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Topic and Discourse Structure in West Greenlandic Agreement Constructions

by

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Spring 1997

Topic and Discourse Structure in West Greenlandic Agreement Constructions

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Dedication

To those who are gone:
Chester and Jane Rose Holstein
Belle B. Rifkin
Martha and Trygve Obert Berge

and to my parents:
Jon Peter Berge
Louise Robertson

and to Sweet Pea and Romi

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Orthographic Conventions:

Greenlandic uses the Roman alphabet, with all the letters that Danish uses; however, the phonology of native Greenlandic does not fully correspond with that of Danish. This is reflected in the general avoidance of certain letters in native words. The use of these letters is almost entirely due to loan words, as in , <c>, <d>, <f>, word-initial <g>, <h>, word-initial <j>, word-initial <l>, word-initial <r>, word-initial <v>, <w>, <y>, <ɹ>, <æ>, and <ø>. The phonetic value of these letters is as in Danish.

Letters representing native sounds in Greenlandic are listed in the table below; the first column lists the standard orthographical system; the second its phonetic value in Greenlandic; and the third some observations about orthographic conventions and Greenlandic phonology.

Most phonemes can be geminated; a few devoice or otherwise change quality as a result, and these are noted in the table below immediately following the corresponding single phoneme. Most vowels are subject to considerable modification in the neighborhood of uvulars.

orthography	phonetic value	notes
a	[ɑ] [æ]	
b	[b] or [p]	all voiced stops from Danish words tend to be devoiced, as Greenlandic does not have voiced stops in native words
c	[s]	
d	[d] or [t]	
e	[ɪ]	allophone of /i/, written <e> before /q/
f	[f]	usually reflection of geminated [v]
g	[ɣ] [g] or [k]	
gg	[x]	
h	[h]	one native word <i>haa!</i> 'look!'
i	[ɪ]	
ii	[i:]	

j	[j]	
k	[k]	
l	[l]	
ll	[ɬ]	
m	[m]	
n	[n]	
ng	[ŋ]	
o	[o]	allophone of /u/, written <o> before /q/
p	[p]	
q	[q]	
r	[R]	often allophone of /q/ before a consonant
s	[s]	some northern dialects of Greenlandic have [ʃ], but the distinction is not made in the orthography
t	[t]	
u	[u]	
v	[v]	sometimes [β] for older speakers
ff	[f]	<v> written <f> when geminated
w	[v]	
y	[ɯ]	
z	[z]	

Notes on Data Transcription

The data was originally transcribed and translated by a native Greenlander who spoke Greenlandic, Danish, and English. Each line of transcription is associated with one of morphological analysis in Greenlandic, morphological analysis in English, and English translation. In some cases, because of differences in word order, the English translation was clumsy enough to necessitate a less exact but better English translation; this is provided in italics below the relevant selection. In many cases, the translator's translation was inadequate or not accurate enough; in such cases, the translation provided is the more accurate one. Where it has been thought necessary or informative to keep the original in some form, an alternative translation is provided in square brackets next to it; square brackets are also used to indicate an alternative translation. Further, in some cases the transcriber's dialect was slightly different than the West Greenlandic generally described in the literature. The transcriber's spellings are kept where there was no obvious typographical mistake (consultation about which was obtained from P. Langgård), and explanations are made in occasional footnotes.

Texts 1 and 3 are divided into two sections each, because of the length in respect to other texts. In text 1, the speaker paused naturally for a 15 minute break after the end of text 1a; this formed a natural division. The division of text 3 is largely arbitrary, and text 3b follows immediately on the tape.

The data is numbered in such a way as to reflect several levels of text. Arabic numerals generally signal clauses; there is no more than one predicate text for each arabic numeral. Capital letters are used at the beginning of a line to signal the beginning of a sentence as identified by the translator (these are misleading, however, because the translator frequently did not go over the tape more than once, and the transcription necessitated frequent stopping of the tape). Roman numerals are used to signal what have been identified as sentences from intonational cues. In the three interviews, the interviewer's speech is indicated by boldface Roman numerals, and the speaker's by

regular type Roman numerals. Intonational groups are identified by the use of the symbols listed below. In some cases, the text was too long to fit on one line of transcription; where no intonational break is signaled at the end of a line of transcription, the line is to be read with the following line(s) as a single unit.

