1.2.1.15. Special Emphatic Pronouns

There are no such special forms, but see 1.2.5.2.8 for namminiq 'oneself'.

2.1.2.1.17. Pronoun-noun Combinations

A personal pronoun may be combined with a nominal base verbalized by u 'be' and re-nominalized by the intransitive participial morpheme, here exceptionally allowing 1st and 2nd person

forms as in the corresponding participial mood (see 1.1.2.3.1) - hence the glosses :

uagut kalaali-u-sugut
we Greenlander be 1p-part.
'we Greenlanders'

illit ilinniartitsisu-u-sutit
thou teacher be 2s-part.
'you (being a) teacher'

una palasi-u-suq
that priest be intr.-part.
'him (being a) priest'

The person marking on the 1st/2nd person verbal forms is lost in oblique cases:

uatsin-nut kalaali-u-su-nut
us all. Greenlander be intr.-part. all.-pl.
'to us Greenlanders'

2.1.2.1.18. Special Coordinating Constructions with Pronouns

For the use of enclitic lu 'and' (with or without affix kkut 'and company/family') in the sense of 'X and me/you/him, etc.' see 1.3.1.3. The verb itself is in the semantically appropriate person/number form in this construction, free personal pronouns only being used when it is a matter of conjoining two pronominal items, as in:

illil=lu aalla-ssa-agut
thou and leave future 1p-indic.
'You and I will leave'

una=lu aalla-ssa-agut
him and leave future 1p-indic.
'He and I will leave'

illil=lu aalla-ssa-asi
thou and leave future 2p-indic.
'You and he will leave'

2.1.2.1.20. Case Systems in Pronouns

All pronouns are inflected for case. There is some divergence from the case system of nouns as regards the realization of the different cases. For the 1st and 2nd person pronouns there is no distinction between absolute and relative case. Special forms of the stem are used with oblique case endings, namely 1st singular uaC-, 2nd singular iliC-, 1st plural uatsiC- (or uagutsiC-), 2nd plural ilissic-. The complete paradigm for the first person singular and plural follows (the second person ones are analogous). The endings should be compared with the oblique cases of possessed nominals under 2.1.1. 1.1. (d).

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
abs.	uanga	uagut
rel.	uanga	uagut
instr.	uannik	uatsinnik
all.	uannut	uatsinnut
loc.	uanni	uatsinni
abl.	uannit	uatsinnit
pros.	uakkut	uatsigut
equ.	uattut	uatsitut

For the special inflections of demonstrative stems see 2.1.2.5.6. The case forms of interrogative pronouns are given under 2.1.2.6.1.3.

2.1.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns

For a discussion of the forms and functions of reflexive pronoun immi- (plural immiC-) see 1.6.1. Reflexive adverbial namminiq (which also has pronominal function in some constructions) is also treated there, along with other ways of expressing reflexivity. Both these morphemes may be marked for person and case, e.g. immitsinnut 'to ourselves', namminirminut 'to himself'. immi-, unmarked for further person, is 4th person and simply takes case endings similar to those for the oblique cases of possessed nominals under 2.1.1.1.1. (d), e.g. imminut 'to himself', immikkut 'through himself', imminnit 'from themselves', etc. The only deviation from nominal inflection is that immi- lacks absolutive and relative cases (it is never subject of a clause; for the use of its oblique cases in object function see 1.6.5.1). The same is true of namminiq, though this form is used adverbially to the verb in place of an overt subject or within a subject NP.

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal Pronouns

For the reciprocal use of (plural) reflexive stem immiC- (which may be inflected for person and case), and for other means of expressing reciprocity see 1.7. As in reflexive use, an absolutive/relative form is lacking.

2.1.2.4. Possessive Pronouns

There are no possessive pronouns, possession being marked by nominal inflection instead, as described under 2.1.1.1.1. Personal pronouns may be used in combination with possessive inflections for emphasis, e.g. uanga nuliara 'my wife'. Note further:

uanga=ana (nasa-ra)
 me-rel. that (cap my)
 'It is mine (my cap)'

illit piga-ajuk
 thou-rel. own 2s-3s-inter.
 'Is it yours?'

The nearest equivalent to independent possessive pronouns are formed with 'empty' stem pi-, which as a nominal means 'thing', as in the following:

pi-a
 thing his
 'his thing'

pi-gi-sa-t
 thing have-as pass.-part. thy
 'Your (possessed) thing'

namminiq pig-aa
 self own 3s-3s-indic.
 'It is his own'

For other examples of affix gi in the sense 'have as' see 1.10.1. For alienable possession marker ut(i) see 1.10.2

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

2.1.2.5.1. Parameters Involved in Demonstrative Pronouns

All the Eskimo languages display a rather complex system of demonstrative pronominal stems and corresponding adverbial expressions orientated in part to coastal configurations (see 5.1.5 for the same principle behind directional expressions). However, the common system, which included the parameter of extended (lengthy/moving/spread-out) versus restricted (stationary/compact) reference, has broken down somewhat in West Greenlandic so that the latter distinction has been largely neutralized with that of relative proximity and, moreover, some of the coastline-orientation terms have become lexicalized in other senses (though they may retain that sense in archaic or dialectal contexts). The demonstrative pronouns consist of the demonstrative stem plus (absolute case) ending -na or -nga. Prefix ta- produces an anaphoric sense of 'already mentioned' on all of them.

2.1.2.5.1.1. Relative Distance from the Speaker

The distinction between manna 'this' and una 'that' is partly one of proximity to the speaker, though una (stem u(a)-) is also used for general 3rd person pronominal reference and manna (stem ma(t)-) is not used of persons nor of clearly delineated objects near (or held/touched by) the speaker - for which una is used. It is most often used of place (or time)

around and including the speaker. The corresponding adverbial forms are maani 'here and uani 'there', the latter usually in the context of pointing or referring to something within sight of both speaker and hearer and not too distant from either. Demonstrative pronoun inna (stem ik-) and its corresponding adverbial ikani 'yonder' refer on the other hand to something distant - but still visible, and on the same horizontal plane as the speaker. Note also temporal maanna 'now' from ma(t)-.

Relative proximity is also the distinguishing feature between kanna (stem kat-/kan-) 'that down there/in the west' and sanna (stem sam-) 'that (way) down there/out to sea/in the west'. Similarly with pinnga (stem pik-) 'that up there/in the east/inland' and panna (stem pav-) 'that (way) up there/in the east'. kanna is naturally used for something down at the shoreline from a settlement and pinnga of something higher up in the settlement from the speaker, whereas panna would be used of s.th. up on a mountain behind the settlement (derivatives of this stem are also used to refer to Denmark, e.g. pavunnarpuq 'he went to Denmark (from Greenland)'). There may be traces of the original extended/restricted distinction in these pairs in so far as it is natural to refer to moving or physically extended objects, e.g. a caribou moving along a ridge or the ridge itself, or an iceberg passing out at sea or a whole ice-floe, with the 'distant' members of the pairs.

2.1.2.5.1.16. Inside Some Object

qanna (stem qam-) 'that in there/out there' refers to an object (or person) on the other side (interior or exterior) of some intervening surface, usually a wall or door, from the speaker. It can also be used in narrative when the speaker is putting himself and his listeners in the position of some third person.

2.1.2.5.1.17. Outside Some Object

kinnga (stem kig-) 'that out there' refers to an object/person outside beyond a wall (i.e. usually 'outside the house') from the speaker or some third person in whose position he is putting himself. It may also mean 'that in the south' for some speakers still. qanna above is also used in this sense; in fact the difference between them used to be one of respectively restricted/extended reference.

2.1.2.5.1.19. Vertical Orientation

As described under 2.1.2.5.1.1 above, the forms pinnga/panna and kanna/sanna refer respectively to position above and below the speaker - typically up the mountain/away from the sea, and towards the shore/out to sea.

2.1.2.5.1.20. Other Spatial Relationships

Two demonstratives today refer exclusively to coastal ori-

entation, namely anna (stem av-) 'that in the north' and qanna (stem qav-) 'that in the south' - i.e. respectively to the right and to the left looking out to sea. Some of the other demonstratives discussed above also have secondary reference to the coastline, namely pinnga/panna and kanna/sanna as described, and, more marginally or archaically, kinnga 'that in the south' and innga 'that in the north' (all relative to the position of the speaker).

2.1.2.5.1.21. Visible/Invisible

inna (stem im-) 'that out of sight/far away (in space or time)' is archaic today (it has biblical connotations), but can still be used as an enclitic, especially in the sense 'at that time' (cf. qangaliinna in 1.1.2.4.2.1).

2.1.2.5.1.23. Referred to In Previous Discourse

All the pronominal forms (and their adverbial correlates) mentioned above may be preceded by anaphoric prefix ta- in the sense 'previously mentioned/understood as present topic'. See 2.1.2.5.2 for morphophonemic irregularities involved in the attachment of the prefix.

2.1.2.5.1.26. Neutral Demonstrative Pronoun

As mentioned, una (plural uku) and its anaphoric correlate taanna (plural taakku) - which have fallen together with the anaphoric correlates of stem im- above - is used as a neutral 3rd person pronoun in contexts not limited to relative proximity to the speaker or hearer. However, since all personal pronouns are optional when their referents are already marked as subject or object on the verb, the non-anaphoric forms tend to be somewhat emphatic when not strictly deictic (or used as enclitics - see 2.1.8.1.9). In oblique cases they are necessary though:

uun-unga tunniun-magu nuannaa-qa-aq
 him all. give 3s-3s-caus. be-happy very 3s-indic.
 'When he_i gave it to him_j he_j was delighted'

2.1.2.5.2. The Demonstrative Pronouns Listed

I list below the forms and meanings mentioned above that are still in common use today.

	<u>plain</u>	<u>anaphoric</u>
by proximity	'this (here)'	tamanna
	'that/this'	taanna
	'that yonder'	taajinnga

		<u>plain</u>	<u>anaphoric</u>
by verticality	'that (way) down there'	sanna	tasanna
	'that down there'	kanna	takanna
	'that (way) up there'	panna	tappanna
	'that up there'	pinnga	tappinnga
interior/exterior	'that in/out there'	qanna	taqqanna
	'that outside (the house)'	kinnga	takinnga
by coastline	'that in the north'	anna	taajanna
	'that in the south'	qanna	taqqanna
by visibility	'that out of sight'	(inna)	(taanna)

The last item is only contemporary in enclitic usage, as mentioned above, and panna, pinnga, sanna and kanna (and kinnga) may still have coastal orientation senses.

2.1.2.5.3. Iconicity of Pronominal Forms

In the original Greenlandic system (as described in Bergsland 1955), the extended member of each extended/restricted pair of forms had the vowel /a/ while the restricted forms had a close vowel (except for kanna). This can hardly be said to have iconic value today, however, with the neutralizations/lexicalizations that have taken place.

2.1.2.5.4. Number-marking on Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns take a special plural marker -ku attached to the stem, as in makku 'these' corresponding to manna, uku corresponding to una, ikku corresponding to innga, etc. These plural forms optionally take a further -a in the relative case, e.g. makkua, ukua (these can also be found for the absolute case colloquially).

2.1.2.5.6. Case-marking on Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns take a special set of case markers, which they share (in the oblique local cases) with the corresponding adverbials. There is a certain amount of irregularity as regards the form of the stem found preceding these morphemes. The complete set is illustrated here for una:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
absolute	una	uku
relative	uuna	ukua

instrumental	uuminnga	ukuninnga
allative	uumunnga	ukununnga
locative	uumani	ukunani
ablative	uumannga	ukunannga
prosecutive	uumuuna	ukunuuna/ukunatigut
equative	uumatut	ukunatut/ukutut

The corresponding anaphoric forms contain an idiosyncratic stem-variant taassum- in inflected cases, i.e. taassuma, taassuminnga, etc. The plural is taakku(a), taakkuninnga, etc. The stem-variants to which case inflections are added for the other demonstratives are: matum(a), issum(a), sassum(a), katum(a), passum(a), pissum(a), qassum(a), kissum(a), assum(a), qassum(a) and issum(a), taking them in the order presented in 2.1.2.5.2.

The inflected forms of taanna (taassumunnga, etc.) should be distinguished from local case forms of adverbial tassa 'there, etc.', as in tassunga 'to here/there (already mentioned)'. This stem is used essentially for anaphoric location, though extension to refer to things may also be encountered. The local case endings here are as on the adverbial correlates of the demonstrative pronouns discussed above, e.g. with av- 'in the north' (note that the stem-final consonant is preserved): avunga, avani, avannnga, and avuuna in respectively the allative, locative, ablative and prosecutive cases. The stem tass(a) used this way, as in tassani 'here/there (already mentioned)' refers neutrally to a location near the speaker. With stem ma(t)- note maani 'here', with stem kat/kan- kanani 'down there', and with u(a)- uani 'over there', uunga 'to over there', and irregular ugguuna 'that way' (prosecutive case).

For corresponding 'exclamatory' adverbials with gemination such as pavva 'up there' see 1.2.1.1.3; for deictic forms with prefix aa- aS in aasanna '(there it is) down there' see 1.2.1.1.1. (c). Note also verbalizations of the allative case forms with nar as in avunnarpuq 'he went north'.

2.1.2.5.8. Demonstrative Pronouns Used Adjectivally

See 1.2.5.2.5.

2.1.2.6. Interrogative Pronouns

2.1.2.6.1.1. Interrogative Pronouns Listed

The following are found: kina 'who', suna 'what', qassit 'how many' and surliq 'which (of small group)'. For examples of kina and suna meaning 'which' (or sometimes 'what kind of') see 1.1.1.2.2.

2.1.2.6.1.2. Number-marking of Interrogative Pronouns

The plural (absolutive/relative case) of kina is kikkut, of sunā suut, and of surliq surliit (qassit is already plural).

2.1.2.6.1.3. Case-marking of Interrogative Pronouns

kina (stem ki-) and sunā (stem su-) take somewhat idiosyncratic case forms as follows (surliq and qassit take regular nominal inflections):

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
absolutive	<u>kina</u>	<u>kikkut</u>
relative	<u>kia</u>	<u>kikkut</u>
instrumental	<u>kimik</u>	<u>kikkunnik</u>
allative	<u>kimut</u>	<u>kikkunnut</u>
locative	<u>kimi</u>	<u>kikkunni</u>
ablative	<u>limit</u>	<u>kikkunnit</u>
prosecutive	<u>kikkut</u>	<u>kikkutigut</u>
equative	<u>kinatut</u>	<u>kikkutut</u>

The relative singular case of sunā is suup, and the oblique cases regularly sumik (plural sunik), etc. though note plural prosecutive sutigut. kiap is common for kia today.

2.1.2.6.1.4. Interrogative Pronouns Used Adjectivally

They act just like other nominal modifiers:

angum-mut ki-mut
man all who all.
'to what man?'

tiiturvik suna
cup what
'what cup'

Note also kina arlaat (aallassava) 'who of them (is leaving)?', where kina is simply in apposition (ahead) to arlaat 'one (or other) of them'.

2.1.2.6.2. All Other Question Words Listed

qanuq 'how' (and qanu(q)-ittuq 'what sort of'), qanga 'when (in future)', suuq 'why', naak and local case forms of su- (sumi, sumut, sukkut, etc.) 'where'. See 1.1.1.2.2. for examples of use. All q-words may appear in direct or indirect speech, in the latter case usually in combination with affix nir on the verb - see 1.1.2.2.4.

2.1.2.7. Relative Pronouns

There are no relative pronouns (cf. 1.1.2.3 for relative

clauses).

2.1.3. Verb Morphology

As with other topics discussed under the general heading of 'inflection', verbal morphology is only in part a matter of inflection in the strict sense, most of what is discussed below being a matter of derivation in fact. The distinction between verbal inflection - the fused person/number/mood-marker occurring in final position (before any enclitics) - and derivational affixation is quite clear-cut in West Greenlandic.

2.1.3.1. Voioe

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

Passivization of an active transitive verb is accomplished by derivational means, the direct object of the active verb appearing as the subject of the derived verb and the subject (agent) of the former appearing (if at all) in the ablative case:

inuit nanuq taku-aat
people-rel. bear see 3p-3s-indic.
'The people saw the polar bear'

nanuq (inun-nit) taku-niqar-puq
polar-bear (people abl.) see passive 3s-indic.
'The polar bear was seen (by the people)'

For 'stative' passive morpheme *saa* see 2.1.3.1.1.4.2 below, and for the passive of derived verb forms with affix *ut(i)* 'do with/for' see 1.2.1.2.3. There is also a pseudo-passive construction - rather common in the spoken language - with transitive affix *tit* 'let/cause' used reflexively with intransitive inflections and the agent in the allative if expressed (cf. the 'remote object' with *tit* in the 'double transitive' construction in 1.2.1.2.2. (b)):

(qimmi-mut) kii-sip-puq
(dog all.) bite cause 3s-indic.
'He got bitten (by a dog)'

In suitable contexts this construction may imply an element of purposefulness, e.g. *nanuq takutippuq* 'the polar bear let itself be seen'. Some speakers use the ablative or instrumental case (the two tending to fall together phonologically, especially further north) instead of the allative.

Two common derivational affixes, *sima* (perfective state) and *sariaqar* 'must' can passivize transitive bases, as in *ulissimavuq* 'it was covered' from *ulig-* 'cover' and *ikiur-tariaqarput* 'they ought to be helped' from *ikiur-* 'help'. In the former case this often seems to involve non-agentive verbs (cf. 1.2.1.2.2. (c)), i.e. the stem on its own when used in-

transitively may have a passive sense - thus ulippuq alongside ulissimavuq - and sima may simply emphasize here the perfective (stative) aspectual sense. However, note also allassimavuq 'it is written' from agentive allag- 'write'. The agent is not expressed in such expressions. In corresponding active statements the inflection would simply be transitive, e.g. ikiur-tariaqarpaat 'they ought to help him'. Observe also 3rd person singular subject expressions such as ilinnut irsigisariaqa-nngilaq 'there is nothing for you to be afraid of' with sariaqar on transitive stem irsigi- 'afraid' and the experienter nominal in the allative case.

A passive-like sense is also produced when certain agentive nominalizations with si (cf. 2.2.1.1) are followed by gi 'have as', as in:

ajuqirsurti-ga-ara
teacher have-as 1s-3s-indic.
'He was my teacher/I was taught by him'

It is possible to have two passive morphemes within the same derived verb form as in the following, where the transitive stem tigu- 'take' is in turn nominalized by passive participle saq, reverbalized by transitive gi 'have as', then passivized:

uumasu-tut tigu-sa-ri-niqar-sima-pput
animal equ.-pl. take pass.-part. have-as passive perf. 3p-
indic.
'They were captured like animals'

Note tigusaqar- 'have caught something' from stem tigu- plus passive participle saq and (intransitive) qar 'have', which is a kind of half-transitive equivalent to transitive base tigusari- above (glossable as 'have as one's catch/captured thing').

The same tense and aspect options as with the active are available with the passive.

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Distinction between Dynamic and Stative Passive

Whereas niqar illustrated above is a dynamic passive morpheme, saa, consisting of passive participle saq (additive taq after many consonant stems, truncating gaq - plural kkat - after most /r/-stems, and truncating taq after most /t/-stems, but see 2.1.3.4.1) plus u 'be', usually has a stative sense, as in asasaavug 'she is Toved'. With some verbal stems there is very little difference however, as with tuqutaavug 'he was killed' alongside tuqunniqarpuq. niqar is unrestrictedly productive (though the pseudo-passive with tit is often colloquially preferred), saa somewhat less so.

2.1.3.1.2. Means of Decreasing the Valency of a Verb

Virtually any transitive verbal base may be detransiti-

vized by addition of a so-called 'half-transitivizing' affix (in so far as the base itself is not neutral as to transitivity). The most common of these morphemes is (s)i (i.e. (š)i for those who distinguish the two sibilants), the consonant only appearing after a vowel or when an 'i₂' has been lost. Thus immiiuq 'he filled something' from immi-, atuiuq 'he used something' from atur-, tunisivuq 'he gave things' from tuni- and ilisarsivuq 'he recognized something' from ilisari-. Semantically the result of attaching these morphemes is to de-specify the direct object of the transitive verb: if expressed at all it will be in the instrumental case, as illustrated in 1.2.1.2.2. (c). Derivational affixes that are themselves transitive will take a specific half-transitivizer following them. There is however some degree of choice (to do with relative lexicalization of the base) when a neutral affix is added to a transitive stem: a half-transitivizing affix may then follow either the affix or the stem. Thus whereas the base in aturnirluiniq 'misuse', formed from transitive stem atur- plus nirlug 'badly', is half-transitivized as a whole, the form atuinirlunniq may also be found with the stem directly half-transitivized.

Other half-transitivizing morphemes occurring only with a handful of stems in lexicalized combinations (with the exception of si and nng as noted) are si (not the same as ši), as in tigusivuq 'he took s.th.' from tigu-, and tuqutsivuq 'he killed s.th.' from tuqut- (similarly for other /t/-stems); nng as in takunniq 'he saw s.th.' from taku- and nuannaarinnipq 'he found s.th. enjoyable' from nuannaari- (and similarly for all derivatives involving transitive affix gi 'have as'); and llir as in aallirpuq 'he fetched s.th.' from aa-. A good many transitive stems have corresponding intransitive forms (non-reflexive) without an overt 'half-transitivizing' morpheme. These are the 'agentive' stems like niri- 'eat' which may be transitive or intransitive, as discussed in 1.2.1.2.2. (c). This class needs to be distinguished from the 'non-agentive' one to which belong stems such as matu- 'close', which in their transitive sense can take a half-transitivizer (e.g. matusi-). A construction like niqimik nirivuq 'he ate some meat' is completely parallel to the half-transitive one.

Another construction with a similar semantic effect, again allowing for a de-specified object in the instrumental case, is that involving the passive participle plus affix qar 'have' as in pisaqarpuq 'he has caught s.th.' (cf. pivaa 'he got it, etc.'). A further illustration:

assam-miu-mik taku-sa-qa-nngil-aq
hand dweller instr. see pass.-part. have not 3s-indic.
'There was nothing to be seen in his hands'

The intransitive affix nar 'be such as to' may also reduce

the valency of a transitive verbal base, as in asanarput 'they are loveable' from asa- 'love'. It maintains the intransitivity of an intransitive one, as in annirnarpuq 'it is painful' from annir- 'be in pain'. Sometimes (with verbs of 'directed emotion') it is attached to a form of the base lacking the 'i₂' appearing in its transitive form, e.g. nallinnarpuq 'he is pitiful' from transitive stem nalligi- 'pity'. nar may have the effect of impersonal subject 'one' (see 1.2.1.2.1); in older usage it also functioned as a self-effacing first person substitute, as in illuliurnarpuq 'houses are being built here/we are building houses'. This is more common today in the sense 'it is good weather for building a house' (e.g. with subject silu 'weather'). There are however traces of this use of nar still today, especially in situations of giving a reason or excuse for one's actions; thus sininnarpuq, literally 'it is such as to (make one) sleep', could be uttered after a hard day's exertions as an apology to company for one's lack of energy, etc.

Note the possibility of a further instrumental case argument with nar:

tamanna aqissi-nik ilimannar-puq
 this-place ptarmigan instr.-pl. be-expected 3s-indic.
 'One would expect to find ptarmigan around here'

The corresponding transitive base is ilimagi- 'expect' (which takes an ordinary absolutive case object). Observe also the allative case argument in the following:

niqi-tu-juit-su-mut niqi-t
 meat eat never intr.-part. all. meat pl.
 pinngunar-tur-su-u-pput
 be-too-strong/sickening intr.-part. big be 3p-indic.
 'For someone who doesn't eat meat, meat is sickening'

nar here follows 'empty stem' pi- plus nngu 'be sick of -ing'.

For the reflexive use of intransitive inflections on transitive bases see 1.6.1.3 and for the reciprocal sense of affix ut(i) used with plural intransitive inflections see 1.7.1.

2.1.3.1.3. Means of Increasing the Valency of a Verb

There are a number of verbal affixes which transitive an intransitive base, notably tit 'cause/let' (half-transitive titsi), qqu 'ask/want/tell to' (half-transitive qqusi), sar 'get to/(try to) cause to' (half-transitive saa)-note also saar suggesting more personal effort-, t(s)aali(ur) 'prevent from' (half-transitive t(s)aalisi/t(s)aaliu), qatigi 'do together with' (half-transitive qatiginnig), (ss)ut(i) 'do with/for, etc.' (half-transitive (ss)ussi), utigi 'have as means/time of', ssutigi 'have as reason for', and vvigi 'have as place/time, etc. for'. tit has a further sense of 'think', especially after u 'be'; the combination qartit can mean either 'cause

to have/give' or 'think that s.o. has'. The first four items listed above are so-called 'double-transitivizers', which may be added to intransitive or transitive bases. In the latter case the underlying object of the base is retained as the object of the derived form (if expressed externally it will be in the absolutive case), and the underlying subject (agent) is put in the allative case as 'remote object' if expressed at all ; any oblique case argument remains unchanged.

ilinniartitsisu-p miiqqat ani-sip-pai
 teacher rel. children go-out cause 3s-3p-indic.
 'The teacher sent the children out'

Compare this with miiqqat anipput 'the children went out'. With the first sentence below compare miiqqat paaraakka 'I looked after the children':

miiqqat uan-nut paari-tip-pai
 children me all. look-after cause 3s-3p-indic.
 'He had me look after the children'

pingasu-u-tip-pakka
 three be think 1s-3p-indic.
 'I thought they were three'

naala-qqu-aatit
 obey tell-to 3s-2s-indic.
 'He told you/asked you to obey'

qimmi-nut niri-tsaali-vaa
 dog all.-pl. eat prevent-from 3s-3s-indic.
 'He stopped the dogs from eating it'

tamanna allaatigi-ssa-vakku
 this write-about future 2s-3s-indic.
 'You shall write about this'

For examples with (ss)utigi and vvigi see 1.2.1.2.3 and 1.2.1.2.4, and for more on tit see 1.2.1.2.2. (b).

Half-transitivizing morpheme (s)i has a special detrimental use (highly lexicalized) with transitive inflections where the patient is subject. Thus compare (with non-agentive asirur-):

qajar-taa-va asirur-sima-vuq
 kayak new his break perf. 3s-indic.
 'His new kayak has been destroyed'

Taania-p qajar-taa-ni asiru-i-vaa
 Taania rel. kayak new his-refl. break $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-3s-indic.
 'Taania had his new kayak destroyed (unintentionally)'

And from intransitive annag- 'get away':

natsiq anna-a-vaa
 ringed-seal get-away $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-3s-indic.
 'The ringed seal got away from him'

Half-transitivized bases may be retransitivized by the affixes discussed above - in fact all of the latter except the 'double-transitive' affixes (which may be attached to transitive bases) must follow intransitive/intransitivized bases. Transitivity may in turn be half-transitivized or passivized, hence the sequence anivug 'he went out', annippaa 'he went out with it' (with the geminating variant of ut(i)), annissivug 'he went out with something' and annissivigaa 'he went out with something to him'. Observe also the following:

ilin-nik uqaluqatigi-nni-ssutiga-ara
thou instr. speak-with $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. have-as-reason-for 1s-3s-indic.

'I wanted to speak to you about it'

ani-sin-niqar-pugut
go-out cause passive 1p-indic.

'We were sent out'

miiqqa-mut niqi-mik aa-lli-qqu-si-vug
child all. meat instr. fetch $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. tell-to $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-indic.

'She told the child to fetch (some) meat'

miiqqa-nik kalaallisut ilinniar-tit-si-vug
child instr.-pl. Greenlandic learn cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. 3s-indic.

'He is teaching children Greenlandic!'

Compare the last sentence with miiqqat kalaallisut ilinniartippai 'he is teaching the children Greenlandic'.

A double-transitive affix may occasionally follow another, especially if the first belongs to a lexicalized base, e.g. inuulluaqqu- 'say hallo to', and the causation is indirect:

inuullua-qqu-tip-paa
live-well ask-to cause 3s-3s-indic.

'He sent his greetings to her (through another)'

This is not productive however, and such a construction resulting in two 'remote objects' in the allative case (one for each double transitive morpheme) is impossible. Note also sinnгурtitippaa 'he made her blush' from sinnгурtit- 'blush' containing tit in its reflexive (intransitively inflected) sense of 'become' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.6).

Certain usually intransitive affixes may be used transitively (just as certain stems like niri- may be transitive or intransitive), often with some added nuance however. Thus with usually intransitive si 'buy': niqisivaa 'he bought some meat for him'. Even u 'be' may take transitive endings under certain circumstances (see 2.1.3.4.15). As described in 1.2.1.2.2. (c), non-agentive verbs may usually be analysed in terms of an underlying passive element in their intransitive forms, but in at least some cases the intransitive form seems more basic,

in which case the corresponding transitive form appears to contain a covert causative element, as in kisarpaa 'he anchored it (the boat)' as opposed to kisarpuq 'it (boat) is at anchor'. Note also such pairs of verbs as intransitive qalappuq 'it is boiling' (from qalag-) and qalappaa 'he boiled it' (from qalat- with transitivity t); from the latter is derived half-transitive qalatsivug 'he boiled something' and reflexive qalappuq 'it has boiled'.

