

A List of Greenlandic Affixes

Stian Lybech

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Preface

Dear reader!

The list of affixes contained in this booklet was originally a lengthy appendix to the first edition of my book, the *Introduction to West Greenlandic* (Lybech, 2019). However, in preparation for the second edition, I decided to move this rather long appendix into a separate document – mainly for reasons of maintainability, but also to make the *Introduction* seem less daunting at a first glance by reducing the page count.

In other words, not much in the present document is actually new, compared to the appendix version. I have corrected some errors and typos in the text, and also expanded the explanation of the rules for ordering affixes, but apart from that, the contents of the affix list are largely unchanged. Note in particular, that I have *not* included an explanation of the notation and the sound rules, which you will need to know in order to derive the correct pronunciation (and spelling) of any word that you build from the affixes in this list. These rules are thoroughly explained in the *Introduction to West Greenlandic*, so you should consult that book for all information regarding the notation etc.

Stian Lybech 27th. November, 2020

¹See https://oqa.dk, where you can also find the newest version of the present book.

1 Ordering affixes

Consider the verbal base $\{uqn \ni k\} V$ (A approaches P), and the verbal ending $V\{vara\}$ (I Vb him). There is obviously only one way to correctly combine them:

```
\{uqn \ni k\} V\{vara\} \implies^* ornippara (I approach him)
```

and this is clear from, and completely determined by, the join markers. As long as we only have a base and an ending, then there is no ambiguity. However, assume now that we want to add the following two affixes:

- V{sinnau}V 'can Vb' (ability)
- V{nnit}V 'not Vb' (negation)

What is the proper order in which these four morphemes should be joined? Obviously, the base and ending must still be first and last, respectively, but what about the relative order of these two affixes? Which of them should come first within the word? That depends on what you want to express. There are two possible combinations:

- 1. $\{uqn \ni k\} V \{sinnau\} V \{nnit\} V \{vara\} \implies ornissinnaanngilara^1$
- 2. $\{uqn \ni k\} V \{\eta \eta it\} V \{sinnau\} V \{vara\} \implies^* orninngissinnaa vara$

The first possible combination, *ornissinnaanngilara*, means *I cannot* approach him, whilst the second possibility, *orninngissinnaavara*, means *I can refrain from* approaching him.² In other words, the *ordering* of affixes matters. Sometimes a reordering will yield a word with a different meaning, as was the case

¹The negation affix $V{\eta\eta it}V$ uses its own completely idiosyncratic set of endings in some moods, including indicative, so this is the reason why the ending $V{\text{vara}}$ suddenly becomes $V{\text{-lara}}$ when added to the negation affix. This is an irrelevant detail; if you find it confusing, then just imagine the word had become the regular *ornissinnaanngippara* instead.

²This example is from Fortescue (1984, s. 313).

here, but in other cases a reordering will simply not be possible; it will yield a meaningless word.

There is a simple rule of thumb for this ordering, which is often sufficient for words containing only a few affixes. However, when words become longer, the need for a more detailed (and hence complicated) set of rules will become apparent. In this chapter I will describe both the simple and the complicated approach to word formation.

1.1 The simple rule

... is simply as follows: The scope of an affix is the stem to which it is added. Or, stated in another way, when you join an affix onto a stem, the meaning of the affix will apply to the entire stem; that is, everything standing 'to the left' of the affix. This is the simple rule of thumb for ordering affixes within a word. For example, when you join {uqnək}V and V{sinnau}V you obtain a stem ornissinnaa- meaning 'A can-approach P'. It is a new verbal stem, which expresses the ability of the Agent to approach the Patient. By adding V{nnit}V onto this stem, its entire meaning is negated, so the stem ornissinnaanngit- means 'A not-can-approach P' which we in ordinary English would express as 'A cannot approach P'. It expresses now the inability of the Agent to approach the Patient.

Conversely, if you firstly joined V{nnit}V onto {uqnak}V, you obtain the stem orninngit- meaning 'A not-approach P'. This stem expresses that the Agent categorically does not approach the Patient, because the meaning of the negation is applied to {uqnak}V alone. When you then join V{sinnau}V onto this stem, you obtain a new stem, orninngissinnaa-, expressing the ability of the Agent to 'not-approach' the Patient. The Agent is able to perform the act of not approaching the Patient, which we e.g. could render in ordinary English as 'the Agent can refrain from approaching the Patient'.

When you are constructing (or translating) a complex word, you should consider the meaning of the stem at each point in the construction: What does the base mean? What does the base plus the first affix mean? What does this complex stem plus the next affix mean? And so forth. As an example, consider the following complex noun, which during build-up also alternates between being a nominal and a verbal stem:

```
suli- = 'to work'
suleqat = 'a collegue' with V{-qatə}N (a fellow in Vb'ing)
suleqatigi- = 'A has P as collegue' with N{gə}V (A has P as his N)
suleqatiginikuu- = 'A had P as collegue' with V{nikuu}V (has Vb'ed)
suleqatiginikuusaq = 'a former collegue' with V{-ðaq}N (a Vb'ed N)
suleqatiginikuusara = 'my former collegue' with N{ga} (my N).
```

In the last line, I add a possessive ending to the complex noun *suleqatiginikuu-saq* (here absolutive 1p.sg). By possessing the noun, I specify *whom* the unknown '(by someone)' really is; namely *me*, the possessor of the noun.

1.2 The complicated rule (Fortescue)

Even though affxes may be combined in different orders to yield words with different meanings, it does not mean that *any* ordering will always be possible. Consider for instance the two affixes V{ðaq}V (habitually Vb) and V{yumaaq}V (vague future, 'shall probably Vb'). *This* ordering, with V{yumaaq}V following V{ðaq}V is fine, but the reverse order is impossible.³ In other words, you can express that someone probably, at some point in the future, will do something repeatedly/habitually, but you *cannot* say, that someone repeatedly probably will do something in the future. It might not be meaningful to try to express either, since it would imply a repetition of the future, but anyway, it is an example of an impossible ordering of affixes.

Fortescue (1984, p. 314) lists a set of quite complicated rules for ordering affixes. Or, he manages at least to express them in a quite complicated way, even though the idea is simple enough: The Greenlandic affixes can be *grouped* according to their meaning (or function), and certain groups always occur before others. For example, V{ðaq}V belongs to a group called *verb-modifying* affixes, which always precede an affix of *time* such as V{yumaaq}V.

You can see my own rendition of the rules in figure 1.1. This is a grammar (in the technical sense) for generating words, or rather strings. Note here that the symbol | indicates a choice, so $A \to B | C$ means that the symbol A must be replaced by either B or C.

Note that, compared to Fortescue (1984, p. 314), I have rewritten the rules to be exclusively *right-recursive*, which means that non-terminal symbols (or 'meta-variables' if you like) only occur at the right-most point in the string, which presumably also matches the natural way of constructing a Greenlandic word; that is, from left to right (starting with the base and ending with the ending).

³This example is from Fortescue (1984, p.314).

```
W \rightarrow \{\text{base}\} \mathbf{N} + NSTEM_1
              \mid \{base\}\mathbf{V} + VSTEM_1
NSTEM_1 \rightarrow \mathbf{N}\{\text{extender}\}\mathbf{N} + NSTEM_2 \mid NSTEM_2
NSTEM_2 \rightarrow \mathbf{N}\{\text{modifier}\}\mathbf{N} + NSTEM_2
               | N\{verbaliser}V + VSTEM_1
               | N{end} + ENCL
VSTEM_1 \rightarrow V\{\text{extender}\}V + VSTEM_2 \mid VSTEM_2
VSTEM_2 \rightarrow V\{negation\}V + VSTEM_3 \mid VSTEM_3
VSTEM_3 \rightarrow V\{modifier\}V + VSTEM_3
                | V{nominaliser}N + NSTEM_1
               \mid SENT_0
   SENT_0 \rightarrow \mathbf{V}\{\text{time}\}\mathbf{V} + SENT_1 \mid SENT_1
   SENT_1 \rightarrow \mathbf{V}\{\text{modality}\}\mathbf{V} + SENT_2 \mid SENT_2
   SENT_2 \rightarrow \mathbf{V}\{\text{negation}\}\mathbf{V} + SENT_3
               | V{conjunction}V + VEND
   SENT_3 \rightarrow V{colouration}V + SENT_3 \mid VEND
   VEND \rightarrow V\{end\} + ENCL
   ENCL \rightarrow *\{enclitic\} + ENCL \mid \epsilon
```

Figure 1.1: My version of Fortescue's formation rules, based on Fortescue (1984, p. 314), but rewritten to right-recursive form.

This seems (at least to me) to be a more intuitive way of representing the rules, but I admit that it may not readily make them seem any more *readable* to you, if you are not familiar with formal grammars. Thus, do not despair if these rules look like Greek to you. They *are* undoubtedly difficult and hopeless to try to memorise, so rather than explaining them bit by bit, I shall give you an alternative, *visual* representation of them which (although still complicated) is at least easier to follow. However, it requires a bit of preliminary explanation.

A bit of automata theory

In the *Introduction to West Greenlandic* (Lybech, 2019, p. 16) I introduced a 'map' of the (fairly obvious) rule, saying that morphemes must be joined according to their join markers: 'N' must be joined onto 'N' and 'V' onto 'V'. You can find it repeated here in figure 1.2. This kind of drawing is called a 'finite automaton' and it expresses precisely how morphemes can be joined: To generate a word,

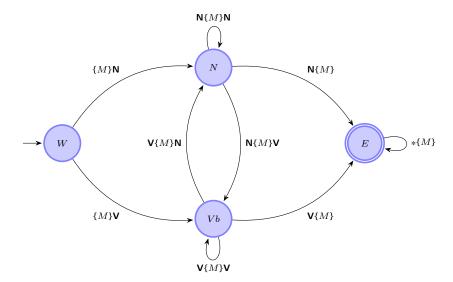


Figure 1.2: A simple, finite automaton for generating (or recognising) the language of joined morphemes; M represents an arbitrary string of phonemes, so this automaton is solely concerned with generating words where all join-markers match.

you begin on the left-most blue circle (called a state) labelled 'W' and pointed to by an arrow coming out of nowhere; then you simply follow the arrows (called transitions), and for each such transition to a new state, you add a morpheme from the group described by the label on the transition.⁴ However, you may only stop the process, when you reach a state with a $double\ outline\ -$ there is only one such state here; the right-most, labelled 'E'. Stopping is optional, though, so you may also continue by looping a number of times through the transition labelled ' $\{M\}$ ', which corresponds to adding a number of enclitics onto the end of the word.

The automaton in figure 1.2 is nice and simple, but unfortunately it says nothing about affix ordering, except for the rather obvious fact that you need to add an affix of type ' $N\{M\}V$ ' (a so-called *verbaliser*) to obtain a verbal stem from a nominal stem, and conversely with ' $V\{M\}N$ ' (called a *nominaliser*); and you can cycle back and forth between these two stem-types. To create a more sophisticated model we shall firstly need the notion of an ϵ -labelled transition (called an *epsilon transition*), defined as follows:

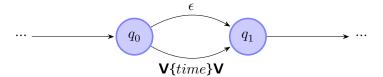
⁴In formal language theory we would normally speak of automata as devices for *recognising* strings, and a grammar as a device for *generating* strings, but these two notions are really equivalent here, so I take some liberty with the concepts and treat the automaton as a generating device.

Definition 1.1 (ϵ -transition) *Let the symbol* ϵ (*epsilon*) *denote the* empty string, *i.e. the string consisting of* no *symbols. Then, an* ϵ -*labelled transition*



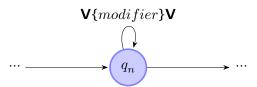
will simply leave the string unchanged from q_0 to q_1 .

In other words, taking an ϵ -transition will simply add *nothing* to the word you are constructing. This is useful, because it allows us to express that an affix of some type may be *optional*. Consider the following small fragment of an automaton:



In going from state q_0 to q_1 we have a *choice:* We can either add an affix from some group called ' $\mathbf{V}\{time\}\mathbf{V}$ ', or we can just take the ϵ -transition instead, thus adding nothing. In other words, this construction makes it *optional* to add an affix of type $\mathbf{V}\{time\}\mathbf{V}$ at this point.

However, it says more than that: This construction also expresses that an affix of type $V\{time\}V$ can appear at most once in this position. It can be omitted, if you take the ϵ -transition, or it can be added once if you take the other transition, but you cannot add e.g. five affixes of this type. If, on the other hand, we want to express that an affix of some type can be added zero or more times, we can instead use a loop like in the following fragment:



In this construction we can choose to proceed straight through the state q_n , or we can instead go through the loop once, twice, up to n times, thereby adding up to n affixes of type $V\{modifier\}V$.

A Fortesquesque automaton

Fortescue (1984, 1983) groups affixes into three high-level groups; *nominal*, *verbal* and *sentential* affixes, and these are again broken down into twelve smaller groups:

- Nominal affixes consist of *nominalisers*, nominal *extenders*, and nominal *modifiers*. A nominaliser creates a nominal stem from a verbal stem; a single, optional nominal extender can then be added, and then zero to many nominal modifiers.
- Verbal affixes consist of *verbalisers*, verbal *extenders*, *negations*, and verbal *modifiers*; all of them optional and occurring in this order. As with the nouns, modifiers can be added zero or more times.
- Sentential affixes are added onto a verbal stem *after* the aforementioned types, so they are also verbal affixes, but their scope is over the entire sentence, rather than just the stem itself. They consist of affixes for marking *time*, *modality*, *conjunction*, *negation* (again) and *colouration*; all of them optional and occurring in this order. Conjunctional affixes generally have a special meaning in combination with certain moods.

The complicated rules in definition 1.1 are merely a way to express this ordering rigorously, and show which groups are optional etc. Now, figure 1.3 then illustrates the process of word formation based on these groups, expressed as an automaton instead of abstract rules. You start at the leftmost state, labelled W, and proceed through the automaton by taking transitions from state to state, adding morphemes according to the labels as you go along.

You may still be able to recognise the alternation back and forth between verbal and nominal stems, but otherwise this complicated figure bears little resemblance to the simple automaton in figure 1.2. However, we can complicate it even further: At the end of the verbal stem, the single state labelled Sent has a self-loop allowing an (initially) arbitrary number of sentential affixes $V\{sentential\}V$ to be added to the verbal stem. But this group can be further sub-divided and ordered, and we therefore correspondingly replace the single state Sent and its self-loop with the 'sub-automaton' in figure 1.4.5

⁵Another way to view this is to think of figure 1.4 as a 'subsystem' placed *inside* the *Sent* state: One state can be an abstraction over a whole sub-automaton, which may be expanded or collapsed depending on the desired level of detail.