Notes on intonation:

{...} = sentence

— = pause

—' = rising intonation at pause

—/ = substantial break, not end of sentence

, = constituent-type break

(...) = parenthetical word, phrase, clause, etc., signified by increased speed, lower and or softer voice, usually no break in speech

no marker at end or beginning of line = no break in intonation, two consecutive lines read as one

underline = stressed, or emphasized, word

The transcription is accurate and includes the false starts of the narrators. False starts which result in incomplete words are signaled by —, to distinguish them from morpheme boundaries in the morphemic analysis. In some cases, the speaker uses either special intonational features (speeding up, lowering his or her voice, etc.) which may lead to unclear parsing. In these instances, notes appear in boldface following the transcription.

In the charts which follow each transcription, the following information is presented in tabular form: the general theme of a subsection of text (paragraph), clause number (for reference), text in English translation, subject, direct object, clausal theme, verb mood, oblique objects, discourse particles, transitive status, temporal adverbs, and tense-aspect suffixes. Subjects and direct objects which are overtly stated in the text are printed in bold type. Subjects and direct objects which are intonationally emphasized are identified with a following [E]. Verbs which are formed through the incorporation of a noun, unless already fully lexicalized, are identified as forms with incorporated nouns in the verb form column. Where switch-reference is marked in a clause, whether for coreference or noncoreference, the verb form column carries this information. Verbs which are

transitive are marked 'erg' in the transitivity column; antipassive constructions are marked 'ant'; and intransitive constructions are unmarked.

Some columns in the chart have not borne as much relevance to the analysis presented here as it was originally thought they might. Columns which have not been extensively used, if at all, include the particles column and the temporal adverbs and tense-aspect column. They are kept for the benefit of possible future research.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background issues affecting the decision to study discourse in West Greenlandic

This study involves the interaction of three different strands of thought. It is a study of West Greenlandic syntactic structures involving ergativity and switch-reference; it is also a reanalysis of these structures within a functional approach to linguistic analysis, extending the explanation of the distribution of these structures to discourse-level considerations; and finally, it is a proposal for a more systematic approach to studies of discourse structure, and an attempt to show that there are discourse-level roles which affect the choice of syntactic structures.

I initially began to study the Inuit language (specifically, the South-East Baffin Inuktitut dialect, and later West Greenlandic), with the intention of studying its syntax. After reviewing my data, consisting largely of texts, however, it seemed clear that traditional linguistic descriptions of Eskimo did not do justice to the language itself. For example, there has been an enormous amount written about ergative and antipassive structures in the Inuit dialects, which are relatively rare in oral texts (at least in mine), but little, if anything, about the rather common use of the verb mood called causative in the Eskimo literature as indicatives, beyond mere acknowledgement of its frequency and some discussion of possible environments in which this occurs. There has, not surprisingly, been a tendency to explain just those syntactic structures which have figured prominently in contemporary linguistic analyses of European languages. Early grammars of the Inuit dialects were modeled on European grammars; more modern syntactic descriptions have dealt with the passive, the ergative, the dative, and so forth. From a preliminary glance at my texts, I began to suspect that syntactic descriptions based solely on clause structure were failing to provide basic information about, let alone insight into, the language. For example, although many Eskimologists have noted the tendency for speakers of any of the Inuit dialects to use subordinate structures more frequently than

English speakers do, no one, to my knowledge, has formally identified Eskimo as a clause-chaining language, the result being that typologists do not commonly cite Eskimo as a clause-chaining language. When noting characteristics of clause-chaining languages, therefore, information available from Eskimo is ignored.

In addition to providing only inadequate and incomplete linguistic information, however, the syntactic descriptions of the Inuit dialects were often attempts to prove the validity of a linguistic theory, say transformational grammar, for example, and the results have not been satisfactory. Clause-level analyses of Eskimo, for example, often require long explanations of rules and constraints on the construction of a clause; but rarely have I seen explanations of clause combination exceeding two or three clauses. Yet my texts, and personal communication with both linguists and native speakers, leads me to believe that multiple combinations of clauses are the normal method of sentence-construction.