There is also a fossilized transitivity morpheme t as in tuqut- 'kill' from tuqu- 'die' (and cf. qalat- above). Transitive morpheme gi ('have as' with nominal stems) is found as a transitivity of certain verbal bases of 'directed feeling', as in irsigi- 'fear' from irsi- 'be afraid', and note iqiagi- 'not feel like doing' and tupigi- 'be surprised at' corresponding to intransitive iqiasug- 'be lazy/not feel like it' and tupigusug- 'be surprised' with lexicalized intransitive morpheme (gu)sug 'feel (like)'. For some of these, like aluturi- 'admire', the only intransitive correlate is with nar (see 2.1.3.1.2), as in aluturnar- 'be wonderful'. With adjectival (verbal) bases transitivity gi means 'consider (too)' as in pinniigaa 'he considered it ugly' from pinniit- (for affix naar of related meaning see 2.2.2.3). For transitive affixes nirar 'say that' and (ga)suri/sugi 'think that' see 1.1.2.2.2. (a) & 1.1.1.1. (c).

2.1.3.1.3.3. Omission of the Causee

It is always possible for an external argument - including a causee - to be omitted. When the underlying verb is intransitive the causee is marked on the inflection of the derived verb form. With 'double-transitive' affixes ambiguity may arise if the underlying verb can be taken as either intransitive or transitive, as in niriqquaa 'he asked him to eat' (intransitive sense) or 'he asked that it be eaten/that someone eat it' (transitive sense).

Another type of ambiguity arises if the underlying transitive verb has its own allative case argument and a double-transitivity affix adds the possibility of a further 'remote object' in the allative case (neither being obligatory):

aallaat Piita-mut tunniuti-qqu-aa
 gun Piitaq all. give ask-to 3s-3s-indic.
 'He asked P. to give the gun to someone/he asked him to give P. the gun'

2.1.3.1.4. Special Reflexive and Reciprocal Verb Forms

See 1.7.1 for examples of derivational affixes ut(i) and qatigiig 'do mutually', and 1.6.1.3 for the reflexive use of intransitively inflected transitive verbal bases.

2.1.3.2. Tense

The only indisputable tense markers are for the future.

There are also past tense affixes, as discussed below, but these almost always have an element of aspect (or mood) and it may be a fairly recent development whereby they have come to be used (optionally) to indicate time relative to the present communicative situation. Unmarked indicative verb forms may be past or present (or completive/incompletive aspect) depending on the stem and the context. Thus aggirpuq 'he is/was coming' as opposed to tikippuq 'he has come/came'. It is arguable that 'tense' is always relative in West Greenlandic and inextricable from aspect (but observe the different treatment of the categories in the rules under 2.2). It is not an obligatory category as such, though a future sense does require a future affix.

2.1.3.2.1. Tenses Formally Distinguished

2.1.3.2.1.3. Past

The verbal affix sima and its newer colloquial equivalent nikuu can be described as indicating perfect or sometimes even simple past tense (for their purely aspectual sense compare 2.1.3.3). All else being equal they are taken as relative to the present communicative situation in much the same way as the English (present) perfect, i.e. referring to relative past with continuing result. If however the reference is clearly to some earlier period than some time already being discussed they have a 'pluperfect' sense (see below under 2.1.3.2.1.3.2). sima is a particularly difficult morpheme to pin down semantically since, besides its temporal and aspectual senses, it may also have a modal one indicating that the speaker was not present at the event described himself (see 2.1.3.4.9). In some instances the ordering relative to other affixes in the verb-form is sufficient to disambiguate clearly which sense is involved (see 2.2 below). However, in the absence of sufficient co-affixes to allow this, the meaning of sima will most often be taken as a conflation of all three senses, i.e. that the speaker is describing something that happened in the past, is completed (with continuing result of some sort), and was not witnessed directly by himself, as in tuqusimavug 'he (has) died'. nikuu (consisting of niku 'remains of/previous' plus u 'be') does not have sima's modal sense - and is in fact not accepted at all by some speakers. As a rule neither affix is used in the temporal sense to describe an action or state at a specified time in the past, but refers to the general experiential past (relevant to the present) as in:

Nuum-miis-sima-vunga/Nuum-miin-nikuu-vunga
 Nuuk be-in perf. 1s-indic./Nuuk be-in perf. 1s-indic.
 'I have been to Nuuk

With the time specified compare:

juuli-p aappa-a-ni Nuum-miip-punga
 July rel. second its loc. Nuuk be-in 1s-indic.
 'I was in N. on the second of July'

sima (and nikuu) in this sense may be combined with affixes of negation or repetition, e.g. Nuummiissimangilanga 'I haven't been to Nuuk' and Nuummiittarsimavunga 'I have been to Nuuk (several times)'.
 Beyond this, however, sima can appear - especially in the written language - in contexts of specified past time (or of simple past action unrelated to the present); it is difficult in such cases to tell whether tense or aspect (or both) is being expressed. At all events one suspects a certain influence from Danish (recall the long tradition of translation from Danish to Greenlandic). A typical instance is the following sentence from the front page of the text of a play:

siullirmik isiginnaartitsissutigi-niqar-sima-vuq
 first perform passive perf. 3s-indic.
 Nuum-mi 1966 (nitten hundrede og seks og tres)
 Nuuk loc. 1966
 '(This play) was first performed in Nuuk (in) 1966'

Note that the perfect tense is possible here in Danish (to indicate that the play was subsequently performed on other occasions)

With a contemporative mood 'co-verb' sima on the main verb (as for other tense affixes) is not repeated, as in:

titar-niqar-sima-vuq sana-niqar-luni=lu
 design passive perf. 3s-indic. build passive 4s-cont. and
 'It was designed and built (at some earlier time)'

2.1.3.2.1.3.1. Further Subdivisions of Past

A more recent past is expressed by affix qqammir and a more distant one by riikatag (cf. riir 'already' and katag 'bored with -ing') or the negative of qqammir, qqamminngit:

tuqu-riikatap-puq
 die long-ago 3s-indic.
 'He died long ago'

niri-qqammir-punga
 eat recently 1s-indic.
 'I ate recently'

These may also function as aspectual markers (i.e. affixes of 'phase of completion' or 'frequency and duration' filling the 'V_{mod}' slot in the derivational rules of 2.2), in which case they may be followed by other aspectual markers, as in siniqqammiriirpuq 'she had already slept shortly before'.

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Relative Past Tense Markers

All the past tense markers are relative, i.e. can be applied to a time still earlier than one being talked about ('pluperfect'). This is particularly common with sima, though qqammirsima 'shortly before' is also found in such contexts.

1968 (nitten hundrede og otte og tres)-ip
1968 rel.

aasa-a-nir-a-ni ukiu-p avva-a
summer be nom. its loc. year rel. half its
avalas-sima-vunga
go-to-Denmark perf. 1s-indic.

'In the summer of 1968 I had been in Denmark half a year'

angirla-rama allakkat atuar-sima-vai/
come-home 1s-caus. letter(-pl.) read perf. 3s-3p-indic./
atua-qqammirsima-vai
read shortly-before 3s-3p-indic.

'When I came home he had (just) read the letter'

The simple verb form atuarpai in the last example would indicate that he was still reading the letter. With an adjectival base note the following sentence taken from a narrative set in the past:

uqaluvvik qaqur-tu-u-sima-vuq
church be-white intr.-part. be perf. 3s-indic.
'The church used to be white (at some still earlier time)'

As with other temporal (and modal) affixes, sima cannot be followed in this sense by non-'sentential' affixes except (ga)suri /sugi 'think that' or nirar 'say that':

imiq nillir-sima-nirar-paa
water be-cold perf. say-that 3s-3s-indic.
'He said the water had been cold (e.g. the day before)'

2.1.3.2.1.4. Future

There are three common affixes indicating future tense, ssa, njar, and jumaar. The first of these also has the modal value 'should/shall', covering in fact most of the senses of Danish 'skal'; as a future marker it is the nearest to an absolute or 'pure' future, as in:

tuqu-ssa-atit
die future 2s-indic.
'You will die' (e.g. if you drink the poison)

It has very common 'contracted' indicative forms as illustrated, the initial /v/ of the mood marker being deleted (but note 3rd person plural ssapput). For its use in conditional sentences see 1.1.2.4.2.5.

niar is more common as a pure future in north-west Greenland, but is used especially in an intended or inevitable future sense in the central dialect area, as in atuarniarpara 'I'm going to read it/will try reading it' and siallirniarpug 'it's going to rain'. As a verb-extending affix it means 'try to' (see 2.2.2.2. (d)). It may combine with ssa to produce niassa, which is especially common in subordinate clauses in the sense 'in order to' (see 1.1.2.4.2.3).

jumaar indicates a vague indefinite future (cf. related affix juma 'want to') as in the parting formula takuqqikkumaarpugut 'we'll see each other again' (and cf. 1.1.1.3.3).

For the use of affix gi in 'future' (less immediate) imperatives see 1.1.1.3.1.2.

Note the possibility of a co-verb coming within the scope of the future affix of the main verb, as in 2.1.3.7.

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. Relative Future

ssa may combine with a preceding sima to produce a future perfect tense (the combination also has a common modal sense - see 2.1.3.4.8).

aqaguagu tikis-sima-ssa-aq
day-after-tomorrow arrive perf. future 3s-indic.
'He will have arrived the day after tomorrow'

In suitable contexts future affixes in derived or subordinate mood verb-forms may represent a future-in-the-past (cf. the sentence beginning 'miiqqat itirsarniariassagaat' under 1.1.2.4.2.1):

nilli-rumaar-nira-raluar-paa
be-cold future say-that but... 3s-3s-indic.
'He said it would be cold (but turned out to be wrong)'

uqar-pug ikinnguti-ni ullumi tiki-ssa-sut
say 3s-indic. friend his-refl.-pl. today come future 3p-part.
'He said his friends would arrive today'

If the main verb in the last example were itself future, a future-in-the-future sense would result.

2.1.3.2.2. Tense Distinctions Obtaining in All Moods and Non-finite Forms

All the tense affixes mentioned above may occur in all moods and non-finite forms with the following exceptions. In their strictly temporal senses they do not occur in the imperative/optative mood (though niar is a common imperative modifier, and ssa with the indicative or participial mood may function as an imperative - see 1.1.1.3.3). Affixes of tense (and modality) are not commonly found in participial mood clauses

ssa a future perfect. As an aspect marker it may be followed by any (other) tense marker.

2.1.3.3.1.3. Function of Perfect(ive)

Examples have been given above of the use of sima to indicate completed actions of an 'experiential' nature or as a resultant state relevant to the present situation. It is not easy (or necessary) to distinguish between its purely aspectual and its temporal sense in sentences like illu sananiqarsimavug 'the house was/has been built'. In the aspectual sense (which may better be termed 'perfective' - see below) it may however be further extended by other non-sentential verbal affixes as in:

illu sana-niqar-sima-qqaar-puq
house build passive perf. first 3s-indic.
'The house was built first'

As a tense marker it may only be followed by other sentential affixes, e.g. of modality or subjective coloration (see 2.2). Note the difference between:

igalaaq ammar-sima-vaa
window open perf. 3s-3s-indic.
'He has opened the window' (it is open now)

igalaaq ammar-tis-sima-vaa
window open cause perf. 3s-3s-indic.
'He opened the window' (it may be open or closed now)

The non-agentive verb ammār- on its own indicates accomplished action, neutrally taken as still pertaining now, but the addition of sima as in the first sentence - whether it is taken as a tense or aspect marker (most likely both) - makes it clear that the resulting state does indeed still pertain, whereas in the second sentence sima applies most directly to tit, i.e. the causal action is regarded as completed but there is no indication whether the result of action/state of the stem still pertains. In fact the agent (the opener) is also vague, since ammartippaa on its own indicates indirect causation - 'he got s.o. to open the window' (see 1.2.1.2.2. (c)).

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as Different Ways of Viewing the Duration of a Situation

There are around fifty productive affixes concerned with aspect (a full listing can be found in Fortescue 1983; see 2.2 for their position in the derivational affix-ordering rules). It is possible to regard them, together with affixes of manner and degree, as a sub-category of derivational 'Aktionsart'. Only the most common are dealt with individually below: these may be added to virtually any semantically suitable verbal base. Others, such as ma of state, kaa of sudden group action,

or simaar of enduring perfective state are more restricted to stem types (though even they display a certain degree of productivity). Many of these items represent lexicalized (or semi-lexicalized) combinations of simpler morphemes resulting from the considerable freedom of combination of aspectual affixes discussed under 2.1.3.3.2.2.1 below. Aspectual affixes do not represent an obligatory category (though see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3 for conditions where habitual sar is required).

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. Perfective Aspect

Verbs of achievement such as tikit- 'have arrived/come home' and tuqu- 'have died' contain a perfective component of their own, though by extension with other aspectual morphemes this may be overridden - e.g. tuqulirpuq 'he is/was dying'. Some of the functions of sima (and nikuu) discussed above must be termed perfective rather than perfect in so far as the completed action need not have any bearing on the subsequent/present situation, thus isirsimavug 'he has come in/is inside/came in', where the combination is at least semi-lexicalized in a perfective sense. isirpuq on its own may or may not represent an accomplished act - 'he is coming in/came in'. The distinction is not clear-cut between the two types of base. Most non-stative verbal stems are at least optionally perfective, and those which are unambivalently so such as nappar- 'fall ill' may generally be taken as indicating a continuing perfective state when sima is added, e.g. napparsimavug 'he is/was ill'. Note also the second sense of qalappug in 2.1.3.1.3 (bases with causative morphemes such as t are dynamic). With those stems (mostly of movement or mental activity/state) such as aggir- 'be coming' which are (usually) unambivalently imperfective the addition of sima will generally be taken in the perfect tense (or modality) sense. Stative (including adjectival) stems cannot take sima in its aspectual sense, but non-agentive verbs (whose intransitive forms are stative) can - e.g. ulig- in 2.1.3.1.1 - and sometimes this may result in a lexicalized distinction, thus kuisimavug 'he has been baptized' as opposed to kuivug 'it has been poured out/spilled' (cf. kuivaa 'he baptized him/poured it out'). In lexicalized forms (aspectual) sima may cause a stem-final /t/ to drop, as in katisimapput 'they are assembled' from transitive katit- 'join together'; compare this with katissimapput 'they are married', suggesting more recent productivity (and 'double transitive' katitit- 'marry/join together').

Affix riir (or more strongly riirsima) indicates an action completed prior to some reference point:

niri-riir-pugut
eat already 1p-indic.
'We have/had already eaten'

Certain 'conjunctive' affixes used in combination with

specific subordinate moods have a perfective sense, e.g. riar(luni) 'after -ing' (see 1.1.2.4.2.1). The causative mood with verbs of achievement may itself have this sense, as in qaannaminut ikigami avalappuq 'he got into his kayak and set off'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. Imperfective Aspect

Affix riar in one of its senses ('intense/on-going state or action') may indicate imperfective aspect, especially with subordinate moods, as in ipuriaratta '(when) we were rowing away'. For related giartur/jartur see 2.1.3.3.2.1.5 below. Other verbal affixes containing an imperfective component are ruttur 'be at the height of -ing' as in kiatsirutturpuq 'it is nice and warm/at its warmest', and gallar 'for the time being/some time' (negative nngikkallar 'not yet'), as in suligallarpuq 'he is working at the moment'. Note also (r)sari 'be in middle of -ing', as in ikiuunniarsaraaq 'he is trying (hard) to help'.

As mentioned above, some verbal stems contain an imperfective element, such as aggir- 'be coming', and, as exemplified in tuqulirpuq, lir 'begin to' may have an imperfective sense, especially with verbs of achievement. Thus also nakkalirpuq 'he is falling' and sumunnalirpisi 'where are you going? (now)' (cf. below under 2.1.3.3.2.1.6). It may sometimes be glossable as an immediate future, as in inilirpaa 'he will soon be finished with it' from inir- 'have finished'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. Habitual Aspect

A number of affixes express habitual aspect, the most common being sar (tar after consonant except when preceded by 'i'), which is also used for iterative aspect (see below). It has a somewhat more literary variant (s)ari, which generally combines directly with abbreviated forms of the indicative as (s)araaq (3rd person singular), etc.; the only possible intervening affix is nngit of negation. Other affixes of habit are saannar 'often/always', gajug 'often/habitually' - also kula/kulaar - and juannar 'all the time/continually' (variant tuinnar is more literary); statements of habitually repeated action require one or another such affix.

quli-nut innar-tar-put
ten all. go-to-bed habit. 3p-indic.
'They (habitually) go to bed at ten o'clock'

nakkar-tuaannar-puq
fall-down continually 3s-indic.
'He is always falling down'

In combination with intensifier llar and nar 'be such as to', (s)ari produces inflected forms displaying haplology, as in kajumillaaraaq 'he is always so enthusiastic' and uuminallaraaq (or uuminaaraaq) 'it is (always) such a nuisance'. Affix jaar

'early' has a special habitual correlate jaallu, as in innajaalluvuq 'he (habitually) goes to bed early'.

Generic statements of habit usually take sar, though with passive morpheme saa and statements of potentiality this is not necessary (as in statements of long-term function - cf. 2.1.1.4.16):

qimmi-t qilut-tar-put
dog pl. bark habit. 3p-indic.
'Dogs bark'

anu-t kukkusumik sanaa-t
harness pl. mistakenly made pl.
naalliut-sit-si-su-u-sinnaa-pput
be-in-pain cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. intr.-part. be can 3p-indic.
'Badly made harnesses can be painful (for dogs)'

qimussir-nir-mut atu-gaa-pput
go-by-sledge nom. all. use passive 3p-indic.
'They are used for sledging'

In complex sentences sar may be used on the main verb but not necessarily on the subordinate one (and vice versa), depending on the sense:

qimmit irniinnaq paasi-sar-paat
dogs-rel.at-once understand habit. 3p-3s-indic.
qimun-niar-lutik
pull-sledge future 4p-cont.

'The dogs understand at once that they are going to pull the sledge'

uqar-puq pani-i tutsiut-tar-tuq
say 3s-indic. daughter his-refl. let-hear-from(-self)
habit. 3s-part.

'He_i said he_i hears from his_j daughter'

Contemporative mood clauses subordinate to a main verb with sar do not need to take the morpheme themselves (see 1.2.1.3), though in coordinate constructions with this mood both verb forms will usually require it for habitual action. sar and (s)ari may take external adverbials in their scope like sentential affixes, as in:

ullaa-kkut pujurta-lir-sar-puq
morning pros. smoke begin habit 3s-indic.
'He starts smoking in the morning'

In narrative style affix ssa of futurity may indicate habitual action, as in arnaq putsirunnaassanngitsug 'a woman who wouldn't stop offering herself to men' or, on the main verb in a suitable context of habitual/repeated action, as in:

mulu-guni mulu-guni
stay-away 4s-condit. stay-away 4s-condit.

tiki-ssa-aq atisa-i
 come future 3s-indic. clothes his-pl.
 ataniiruti-vis-sima-llutik
 be-without-connection really perf. 4p-cont.
 '(After) staying away for ages he would arrive home, his
 clothes all falling apart'

Negative habitual aspect is expressed either by a special syntagm with nominalizer niq plus ajurpuq 'be bad/cannot', etc. (see 1.1.2.2.6) or by affixes nngisaannar 'never' (cf. saannar 'often') or juit '(can) never'. The latter is the contradictory of ja 'tend to/can easily', whose own negative form jaat means rather 'not tend to (easily)':

ani-nngisaannar-pugut
 go-out never 1p-indic.
 'We never go out'

angu-juip-puq
 catch never 3s-indic.
 'He never catches anything'

When the subject of the verb is plural and the action is repeated/habitual, a definite direct object referring to one object for each subject/time may be singular or plural (though it is usually singular if indefinite in the instrumental case - cf. the sentence beginning 'nukappiartaat...' in 1.13.3):

palasi taku-gaa-ngamikku nasa-tik/
 priest see each-time 4p-3s-caus. cap their-refl.-pl./
 nasa-rtik piir-tar-paat
 their-refl. remove habit. 3p-3p/3s-indic.
 'Whenever they saw the priest they would take their
 cap(s) off'

The plural may be avoided if ambiguity threatens to arise; moreover an incorporating structure, if available - as here - may be preferred since number-marking is then avoided entirely, thus nasaartarput 'they would take off their cap(s)', with verbalizing affix ir 'remove'.

On the other hand the plural is used if ambiguity threatens in the opposite direction or if there is no focus on each actor's individual action:

piniartu-t tikik-kaa-ngamik qaanna-tik
 hunter pl. arrive each-time 4p-caus. kayak their-refl.-pl.
 qullar-tar-paat
 raise habit. 3p-3p-indic.
 'When the hunters arrived they would lift their kayaks
 up (on land)'

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. Continuous Aspect

Continuous aspect is expressed by affixes juar or juaar

(after consonants tuar/tuaar) or usaar in the sense of 'keep on -ing':

ukisi-uar-puq
stare continuously 3s-indic.
'He stares continuously'

akiuuti-usaar-puq
resist keep-on 3s-indic.
'He continued resisting'

Such aspect markers are not obligatory when external time expressions are present as in the last sentence of 2.1.1.6.5.

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. Progressive Aspect

The most common affixes here are giartur/jartur (the latter form after vowel-stems) 'more and more' and, for more protracted progressiveness, giartuaar/jartuaar 'bit by bit':

qulla-riartur-puq
rise more-and-more 3s-indic.
'It came higher and higher up'

upirna-riartuaar-puq
become-spring gradually 3s-indic.
'It is gradually getting to be spring'

Other affixes include tir 'bit by bit' and galuttuinnar as in:

alli-galuttuinnar-puq
get-bigger more-and-more 3s-indic.
'He is getting bigger and bigger'

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. Ingressive Aspect

Affix lir is the commonest means of expressing this:

uqaluqatigii-lir-put
talk-together begin 3p-indic.
'They began to talk together'

A more dynamic sense of 'set about' is produced by nialir or riar.

With adjectival stems, lexicalized forms with li/si are used rather than lir, as in kigaallivuq 'he slowed down' (from kigaat- 'slow') and ajurnarsivuq 'it is no longer possible' (from ajurnar- 'impossible'). Some of these forms may be used transitively, e.g. silissivaa 'he made it wider' besides silissivuq 'it grew wider'. There is a fossilized morpheme r of the same ingressive meaning in forms like qaammarpuq 'it grows light' (cf. qaamavuq 'it is light'); it causes gemination in the preceding syllable. Causative affix tit may be used reflexively in this sense too, e.g. nillirtippuq 'it became cold' from nillir- 'be cold' (perfective nillirtissimavuq 'it has become cold').

Note the distinction between the ordinary negation of lir, linngit, and lexicalized combination nngilir 'not yet - though should have', as in:

Ilulissat taku-nngilir-pakka
 Ilulissat see not-but... 1s-3p-indic.
 'I haven't yet seen Ilulissat (but I should)'

2.1.2.3.2.1.7. Terminative Aspect

Affixes junnaar and ssaar are used; the difference in meaning is as glossed, ssaar indicating terminated habitual action or state:

sialli-ssaar-puq
 rain stop 3s-indic.
 'It has stopped raining (for good)/is no longer rainy weather'

ikuma-junnaar-puq
 burn stop 3s-indic.
 'It has stopped burning'

Note also the combination of sariaqar 'must' and irut(i) 'remove', sariaqaarut(i) 'no longer have to'. For the construction with enclitic lu indicating completion of one action just before another see 1.1.2.4.2.1.

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. Iterative Aspect

The most common affix expressing indefinite iterative aspect is qattaar:

saniqquti-qattaar-puq
 go-past iter. 3s-indic.
 'He went past several times/again and again'

Affix sar discussed under 'habitual aspect' may also have an iterative sense (as also, less productively, gar, rar, ar, ur and a in lexicalized combinations with specific bases), i.e. represent simple repetition of an action a certain number of times - not necessarily specified - within a time duration. These affixes may also mean 'several do (one after another)'.
 These affixes may also mean 'several do (one after another)'.

marlu-riar-luni quirsur-tar-puq
 two do-times 4s-cont. cough iter. 3s-indic.
 'He coughed twice' or: 'He several times gave a double cough'

nalunaaqutta-p akunnir-a-ni quirsur-tar-puq
 clock rel. (space-)between its loc. cough iter. 3s-indic.
 'He coughed (repeatedly) for an hour'

aasa-p ingirlanir-a-ni inuusuttu-t
 summer rel. course its loc. young-person pl.

aavar-tar-put
 go-caribou-hunting iter. 3p-indic.
 'During the summer the young people went caribou-hunting'
 (either a certain number of times or several, separately)

puttaar-nit puttaar-nut pissi-gar-puq
 ice-floe abl.-pl. ice-floe all.-pl. jump iter. 3s-indic.
 'He jumped from ice-floe to ice-floe (repeatedly)'

In the following sar indicates that several performed the action (each hunter catching at least one halibut):

anguti-ta-at ullumi tamar-mik
 man pertaining their-pl. today all 4p.
 nataarnar-tar-sima-pput ilaat
 catch-halibut iter. perf. 3p-indic. some-of-them
 arlalin-nik
 several instr.
 'Their men have all caught halibut today, some of them
 (even) several'

If in addition one wishes to stress that each of them caught several the affix can be repeated : nataarnartartarsimapput .

sar (or some other affix of iteration) is necessary whenever an action is repeated more than once - except if it is the cumulative total being discussed. This could be the case with the first examples above (i.e. sar is optional there). It may combine with a preceding affix of iteration in the sense of habitual repetitive action, e.g. saniqutiqattaartarpuq 'he habitually goes past several times'.

Other affixes of iteration are llattaar 'from time to time', umisaar 'back and forth', jurar/jurtur 'one after another' (several objects in succession) and qqig 'again':

angu-llattaar-puq
 catch(-seals) from-time-to-time 3s-indic.
 'He caught seals from time to time'

nivingga-jurar-pai
 hang-up one-after-another 3s-3p-indic.
 'He hung them up one after the other'

api-qqip-puq
 snow again 3s-indic.
 'It snowed again'

(r)sur/tur (less productive) suggests rather a piecemeal process requiring a certain effort, as in pitutturpai 'he harnessed them one by one' from pitug- 'harness' and tilutturpaa 'he beat it thoroughly' from tilug- 'beat'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.1.3. Other Aspects

Other aspectual affixes include the following: qqa 'state',

involved, whereas junnaar 'no longer' and umisaar 'back and forth' cannot be combined in that order, since umisaar may only be attached to bases capable of expressing to-and-fro motion, which is incompatible with the meaning of bases expanded with junnaar: the latter indicates the absence now of some previous action or state (not the act of stopping itself). Scope relations are all-important here, successive affixes modifying in general all affixes 'to their left'. Thus the reverse combination umisaarunnaar is quite possible, as in:

qavvi-umisaa-runnaar-puq
 rise back-and-forth no-longer 3s-indic.
 'It no longer rises and sinks alternatively'

For similar reasons affixes of perfective aspect cannot be followed immediately by ones of progressive aspect. On the other hand a sequence of compatible aspectual affixes might very well remain compatible in some other sequence (with different meaning), thus niriqqilirsarpuq 'he would begin to eat again (repeatedly)' may have at least the following alternative ordering of its components: nirisaliqqippuq 'he again began to eat (repeatedly)'.
 To illustrate the nature of semantic (in)compatibility between successive aspect markers observe the following possible combinations of five of the common affixes discussed above, representing respectively habitual, perfective, continuous, ingressive and terminative aspect:

	sar	sima	juar	lir	junnaar
sar	-	sarsima	sartuar	salir	sarunnaar
sima	simasar	-	simajuar	simalir	simajunnaar
juar	juartar	-	-	jualir	juarunnaar
lir	lirsar	lirsima	lirtuar	-	lirunnaar
junnaar	junnaartar	junnaarsima	junnartuar	junnaalir	-

The only combination definitely not found is *juarsima - continuous plus perfective (the combination is however possible with sima in its modal sense). Some combinations, such as sarsima and junnaartuar require rather special contexts.

In building up a complex derived verb-form, aspectual markers may occur in more than one 'slot' - e.g. as a modifier of a verbal base which in turn is extended by a 'verb-extending' affix which is itself modified for aspect:

sunniuti-qa-lir-sinnaa-junnaar-puq
 influence have begin can no-longer 3s-indic.
 'It can no longer begin to have an influence'

utir-vigi-gallar-tu-ssa-a-junnaar-paat
 return have-as-place-of for-time-being intr.-part. future
 be no-longer 3p-3p-indic.

'It will be a long time (if ever) before they return to them'

As an example of several aspect markers in succession note:

nakima-junnaa-lir-sar-puq
 hesitate no-longer begin habit. 3s-indic.

'He (habitually) begins to stop hesitating' (i.e. when something happens)

Further investigation is required as to the compatibility of individual aspectual (and other) affixes with specific stem types.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Restrictions on the Combination of Aspectual Values with:

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.1. Voice

No restrictions here.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. Tense

No restrictions.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. Mood

The only restrictions here are with the imperative/optative, with which aspectual markers such as riir 'already' and qqajar 'about to' obviously cannot combine, on grounds of semantic incompatibility.

Note that the contingent/habitual variant of the causative mood gaangat, etc. does not require sar of repetition on its own (subordinate) verb but the latter affix is required on the main verb:

aallar-nia-raa-ngat qimmiiqqa-p
 leave try every-time 3s-caus. puppy rel.

malin-niar-tar-paa
 follow try habit. 3s-3s-indic.

'Every time he would set off the puppy would try and follow him'

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.4. Non-finite forms

No restrictions.