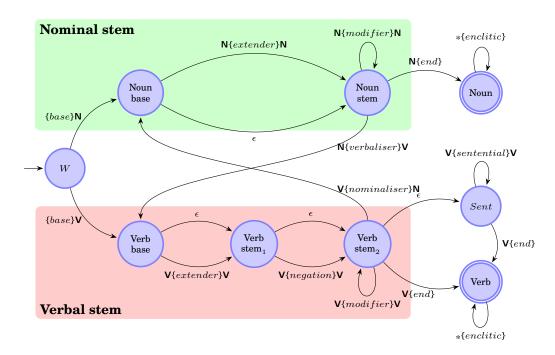


Figure 1.3: Illustration of the formation rules for nouns and verbs, according to Fortescue (1984, p. 314). These rules give a more detailed view of the word-internal order of affixes; in particular, that 'sentential affixes' will always follow verbal extenders and modifiers. ϵ -labelled transitions add nothing to a word; they are used to represent optional parts.

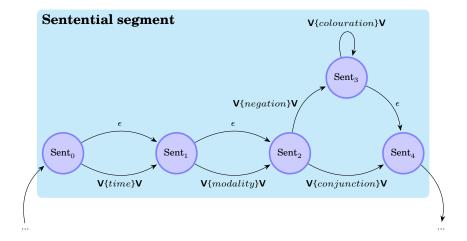


Figure 1.4: An expansion of the state labelled *sent* in figure 1.3 into a number of substates, giving a detailed view of the ordering of sentential affixes.

The most important thing to notice here is probably that once you proceed to the sentential segment Sent, you cannot go back. This explains why $V\{yumaaq\}V$, which is a sentential affix belonging to the group $V\{time\}V$, must come after an affix like habitual $V\{\delta aq\}V$, which is a verbal affix belonging to the group $V\{modifier\}V$. The reverse order is impossible, because you cannot 'get back' to a place where you can add a $V\{modifier\}V$ once you have passed into the sentential segment. In fact, the only kind of affixes that can appear both in the verbal stem and in the sentential segment are the negations; that is why the group $V\{negation\}V$ appears twice in the automaton.

You will probably not be able to just memorise this complicated figure right away, but by using it to generate words you may hopefully get a sense of *where to expect* certain affixes to occur within a word. This can especially be useful when you need to *split* a word and figure out from which morphemes it was built. You will likely soon discover that there is often more than one way to do this; many Greenlandic words are *ambiguous* due to the many sound changes that occur when morphemes are joined, but knowing approximately where in a stem to expect a certain morpheme may make this disambiguation process easier.

However, to actually be able to *use* this automaton, you will of course need to know which affixes belong in each of the categories denoted by the transition labels. Thus in the remainder of this book I have assembled a list of affix usages, containing 468 entries, grouped according to the major categories in figure 1.3.

Note that some affixes may appear more than once in the list, if they have multiple usages. It is far from a complete list of all usages, but it should at least cover all the usual affixes you are likely to see. The source of this list is taken almost directly from the *Manual of Affixes* by Fortescue (1983), with my own notes added for many of the interesting or 'irregularly' behaving affixes that may require a bit of extra explanation. I have, however, tried to keep the list as brief as possible, since the purpose is just to give you an overview, and not to create a full-fledged dictionary. Apart from my own morphemic notation, I have decided also to list the 'DAKA-form', using the new orthography, so you can look up an affix in an ordinary dictionary and see examples of its usage.

Note however that, due to the Graphemistic nature of the DAKA, most affixes will be listed therein multiple times, under different forms; for example, every affix beginning with /y/ in my notation, such as $V\{yuma\}V$, will be listed as +umavoq (following an [i] sound), +jumavoq (following any other vowel), -rumavoq

⁶Actually, you can. According to Fortescue (1984, p. 314) the affixes V{niraq}V (A says that P Vb's), V{surə}V (A thinks that P Vb's), V{ŏuq}N (one who Vb's) and V{-ŏaq}N (one that is Vb'ed) may even follow a sentential affix, thus allowing the process to start all over again. I have not drawn this in figure 1.3, to avoid complicating it even further. Note also that the ordering within lexicalised words may not always follow these rules.

1. Ordering affixes

(on q-stems) and -kkumavoq (on all other consonant stems, including ut(ϑ)-stems). All these forms follow directly and regularly from application of the sound rules, so I generally only list one of them, unless the affix also uses some irregular or idiosyncratic sandhi rules.

2 Nominalisers

This is the group of affixes denoted by the label $V\{nominaliser\}N$. As the name (and join markers) implies, these affixes transform a verbal stem into a nominal stem.

 $V{gajuuq}N$, + *gajooq* (one who often Vb's).

V{kkajaaq}N, -kkajaaq (one that is rather Vb). This affix seems to be used primarily with verbs related to size, like {aŋə}V (is big) \Longrightarrow^* angikkajaaq (a rather big one).

V{llammak}**N**, -llammak (one who is good at Vb'ing).

 $V{naq}N$, +naq (exclamation, 'how Vb it is!'), e.g. kusanaq! (how beautiful it is!). This is really just the verbal extender $V{naq}V$ (it is Vb'able) used without the verbal ending. As a noun, it behaves like an ordinary weak q-stem, so plural is +nat.

 $V{niaq}N$, + *niaq* (one who tries to Vb), seemingly often used with verbs for hunting, e.g. *tuttunniaq* (one who is hunting caribou).

V{nəQ}N, +neq (the state/result/action of Vb'ing). This affix is often called the abstract participle, because it creates abstract nouns from verbs; for instance the word asanninneq (love) from {asannək}V (the Subject loves someone). It is a strong q-stem which can display metathesis with vowel-initial endings, so with e.g. N{-a} either $\Rightarrow^* + nera$ or $\Rightarrow^* -rnga$. The affix N{-u}V (be N) behaves similarly, so V{nəQ}N{-u}V $\Rightarrow^* + neru$. It is often used with possessive endings when added to a divalent stem; it can then mean 'the Vb'ing of Possessor'. Following V{ccaq}N (and still with possessive endings) it means 'to Possessor's Vb'ing', e.g. with {tikit}V (arrive) $\Rightarrow^* Piitap tikinnissaa qilanaaraara (I'm looking forward to Peter's arrival). When V{nəQ}N is used with possessive locative it means 'while', e.g. sulinitsinni (while we worked); and if preceded by V{nnit}V it means 'before', e.g. sulinnginnitsinni (before we work). This affix is also used in the three special constructions:$

- V{nəQ ajuq}V (does not habitually Vb), negation of V{ðaq}V
- V{nəQ nalu}V (cannot Vb (because of ignorance))

• **V**{nəQ sapiq}**V** (cannot Vb)

V{nəQ}**N**, +neq (the more/most Vb'ing); also used for comparison of verbal stems with an adjectival meaning. Like above, **V**{nəQ}**N**{-u}**V** \Longrightarrow^* +neru-. On the bases {aŋə}**V** (is big) and {mikə}**V** (is small) it may elide /ə/, yielding anneq, minneq (biggest, smallest).

V{nəqpaaq}**N** / **V**{nəqcaq}**N**, + nerpaaq, + nersaq (the most Vb'ing); superlative of verbs with adjectival meaning. The latter form is usually only used with plural, possessive endings to mean 'the most Vb'ing of Possessor'; e.g. with N{(q)vut} (our N) \Longrightarrow^* annersarput (the biggest of us). Note that since both these affixes are formed by combination with V{nəQ}N (see above), they may also both elide /ə/ in certain stems. These cases will often be lexicalised, like anneq and minneq, to which you can add {paaq} and {caq} directly, since they already contain V{nəQ}N.

V{nəqtuuq}N, + *nertooq* (one who Vb's strongly).

V{niutə}N, + niut (thing for Vb'ing).

V{nnuaqci}**N**, -nnguarsi! (exclamation, 'how Vb it is!').

 $V{(q)paluk}N$, +(r)paluk (the sound of Vb'ing).

V{-qatə}**N**, -qat (a fellow in Vb'ing; one with whom you Vb; a co-Vb'er).

V{qqaaq}**N**, -qqaaq (s.t. newly Vb'ed, one who has just Vb'ed).

 $V{qqammiq}N, -qqammeq$ (one who has just Vb'ed).

V{-riaq}N, -riaq (place/thing where one Vb'es). This affix is uncommon, but used in certain lexicalised words. Usually V{(v)vik}N would be used instead to express this meaning.

V{qlaaq}**N**, -rlaaq (one who is newly Vb'ed, one who has just Vb'ed).

V{sautə}N, + saat (means for Vb'ing).

V{-ðaq}**N**, +taq, -taq, +saq, -gaq (a Vb'ed thing). This affix is often called the *passive participle*, because it is used to create nouns from divalent stems that represent the *Patient* of the verbal action; e.g. {asa}**V** (A loves P) \implies * *asasaq (one who is loved). This affix has idiosyncratic sandhi rules: Today it regularly becomes /caq/ on vowel stems; on q-stems it *removes* /q/ and becomes /gaq/ contrary to all rules; this form also shows gemination, so with e.g. the base {atuvaq}**V** (A reads P) we get \implies ** *atuagaq* (a book), plural *atuakkat*. On the other consonant stems /ð/ regularly becomes /t/, but at the same time it *removes* the consonant; and on ut(ə)-stems it attaches to /ə/, becoming /caq/, but /ə/ then disappears, so we get /-ut(ə)ðaq/ \implies /-utəcaq/ \implies /-utcaq/ \implies [-uccaq] \implies -ussaq. Following **V**{\$\empty\$njit}**V** we get /\$\empty\$njitaq/ \implies /\$\empty\$njisaq/ by the t-to-s rule. This is historically a highly irregular affix, so you can find many lexicalised words

- containing this affix that do not follow these rules. A further speciality: When this affix follows -sar- (the affix $V{\delta aq}V$ (Vb's habitually) on a vowel stem, where the initial sound becomes [c], written "s"), that affix will be duplicated, such that we get \implies -sartagaq.
- $V{\{\tilde{0}\}}N$, +ti, +si (Agent, Vb'er). This affix is often called the *active participle*, because it is used to create nouns from divalent stems that represent the *Agent* of the verbal action. It is not commonly used, but you can find it in a number of lexicalised words like *oqalutsi* (interpreter, literally 'one who speaks for somebody') and *siunnersorti* (counsellor, adviser, consultant).
- **V**{(t)ciiaq}**N**, -tsiiaq, +siiaq (s.t. left to be Vb'ed; wait for Vb). The /t/ is (regularly) injected on vowel stems, and it seems that this affix does *not* assimilate /t/ on old *t-stems*, so on e.g. {tikit}**V** (arrive) we also get \implies^* tikitsiiaq (someone you wait for to arrive/come home).
- V{ccu'siq}N, -ssuseq (Vb'ness, Vb'ance, Vb'ledge etc; quality of Vb). This affix is used to form abstract nouns; e.g. {nalu}V (A does not know/is ignorant of P) ⇒* nalussuseq (ignorance). /s/ geminates to /tt/, so with e.g. plural N{t} ⇒* -ssutsit. With vowel-initial endings like N{-a} people will commonly today treat it as a schwa-stem and say -ssusaa instead of the 'correct' -ssusia.
- V{ðuq}N, +toq, +soq (someone who Vb's; a Vb'er). This affix is often called the *intransitive participle*, because it is used to create nouns from monovalent stems that represent the *Subject* of the verbal action; e.g. {suli}V(S works) \Longrightarrow^* *sulisoq* (a worker). On old t-stems it (usually) attaches to /t/ without assimilating it, e.g. V{ $\eta\eta$ it}V{ δ uq}N \Longrightarrow^* /nngitsoq/ similar to the mood marker for intransitive participial mood (since it really is the same morpheme).
- **V**{-u'siq}**N**, -useq (manner of Vb'ing). /s/ geminates to /tt/, so with e.g. plural **N**{t} \Rightarrow * -utsit.
- V{-utə}N, V{ccutə}N, -ut, -ssut (means/instrument/cause for Vb'ing).
- $V\{(v)vik\}N, +fik$ (place/time for Vb'ing). There is also another, uncommon form of this affix, $V\{'-vik\}N$, found in a number of lexicalised words where it has caused gemination in the stem; for instance $\{iga\}V$ (S cooks) $\Longrightarrow^* igaffik$ (kitchen, ordinary form) or iggavik (with gemination). Other lexicalised examples, all having been formed with gemination, include nerrivik (dinner table) from $\{niri\}V$ (eat), napparsimmavik (hospital) from $\{nappaqsima\}V$ (be ill); and ingerlatsivik (administration) from $\{iniqlat(a)\}V$ (A drives P forward). The special form is often used to create (lexicalised) words with specialised, particular meanings, whilst the ordinary form with +fik is used in the broad, general sense of 'place where'.

 $^{^1}$ For instance, {uqnik}**V** (A comes to P) and {aglak}**V** (A writes P) both have lexicalised forms ornigaq (destination) and allagaq (letter).

3 Nominal extenders

This is the group of affixes denoted by the label $N\{extender\}N$. As the name implies, affixes from this group extend the meaning of a nominal stem.

N{giik}N + N{t}, N{giiaat}N, -giit, -giiaat (pair of Ns, mutual Ns). This form is inherently understood as plural, thus requiring a plural ending.

 $N{gik}N$, -gik (one with a good N). Often used in an exclamatory fashion; e.g. silagik! (wonderful weather!). This affix is actually $N{gik}V$ (has a good N) without a verbal ending.

 $N{-iqniaq}N$, -erniaq (a seller of N).

 $N\{kkaaq\}N$, -kkaaq (one with a big N).

 $N\{kkuq\}N + N\{t\}$, -kkut (and family/companions of N); e.g. Kaalikkut (Kaali and his family/companions). This affix is inherently understood as plural. It is rarely used in further derivations, except with $N\{miuq\}N$ (see below), and in this case the singular form must be used, so $N\{kkuq\}N\{miuq\}N \implies^* -kkormioq$ (member/supporter of N).

 $N\{kkuutaaq\}N + N\{t\}, -kkuutaat (at intervals of Ns).$

N{-kuq}N, -koq, -ku (remains of/a discarded/previous N). It can also appear as a vowel stem, N{-ku}N, instead.

N{-kuuqvik}N, -koorfik (place for discarding N).

 $N{-liaq}N$, -liaq (a traveller to N). This affix can display sound replacivity on /tə/stems.

N{-lək}N, -lik (s.t. provided with N; owner of N). This affix commonly today takes endings N{-p} and N{-t} with gemination of /l/, so \Longrightarrow^* -llip, -llit, but with other endings it behaves like an ordinary k-stem, so e.g. with N{mik}, N{nik} \Longrightarrow^* -limmik, -limnik. This confusion is probably caused by the stem historically having displayed k-metathesis with endings N{up} and N{it}, as /-klup/ \Longrightarrow^* -llup, /-klit/ \Longrightarrow^* -llit. Today, both -llip and -llup and even completely regular k-stem form -liup may be heard, though -llip is the most common.