Examples of language in context is therefore necessary to an adequate understanding of language structure, at least with respect to the Inuit dialects. This notion is not new: S.T. Mallon and L.-J. Dorais (personal communication) have previously expressed the belief that there is some kind of discourse grammar; I. Kalmár and A. Woodbury have since the 1970's tried to discuss the relevance of discourse to grammatical descriptions; and grammars of West Greenlandic have from the first noted correlations between the uses of particular syntactic structures and pragmatics. What I propose in the following chapters is the systematic incorporation of discourse factors in the syntactic analysis of Eskimo. In the following sections of this chapter, I provide the context within which I have worked. I first present a summary of the major trends in the study of the Inuit dialects, followed by a discussion of the major trends in analyses of discourse. Because I discuss different aspects of the work of scholars in these two fields of study, there is some apparent repetitiveness. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss the methodology of my study and the organization of the chapters to follow.

1.2 The Inuit Language in Syntactic Theory

1.2.1 Introduction

The Inuit language, in all its variants, has long held the fascination of linguists, as much for its linguistic isolation as for its polysynthetic nature. From the earliest descriptions of the Inuit language, dating back to the 17th century in some cases, scholars have struggled to describe and explain structures and categories alien to Indo-European languages. The typological characteristics of the Inuit language have posed interesting descriptive problems and the focus of linguistic studies of this language reflect this. The following is a brief description of some of the main characteristics of the theories which have been applied to the study of the Inuit language, followed by a discussion of the typological characteristics of the language and of aspects of those characteristics which have been taken up in the descriptive literature. The theoretical study of the Inuit language has always been influenced by current trends in linguistic theory, but most studies have described Eskimo in isolation from important contextual factors. Certain features can be more fruitfully explained with reference to contextual information, both within Eskimo at the level of discourse and within the greater group of typologically similar languages.

1.2.2 Grammatical and Theoretical Descriptive Approaches

An adequate linguistic description of a language must include the information needed to speak or use that language. This information includes everything from phonological, morphological, and syntactic, to semantic, pragmatic, and any other type of rule necessary. What is or is not described in a language depends greatly on the theory used to describe it and on the assumptions made by said theory. Traditional studies of syntax prior to Chomsky tended to focus on the inflectional morphology and had little to say about derivational morphology or about actual sentence formation beyond normal word order¹. With the development of modern theories of syntax in the 1950's and

¹Most of the studies preceding Chomsky in the 1950's were primarily grammatical, following the traditional format of phonological and inflectional description, minor descriptions of clause formation and

beyond, many linguistic descriptions became more specialized in nature, and syntactic descriptions have gained tremendously in importance in the literature.

The number of studies of Inuit syntax has increased dramatically since the 1970's. Several theoretical approaches are reflected in these studies, differing in important ways in their approach to the study of language in general and in their goal. The most influential approach has probably been one version or another of Chomskian syntax (Transformational Grammar, Government-Binding, Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, and so forth), for which the purpose of linguistic study is to formulate detailed

word order, and examples of texts. Although this is hardly surprising, given historical trends in linguistic studies, these grammars have had a considerable effect on modern studies of the Inuit dialects, particularly in the terminology and by consequence in the understanding of the semantics of inflectional categories. There are some very comprehensive grammars, by far the most comprehensive of which is Kleinschmidt's Grammar of West Greenlandic, which has served as the basis for similar work by Rasmussen, Thalbitzer, and Schultz-Lorentzen, among others, and almost without fail as the authoritative source for more recent studies, including those by Bergsland and Fortescue. Grammars exist for many other Inuit dialects, including Inuktitut (Dorais, Harper, Mallon, Smith, and Spalding), Inupiaq (Lowe), and so forth. These have tended to be qualitatively different, designed for non-academic readers for pedagogical purposes. In many of these grammars, syntax is only superficially addressed; but, as stated above, they have been the starting point of many modern syntactic descriptions of the Inuit language and its dialects. In particular, the descriptions of Inuit cases and verb moods have been heavily influenced by the traditional methods of studying Latin. The Inuit case system has been analyzed primarily on the basis of categories derived from Latin cases; hence the use of terms such as *terminalis*, *vialis*, *ablative*, etc. In many cases, however, the case morpheme is inadequately described by such terms. The instrumental, for example, is used not only as an instrumental but as case assigned to modifiers of incorporated nouns, adverbs, and objects of accusative (or antipassive) constructions (last three examples from P. Langgård of the University of Greenland, personal communication):