2.1.3.4. Mood

Mood and modality need to be distinguished in West Greenlandic. The former is a matter of inflectional paradigm, superordinate (indicative, imperative/optative, and interrogative) and subordinate (contemporative, causative, conditional and

participial) and is an obligatory category. Modality, on the other hand, is a matter of verbal affixes such as sinnaa 'can', sariaqar 'must', and qquuqi 'no doubt', which must be followed by an inflectional ending indicating mood (and person and number) and is an optional category. Note that the term 'mood' in Eskimo studies is a somewhat broader notion than that used by Indo-Europeanists, for example, since it not only covers verb form paradigms performing various speech acts, but includes the important distinction between independent and dependent verb forms. For my use of the term 'modality' see Lyons 1977, p. 787ff. The mood paradigms presented below are applicable to all verbal bases (including any aspectual or tense affix).

2.1.3.4.1. Indicative

The indicative mood is marked by a set of fused person/number inflections. The following forms are intransitive (those with initial /v/ are of the additive type, alternating with /p/ after a consonant):

<u>person</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	-vunga	-vugut
2	-vutit	-vusi
3	-vuq	-pput

There are special variants with negative morpheme nngit, with la instead of vu, e.g. nngilanga, nngilatit, etc. (and note 3rd plural nngillat). For 'contracted' forms with affixes such as qi, ssa, and gi ('have as') see 3.4.4.1 & 1.1.1.4. The indicative inflection of verbal bases with gi, etc. (representing the class of bases ending in historical */ə/), that of negative bases with nngit, and of all other bases (excluding the special contracted forms with ssa and qina) represent the three inflectional verb classes of West Greenlandic. Differences between them in other moods are mentioned below (otherwise they all follow the described pattern). The 'contracted' forms with gi, etc. always involve the loss of a following /v/, i.e. gi + vV → gaa with subsequent vowel-sequence contraction if a further vowel follows (and note also 3rd person plural gaat, etc. from historical *gə + -vut rather than modern -pput); non-contracted forms may also be encountered, especially 3rd person plural qipput (but never *qipput from qi). The synchronic difference between /g/- and /t/-stem verbs is only apparent before certain specific affixes, notably causative tit, which is truncating only following /t/-stems (though even there it may be additive in productive use - see 1.2.1.2.2. (b)), and to some degree the passive participle, though there is much lexicalization here, /g/-stems in particular taking any of the three post-consonantal variants mentioned in 2.1.3.1.1.4.2, depending on the stem. This is arguably not sufficient to set them up as separate stem classes, though there is a certain

convenience in talking of /g/- and /t/- (and /r/-) stems. There is more justification for treating verbal bases in (u)t(i) (see 1.2.1.2.3) as a distinct sub-class (Rischel 1974, p. 409 ff, sets up three sub-classes of the main verb class, those ending in respectively a vowel, (u)t(i), and a consonant). Such bases display distinctive half-transitive (ussi) and passive participial forms (the latter usually ussaq), as well as having a final vowel that surfaces before certain types of affix (see 3.4.4.1). Rischel further subdivides the historical */ə/-class of verbs into those with gi and qi and those with (s)ari of habitual action; the latter appears as (s)araa even before certain consonant-initial endings in the older language, but is otherwise not distinct today from bases in gi (cf. 3.4.1.2 for the haplology displayed by it in certain affix combinations).

The corresponding transitive forms can be analysed as consisting of (additive) mood marker va(r) followed by the subject marker (sometimes reduced, as in 1st plural vassi) followed by the object marker (e.g. -vakkit 'I - thou' from va + *m + kit), except for the third person object forms, where endings corresponding to the absolutive case personal possession markers on nominals listed in 2.1.1.1.1. (b) immediately follow the mood marker:

subject	object					
	3s	3p	2s	2p	1s	1p
1s	-vara	-vakka	-vakkit	-vassi	-	-
2s	-vat	-vatit	-	-	-varma	-vatsigut
3s	-vaa	-vai	-vaatit	-vaasi	-vaanga	-vaatigut
1p	-varput	-vavut	-vatsigut	-vassi	-	-
2p	-varsi	-vasi	-	-	-vassinga	-vassigut
3p	-vaat	-vaat	-vaatsit	-vaasi	-vaannga	-vaatigut

Interrogative mood inflections coincide with the indicative except for intransitive 2s -vit, 3s -va, 2p -visi and 3p -ppat, and, in the transitive, 2s - 3s -viuk, 2s - 3p -vigut, 2p - 3s -visiuk, 2p - 3p -visigik, 2s-1s -vinga, 2p - 1p -visigut, and 2p-1s -vinga. The corresponding negative forms (with nngit) are with la or li instead of va or vi (but note, alongside nngippit, 2s nngit atit, as in the indicative). See 1.1.1.2 for examples of use of this mood. With 'i₂' bases note for example 2s gaat from gi + -vit and gaajuk from gi + -viuk.

Participial mood endings are also parallel to the indicative, but built up on mood-marker su (after consonant tu except when following 'i₁') instead of vu/pu in the intransitive (cf. intransitive participials in -suq used nominally in 1.1.2.3.1 & 6, and with gi (after /g/ & /t/ ki) instead of va(r) in the transitive. The vowel in the latter is an 'i₂', which becomes

/a/ before a vowel, hence the third person subject forms -gaa 'he - it', -gai 'he - them', etc. Note also 1p - 3s -gippuṭ and 1s -3s -giga. The 3rd/ 4th person distinction arises in the transitive paradigm, e.g. 3s - 4s -gaani and 4s - 3s -gin(n)i. See 1.1.2.2.2 and 1.1.2.4.2.1 for the principal functions of this mood.

2.1.3.4.2. Conditional

The marker of the conditional mood is gu (after /g/ & /t/ ku) which is followed in the intransitive by subject markers related to the relative personal possession markers in 2.1.1.1 1. (c), and in the transitive by fused subject-object markers as in the indicative - but with distinct 3rd person object markers (singular gu/uk, plural git/gik) and with the 3rd versus 4th person distinction of the other subordinate moods (the 3rd person forms with initial/pp/are idiosyncratic). The intransitive forms are:

<u>person</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	-guma	-gutta
2	-guit	-gussi
3	-ppat	-ppata
4	-guni	-gunik

The 3rd person object forms in the transitive are as follows:

	<u>object</u>	
<u>subject</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1s/2s	-gukku	-gukkit
3s	-ppagu	-ppagit
4s	-guniuk	-gunigit
1p	-gutsigu	-gutsigik
2p	-gussiuk	-gussigik
3p	-passuk	-ppatigik
4p	-gunikku	-gunikkik

Note also 2s - 1s -gumma, 4s - 1s -guninga and 1s/p - 4p -gutsik.

The causative mood patterns the same way except that the mood marker is ga, the 3rd person forms have /mm/ instead of /pp/, and the fourth person forms have /m/ instead of /n/ (e.g. 4s -gami). There are also special variants following negative nngit, e.g. nnginnama for 1st person singular, and for contingent 'whenever', e.g. 1st person singular gaangama (same linking consonant for other persons).

The conditional mood expresses either condition (see 1.1.2.

4.2.5) or 'time when' in the relative future (see 1.1.2.4.2.1). The causative on the other hand expresses cause (see 1.1.2.4.2.4) or 'time when' in the past (see 1.1.2.4.2.1).

2.1.3.4.3. Imperative

The imperative and optative moods are sometimes presented as a single paradigm (e.g. in Kleinschmidt 1851) since the only overlap between forms for the two paradigms occurs in the 1st person plural where there are two sets of forms for 3rd person objects, one inclusive (going with the imperative 1st person plural -ta) and one exclusive (going with archaic 1st person plural optative -lata). I cite here the 'true' imperative forms (2nd person and 1st person inclusive), first the intransitive:

2s	-git
1p	-ta
2p	-gitsi

With '1₂' stems note 2s giit (or gigit from gi, etc.). The 1p allomorph -sa may be heard today after /u/ and /a/ as well as /i/.

Transitive forms:

	<u>object</u>			
<u>subject</u>	3s	3p	1s	1p
2s	-(g)uk	-kkit	-nnga	-tigut
1p	-tigu	-tigik	-	-
2p	-siuk	-sigik	-singa	-tigut

The forms with /t/ and /s/ are additive, those with /g/ of the weakly fusing kind. The 2s - 3s form appears as juk or uk following certain vowel stems (e.g. iqqaamajuk 'remember it' and takuuk 'see it') - and cf. older form guuk from gi plus this ending. For the use of the negative contemporative mood in place of the lacking negative imperative forms see 1.1.1.3.2 (and see 1.1.1.3.1.2 for optional forms with -na and combinations with 'future' morpheme gi).

2.1.3.4.4. Optative

The optative mood has marker li (3rd person) or la (1st person), both forms additive. The intransitive forms are 1st person singular -langa, 3rd person singular -li, 3rd person plural -lit. The transitive forms are similar to those of the indicative except for the 3rd person object forms (cf. the conditional mood) and slight differences as regards the 3rd per-

son subject forms:

subject	object					
	3s	3p	2s	2p	1s	1p
1s	-lara	-lakka	-lakkit	-lassi	-	-
3s	-liuk	-ligit	-lisit	-lisi	-linga	-lisigut
1p	-larput	-lavut	-latsigit	-lassi	-	-
3p	-lissuk	-lisigik	-lisit	-lisi	-linna	-lisigut

The 1st person forms are, as stated above, exclusive. An older 1s - 3s form was -lagu. For the possibility of negative optative forms see 1.1.1.3.2.

2.1.3.4.5. Intentional

There are various derivational affixes of intention, notably niar 'try to' and ssamaar or lirsaar 'intend to', as in aallalirsaarpuq 'he intends to leave'(cf. 2.2.2.2. (d)).

2.1.2.4.6. Debitive

Again a number of derivational affixes are available, notably sariaqar 'must' (physical or strong moral obligation), ssa 'shall/should', and sussaa 'is to'. The last of these expresses weak external obligation or a 'scheduled future', whereas ssa combines with a future sense, like Danish 'skal'.

imir-niru-sariaqar-putit
drink more must 2s-indic.
'You must drink more'

aqagu avalat-tussaa-vunga
tomorrow go-to-Denmark is-to 1s-indic.
'Tomorrow I am to go to Denmark'

inna-jaa-ssa-atit
go-to-bed early shall 2s-indic.
'You must/shall go to bed early'

Note the affix combination in:

qimussi-mik angala-lluni
sledge instr. travel 4s-cont.
uninna-laa-nngitsuur-vi-u-ssa-nngil-aq
stop a-little happen-not-to place be future not 3s-indic.
'When travelling be sledge you must stop a little now
and then'

The negative of these debitive affixes is either 'must not' or 'need not' according to context (except ssanngit, which is always the first), thus:

urnit-tariaqa-nngil-at
go-to must not 2s-3s-indic.

'You must/need not go to him'

2.1.3.4.7. Potential

The most common affix of potentiality is sinnaa 'can', but there are numerous others, such as ja 'can easily/tend to' (negative jaat 'not tend/likely to' or janngit 'cannot easily'), jumar 'be good/easy to' (negative jumaat), llaqqig 'be good at', naviir 'can no longer', rataanaa/riaa(nnaa) 'could easily', and siriar 'be easy/likely to' (negative siriit). For nar 'be such as to' (negative naat) see 2.1.3.1.2.

timmi-sinnaa-vuq
fly can 3s-indic.
'It can fly'

arsaati-llaqqip-put
play-football be-good-at 3p-indic.
'They are good at football'

aallar-naviir-putit
leave can-no-longer 2s-indic.
'You can't leave any more'

qasu-ja-vuq
be-tired tend-to 3s-indic.
'He gets tired easily'

iqqaama-jumar-puq
remember be-easy-to 3s-indic.
'It is easy/good to remember'

2.1.3.4.8. Degrees of Certainty

The following affixes of epistemic modality occur (all towards the end of verb-forms, following any tense marker - see 2.2): gunar 'it seems (from visible evidence)/no doubt' (negative gunanngit 'certainly not'); junnarsi 'probably/presumably' (usually of present or immediate past); navianngit 'certainly won't' (future or present), nnguatsiar 'presumably/it seems as if', qquur/qquuqi 'undoubtedly/must have', and ssa/simassa 'should/must (be, have, etc.)'. Ordinary 'verb-extending' affixes sinnaa 'can' and sariaqar 'must' may also be used modally, perhaps under Danish influence (thus sinnaalluar 'can well', corresponding to Danish 'kan godt').

Nuum-mi api-nnguatsiar-puq
Nuuk loc. snow presumably 3s-indic.
'It's presumably snowing in N.'

nilli-runar-puq
be-cold undoubtedly 3s-indic.
'It (the water) is undoubtedly cold' (e.g. from looking at it)

gama-junnarsi-vuq
be-out-hunting-seals probably 3s-indic.
'He's probably out hunting seals'

Københavnii-mii-ssa-aq/Københavnii-miis-simassa-aq
Copenhagen be-in must-be 3s-indic.
'She must be in Copenhagen' (the latter also: 'She must
have been in K.')

kaman-navianngill-at
be-angry certainly-won't 3p-indic.
'They certainly won't be angry'

tamma-qquuqa-at
get-lost undoubtedly 3p-indic.
'They must have got lost'

Negative morpheme nngit usually follows affixes of epistemic modality, except for nnguatsiar and qquur/qquuqi, as in qimagutinnginnguatsiarpug 'he has presumably not gone away/he seems not to have gone away'.

2.1.3.4.9. Authority for Assertion

Affix sima (or in combination with future ssa, ssasima) is used modally (following any tense marker) to indicate that the speaker did not witness an event himself but accepts the report as reliable. In this sense it is unlikely - short of amnesia - to be found in combination with the first person, but may (optionally) be used with specific time expressions, unlike sima in its perfect tense meaning, as below.

taamaas-sima-vuq
be-thus apparently 3s-indic.
'It was apparently so'

nalunaaqutaq pingasut tuqu-sima-vuq
clock three die apparently 3s-indic.
'He died at 3 o'clock'

The same affix may also refer to sensory evidence (results in the present of something in the past - i.e. perhaps just perfect tense), as in the following uttered on seeing a puddle of water outside the house:

siallir-sima-vuq
rain must-have 3s-indic.
'It must have rained'

For enclitic guuq 'he/they say(s)', used for quoting reports whose reliability is neither confirmed nor disconfirmed, see 1.1.1.1. (a).

2.1.3.4.11. Monitor

'Sentential' affix qina is used to express warnings. It

combines with 'abbreviated' forms of the indicative (as with ssa), e.g. 3rd person singular qinaaq.

qirruti-qina-aq
freeze qina 3s-indic.
'Watch out, it might freeze up'

tusa-qina-pput
hear qina 3p-indic.
'Watch out that they don't hear'

For its use as a negative imperative see 1.1.1.3.2. A similar monitory effect is produced by affix galuttuaqi:

kivi-galuttuaqa-aq
sink be-danger-that 3s-indic.
'(Watch out) there's a danger that it might sink'

2.1.3.4.13. Consecutive

'Sentential' affix gi, which occurs immediately before the inflectional ending of the verb, indicates that a more or less expected consecutive action finally takes place (in certain contexts it may also mean 'as well'). It is common in narrative sequences. Note the 'metathesis' occurring in its combination with indicative endings:

ani-gu-juq
come-out and-so 3s-indic.
'So (at last) he came out'

unnuk-ku-juq
become-evening and-so 3s-indic.
'And so evening arrived'

For similar (but more exclamatory) affix (m)mi (indicative (m)miuq, etc.) see 1.1.5.

2.1.3.4.14. Contingent

See 2.1.3.3.2.2.3 for an example of the 'contingent' variant of the causative mood, gaangat, etc.

2.1.3.4.15. Subjective Coloration

There is a sizeable class of 'sentential' affixes (those coming in final position within complex derived verb-forms - see 2.2), whose principal common effect is to modify the verbal base according to the speaker's attitude towards the action or state he is describing. Some of these correspond to nominal modifiers of size, affection or disapproval, such as kasig, which expresses either mild disdain or humorous complicity or sympathy or (in the first person) self-belittlement, and nnguar, which expresses affection or (especially in the first person) comfort/ease (cf. nominal modifiers kasik 'naughty/bad/poor/dear (old)' and nnguaq 'dear/little'). Others express surprise, as riallar and riannguar (and note rataqi 'at last'), or inten-

sity, as llar and extremely common qi (indicative qaaq, etc., interrogative qaat from qi + vit, etc.). The latter often has the sense 'very' with bases of gradable quality. Other affixes of degree usually occurring as ordinary 'verbal modifiers' (see 2.2.2.2. (g)) may occur in this position, such as vallaar 'so (very) much' and vig or (l)luinnar 'really', following at least certain 'sentential' affixes, e.g. junnarsi, as in qasujunnarsivippuq 'he really must be tired'. Also in this category belong affixes like qina, galuttuaqi, gi and (m)mi mentioned in the preceding sections, and intensified future morphemes llarumaar 'will - just wait and see' and somewhat more definite llassa (also ssaqqaar).

anurli-qa-aq
blow(-wind) very 3s-indic.
'It's blowing really hard'

urlu-qa-anga
fall-over qi 1s-indic.
'I went and fell'

qissasi-kasip-puq
break-into-tears kasig 3s-indic.
'The poor devil broke into tears'

uqar-tuu-kasip-punga=asiit
say happen-to kasig 1s-indic. as-usual
'Silly me, I went and spoke out of turn again as usual'

nappa-nnguar-puq
fall-ill little 3s-indic.
'She's ill, the poor little thing'

nanuq takkuti-riannguar-puq
polar-bear show-up intens. 3s-indic.
'A bear (suddenly) showed up'

tiki-llarumaar-puq
come will(-intens.) 3s-indic.
'He will come (some day), just you see'

Another more important affix in this category is galuar '(sure) but...', which indicates the presupposition (usually unspoken) that the state or action of the verb base does not pertain exactly or was not completed, or expresses some other reservation on the speaker's part:

ajunggik-kaluar-puq
be-good but... 3s-indic.
'It's good, but...'

nillir-nira-raluar-paa
be-cold say-that but... 3s-3s-indic.
'He said it was cold, but...' (e.g. it turned out not to be)

For nir 'I wonder', commonly (but not only) found in subordinate clauses, see 1.1.2.2.4, and for affixes used in this position as imperative modifiers see 1.1.1.3.1.2.

Note the common extensions of nominal affixes nnguaq, kasik, (r)suaq, and a few others capable of expressing 'subjective coloration', with u 'be' (following the intransitive participial form of the verbal base), as in:

tusa-rusut-tu-nngu-u-vaa
 hear want intr.-part. little be 3s-3s-indic.
 'He is so curious to hear about it, the little dear'

The special combination form of nnguaq here is nnguu and of (r)suaq 'big/bad' it is (r)suu (cf. 2.2.1.1. (b)). Despite the involvement of u 'be', itself intransitive, such expanded bases may be intransitive or transitive, depending on the stem itself.

Some of these subjective coloration affixes have finer restrictions on co-occurrence, thus nir is always in final (affix) position, whereas qi can only be followed by nir (though usually it also is in affix-final position).

2.1.3.4.16. Contemporative

The contemporative - a true inflectional mood - has the additive mood marker lu (llu after vowel except for lu after allomorph ga of affix gi 'have as, etc.') followed by personal (1st, 2nd and 4th) person subject/object markers or 3rd person object markers:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1st	-(1)lunga	-(1)luta
2nd	-(1)lutit	-(1)lusi
4th	-(1)luni	-(1)lutik
3rd object	-(1)lugu	-(1)lugit

Since this mood indicates co-referentiality of subject with that of the superordinate verb, the inflection in transitive forms only indicates the object (though one can find 1st/2nd person subject forms combined with 3rd person object markers, e.g. -(1)lutigu, 1p - 3s). The negative equivalent of the mood takes mood marker na in place of lu, e.g. -nanga (1s subject/object), and special 2nd person singular form -nak; there is also a variant after velar/uvular stems found especially with 4th person forms, namely -gani/-rani, etc. For the principal functions of this mood see 2.1.3.7, 1.1.2.2.2, 1.3.1.1.1 and 1.1.2.4.1.

2.1.3.5. Finite and Non-finite Forms

The only non-finite verbal (or rather deverbal) forms are nominalizations with affix niq, for which see 1.1.2.2.6. They

do not contain mood markers though they may include affixes of debitive, potential or intentional modality. There is no restriction on voice or aspect.

2.1.3.6. Person/Number, etc.

2.1.3.6.1. Categories which Must/May be Coded in the Verb

2.1.3.6.1.1. Subject

The subject is necessarily cross-referenced by the inflection of the verb, with the exception of transitive forms of the contemporative mood (see 2.1.3.6.7 below).

2.1.3.6.1.2. Direct Object

The direct object is also necessarily cross-referenced by the inflection of the verb, except with derived verb forms with 'double transitive' affixes, where the 'remote' object of an underlying transitive base, if indicated, must be as an independent allative case argument (see 1.2.1.2.2. (b)); the 'direct' object of the affix is so marked however. For instrumental case objects in the 'half transitive' construction (where the subject only is marked in the verbal inflection) see 1.2.1.2.2. (c).

2.1.3.6.1.3. Indirect Object

In so far as one may use this term for oblique arguments in the allative case (see 1.2.1.2.3), indirect objects are not encoded in the verb.

2.1.3.6.1.4. Benefactive, etc.

The direct object (semantic beneficiary, etc.) of derived verbs with affix ut(i)/ssut(i) 'do for/with, etc.' is marked in the verbal inflection as for other transitive verb forms (see 1.2.1.2.3); agreement with an independent argument in the allative case with this function is not, however. Note that the direct object of derived verbal bases may stand in a wide range of semantic relations to the verb, as described under 1.2.1.2.4.

2.1.3.6.2. Agreement-marking for Each of These

The verbal inflection alone may indicate the subject (and object). If an external argument appears corresponding to these functions, the inflection agrees with the external noun phrase by number and person; the noun phrase corresponding to the subject is in the absolutive case (intransitive) or relative case (transitive), and that corresponding to the object inflection is in the absolutive case:

piniartu-p qimmiq anu-aa
hunter rel. dog harness 3s-3s-indic.
'The hunter harnessed the dog'

For cases where a shared subject of a subordinate and a main clause with differing transitivity may agree with either verb, see 1.3.1.5.4 and towards the end of 1.5.2.3. (b).

When the subject is a place-name in plural form, such as Sisimiut (Holsteinsborg), there is fluctuation between singular and plural forms of the agreeing verbal inflection. Some originally plural loan-words/loan-glosses such as Landsråði(t) 'provincial council' and inatsit 'law' (originally inatsisit in this sense) now are treated as singular (but plural forms ilagiit 'congregation' and aamarsuit 'coal' still regularly take plural verbal inflection).

2.1.3.6.4. Features of the Noun Phrase Coded in the Verb

Only number (and person) and subject/object function are encoded. Verbal inflection is a matter of pronominal reference, corresponding external noun phrase arguments always being optional. The coding is strictly syntactic, regardless of further semantic function of the noun phrase.

2.1.3.6.5. Agreement of Coordinated Noun Phrases and the Verb

Two singular noun phrases (or a singular plus a plural one) require corresponding plural marking in the verbal inflection. For this and the special case of personal pronominal subjects coordinated with one another or with a nominal noun phrase, where the inflection agrees with the resulting total combination by person and number, see 1.3.1.3 (& 1.3.1.2).

2.1.3.6.6. Agreement in Different Voice, Mood, etc.

The principles of agreement are the same in all voices, tenses, aspects and moods. With nominalizations formed by niq there is no possibility of expressing the object of a transitive verb in the inflection; for the use of the corresponding half-transitive construction here see 1.1.2.2.6.

2.1.3.6.7. Identity between Subjects of Successive Verbs

The essential feature of the contemporative mood is identity of its subject with that of the main verb. Since this mood only overtly marks the object on transitive bases the agreement is covert, whereas with intransitive bases there is ordinary (overt) agreement of the subject by person and number:

ikinnguti-ga	uqarviga-ara	puisi(p)-niqaa
friend my	say-to 1s-3s-indic.	seal-meat
pisiari-ssa-llugu		
buy future (1s-)3s-cont.		

'I told my friend I would buy the seal meat'

ikinnguti-ga	uqarviga-ara	puisi(p)-niqaa-nik
friend my	say-to 1s-3s-indic.	seal-meat instr.

pisi-ssa-llunga
buy future 1s-cont.

'I told my friend I would buy some seal-meat'

For the principle exception to this, where the object of the contemporative verb-form is identical with the subject of the main verb, see 1.5.2.3. (b) (and cf. the reference to there from 2.1.3.6.2 above).

With the other subordinate moods the 3rd versus 4th person distinction also constitutes a form of agreement (in the contemporative there is only 4th, never 3rd person subject). Thus the non - 1st or 2nd person subject of the subordinate verb will be 4th person (singular or plural) if identical with that of the main verb, otherwise 3rd (see the sections on Anaphora).

2.1.3.6.8. Special Reflexive Forms of the Verb

See 1.6.1.3.

2.1.3.6.9. Special Reciprocal Forms of the Verb

See 1.7.1.

2.1.3.6.12.1. Elements Incorporated in the Verb

Verb-forms in West Greenlandic may be recursively incorporating, that is, a complex base may be successively nominalized or verbalized more than once (see 2.2). Only simple incorporation is illustrated in the following sections, but 2.2 has examples of more complex forms. Pronominal reference marked by the verbal inflection may of course only occur once, after all affixes. Though there are often non-incorporating alternative constructions available, incorporation is obligatory with the bound affixes discussed below.

2.1.3.6.12.1.3. Transitive Noun Object

See 2.2.2.1 for examples of verbalizing affixes such as qar 'have', liur 'make' and siur 'look for' in structures like qimmiqarpuq 'he has a dog/dogs/there are dogs', illluriurpuq 'he is building a house' and ikitsisisiurput 'they are looking for matches'. Most of these take following intransitive inflections (but cf. gi 'have as' for example). Semantically, the incorporated object is non-specific and number or personal possession inflections cannot be incorporated along with it, the bare (singular) stem being used. The only exception is with affixes based on case-markers like miit 'be in/on', plural niit, mukar 'go to', plural nukar, and miir 'come from', plural niir (cf. the corresponding oblique case markers, singular and plural in 2.1.1.1.1. (a)). The plural variants are used with plural bases - though the latter appear themselves in singular form:

illu-mi-niip-puq
house his-refl. be-in 3s-indic.

'He is in his (own) house'

Maniitsu-mukar-pugut
Maniitsoq go-to 1p-indic.

'We went to Maniitsoq'

Aasian-nukar-pugut
Aasiaat go-to 1p-indic.

'We went to Aasiaat'

The place-name in the last example is plural (literally 'spiders'), but nukar is added to the singular form aasiak.

2.1.3.6.12.1.5. Other Nominal Elements

The complement of verbalizing affix u 'be' appears in (non-possessed) singular form as the base of the verb-form, as in kalaaliupput 'they are Greenlanders'. There is a wide variety of affixes of this sort, as illustrated under 2.2.2.1; they cover a number of semantic relationships between affix and base. For affix Vr 'say', which may incorporate whole phrases - including any inflection - see 1.1.1.1. (b).

2.1.3.6.12.1.7. Adverbs

There are a great many adverbial affixes that may be incorporated into the verb - indeed several may occur successively as illustrated in 2.1.3.3.2.2.1. It is a matter of modification of the verbal base for manner and degree. I treat these along with other 'derivational' affixes (for aspect, modality, etc.) under 2.2.2.2. As regards internal ordering they are simply a subcategory of these.

The only kind of adverbial that may productively occur as the base in incorporating verb-forms are locational and temporal phrases verbalized by u 'be' or nggur 'become', as in aqaguummat '(when it was) next day'.

2.1.3.6.12.1.9. Other Elements

There are numerous productive derivational affixes attachable to verbal bases, such as juma 'want to' and sinnaa 'can'; these are also dealt with under 2.2.2.2.

2.1.3.7. Strings of Verbs within a Construction

Strings of one or more contemporative mood verb-forms, coordinated or subordinated to a superordinate verb, have been discussed under 1.3.1.2. This mood (with certain exceptions) is limited to co-referential subjects. Any affix found on superordinate mood verb-forms may be used with this mood (though modal and other non-conjunctive 'sentential' affixes are unlikely to occur in the subordinate case - except in object clauses). Two typical sequences:

aavir-suaq aqqa-raluar-luni tuqu-lir-luni
walrus big. dive-down but... 4s-cont. die begin 4s-cont.

pui-ssa-aq

surface future 3s-indic.

'The big walrus, though it has dived down, will come up to the surface dying'

igalaa-kkut itsuar-tar-lugu

uunga

window pros. look-in-at iter. (4s-)3s-cont. to-there

palligul-luni=lu asumi uninngaa-riar-luni

approach 4s-cont. and finally stop after 4s-cont.

aallar-puq

leave 3s-indic.

'Looking at it through the window (a few times) and coming nearer, finally, after stopping for a while, he went off'

2.1.4. Adjectives

What is said below concerns verbal and nominal bases of an adjectival nature in respectively predicative and attributive use (see 2.2.1.1. (b) for 'adjectival' affixes on nominal bases).