 $N{-liqsaarut}N$, $N{-liqsaarn}N$, -lersaarut, -lersaarut (account/story of an N). This affix may display sound replacivity on /t0/ stems.

 $N{-lisaq}N$, $N{nisaq}N$, -lisaq, +nisaq (s.t. from last N).

N{-livik}N, -livik (a container for N). It may display sound replacivity.

 $N{-\min}QN$, -mineq (a piece of N). This affix displays metathesis, so e.g. with plural $N{-it} \Rightarrow^*$ -merngit. The plural form used with {kalaa'liq}N (a greenlander) \Rightarrow^* kalaalimerngit means 'traditional Greenlandic food'. There is also $N{-\min}N$ (a fair-sized piece of N).

 $N\{\text{miuq}\}N$, +mioq, +miu (an inhabitant/dweller of N). This affix can also appear as a vowel-stem, $N\{\text{miu}\}N$, instead.

 $N{-qat}$, -qat (a fellow N).

N{-qutə}N, -qut (the N of a group), for example akullequt, the middle child in a group of siblings.

 $N{\text{siut}}$, + siut (means for getting/travelling in/celebrating/seeking N).

 $N\{cciaq\}N$, -ssiaq (s.t. intended for N; to be used as N).

 $N\{\text{sunni}\}N$, + sunni (the smell of N).

N{tuuq}N, +tooq (one with a big/much N). Also N{qquqtuuq}N with the same meaning, as in e.g. *Illoqqortoormiut*¹ (name of a town in North-Eastern Greenland), literally 'the big-house dwellers'.

 $N\{tuuq\}N$, +tooq (s.t. in the language N). This affix is derived from the equative ending, which is also used for languages.

N{-ucaq}N, N{-ucaq}N, -usaq, -usaaq (s.t. that looks like N). The symbol '@' is called 'a-jusaq' with a phonotactically epenthetic /j/ injected to avoid assimilation, because it is something that looks like an 'a'.

N{-uciaq}N, -usiaq (a figure/model of N; s.t. made, that looks like N).

¹'Ittoqqortoormiit' in East Greenlandic.

4 Nominal modifiers

This is the group of affixes denoted by the label N{modifier}N. Unlike the nominal extenders, a word may have multiple modifiers added in succession. Many of these affixes are adjectival; those with a negative meaning (bad/poor) can often be used affectionately.

 $N{-aluk}N + N{-it}$, -aluit (a group of N). The meaning of this affix is inherently plural, so it requires a plural ending. Possibly also $N{paaluk}N + N{-it} \implies^* + paaluit$ with same meaning.

 $N{-a'raq}N$, -araq (a small N). This affix displays gemination of $/r/ \Rightarrow /qq/$, so e.g. plural $\Rightarrow^* -aqqat$. There also exists an alternative form of this affix, $N{-V'raq}N$, where V represents a lengthening of any preceding vowel; e.g. paniaraq and paneeraq from panikN (daughter) are both possible.

N{gəgaluaq}N + N{possessive}, -gigalui (Possessor's previous/former N). The verbal affix V{galuaq}V can be used nominally with N{gə}V (A has P as his N), usually with possessive endings to mark whom it is/was that previously had the N. It is an aq-stem, containing the ghost morpheme {aq}, which disappears before vowel-initial endings. An alternative form, combining instead with N{-u}V (be N), is N{-ugaluaq}N (a former/deceased N). This form usually does not take possessive endings, but it behaves like an up-declined pseudo-q stem, taking N{-up} and N{-it} ⇒* -ugaluup, -ugaluit.

N{innaq*}N, -innaq, -ginnaq (just/only an N). This affix will inject an epenthetic /g/ (where phonotactics require epenthesis), rather than the regular /v/. Thus e.g. on {qavlunaaq}N (a Dane) ⇒* qallunaaginnaq. Note that this affix is a pseudo-q stem.

N{-kanniq}N, *kanneq* (almost/more or less an N).

N{-kasik}N, N{-kassak}N, -kassak (bad/poor N).

 $N\{kkataaq\}N$, -kkattaaq (a rather big N).

 $N{-kullak}N$, -kullak (a rather big N).

N{-kuluk}N, -kuluk (bad/small/dear N).

N{-kuluuq}N, -kulooq (a big N).

 $N{-li'jaq}N$, -liaq (a made/fabricated N). This affix geminates the 'invisible' /j/ to /cc/, so e.g. with plural $N{t} \implies^* -lissat$. It may also display sound replacivity on /te/-stems.

 $N{(q)luinnaq*}N, + (r)luinnaq (complete(ly) N).$

 $N{-\eta aaq}N$, -ngaaq (considerable/large). When used in combination with the affix $N{(a)ttiaq}N$ described below $\implies N{\eta aattiaq}N$ (quite a big N).

 $N{-\text{najak}}N$, -ngajak (almost an N).

 $N{\eta ucaq}N$, -ngusaq (dear little N).

N{nnaq}N, N{nnaaq}N, -nnaq, -nnaaq (main/favourite N).

N{ŋŋuaq}N, -nnguaq, -nnguup, -nnguit (cute/sweet/dear little/small). This affix is an aq-stem and thus up-declined with -nnguup, -nnguit in ergative singular and plural. {aq} will also disappear before N{-u}V (be N), so ⇒* -nnguuvoq. With consonant-initial endings it behaves like an ordinary weak q-stem. On areal nouns like {qulə}N (area above possessor), {atə}N (area below possessor) etc., it means 'right/just' so e.g. with N{-ani} (in his N) ⇒* qulinnguani (just above him), sissap qulinnguani(ippoq) ((it is located) right above the beach) etc.

N{-pajuk}N, -pajuk (bad/poor N). It can also be used in an almost diametrically opposite sense; illi**pajuk!** (exclamation, 'lucky you!').

 $N{-palaaq}N$, -palaaq (bad/miserable N). When used in combination with the affix $N{(q)cuaq}N$ described below, $\Rightarrow N{-palaaqcuaq}N$ (bad/damned N).

 $N\{(q)pak\}N + N\{-it\}, + (r)paat, + (r)passuit (many/crowd/flock of N).$ This affix is inherently plural, thus requiring a plural ending. It is often combined with the affix $N\{(q)cuaq\}N$, $\Rightarrow N\{(q)pakcuaq\}N$, + (r)passuit (a great crowd of N). Note that the singular form (that is, the form without an ending) must still be used when further affixes are added, so e.g. anguterpassuit (a great crowd of men), but with $N\{-qaq\}V$ (there is N) \Rightarrow^* anguterpassuaqarpoq (there is a great crowd of men). In narrative speech $N\{(q)pak\}N$ can be repeated several times for added emphasis, so e.g. anguterparparpassuaqarpoq means 'there was a **great**, **great**, **great** crowd of men'.

 $N{(q)piaq}N$, +(r)piaq (real/just/exactly N). Even on lexicalised words with an ending like *massakkut* (now), *massakkorpiaq* (right now, instantly).

 $N{-piluk}N, -piluk (bad N).$

 $N{-rajuk}N, -rajuk$ (damned N); also in combination with $N{(q)cuaq}N \implies N{-rajukcuaq}N$ with the same meaning.

N{-ralak}N, -ralak (bad/poor N), can also be used affectionately as 'dear'.

 $N_{\text{-rujuk}}N$, -rujuk, -rujussuaq (bad/big N). It is often used in combination with the affix $N_{\text{(q)cuaq}}N \implies N_{\text{-rujukcuaq}}N$ (enormous N). In this combination, neither affix carries a negative connotation, unlike when either of them are used separately. Qimmersuaq is a bad/foul/huge dog, but qimmerujussuaq is just an

enormous dog. In narrative speech N{-rujuk}N can be repeated several times for added emphasis, so e.g. *qimmerujorujussuaq* is a 'great, big, huge dog'. N{siaq}N, + siaq (a bought/found N).

 $N\{ccamaaq\}N$, -ssamaaq (intended N).

 $N\{kcaq\}N$, -ssaq (a future N; s.t. to be used as N). This affix is sometimes known as an 'irrealis' affix; it is incredibly common and used on any noun that has not yet come into existence. Also used in combination with $N\{(q)cuaq\}N$ and optionally $N\{(q)ttiaq\}N \implies N\{cca(ttia)qcuaq\}N$ (which should have been N).

 $N{(q)cuaq}N$, +(r)suaq, +(q)suup, +(q)suit (big/bad N). This affix is an aq-stem, taking $N{-up}$ and $N{-it}$ in ergative singular and plural etc., otherwise it behaves like a pseudo-q stem. {aq} also disappears before $N{-u}V$ (be N), so

$$N{(q)cuaq}N{-u}V \implies^* + (q)suu$$
.

On tə-stems like {aŋute}N (man) it may join directly onto /t/, eliding the /ə/, so \Rightarrow^* angussuaq (a big/bad man). It is used in combination with N{ŋŋuaq}N \Rightarrow N{(q)cuaŋŋuaq}N (naughty N). It may also be used in combination with V{ðuq}N and N{-u}V, i.e.

$$V{\delta uq}$$
NJOINMARK $\{(q)cuaq\}N\{-u\}V \implies V{\delta uqcuu\}V$

to describe an intense or protracted state; e.g. with {asannək}V (is in love with someone) \implies asannittorsuuvunga (I'm so in love). N{-rujuk}N can also be added between V{ \eth uq}N and N{(q)cuaq}N, once or repeatedly, for further emphasis: \implies asannittorujorujussuuvunga.

 $N{taaq}N$, + taaq (a new N).

 $N{taq}N$, +taq (pertaining to N; part (of possessor) who are/made of N). This affix is commonly used with possessive endings; e.g. arnartarput (the woman amongst us) with $N{(q)vut}$ (our N), or meerartavut (those amongst us who are children) with $N{-vut}$ (our Ns). For inanimate objects we would usually have the 'made of' sense; e.g. with qicukN (wood) \implies illup qisuttaa (the part of the house made of wood; the wooden part of the house).

N{ttialak}N, -tsialak (a good/nice N).

 $N\{(a)$ ttiaq $\}N$, -tsiaq, -tsiaap, tsiaat, tsiaami (a fair-sized N). This affix injects an extra /a/ before consonant-initial endings; you could say it 'geminates /a/' when the weak q is thrown away. Also used in combination with $N\{\eta\eta uaq\}N \implies N\{(a)$ ttia $\eta\eta uaq\}N$ (good little/usable N).

 $N{-tuaq}N$, -tuaq (the only/sole N).

N{-tu'qaq}**N**, -toqaq, -toqqap, -toqqat (an old N). Weak q-stem with gemination of $/q/ \implies /qq/$.

 $N_{uneq}(hehighest/chief N)$. Combination of $N_{u}V(he N)$ with $V_{neQ}N$ (more/most Vb'ing).

 $N{-vik}N$, -vik (a real N).

N{vvaarik}N, -ffaarik (a particularly good N).

5 Verbalisers

This is the group of affixes denoted by the label N{verbaliser}V. They can be further subdivided into eight subgroups based on their meaning, but common to all of them is that they transform a nominal stem into a verbal stem. Some of these will have a divalent meaning; that is, they will describe a verbal action concerning both a logical Agent (abbreviated 'A') and a logical Patient (abbreviated 'P'), and thus capable of taking transitive endings. Others (actually, most) will describe a monovalent verbal action, involving only a logical Subject (abbreviated 'S'), and thus taking only intransitive endings. Some (actually many) of the latter may even be used in a completely avalent (impersonal) sense, usually corresponding to something like English "There is ..." When used in this impersonal sense, these affixes can only take 3p.sg endings (or 3r.sg in subordinate moods). I use no special symbol to distinguish between affixes of different valencies, but you can always tell the difference by looking at the translation, since it will mention an 'A' and a 'P' when divalent, but an 'S' when monovalent (and 'there is' or similar when avalent).

5.1 Being and becoming

N{giiaaq}**V**, -giiaarput (several S'es are mutually N). This affix is inherently plural in meaning, so it requires a plural ending.

N{giik}V, -giipput (S'es are mutually N), inherently plural.

N{kkuminaq}V, -kkuminarpoq (S is good for/as N).

N{kkuutaaq}**V**, -kkuutaarput (S'es are grouped in Ns; in groups of N), inherently plural.

 $N{LOC}{\partial t}V$, $\pm miippoq$, $\pm niippoq$ (S is in/at/on N). Verbalisation of the locative case.

 $N{\eta \eta uq}V$, -nngorpoq (S becomes an N).

N{ccaqqik}V, -ssaqqippoq (S is good/well-suited to use as N).

 $N{-u}V - uvoq$ (S is an N).

5.2 Lacking

N{-ilatti}**V**, -ilatsivoq (S is short of N).

 $N{-iqsi}V$, -ersivoq (S has lost N).

N{-irut(ə)}V, N{ccairut(ə)}V, -eruppoq, -ssaaruppoq (S has no more N). The latter form contains N{ccaq}N (future N), but there seems to be no difference in meaning. Note that this is an utə-stem, but since it is monovalent and thus not needing any HTR-morphemes, the DAKA dictionary will give no indication of this. It can also be used in a completely impersonal/avalent sense (there is no more N; N is gone); in that case it uses a 3p.sg ending, e.g. sikueruppoq (there is no more ice; the ice is gone).

N{-isak}**V**, -isappoq (there are very few N), usually used in an avalent sense 'there are' with a 3p.sg ending.

 $N{-it}V$, -ippoq (there is no N; S is without N), can be used both avalently and monovalently.

N{ccailiqə}**V**, -ssaaleqivoq (S lacks N). Although it historically is a true schwa-stem, it does not seem to be used with the special endings for schwa-stems.

N{ccaisua}V, -ssaasuavoq (S lacks N).

5.3 Feeling

N{guk}**V**, -guppoq (S longs/thirsts for N). Usually used with foods etc., but you may even see it used with family or similar in the sense 'S misses his N', though some would consider that usage as slang.

 $N{-iqsi}V$, -ersivoq (S feels cold/freezes in his N). Only used with parts of the body. $N{-katappoq}$ (S is fed up with (eating) N).

N{-lirə}V, -lerivoq, (-leraaq), (S feels pain in his N). Only used with parts of the body. It may display sound replacivity on tə-stems. It is probably not used with the special endings for schwa-stems nowadays, although these forms of the affix are noted in older dictionaries, e.g. Schultz-Lorentzen (1958).

 $N{\eta\eta iq}V$, -nngerpoq (S likes/is crazy about N), seemingly mostly used with foods. $N{\eta\eta u}V$, -nnguvoq (S feels bad/pain in his N). Only used with parts of the body.

5.4 Having

N{gasak}V, -gasappoq, -rasappoq (there are stains/spots of N; S is stained by N). Apparently, this affix takes the form N{qgasag}V on tə-stems, so e.g. with {aputə}N (snow) =>* aputerasappoq (there are patches of snow). Note that with a 3p.sg

ending the meaning can be avalent/impersonal 'there is/are N' rather than monovalent 'he has'.