nanoq savimminik kapivaa (Fortescue, 1984:214)
he stabbed the polar bear with his knife

pikkurisumik kaffiliorpoq
he made coffee in a skilled way

asannitumik isigivaa
he looks at her with love

angut nanormik takuvoq
the man saw a polar bear

The same can be said of the description of verb moods; as with case names, the terminology applied is misleading, especially with respect to the dependent moods. The causative, conditional, and contemporative (the latter is called appositional in descriptions of Central Canadian dialects and conjunctive in those of Western Canadian dialects) all have a temporal relation to the main verb not indicated in the use of the Latinate words. At the same time, the causative and the contemporative seem to have multiple functions. Lowe (1985:202) suggests that the contemporative (or conjunctive, in his terminology) seems to have a number of very different functions largely because of the different forms needed in translation. Thus, traditional and atheoretical grammars continue to affect the way syntactic categories are analyzed in the Inuit language.

descriptions, or grammars, of languages, as models of the linguistic knowledge of native speakers. The study of language, therefore, leads to the development of models of abstract computational systems, focusing almost exclusively on the interaction of syntactic, semantic, and phonological structures, as opposed to pragmatic knowledge, which involves nonlinguistic background information (i.e. contextual knowledge).

Chomskian approaches have been primarily concerned with the relationships of nominal arguments to the verb and the relationships of related clauses (e.g. active and passive clauses, etc.); indeed, a number of early articles concerning the Inuit language reflect this interest (e.g. Smith 1981). Sentences are seen as essentially expanded verb phrases, and subjects and objects are defined and controlled by the verb and its lexical properties. They are assumed to be formed at a linguistically abstract level, and explanations of structure are aimed at describing abstract rather than actual linguistic forms. In the field of Inuit studies, scholars writing with this approach are Bok-Bennema, Smith, Creider, and Sadock; much of the theoretical work in the 1970's seems to have been influenced to some degree by this approach.

Relational Grammar was one of a number of syntactic theories developed in response to Chomsky's theory of Transformation Grammar, and differs significantly in both its theoretical assumptions and in its goal. The aim is to characterize languages themselves, rather than a model of language knowledge. In particular, the study of a wide range of languages, and especially non-European languages, has been important in the determination of linguistic universals. Like the Chomskian approaches, Relational Grammar focuses on the relationships of nominal arguments and verbs in related clauses. Subjects and objects are seen as entities independent of the verb, and structures are described in terms of promotions and demotions of nominal arguments in relation to the verb. Partly because of its application to languages with typologically similar characteristics to those of the Inuit language, Relational Grammar has been the approach of choice for a large number of Eskimologists, including early Woodbury (although he

seems to have started with Transformational Grammar and moved towards a more prosodic approach in the 1980's), Johnson (although with the added semantic features of Montague Grammar), and others.

There have been other theoretical approaches to the study of the Inuit dialects, although these have figured less prominently in the general field of linguistics. These include the more psychologically based approaches originating from France, as in Guillaume's *Psychomécanique*, in which language is analyzed as a means of generalizing and particularizing about experience. This is the basis for Lowe's descriptions of Western Canadian Inuit dialects, in which he analyzes sentences as consisting essentially of a topic of speech (either nominal or predicative under different conditions) and the description of said topic. The functionally based approaches seek to integrate the study of form and function by including pragmatic factors. Kalmár in particular has written from this point of view, and in the 1980's, Woodbury has written a number of articles on the effect of prosodic features on the syntax; both strive for a description of language in use rather than one of innate language knowledge. Along more standard lines, Autolexical Syntax was developed in the mid 1980's by Sadock as an outgrowth of and in reaction to Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, especially because of problems posed by West Greenlandic in the application of theoretical rules. The two theories differ especially in the incorporation of morphology as a valid part of the grammar by Autolexical Syntax, and in the assumption of three independent but interactive faces in the grammar, morphology, syntax, and semantics; but the essential goals of both approaches, to find a model of language, are similar.

An understanding of the differences in theoretical approaches is important especially in understanding the analytical results of various descriptive issues. The study of the Inuit dialects suffers, paradoxically, both from attempts to show that the Inuit language is structurally compatible with theories developed for specific and structurally very different languages, and from notions of difference arising from the exoticism of

'Eskimo'. In the first case, fundamental structural differences are brushed aside, and in the second, fundamental similarities with other languages are not considered.