2.1.4.1. Predicative and Attributive Forms of Adjectives

Verbal stems of an adjectival nature (i.e. 'stative' verbs) such as miki- 'small' and angi- 'big' are used predicatively just as any other verb; if they occur attributively they are in their intransitive participial (or equivalent) nominal form, e.g. mikisuuq and angisuuq. On the other hand, nominal stems of an adjectival nature such as nutaaq 'new', utuqqaq 'old' and qursuk 'green', are used attributively in simple apposition to the nominal head but must be verbalized with u 'be' (or similar affix) when used predicatively, e.g. utuqqaa- 'be old' and qursuu- 'be green'. Loan-word adjectives like privati 'private' and moderne/mutirni (also mutit) 'modern' need in all cases to be extended by u, e.g. attributive privatiusuuq, in intransitive participial form.

2.1.4.2. Difference between Absolute and Contingent State

A stem like miki- 'small' may be extended by intransitive participial suq plus u 'be' to produce mikisuu- indicating a characteristic or permanent quality (whereas the non-derived form is a simple affirmation about the narrative present). Thus quianarpuq means 'he was amusing' (on a particular occasion), whereas quinartuuvuq means 'he is amusing' (in general). The derived forms may however also be glossed as 'is an amusing/little/big one', etc. or 'is the (only) one being or doing such', as in ullumi inurtuisuuvuq 'he is the one who is late today', from inurtui- 'be late'. The basic sense then is one of relative quality, i.e. in comparison with others or with the referent's own earlier state, as in:

illuqarvik angi-su-u-vuq
 town be-big intr.-part. be 3s-indic.
 'The town is big (compared to others/its earlier size)'

In the following sentence either sense is possible:

ivikkat sungaar-tu-u-pput
 grass-pl. be-yellow intr.-part. be 3p-indic.
 'The grass is yellow'

It is thus the usual form to use in sentences such as the following:

illuqarvik angisuu-ju-suq amirlasuu-nik
 town big be intr.-part. many instr.-pl.
 pisiniarvi-qa-nngil-aq
 shop have not 3s-indic.
 'For a big town it doesn't have many shops'

This illustrates the attributive form of angisuu-/angisuuju-; the corresponding attributive form of mikisuu- is mikisuusuq. With a nominal stem like nutaaq 'new' the resulting attributive form is nutaajusuq, but since these need to be verbalized in predicative use anyway there is no contrast here (though doubly derived forms like qursuusuugami 'because it was green' may be encountered in subordinate moods).

The construction with u 'be' is paralleled by one with nngur 'become', as in mikiṣunngurpuq 'it became (a) small (one)' as opposed to millivuuq 'it diminished' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.6).

2.1.4.3. Agreement between Nouns and Adjectives

Nominal forms (including intransitive participles) used attributively agree with the head nominal they follow according to number and case (cf. 1.3.3 for such agreement in coordinated structures). Verb bases of an adjectival nature used predicatively agree with the subject for person and number just as any other intransitive verb. For the special construction with modifiers of incorporated heads in the instrumental case see 1.2.1.2.2. (a). When the nominal head is incorporated by u 'be' or nngur 'become' any external modifier is in the absolute case, following the verb, e.g. illuuvuuq nutaaq 'it's a new house'. In both this and the instrumental case construction with qar, etc. the modifier shows the relevant number marking even though the incorporated head cannot show it:

illu-qar-puq nutaa-nik
 house have 3s-indic. new instr.-pl.
 'There are new houses'

2.1.4.4. Comparison

For all questions relating to comparison see 1.8 and 1.9.

2.1.4.5. Degrees of Quality

2.1.4.5.1. In Large Measure

This may be expressed either by an external adverbial as in assut sukkasuuvuq 'it's very fast', or by an affix expressing degree, as in sukkaqaq 'it's (going) very fast', sukkavippuq 'it's (going) really fast' and qaningaarpuq 'it's very near'. Nominal adjectival stems must of course be verbalized before such affixes can be added (e.g. utuqqaalluinnarpuq 'he is really old'). More than one such affix may be combined, as in semi-lexicalized combination ngaatsiar 'quite a lot' from ngaar 'greatly' and tsiar 'fairly'.

Note also adverbials ingammik 'especially' and sualummik 'especially/too, etc.' (more negative than the preceding), as in sualummik salluvuq 'he lied blatantly'.

2.1.4.5.2. In Superabundance

Affix vallaar 'too' is used:

purtu-allaar-puq
be-high too 3s-indic.
'It is too high'

utuqqa-vallaar-put
be-old too 3p-indic.
'They are too old'

Sometimes this affix indicates merely high degree (or subjective expression of intensity). It may combine with intensifier qi:

nakuu-alla-q-aq
be-strong too very 3s-indic.
'He is incredibly strong!'

Note also affix gi 'consider too' under 2.2.2.2. (a), thus qaannat angigaara 'your kayak is too big for me', from angi- 'be big'.

2.1.4.5.3. In Small Measure

Affixes of degree such as laar 'a little', kulug 'somewhat' and pajaar 'more or less' are used, as in kissalaarpuq 'it's a little warm', qirnikuluppuq 'it's fairly black' and ajupajaarpuq 'it's more or less bad'.

Note also nominalizing affix kkajaaq as in angikkajaaq '(s.th.) fairly big', which may be used attributively (or predicatively with u 'be') in the normal way.

2.1.5. Post-positions

For all questions concerning 'post-positions' see 1.2.4.

2.1.6. Numerals/Quantifiers

2.1.6.1. Numerals Used in Counting

Native terms exist for numerals up to 20 (and have in the past been used for multiples above that), but in practice Danish numerals are today used above 12, and even the lower Danish numerals are used in certain contexts, especially for school arithmetic and in the counting of money, thus *en kuruuni* 'one krone/a one-krone coin'. The Danish terms so used may be accommodated to the language phonologically, though in the larger towns at least the unaccommodated Danish pronunciation is also commonly heard, thus *tiivi* 'twenty' alongside *tyve* [ty:və]. One may in many instances talk of compromise forms, as in [fam] for 'fem', [f(i)jɔ'ttŋ], and [tʊissi] for 'tres' ('five', 'fourteen' and 'sixty' respectively), in so far as the vowels are commonly accommodated but 'foreign' consonant clusters remain. Danish aspirated /t/ will correspond in such forms to a non-aspirated native one and /h/ may not be pronounced (for some speakers). Thus 'halvtres' may be [(h)altʊissi] (fifty). 100 and 1000 are respectively *untriti* and *tuusinti* (when a more accurate Danish pronunciation is not attempted). Rounded vowels in the Danish numerals are generally replaced by (native) unrounded ones in compromise forms, thus 'fyrre' (fourty) becomes [fɔ:ʁut] and 'sytten' (seventeen) becomes [sutŋ]. The Danish 'soft d' [ð] is largely avoided in such forms, Greenlanders speaking Danish often using /j/ here (as many speakers of Danish provincial dialects), hence [tʊajvi] for 'tredve' (thirty) and even [tu hunnɔʁujut] for 'to hundrede' (two hundred) in attributive position. Observe also the following compound compromise forms: 'otte og halvfjerds' [ɔ'ttaalf(i)ja'ssi] (Danish [ɔ:d(ə)ɔ halfjɛʁs]) 'seventy eight' and 'fire og firs' [fi :a'ffi:a'ssi] (Danish [fi:ɔ ɔ fi'ɛs]) 'eighty four'. There is much variation possible here and therefore in citing higher numbers in glosses in this volume I have simply bracketed the Danish written form (e.g. for dates). As with all Danish loan-words (apart from some old fully accommodated words) the new orthography simply reproduces the Danish spelling. Danish loans may take affixes like native numerals, e.g. *untritillit*, an alternative to *untriti* 'a hundred' with native affix *lik* 'provided with' in the plural, parallel to *arvinillit* 'six' (in compounds *arviniq*). When higher loan-numerals are used attributively following the head they usually take the native plural marker (i)t, as in *inuit tyvit* 'twenty people'. The native terms (based on successive finger- and toe-counting) are:

ataasiq	1
marluk	2
pingasut	3
sisamat	4
tallimat	5
arvinillit	6 (cf. <i>arvaq</i> 'edge of hand')
arvini(q)-marluk	7

arvini(q)-pingasut	8
qulingluat	9 (also <u>qulaaluat</u> or <u>arvini(q)-sisamat</u>)
qulit	10
aqqanillit	11 (cf. <u>aqqar-</u> 'descend'; also <u>isikkanillit</u>)
aqqani(q)-marluk	12

Older terms continuing the series are:

aqqani(q)-pingasut	13
aqqani(q)-sisamat	14
aqqani(q)-tallimat	15
arvirsanillit	16
arvirsani(q)-marluk	17
arvirsani(q)-pingasut	18
arvirsani(q)-sisamat	19
arvirsani(q)-tallimat	20 (also <u>inuk naallugu</u> , literally 'completing the human being' - no longer current).

As regards the inflection of these numerals, note the regular oblique cases of marluk: marlunnut, etc. (as opposed to marlunut, etc. in time expressions). ataasiq is inflected as an ordinary singular nominal, as are the numerals for 6, 11 and 16, which lose their (plural) ending llit before case endings, e.g. arvinirmik, instrumental case of arvinillit (but used attributively, see arvinillit in 2.1.1.4.23 and in time expressions note arvinirnut, parallel to marlunut). In combination with affix u 'be' the singular form of the ending lik reappears, thus arviniliupput 'they are six' (cf. arvini(q)-marluupput 'they are seven'). The compound numerals based on those for 6, 11 and 16 are treated as quasi-compounds phonologically, the final /q/ of the first word being elided or reduced to /r/ before a consonant (see 2.2.6.3). The other numerals are treated as ordinary plural nominals. Note also avvaq 'a half' and ataasiq avvarlu, '1½', etc.

2.1.6.2. Cardinal Numerals as Attributes

All numerals may be used attributively following and agreeing with their head nominal (cf. 1.2.5.2.6). The only noteworthy form is the possible plural of ataasiq 'one' in combination with one of the few notionally singular nominals that are grammatically plural, e.g. qamutit ataatsit 'one sledge'. With 'half' and 'one and a half', etc. used attributively note the possessive construction in ukiup avvaa 'half a year' and kiilup aappaa avillugu 'one and a half kilograms' (literally 'splitting the second kilogram'); also nalunaquttap akunnira aappaa avvaq 'one and a half hours'. An alternative is to use quasi-compound aappaqiqqa (literally 'middle of the second') or else completely Danish expressions like halaan kiilu; note also quppaq 'half' - of s.th. split lengthwise.

2.1.6.4. Ordinal Numerals

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The following native ordinals are used:

siulliq	'first'
aappaa	'second'
pingajuat	'third'
sisamaat	'fourth'
tallimaat	'fifth'
arvirnat	'sixth'
arvini(q)-aappaat	'seventh'
arvini(q)-pingajuat	'eighth'
qulingiluaat/qulaaluaat	'ninth'
qulingat	'tenth'
aqqarnat	'eleventh'
aqqani(q)-aappaat	'twelfth'

The ending for forms above second is that for third person plural possession with singular possessum. The same form is used with Danish loan-numerals to produce higher ordinals, e.g. tretteniat 'thirteenth' and tyviat 'twentieth'. aappaa 'second' (literally 'it's partner') has the corresponding 3rd person singular possessive ending, and siulliq (literally 'the most out front') is an ordinary singular nominal. Used attributively to a head nominal the latter (except in the case of siulliq) is in the relative case, singular for aappaa, plural for the others, thus ullup aappaa 'the second day' but ullut pingajuat 'the third day'. For dates using ordinals see 2.1.1.6.1.4.

Note further alla 'other', arlaat 'the other team/group' (with possessive ending for singular possessum, plural possessor), and tulliq 'next'.

2.1.6.5. Other Derivatives of Numerals

Fractions are expressed (apart from avvaq 'half') by aggunniq 'part/fraction' plus ordinals, as in aggunnirisa sisamaat (or aggunnirit sisamaat) 'a quarter (of it)' (cf. also loan-word kuarti). There are also simple expressions such as pingajurartirut 'a third' and sisimarartirut 'a quarter'. Multiple fractions, when not expressed in Danish, need more complex expression, e.g. sisamanggurluni aggukkap aggunniri pingasut or sisamarartirutaat pingasut 'three quarters (of it)'.

The derivative of qitiq 'middle' qitiqqut- used in clock expressions for the half hour (see 2.1.1.6.1.1) has further numerical uses, as in pingajussaata qitiqqullugu for 'two and a half' ('half way through the future third') and kavvi tiiturviup qitiqqunnira 'half a cup of coffee'. The use of future ssaq on ordinals illustrated above is also found in pingajussaanic 'for the third time' (and aappaasaanik 'for the second time') - verbalizable as pingajussaaniir-. Note also marlussaq 'something that can be two' (e.g. one skin for two pairs of trousers); and with the instrumental case:

avvaanik ilallugu 'a half more', and marluriaammik/marluriaataanik annirusuq 'twice as big'. With cardinals the transitive base sinnir-'be more than' is used, as in qulit sinnirpaat 'they are more than ten'.

The lower numerals may be extended by it (or iit) to express groups: marluit 'two groups', pingasuit 'three groups', etc. These forms are also used for notionally singular nominals that are grammatically plural, e.g. umiat pingasuit 'three skin boats (with people in them)'. Note also marlussuit 'a couple' and marlussunnguanik 'a couple of times'.

Affixes riar 'do so many times' and raar 'catch so many' can be attached to any numeral stem as in:

tallima-riar-put
five do-times 3p-indic.
'They did it five times'

(natsi-nik) sisama-raar-puq
(ringed-seal instr.-pl.) four catch 3s-indic.
'He caught four (ringed seals)'

Affix ut(i) in combination with numerals expresses how many are involved in an action, e.g. marluuppaat 'they were two in doing it' and:

qassii-ul-lugu umiaq sana-vaat
several (do-)with (4p-)3s-cont. umiaq make 3p-3s-indic.
'There were several of them involved in making the umiaq (skin boat)'

Affix kkuutaar with numerals indicates how many at a time/arrangement by groups :

pingasu-kkuutaar-lutik
three do-at-a-time 4p-cont.
'three at a time'

With ataasiq 'one' note ataasiakkaarlugit 'one at a time' (and also ataasiarpuq 'he did it once' besides ataasiriapuuq).

Other, less productive, derivatives of numerals include marluqiusaq 'double/two of the same kind' (e.g. two mountains forming a single mass), marluliaq 'twin' (and pingasuliat, 'triplets'), pingajuqqat 'polar bear with two cubs', pingasurusat 'three birds flying together' and sisamaviliiraq 'quadruped'. Further, note verbal derivatives such as: ataasiirpaa 'he killed it with one shot', tallimmiivuuq 'he got a fifth (bird caught, etc.)/turned five years old' (similarly arvinniiuvuq, sisammiiuvuq, etc.), sisammiuppaat 'they got him as fourth man/added it as fourth' (similarly pingatsiuppaat and - of second - aappiuppaat), pingatsirpai 'he added a third one to them', pingajuraat 'they have him as third man/he is the third of them' (also tallimaraat, etc.), and arliivuuq 'he got a second (e.g. cup of coffee)'. The affix in the last of these (and in tallimmiivuuq, etc.) is probably identical with lii, the

half-transitive form of lir 'provide with'.

2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

The following nominal quantifiers occur: qassiit 'several', arlallit 'several/a fair number', arlaqanngitsut 'a few', and arlariit 'several groups/sorts'. Also alla '(an) other' and adjectival iluitsuq 'whole', tamalaat 'all sorts of', and assigiinngitsut 'different/various' (cf. Danish 'forskellige'). For tamar- 'all', kisi- 'only' and iluunngar- 'all of' see 1.2.1.2.2. (d) and for arla(q) 'one or other of', ila- 'some of/one of', aappa- 'the other (of a pair)', and illu- 'one of a pair', see 2.1.1.4.19. For tamaasa with plural nominalizations in nirit see 1.1.2.4.2.1 (towards end) and for simple verbal expressions with qar 'have' in the sense of indefinite 'there are (some)' see 2.1.2.1.14.

Stem amirla- 'many' is verbal (the corresponding nominal form is amirlasuut), as is ikig- 'few' (nominal form ikittut - cf. also ikittunnguit 'only a few'). tamar- 'all' may be verbalized as tamakkiir-, as in tamakkiirlutik tikipput 'they all came'.

2.1.6.6.1. Quantifier Compounds

For the indefinite sense of 'any/-ever' with q-word plus enclitic luunniit as in sunaluunniit 'anything' see 2.1.2.1.13. With a negative verb this has the meaning 'no-' as in ataatsimilluunniit uqartuqanngilaq 'no one spoke'. Constructions without luunniit are sometimes available, as in piumalliriarangaavit 'whenever you want' and akurnutissaqanngivippuq 'there is no obstacle at all (to it)'.

There are no specific quantifiers corresponding to 'either', 'neither' or 'both'; q-words with luunniit are used as above (e.g. kinaluunniit 'either (of them)' or - with negative verb - 'neither (of them)'). In the sense 'both', tamar- 'all' is used. Note also marluullutik 'both of them/being two' and illuttut 'on both sides' from illu(k)- above. Other extensions of tamar- are tamatigut 'everywhere', tamaginni 'on all/both sides' and tamaviat 'with all one's might'. For nalinginnaq as in sumut nalinginnaq/nalinginnarmut 'anywhere (at all)' and nalinginnatta 'any of us' see 2.1.2.1.1.3.

2.1.6.6.2. Quantification Expressed by Other Means

For examples of nominal affixes expressing quantity such as (r)passuit and (r)paat see 2.2.1.1. (b), and for collective kkut 'and company/family' see 2.1.1.8.4. There are also a number of verbal affixes which contain the sense 'several do/in succession' such as jurar/jurtur 'one after another' and rnat 'many do/in a crowd or herd':

angu-jurar-pai

catch-up-with one-after-another 3s-3p-indic.

'He caught up with them one after another'

tikiuti-rrap-put
come in-a-crowd 3p-indic.
'They came in a crowd'

2.1.7. Adverbs

Adverbs have been treated under 1.2.1.3. For the use of affixes niru 'more', nirsaa (and nirpaa) 'most' and tigi 'so' for comparison see 1.8.1 & 1.9.1, and for derivational affixes of an adverbial nature in general see 2.2.2.2. (g) & (h). Verbal bases modified by such affixes may be converted to independent adverbials by putting them in the instrumental case of their intransitive participial form (or by using the contemporary mood form adverbially). Thus from sukkavallaar- '(go) too fast': sukkavallaartumik (or sukkavallaarluni). It is possible to modify verbal bases containing an affix of manner by a further affix of degree, as in sulirusaarnirulluni 'working more slowly'.

2.1.8. Clitics

The following uninflectable enclitics always follow complete inflected word-forms or independent particles. For the sandhi resulting at the word-enclitic boundary see 3.4.1.3. (b).

2.1.8.1.6. Sentence Particles

aasiit (or aasit or even, abbreviated, aa) means 'again as usual', often with the somewhat derisive sense of 'the same old story/just like him'.

It is usually attached to the first constituent of the sentence (or the main verb) but can also be an independent particle.

piuma-nngil-aq=aasiit
want not 3s-indic. as-usual
'He doesn't want to again (as usual)'

lusuuq 'as if/just like' (sometimes just suuq) is the enclitic equivalent of independent particle suurlu (see 1.2.1.1. (b)), with which it may combine as suurlulusuuq; it takes as its argument either a constituent or (if attached to the main verb) the whole sentence.

qaammat qinngur-pur=lusuuq
moon shine 3s-indic. as-if
'It was as if the moon was shining'

qaammal=Iusuuq qinngurpuq
moon as-if shine 3s-indic.
'It was shining just like the moon'

For luunniit 'even' see 1.2.5.2.8. It may be used sententially as in:

aki-nngil-aanga=luunniit
 reply not 3s-1s-indic. even
 'He didn't even reply to me'

(t)taaq 'also' may refer to the action itself or to its subject or object (cf. 1.2.5.2.8).

iga-vur=taaq
 cook 3s-indic. also
 'She too is cooking'

tusaa-varput (aammalu) taku-arput=taaq
 hear 1p-3s-indic. (also) see 1p-3s-indic. also
 'We heard it - and also saw it'

uqarviga-arput=taaq
 tell-to 1p-3s-indic. also
 'We told (it to) him too/we too told (it to) him'

For tuq 'would that' expressing a desire see 1.1.1.3.3; it may sometimes - with a q-word - also mean 'I wonder' (see 1.1.1.2.2). For quotative enclitic guuq 'they/he say(s)' see 1.1.1.1. (a).

2.1.8.1.7. Sentence Connectives

For enclitic connectives lu 'and', li 'but', luunniit 'or' and mi 'for/yet/indeed' see 1.3.1.1 ff. (and for li in the sense 'ever since' 2.1.1.6.8 and for mi in 'contrast questions' 1.1.1.2.1.4).

2.1.8.1.9. Others

Demonstrative pronoun una (plural uku) is much used as a sentential enclitic, either in copular constructions (see 1.2.1.1.1. (c)) or in 'explanatory' utterances as described in 1.1.2.4.2.4; in both cases - but particularly the first - the verb, if there is one, will most commonly be in the participial mood. Other demonstratives, especially manna 'this', but also inna, qanna and others, may also function enclitically (though not commonly in the simple copular construction):

qam-annga=qanna su-riallar-tuq
 out-there abl. that-out-there do-what intens. 3s-part.
 qassumaa
 you-in-there

'From outside there suddenly came the cry (from him out there): "Hey, you in there!"'

The enclitic can usually be taken as referring to the subject of the verb, as in this example. As with una, the effect is more emphatic (or 'reason-giving') than the corresponding non-enclitic construction; it especially highlights the initial word in the sentence to which it is attached.

For the use of enclitic mita(ava) and maa(nna) on q-words

see 1.1.1.2.2, and for confirmation-seeking aat employed enclitically on imperatives see 1.1.1.2.1.2 (elsewhere it is today usually an independent particle as regards sandhi, as is also the case with allaat 'even'). For vocative enclitic aa see 2.1.1.4.28; it is undoubtedly related to deictic 'prefix' aa as in aajuna (see 1.2.1.1.1. (c)), but may also be treated as a stem in such expressive combinations as aannguaq-una 'what a little dear she is!'.
 =====

2.1.8.2. Positions Occupied by Enclitics

The most common position for enclitics is attached to (the end of) the first sentential constituent, though, as discussed under 1.1.1.1. (a) for guuq, this may be loosened to mean the first 'content' word of the sentence (i.e. not counting an initial sentence-conjunctive or adverbial particle), or, if the first constituent is a noun phrase consisting of more than one word felt to constitute a tightly bound unit, then following the whole phrase.

Certain enclitics may, however, be used other than sententially, following individual constituents (not necessarily in initial position), which they connect, emphasize or modify. This is notably the case with the connective morphemes mentioned above, for whose use in coordinating constituents see 1.3. 1.3. Also lusuuq and (t)taaq may be attached to specific constituents they highlight—not necessarily in initial position (though that position is the most common for such a constituent), as in:

ippassaq uanga=lusuuq Hansi taamaaliur-puq
 yesterday me just-like Hansi do-thus 3s-indic.
 'Yesterday Hansi did it, just like I did'

With q-word, enclitics mita(ava), maa(nna), luunniit and una/uku are always attached to the q-word itself, whatever its position (see 1.1.1.2.2).

2.1.8.3. The Relative Order of Enclitics

Two or more enclitics may follow in succession, as in:

kina=tur=luunniim=mi=una isir-li
 who I-wonder even why! that come-in 3s-opt.
 'Why, indeed, let anyone (who likes) come in'

Quotative guuq will come last (following for example mi), except if una or some other demonstrative is added; these usually come last, though guuq may follow una at least. tuq and (t)taaq precede lu, luunniit, lusuuq and li (in that order if more than one is present); then may follow mi, and then aasiit - this at least is the usual ordering. There are no restrictions (apart from semantic incompatibility) on the combinations allowed.

2.2. Derivational Morphology

Derivation by affix (i.e. pre-inflectional suffix) is of paramount importance to the morphology of West Greenlandic and all other varieties of Eskimo. There are around 400 productive affixes in use, only some of which represent reoccurrences of the 'same' historical morpheme in several 'slots' (e.g. niar, which appears in four separate positions with different senses). Many others are found only in lexicalized bases. They may combine with each other iteratively, producing a prodigious potential for the derivational expansion of simple stems; up to ten or more affixes in succession before the inflectional ending is not particularly unusual - at least in the written language. The basic principles of categorization and ordering of affixes are discussed in Fortescue 1980, where a rather complete list of the productive morphemes concerned can be found - without indication of individual morphophonemic patterning however (for this see Bergsland 1955, for example). In the following sections only some of the most common more or less productive affixes within each semantico-syntactic sub-division can be illustrated. In the article quoted I divide derivational affixes (in the widest sense) into 26 groups according to semantic principles; it turns out that the major divisions here are also relevant to the ordering principles of the 'internal syntax' (i.e. derivational morphology) beyond the general scope rule whereby each successive affix modifies all of the word 'to its left'.

Reversing the relative order of two successive affixes will generally change the meaning entirely, as in the following:

urnik-kusun-niqar-puq
 come-to want passive 3s-indic.
 'Somebody wanted to come to him'

urnin-niqa-rusup-puq
 come-to passive want 3s-indic.
 'He wanted somebody to come to him'

Similarly, urnissinnaanngilara 'I can not come to him' but urninngissinnaavara 'I can refrain from coming to him' with sinnaa 'can' after negative nngit.

The principal division is between verbalizing, verb-extending and verb-modifying (aspect, manner and degree) affixes, which build up complex verbal bases; nominalizing, nominal-extending and nominal-modifying affixes, which build up complex nominal bases; and sentential (verbal) affixes. The latter category, which I designate ' V_s ', is divisible into V_{ten} (for tense), V_{ep} (for epistemic modality), V_{sub} (for subjective coloration)- occurring in that order when more than one such affix is present - and V_{conj} (occurring just before the inflection in subordinate clauses); all such affixes follow the verbal

base V_b . Thus, for example, aspectual affix sar of repetition, as a component of a complex V_b , cannot follow jumaar, a future affix belonging under V_s , though the reverse order is perfectly acceptable. The verbal base V_b itself is built up either from a verbal stem (the simplest V_b) plus any verb-extending (V_e) affix and/or verb-modifying (V_{mod}) affix, or from a nominal base verbalized by a V_r affix. A nominal base N_b may similarly be built up with N_e and N_{mod} affixes (or be nominalized by an N_r from a verbal base). A negative affix V_{neg} may occur either inside the verbal base or, sententially, under V_s (cf. 1.4.1). Underlined categories may be repeated iteratively and those in brackets are optionally present. The affixes nirar 'say that', (ga)sugi/suri 'think that', and participial suq (also less commonly saq) may, alone of V_b and N_b affixes, follow even a 'sentential' affix. The rules follow - note that they are for productive processes; fossilized lexical items may sometimes appear to run counter to them.

$$V \rightarrow V_b (+V_s) + \text{Infl.}$$

$$V_b \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} V_b \\ N_b + V_r \end{array} \right] (+V_e) (+V_{neg}) (+V_{\underline{mod}})$$

$$V_s \rightarrow (V_{ten}) (+V_{ep}) \left[\begin{array}{c} (+V_{neg}) (+V_{\underline{sub}}) \\ (+V_{conj}) \end{array} \right]$$

$$N_b \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} N_b \\ V_b + N_r \end{array} \right] (+N_e) (+N_{\underline{mod}})$$

The only constraints on ordering apart from these (very flexible) rules are of general semantic compatibility and sheer complexity. Note that the rules allow for the possibility of shifting back and forth several times between nominal and verbal in the derivation of a single word, and of modifying a V_e (verb-extending affix) by various V_{mod} affixes before adding a further V_e (and similarly with N_e and N_{mod}).

Below I give a few examples of naturally occurring complex word-forms:

iqqaama-sa-lirsaaruta-anna-a-nngil-aq
 (V_b) (N_r) (N_e) (N_{mod})(V_r)(V_{neg})
 remember pass.-part. account-of just be not 3s-indic.
 'It is not just an account of memories'

aamaruti-ssar-siur-vi-tua-a-suq
 (N_b) (N_{mod})(V_r)(N_r)(N_{mod})(V_r)(N_r)
 coal future look-for place only be intr.-part.
 'which is the only place for getting coal'

tusaa-nngit-su-usaar-tuaannar-sinnaa-nngi-vip-putit
 (V_b)(V_{neg}) (N_r)(V_r)(V_{mod}) (V_e) (V_{neg})(V_{sub})
 hear not intr.-part. pretend all-the-time can not really
 2s-indic.
 'You simply cannot pretend not to be hearing all the
 time'

isiginnaar-tit-si-sar-tu-qatigiit
 (V_b) (V_e)(V_e)(V_{mod})(N_r)(N_e)
 watch cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. habit. intr.-part. fellows
 'theatre company'

an-niru-lir-sin-niqar-sinnaa-suri-nngik-kaluar-pakka
 (V_b)(V_{mod})(V_{mod})(V_e)(V_e)(V_e)(V_e) (V_{neg})(V_{sub})
 be-big more begin cause passive can think-that not but...
 1s-3p-indic.
 'I don't think they can be made any bigger, but...'

irsiqqis-sa-a-vvigi-niqar-tariaqar-pugut
 (V_b) (V_e) (V_e)(V_e)(V_e) (V_e)
 be-clear try-to-cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. have-as-place-of passive
 must 1p-indic.
 'One must be able to hear exactly what we say'

nannun-niuti-kkuminar-tu-rujussu-u-vuq
 (V_b) (N_r) (V_r) (N_r)(N_{mod})(V_r)
 catch-polar-bear means-for be-good-for intr.-part. very-
 big be 3s-indic.
 'He (a dog) is really good for catching bears with'

aliikkus-irsu-i-llamma-ssua-a-nira-ssa-gukku
 (N_b) (V_r) (V_e)(N_r) (N_{mod})(V_r)(V_e)(V_{ten})
 entertainment provide-with $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. one-good-at big be say-
 that future 1s-3s-condit.
 'if I should say that he is a great entertainer'

nuannaar-uti-gi-nni-vvigi-sinnaa-sa-a
 (V_b) (N_r) (V_r)(V_e)(V_e)(V_e) (N_r)
 be-happy means-for have-as $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. have-as-time-of can

pass.-part. his

'(a day) from which he was able to derive pleasure'

atuakk-iur-tu-nngur-tussaa-vutit

(N_b) (V_r)(N_r)(V_r) (V_e)

book make intr.-part. become should 2s-indic.