N{gə}V, -gaa (-ginnippoq) (A has P as his N; P is A's N). This affix is a true schwastem, using the special endings for schwa-stems. It always uses the HTR-morpheme {nnək} to give it intransitive form (-ginnippoq).

 $N\{gik\}V$, $N\{giksaaq\}V$, -gippoq, -gissaarpoq (S has a good/beautiful N; there is good N).

N{giksi}**V**, -gissivoq (S has got a better N; there has come a better N).

 $N{-iqluiq}V$, -erluerpoq (S is smeared with N).

N{-kit}V, N{-kitliuq}V, -kippoq, -killiorpoq (S has few/little/a small N).

 $N{-kisaarpoq}$ (S has rather little N).

N{-licaaq}V, -lisaarpoq (S is wearing N); only used with nouns for clothing. It may display sound replacivity on tə-stems.

N{-licaq}**V**, -lisarpoq (S has brought a/his N with him). It may display sound replacivity on tə-stems.

N{-liccuu}V, -lissuuvoq (S has much/many N; there is much N). It may display sound replacivity on tə-stems.

 $N{(q)luk}V$, + (r)luppoq (S has bad/painful N).

N{-qaq}V, -qarpoq (S has N; there is/are N). A very common affix. It is very often also used in an avalent/impersonal sense 'there is/are N' with a 3p.sg ending, but it is also possible to use a noun representing the place or environment which 'has' the N as an explicit subject. E.g. with {qaqqaq}N (mountain) and {aputə}N (snow) you can express 'there is snow on the mountains' as either qaqqami aputeqarpoq (impersonal Subject, qaqqami in the locative case) or qaqqaq aputeqarpoq (explicit subject 'qaqqaq' in absolut case).

 $N\{tu\}V$, $N\{qquqtu\}V$, +tuvoq, -qqortuvoq (S has much/a big N).

 $N\{tujaaq\}V$, + tujaarpoq (S has rather many/a rather big N).

 $N\{tusi\}V$, $N\{ttuq\}V$, + tusivoq, -ttorpoq (S has got more/a bigger N).

5.5 Acquiring

 $N{-isuq}V$, -isorpoq (S fetches N).

N{-liqnusaut(ə)}**V**, -lerngusaapput (S'es fight for/about N). Only with Subject in plural, since the Subjects supposedly are fighting amongst themselves for the N.

N{-nək}**V**, -nippoq (S has got N; there has come N). Can be used both monovalently, or avalently as e.g. sikunippoq (there has come ice).

 $N\{nnak\}V$, -nnappoq (S gets N as a gift).

N{-raaq}**V**, -raarpoq (S has caught N). Only used with nouns representing numerals or other similar countable quantities, like {qassi}**N** (many).

 $N\{si\}V$, + sivoq (S buys/gets/finds N).

N{siuq}V, +siorpoq (S looks for N; A looks for N for P). This is a common and useful affix; for example, suleqatissarsiorpugut (We are looking for a new (future) collegue) from {suli}V (work), V{-qatə}N (co-Vb'er), N{ccaq}N (a future N), N{siuq}V (this affix) and V{vugut} (we). It can apparenty also be used in a divalent sense, meaning 'the Agent looks for N for the Patient'. However, when following V{nəQ}N (the more/most Vb'ing) a transitive ending can instead indicate that the Agent is looking for the most Vb'ing N amongst the N's. For example, pikkorinneq (the most skillful), pikkorinnersiorpai (he is looking for the most skillful amongst them). Note that the Patient marker (obviously) must be plural for the affix to be used in this sense.

 $N\{(t)\}V$, +(p)poq, +(n)niarpoq, +(n)niupput (S catches N). This affix is used with nouns for animals typically hunted in Greenland.¹ In case of $\{na'nuq\}N$ (polar bear), it also triggers gemination in the stem and removal of the final /q/, so nannuppoq means 'he has caught/killed a polar bear.' Even though the resulting verb is monovalent, the 'passive participium' $V\{-\delta aq\}N$ may irregularly be added to create a noun representing 'the animal N caught by (someone)'. Here '(someone)' may further be specified with a possessive ending, so e.g. nannuttara is 'the polar bear caught by me', using $N\{ga\}$ (my N). Note that $V\{-\delta aq\}N$ is sometimes added in an irregular fashion, without deletion of a preceding consonant (as in this case); these irregularly formed stems are usually given as lexicalised entries in the dictionary. The affix $N\{(t)\}V$ can also be followed by $V\{niaq\}V \implies N\{(t)niaq\}V$ (hunt for N). This affix can further be followed by $V\{-ut(ə)\}V \implies N\{(t)niut(ə)\}V^2$ (several S'es hunt for N), only used with endings in plural.

 $N{taaq}V$, + taarpoq (S gets a new N).

 $N{taq}V$, + tarpoq (S fetches/gathers N).

5.6 Movement

N{-liaq}V, -liarpoq (S goes to N), usually with names of cities, countries etc.

 $N{siuq}V$, + siorpoq (S travels on/through N; S is out in N; S celebrates N), the latter sense when this affix is used with nouns for Christmas, Easter etc.

 $N{VIA}{Vq}V$, -kkoorpoq, (a)goorpoq etc. (S moves in/through N). Verbalisation of the prolative (or 'vialis') case.

 $N{ABL}{Vq}V$, $\pm meerpoq$, $\pm minngaanneerpoq$ etc. (S comes/is from N). Verbalisation of the ablative case.

¹I have also heard it used with female names, in the sense 'he *scored* N' (slang).

 $^{^{2}}V{\text{niaq}}V$ is an aq-stem, so $\{ut(a)\}$ causes loss of the final \sqrt{qa} .

N{ALL}{Vq}V, ±moorpoq (S moves towards N; S is into N). Verbalisation of the allative case. Note that since allative is used with numerals to indicate time of day, this affix, when used on numerals, means 'comes in at N'o clock'. For example, qulinut (10'o clock), qulinoortarpoq (he habitually comes (to work/school/etc) at 10'o clock).

N{ALL}{-kaq}V, $\pm mukarpoq$, $\pm mukaapput$ (S goes to N). Verbalisation of the allative case. This affix can also be followed by V{-a}V (several S'es Vb) \Longrightarrow N{ALL}{-kaa}V indicating that several are going together. Here the ending must (obviously) be plural to make sense.

5.7 Acting and seeming like

N{-licaq}V, -lisarpoq (S resembles N), seemingly used only with nouns for people, as in 'he looks like his grandfather' etc. This affix can cause sound replacivity on tə-stems.

 $N{-\eta a}V$, -ngavoq (S resembles N). Unlike the above, this affix can seemingly be used with any N.

 $N{(q)palaaq}V$, + (r)palaarpoq (S seems/looks like an N).

 $N{(q)pallak}V$, +(r)pallappoq (S acts like an N; S does s.t. typical of an N).

 $N\{(q)$ paluk $\}V$, +(r) paluppoq (S looks/seems/sounds like an N).

 $N{(q)pasik}V$, + (r)pasippoq (S looks/seems like an N).

N{cci}V, -ssivoq (S behaves just like an N).

 $N\{sunnit\}V$, + *sunnippoq* (there is a smell of N).

 $N{EQU}{Vq}V$, $\pm toorpoq$ (S acts like N; S speaks the language N). Verbalisation of the equative case. Since this case is also used for languages, the verbalisation can also mean 'speaks the language N', e.g. kalaallisoorpoq (he says s.t. in Greenlandic). It can also mean 'S has a class (in school) in the language N'. Presumably because you are expected to speak the language when in class. The subject 'Greenlandic' when taught in school is kalaallisoorneq.

 $N\{ucaaq\}V$, -usaarpoq (S pretends to be N).

5.8 Doing with and providing

N{-iaq}V, -iarpaa, (-iaavoq) (A removes several N's from P). This affix uses the HTR-morpheme {i} to assume intransitive form.

N{-iaq}V, -iarpoq (S is broken/damaged).

N{-iq}V, -erpaa (-iivoq), -erpoq (A removes N from P). This affix uses the HTR-morpheme {i} to assume intransitive form. If used with intransitive endings

- without HTR, -erpoq, the meaning is changed to 'N has been removed; it has become N-free; S removes N'.
- N{-iqniaq}V, -erniarpoq (S sells/will sell N).
- N{-irut(ə)}V, -eruppaa (-erussivoq), -eruppoq (A deprives P of N; A removes N from P; there are no more N's). This affix uses the HTR-morpheme {ci} for its intransitive form. Otherwise, when used with an intransitive ending, it means 'there are no more N's'.
- N{-liarə}V, -liaraa (-liarinnippoq) (A makes P into an N; A makes an N from P). This affix is a true schwa-stem, so it uses the HTR-morpheme (nnək). It may display sound replacivity on to-stems.
- N{-liq}V, -lerpaa (-liivoq) (A provides P with an N). This affix may display sound replacivity on to-stems. It uses the HTR-morpheme {i}, yielding the form -liivoq. When this form is used with numerals, it can mean 'S turns N (years)', e.g. 20liivoq (he turns 20); an expression you would use when speaking of someone's birthday.
- N{-lirə}V, -lerivoq, -leraaq (S works with N; S occupies himself with N). Although this affix is a true schwa-stem, it is seldom used with the special endings for schwa-stems today; not even the otherwise mandatory /əllu/ -> /alu/ transformation for contemporative. It may furthermore display sound replacivity on tə-stems.
- N{-lircaaq}V, -lersaarpoq (S tells about N). May display sound replacivity on tastems.
- N{-lirsuq}V, -lersorpaa (-lersuivoq) (A provides P with several N, one by one/bit by bit). It uses the HTR-morpheme {i}, and it may display sound replacivity on tə-stems.
- N{-liuq}V, -liorpog (S makes N). It may display sound replacivity on to-stems.
- N{-liut(ə)}V, -liuppaa (-liussivoq) (A begins to use P as N). This affix uses the HTRmorpheme {ci} for its intransitive form. It may display sound replacivity on tə-stems.
- N{-lliq}V, -llerpoq (S serves N; S is serving out N).
- $N\{(m)mik\}V$, +(m)mippaa, +(r)mippaa (A touches P with N). This affix uses the form $N\{(q)$ mik $\}V$ on to-stems; that is, the sandhi-epenthetic consonant will be a /q/ on these stems, instead of the usual /m/ used on all other vowel stems.
- $N{INST}{Vq}V$, $\pm meerpoq$, $\pm meerpoa$ (S does s.t. with N; A does s.t. to P with N). Verbalisation of the objective (or 'instrumental') case.
- $N{\eta \eta uqtat}V$, -nngortippaa (A makes P into an N).
- N{-riaq}V, -riarpoq (S does s.t. N times). This affix is (in this sense) only used with nouns for numerals and similar countables like {qassi}N.
- **N**{-ruq}**V**, -rorpaa (A hits P in the N); usually used with nouns for body parts.

N{ccit}V, -ssippaa (-ssiivoq) (A gives N to P). This affix uses the HTR-morpheme {i} for its intransitive form. When used with intransitive endings without HTR, the meaning is reflexive: 'A gives himself N'. This affix is actually formed from a fusion of the nominal future affix N{ccaq}N and an ancient morpheme {-lit} similar in meaning to N{-liq}V (equip with), so a sense 'future N' is already implied in this affix.

 $N{teQ}V$, +terpaa (+terivoq) (A covers/sprinkles/smears P with N), for example with ${imeQ}N$ (water) \Longrightarrow^* imerterpaa (he sprinkles it with water = 'he waters it'). This affix behaves similar to a nominal strong q-stem, since it ends in /eq/. Thus, vowel-initial affixes – especially ${ute}$ – will not be able to remove this final /q/, but only weaken it to /r/. For example, with $V{-ute}N$ (tool for Vb'ing) we get \Longrightarrow^* imerterut (a watering can). Similarly, this affix uses the HTR-morpheme ${i}$ for its intransitive form, but it too will attach to /q/ and only weaken it, such that we get $\Longrightarrow N{teri}V \Longrightarrow^* +terivoq$.

N{tuq}V, +torpoq (eat/drink/consume N).³ This is the notorious 'consumption affix' which, because of the t-to-s rule may become +sorpoq when following a true /i/. See further in aside 3.3 in the *Introduction to West Greenlandic* (Lybech, 2019, p. 47). In combination with the affix V{uma}V \imp N{tuuma}V it means 'S often eats (or uses) N' or 'S likes to eat (or use) N'.

 $^{^3}$ This affix is also found in some lexicalised stems where it means 'use N' or 'travel in N' instead; e.g. qajartorpoq means 'he sails in kayak' and not 'he eats a kayak'.

6 Verbal extenders

This group of affixes are designated by the label **V**{extender}**V**. Many of these affixes can be used on stems of all valencies, so although I give the DAKA form with the **V**{vuq} ending it does not mean that these affixes are necessarily intransitive. Only when I explicitly mention a Subject (S), or, conversely, only give the DAKA form with a *transitive* ending and describe its meaning in terms of Agents (A) and Patients (P), should you take it as indication that the affix only can be used with a specific valency.

6.1 Judging and saying

V{ðuucaaq}V, +tuusaarpoq (S pretends to Vb). A combination of V{ðuq}N and N{-ucaaq}V.

V{-gə}**V**, -gaa (-ginnippoq) (A considers P too Vb'ing). This affix is especially used with verbal stems having an adjectival meaning, like 'S is big', 'S is distant' etc. Note that this affix is generally *truncative* on consonant stems, *except* on q-stems where /qg/ regularly fuses to /r/. It always uses the HTR-morpheme {nnək} for its intransitive form.

V{-gəssaa}**V**, -gissaavoq (S complains about Vb'ing). This affix only makes sense on stems describing a state of being; for example {aki}**N** (price) + **N**{-kit}**V** (has a small N) \implies akikippoq (it is cheap), which in combination with this affix gives us \implies akikigissaavoq (he complains about its being cheap).

V{gunaq}**V**, + gunarpoq (S looks like/seems to be Vb'ing).

V{kkuk}V, -kkuppaa (A reckons P Vb's).

V{-naaq}V, -naarpaa (A finds P too Vb'ing; more Vb'ing than expected).

V{niraq}**V**, + *nerarpaa* (A says that P Vb's). This affix is one of the few that may even follow the sentential segment. It can be added to both monovalent and divalent stems, which however affects the meaning slightly:

• On a *monovalent* stem (S Vb's), this affix will mean "A says that P=S Vb's" with the new Patient (P) being equal to the monovalent stem's Subject (S).

If used with an intransitive ending, the meaning becomes reflexive, "S says that he (himself = S) Vb'ed". For example, *Nuumminngaanneernerarpoq* (he said that he (himself) was from Nuuk).