Chomskian approaches have tended to analyze the Inuit structures as variations of those found in (for example) English. Relational Grammar, being based on a wider array of typologically different languages, has been more neutral in this respect. The more psychologically and pragmatically based approaches have tended to produce analyses which emphasize the otherness of the Inuit language.

1.2.3 Prominently Discussed Issues in the Study of Inuit Syntax

Three or four issues have figured prominently in discussions of syntax in the Inuit language, particularly because of the typological differences between the European and Inuit languages. Typologically, the Inuit language is distinct from Indo-European languages; but it shows a number of similarities with American Indian and other languages (although they differ in the details). It is highly polysynthetic, indeed it is considered extreme in comparison with other polysynthetic languages, preferring where possible a single lexical construction to a multi-lexical one. One of the characteristics of its polysyntheticity is its ability to freely incorporate nouns into verbal structures. It is clause-chaining, stringing clauses together using subordinate verbal moods for all but one clause; this is opposed to the Indo-European method of forming complex sentences, which can consist of combinations of coordinated or subordinated (or both) clauses. It is morphologically ergative; subjects of intransitive clauses and objects of transitive clauses are case-marked in the same way, and subjects of transitive clauses are marked differently, but in combinations of clauses, subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses behave as a syntactic category. It has both passive and antipassive structures, the latter referring to structures which have been detransitivized by removing the object from its direct relationship with the verb; whereas there is pronominal marking of both subject and object on the verb in ergative structures, only subject pronominal marking on the verb is present in antipassive structures. It typically shows a preference for head-final word

order (including subject-object-verb clause order, postpositions, postposed conjunctions, and so forth), although word order variations are common and generally have semantic and pragmatic effects.

These characteristics have been addressed in linguistic descriptions of the Inuit language, but not always in comprehensive ways. Polysynthesis, for example, involves extreme dependence on morphological processes, an aspect of language use largely ignored by most theories of syntax. Some Eskimologists have written morphological accounts in more than usual detail (e.g. Fortescue 1980), but there are few treatises outside of the traditional grammars regarding polysynthesis in the Inuit language. The issue of word formation has, however, led to discussions about the nature of categories such as 'noun' and 'verb' in the Inuit language. Clause-chaining as a phenomenon has also not been addressed in theoretical studies of the Inuit language, and sentence formation has largely been discussed in terms of word order and simple clause conjoining, and atheoretical descriptions of relative clause order and verb moods (Fortescue 1984 has provided the most complete atheoretical description of any of the Inuit dialects). However, one of the phenomena known to cooccur with clause-chaining, namely switch-reference, has recently drawn attention. As evidenced by the works of Lowe (1985), Kalmár (1979a), Woodbury (1977), and Bok-Bennema (1991), ergativity has been the most actively discussed from a theoretical point of view, and it is therefore presented in proportionately more detail below. The existence of ergativity in particular has fueled a number of separate but related discussions, including the problem of the formal, but not functional identity of ergative and possessive constructions; the nominal or verbal character of Inuit verbs or nouns; the existence of both ergative and accusative structures; and not least, the question of subjecthood.

Ergative case-marking on the subjects of transitive clauses and transitive pronominal-marking on the transitive verbs shows obvious similarities with possessive marking:

1.1	<u>possessive</u>	<u>ergative</u>
	Angutip illua	Angutip illu takuaa
	Angut-p illu-a	Angut-p illu-O taku-va-a
	Angut-rel house-3sg.pos.abs	Angut-rel house-abs see-3sg.I-3sg
	Angut's house	Angut saw the house

This has led to proposals that ergative clauses are possessives or that possessives are simplified ergative clauses. Lowe (1985), for example, explains transitive sentences with ergative constructions as possessor relations. A sentence such as the one given above cannot be properly translated without taking possessive semantics into consideration. Thus, the above sentence is 'Angut's seen thing is the house', in effect a form of passive construction (or, in other words, as not true transitive constructions). Kalmár (1979a) argues along the same lines, but reverses the equation: possessive constructions are explained as clauses, the possessum being the predicator and the possessor the subject: the object is unexpressed. Thus, 'Angut's house' given above must be viewed as 'the x such that Angut houses it'. The emphasis in these approaches is on a fundamentally different expressive capability between European languages and the Inuit language.