'You should become a writer'

allattu-i-vvi-ssaaliqi-sar-sima-qa-anga

(V_b)(V_e)(N_r) (V_r) (V_{mod})(V_{ten})(V_{sub})

write-down ½-trans. place lack iter. perf. very 1s-indic.

'I was really short of note-books'

anigu-ga-ssa-a-junnaa-ngajal-luinnar-simassa-galuar-tut

(V_b) (N_r) (N_{mod}) (V_r)(V_{mod})(V_{mod})(V_{mod})(V_{ep})(V_{sub})

avoid pass.-part. future be no-longer almost really must-
(-be) but... 3p-part.

'(that) they must really almost have become unavoidable,
but...'

The same deverbal (or denominal) affix may occur more than once in a complex derivation, thus the second word-sentence example given above could be expanded with a further repetition of siur 'look for', as in:

aaamaruti-ssar-siur-vi-ssar-siur-tu-tua-a-sug

coal future look-for place future look-for intr.-part. only
be intr.-part.

'who is the only one looking for a place to look/pro-
spect for coal'

Combinations of stems plus affixes and combinations of affixes amongst themselves may range from fully lexicalized (non-divisible if the sense is to be preserved), semi-lexicalized (commonly combined but in principle divisible), to fully productive and divisible, which presents a problem for lexicography. How one deals with the semi-lexicalized middle-ground must be arbitrarily decided: either one enters such combinations as units in a dictionary or one enters the stem and the affix as separate productive items. Ideally, given sufficient space, one would want to do both. I shall discuss only fully lexicalized combinations of basic affixes below (where the meaning is different from the simple sum of the parts) - for example riataar 'suddenly', which historically consists of riar 'set about/intense state' plus ataar 'intensely' or sinnaa 'can', historically from (s)innaq 'only' and u 'be'. Contrast these with, for example, semi-lexicalized nngurtit 'make into/appoint' from nngur 'become' and tit 'cause' (illustrated under 2.1.1.4.17). The existence of fossilized affixes whose meaning is difficult now to isolate and of lexicalized variants of stem-affix combinations, along with the results of historical

syncopation, presents difficulties as regards the lexicon in general.

For areas where the internal (derivational) morphology interacts with the external syntax see 1.14.

2.2.1.1. Nouns from Nouns

There are two categories of affix here, nominal extending and modifying (see the rules above):

(a) Nominal-extenders

giit 'mutual/in converse relation': aappariit 'man and wife'

kkaaq 'one with a big-' niaqukkaa 'one with a big head'

ku(q) 'previous/discarded' kamiku(q) 'remains of a boot'

lisaq 's.th. from last-' aasalisaq 's.th. from last summer'

livik 'container/place for' immulivik 'cream jug'

lliq 'most in a direction' (with directional stems)

kingulliq 'hindmost/last'

miniq/minaatsiaq 'a piece of' aputiminaatsiaq 'a piece of snow'

miu 'inhabitant of' Nuummiu 'person from Nuuk'

qat 'fellow' miiraqat 'play-fellow (child)'

sunni 'smell of' inussunni 'smell of a human being'

tuuq 's.th. in a language' (from equative case -tut)

kalaallisuuq 's.th. in Greenlandic'

usa(a)q 's.th. like' siqiniusaaq 'thing like the sun'

usiaq 'model' illuusiq 'model house'

For kkut 'and family/company' see 2.1.1.8.4 and for lik 'provided with' see 1.1.2.3.6.1 & 3.4.2. qat may also be attached to verbal bases, e.g. inuugataa 'the person he lives with' from inuu- 'live'. Besides lliq note related (and similarly restricted) llq, with the distinction illustrated by the pair kujalliq 'most to the south' and kujaliq 'nearest (thing) to the south'.

(b) Nominal- modifiers

aluit 'group/several' inualuit 'a group of people'

araq/iraq 'small/not fully grown' qimmiaraq 'puppy'

gigaluaq 'previously owned' illugigaluarput 'our previous house'

- innaq 'only' imiinnag 'just water'
kasik 'miserable/poor/dear old' qiqirtakasik 'a miserable (little) island'
kullak 'medium-sized/hefty' angutikullak 'a pretty big man'
liaq 'made' kaagiliaq 'a (made) cake'
nnguakkuluk 'poor' iliarsunnguakkuluk 'a poor (little) orphan'
nnaaq 'favorite' tammaarvinnaarput 'our favorite camp-site'
nnguaq 'little/dear' miirannguaq 'little child'
palaq 'bad' umiarsuapalaq 'a bad/useless boat'
(r)paat 'a group/many' tutturpaat 'a herd of/many caribou'
(r)passuit 'a great many/crowd' ulluriarpassuit 'a myriad of stars'
(r)piaq 'real/actual' nappaatirpiaq 'the actual illness'
ralaannguaq 'tiny' inuralaannguaq 'a tiny little person'
rujussuaq 'enormous' qimmirujussuaq 'an enormous dog'
siaq 'bought/received' amirsiaq 'a skin one has bought'
ssaq 'future/material for' qajassaa 'the kayak he is going to have (or the material for it)'
(r)suannuaq 'naughty little' Niisirsuannuaq 'naughty little Niisi'
(r)suaq 'big/bad' taarsuaq 'great darkness'
taaq 'new' irnirtaaq 'new-born son'
tsialak 'nice/pretty' niviarsiatsialak 'a pretty girl'
tsiaq 'fairly big' ataatsiaq 'half-grown harp seal'
tuq 'only' panituarsi 'your only daughter'
tuqaq 'old' arnatuqaq 'old woman'
vik 'real' kuultivik 'real gold'

For ut(i) 'one's possessed thing' and taq 'pertaining to' see 1.10.2 ff. Note the relative singular, absolutive/relative plural and 3rd person singular possessed forms respectively of nnguaq, (r)suaq and (gi)galuaq; nnguup, nnguit, nngua; (r)suup, (r)suit, (r)sua; and (gi)galuup or galuap, (gi)galuit, and (gi)galu a (compare also 2.1.3.4.15). ssaq may sometimes

express what one is supposed to do rather than absolute futurity, as in: ilinniartitsinissani tunulliuttarpaa 'he would neglect his teaching (duties)' (& cf. 2.1.1.12). In combination with u 'be' it may also appear in certain lexicalized forms following verbal rather than nominal stems in a sense similar to that of nar 'to be -able', as in takussaavug 'it is visible' from taku- 'see'.

2.2.1.2. Nouns from Verbs

gajuug 'one who often' angugajuug 'one who often catches seals'

llammak 'good at' mirsullammak 'one good at sewing'

niut 'means to' ilinniutit 'teaching material'

(r)paluk 'sound of' illarpaluk 'the sound of laughter'

qqaq 'one who just/for first time' aniqqaq 'one that has just come out'

saat 'means for (getting to)' pissasaat 'strengtheners'

si/(r)ti 'agent/-er' malitsi 'follower'

(t)siiq 's.th. left to -' qiritsiiq 's.th. left to freeze'

ssusiq 'quality of' ilisimassusiq 'knowledge'

ssut 'reason/cause/means for' kamassut 'reason for anger'

usiq 'way of -ing' pisuusira 'his way of walking'

vvik 'place/time of' puisinniarvik 'place for hunting seal'

For nominalizer niq see 1.1.2.2.6, for nirpaq/nirsaq 'most' see 1.8.1, for passive participial saq/gaq see 1.1.2.3.6 & 2.1.3.1.1.4.2, and for intransitive (active) participial suq see 1.2.5.2.1. In the sense 'means/instrument for' note also ut and less productive qut and utaq, e.g. allaat 'chalk/pen' from allag- 'write'. There are also lexicalized forms gut(i) and geminating t as in sillit 'whetstone' from sili- 'sharpen'. When the verbal stem ends in ar or ur, ut causes this to drop, as in piniut 'hunting equipment' from piniar- 'hunt' and anguut 'oar' from anguar- 'paddle'.

vvik (or its less productive form vik, causing gemination where possible in the preceding syllable) is usually attached to half-transitivized forms of bases that are transitive, as in singitsivia 'the place he lowered (the boat)' from singit- 'lower (e.g. a boat)', but it may be attached directly to a transitive base when the intransitive sense of the latter is reflexive/passive, thus singivvia 'the place where it (the boat) was lowered', from the same stem. Lexicalized couplets may arise this way, e.g. katirsurvik 'place of (people) gathering' as opposed to katirsuivvik 'harvest' from (transitive)

katirsur- 'gather'. In other cases the addition of affix sar of habitual action may produce a lexicalized distinction, e.g. sinivik 'bed' as opposed to sinittarvik 'bedroom', from sinig- 'sleep'. (v)vik may, especially in lexicalized forms, refer to a person rather than a place or time, as in illusimaviga 'the person I have moved in with'.

ssut is usually - though not exclusively - attached to half-transitivized bases if the verbal stem is transitive (as with most of the other affixes above), as is also the case with agentive si regularly after /t/-stems. The latter morpheme is always agent-preserving, as in tuqutsisaa 'his murderer/the person who killed him'. Lexicalized distinctions may arise with ssut in the sense 'reason for' after half-transitivized bases or simply as a variant of ut (especially after /t/), e.g. iqqartuussissut 'law-suit' but iqqartuussut 'sentence', both from iqqartuut(i)- 'judge'.

2.2.1.2.1. The Syntax of Deverbal Nouns Compared to That of a Sentence/a Non-derived Noun

Deverbal nouns are treated just like other nominals as regards inflection and syntax. For whole clauses nominalized by niq and the adjustment to the external arguments this may require see 1.1.2.2.6. For rank-shifted clauses with participial morphemes suq and saq see 1.2.5.2.10. (b).

2.2.1.3. Nouns from Adjectives

A verbal stem of adjectival nature like angi- 'big' or miki- 'small' may be nominalized by intransitive participial suq or its more lexicalized equivalent suuq: angisuq '(s.th.) big' and mikisuq '(s.th.) small'. With ssusiq the abstract quality is expressed, as in takissusiq 'length' from taki-. Nominal 'adjectival' stems must first be verbalized with u, thus nutaassusiq 'newness'.

2.2.1.4. Nouns from Adverbs

The only possibility for forming nouns from adverbs (or particles) is via a verbalization of the adverb, e.g. iluamiirniq 'doing right' from iluamik 'right/properly' (see below).

2.2.2.1. Verbs from Nouns

Verbalizing affixes may be divided into eight semantic sub-categories, all of which act in a similar manner as regards the rules for the ordering of successive affixes. They are in themselves either intransitive or (less commonly) transitive as regards the following inflection. Those that are generally transitive appear with transitive inflections in the examples given: they may be further half-transitivized as other verbal bases, e.g. iaa 'remove' from iar + i. All verbalized bases may

be further nominalized, as in:

nua-nngua-nik taku-vvi-u-niq ajur-puq
 cloud little instr.-pl. see place be nom. cannot 3s-indic.
 'Not a cloud could be seen'

See 1.2.1.2.2. (d) for the special negative construction here.

(a) Being and becoming

giig 'be mutually/in converse relationship' kammagiipput
 'they are friends'

giiaar (as above but of several) assigiiaarput 'they are
 alike (several)'

kkuminar 'be good as/for' nunakkuminarpuq 'it is (a) good
 land to live in'

For u 'be' and nngur 'become' see 1.2.1.1.1. (a) - also 1.1.2.3.1 For an example of u incorporating a plural pronominal form (taakkuulluta); for miiit/niit 'be in' see 1.2.1.1.3, and for kkuutaar '(be) arrange(d) in groups of -' (with numeral stems) see 2.1.6.5.

(b) Lacking

irut(i) 'have no more' sikuiruppuq 'there is no more ice
 (on the sea)'

irsir 'have lost one's -' saviirsirpuq 'he has lost his
 knife'

it 'not have any' saarulliippuq 'there are no cod'

ssaaliqi 'lack' atisassaaliqivunga 'I am lacking clothes'

(c) Feeling

gug 'desire/long for' kavviguppugut 'we are dying for coffee'

irsi 'freeze in one's -' qingaarsivuuq 'his nose is freezing'

liri 'have pain in' isilirivuuq 'he has a pain in his eye'

nngir 'love/like' mattanngirpunga 'I love mattak'

nngu 'have pain (weaker/less persistent);' niaqunnguvuuq 'he has a headache'

(d) Having

gasag 'be covered in/have lots of' inugasappuq 'there are a lot of people'

gig 'have (a) good' kamippagipput 'they have good shoes'
kit 'have (a) little/few' isigakippuq 'she has small feet'
lisaar 'have on (clothing)' kamilisaarpuq 'he has kamiks
 (boots) on'
lisar 'bring along/have with one' najalisarpuq 'he has
 brought his little sister along'
lug 'have (a) bad' atarlupput 'they are badly dressed'
tu 'have (a) big/lots of' sigguttuvuq 'it has a big beak'

For qar 'have' and its transitive equivalent gi 'have as' see 1.10.T (also 2.1.2.1.14 for the existential sense of qar).

(e) Acquiring

g/t 'catch/have caught' tuttuppuq 'he caught a caribou'
isur 'fetch (s.th. already placed)' tiiturviisurput 'they
 fetched (the) cups'
lirngusaat(i) 'fight over' nirisassalirngusaapput 'they
 fought over food'
niar 'hunt' aqissirniarput 'they are hunting ptarmigan'
nig 'have go/there have come' kumanippuq 'he has got lice'
nnag 'get given' ursunnappuq 'he got given some blubber'
si 'get/buy/come across' tupasissaatit 'you shall buy some
 tobacco'
siur 'look for' allusiarpuq 'he looked for a (seal's)
 breathing hole'
tar 'fetch/gather' nilattarput 'they fetched (freshwater)
 ice'

For raar 'get so many' (with numerals) see 2.1.6.5, and for the transitive (benefactive) use of si and siur see 2.1.1.4.1.

(f) Movement

liar 'go to' Qaqurtuliarpugut 'we went to Qaqortoq'
(pa)sig 'lie (far) to the' (with directional stems)
kangirpasippuq 'it is to the east'
var 'move further (in a direction.)' kujavarput 'they moved
 south'

For mukar/nukar 'go to', miir 'come from (origin)', kkuur 'go via/through' and siur in the sense 'move about on' see 2.1.1.5.1. mukar used to indicate a shorter distance than liar (or go towards'), but the distinction has more or less disappeared now. For nar 'go to' on pronominal/locational stems see 2.1.1.

5.1. (b), and for ngir 'take a position to the - of' and qgut 'pass to the - of' with directional stems see 2.1.1.5.4 ff. Affixes of movement can sometimes be added to possessed nominal bases, as in tungaasiurpaa 'he moved about near it' from tungaa 'its direction' (and cf. 2.2.6.3).

(g) Acting and seeming like

nga 'resemble' Aningavug 'she resembles Ani'

(r)palaar 'can be heard' qilaatirpalaarpuq 'one can hear a drum'

(r)palug 'seem' qavappaluppuq 'he seems/sounds like someone from the South'

sunnit 'smell of' pujursunnippuq 'it smells of smoke'

tuur 'do/act like' Ujuaatuurpuq 'he acted like Ujuaat'

usaar 'act like/pretend to be' sakkutuusaarput 'they pretended to be soldiers'

(h) Doing with and providing

iar 'remove (several things)' minguiarpaa 'he removed the dirt from it'

ir 'remove' amiirpaa 'he removed its skin'

irniar 'sell' ursuirniarpugut 'we are selling blubber'

liari 'make into a' annuraalialaraa 'she made it into an anorak'

lir 'provide with' matulirniarparput 'we are going to put a door on it'

lirsaar 'tell about' angalanilirsaarpuq 'he told of his travels'

lirsur (as lir but several things) ajuqqusirsurpaa 'he put obstacles in his way'

liur 'make' sapusiurput 'they made a dam'

liut(i) 'use as' puuliuppaa 'he used it to put things in'

llir 'serve' niqillirpuq 'she is serving meat'

mig 'touch/knock with one's -' isigammippaa 'he touched it with his foot'

rur 'hit on one's -' niaqururpaanga 'he hit me on the head'

ssit 'give' atisassipparma 'you gave me clothes'

tir 'cover/sprinkle with' imirtirpai 'he watered them'

tur 'use/eat/drink' ivviarturpugut 'we are eating rye-bread'

For the morphophonemics of affixes beginning with single /l/ here see 3.4.3. riar 'do so many times' (with numerals) has been treated under 2.1.6.5. For liri 'be concerned with' see the beginning of the first text under 1.11.1. Some of the transitive affixes in this category may be used intransitively with specialized meaning e.g. iar in the sense 'have broken/damaged' (iputaajarpuq 'he broke an oar'). This is to be contrasted with ordinary reflexive use of, for example lirsur in atisalirsurpuq 'he put his clothes on' from atisalirsur- 'dress'. Note also the lexicalized intransitive weather expressions in lir (probably the same affix as transitive lir historically) as in anurlirpuq 'it is stormy/windy' from anuri 'wind'.

2.2.2.2. Verbs from Verbs

Deverbal verbal affixes may be divided into 12 semantic sub-categories (apart from the sentential ones discussed under Tense and Mood). Some of these groups have been treated elsewhere, and only the first six correspond to what usually is termed 'derivation'. Those that are transitive in their own right (i.e. transitivize an intransitive base) are shown with transitive inflection in the examples below. Of those given intransitive examples some may precede transitive inflections also, depending on the transitivity of the base; these include juma, sinnaa, sariaqar, niar, and all affixes under groups (g) and (h) (as also affixes of aspect, and all sentential ones).

(a) Judging and saying

gi 'think/consider (too)' qaamagaa 'he thought it was (too) bright'

gissaa 'complain that s.th. is (too)' akisugissaavug 'he complained that it was too expensive'

(r)pallaq 'one can hear -ing' anirpallappuq 'someone could be heard going out'

ssanga 'think one will' sapissangapput 'they think it will be impossible (for them)'

ssangatit (as above but transitive) aallassangatippaa
'he_i thinks he_j will leave'

For tit in the sense 'think' (especially after u 'be') see 2.1.3.1.3, for (V)r 'say', which may take whole-sentence-words as its base, and niRar 'say that' see 1.1.1.1. (c), and for (ga)suri/sugi 'think that' see 1.1.2.2.2. (a). The last two may follow a sentential affix (cf. the rules under 2.2), as in:

atu-ssa-nngit-sur-aa
be-used future not think-that 3s-3s-indic.
'He thinks it will not be used'

(b) Wishing and waiting

juma 'want to' sinikkumavug 'he wants to sleep'

jumallir 'get an urge to' mulujumallirpuq 'he got an urge to stay away (hunting) a long time'

katag 'be fed up with' isirsimakatappug 'he is fed up with being inside'

rusug 'want to (a lot)' apirirusupput 'they want to ask'

tsir/tsii 'wait for' apitsirpaa 'he waited for it to snow'

(c) Causation and request. For 'double transitivizers' qqu 'ask/want to', tit 'cause/let', and t(s)aali(ur) 'prevent from', all of which may be added to transitive as well as intransitive bases, see 2.1.3.1.3, and note also sa(a)r '(try to) get to' as in kissassarpaa 'he heated it up', and qqusaar 'try to get oneself -ed' as in tuniqqusaarpuq 'he begged/tried to get people to give him something'. tit has an extension titir (or titaar) in the sense of 'severāl/bit by bit', as in:

aggur-titir-paat
divide bit-by-bit 3p-3s-indic.
'They divided it up (into bits)'

(d) Striving and intending

(gi)jartur 'go and/in order to' qisussiuriarturpuq 'he went to look for wood'

naviirsaar 'try not to' kukkunaviirsaarpuq 'he tried not to make a mistake'

niar 'try' qitinniarpunga 'I tried to dance'

niqqisaat(i) 'compete at -ing' uqilaniqqisaappugut 'we competed at running'

ssamaar 'plan/intend' katissamaarput 'they are planning to get married'

For lirsaar 'intend' see 2.1.3.4.5.

(e) Potentiality

rataannaa 'could easily' nakkarataannaavug 'it could easily fall'

siriar 'be easy/quick to' ilikkarsiriarpug 'he is quick to learn'

siriit 'be hard to' kissassiriippug 'it takes a long time to heat up'

For sinnaa 'can', llaqqig 'be good at -ing', naviir 'can no

longer', ja 'tend to', jumar 'be easy/good to' and the negative forms of the latter, see 2.1.3.4.7; for nar 'be such as to/ -able' (negative naat) see 2.1.3.1.2; and for juit '(can) never' see 2.1.3.3.2.1.3.

(f) Relation-shifters. See 2.1.3.1.2 for half-transitivizers (s)i, etc. 2.1.3.1.1 ff. for passivizers niqar and saa, 1.2.1.2.3 for ut(i) 'do with/for, etc.' and (ss)utigi 'have as reason/means for', 1.2.1.2 for vvigi 'have as time/place of -ing' and 1.3.1.4 & 1.7.1 for qatigi 'do together with' and qatigiig 'do mutually'. Note also suur 'happen to' (often in a negative sense), as in:

asirur-tuur-puq
break happen-to 3s-indic.
'It went and broke'

(g) Degree

alug 'rather/a bit' suialuppuq 'it is a bit drafty'

ngajag 'almost' tuqungajappuq 'he almost died'

(r)piar 'really/exactly' marlunngurpiarpuq 'it is exactly 2 o'clock'

qqar 'barely' annaqqarput 'they barely got away'

qqinnaar 'exactly' ilumuuqqinnaarputit 'you are completely right'

rujug 'a little' naarlurujuppuq 'he has a bit of a stomach-ache'

ruttur 'be at height of' kiatsirutturpuq 'it is at its warmest/is nice and hot'

tsiar 'a bit' sulitsiarpuq 'he worked a bit'

umi/imi 'a little (e.g. movement)' sanguumivug 'he turned aside a little'

For ngaar 'very', vik and (l)luinnar 'really', laar 'a little', kulug 'fairly', pajaar 'more or less', and vallaar 'too' see 2.1.4.5.1 ff, and for tigi 'so', niru 'more' and nirpaa/nirsaa 'most' see 1.8 & 1.9.

(h) Manner

allag 'suddenly a bit' nikalluallappuq 'he suddenly felt a bit low'

arsug 'half-heartedly' qungujuarsuppuq 'he smiled half-heartedly'

gasuar/nasuar 'quickly/hurriedly' anigasuarput 'they came out in a hurry'

innar 'only' ikaannarpuq 'he is only playing'
lirtur 'quickly/for a moment' inilirturpugut 'we finished quickly'
lluar 'well' sanalluarpaa 'he made it well'
lussinnar 'in vain' urnigutilussinnarpuq 'he came in vain'
nirlug 'badly' sananirluppaat 'they made it badly'
pallag 'quickly' anipallappuq 'he came out quickly'
pilug 'strongly' sulipilupput 'they are working hard'
riataar/riasaar 'suddenly' uqariataarpuq 'he spoke suddenly'
ummir 'all at one (of feeling)' ittuujummirpuq 'she was suddenly embarrassed'

For jaar 'early' see 2.1.3.4.6, for rusaar 'slowly' see 2.1.7, and for galuar in the sense 'formerly/in vain' see 1.11.2.2.2.2.

Note that affixes of manner, degree and aspect (i.e. 'V_{mod}s') usually follow each other in that order, though this is by no means a rigid rule: the general scope rule whereby successive affixes modify all 'to their left' is the essential factor.

(i) Others. For affixes of aspect (divisible into two semantic groupings, 'phase of completion' plus 'frequency and duration') see 2.1.3.3; for those of tense see 2.1.3.2 and for those of epistemic modality see 2.1.3.4.8 & 9. For those of negation - principally nngit 'not' - see 1.4 & 1.11.1.2; note also vinngit 'not really' but, with reversed order, nngivik 'really not/not at all'. For the distinction between sentential and predicate negation see 1.4.1. Affixes of subjective coloration have been treated under 2.1.3.4.15.

The last sub-group of deverbal verbal affixes I have called 'conjunctive'; most of the morphemes concerned also occur in other 'slots' in similar senses, but in this usage they must immediately precede the verbal inflection. A number of them have already been treated, under 1.1.2.4.2.1 for temporal adverbials, 1.1.2.4.2.3 for purpose, and 1.1.2.4.2.5 for conditional clauses; for nir(-suq) 'whether' see 1.1.2.2.4 and for gaa(-ngat) 'whenever' see 2.1.3.3.2.2.3. There are a handful which only occur in this slot, notably niaqa(-luni) 'just as/even though' (with ensuing anticlimax), (t)siisiga(-luni) 'until' and niassaqa(-luni) 'though he should have (he didn't)' (for an example of the last see 1.1.2.4.2.8).

pissanga-niaqa-luni pi-su-qa-nngil-aq
 be-keyed-up just-as 4s-cont. happen intr.part. have not

3s-indic.

'Just as he was all keyed up (for s.th.) nothing happened'

isir-siisiga-lugu uqar-tu-qa-nngil-aq
 come-in until (4s-)3s-cont. say intr.-part. have not 3s-
 indic.

'Nobody spoke until he came in'

Note also the use of nnguar 'little' and ssa 'future' with the negative contemporative mood in the sense 'without -ing':

inuulluaqu-si-nngua-rani
 say-hallo-to $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. little 4s-neg.-cont.
 'without even saying hallo'

ullu-t tama-asa aallar-tar-puq pisaqa-ssa-nani=lu
 day pl. all 3p leave habit. 3s-indic. catch future 4s-
 neg.-cont. and

'Every day he would go out, without catching anything'

Certain other affixes of this type contain a negative morpheme, such as nngikkallar(-mat) 'before' described under 1.1.2.4.2.1, but these are lexicalized combinations: V_{conj} affixes are not normally preceded by productive nngit or other affixes falling under V_s (see the rules in 2.2).

2.2.2.3. Verbs from Adjectives

Most adjectival stems are already verbal, but intransitive participial forms like mikisuk 'small' as well as nominal stems such as qursuk 'green' may be derivationally extended by various verbalizing affixes discussed above, notably u 'be' and lexicalized li/si 'become' (also nngur-) see 2.1.4.1 and 2.1.3.3.2.1.6. Affix gi ('have as' with nominals) has the sense 'consider (too)' when attached to adjectival verbal bases as illustrated in 2.2.2.2. (a); similar is naar 'consider too/find more than expected' as in:

sili-naar-paa
 be-wide find-too 3s-3s-indic.
 'He found it too wide'

2.2.2.4. Verbs from Adverbs

Adverbials in the instrumental or allative cases may, in certain forms, be verbalized by (V)r, as in iluamiirpuq 'he did it properly/did right' from iluamik and sanimuurpuq 'he went to the side' from sanimut. More productively, the ablativ case is verbalized as miiir (see 2.1.1.5.1. (c)), the equative as tuur (see 2.2.2.1. (g)), and the prosecutive as kkuur (or after 3rd person possessive marker a as guur; see 2.1.1.5.1. (b)). The same morpheme (V)r in the sense 'say' (as treated in 1.1.1.1. (c)) may be added, among other possibilities, to adver-

bial expressions, as in aammaluurpuq 'he said "more"' from aammalu. Note also the verbalization of allative forms of demonstrative stems by nar (or sometimes, north of Nuuk, ngar), as in maannarpuq 'he is coming here' and lexicalized forms like pavuunaqquppa 'he passed to the east of it' from prosecutive pavuuna plus qut (cf. 2.1.1.5.4 ff.).

2.2.3.2. Adjectives from Verbs

Intransitive participial suq can be said to derive (nominal) adjectival forms from verbal stems of an adjectival nature, e.g. ipiitsuq 'clean' from ipiit-. With certain common stems (especially of dimension) the morpheme used in purely nominal contexts (not, for example, in object clauses) is suuq: angisuuq 'big', sukkasuuq 'fast', itisuuq 'deep', purtusuuq 'high', pualasuuq 'fat' - and cf. also amirlasuut 'many'. In the instrumental case these may be used adverbially (see 1.2.1.3.1.3).

For kkajaaq 'one that is rather -' see 2.1.4.5.3.

2.2.3.3. Adjectives from Adjectives

Adjectival stems, whether verbal or nominal, may be extended with suitable verbal and nominal affixes like any other base, as in angiqisuuq 'very big' with qi 'very' and nutaangajak 'almost new' with ngajak 'almost'

2.2.4.2. Adverbs from Verbs

For affixes like innaq 'only' attachable directly to verbal bases in adverbial expressions see 1.2.1.3.1.4.