- On a *divalent* stem $(A_1 \text{ Vb's } P_1)$, this affix will mean " $A_1 = A_2$ says that he (himself $= A_2$) Vb'ed $P_1 = P_2$ ", or in other words, the Agent who did the Vb'ing (A_1) and the Agent who does the saying (A_2) is the same person, and the Patient in both the stem and this affix is also the same $(P_1 = P_2)$. For example with $\{\text{taku}\} V$ (A sees P) and $V\{\text{vara}\}$ (I Vb him) $\Longrightarrow^* takunerar$ (I said I saw him).
- It is, however, also possible to use this affix in a sense, where the two Agents do *not* coincide, such that $A_1 \neq A_2$, or, in other words, that the Agent who does the Vb'ing in the stem (A_1) is different from the Agent who does the saying in the affix (A_2) . This would be a so-called *double transitive* sentence, and in this case, the meaning will be " A_2 says that $P_1 = P_2$ was Vb'ed (by someone $= A_1$)". Here, the previous Agent of the stem (A_1) is left unspecified ('by someone') and is not mentioned in the ending. It can, however be added in the allative case, as an argument to the verb. Continuing the previous example, *ilinnut takunerarpara* (I said he was seen by you). You will have to rely on context to decide whether the two Agents coincide or not.

 $V{(q)palaaq}V$, +(r)palaarpoq (it can be heard that s.b./s.t. is Vb'ing). Avalent.

 $V{(q)pallak}V$, +(r)pallappoq (it can be heard/felt that s.b./s.t. is Vb'ing; it is said/reported that S Vb's). Avalent or monovalent.

 $V{(q)paluk}V$, +(r)paluppoq (it looks/sounds like S Vb's). Monovalent.

 $V{(q)pasik}V$, +(r)pasippoq (it looks like S Vb's). Monovalent.

 $V{ssana}V$, -ssangavoq (S expects to Vb). In combination with $V{tət}V \implies V{ssanatət}V$ it mean 'A expects/thinks P will Vb'.

V{surə}**V**, **V**{sugə}**V**, + (ga/na)soraa, + (ga/na)sugaa (A thinks that P Vb's). This affix is one of the few that even may follow the sentential segment. It exists in two different forms, **V**{surə}**V** and **V**{sugə}**V**, which can seemingly be used interchangeably with no difference in meaning. Neither of these forms will assimilate a preceding /t/, so on t-stems we get "-ts-". Furthermore, both forms can optionally be preceded by a {ga}, again with no change of meaning. Lastly, this optional {ga} can also be {na} instead.¹ Since both variants are schwa-stems, they also both take {nnək} as HTR-morpheme ⇒* + sorinnippoq, + suginnippoq,

¹Apparently, {na} is more common than {ga} in Northern Greenland; at least according to Fortescue (1983).

both of which (of course) also can have the optional $\{ga\}$ or $\{na\}$ prefix. With intransitive endings without HTR, the meaning becomes reflexive (S thinks that he himself Vb's). The affix can be used on both monovalent and divalent stems, affecting the meaning similar to the description above for $V\{niraq\}V$:

- On a *monovalent* stem (S Vb's) this affix will mean "A thinks that P=S Vb's".
- On a *divalent* stem $(A_1 \ Vb's \ P_1)$ this affix will mean " A_2 thinks $P_1 = P_2$ was Vb'ed (by someone $= A_1$)". The stem's Agent (A_1) is not marked in the ending, but can be added to the sentence as a secondary object in the allative case.

 $V\{tət\}V$, $\pm tippaa$ (A thinks/is of the opinion that P Vb's). This affix is generally additive, *except* on old t-stems and utə-stems, where it is truncative. Thus, on t-stems it will delete this final $/t/^2$ and on utə-stems it will attach to $/(\partial)/$. In the sense given here, this affix is primarily used after stems describing a state of being; especially following $N\{-u\}V$ (be), $N\{-qaq\}V$ (have) and $V\{naq\}V$ (it is Vb'able).

6.2 Wishing and waiting

 $V{yuma}V$, + *jumavoq* (wants to Vb).

V{yumagaluaq}**V**, + *jumagaluarpoq* (would (otherwise) have wanted to Vb).

V{yumalliq}V, + *jumallerpoq* (gets a sudden urge to Vb).

V{yumanəru}**V**, + jumaneruvoq (would rather Vb (than do s.t. else)).

 $V{\text{yumatu}}V$, + jumatuvoq (always wants to Vb; is one who prefers to Vb's).

V{(q)gusuk}**V**, *-rusuppoq* (would like to Vb; desires to Vb).

V{(t)siq}V, +(t)serpaa (+(t)siivoq) (A waits for the P to Vb). This affix does not assimilate a preceding /t/, so on vowel-stems and t-stems this affix will appear as + tserpaa. It uses the HTR-morpheme {i} for its intransitive form, +(t)siivoq.

6.3 Causation and request

V{ŋŋitcuuqtət}**V**, *-nngitsoortippaa* (A prevents P from Vb'ing). **V**{-qatəsirə}**V**, *-qatiseraa* (A asks P to Vb with him).

²Provided that people can remember which consonant stems are actually t-stems, which is sadly not always the case. Thus, expect some irregularity w.r.t. the sandhi-behaviour of this affix.

V{qqu}**V**, -qquaa (-qqusivoq) (A bids/asks P to Vb). Intransitive form is formed with the HTR-morpheme {ci}. When used with intransitive endings without HTR, the meaning is passive (S asks/bids (someone) to Vb him).

V{qqunnit}**V**, -qqunngilaa (A forbids P to Vb; A asks P not to Vb).

V{qqusaaq}**V**, -qqusaarpoq (S does s.t. to get people to Vb him).

V{qqucau}V, -qqusaavoq (S is allowed to Vb). A combination of V{qqu}V + V{-ðaq}N (passive participle) and N{-u}V (be). If we further add the negation V{ŋŋit}V we obtain ⇒ V{qqucauŋŋit}V ⇒* -qqusaanngilaq (S must not Vb; S is forbidden to Vb).

V{saaq}**V**, +saarpaa (A tries to get P to Vb as much as possible).

V{saq}**V**, + *sarpaa* (+ *saavoq*) (A tries to get P to Vb). The intransitive form is formed with the HTR-morpheme {i}, which thus yields / + saivuq/ \Longrightarrow * + *saavoq*.

 $V\{\text{tət}\}V$, $\pm tippaa$ ($\pm titsivoq$) (A lets P Vb; A causes P to Vb). This affix is truncative on t-stems, and on ut(ə)-stems it attaches to /(ə)/, so with e.g. {ikkut(ə)}V we get \implies /ikkut(ə)tetvaa/ \implies ikkutitippaa. Otherwise, it is additive. The intransitive form is formed with the HTR-morpheme {ci}, which does *not* assimilate the preceding /t/, thus yielding $\pm titsivoq$. When used intransitively without HTR, the meaning of this affix is *resultative passive* (S is Vb'ed).

V{tətəQ}**V**, ±titerpaa (±titerivoq) (A lets P Vb in stages/one by one). This is a combination of **V**{tət}**V**, described above, and **V**{təQ}**V** (repeatedly; one by one), so its sandhi behaviour is like **V**{tət}**V**. Its intransitive form is formed with the HTR-morpheme {i}, and like with other stems ending in /əq/, the final /q/ cannot be removed by a vowel, and is thus instead only weakened to /r/, ⇒* ±titerivoq. When used intransitively without HTR, the meaning is resultative passive (S is Vb'ed in stages/several times/one by one).

V{t(s)aili(uq)}**V**, +t(s)aalivaa, +t(s)aaliorpaa (A prevents P from Vb'ing). This affix is sandhi-epenthetic, but unlike most other affixes of this kind, the epenthetic /(s)/ is injected within the affix (after /t/), rather than before it, and this /s/ does not assimilate the preceding /t/. Thus, on vowel stems we get the +tsaalivaa form, whilst on consonant stems we get the +taalivaa form. However, on t-stems we also get the form with -ts-, so e.g. following V{ $\eta\eta$ it}V we get \Longrightarrow^* -nngitsaalivaa. The affix can appear with, or without the final /(uq)/ segment; there is no difference in meaning, but +t(s)aaliorpaa may be the most common/preferred form by some speakers.

6.4 Striving and intending

 $V{giaq}V$, + *giarpoq* (go and Vb; go to Vb).

³Especially speakers of the Central West Greenlandic dialect, according to Fortescue (1983).

V{(gi)jaqtuq}**V**, + artorpoq, + jartorpoq, -kkiartorpoq, -riartorpoq (go and Vb; go to Vb). The prefix /(gi)/ is removed on vowel stems, but present on all consonant stems, including utə-stems. Thus we get -kkiartorpoq on consonant and ut(ə)-stems, and -riartorpoq on q-stems by the ordinary rules for assimilartion and fusion of /g/. However, on vowel stems, where /(gi)/ is not present, we instead get + jartorpoq, except when following an /i/ sound, since [j] is not written after [i]; thus we are left with just + artorpoq in this case.

V{-liqcaaq}**V**, -lersaarpoq (intends to Vb).

V{naviiqsaaq}V, + naveersaarpoq (endeavours not to Vb).

 $V{nialuk}V$, + *nialuppoq* (tries a little to Vb).

 $V{niaq}V$, + *niarpoq* (tries to Vb).

V{niaqcarə}**V**, + niarsaraaq (tries (despite difficulty) to Vb).

V{niinnaq}**V**, + *niinnarpoq* (tries all the time/at all costs/just to Vb).

V{niqqicaut(ə)}**V**, +neqqisaapput (Several S'es compete at Vb'ing).

V{qqaanniuut(ə)}**V**, -qqaanniuupput (Several S'es compete at Vb'ing).

V{-riaraluaq}**V**, -riaraluarpoq (tries unsuccessfully to Vb).

V{ccamaaq}**V**, -ssamaarpoq (intends/plans to Vb).

6.5 Potentiality

- **V**{ δ ariaqaq}**V**, + tariaqarpoq (must Vb; needs to Vb). This affix can seemingly also be followed by {-irut(ϑ)}, thus creating the affix **V**{ δ ariaqairut(ϑ)}**V** \Longrightarrow^* + tariaqaaruppoq (S needs no longer to Vb).
- V{-ðaccau}V, + sassaavoq, -tassaavoq, -gassaavoq (S is to be Vb'ed (by someone)). This affix is a combination of passive participle V{-ðaq}N (see it for an explanation of the special sandhi rules), future nominal affix N{ccaq}N and N{-u}V (be). It only makes sense on divalent stems, since it reduces the valency.
- **V**{ðuccau}**V**, + *tussaavoq* (is supposed to Vb). This affix indicates an obligation. It is formed from a combination of intransitive participle **V**{ðuq}**N**, nominal future affix **N**{ccaq}**N** and **V**{-u}**N** (be).
- V{õuccannuq}V, + tussanngorpoq (S is about to Vb). This affix is formed similarly to the one above, but with the verbaliser N{nnuq}V (S becomes N) as the last segment instead.
- $V{-ja}V$, -javoq (S is apt to Vb; S can easily Vb). This affix can be followed by the privative affix $V{-it}V \implies V{-jait}V \implies$ -jaippoq (S is not likely to Vb), or by $V{\eta\eta it}V \implies V{-ja\eta\eta it}V \implies$ -jangilaq (S cannot Vb; S never Vb's).
- **V**{-juit}**V**, -*juippoq* (S cannot Vb; S never Vb's). Another affix formed by combination with privative **V**{-it}**V**.
- **V**{-katak}**V**, -*katappoq* (is tired of Vb'ing).

V{llaqqik}**V**, -llaqqippoq (S is proficient at Vb'ing).

V{naq}V, +narpoq (it is Vb'able; it is Vb'some, it is such as to Vb). This affix is purely avalent; it only makes sense with endings in 3p.sg. It can even be used without verbal endings, to create an exclamatory form V{naq!}, for example with {quja}V (say thanks) ⇒* qujanaq! (thank you!). V{naq}V can also be followed by privative V{-it}V ⇒ V{nait}V (it is un-Vb'able; un-Vb'some; etc). This affix can itself be used exclamatorily, without verbal endings, but in that case, the final /t/ will be pronounced as a [k]. For example alianarpoq (it is sad/tragic) ⇒* alianaak! (how wonderful!).

V{naviiq}V, + naveerpoq (can no longer Vb).

V{-riainnau}**V**, -riaannaavoq (S is easily Vb'ed; S is ready to Vb).

 $V{sinnaa}V$, + sinnaavoq (can Vb; is able to Vb).

V{sinnaannuq}V, + sinnaanngorpoq (becomes able to Vb).

V{sinnaatətau}**V**, + sinnaatitaavoq (S has been given permission/right to Vb). With the dummy base {pi}**V** and **V**{(v)vik}**N** is obtained the word for *rights*, e.g. *pisinnaatitaaffikka*, *my rights*.

V{siriaq}V, + seriarpoq (can easily Vb; is liable to Vb). This affix can also combine with privative V{-it}V to create an affix with the opposite meaning, but it does so irregularly, since it behaves like an aq-stem. Thus we get ⇒ V{siriit}V ⇒* + seriippoq (S Vb's with difficulty; S is not liable to Vb) with deletion of the final /aq/.

 $V{yuminaq}V$, +juminarpoq (S is easy/good to Vb). This affix can also combine with privative $V{-it}V \implies V{yuminait}V \implies^* + juminaappoq$ (S is difficult to Vb)

6.6 Relation shifters

V{-ðau}**V**, +*saavoq*, -*taavoq*, -*gaavoq* (stative passive, 'S has been Vb'ed'). This affix is formed by a combination of passive participle **V**{-ðaq}**N** (so see it for an explanation of the special sandhi rules) and **N**{-u}**V** (be). It thus only makes sense on divalent stems. It marks the Subject as being *one who has been* Vb'ed; he is in a state of *having been* Vb'ed.

 $V{neqaq}V$, + neqarpoq (dynamic passive, 'S is being Vb'ed').

V{-qatəgə}**V**, -qatigaa (A Vb's together with P).

V{-qategiik}**V**, -qatigiipput (the S'es Vb together, reciprocally). This affix only makes sense with endings in plural.

V{tət}V, $\pm tippoq$ (resultative passive, 'S is Vb'ed'). This is merely the affix V{tet}V, used with intransitive endings.

- **V**{-uccuq}**V**, *-ussorpai* (*-ussuivoq*) (A Vb's with/for P one by one/bit by bit). This affix is formed through a combination of **V**{-ut(ə)}**V** and **V**{(q)cuq}**V** (repeated action), and as such it may remove an /aq/ on aq-stems. It forms intransitive with the HTR-morpheme {i}.
- **V**{-ut(ə)}**V**, **V**{ccut(ə)}**V**, -(ss)uppaa (-(ss)ussivoq) (A Vb's with/for P). This affix adds a Patient to a monovalent stem, thus increasing its valency (making it divalent). For example, kamappoq (he is angry) \Longrightarrow * kamaappaa (he is angry at him). However, if the stem already is divalent, this affix exchanges the old Patient (P_1) with a new one (P_2). For example nassippaa (he sends \lim_{P_1} <something-mik $_{P_2}$ >) \Longrightarrow * nassiuppaa (he sends it $_{P_2}$ <to \lim_{P_1} -mut>). When used with intransitive endings, the result may be reflexive (he Vb's with himself) or, if the ending is plural, reciprocal (they Vb each other). However, this only makes sense if the Agent-turned-Subject is a person; if it is a thing the meaning may instead be resultative passive (S is Vb'ed). Otherwise, to assume intransitive form without changing its meaning, this affix uses the HTR-morpheme {ci} \Longrightarrow * -(ss)ussivoq. Lastly, notice there are several forms of this affix:
 - **V**{-ut(ə)}**V** is the general form. It can remove /aq/ on aq-stems, and weaken a /Q/ to /r/ on strong q-stems (əq-stems). It may even (irregularly) cause gemination in a few lexicalised stems like *tunivaa* (he gives him (something)) $\Longrightarrow^* tunniuppaa$ (he gives it (to someone)).
 - V{ccut(ə)}V is a variant that is commonly used on vowel-stems, but it may
 also be used in a sense of "reason for Vb'ing" similar to the affix V{-ccutə}N.
 - V{'-t(ə)}V is an old variant of this affix, which caused gemination in the stem whenever possible. It is rarely used today, except perhaps to form new, official terms for specific concepts, but many lexicalised words have been formed by it. For example, *pitsippaa* (he buys (s.t.) for him) from {pisi}V (buy s.t.); *atuffappaa* (he read (s.t.) to him) from {atuvaq}V (he reads it), and so on. Every ut(ə)-stem in the dictionary is formed by one or another form of this affix.
- V{-utəgə}V, V{ccutəgə}V, -(ss)utigaa (A Vb's with/because of P; P is A's means/reason for Vb'ing). This affix is a straightforward combination of the nominaliser V{-utə}N (tool/means for Vb'ing) or one of its variants, usually V{ccutə}N (reason for Vb'ing), and then the affix N{gə}V (P is A's N).
- $V\{(v)vig\ni\}V$, +(f)figaa (A Vb's with respect to P; P is A's place/time for Vb'ing). This affix is a straightforward combination of $V\{(v)vik\}N$ (Vb'ing place/time) or (rarely) 'person', or its variant $V\{'-vik\}N$, which may cause gemination in the stem, and then the affix $N\{g\ni\}V$ (P is A's N). For example, *oqarpoq* (he says

something) $\Longrightarrow^* oqar figa$ (he says something **to him**). For a (lexicalised) example with the geminating variant, consider quidatoq (he thanks (someone)) $\Longrightarrow^* qutsaviga$ (he thanks **him**).

7 Verbal modifiers

This is the group of affixes designated by the label **V**{modifier}**V**. Unlike the extenders described above, several modifiers may appear in succession in a verbal stem, as indicated in figure 1.3 by the loop. Many of them are 'adverbial' in the sense that their meaning often can be translated with an English adverb, such as 'strongly', 'continuously', 'half-heartedly' etc. They do not modify the valency of the stem, so although I shall generally give their 'DAKA-form' with intransitive endings, they can just as well be used in a transitive verb.

7.1 Degree

V{ðuqcuu}V / V{ðurujukcuu}V, +torsuuvoq, +torujussuuvoq (Vb's greatly). This is a combination of V{ðuq}N (intransitive participle), N{(q)cuaq}N, and lastly followed by N{-u}V ⇒* +torsuuvoq. The affix N{-rujuk}N can be inserted before N{(q)cuaq}N to yield ⇒* +torujussuuvoq for added emphasis, and it may even be repeated arbitrarily many times for further emphasis; e.g. +torujorujorujussuvoq (Vb'ed very, very, very, ... much). This is a very (very, very) common construction in ordinary speech.

V{-aluk}**V**, -aluppoq (Vb's here and there; Vb's a little).

V{-kujuk}**V**, -kujuppoq (Vb's somewhat/partially).

V{-kuluk}**V**, -*kuluppoq* (is rather/quite Vb'ing). This affix is seemingly only used with stems for states of being (is Vb'ing).

V{-kutcuuq}**V**, -*kutsoorpoq* (Vb's greatly). Notice that /c/ does not assimilate /t/ withing the stem, so we get -*ts*-.

V{-laaq}**V**, -laarpoq (Vb's a little).

V{(l)luinnaq}V, +(l)luinnarpoq (is completely Vb'ing). Seemingly only used with stems for states of being (is Vb'ing).

V{- η aaq}V, -ngaarpoq (Vb's greatly). When this affix is combined with the negation affix V{ η η it}V, we get $\implies V$ {- η aa η η it}V, -ngaangilaq (does not especially Vb).

V{-najak}V, -ngajappoq (Vb's almost/more or less).

 $V\{naru\}V$, + neruvoq (is more/most Vb'ing). This affix is used for comparing verbal stems with an adjectival meaning. It is a combination of $V\{naQ\}N$ (the most Vb'ing) and $N\{-u\}V$ (is an N). Another possibility is instead to verbalise $V\{naqpaaq\}N$ (the most Vb'ing) $\Rightarrow V\{naqpaaqu\}V$, + nerpaa(ju)voq. The parentheses indicate that some speakers actually will treat it as a verbal affix in itself and just say + nerpaavoq instead. A third possibility is to combine $V\{naQ\}N$ with $N\{-rujuk\}N$ and $N\{(q)cuaq\}N$ and then verbalise this combination instead, as $\Rightarrow V\{narujukcuu\}V$, + nerujussuuvoq (Vb's much more). If you use this for comparison of two nouns, like "Nuka is biger than Piitaq", the object of comparison (the noun following 'than', here 'Piitaq') will be in the ablative case; e.g. Nuka Piitamit anneruvoq.

V{-pajaaq}**V**, -pajaarpoq (is partly/more or less Vb'ing).

 $V{(q)piaq}V$, + (r)piarpoq (is exactly/really Vb'ing).

V{qqaq}V, -qqarpoq (barely Vb'ed). In combination with the negation affix V{ $\eta\eta$ it}V we get $\implies V$ {qqa η it}V (Vb's a lot).

V{qqik}**V**, -qqippoq (is very/completely Vb'ing). Notice, this usage is uncommon. Usually, this affix would mean 'again', but it is also attested in the DAKA with this second, unusual meaning.

V{qqinnaaq}**V**, -qqinnaarpoq (is completely Vb'ing).

V{-rujuk}V, -rujuppoq (Vb's a little).

V{-rujuuq}**V**, -rujoorpoq (Vb's a little).

V{-ruttuq}**V**, -ruttorpoq (is at the height of Vb'ing; as Vb'ing as possible). This affix is used to describe the moment when someone or something, being in one state of Vb'ing, is just about to transition into another state of Vb'ing. The classical example is that of an aeroplane (or bird etc.). The verb *tingivoq* means 'it takes off'. It transitions from a state of being on the ground, to a state of flying. By adding this affix, we obtain *tingeruttorpoq* which describes that the aeroplane is now at the very moment of transitioning; just when the wheels lift off the ground.

V{tigə}**V**, +tigaaq (is as Vb as s.t.). This affix is used for comparisons, usually with something in the equative case. For example, *Piitaq angivoq* means 'Peter is big' (or tall). Now suppose we want to express that 'Piitaq is **as** big **as** Nuka'. We can achieve that by adding this affix to the verb and adding the ending **N**{tut} (equative singular) to Nuka: *Piitaq Nukatut angitigaaq*. Alternatively, we can express that "Piitaq is **as** big **as that**", where 'that' then refers either to something previously mentioned, or to something you indicate with e.g. your hand. This is done with a word such as taama(k) or ima¹ thus: Piitaq taama angitigaaq.

¹They are both demonstratives. See the *Introduction to West Greenlandic* (Lybech, 2019, appendix A) for a description.

V{ttiaq}**V**, -tsiarpoq (Vb's a little/a bit).

V{-*V*mi}**V**, -*umivoq*, -*imivoq*, -*amivoq* (Vb's a little). This affix lengthens a preceding vowel, so we get /u/, /i/ or /a/ depending on the last vowel in the stem.

V{-ucaq}**V**, -usarpoq (is more or less Vb'ing).

 $V{\text{vallaaq}}V$, +vallaarpoq (is too Vb'ing; is Vb'ing too much; is Vb'ing very much). When negated using $V{\eta\eta it}V$ we obtain $\Rightarrow V{\text{vallaa}\eta\eta it}V$ (Vb not so much).

V{-vik}**V**, -vippoq (is really/completely Vb'ing).

V{-viksuq}**V**, -*vissorpoq* is really/completely Vb'ing).

7.2 Manner

V{-(j)allak}**V**, -allappoq, -jallappoq (S suddenly Vb'ed a bit). This affix irregularly injects a phonotactically epenthetic /j/, rather than the regular /v/, whenever epenthesis is required by phonotactics; that is, following a long vowel.

V{-aqcuk}**V**, -arsuppoq (Vb's half-heartedly).

V{galuaq}**V**, + *galuarpoq* (would (otherwise) have Vb'ed, but...).

 $V{gasuaq}V$, + gasuarpoq (Vb's quickly).

V{(g)innaq}**V**, -innarpoq, -ginnarpoq (is just/only Vb'ing). This affix irregularly injects a phonotactically epenthetic /g/, rather than the regular /v/, whenever epenthesis is required by phonotactics; that is, following a long vowel.

V{-jaallu}V, -jaalluvoq (habitually Vb's early).

V{-jaaq}V, -jaarpoq (Vb's early).

V{-ləqtuq}**V**, -lertorpoq (Vb's quickly; Vb's shortly).

V{llarik}**V**, -llarippoq (S Vb's well).

 $V{(l)luaq}V$, + (l)luarpoq (Vb's well). A very common affix.

V{-lussinnaq}**V**, -lussinnarpoq (Vb'ed in vain).

V{-luucaaq}**V**, -luusaarpoq (Vb's patiently/slowly/at one's ease).

V{nasuaq}V, + nasuarpoq (Vb's quickly). An alternative form of V{gasuaq}V described above.

V{niqluk}V, + *nerluppoq* (Vb's badly/unpleasantly).

V{niqliuq}V, + *nerliorpoq* (Vb's badly/unpleasantly).

V{-palaaq}**V**, -palaarpoq (Vb's half-heartedly/with difficulty).

V{-pallak}**V**, -pallappoq (Vb's quickly/hurridly).

V{-piluk}**V**, -piluppoq (Vb's strongly/violently/hard).

V{-piluuq}**V**, -piloorpoq (Vb's strongly/violently/hard).

V{qqissaaq}**V**, -qqissaarpoq (Vb's carefully/exactly).

V{-riasaaq}**V**, -riasaarpoq (Vb's suddenly/unexpectedly).

V{-riataaq}**V**, -riataarpoq (Vb's suddenly/unexpectedly).

V{-ruluk}**V**, -ruluppoq (Vb's hard/violently).

V{-ruluuq}**V**, -ruloorpaa (A Vb's P hard/violently).

V{-rucaaq}**V**, -rusaarpoq (Vb's slowly/at one's ease).

V{tsak}**V**, -tsappoq (becomes Vb'ing). This affix is seemingly only used with verbs for moods/emotions to indicate a change *into* a particular mood, feeling or state of mind.

V{-ummiq}V, V{-Vmmiq}V, -ummerpoq, -ammerpoq, -immerpoq (becomes suddenly Vb'ing). This affix appears to be used only with verbs for feelings, moods, emotions to indicate that the person suddenly shifts that state of mind. The variant V{-Vmmiq}V just lengthens a preceding vowel; the two forms appear to be used interchangeably.

7.3 Phase of completion

V{galuttuinnaq}V, + *galuttuinnarpoq* (Vb gradually, more and more).

V{(gi)jaqtuaaq}**V**, -iartuaarpoq, + jartuaarpoq, -kkiartuaarpoq, -riartuaarpoq (Vb gradually, more and more). The (gi)-part is *not present* on vowel stems.

 $V{(gi)jaqtuq}V$, -iartorpoq, +jartorpoq, -kkiartorpoq, -riartorpoq (Vb more and more). The (gi)-part is *not present* on vowel stems.

 $V{li}V$, + *livoq* (S becomes Vb'ing).

V{-liq}**V**, -*lerpoq* (begin to Vb; be about to Vb).

V{-ŋajak}**V**, -ngajappoq (is almost Vb'ing).

V{nəkuu}V, + nikuuvoq (has once Vb'ed; has already Vb'ed). This affix describes a perfective state, but it can also be used to emphasise that something has once happened. For example, *Qaqortumiinnikuuvunga* (I have once been in Qaqortoq). Similarly, you can negate this affix with V{ηηit}V to express that you have never (yet) Vb'ed; *Qaqortumiinnikuunngilanga* (I have never been in Qaqortoq).

V{nialiq}V, + nialerpoq (set about to Vb).

V{nniliq}**V**, -nngilerpog (has not Vb'ed for some time).

V{nniqsaa(q)}**V**, -nngersaavoq, -nngersaarpoq (is just about to Vb). Forms with or without the final /q/ can seemingly be used interchangeably.

V{qqa}V, -qqavoq (S is in a state of Vb'ing). Two other affixes with a similar meaning also exist, V{-ŋa}V and V{ma}V, but they are not actively used in word construction today, although you can find them in lexicalised stems.

V{qqajaa}**V**, **V**{qqajaq}**V**, -qqajaavoq, -qqajarpoq (is about to Vb; is almost Vb'ing). The two forms have similar meanings.

V{qcaarə}**V**, -rsaaraa (A is in the middle of Vb'ing P).

V{-riaq}**V**, -riarpoq (set about to Vb).

V{-riiqsima}**V**, *-reersimavoq* (has already Vb'ed). This combination of affixes describes a perfective state. Due to the confusing nature of **V**{sima}**V**, there may

- also be a notion of 'apparently', as if the speaker has *deduced* that the verbal action must have taken place, but has not himself observed it.
- **V**{riiqnəkuu}**V**, *-reernikuuvoq* (has already Vb'ed). This combination of affixes also describes a perfective state. It may be less ambiguous than **V**{-riiqsima}**V** mentioned above.
- V{sima}V, + simavoq (has Vb'ed). This affix describes a perfective state. For example, ilinniarpoq (he studies s.t.), but ilinniarsimavoq (he has completed his studies). However, due to the many other meanings of V{sima}V, this usage may be less common today. Speakers may instead prefer V{nəkuu}V in this sense, since it is less ambiguous.
- **V**{simaaq}**V**, + *simaarpoq* (S feels well after having Vb'ed). This affix describes a continuing state.
- **V**{ssaaq}**V**, -ssaarpoq (has stopped Vb'ing; Vb's no longer).
- V{yumaaqnəqtu}V, + jumaarnertuvoq (is slow to Vb; takes a long time to Vb).
- **V**{yumaataaq}**V**, + *jumaataarpoq* (is slow to Vb; takes a long time to Vb).
- **V**{yunnaiq}**V**, + *junnaarpoq* (Vb's no more; Vb's no longer). There is a variant of this affix with the same meaning, **V**{-gunnaiq}**V**. This variant is truncative on all stems, even q-stems, so for example *erserpoq* (the weather clears up) but *ersigunnaarpoq* (there's heavy snow-fall). It is unclear to me whether either form can be used in all cases, or if this latter form is restricted to a few, lexicalised stems. The first form, *yunnaiq*, seems to be the most common.