2.2.4.4. Adverbs from Adverbs

Adverbial expressions, including those consisting of case-marked nominals, may be modified by nominal affixes of degree (r)piaq and (r)luinnaq 'really/completely', (g)innaq 'only', ngajak and kanniq 'almost', ngaaq and (r)suaq 'greatly' and nnguaq /ralaannuaq 'a little', and also by a few others of subjective coloration such as palaq and kasik 'bad':

ukiar-mi-ngajak
autumn abl. almost
'almost since autumn'

aatsaa-ginnaq
for-first-time only
'(only) just now'

av-unga-rsuaq
north all. big
'(to) way up north'

maanna-ngaaq
now greatly
'right now'

tassa-ni-rpiaq
there loc. really
'right there'

uatsin-nu-innaq
us all. only
'only to us'

sani-mu-kanniq
side all. almost
'a bit to the side'

sam-unga-kasik
down-there all. kasik
'(to) down there (of s.th. annoying, etc.)'

ik-unga-ralaannguaq
over-there all. a-little-bit
'a little over there'

A number of these affixes may be found attached to inflected forms of demonstrative pronouns, as in taassumarsuup, relative case of taanna 'that/it' plus (r)suaq, and, in the plural, taakkuninngarsuaq, ablative case of taakku 'they' plus the same affix in uninflected form. kasik may even be found attached to a whole verbal sentence, as in urlungajappunga-kasik 'I almost fell over, silly me' (not common today, however).

Note also non-productive affix gu of futurity as in unnuaru 'tonight' (approaching) from unnuaq 'tonight' (already now or past).

2.2.6.1. Complex Post-positions

There are no complex post-positions as such. Post-position-like constructions consisting of a possessed locational stem have been described under 1.2.4; all of them may be used in any oblique (locational) case, e.g. ataani 'below it', ataanut 'to below it', ataanit 'from below it' and ataagut '(passing) below it'. Contemporaneous mood clauses of a post-positional nature (usually with impersonal subject) have been discussed under 1.2.4.2.

2.2.6.3. Compound Morphology

In stark contrast to the productivity of derivational affixation, the possibilities for compounding more than one independent lexical stem are extremely limited. The only such constructions are 'quasi-compounds' consisting of two nominals in apposition within a tightly bound noun phrase where internal sandhi or deletion has united them into a whole treated as an inflectional unit; they were rare in the older language. Common, but highly sporadic examples of these formations are unnumanna 'tonight' from unnuk 'night' + manna 'this', atsipaa 'cuff (of sleeve)' from atsip 'sleeve (relative case)' + paa

'its entrance', ulluqiqqa 'midday' from ullup 'day' (relative case) + qiqqa 'its middle', and the compound numerals such as arvini(q)-marluk 'seven', pronounced [arvinima^qttuk]. With the second element beginning in a vowel, note exceptional (possibly dialectal) ullumilaa 'part of the day' from ullup + ilaa (more commonly a final consonant is dropped). As an illustration of their treatment as unitary bases under derivational extension observe the following:

ulluqiqqa-siur-pugut
midday celebrate 1p-indic.
'We are having lunch'

atsipaa-ju-vuq
cuff be 3s-indic.
'It is a cuff'

Kalaalli(t)-nunaa-liar-puq
Greenland go-to 3s-indic.
'He went to Greenland'

Kalaalli(t)-nunaat 'Greenland' ('the land of the Greenlanders') is thus also a quasi-compound, the /t/ at the internal boundary being lost in all but the slowest pronunciation (cf. the end of 3.4.4.1). Though phrase-internal final-consonant deletion is common in such forms it is not limited to them (or obligatory) and thus cannot be taken on its own as a marker of such a 'compound'. Some of them (such as ulluqiqqa, Danish 'midday') are clearly glosses of Danish expressions. Characteristic of quasi-compounds is, as illustrated, their treatment as unitary bases under incorporation. Thus an affix like u 'be' cannot incorporate only the possessed constituent of an NP consisting of a relative case possessor plus possessed head (e.g. *palasip qimmiuvuq 'it is the priest's dog'); however it can incorporate such an NP that has become lexicalized as a quasi-compound, as illustrated for atsipaa above, the possessor marking also being incorporated. For miit/niit 'be in', which may act this way even with productive NPs of this form, see 1.2.1.1.3 and for the compounding of directional stems with each other and with tungi 'direction' see 1.2.4.2.

Quasi-compound formations show little sign of increasing productivity despite difficulties that may arise in connection with attempts to create pure native equivalents to Danish compound nominals. Thus in the 1978 report of the Greenlandic language commission (then: 'Landsrådpil oqaatsinut udvalgia' - see Introduction) the following unwieldy glosses of Danish maritime expressions were included:

majuartarviit allunaasa-t ningitta-kkat
ladder-pl. rope pl. let-down pass.-part.-pl.
'lodslejder' (pilot's rope-ladder)

imirpalasuusivi-up ima-a-nut uuttuut
 water-level-instrument rel. content its all. measurer
 'pejlestok' (sounding rod)

umiarsu-up usi-ssa-a-nik isumagi-nnit-tuq
 ship rel. load future its instr. take-care-of $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans.
 intr.-part.
 'skibsmægler' (shipbroker)

It seems unlikely that such terms (explanations rather than genuine lexemes) can really compete with the direct Danish loans. In some cases the commission does propose adopting a loan-word, e.g. turbiini for 'turbine', and sometimes a proposed term includes a loan-word stem plus native affixes, as in maskiinaqarvik with qar 'have' and vik 'place' for Danish 'maskinrum' (engine room). On the other hand, the derivational possibilities of single native stems is often perfectly adequate to gloss the Danish word compactly, as in the following:

kisa-qa-vik
 drop-anchor state-of place
 'ankerplads' (anchorage)

ikumma-ti-ssaq
 burn thing-for future
 'brændselolie' (fuel oil)

nuna-sia-qar-tu-qa-runnaar-sit-si-niar-niq
 land got have intr.-part. have no-longer cause $\frac{1}{2}$ -trans. try
 nom.
 'antikoloniseringskampagne' (anti-colonialization campaign)

itissusir-siut
 depth thing-for-finding
 'dybdelod' (sounding lead)

The commission is aware of the desirability of steering a middle course in these matters, exploiting the native possibilities of single-stem derivation to the fullest while at the same time not rejecting loan-words when compactness of expression is at stake. The area may be said to be controversial.

3. Phonology

3.1. Phonological Units (Segmental)

3.1.1. Distinctive Segments

The distinctive segments of Central West Greenlandic are: 13 consonants (14 for some speakers) and 3 vowels ; there are a further 3 or 4 marginal consonant segments and 2 automatically inserted glides - according to the present analysis.

3.1.2.1. Non-syllabics

3.1.2.1.1. Plosives

All consonantal segments are pulmonic egressives. All plosives are phonetically unaspirated (except as indicated).

1. Labio-labial voiceless plosive /p/. Under enclitic sandhi alternates with /m/.

2. Lamino-alveolar voiceless /t/. May be slightly palatalized in the environment of /i/ (the tongue is generally bunched in rather high position, according to Rischel 1974). An affricated allophone [tʰ] is obligatory before /i/ and optional (more weakly) word-finally, where it may also be released with slight aspiration. Under enclitic sandhi alternates with /n/. See Rischel (op. cit., p. 57ff.) for an analysis (preferable for a consistent surfacy autonomous-phonemic description) whereby the affricated allophone is given phonemic status as /tʰ/.

3. Dorso-velar voiceless /k/. Varies between post-palatal before /i/ and medio-velar in other positions (somewhat more advanced also after /i/). Under enclitic sandhi alternated with /ŋ/.

4. Dorso-uvular voiceless /q/. Intervocalic variant [x] or [χ]. Under enclitic sandhi alternates with [ŋ].

3.1.2.1.2. Fricatives

1. Labio-dental voiced fricative /v/. May be labio-labial for

some (older) speakers. Geminate /v/ is voiceless [ff]. Single /f/ may occur in loan-words and it is thus at least marginally phonemic. Rischel (op. cit.) treats this and corresponding voiceless segments found in other geminate fricatives and liquids ([x], [R], and [L] - i.e. IPA [x], [X] and [ɣ]) as separate phonemes, in order to discuss the full range of Greenlandic dialects (in the south-west they can be single segments). See also under Glides below.

2. Lamino-alveolar voiceless /s/. The tongue tip is pointed downwards. It is slightly palatalized in the environment of /i/ and may be somewhat voiced intervocalically.

(3). Apico-postalveolar voiceless /s̺/. Tongue tip upwards with some lip protrusion. This segment, found only in the central dialect area, is rapidly receding, and following the new orthography I do not distinguish it from /s/, with which it has merged for the majority of younger speakers at least.

4. Dorso-palatal voiced /j/. Alternates with the corresponding frictionless glide following /i/ (see below).

5. Dorso-velar voiced /g/ [ɣ]. Varies between post-palatal before /i/ and medio-velar elsewhere (as for /k/). Friction may be entirely lost following /i/ and /u/ producing variants close to the glide alternates of /j/ and /v/ respectively (or ∅). Geminate /g/ is voiceless.

6. Dorso-uvular voiced /r/. Alternates with frictionless [ʁ] in clusters with a following consonant causing gemination of the latter: the uvularity remains solely in pharyngeal constriction in most forms of speech. Geminate /r/ is voiceless.

(7). Glottal voiceless fricative /h/. Found only (in initial position) in loan-words and interjections.

3.1.2.1.3. Nasals

1. Labio-labial voiced /m/.

2. Lamino-alveolar voiced /n/. Slightly palatalized in environment of /i/.

3. Dorso-velar voiced /ŋ/ ([ŋ]). Varies between post-palatal before /i/ and medio-dorsal elsewhere (as for /k/). Tendency to weakening (to nasal vowel quality) intervocalically.

(4). Dorso-uvular voiced /N/. Apart from the case of /q/ under enclitic sandhi mentioned above, it only occurs as a geminate (orthographic 'rng'), as a reflex of original */nr/ or */mr/. Some speakers (mainly from outside the central area) have /rn/ or /rm/ instead.

3.1.2.1.4. Liquids

1. Lamino-alveolar voiced lateral /l/. Slightly palatalized in

environment of /i/. Geminate /l/ is voiceless (and fricative).

(2). Apico-postalveolar voiced /r/ [ɹ]. Only found in the central area, this segment occurs intervocalically in certain Nordic loan-words. Some speakers use /l/ (or /j/ or /r/) instead.

3.1.2.1.5. Glides

A weak labio-labial glide is (optionally) inserted between /u/ and another vowel, and a weak dorso-palatal one between /i/ and another vowel. They are represented by Ø in the new orthography (and in the present work) except in the sequence 'uvu'.

3.1.2.1.6. Glottal Attack

There is an automatic glottal onset to vowel-initial word forms (and a glottal element may also occur following word-final vowels). Otherwise a glottal stop occurs only in exclamatory expressions such as na'aa for the expression of pain and a'ar-'pee' (child's word).

3.1.2.2. Syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. Vowels

All three vowel segments are greatly influenced by following consonants (especially uvular and/or homosyllabic), but also by preceding ones. Lamino-alveolars produce closer allophones, uvulars more open, centralized ones. Long vowels are somewhat more open than corresponding short ones, and vowels in closed syllables are somewhat closer than in corresponding open ones; a following homosyllabic non-uvular plosive causes somewhat greater closure than the corresponding nasal or fricative. There is a tendency for short close vowels to be devoiced between voiceless consonants in open syllables (especially /ti/) - thus tikittuq [tikittɔq].

1. Close unrounded front vowel /i/. Varies from [i] (around cardinal 1) before and especially between lamino-alveolars, to [i] (its neutral realization), to [e] (around cardinal 2) after dorso-uvulars, to [e̞] before a single dorso-uvular, to strongly centralized [ɨ] before a geminate uvular or when long between uvulars.

2. Open unrounded vowel /a/. Varies from [ɛ] (above cardinal 3) between lamino-alveolars and before word-final non-uvular plosives (and for some speakers in any short closed syllable not involving a uvular), to [a] just above cardinal 4 (its neutral realization), to [a⁺] before or after a dorso-uvular, to [a] (around cardinal 5) when long before a uvular or when between uvulars. There may even be some overlapping of the /a/ allophone between lamino-alveolars and the pre-uvular allophone of /i/. There is a tendency for long /aa/ to approach [aa¹] before lamino-alveolars.

3. Close rounded back vowel /u/. Varies from central [ɯ] before and especially between alveolar plosives or fricatives, to [u] (around cardinal 8 - its neutral realization), to [o] (cardinal 7) after or before a single uvular, to [ɔ] (below cardinal 6) before a geminate uvular, especially when long.

3.1.2.3. Segments Occuring Only In Loan-words

As pointed out above, /h/ occurs principally in loan-words (e.g. helikopteri), and /r/ only so (e.g. turuujuk 'jacket', cf. Danish 'trøje' - also tuluujuk, tujuuruk and туруujuk). Non-geminate /f/ occurs only in loan-words (e.g. filmi). In non-accommodated loan-words from Danish various segments alien to the West Greenlandic system may be found, as in landshøvdingi 'lieutenant governor (in Greenland)' and rådhusi 'town hall' (from 'landshøvding' and 'rådhus') - see also 2.1.6.1. Furthermore, segments restricted to word-internal position in native words may occur word-initially in loan-words, as in viinni 'wine' (similarly with /j/, /l/ and /r/). Since the modern language simply demands less accommodation of loan-words than did the earlier language (knowledge of Danish having increased greatly in the post-war period) the term 'non-accommodated' used here may be a little misleading, and is to be understood in a relative sense. I have followed the new orthography in the present volume as regards loan-word forms that cannot be regarded as fully accommodated, and note also that I always write 'Danmark(i)' and the name I write 'Hansi', for example, will be pronounced by some speakers as Aansi. The new orthography spells Danish loan-words in Danish fashion except for older, fully accommodated forms. Much individual variation (depending on fluency in Danish) can be expected here.

3.1.2.4. Restriction of Segments to Particular Word-classes

As mentioned above, /h/ is restricted to a few interjections (such as haa 'look!'), apart from loanwords. The non-geminate uvular nasal /N/ is found only replacing word-final /q/ before vowel-initial enclitics.

3.2. Phonotactics

3.2.1.1. Word-final Consonants

All plosives may be in word-final position. They may be unexploded (especially for younger speakers), or indeed deleted, especially at phrase-internal boundaries (see 3.4.4.1). Word-final /k/ and /t/ may thus be indistinguishable: this has resulted in some confusion between instrumental case -mik and ablative -mit (which may be replaced by the former even when the final consonant is clearly articulated).

3.2.1.2. Word-initial Consonants

All plosives plus fricatives /s/ and /h/ and nasals /m/ and /n/ may be word-initial; in loan-words also /f/, /v/, /j/, /l/ and /r/.

3.2.2.1.1. Word-initial Consonant Clusters

These do not occur in native words, but note incompletely accommodated loan-words such as kristumiu 'christian' (with native affix). There is a general difference here between old loans such as palasi from 'præst' (priest) and newer ones such as unchanged præmie 'premium'.

3.2.2.1.2. Word-final Consonant Clusters

These do not occur, but in syncopated exclamations final geminates may occur, as in igg 'how sweet!' and mass 'but of course'.

3.2.2.3. Word-medial Consonant Clusters

Historical clusters (as reflected in the old Kleinschmidtian orthography) have been assimilated regressively to simple geminates except for /rp/, /rt/, /rk/, /rm/, /rn/, /rv/, /rl/, /rs/ (and /rs/) and /ts/. All except the last consist of a pharangealized geminate of the final segment, though there may be some uvular friction in some speech styles or dialects. All consonant segments except /j/ and marginal /r/ and /h/ may be geminated (voiceless allophones of fricatives only). Other combinations such as voiced /r/ plus /l/ may occur in recent loan-words. Geminate /t/ before /i/ becomes /ts/ ([tʂ]); Rischel (op. cit.) treats this on a strictly autonomous phonemic analysis as /tʂ /, parallel to his treatment of single /t/ plus /i/ as /tʂi/ (cf. 3.4.1.1).

Other medial clusters from Danish may occur in incompletely accommodated loan-words such as kristumiu and danski- [tanski].

3.2.3.1. Word-final Vowels

Any long or short (double or single) vowel, plus diphthong /ai/, may appear word-finally, though final uu is rare (interjections/particles only).

3.2.3.2. Word-initial Vowels

Any long or short vowel may appear initially.

3.2.3.3. Sequences of Vowels

Historical diphthongs (as reflected in the Kleinschmidtian orthography) have either been assimilated to long vowels (see 3.4.1.1) - except /ai/ in absolute word-final position - or have inserted homorganic glides. The following vowel sequences, separated by optional weak glides, are present: /ia/ [i^ja], /iu/ [i^ju], /ua/ [u^wa] and /ui/ [u^wi]. Sequences of more than

two vowel morae are not admitted (except in lengthened yes/no questions north of Nuuk)- a glide or a fricative being inserted to avoid such sequences arising morphophonemically (see 3.4.4.2 below). Note the possibility of vowel plus glottal attack plus vowel at phrase-internal boundaries (as in 1.2.5.2.5).

3.2.4. Coincidence of the Structure of Lexical Morphemes with the Possibilities for Word-structure

A word-internal morpheme may have initial /g/, /r/, /l/, /ng/, /v/ or a cluster not admitted word-initially. Non-word-final morphemes may end in an underlying /g/ or /r/ not admitted word-finally, though this always results by truncation or assimilation in surface segments admitted word-internally. The non-geminate uvular nasal may, as described above, only occur before a vowel-initial enclitic.

3.2.5.1. Syllabic Division of Medial Clusters

Two adjacent consonant segments (including the case of geminates) are assigned to the preceding and the following syllable respectively, and single consonant segments (medial) go with the following syllable; long vowels are never split over two syllables. In the following examples (as elsewhere in this volume) geminate /ng/ is represented orthographically by /n/ plus /ng/, as in the new orthography: as-si-giin-ngit-su-mik, mar-luk-kuu-taar-put. Syllabic division does not depend on morphological structure. A phonetic correlate of syllabic division is that single intervocalic segments have 'looser' closure and weaker articulation than the corresponding geminates, with the preceding vowel perhaps a little longer.

3.2.5.2. The Canonical Syllable Type

The canonical syllable structure is (C)V(V)(C), where VV is a long (double) vowel or word-final /ai/. The initial consonant is only obligatory following a word-medial long vowel (and see 3.3.4.1 for overlong vowels in yes/no questions). Lexical stems are usually of the form (C)V[(C)C]V(C), though there are some that are longer (and (C)V(C) may occur with certain particles at least). Non-initial morphemes may be of the form C or [(C)C]V(C) or longer.

3.2.6.1. Restrictions between Word/Syllable-initial Units and the Following Vowel

Any syllable-initial consonant segment may be followed by any vowel, except for the combination */ji/ (but note maaji [ma:ai] 'may'). The combination /a-ga/ occurs only at morpheme boundaries. /ja/ and /ju/ do not occur following /i/ and, likewise, /va/ and /vi/ do not occur following /u/ (and /u-vu/ occurs only at morpheme boundaries - see 3.4.1.3. (b)). Any word/sylla-

ble-initial vowel may be followed by any other vowel, except that */au/ and */ai/ are assimilated in the conditions described in 3.4.1.1, the sequence */iu/ does not occur word-initially (but cf. section 4), and initial /ia/ occurs almost exclusively in exclamations.

3.2.6.2. Restrictions between Word/Syllable-final Units and the Preceding Vowel

Any syllable-final consonant may be preceded by any vowel, and any single vowel in that position may be preceded by any other single vowel segment except in the case of */au/ and /ai/ (in non-word-final position in the latter case), where assimilation occurs (see 3.4.1.1 below).

3.2.6.3. Restrictions between Syllable-initial Units and Syllable-final Units or Next-syllable-initial Units

There are no restrictions.

3.2.6.4. Vowel Harmony

The only form for vowel harmony in the language concerns loan-words, especially names, as in Suulut from Danish 'Søren', where the second, neutral vowel is often represented in West Greenlandic by a copy of the vowel from the preceding syllable. A similar result may occur when an epenthetic vowel is inserted to break up a non-permitted consonant cluster as in Kunuuk (also Kunuut) form 'Knud' and pilikki 'ink' from 'blæk'. Vowel harmony of this sort is also involved in the treatment of completely accommodated loan-words such as ruujuri 'pipe' from 'rør'.

3.2.6.7. Differences between Phonotactic Patterns Allowed with Different Word-classes

See above for /N/ in connection with enclitics and word-initial fricatives found only in loan-words and interjections.

3.3. Suprasegmentals

3.3.1. Distinctive Degrees of Length in:

3.3.1.1. Vowels

All vowels may be double/long. Cf. aamma 'also' versus ammavuq 'it is open'.

3.3.1.4. Liquids

Gemination is possible as regards /l/, but the geminate is voiceless. Thus ila 'part' versus illarpuq 'he laughs'.

3.3.1.5. Nasals

All nasals may be geminated. Cf. naamik 'no' versus naammappuq 'it is enough'.

3.3.1.6. Fricatives

All fricatives may be geminated (except /j/), but the geminates are all voiceless. Cf. iga 'pan' versus iggavik 'kitchen', and asappuq 'he washes himself' versus assappuq 'it is dug'.

3.3.1.7. Plosives

All plosives may be geminated (but geminate /t/ before /i/ becomes /tsi/ as described). Cf. aput 'snow' versus appa 'guillemot'.

3.3.2.1. The Role of Stress

Stress does not play any contrastive or demarcative role in West Greenlandic. There may however be an auditory impression of relative stress on heavy syllables in connection with the intonational nucleus that covers the last morae of word forms, as discussed below (i.e. when the pitch peak of the nucleus coincides with a heavy syllable). See Rischel 1974, p. 91ff, for fluctuating judgments in the past on the status of stress in the language. The basic prosodic principle is one of quantitative 'syllable weight', as first described by Kleinschmidt (see Kleinschmidt 1851, p. 7ff.). As the latter describes it, a single vowel counts for a value of 2 and a syllable-final consonant for a value of 1, giving individual syllables values from 2 to a maximum of 5. His discussion of 'stress' can probably be reduced to the interaction of syllable weight and intonational nucleus, as suggested above, though there may be a residual factor of rhythmicity describable in terms of stress or - more likely - pitch. Some speakers at least thus appear often to use raised pitch - starting especially on the first heavy syllable of a phrase - for rhythmic or emphatic purposes, though this is not limited to specific syllables in the word and raised pitch used this way may cover any length of consecutive speech (cf. 1.11.2.1.1). The first mora of the nuclear contour is often given extra high pitch for emphasis.

3.3.3.1. Distinctive Use of Pitch

Pitch is not distinctive in West Greenlandic, but cf. the preceding as regards non-phonemic uses of pitch.

3.3.4.1. Major Types of Intonation Pattern

There are two major types of phrase-final intonational nucleus, covering respectively the last 3 or 2 morae of the phrase, namely the declarative and the yes/no interrogative types. The former (also used for q-word questions) has two important variants, one in utterance-final position before pause

and the other in imperative/exclamatory utterances. There is also a phrase-internal 'nucleus' (which may be found even before a pause) that signals non-completion of the present stretch of speech; it has an optional level pitch realization and is treated as a type of boundary rather than a contour by Rischel. The basic declarative pattern is high - low - (medium) high; it has variants with higher pitch - and greater range - for imperatives/exclamations, and with final low level pitch in utterance-final position. The yes/no interrogative pattern for the majority of speakers in Nuuk (and south) consists of a high-low nucleus, the high pitch either rising above the preceding level or continuing it (the whole utterance being at a relatively high level). Compare the following.

aasa-kkut ippirna-qar-puq/ippirna-qa-qa-aq
 summer pros. insect have 3s-indic./insect have very 3s-
 indic.

'In the summer there are (many) insects'

aasakkut ippirnaqarpuq
 (non-exclamatory utterance-final)

aasakkut ippirnaqarpa
 'Are there insects in the summer?'

aasa-kkut Kalaalli(t)-nunaan-ni qanuq kiak-siga-a
 summer pros. Greenland loc. how be-hot so 3s-in-
 ter.

'How hot is it in the summer in Greenland?' (also - ending higher - exclamatory)

pii-rit
 go-away 2s-imp.
 'Go away!'

When final syllables are clipped (a phenomenon common in Nuuk and south) the intonational peak is retained on the same mora as in the full, unclipped utterance, thus allowing statements and questions to be distinguished even with loss of the last

syllable, e.g. ippirnaqarp as opposed to ippirnaqarp, a question.

There is another pattern for yes/no questions typical of speakers from north of Nuuk; this consists of a high-low-high nucleus after lengthening of the final vowel - overlengthening if it is already long. Final diphthong /ai/ becomes /aai/ under this contour. The pitch-peak on the initial raised mora is thus in the same position as in the corresponding non-lengthen-

ed yes/no pattern:

aasakkut ippirnaqarpaa
'Are there insects in the summer?'

Hansi-p taku-aaa
Hansi rel. see 3s-3s-inter.
'Did H. see him?'

Hansip takuaai
'Did H. see them?' (versus Hansip takuai in Nuuk)

In utterances of more than one constituent all preceding material may remain at a level pitch until the nucleus (whose first mora is usually at a higher pitch than the preceding), or individual non-final constituents may be given their own nuclear contour. This may be either phrase-internal, consisting of a slight rise on the penultimate mora and return to (high) level on the ultimate mora, or phrase-final as described, giving the constituent concerned greater independence and hence emphasis (a pause may well follow). Thus aasakkut in the example sentences above could be at a level pitch with no following

pause, or appear as aasakkut (phrase-internal pattern) or

aasakkut (phrase-final), with or without pause. The latter possibility is particularly common with thematized sentence material (e.g. adverbials in initial position). Conjunctive and light adverbial constituents in sentence-initial position often carry a phrase-internal nucleus, which may be realized as a simple slight fall on the final mora (e.g. on response particles suu/aap). In fact the phrase-internal contour may be heard also sentence-finally, giving a tentative, rather diffident affect.

Intrusive or afterthought material is commonly at a lowered pitch level throughout, whereas new or emphasized material is commonly signalled by a relatively high onset to the utterance (following a relatively low preceding utterance-final nucleus). The distinction between phrase-internal and phrase-final intonation patterns may be syntactically significant when, for example, an object clause follows the main verb: phrase-internal intonation on the latter can signal that the clause - including the object of the verb- is not yet complete (which grammatically it might have been at that point). However, compare the renditions of the second text under 1.11.1 for variation here.

Rischel (op. cit., p. 186ff) distinguishes provisionally three or four types of boundary corresponding to the various

types of nuclei discussed above: /,/ dividing phonological phrases, which merges into the following (from which it may not be distinguishable), namely /;/ dividing phonological 'clauses' (signalled by general downdrift over a phrase-final contour into the subsequent material, with or without intervening pause); /./ dividing phonological sentences (followed by relatively high onset of the subsequent material consisting of new information/topic); and /./ marking utterance finality (the low-level terminal phrase-final variant). The final two morae are often devoiced in conjunction with this latter boundary. I prefer (e.g. in 1.11.1) to speak simply of phonological phrases each containing one intonational contour, as opposed to phonological 'stretches' containing one or more contour and flanked by pauses, though this is not entirely satisfactory, since a 'phrase-internal' contour may itself constitute a stretch.

What has been said above concerns the most common patterns in the central dialect area, and divergencies can be expected within sub-dialects - e.g. the phrase-final fall on the ante-penultimate mora heard in some regions (such as Paamiut).

3.3.4.2. Position of the Intonation Peak

This has been described for the various patterns in the preceding section. The highest pitch usually occurs on the ante-penultimate mora (the penultimate in the yes/no interrogative pattern for Nuuk), although the final mora may have equally high - or even higher - pitch in variant patterns with a final rise (especially exclamations). Two-syllable phrases simply have a final rise under the declarative contour.

3.3.4.3. Emphatic Intonation

As discussed under 3.3.2.1 above, higher pitch may be equated with greater emphasis in a general way, but apart from the 'exaggerated' declarative pattern used for exclamations there would appear to be no special intonational contours associated with emphasis alone as opposed to various affect-laden variants such as the combination of low pitch onset and slow speed associated with (mild) censure. A low rising pattern before the nucleus is also used for expressing nuances of (at least) irony, sympathy, incredulity and playful objection, and slow speed for admiration and the like.

3.4. Morphophonology

Further illustration of most of the morphophonemic processes discussed below (assimilation, deletion, insertion, gemination, metathesis and various alternation patterns) can be found in the section on noun inflection in 2.1.1.1.1 (and cf. also 2.1.1.8.6).