7.4 Frequency and duration

- $V{\delta ara}V$, + taraaq (usually, habitually Vb's). This is probably a more literary style affix than $V{\delta aq}V$.
- V{ðaq}V, + tarpoq (habitually Vb's). This affix is used whenever an action is recurring (habitual), as opposed to occurring only once. Consider the question: "Do you drink coffee?" If you are holding a cup of something in your hand, then I might just be inquiring about what you are presently drinking. In that case, I could pose the question as kaffisorpit? However, if I instead want to know if you habitually drink coffee if you are a coffee-drinker rather than whether you are drinking it now specifically, then I would have to use this affix and instead say kaffisortarpit? It is also always used whenever you have a subordinate clause in the iterative mood; e.g. ullaakkorsioraangama kaffisortarpunga (whenever I eat breakfast, I drink coffee). There are also a few specialities:
 - If this affix takes the form -sar- (as it regularly does on a vowel stem), and
 if it is followed by passive participle V{-ðaq}N, then it is repeated, such
 that we get ⇒* -sartagaq.

• Negating this affix with V{ŋŋit}V will just mean that the verbal action is not habitual. You might still be drinking coffee, but it is just not something you do habitually. However, if you instead want to express that you never drink coffee, you must instead replace V{ðaq}V with the special construction V{nəq ajuq}V (never Vb), such that instead of kaffisortarpunga you get kaffisorneq ajorpunga. Even though this looks like two separate words, the construction should be regarded as a single affix, since it preserves the valency of the stem: If you use it on a divalent stem, you can add a transitive ending to V{nəq ajuq}V.

 $V{\delta ainnag}V$, + taannarpoq (Vb often/all the time).

 $V{gajuk}V$, + *gajuppoq* (Vb often/habitually).

V{gallaq}V, + *gallarpoq* (Vb still/for the time being).

V{(g)innaq}**V**, -innarpoq, -ginnarpoq (always/continually Vb). This affix will inject an epenthetic /g/, rather than the usual /v/, whenever epenthesis is required by phonotactics.

V{Juaq}**V**, + *juarpoq*, + *tuarpoq* (Vb continuously/constantly). This affix uses a completely idiosyncratic sound rule: Whenever this /J/ is added to a *consonant*, it becomes a /t/. Otherwise, when added to a vowel, it just becomes an ordinary /j/. In other words: $/CJ/ \rightarrow /Ct/$, and $/VJ/ \rightarrow /Vj/$. This is, as far as I know, the only example of a /j/ displaying this behaviour. However, this affix is also used in a few combinations that are also listed in the dictionary, and which thus display the same behaviour:

- **V**{Juainnaq}**V**, + *juaannarpoq*, + *tuaannarpoq* (Vb always/continually)
- **V**{Juaqsinnaq}**V**, + *juarsinnarpoq*, + *tuarsinnarpoq* (Vb all the time; Vb again and again).

V{-juqtuq}**V**, -jortorpai (A Vb's all the Ps, one after another). Note, this affix only makes sense with the Patient marker in plural.

V{-juraq}**V**, *-jorarpai* (A Vb's all the Ps, one after another). Note, this affix only makes sense with the Patient marker in plural.

V{-kula(aq)}**V**, -*kulavoq*, -*kulaarpoq* (Vb often/habitually). Forms with or without the final /aq/ can seemingly be used interchangably.

V{llattiaq}**V**, -*llatsiarpoq* (Vb briefly/for a short while).

V{llattaaq}**V**, -*llattaarpoq* (Vb from time to time).

V{llatuaq}**V**, -llatuarpoq (Vb for once).

V{mmiqsuq}**V**, -mmersorpoq (Vb for a long time; for quite some time).

V{nnisainnaq}V, -nngisaannarpoq (never Vb's). This affix is a possible alternative to using the aforementioned V{nəq ajuq}V construction to express 'never'.

V{-qattaaq}**V**, -qattaarpoq (Vb again and again).

V{qqaaq}**V**, -qqaarpoq (Vb first). This affix presupposes that you intend to express something about several Vb'ings, of which this is the first. For example, oqaqqaarpoq (he said something (as the) first). Supposedly, this implies that there will be several other people saying things afterwards.

 $V{qqik}V$, -qqippoq (Vb again).

 $V{(q)cuq}V$, +(r)sorpoq (repeated action). This affix is probably not commonly used in ordinary word construction, but you can find it in many lexicalised words. In some of these cases, it also seems to have removed a preceding /9/. For example, $\{apire\}V \implies aperaa$ (A asks P something), but in combination with this affix, we get $\{apiqcuq\}V \implies apersorpaa$ (A questions P).

V{-tuaq}**V**, -tuarpoq (Vb for once/at least).

V{-umicaaq}**V**, -umisaarpoq (-amisaarpoq, -imisaarpoq) (Vb back and forth; up and down). There is also a variant of this affix, **V**{-Vmicaaq}**V**, which just lengthens the preceding vowel.

V{-ucaaq}V, -usaarpoq (keep on Vb'ing).

8 Sentential affixes

Common to the so-called *sentential* affixes is that they have scope over the entire sentence, and not just the single stem onto which they are added. There are several subgroups, all of which are optional. Note that *negation* (section 8.3), which occurs here as a sentential group, can also appear after the group of *verbal* extenders (chapter 6), as part of the verbal stem.

8.1 Time

This is the group of affixes designated by the label **V**{*time*}**V**. Greenlandic does not, in general, distinguish between past and present, so many verbal stems can actually mean both. The affixes in this category are instead used to distinguish between completed and future actions.

V{yumaaq}**V**, + jumaarpoq (vague future, 'shall eventually/at some point Vb').

 $V{\text{niaq}}V$, + *niarpoq* (intended/inevitable future, 'intends to Vb').

 $V{n \ge V}$, + *nikuuvoq* (perfect, has Vb'ed). It is probably used more commonly than $V{sima}V$ (see below) in this sense nowadays.

 $V\{qqammiq\}V, -qqammerpoq$ (Vb'ed recently). In combination with the affix $V\{\eta\eta it\}V$ $\Rightarrow V\{qqammi\eta\eta it\}V$ it means 'some time ago' and with $V\{\eta\eta it\}V$ $\Rightarrow V\{qqammiq\eta i\eta\eta it\}V$ 'more recently'. With $V\{sima\}V$ we get $\Rightarrow V\{qqammiqsima\}V$ (plusquamperfect recent past) 'had recently'.

V{-riikatak}**V**, -riikatappoq (Vb'ed a long time ago).

V{sima}**V**, + simavoq (perfect, has Vb'ed). Apparently, this use of **V**{sima}**V** in a strictly temporal sense as a marking of 'past' is a recent invention. It has a number of other usages (marking the state of a completed action; marking an event as 'reported' rather than 'observed'), so there will undoubtedly be some confusion as to the meaning of this affix, depending on whom you speak to.

V{ssa}**V**, -ssaaq, -ssapput (future, 'shall Vb'). The meaning of this affix is 'shall' or 'should' in a temporal sense, but it *may* sometimes also be understood in the sense of an *obligation* to carry out the verbal action at some time in the future.

This affix takes *five* of the six endings in the intransitive indicative mood in an irregular fashion, deleting the single /v/ from the mood marker, but *not* the doubled /(v)v/ in 3p.pl. Thus irregularly \implies^* -ssaanga, -ssaatit, ..., -ssaasi but regularly -ssapput.

8.2 Modality

This is the group of affixes designated by the label **V**{modality}**V**. They are used to indicate the speaker's impression of the *likelihood* of the described verbal action; from something he has himself witnessed ('with his own two eyes'), to reported events that may or may not be entirely correct.

 $V\{gunaq\}V$, +gunarpoq (it seems, undoubtedly). In combination with the affix $V\{\eta\eta it\}V \implies V\{guna\eta\eta it\}V$ (certainly not). This combination can also follow $V\{naviaq\}V$ (see below) as the required negation, but with the same meaning.

V{yunnaqsi}V, + *junnarsivoq* (probably, no doubt, hopefully). It may also be found without the final $\{si\}$, but with the same meaning. This form is used in a lexicalised combination with V{ $\eta\eta it$ }V \Longrightarrow V{yunna $\eta\eta it$ }V (probably not).

 $V\{\text{naviaq}\}V + V\{\text{negation}\}V$, +navianngilaq, +naviarunanngilaq, +naviarsimanngilaq, +naviarnani (certainly not; expression of certain conviction). This affix must always be followed by a negation; usually $V\{\text{nnit}\}V$, but as mentioned above $V\{\text{gunaq}\}V$ or $V\{\text{sima}\}V$ can also appear inbetween. If this affix is used in the contemporative mood (where $V\{\text{nnit}\}V$ is not used) the negative contemporative endings are used instead as the mandatory negation element; thus e.g. with $V\{\text{nnii}\}$ (intransitive, 3r.sg) \Longrightarrow^* +naviarnani. These usages all presuppose some previous doubt on the subject.

V{nnuattiaq}**V**, -nnguatsiarpoq (probably, as far as one can see).

V{qqajaqə}**V**, -qqajaqaaq (had nearly Vb'ed; should/ought to have Vb'ed (but did not)). Note, this affix is a true schwa-stem, since the last morpheme is **V**{-qə}**V**, so it uses the special endings for schwa-stems.

V{qquuq}V, -qqoorpoq, -qqooqaaq (must seemingly/supposedly have Vb'ed). It is often used in combination with V{-qə}V, thus \Longrightarrow * -qqooqaaq. It can be preceded by V{ssa}V (shall supposedly have Vb'ed).

V{sima}V, +simavoq, -ssasimavoq (has apparently Vb'ed). This affix can follow V{ssa}V (shall apparently have Vb'ed). As a modal affix V{sima}V is used to related a *reported* or inferred event; something you regard as virtually certain must have occurred, but which you nevertheless did not witness yourself.

V{simassa}V, + simassaaq (must necessarily have Vb'ed). The other possible combination, with V{ssa}V instead following V{sima}V. V{ssa}V alone also appears to be usable in this sense.

V{ssagaluaq}V, -ssagaluarpoq (should/would have Vb'ed (but...)).

8.3 Negation (verbal and sentential)

This is the group of affixes designated by the label $V\{negation\}V$. Note that affixes from this group can appear *both* as part of a verbal stem, *and* as part of the sentential segment.

V{galuannit}**V**, + galuanngilaq (Vb not a bit/did not Vb however).

V{-it}**V**, -ippoq (is un-Vb'ing). This affix is found in many lexicalised stems, but it can seemingly also still be used in new combinations. It is used on stems, denoting a property or state, to reverse the meaning; e.g. pinnerpoq (he is handsome) ⇒* pinniippoq (he is 'un-handsome' = 'ugly'). It is often used in exclamations, without any verbal ending at all. In these cases the final consonant is pronounced as [k], so with e.g. alianarpoq (it is sad, tragic) ⇒* alianaak! (wonderful!).

V{nngilluinnarpoq (Vb not at all).

V{nnit}V, -nngilaq (negation, Vb not). This affix takes a completely idiosyncratic set of endings in some of the moods, if it is the last affix before the ending (see the *Introduction to West Greenlandic* (Lybech, 2019, p. 183)). It is a very common affix; partly because many Greenlandic verbal stems have an inherently negative meaning, so the only way to express the positive/opposite meaning is by negating the stem. For example *ajorpoq* (it is bad/broken/not working) ⇒* *ajunngilaq* (it is good/OK/working).

V{ηηitcuuq}V, -nngitsoorpoq (happened not to Vb; unfortunately). This affix indicates that the verbal action did not take place, although it was expected to. When used on the dummy base {pi}V and negated again using negative contemporative it means 'definitely Vb', e.g. pinngitsoornanga aggissaanga (I shall definitely come).

 $V{(q)piannit}V$, +(r)pianngilaq (Vb not really).

V{qqajannit}**V**, -qqajanngilaq (Vb not at all).

V{-vinnit}**V**, -vinngilaq (Vb not really). Possibly also 'not at all'.

V{ηηivik}**V**, -nngivippoq (Vb not at all; definitly not).

8.4 Subjective colouration

This is the group of affixes designated by the label **V**{*colouration*}**V**. They are used to express emphasis, animated speech etc. A small subgroup of them are used particularly with the imperative mood, or contemporative used in an imperative sense, to strengthen or soften the command in various ways.

V{galuaq}**V**, + galuarpoq (were Vb'ing, however ... (e.g. s.t. came in the way)). This affix expresses something like the English subjunctive; a difference between reality and the expected. For example, with *sulivunga* (I worked), the expression *suligaluarpunga* means something like 'I *were* working (but got distracted)'. The parenthetical clause is not a part of the actual meaning of the word, but just an example of the kind of explanation for the difference between the actual and the expected, implied by this affix.

V{galuttuaqa}}**V**, + galuttuaqaaq (be careful, there's a danger he'll Vb).

 $V\{gi\}V$, +gujoq, +gipput, +gujaa (and so (at length)/moreover he Vb'ed). This affix is the same as the morpheme $\{gi\}$ found in the set of 'future' imperative endings. However, it seems to be rarely used outside the imperative. It affects the mood marker in endings beginning in a single /v, transforming the combination /iv/ $\rightarrow /uj/$, so that for example $V\{gi\}V\{vuq\} \Rightarrow /+givuq/ \Rightarrow /+gujuq/ \Rightarrow^* +gujoq$. Similarly for $V\{gi\}V\{vaa\} \Rightarrow^* +gujaa$ etc. However, the geminated /(v)v/ in intransitive indicative gp.pl $V\{(v)vuq\}$ is *not* affected, so we get gipput in the regular way.

V{-innaq}**V**, -innarpoq, -ginnarpoq (just Vb'ing). This affix will irregularly inject an epenthetic /g/ (where phonotactics require epenthesis), rather than the regular /v/.

V{-kasik}V, V{-kassak}V, -kasippoq, -kassappoq (express disdain).

V{-llaq}**V**, -*llarpoq*, -*riallarpoq* (vivid/surprising action).

V{-llarumaaq}**V**, -llarumaarpoq (will Vb, just wait and see!).

V{-llassa}**V**, -*llassaaq* (will definitly Vb, just wait and see!). The last morpheme in this combination is **V**{ssa}**V**, so it has the same irregularities with certain endings in intransitive indicative as that affix.

 $V{(l)luinnaq}V$, +(l)luinnarpoq (really/definitely Vb'ing).