3.4.1.1. Assimilatory Processes

The general constraints on consonant clusters described above apply at morpheme boundaries. Thus a morpheme-final consonant (/k/ or /q/, or in the case of verbal bases, underlying /g/, /r/ or /t/) plus a following consonant results by productive regressive assimilation - unless the second morpheme is truncating or fusing (see below) - in the geminate of the second consonant or some alternate of the latter as described under Alternation patterns below. In the case of uvular consonant plus another consonant the uvularity remains as pharyngeal constriction at least ([^hCC]). Thus urnig + niar + vaa → urninniarpa 'he will come to him', tuqut + sinnāa + vaa → tuqussinnaavaa 'he can kill it', and Nuuk + piāq → Nuuppiāq 'the real Nuuk'. An exception to this usual pattern occurs when certain affixes (& a few verbal stems) with morpheme-final /t/ are followed by morpheme-initial /s/ to produce /ts/ after an 'i₁' (from */i/ as opposed to */ə/), where the second morpheme is a verbal inflection (or nominal equivalent) of the intransitive participial mood. The affixes concerned are negative nngit, kit 'have little' and it 'be without' and its compounds. Hence place-name Maniitsuq, literally 'rough place' from manig 'be smooth' + it + suq. This is also the case with 'half-transitivizer' si as in tuqutsivug 'he killed s.th.' from tuqut + si + vug as opposed to kunissivug 'he kissed s.o.' from kunig + si + vug (see Rischel, op.cit, p. 61ff, for the possibility of regarding this as a matter of progressive assimilation). Moreover, a morpheme-final non-uvular consonant plus /t/ before an /i/ produces /tsi/ as in naalatsippaa 'he made him obey' from naalag + tit + vaa. For regressive consonant assimilation in conjunction with deletion processes see under 3.4.2.

There is also productive progressive assimilation of vowels, whereby /a/ (or 'i₂' from */ə/) plus /i/ or /u/ → /aa/, except for word-final /ai/. Thus nuna + u + vug → nunaavug 'it is (a) land', and, with final consonant truncation, isigak + innaq → isigaannaq 'only a foot'. For vowel assimilation in conjunction with fricative insertion following double vowels see under Insertion Processes below.

There are certain cases which have been described traditionally in terms of consonant metathesis but which may better be regarded as involving bi-directional assimilation (see Rischel, op.cit, p. 279). These concern the results of historical clusters consisting of /m/, /n/ or /v/ plus /k/ (or /g/) or /q/ (or /r/) arising during a derivation in which an 'i₂' is deleted, as in sanngit 'dust particles' from sanik + it, aarrup 'walrus' (relative case) from aaviq + (u)ḡ, and unngit 'beards' from umik + (i)t. Most of these have alternative forms with uvular metathesis - e.g. aarvit from aaviq - or gemination - e.g. sannit and ummit from the other two stems; there is con-

siderable (dialectal) variation.

While most affixes are either assimilating ('additive') or not ('truncating' or 'fusing/replacive'), certain inflectional endings are only selectively so. Thus the oblique case markers -mik, -mit, -mi, etc. assimilate to preceding consonant-stem nominals except for the (large) class of 'weak' /q/-stems, as in qimmimut 'to the dog' from qimmiq + mut as opposed to irrimmut 'to the son' from irniq + mut. The difference between additive and truncating forms of the same morpheme may be significant semantically, as in the case of fourth person singular relative possession marker mi with 'strong' consonant stems: panimmi 'his daughter's' but panimi 'his daughters' (cf. 2.1.1.1).

Loan-word stems also undergo the general processes of consonant-cluster assimilation before affixes described above, in so far as they do not end in an 'epenthetic' /i/ (as is usual - see below). Thus Kunuummut 'to Knud' from Kunuuk + mut and turuujussivug 'he bought a jacket' from turuujuk + si + vug.

There are sporadic cases of historical assimilation-at-a-distance, as in qiqirtaq 'island' from *qikirtaq.

3.4.1.2. Dissimilatory Processes

There are no productive dissimilatory processes and only a few isolated traces of such a phenomenon, as probably in the case of affix (s)ari, of habitual aspect when following (certain) uvular-final morphemes, e.g. ajullaaraaq 'it is always really bad' from ajur + llar + (s)ari + (v)uq, where the final /r/ of llar has apparently been deleted (by haplology). Note also nissi 'dried fish' form *mivsi, earlier *pipsi.

3.4.1.3. Other Alternations between Segments

(a) Gemination. Single consonant segments (or \emptyset reflecting a lost intervocalic continuant) may alternate with geminates - not always corresponding directly to the single segment - in connection with certain affixes/inflectional endings. This is notably the case with plural morpheme -t (also second person singular possessive, absolutive case), relative case singular -p, and fourth person singular possessive marker (absolutive case alternate form) -i, in conjunction with 'geminating' nominal stems (a subclass of the 'weak' consonant/vowel stem class - Rischel's Noun Class 1 - traditionally termed 'strong declension'). Thus nannut, plural of nanu(q) 'polar bear', isikkat, plural of isigak 'foot', tatsit, plural of tasiq 'lake', timissat, plural of timmiq 'bird', miqqap, relative case singular of miiraq 'child', irmutsi 'his (own) mug' from irmusiq (and cf. 3.4.2 for strong consonant stem forms like aqqup, relative case singular of atiq 'name', also with a geminate). The geminate corresponding to /s/ in such cases is /ts/, to /g/ or /r/ it is /kk/ or /qq/ (though after an initial short syllable /gg/ or /rr/), whereas /j/ may become /ts/ after

an initial short syllable or /ss/ (i.e. /ss/) elsewhere, e.g. nutsat 'hair' from nujak and narassat 'baít' from narajaq (see Bergsland 1955, p. 12, for further examples). Original single fricatives 'deleted' in the absolutive case singular forms may surface as corresponding 'gemimates', as in atsit 'sleeves' from aaq, and nissut 'legs' from niu. The nature of the original single segment is sometimes obscure - thus corresponding to the last example there was probably never any historical *nisu-. Note further isolated qaannat 'kayaks' form qajaq, and also the lexicalized gemination in the plural inflection of negative affix nngit in the indicative mood, nngillat (singular nngilaq), and the regular 3rd plural indicative inflection -pput (singular -vuq/puq). Gemination of the initial consonant of the stem-final syllable of 'geminating' nominal stems (but not of those involving metathesis and/or deletion of 'i₂' such as malik ~ mallit 'wave(s)') occurs with all consonant-initial inflections except -ga 'my (singular)' and those with 'recessive' /r/ such as -(r)put 'our (singular)'; the stem-final consonant is deleted as for other weak-consonant stems before these endings, thus ukallitit 'your hares' and ukallimi 'on the hare' from ukaliq. RischeI (op. cit., p. 214-216) explains the phenomenon in terms of a complex cluster reduction rule which applies only to nominals of this class (and not affecting vowel-final stems - or ones with /s/ or internal gemimates/clusters already), compensating for loss of final 'weak' /q/ under inflection involving gemination; contemporary vowel-stems that undergo gemination may be explained in terms of a lost final weak /q/. There is considerable variation today as to precisely which nominal stems belong to this class, regularization towards non-geminating weak /q/ and strong /k/ and /t/ classes being underway. The geminating 4th person possessive marker -i (which may occur with other than geminating stems occasionally) is particularly liable to fluctuation - thus nukki 'his younger brother' stands beside nukkani and nukani, the latter being the regular combination of nuka + ni (the regular correlate of -i following non-geminating stems), and talini 'his (own) arm' is preferred to *talli, even though tallit (alongside regularized talit) is the common plural form.

Other morphemes that cause gemination in the preceding syllable are (t)i, lexicalized variant of (u)t(i) 'do with/for, etc.' (also 'instrument for-' as a nominalizer); t 'many/several do'; r 'become'; fossilized nominalizer q; viĸ 'place/time of' (as opposed to productive vik); rig 'well' and (r)lug 'badly' (more productively nirIug). None of these are productive today; see 3.4.4.1 for the result of attaching these affixes to stems involving 'i₂' historically. Note the following examples: iggavik (or igavvik) 'kitchen' from iga- 'clock'; nirriput 'they are many eating (together)' from niri- 'eat';

uummarpuq 'he came alive' from uuma- 'be alive'; uqallurippuq 'she speaks well' from uqalug- 'speak'; and sannappaa 'he made s.th. for him' from sana- 'make'. In the following forms observe the \emptyset -geminate fricative alternation illustrated above for plural nouns: pinirrarluppuq 'he hunted badly' from piniar- 'hunt'; tuggaat 'sod-cutting instrument' from tuur- 'hack into'. Note also lexicalized form rrat 'many do' corresponding to t, as in 2.1.3.2.1.13. One form of (u)t(i) above that displays gemination has been lexicalized in the productive senses of 'do for' and (nominal) 'reason for', as in kamassut 'reason for getting angry' from kamag- 'get angry'.

There is gemination of the initial consonant of demonstrative forms (except those with initial /s/, /k/ or /m/) when the anaphoric 'prefix' ta- is attached to them, as in tappika 'up there (as mentioned)' from ta + pika.

None of the gemination processes discussed above are applicable to loan-words. For gemination in conjunction with replacement affixes see under 3.4.3 below.

A few more or less productive affixes can cause gemination of the preceding vowel (i.e. lengthening plus deletion of any intervening consonant), notably (V)r 'say (or do) thus', (V)mi 'a bit', and (V)raq 'little', as in palasiirpuq 'he said "the priest!"' (from palasi); illuaamivuuq 'he moved aside a bit' (from illuar-); and inuuraq 'little man' (from inuk) as opposed to qimmiiraq 'little dog/puppy' (from qimmiq).

(b) Other alternation sets. An affix-initial /t/ alternates with /s/ following an 'i₁' (an original /i/ no longer distinct on the surface from 'i₂' - historical /a/), with or without an intervening consonant, as in piirsippaa 'he chased him away' from piir + tit + vaa (as opposed to paaritippaa 'he had him look after it' from paari₂ + tit + vaa) and itilirsuq 'beginning to wake' from itir + lir + suq (where the post-consonantal form of the latter is otherwise tuq). This may occur even when the /i/ has been assimilated as in suraarsippaa 'he caused him to finish/fired him' from suraar (*surair-) + tit + vaa, and applies also to affixes following loan-words, e.g. kavvisurpuq 'he drank coffee' from kavvi + tur + vuq. There is considerable fluctuation as regards the application of this assimilation rule today (especially further north). The only position where it never applies is word-finally. Thus aallaat 'gun' - but plural aallaasit - from stem *aullait(i₂).

Additive affixes with initial /s/ from /s/, and some with /j/, alternate with /t/ following a consonant. Thus nirisuq 'eating' from niri + suq, but tikittuq 'coming' from tikit + suq, and niri(j)uarpuq 'he ate all the time' (with the /j/ automatically defricativized intervocally here - see below) but siallirtuarpuq 'it rained all the time' form siallir + juar + vuq.

Additive affixes with initial /g/ or (most with) /j/ after a vowel-stem alternate with /k/ following a velar or alveolar stem or with /r/ following a uvular one, as in anigaluarpuq 'he went out, but...' from ani + galuar + vuq but urnikkaluarpuq 'he went to him, but...' with stem urnig-; and aallarumavug 'he wanted to leave' from aallar + juma + vuq. For the regular alternation of affix-initial /g/ with /r/ following a uvular stem see below under 3.4.3. An additive affix with initial /v/ (not just inserted following a double vowel as described under 3.4.4.2) after a vowel-stem alternates with /p/ after a consonant - except in the case of vik 'place/time' (cf. atuarvik 'school' from atuar- 'study'). Thus nirivallaarpuq 'he ate too much' from niri + vallaar + vuq but uqaluppallaarpuq 'he talked too much' with stem uqalug-. In all these consonant alternation patterns regressive assimilation applies as necessary.

'i₂' (from */ə/) alternates regularly with /a/ before vowel-initial affixes and inflections, though there is some fluctuation here today, thus either inaa or inia 'his room' from ini₂ + a. A positive exception is the case of verbal affix innar 'just' following stems ending in 'i₂', as in naammaatiinnarpuq 'it is just enough' as opposed to nominal tingirlaataannaq 'just a sail' from tingirlaat(i₂) + innaq. Note that /t/-final nominal stems other than loan-names end in /ti₂/ underlyingly, which appears as /ti/ word-internally except before 'i₂' as illustrated (and before (r)suaq - see 3.4.4.2 - or singular consonant-initial case markers - see under 3.4.1.1). For 'i₂' elsewhere alternating with ∅ see under 3.4.4.1 below.

For the alternation of specific word-final plosives with corresponding nasals before vowel-initial enclitics see 3.1.2. 1.1; note that this also applies to consonant-final loan-words, as in Suulun-una 'it is Søren!', from Suulut. The same alternations occasionally appear in 'quasi-compounds' (though phrase-internal final consonant deletion as in 3.4.4.1 is the commonest juncture phenomenon within quasi-compounds), and it regularly occurs in 'retaining' consonant-stem nominals before vowel-initial inflections (they represent a sub-class of the 'strong consonant' nominal class), though with /r/ corresponding to /q/ (as in north-west Greenland also in the enclitic case) and with the /t/~n/ alternation lacking (/t/-stems being underlyingly /ti/). Thus irnira 'his son' from irniq + a and killinngit 'limits' from killik + (i)t (both with historical 'i₂' in the second syllable). The nominalizing affix niq follows this pattern even before other vowel-initial affixes, as in ikasarnirinnaavuq 'it is only a joke' from ikasarniq + innaq + u + vuq. The retention of a morpheme-final consonant before a vowel-initial affix is otherwise rare, but can be found in lexicalized forms with ut(i) 'instrument for' or with 'half-transitivizer' (s)i after uvulars following long vowels in certain

forms: e.g. pussugutit 'pincers' from pussug- and milluurivug 'he threw s.th.' from milluur-.

Fricatives /j/ and /v/ alternate with the corresponding glides (or \emptyset) in intervocalic position following respectively /i/ or /u/, as in niriumavug 'he wants to eat' from niri + juma +vuq and tuquvug [t > qu^w > q] 'he died' from tuqu + vuq. As explained under Distinctive Segments, the new orthography does not indicate the glide except in the sequence uvu. In the same place was mentioned the (non-morphophonemic) variation between intervocalic /g/ and the two glides. In variant forms like uuaq corresponding to uuaq 'fjord cod' the plural is nevertheless uukkat, reflecting the regular /g/~kk/ alternation.

In the case of one idiosyncratic enclitic, guuq 'he/they say(s)', there is alternation of the initial /g/ (/r/ after a uvular) with /ng/ after /p/ or /t/, which is assimilated, as in aannguug 'yes, he said' from aap. There are a few other isolated morphophonemic alternation patterns with individual affixes, e.g. tsaali(ur) 'prevent from' following a vowel, but, optionally, additive taali(ur) following a consonant; tsir 'wait for' after a vowel but additive sir after a consonant; and rusug 'want to' after a vowel or uvular stem but additive gusug after other consonants. For the alternation /l/~s/ in connection with replacive affixes see 3.4.3.

3.4.2. Metathesis

Metathesis of an original sequence of continuant plus uvular has had considerable impact on the language historically, resulting in a sub-class of 'strong consonant' nominals displaying metathesis under inflection, as well as a number of lexically metathesized stems and affixes such as upirnaaq 'spring' from *upinraaq, angilar- 'return home' from *angilar-, and irmusiq (or irngusiq) 'mug' from *imrusiq. Thus relative case singular irmup (or irngup) from imiq 'water' and plural arlit from aliq 'harpoon line' with deletion of the penultimate i₂. The process is no longer productive outside of this nominal class - Kleinschmidt's 'irregular' declension - which is itself on the retreat.

There are traces of sporadic metathesis involving other than a uvular second segment, as in illit 'thou' from *ilvit, and indeed the original sequence *žg, where ž corresponds to modern /š/, must have been regularly metathesized to *gž with further assimilation to /šš/ as in aqissiq 'ptarmigan' from *aqižgiq and assak 'hand' from *ažgak. However, the extent to which metathesis plays a role in nominal inflection has been exaggerated somewhat in the past (this is traceable to Kleinschmidt's orthography). Simple regressive assimilation after the deletion of i₂ in the final syllable (or gemination in the final syllable) in many cases presents a more convincing explanation of what has traditionally been regarded as metathe-

sis. Thus nominals with final syllable consisting of a stop plus 'i₂' plus /q/ or /k/ of the tupiq 'tent' type (plural tuqqit, relative case singular tuqqup), though forming a division of the same nominal class as imiq and aliq above as regards inflectional properties, can be accounted for simply by 'i₂' deletion plus assimilation. Some inflections of stems in this class such as malik 'wave', plural mallit, relative case mallup, probably do represent the results of metathesis, however, since the relative case *mallip would be expected if gemination of the same kind as in nannut 'polar bears' from nanu(q) were involved. Affix lik 'provided with' fluctuates between a relative case form llup reflecting metathesis and one that does not - llip, with gemination. Yet others in this class may be explained in terms of bi-directional assimilation (see 3.4.1.1). For an alternative viewpoint which assumes that none of the forms above involve metathesis see Agesen 1982.

There is one regular metathesis process involving vowel plus fricative that has operated historically, namely that of */iv/ to /uj/, as in ujar- 'search' from *ivar- and in the still regular alternation of affix gi 'and so/moreover' with gu before indicative inflection vuq, etc. as in anigujuq 'and so he came out' from ani + gi + vuq.

Metathesis processes do not affect loan-words.

3.4.3. Coalescence

There is a class of 'replacive' affixes, mostly with initial /l/ (following a vowel stem), that combine with a preceding base by deleting any final consonant plus preceding vowel, losing their own initial consonant and causing gemination of the remaining consonant where possible. In the case of the remaining consonant being a /t/ (after deletion of the underlying final 'i₂' of /t/-stems) it is changed to /s/. A latent geminate continuant whose simplex is absent in the absolutive singular form of the stem (producing a surface long vowel - see under 3.4.1.3. (a)) will also emerge under this process. Thus nirisassiurpuq 'she made food' from nirisassaq + liur + vuq; atunngivuuq 'she made a sole' from atungak + li + vuq; igalassirpaa 'he put in a window' from igalaaq + lir + vaa; attasirpaa 'she put a button on it' from attat + lir + vaa; and iikirsurpaa 'he covered it with wall-panelling' from iigaq + lirsur + vaa (see also under Deletion). These are largely lexicalized today and cannot be used in combination with loan-words. However, some of them such as liri 'be occupied with' have alternative truncating forms which are still productive, hence the difference between for example the forms kigusirivuuq 'he has toothache' from kigut + liri + vuq but kigutlirisuuq 'dentist' from kigut + liri + suq. For further examples of 'replacive' affixes see 2.2.2.1 (h) and for coalescence with 4th person singular possession marker -i see

3.4.1.3. (a).

Affixes and inflections with initial /g/ (except for truncating passive participle variant gaq and alternative form ginnar 'only' for innar following syllables with a long vowel) are more weakly 'fusional', the usual pattern being as for truncating morphemes except that /g/ becomes /r/ following a uvular. Thus illugaa 'he has it as his house' from illu + gi + (v)aa but arnāraa 'he has her as his mother/she is his mother' from arnaq (and aallaasigaa 'he has it as his gun' from aallaat). Most /g/-initial inflections are fusional in this sense only following a uvular, elsewhere following the usual additive pattern, thus nirigami 'when he ate' from niri + gami and aallarami 'when he left' from aallar-, but tikiikami 'when he arrived' from tikit-. However, 1st person singular possessive -ga acts like gi above and 2nd person singular imperative -git is truncating even after /t/-stems (thus tikigit 'come!').

In a small class of additive affixes built up on singular case-inflections -mut, -mi, etc. the initial consonant alternates with /n/ following plural bases, just as the case inflections themselves, thus Nuummukarpuq 'he went to Nuuk' but Sisimiunukarpuq 'he went to Sisimiut' (plural stem). Behind the case morphemes themselves lies historical fusion of singular relative case marker p plus morpheme-initial /n/ to /m/ in the singular; in the plural the forms with /n/ are added to the singular base but probably represent the fusion of plural t plus initial /n/ historically.

For the coalescence (optional) of /aa/ + /a/ to /aa/ see 3.4.4.2.

3.4.4.1. Deletion Processes

Statistically the most common pattern of affixation is truncating, i.e. involves the deletion of a preceding base-final consonant. Most affixes with initial /q/, /k/, /ng/, /r/ or a double consonant (or cluster) or a vowel follows this pattern; those with initial /n/ or /s/ (or /ʃ/) in their post-vocalic form are usually additive, and those with initial /l/ (when not replacive), /t/, /j/, /g/, /v/, /m/ or /p/ may be either. Thus nirisassakipput 'they have little food' from nirisassaq + kit + pput and inupiluk 'bad man' from inuk + piluk (the process may apply equally to loan-words ending in a consonant, as in Suulupiluk from Suulut 'Søren'). Some of these affixes may be only selectively truncating, for example tit 'cause/let' is only truncating after /t/-stems (otherwise additive) and passive participle variant taq is so after /t/- and /g/-stems only.

The common feature distinguishing the 'weak' consonant/vowel stem nominal class from the 'strong' consonant class is the deletion of the stem-final consonant before consonant-initial inflections (with compensatory gemination of the preceding consonant where applicable). This class includes the majority of

/q/-stems and some /k/-stems, as qimmimik 'dog' (instrumental case) from qimmiq + mik and ujaqqamik 'rock' from ujarak + mik. In the 'strong' consonant class on the other hand, the stem-final consonant is only deleted (as opposed to assimilated) before vowel-initial morphemes, including singular relative case marker (u)p and plural marker (i)t, as in paniup, paniit from panik 'daughter'. This latter process applies to the weak class as well as the strong one before vowel-initial morphemes, as in qimmia 'his dog' and qimmiuvuq 'it is a dog' from qimmiq + u + vuq (See under Insertion for the vowel of (u)p and (i)t however).

There are many instances of historical loss of 'i₂' in the last syllable of stems; see 3.4.1.3 (b) for when it surfaces as /a/ - this is also the case with '/t/-stem' nominals before vowel-initial inflections and affixes as in pujurmaataa 'his pipe' from pujurmaat(i₂) + a (cf. 2.1.1.1.1). Thus anniruvuq 'it is bigger' from angi₂ + niru + vuq, qummut 'upwards' from quli₂ + mut, and paarsi- 'look after s.th.' from paari₂ + si. The sub-class of strong consonant nominals such as ati₂q 'name' aqqa 'his name', mentioned under Metathesis (cf. tupiq² 'tent' there) may also be analysed as displaying this - though an alternative synchronic description in terms of /i/ - insertion in the absolutive singular is also possible. The common verbal affix ut(i) 'do with/for' loses its 'i₂' before inflections, as in tunniukkaa 'giving it' from tunniut(i)- (< tuni + ut(i)) plus -gaa. Other /t/-final verb stems and affixes such as tuqut- 'kill' and tit 'cause/let' do not display the recessive 'i₂', which with ut(i) surfaces as /i/ before truncating (and weakly fusional) affixes.

Deletion of a more far-reaching kind occurs with the replacement affixes described in the preceding section, where the vowel plus consonant of the stem-final syllable may be lost. In the case of the affixes mentioned in 3.4.1.3 (a) that cause gemination in the preceding syllable (without necessarily involving deletion), there is a non-productive pattern (applicable to all of them except vik), whereby an 'i₂' in the last syllable of the stem goes to /a/ (and any final consonant is deleted), whereas any other stem vowel is preserved. Thus with rig 'well', kipparig- 'be cut off straight/at right-angles' from kipi₂₋ 'cut off' and qirnarig- 'pitch black' from qirni_{2r-} 'black', and quppaq 'cleft' from qupi₂₋ 'cleave' + q. With geminating variant (u)t(i) of ut(i) an 'i₂' in the preceding syllable becomes /u/, as in tingguppaa 'it flew away with it' from tingi₂₋ + (u)t(i) + vaa (and nominal kipput 'cutting instrument'₂ from kipi₂₋). There is also a related variant of usiq 'manner of -ing' which follows this pattern, as in qittasiq

'way of dancing' from qiti₂- + (u)siq. With highly lexicalized affix ni₂g/nag 'get', the nag variant appears when an 'i₂' is deleted in the preceding syllable, as in innag- take in water' from imi₂q, otherwise nig (which, as an ordinary truncating affix, is still productive). The geminating variant may alternatively be analysed as g; cf. 2.2.2.1. (e) for nnag 'get given', with which (ni)g should not be confused. There is some overlap with t/g 'catch' (cf. 2.2.2.1 (e)), the latter also causing gemination in e.g. nannuppuq 'he has caught a bear'.

Intervocalic continuant deletion was one active in the history of the language, as can be seen in such alternations as kii- 'bite' but kigut 'tooth' from *kigi₂ + ut(i), and presumably in the indicative inflections of 'i₂'-final verb stems

and affixes such as kiaqaq 'it is very hot' from kiag- plus qi₂ plus vuq and paarai 'he looked after them' from *paari₂- + vai. But this is limited to lexicalized stems and a handful of verbal affixes that are still productive, notably gi 'have as', qi 'strengthener/very', and (s)ari of habitual action, plus two important affixes that do not contain a historical 'i₂' at all,

namely qina (see 2.1.3.4.11) and the future morpheme ssa as in tikissaaq 'he will come' (alternatively regular tikissavuuq). The latter are distinguished by regular 3rd person plural inflection: ssa-pput, etc. as opposed to ga-at from gi. Note that the conditions for the deletion of /v/ in such forms are different from those of automatic glide replacement of /v/ and /j/ described in 3.4.1.3. (b) (with ssa the following /v/ is only deletable before /u/; for gi see 2.1.3.4). The initial consonant of 2nd person singular imperative -git may optionally be deleted after a vowel, as in niri(g)it 'eat!' and this is regularly the case in combination with softener gallar as in anigallaat 'go out (for a bit)'.

For optional word-final consonant deletion phrase-internally see 1.2.5.2.5. This is very common, in fact almost the rule in rapid conversational style, both when the second element begins with a vowel and with a consonant (e.g. palasip qimmia [palaseqimmia]).

3.4.4.2. Insertion Processes

Vowel epenthesis - apart from the case of (u)t(i) discussed above - arguably occurs synchronically only to break up potential word-final clusters in the case of variants -it and -up of the plural marker (or 2nd person singular possessive) -t and relative case singular marker -p respectively, although historically such a process undoubtedly lies behind such fused morphemes as -tit (thou - them/2nd singular possessor- plural possessum) from t plus t and -pit (2nd singular possessor relative case - singular possessum) from p plus t. The forms -it and -up

are found only with strong consonant class nominals (i.e. nominals to which Rischel's complex cluster' rule does not apply deleting the stem-final consonant at once), as in paniup from panik 'daughter' and aqqup from atiq 'name' and tikirup from tikiq 'index finger'.

A number of additive consonant-initial affixes and inflections have recessive consonants that appear only following vowel-stems (and /t/-stem nominals except for (r)suaq), e.g. (r)suaq 'big', (l)luinnar 'completely', (r)pallag 'act like a', and -(r)put 'our (singular possessum)', as in illursuaq 'big house' as opposed to panissuaq 'big daughter', and angutirpallappuq 'he acted like a man' from angut 'man' (but angussuaq 'big man').

There is a regular process of fricative insertion triggered by a vowel-initial affix or inflection being added to a long/double vowel, /v/ being inserted before /i/ and /j/ being inserted before /u/; before /a/ there may be contraction to a simple long vowel or /v/ - insertion. Thus /aa/ + /i/ becomes /aavi/ and /aa/ + /u/ becomes /aaju/ (though there may be lexicalized contraction as in aningaasaq 'coin' from aningaaq 'moon' plus usaq 'thing like', and note 3s-3p indicative gai from gi + (v)ai), /uu/ + /u/ becomes /uuju/ (or /uu/), /ii/ + /i/ becomes /iivi/, and /aa/ + /a/ becomes /aa/ or /aava/, as in naavi 'their stomachs' from naaq + i, qallunaajuvuq 'he is a Dane' from qallunaaq + u + vuq, puujutiga 'my bag' from puuq + uti + ga, qilviarpaa 'she removed his grey hair' from qiliq + iar + vaa, and paa/paava 'its entrance' from paaq + a (but usually only paavani, etc. with further case marker). This process works on successive vowels from left to right such that mikisuq + u + vuq is realized as mikisuuvuq 'it is a small one' but angisuq + u + vuq is realized as angisuujuvuq (alternatively also angisuuvuq) 'it is a big one', and mattak + i(j)ar + vaa is realized as mattaajarvaa 'he removed the mattak from it', although the original /j/ in iar ([iʃar]) appears only in this position (see 3.4.1.3 (b) above on glide-formation, which accounts for forms like nuui from nuuk + i). Note also annuraajarpuq 'he took his clothes off' from annuraaq + iar(puq), where there appears to be reduction of the final double vowel before the affix is attached, in contrast to paaviar- to 'remove soot' from paaq + iar.

With vowel-initial enclitics the inserted segment is always /j/, which may occur also after single vowels in the stem, thus urnippaajaasiit 'he came up to him as usual' and after single /a/ urnippaangaasiit/urnippaangajaasiit 'he came up to me as usual', with enclitic aa*i*iit 'as usual'. /j/ is also inserted between deictic 'prefix' aa- and a vowel-initial demonstrative, as in aajuna (or aana by contraction) 'that one there' and aajanna 'that one over there in the north'. Note exclamation [aaʃiia] for aaila (alternatively with hiatus and glottal onset to the second component).

Recent loan-words not already ending in a vowel have a final /i/ added, even when not fully accommodated into the language, as in ækvatori 'equator' and administratióni. This final /i/ usually acts as an 'i₁' morphophonemically, except in certain forms like tii 'tea', as can be seen by adding /t/-initial affixes: thús kavvisurpuq 'he drank coffee' but tiiturpuq 'he drank tea' (from tur 'drink/eat/use'); usage varies with some stems like kaagi 'cake' (forms like kaagiturpuq are gaining ground here). The final /i/ in such words (even if questionably analysable as 'i₂') does not trigger the 'i₂' + /a/ → /aa/ rule. In effect all loan-words belong to the regular weak consonant/vowel class (including those relatively few ending in a /q/ such as franskiq 'Frenchman') - except for some old /k/-stem loans (like turuujuk) belonging to the regular strong class. Loan-words are verbalized by r, as in filmirpuq 'he went to a film'; there are only a couple of non-derived Danish verbs that have gone straight into the language, like sipaarpug 'he saves' from 'spare'.

3.4.5. Reduplication

The only instances of word-internal reduplication concern the repetition of whole affixes for semantic affect, notably with ruju(ruju)ssuar 'enormously' and aspectual affixes juar 'continually' (cf. 1.11.2.1.1.4) and sar (repetition); the reduplicated form of the latter is usual in conjunction with the passive participle: sartagaq rather than just *sagaq.

3.5. Suprasegmental Morphophonology

West Greenlandic has no phonemic stress or tone. The only segmental changes occasioned by different intonation contours have been described above: see 3.3.4.1 for the devoicing commonly associated with the utterance-final pattern and for the lengthening of the final mora/syllable in yes-no questions north of Nuuk. There may be a connection between the clipping of final syllables mentioned in 3.3.4.1 and intonational contour.

4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

The language does not appear to have many transparently onomatopoeic lexemes, though doubtlessly some words - especially ones referring to natural phenomena - are of this origin, for example certain bird names such as aaguuq 'eider duck' and taatiraaq '3-toed gull'. Amongst hunters there are various decoy and dog-team calls, which vary somewhat from region to region (principally used outside of the central dialect area). Thus iuu 'to the left!' (cf. 3.2.6.1 for the initial vowel combination) and ili(iliili) 'to the right!' used with dogs. Apart from these, some interjections are also unusual phonologically, for example haa 'look!', ta 'listen/what's that?', and na'aa 'ouch!' (cf. 3.2.5.2 for syllable-type, 3.1.2.1.2 for /h/, and 3.1.2.1.6 for the glottal catch). See 1.1.1.4 for further examples of interjectional particles.

5. LEXICON

5.1. Structured Semantic Fields

5.1.1. Kinship Terminology

Any relative is referred to as ila or iqqarliq (and cf. ilaqutariit, pl. 'family' - as opposed to inuqatigiit 'household (under one roof)'). The following kinship terms are mostly found in possessed forms when not used in direct address (cf. 2.1.1.4.28). Note also the terms atiiq 'namesake' and atsiaq 's.o. named after a recently deceased person'.

5.1.1.1. By Blood

1. 'parents' angajuqqaat, pl.
2. 'child' qiturnaq (note also angajulliqutaa 'his oldest child and nukarliqutaa 'his youngest child')
3. 'father' angut(i) (hypocoristic = ataata)
4. 'mother' arna(q) (hypocoristic = anaana)
5. 'son' irniq (irniriit, pl. = father and son)
6. 'daughter' panik (panigiit, pl. = mother and daughter)
7. 'sibling' qatanngut
8. 'cousin' illuq (more remote = illuusaq)
9. 'nephew/niece' jurnguq/suraluaq (the former a loan-word specific to Nuuk; see Bergsland 1955, p. 144, for other terms now out of use)
10. 'older sibling - same sex' angaju(q)
11. 'younger sibling - same sex' nuka(q) (nukariit = brother and sister)
12. 'girl's older brother' ani
13. 'boy's younger sister' naja(k) (najagiit, pl. = brother and younger sister)

14. 'boy's older sister' aliqa(q)
15. 'girl's younger brother' aqqu(aq)
16. 'father's brother' akka(k)
17. 'father's sister' atsa(k)
18. 'mother's brother' anga(k)
19. 'mother's sister' aja
20. 'grandfather' aata(k)
21. 'grandmother' aana(q)
22. 'grandchild' irnutaq/irngutaq
23. 'great grandfather' aataqqiut
24. 'great grandmother' aanaqqiut
25. 'greatgrandchild' irnutaqqiut/irngutaqqiut
26. 'ancestor' siuliq
27. 'descendent' kinguaaq

5.1.1.2. By Half-blood/Affiliation

1. 'step-brother' qatanngutissaq
2. 'step-sister' qatanngutissaq arnaq
3. 'step-father' angutissaq
4. 'step-mother' arnassaq
5. 'step-son' irnissaq
6. 'step-daughter' panissaq

5.1.1.3. By Marriage

1. 'spouse' aappa(a) (also saniliaq; couple = aappariit, pl.)
2. 'husband' ui
3. 'wife' nuliaq
4. 'spouse's father' saki
5. 'spouse's mother' saki arnaq
6. 'son's/brother's wife' ukuaq
7. 'spouse's sibling' sakiatsiaq (for older terms for spouse's sibling and child's spouse's parent see Bergsland, op. cit.)
8. 'daughter's/sister's husband' ningaaq

5.1.1.4. By Adoption/Fostering

1. 'foster brother' qatanngutisiaq
2. 'foster sister' qatanngutisiaq arnaq (also najassiaq for boy's younger foster sister)
3. 'foster father' angutisiaq
4. 'foster mother' arnarsiaq
5. 'foster son' irnirsiaq
6. 'foster daughter' panissiaq

5.1.2. Colour Terminology

1. 'white' qaqr- (pure white = qaqqurig-)
2. 'black' qirnir- (pitch black = qirnarig-)
3. 'grey' qasir- (dust-coloured)
4. 'brown' kajur- (e.g. brown dog, mould, etc.)
5. 'yellow' sungaar- (e.g. withered grass; from sungaq 'gall')
6. 'red' aappalug-/aappalaar- (blood-coloured; reddish = aappilag-)
7. 'green' qursuk (e.g. grass in summer, also yellowish-green; related to quuq 'urine')
8. 'blue' tungujur- (berry-coloured; from tungu- 'sweet')
9. 'violet' tunguusaq (i.e. bluish)
10. 'shiny white' qaallurig- (e.g. snow or waves catching the light; from qaa- 'bright')

5.1.3. Body parts

1. 'body' timi
2. 'upper half of body' kiak
3. 'chest' sakissat, pl. (rib cage = sakiak; upper part of chest (where chin fits) = manu)
4. 'breast (woman's)' iviangiq
5. 'back' qatigak/tunu (whole of rear of body; also back of hand)
6. 'backside/rump' nullut, pl./iqquq
7. 'anus' itiq/irluk
8. 'shoulder' tui
9. 'area between shoulder-blades' aariak

10. 'belly' nassat, pl.
11. 'nipple' mulik
12. 'navel' qalasiq
13. 'armpit' uniq
14. 'small of back/lumbar vertebrae' kutsiniq
15. 'loins' kujak/makisik
16. 'shoulderblade' kiasik
17. 'joint' nagguaq
18. 'limbs' avatit, pl.
19. 'abdomen' akuaq/aqajak
20. 'waist' qitiq (area above hips = tartunaq)
21. 'midriff' kanajaat
22. 'head' niaquq (skull = niaquusaq)
23. 'face' kiinaq
24. 'eye' isi
25. 'ear' siut
26. '(his) nose' qinga(i), pl.
27. 'mouth' qaniq
28. 'tongue' uqaq
29. 'tooth' kigut
30. 'lip' qarluq (upper lip = kakkiviaq)
31. 'cheek' uluaq/irsaq
32. 'chin' talluq (underneath of chin = qaqirluk)
33. 'beard/moustache' umik
34. 'hair' nutsat, pl. (nujaq = single hair)
35. 'brow' qaaq
36. 'neck' qungasiq
37. 'back of neck' tunusuk/pukusuk (nape = qaratsirvik)
38. 'throat/windpipe' turluk (uvula = nirilittaq)
39. 'lower jaw' alliruaq
40. 'nostril' surluk/qingaaq
41. 'eyelashes' qimirissat, pl.
42. 'eyebrow' qallu

43. 'gum' ikkik
44. 'brain' qarasiq
45. 'palate' qilaaq
46. 'larynx/throat' tuqqusaaq/quuqqaq
47. 'corner of mouth' iqiq
48. 'space between eyes/nose bridge' qinnguq/akuliaq
49. 'temple' tulliq
50. 'crown of head' kassiq (back of head = avaaq)
51. 'gullet' iggiaq
52. 'arm' taliq
53. 'hand' assak
54. 'finger' inuaq
55. 'thumb' kulluq
56. 'index finger' tikiq
57. 'middle finger' qitirliq
58. 'ring finger' mikiliraq
59. 'little finger' iqiqquq
60. 'nail' kukik
61. 'wrist' pavvik/passik
62. 'forearm' assaat
63. 'upper arm' assaqquq (biceps = katsuaq)
64. 'elbow' ikusik
65. 'palm' itumak
66. 'leg' niu (plural = nissut)
67. 'foot' isigak
68. 'toe' isikkap inuaa
69. 'big toe' putuguq
70. 'heel' kimmik
71. 'knee' siiqquq
72. 'ankle/instep' singirniq
73. 'thigh' uppatt/qutturaq (also thigh bone) (lap = saaq)
74. 'shin' kanaaq
75. 'calf' nakasunnaaq
76. 'sole' aluq

77. 'hamstring' nallu
78. 'heart' uummat
79. 'liver' tinguk
80. 'stomach' aqajaruq (pit of stomach/solar plexus =
ikkutsiq/irsaruq)
81. 'kidney' tartu
82. 'gut' inalugaq
83. 'lungs' puak
84. 'blood' aak
85. 'vein' taqaq
86. 'skin' amiq
87. 'bladder' nakasuk
88. 'nerve' sianiut
89. 'tendon/muscle' nukik
90. 'flesh' uinik
91. 'guts/intestines' irlaviit, pl.
92. 'female sexual organs' utsuut, pl.
93. 'penis' usuk
94. 'testicle' issuk
95. 'womb' illiaq
96. 'pubis' ingiq
97. 'pubic hair' tingit, pl.
98. 'crotch' akulaaq (groin = imiqqutak)
99. 'bone' saaniq
100. 'spine' qimirluk
101. 'collarbone' qutuk (hollow above collarbone = niisuraq)
102. 'rib' najungasuq
103. 'small rib (not reaching breastbone)' tulimaaq
104. 'pelvic girdle' kuutsiq
105. 'hip' sivviaq
106. 'breast-bone' tunirsuk

5.1.4. Cooking Terminology

1. 'cook' iga-

2. 'boil' uut- (meat/fish boiling in pot = uuiq)
3. 'be boiling/boil (egg)' qalag-
4. 'simmer' qalarusaar-
5. 'fry/roast' siat-
6. 'cook over blubber lamp' qulissir-
7. 'prepare food' nirisassiur-
8. 'flense' pilag-
9. 'grill on flat stone' saattuliur-
10. 'steep/soften' aqilisar-
11. 'crush/break up' asirurtir-
12. 'cut into pieces/divide up' aggur-
13. 'separate (e.g. pieces of frozen meat)' kaanngartit-
14. 'slice' kilit-/kitsiri-
15. 'cut in two' avig-
16. 'cleave/split' qupi-
17. '(hang fish out to) dry' panirsir-
18. 'dry (fish/meat for winter)' panirtuli- (prepare dried meat = nikkuli-)
19. 'grease with blubber oil' ursur-
20. 'eat blubber along with' ursirsur-
21. 'raw' uuqanngit-
22. 'heat up' uunnag-
23. 'well-cooked' uuqqig-
24. 'be burnt' uu-
25. 'pound oil out of frozen blubber' kaavar-
26. 'bake bread' ivviur-
27. 'skin (not sea-mammal)' amiir-
28. 'fetch from winter store' qimatusar-
29. 'eat frozen meat' quartur-
30. 'smoke' pujuur-
31. 'leave to ferment' mikiarsir-
32. 'remove mattak (from whale)' mattaajar- (massag- = remove skin plus blubber from a seal)
33. 'ladle/dish out' qalu-

34. 'serve food' sassaa-
35. 'gut' irlaviir-
36. 'split fish for drying' tisa-
37. 'let congeal' issursir- (kinirsar- = thicken)
38. 'peel' qalipaajar-
39. 'put (kettle, etc.) on' ikkut- (iggasir- = put pot on - e.g. over traditional blubber lamp)
40. 'melt' aatit-
41. 'hack up' tuggar-
42. 'dip in' misug-
43. 'freeze' qiritit-
44. 'slit up along belly' siig-
45. 'scale' tataajar-
46. 'salt' tarajurtir-
47. 'put meat/fish into pot' uullir- (uulli- = cut up meat/fish to put in pot)
48. 'prepare a hot drink' kissartuliur-

5.1.5. Winds and Directions

The following directional words refer to the configuration of the coastline (though the first four - in 3rd singular possessed form - may be used to gloss non-native terms for absolute north, west, east and south). Thus kiti- for example can indicate north, northwest, southwest, etc. depending on the side of the fjord on which one is standing, the common feature being 'away from the coastline'. Directions are therefore reversed on the east coast of Greenland, the term for 'north' referring to the south, etc.

1. 'north/up the coast' avanna
2. 'west/towards the sea' kitaa
3. 'east/inland' kangia (also, of East Greenland, tunua)
4. 'south/down the coast' kujataa
5. 'southeast' kujataata kangikannia
6. 'southwest' kujataata kitikannia
7. 'northeast' avannaata kangia
8. 'northwest' avannaata kitikannia
9. 'southerly wind' kiganngaq/kujasik

10. 'southerly/southwesterly wind' nigiq (corresponding breeze = nirraannguaq)
11. 'southwesterly wind' kujasik kippasik
12. 'southeasterly wind' kujasik kangisik
13. 'easterly wind' assarniq/kangisik
14. 'northerly wind' avannaq
15. 'northwesterly wind' avannaq kippasik
16. 'north-northwesterly wind' avannaq kippasiartuq
17. 'northeasterly wind' avannaq kangisik/tamakkii
18. 'north-northeasterly wind' avannaq kangisiartuq
19. 'westerly wind' kanannaq/kippasik
20. 'land wind/föhn from inland' nunasarniq/saqqarsarniq
21. 'fjord wind' isirsarniq
22. 'sea breeze' imarsarniq
23. 'morning breeze' ullaarsarniq
24. 'wind away from land' saavisarniq
25. 'wind' anuri
26. 'gale' anursarik/anurirsuaq
27. 'fresh wind' anursaaq
28. 'whirlwind/squall' anuraasuaq
29. 'draft/breeze' suiq/suialaaq
30. 'violent wind (from inland)' pituraq
31. 'foggy wind' pujursarniq
32. 'sea wind' tipisarniq

5.1.6. Seasons

1. 'spring' upirnaaq
2. 'summer' aasaq (midsummer = aasarinniq)
3. 'autumn' ukiaq
4. 'winter' ukiuq (midwinter = ukiurinniq)
5. 'early spring' upirnassaaq
6. 'early autumn' ukiassaaq
7. 'winter darkness/polar night' kapirlak
8. '(period of) midnight sun' siqirngup tarrissaarvia

5.1.7. Snow and Ice

1. 'sea-ice' siku (in plural = drift ice)
2. 'pack-ice/large expanses of ice in motion' sikursuit, pl. (compacted drift ice/ice field = sikut iqimaniri)
3. 'new ice' sikuliaq/sikurlaaq (solid ice cover = nutaaq)
4. 'thin ice' sikuqaq (in plural = thin ice floes)
5. 'rotten (melting) ice floe' sikurluk
6. 'iceberg' iluliaq (ilulissap itsirnga = part of iceberg below waterline)
7. '(piece of) fresh-water ice' nilak
8. 'lumps of ice stranded on beach' issinnirit, pl.
9. 'glacier'(also ice forming on objects) sirmiq (sirmirsuaq = Inland Ice)
10. 'snow blown in (e.g. doorway)' sullarniq
11. 'rime/hoar-frost' qaqurnak/kanirniq/kaniq
12. 'frost (on inner surface of e.g. window)' iluq
13. 'icy mist' pujurak/pujuq kanirnartuq
14. 'hail' nataqqurnat, pl.
15. 'snow (on ground)' aput (aput sisur̥tuq = avalanche)
16. 'slush (on ground)' aput masannartuq
17. 'snow in air/falling' qaniit (qanik = snowflake)
18. 'air thick with snow' nittaalaq (nittaallat, pl. = snowflakes; nittaalaq nalliutiqattaartuq = flurries)
19. 'hard grains of snow' nittaalaaqqat, pl.
20. 'feathery clumps of falling snow' qanipalaat
21. 'newfallen snow' apirlaat
22. 'snow crust' pukak
23. 'snowy weather' qannirsuq/nittaatsuq
24. 'snowstorm' pirsuq/pirsirsursuaq
25. 'large ice floe' iluitsuq
26. 'snowdrift' apusiniq
27. 'ice floe' puttaaqaq
28. 'hummocked ice/pressure ridges in pack ice' maniillat/ingunirit, pl.
29. 'drifting lump of ice' kassuq (dirty lump of glacier-calved

ice = anarluk)

30. 'ice-foot (left adhering to shore)' qaannguq
31. 'icicle' kusugaq
32. 'opening in sea ice' imarnirsaq/ammaniq (open water amidst ice = imaviaq)
33. 'lead (navigable fissure) in sea-ice' quppaq
34. 'rotten snow/slush on sea' qinuq
35. 'wet snow falling' imalik
36. 'rotten ice with streams forming' aakkarniq
37. 'snow patch (on mountain, etc.)' aputitaq
38. 'wet snow on top of ice' putsinniq/puvvinniq
39. 'smooth stretch of ice' manirak (stretch of snow-free ice = quasaliaq)
40. 'lump of old ice frozen into new ice' tuaq
41. 'new ice formed in crack in old ice' nutarniq
42. 'bits of floating ice' naggutit, pl.
43. 'hard snow' mangiqqak/manngikaajaaq
44. 'small ice floe (not large enough to stand on)' masaaraq
45. 'ice swelling over partially frozen river, etc. from water seeping up to surface' siirsinniq
46. 'piled-up ice-floes frozen together' tiggunnirit
47. 'mountain peak sticking up through inland ice' nunataq
48. 'calved ice (from end of glacier)' uukkarnirit
49. 'edge of the (sea) ice' sinaaq

5.1.8. The Kayak and its Equipment

1. 'kayak' qajaq (also = kayak plus man in it)
2. 'kayak skin/covering' qaannap amia (skin to sit on inside kayak = irngalisaq)
3. 'kayak ring/cockpit (for man to sit in)' qaannap paa
4. 'kayak rib' tippik
5. 'keel' kujaaq
6. 'curved cross tree in front of kayak ring' masak
7. 'sternpost' niutaaq
8. 'gunwale' apummak

9. 'front part of kayak' siu
10. 'back part of kayak' kingu
11. 'front tip of kayak' usuusaq
12. 'cross-strap' taqqaq (taqqarmiu = 'kayak knife' kept there)
13. 'paddle' paatit, pl.
14. 'ice-scraper' sirmiirsiut
15. 'harpoon (shaft)' unaaq
16. 'harpoon (shaft) - barbed' irnannaq
17. 'bird dart' nuvvit, pl. (aligaq = bladder dart)
18. 'kayak stand (for coiled line)' asallut, pl.
19. 'harpoon rest (barb on kayak stand)' unarrirvik
(assagiikkut = harpoon knob to hold harpoon in position)
20. 'harpoon head' tuukkaq (ulu = blade)
21. 'foreshaft of harpoon - detachable' igimaq
22. 'harpoon line' aliq
23. 'float' avataq
24. 'large lance' anguigaq
25. 'small lance' kapuut
26. 'throwing board (for harpoon)' nursaq
27. 'kayak suit (attached to kayak ring)' tuilik
28. 'kayak equipment' saaqqutit, pl.
29. 'wound plug (for seal, etc.)' simiaq
30. 'ice pick' tuuq
31. 'ivory fittings on ends of kayak paddle' kallut, pl.
32. 'towing equipment' kalutit, pl. (towing line = kallut)
33. 'gun cover on kayak' puurtaq
34. '(white) shooting screen (on foredeck of kayak)' taalutaq

5.1.9. The Traditional Peat Hut

The term illu covers any kind of dwelling, including the traditional peat-walled hut. illuigaq is a snow-house (not used as long-term dwellings anywhere in Greenland today).

1. 'wall (outer, of peat and stone, etc.)' qarmaq
2. 'inner wall (covering)' iigaq (aalisaq = skin wall-covering)

3. 'floor' natiq
4. 'ceiling' qilaaq (roof = illup qaa)
5. 'ventilation hole in roof' qingaq
6. 'sleeping platform' illiq
7. 'window (e.g. of stretched gut-skin)' igalaaq
8. 'drying rack (over lamp)' innisaq
9. 'skin for sleeping platform' qaaq
10. 'space below sleeping platform' qaaniq
11. 'rear wall (behind sleeping platform)' kilu
12. 'side wall' ungat
13. 'side room/compartment' qarajaq
14. 'edge of sleeping platform' killisaat
15. 'entrance passage' tursuuq (external entrance = paaq)
16. 'inner (sunken) end of entrance passage (from which one must climb into the interior)' katak
17. 'side platform (for blubber lamp, etc.)' ippat
18. 'roof timber' aaviq (main beam = tuusaaq)
19. 'kitchen recess in entrance passage' igaliq
20. 'blubber lamp (on side platform)' qulliq (additional one on floor = alliq)
21. 'cooking pot suspended over blubber lamp' qulissiut
22. 'storage room (for food)' piquisivik
23. 'place (wall bench) opposite sleeping platform (along front wall)' ukkaq

5.2. Basic Vocabulary

1. 'all' tamar-
2. 'and' -lu (cf. 1.3.1.1.1)
3. 'animal' uumasuq/nirsut (land animal)
4. 'ashes' arsat,pl.
5. 'at' -ni (locative case)
6. 'back' qatigaq/tunu (of whole body)
7. 'bad' ajur-
8. 'bark' urpiup amiraa

Lexicon

9. 'because' (causative mood - cf. 2.1.3.4.2)
10. 'belly' nassat pl.
11. 'big' angi-
12. 'bird' timmiaq
13. 'bite' kii-
14. 'black' qirnir-
15. 'blood' aak
16. 'blow' supi-
17. 'bone' saaniq
18. 'breast' sakissat, pl./(woman's) iviangiq
19. 'breathe' anirsaar-
20. 'burn' iku(ma)-
21. 'child' miiraq/qiturna (s.o.'s offspring)
22. 'claw' kukik
23. 'cloud' nuiaq
24. 'cold' issig-(of weather)/qiaa- (human)/nillir- (to touch)
25. 'come' aggir- (be coming)/tikit- (have come/arrived)/urnig- (approach/turn to)
26. 'count' kisit-
27. 'cut' kilir- (self)/kigar- (score)/kipi- (off)
28. 'day' ulluq
29. 'die' tuqu-
30. 'dig' assag-
31. 'dirty' ipirtu- (body)/mingug- (mud, etc.)
32. 'dog' qimmiq
33. 'drink' imir-
34. 'dry' panir-
35. 'dull' ikkiit-
36. 'dust' pujuralak
37. 'ear' siut
38. 'earth' issuq
39. 'eat' niri-
40. 'egg' mannik
41. 'eye' isi

42. 'fall' nakkar-
43. 'far' ungasig-
44. 'fat/grease' ursuq (sea mammal)/tunnuq (caribou)
45. 'father' angut(i) (in possessed forms)/ataata
46. 'fear' irsi-
47. 'feather' miqquq
48. 'few' ikig-
49. 'fight' paa-
50. 'fire' inniq
51. 'fish' aalisagaq
52. 'five' tallimat, pl.
53. 'float' putta-
54. 'flow' kuug-
55. 'flower' naasuq
56. 'fly' tingi-
57. 'fog' pujuq
58. 'foot' isigak
59. 'four' sisamat, pl.
60. 'freeze' qiri-
61. 'fruit' inirititaq
62. 'full' ulikaar-
63. 'give' tuni-
64. 'good' ajunngit-
65. 'grass' ivikkat, pl.
66. 'green' qursuk
67. 'guts' irlaviit, pl.
68. 'hair' nutsat, pl./miqquq (animal/body)
69. 'hand' assak
70. 'he' una
71. 'head' niaquq
72. 'hear' tusaa-/(hear about) tusar-
73. 'heart' uummat
74. 'heavy' uqimaat-
75. 'here' maani

Lexicon

76. 'hit' patig- (with hand)/iqqur- (target)/anaa- (with stick, etc.)
77. 'hold/take' tigu-/tigummiar- (hold)
78. 'horn' nassuk
79. 'how' qanuq
80. 'hunt' piniar-
81. 'husband' ui
82. 'I' uanga
83. 'ice' siku (on sea)/nilak (lump of fresh -) (cf. 5.1.7)
84. 'if' (conditional mood)
85. 'in' -mi/iluani (cf. 2.1.1.5.1 (a) and 2.1.1.5.3)
86. 'kill' tugut-
87. 'knee' siiqquq
88. 'know' ilisima-/nalunngit-
89. 'lake' tasiq
90. 'laugh' illar-
91. 'leaf' pilutaq
92. 'leftside' saamik
93. 'leg' niu
94. 'lie/be lying' nala-
95. 'live' inuu-
96. 'liver' tinguk
97. 'long' taki-
98. 'louse' kumak
99. 'man/male' angut
100. 'many' amirla-
101. 'meat/flesh' niqi/uinik (human flesh)
102. 'moon' qaammat
103. 'mother' arna(q) (in possessed forms)/anaana
104. 'mountain' qaqqaq
105. 'mouth' qaniq
106. 'name' atiq
107. 'narrow' amit-/nirukit- (of fjord, etc.)
108. 'near' qanig-

109. 'neck' qungasiq
 110. 'new' nutaaq
 111. 'night' unnuaq
 112. 'nose' qinga(q) (in possessed plural forms)
 113. 'not' -nngit- (see 1.4)
 114. 'old' utuqqaq (human)/pisuqqaq (thing)
 115. 'one' ataasiq
 116. 'other' alla
 117. 'person' inuk
 118. 'play' pinnguar-
 119. 'pull' amu-
 120. 'push' ajag-
 121. 'rain' sialuk
 122. 'red' aappalug-
 123. 'right/correct' ilumuur-
 124. 'rightside' talirpik
 125. 'river' kuuk
 126. 'road' aqqusiaq
 127. 'root' surlak
 128. 'rope' allunaasaq
 129. 'rotten' aasima-
 130. 'round' ammalur-
 131. 'rub' tagiar-
 132. 'salt' taratsut, pl.
 133. 'sand' siuqqat, pl.
 134. 'say' uqar-
 135. 'scratch' qitsug- (animal)/kigar- (score)
 136. 'sea' imaq
 137. 'see' taku-
 138. 'seed' naatsiassaq
 139. 'sew' mirsur-
 140. 'sharp' ipig-
 141. 'short' pukit-
 142. 'sing' irinarsur-

Lexicon

143. 'sit' issia-
144. 'skin' amiq
145. 'sky' qilak
146. 'sleep' sinig-
147. 'small' miki-
148. 'smell' tipi
149. 'smoke' pujuq/isiq (indoors)
150. 'smooth' manig-
151. 'snake' pulatiriaarsuk
152. 'snow' aput (on ground)/qaniit, pl. (falling), etc.
(cf. 5.1.7)
153. 'some' arlallit, pl. (several)/ilaat, pl. (some of them)
154. 'spit' qisir-
155. 'split' qupi-
156. 'squeeze' pussug-
157. 'stab/pierce' kapi-
158. 'stand' qiqar- (human)/napa- (upright)
159. 'star' ulluriaq
160. 'stick' ajaappiaq (instrument)
161. 'stone' ujarak
162. 'straight' narlu-
163. 'suck' milluar-
164. 'sun' siqiniq
165. 'swell' pullag-
166. 'swim' nalug-
167. 'tail' pamiuq (land animal)/pupik (bird)/sarpik (whale)
168. 'that' una
169. 'there' uani
170. 'they' uku, pl.
171. 'thick' issu-
172. 'thin' saat-/salug-(person)
173. 'think' isur'aqar-
174. 'this' mann.
175. 'thou' illit

176. 'three' pingasut, pl.
 177. 'throw' miluriar-/igit- (away)/nalug- (away from self)
 178. 'tie' qilir(sur)-
 179. 'tongue' uqaq
 180. 'tooth' kigut
 181. 'tree' urpik
 182. 'turn' sangu- (direction)/kaajallag- (rotation)
 183. 'two' marluk, pl.
 184. 'vomit' miriar-
 185. 'walk' pisug-
 186. 'warm' kiag- (air/water, etc.)/kissar- (radiant/body)
 187. 'wash' asag- (self/floor, etc.)/irur- (clothes/dishes)/irmig- (face)
 188. 'water' imiq (fresh)/tarajuq (salt)
 189. 'we' uagut, pl.
 190. 'wet' masag-
 191. 'what' suna
 192. 'when' qaqugu (future)/qanga (past)
 193. 'where' sumi/naak
 194. 'white' qaquq-
 195. 'who' kina
 196. 'wide' silig-
 197. 'wife' nuliaq
 198. 'wind' anuri
 199. 'wing' suluk
 200. 'wipe' allartir-
 201. 'with'(instrumental case - cf. 2.1.1.4.3)
 202. 'woman' arnaq
 203. 'woods' urpippassuit, pl.
 204. 'worm' qumaq (intestinal)
 205. 'ye' ilissi, pl.
 206. 'year' ukiuq
 207. 'yellow' sungaar-

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