 $V\{(m)mi\}V$, +(m)mioq (and then he Vb'ed). This affix deletes initial /v/ from mood markers, so e.g. $V\{(m)mi\}V\{vuq\} \implies /+(m)mivuq/ \implies /+(m)miuq/ \implies +(m)mioq$.

V{niq}**V**, +nerpoq (I wonder/maybe). This affix can be used to pose a question, either explicitly using the interrogative, or implicitly when no interrogative ending exists.

 $V{\eta\eta uaq}V$, -nnguarpoq (affection/comfort).

V{-nucaq}**V**, -ngusarpoq (thank heavens, he Vb'ed).

V{-qə}**V**, -qaaq (intensifier, Vb highly/very).

V{-qəna}**V**, -qinaaq, -qinapput (there's a danger he'll Vb; take care or he might Vb). This affix behaves like **V**{ssa}**V** in intransitive indicative, deleting the single /v/ from the mood marker. It is used to address a 2p ('thou' or 'you'), but is speaking about a 3p ('he' or 'they') mentioned in the ending; e.g. nakkaqinaqaaq (be careful ('thou' or 'you') **he** will fall down).

V{-rataq}V, -ratarpoq, -ratanguarpoq (suddenly, surprisingly). This affix can also be followed by V{nnuaq}V to express vivid surprise at something unexpected.

V{ssaqqaaq}V, -ssaqqaarpoq (he will Vb, just wait and see).

 $V{vallaaq}V$, + vallaarpoq (Vb too much/so very much).

V{-vik}**V**, **V**{viksuq}**V**, -vippoq, -vissorpoq (really Vb'ing).

Imperative colouration

- V{ðaq}V, + tarlugu!, + tarniarit! (remember to Vb!). When contemporative is used in an imperative sense, this affix can be added to turn the command into a kind of reminder; e.g. matu matullugu! means 'close the door!' but matu matusarlugu is more like 'remember to close the door!' It can also be used before ordinary imperative endings in the same sense, possibly followed by one of the other imperative modifiers like V{niaq}V; e.g. naalanniarit! means 'behave well!' (or literally 'obey!'), whilst naalattarniarit! could be an expression a parent would use to admonish a child (remember to behave well!).
- **V**{gallaq}**V**, +*gallaat!*, *gallaak!* (softens the command). It forms irregular, contracted forms with **V**{-git} $\implies^* + gallaat$ and **V**{-guk} $\implies^* + gallaak$; that is, /qg/ do not fuse to /r/ in the regular fashion, instead they annihilate each other.
- **V**{-kisaq}**V**, -kisaruk! (negative command, 'don't Vb!').
- **V**{-laaq}**V**, -laarit! (softens the command). This is commonly used as a polite request.
- V{llariaa}V, -llariaanak! (negative imperative strengthener, 'don't (you) Vb!').
- $V{\text{niaq}}V$, + niarit! (softens the command). Perhaps impatiently, but still a somewhat politer request than the unmodified imperative. It is, however, less polite than $V{\text{-laaq}}V$.
- V{-qəna}V, -qinak!, -qinasi! (don't Vb!). This affix is another way of creating a negative imperative. The last part of this affix is the morpheme {na} that also appears in the negative contemporative, which is used as a negative imperative. The endings for 2p, V{nak} (sg) and V{nasi} (pl) are thus not repeated with this affix, but instead the person markers {k} and {si} are just added directly onto it.
- **V**{-riaq}**V**, -riarit!, -riarta! (animated speech, 'come on, Vb!').
- **V**{-riassa}**V**, -riassajuk! (try and Vb!), e.g. oqarfigeriassajuk! 'try and say something to him!'
- **V**{-riiq}**V**, **V**{-riiginnaq}**V**, -reerit!, -riiginnarit! (Vb already now!, immediately).

8.5 Conjunction

Some affixes have a distinctive meaning, often quite different from their 'ordinary' meaning, when used as the very last affix in a stem, in one of the subordinate or dependent moods; that is, contemporative, participial, causative and conditional. This group of affixes is denoted by the label **V**{conjunction}**V**. I shall use a similar kind of label to refer to the mood(s) that must be used for a given affix to have this particular, conjunctional meaning.

V{gaanni}, +gaanni (if/when one Vb's). This 'pseudo-affix' is a lexicalised combination of a morpheme {gaa}, meaning 'when(ever)', which is also the basis for the iterative mood marker, and an 'impersonal' person marker {nni}. Its meaning corresponds to the Danish impersonal pronoun 'man', which may be translatable as '(some/any)one' in English. For example, *suligaanni* means 'when one works, (then) ...'

V{gallaq}V + V{causative}, +gallarmat (back then, when he Vb'ed). It locates the action within a specific, past time frame. For example, {mii'raq}N (child) + N{-u}V ⇒* meeraa- (is a child) + V{gallaq}V + V{gama} (causative, 1p.sg 'when I Vb'ed') ⇒* meeraagallarama, which means 'back then when I was a child'. In ordinary English we would probably render this as 'in my childhood'.

 $V{\text{galuaq}}V + V{\text{causative}}/V{\text{contemporative}}/V{\text{participial}}, + \text{galuarmat}, + \text{galuarmat}, + \text{galuarmat}, + \text{galuarmod}$ (although Vb).

V{galuaq}**V** + **V**{conditional}, (-ssa)galuarpat (even if Vb), possibly preceded by **V**{ssa}**V**.

V{yuma}**V** + **V**{*contemporative*}, + *jumalluni* (in order to Vb). With negative contemporative it can instead mean 'without Vb'ing'.

 $V{llaq}V + V{causative}$, -llarmat (just as he Vb'ed; vivid narration).

 $V{-\text{gaaq}}V + V{\text{causative}}, -\text{ngaarmat}$ (because it is so Vb that...).

 $V{-\text{najaliq}}V + V{\text{participial}}, -\text{ngajalersog} \text{ (just before he Vb'ed)}.$

 $V{\text{niaqa}}V + V{\text{contemporative}}, + \text{niaqaluni}$ (just as/even though he Vb'ed).

 $V{niaq}V + V{contemporative}/V{participial}, + niarluni, + niartoq (while he Vb'ed).$

V{niariaq}**V** + **V**{*participial*}, + *niariartoq* (just after he Vb'ed).

 $V{niassa}V + V{causative}, + niassammat$ (so that he Vb'ed).

 $V{niassaqa}V + V{contemporative}, + niassaqaluni (though one should have).$

V{niq}**V** + **V**{*participial*}, + *nersoq* (if perhaps/I wonder). Often used with the enclitic *{mita(ava)} as, or on, the main clause.

 $V{\eta\eta itgallaq}V + V{causative}, -nngikkallarmat (before he Vb'ed).$

V{nnuaq}**V** + **V**{negative}, -(lla)nnguar(n)ani (without even Vb'ing; without in the least Vb'ing). It can optionally be preceded by **V**{llaq}**V**. Forms of negative contemporative with and without initial /n/ can be used interchangeably on q-stems.

- **V**{qqaaq}**V** + **V**{contemporative} / **V**{causative}, -qqaarluni, -qqaarmat (only after Vb'ing; just after Vb'ing).
- $V{qqajannit}V + V{participial}, -qqajanngitsoq (long before he Vb'ed).$
- **V**{qqu}**V** + **V**{*contemporative*}, -*qqulluni* (in order to Vb). With negative contemporative it can instead mean 'without Vb'ing'.
- **V**{-riallaq}**V** + **V**{causative} / **V**{participial}, -riallarmat, -riallartoq (when he had Vb'ed; surprise).
- **V**{-riannguallaq}**V** + **V**{participial}, -riannguallartoq (first when he has Vb'ed, did ...).
- $V{-riaq}V + V{causative} / V{conditional}, -riarmat, -riarpat (as soon as he Vb'ed).$
- **V**{-riaq}**V** + **V**{*contemporative*}, -*riarluni* (after he Vb'ed, then he ...).
- $V{-ruttuq}V + V{participial}, -ruttortoq$ (just as he Vb'ed).
- $V\{(t)siisiga\}V + V\{contemporative\}, +(t)siisigalugu$ (until he Vb'es). The first part of this affix is $V\{(t)sii\}V$, where /t/ (completely regularly) is only inserted on vowel stems. However, it is *not* assimilated by /s/, and we thus get *tsiivaa* on vowel stems, and also on t-stems, where the stem's final /t/ is not assimilated either. There is also a nominal form with the same meaning, constructed with passive participle $V\{-\delta aq\}N \implies V\{(t)siicaq\}N + N\{possessive\} \implies +(t)siisaa$ (until he Vb'es), where 'he' is here marked by the 3p.sg possessive ending $N\{-a\}$.
- **V**{sinnaq}**V** + **V**{contemporative} / **V**{participial}, +sinnarluni, +sinnartoq (after Vb'ing).
- $V{ssa}V + V{negative}, -ssanani$ (without Vb'ing).
- **V**{ssaqqaaq}**V** + **V**{participial}, -ssaqqaartoq (while still Vb'ing).
- V{surə}V + V{contemporative}, +(na/ga)soralugu (if perhaps he might be Vb'ing). This affix can be used to pose indirect questions somewhat similar to V{niq}V mentioned above; often considered a polite form of request. For example, aperiartorpara ilaasinnaasoralunga (I went over to ask him, if perhaps I might be able to come along).
- **V**{tət}**V** + **V**{contemporative}, +tillugu (while he Vb'ed). This is a very common construction; the 'he' is here (obviously) marked by the Patient marker {gu} in the ending. Note that **V**{tət}**V** is truncative on t-stems, so with e.g. **N**{LOC}{ət}**V** we can for instance construct the word *illumiitillunga* (while I was in the house); there is only a single /t/, because the final /t/ in {ət} was deleted.
- $V{tət}V + V{negative}$, + tinnagu (until/before he Vb'ed). Also a common construction. The same considerations as mentioned above also apply here.
- V{-utəgə}V + V{contemporative}, -utigaluni (at the same time as he Vb'ed). The first part of this affix is V{-utə}N, and there also exists a few other nominal forms, using possessive endings, that nevertheless have a sentence-like meaning: When preceded by V{llaq}V ⇒* -llaataa (just as he Vb'ed), and V{niaq}V

 $+ V{-riaq}V \implies V{niariuta}N^1 \implies +niariutaa$ (just as he Vb'ed). In both cases, the 'he' is marked by the 3p.sg possessive ending N{-a}.

 $^{{}^{\}scriptscriptstyle 1}V\{\mbox{-riaq}\}V$ is an aq-stem, so it drops the final /aq/ before the morpheme {utə}.

9 Enclitics

Lastly – both here and in a word – we have the enclitics, denoted by the label *{enclitic} in figure 1.3. Note that they, unlike affixes, are added onto completed words, i.e. words with an ending, and generally after all the sandhi and sound processes have been carried out on the word itself. Thus, their sandhi and sound rules are somewhat different from those governing affixes and endings, and they are perhaps best regarded as constitution a 'second pass' over the word. The process is described in detail in Lybech (2019, chapter 6).

- *{aa}, +aa (vocative, 'O ...'). This enclitic is used for addressing, possibly in rather formal or solemn way. For example, *inuk* (human) \Rightarrow * *inungaa* (o Man); *Ataatarput* (Our Father) \Rightarrow * *Ataatarpunaa* (O Father our, something you would hear in a church).
- *{aasiit}, + aasiit (as usual; how typical of...; there ... goes again). For example *Piitaraasiit* (that's just typical of Piitaq). When added onto a word already ending in [a], one of the /a/ phonemes will usually just be deleted; for example *una* (he/him) =>* *unaasiit* (how typical of him; him again)
- $*{aat}, +aat$ (if you please; right?).
- *{guuq}, +gooq, -rooq, -nngooq (it is said that...). Notice, when this affix is added onto a consonant sound (apart from [q]), it will both assimilate and nasalise the sound, yielding [ŋŋ] instead of the usual [kk] by the fricative rule; thus for example angut \implies angunngooq (it is said of a man that...). This affix is often used in narration, and when reporting events, but it can also be used in questions: Qanoq? (what?) \implies qanorooq? (what was said? what news?).¹ It is also often used when you ask someone to give your regards to someone else; for example Makkagooq inuulluarili (give my well-wishes to Makka (when you see her)).
- $*{li}, +li$ (but). An alternative is to use the particle *kisianni* with the same meaning.

¹Incidentally, *Qanorooq* is also the title of a television news programme.

- *{li}, +li (since, already then, since) when used on words describing the past. It may also just emphasise the remoteness of the event even more: For example *qangarsuaq* (a long time ago) \implies *qangarsuarli* (a **very** long time ago).
- *{lu}, +lu (and). An alternative is to use the particle *aamma* with the same meaning. Notice that you add this enclitic to the *last* word in a pair; that is, the word that would have *followed* an 'and' in English. For example, "Kaali **and** Piitaq" \Rightarrow * Kaali Piitarlu.
- $*\{lusuuq\}, + lusooq (just like; as if).$
- *{luunniit}, + luunniit (or; neither nor; (not) even; (not) at all). Like *{lu} and *{li} above, this enclitic is added to the word that would follow an 'or' in the corresponding English sentence, such as "Kaali or Piitaq" ⇒ * Kaali Piitarluunniit. When used on interrogative words like kina? (who?) ⇒ * kinaluunniit (anyone), it means 'any-', e.g. anyone, any time, whenever etc. In combination with a negation it means "not even" or "not at all". For example inoquangilaq, Piitarluunniit (there were no people (at all), not even Piitaq); sininngilanga (I have not slept) ⇒ * sininngilangaluunniit (I haven't slept at all). According to Nielsen (2019, p. 53) the combination V{galuaq}V + V{conditional} + *{luunniit} means "even though" (or 'no matter'), for example sumiuugaluaruttaluunniit (even though we are from anywhere). In ordinary English you would probably say "no matter where we are from".
- *{maa(nna)}, +maa, +maanna (eh?; how is it?). This enclitic is often shortened to just *{maa} nowadays. You can often hear it following the interrogative qanoq, like qanormaa(nna)?.
- *{mi}, +mi (what about? though, indeed).
- *{mita(ava)}, + mita, + mitaava (I wonder...; might it be that...). This enclitic is also commonly used with interrogative words like qanoq, and when used with a verb the verbal stem will contain the affix V{niq}V which also expresses wonder.
- $*{(t)taaq}, +(t)taaq$ (also).
- $*\{tuq\}, +toq (expression of a wish).$
- *{una} (sg), *{uku} (pl), +una, +uku (it is ...). This enclitic is actually a demonstrative, which is why it exists in both a singular form, *{una}, and a plural form uku. It is often used with interrogatives like suna (what) ⇒* sunaana? (what is that?) or in plural suut ⇒* suunuku? (what are those?). It can also be used with names: If I call someone, or pick up my phone, I might start by saying aluu, Stianiuna (hi, it's Stian).

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