Bok-Bennema (1991), in perhaps the most exhaustive and perhaps also theory-dependent discussion of ergativity in Inuktitut, explains that the different alignment of case in Inuktitut is a property of verb case-assignment capabilities: transitive verbs cannot always assign accusative case in Inuktitut (or, in other words, they vary from standard accusative case assignment capabilities in language in general). Ergative case is renamed genitive (because of the above-mentioned similarity between genitive, i.e. possessive, and ergative). Accusative, or antipassive, structures arise because in some cases transitive verbs can assign accusative case.

Neither approach seems to allow that ergative case and possession may be historically related but not necessarily synchronically linked. Fortescue (1995) discusses just this point.

The formal identity between ergative and possessive constructions is one of the reasons often given for claiming that Inuit nouns are in fact verbs, or that Inuit verbs are

in fact nouns. Both Kalmár (1979a) and Woodbury (1985) attribute the nominalist theory, that Inuit verbs are verbal nouns, mainly to an article by Hammerich in 1951. Since then, a number of scholars including Kalmár (1979a) have tried to show the opposite, that in fact nominal constructions can be seen as verbal in nature. The identification of nominal and verbal categories in the Inuit language has seemed problematic to linguists for a number of reasons, of which the above-mentioned is but one; not the least is the productivity of derivational processes, such that verbs can be nominalized and nouns verbalized, in some cases a number of times within an acceptable word:

- 1.2 ajoqeqarsimannngitsuuppat
 ajoqi-qaq-sima-nngit-soq-u-pat
 catechist-have-perf-neg-nom-cop-3pl.nc.C
 N-V-affix-affix-N-V-infl. affix
 if there hadn't been catechists...

This easy and productive derivational means of word formation has led Lowe (1981) to suggest that words are formed at discourse level rather than at the level of thought in the Inuit dialects, in contrast to more developed (as defined within his theory) languages like English or French, in which words are fully formed at the level of thought, before they are uttered. The issue continues to be raised from time to time, but current opinion seems to be that independent noun and verb stems do exist, just as they do in all other languages.

The Inuit dialects also commonly have both ergative and antipassive² structures, as in the following:

1.3 <u>ergative</u>	<u>antipassive</u>
Angutip illu takuaa	Angut illumik takuvoq
Angut-p illu-0 taku-va-a	Angut-0 illu-mik taku-voq
Angut-rel house-abs see-indic.3sg-3sg	Angut-abs house-inst see-3sg.indic
Angut saw the house	Angut saw a house

²The use of the terms 'accusative' and 'antipassive' indicates the theoretical approach. 'Accusative' is used where ergative is seen as a case-marking system in opposition to accusative case-marking, and 'antipassive' where the ergative is seen as a transitive clause in opposition to a detransitivized, 'antipassive', structure. Both terms are used in the discussion which follows, according to the theoretical approach of the linguist described. The view maintained in this dissertation, however, is that the construction in question is an antipassive. See Chapter 4 for the full discussion of this.

Attempts have been made to explain the occurrence of both structures within the syntax, most notably by Woodbury (1977) and Bok-Bennema (1991); both require large numbers of rules and constraints; Bok-Bennema links the two structures to the case-assigning abilities of the verbs, as mentioned already above. The relational explanation, as described by Johnson (1980), views the antipassive as a construction in which the direct object is no longer in direct relation with the verbs and here shows that the antipassive in Inuktitut is no longer transitive. The existence of both structures, however, was very early linked to pragmatic ideas of definiteness : ergative structures are used where the object is definite, and antipassive (or intransitive, half-transitive, or accusative) structures where the object is indefinite (Kleinschmidt 1851, *inter alia*). This link has been challenged (e.g. Kalmár 1979b, Johnson 1980, Bittner 1987), in that examples of definite objects in antipassive structures are common (as in proper names, for example) and vice versa. The inadequacy of such an interpretation has long been recognized, and merely points to the problem inherent in assuming the existence of a category in one language which clearly exists in another: whereas there exist a definite and indefinite article in English, Danish, and French, there is no such article, independent or affixal, in the Inuit dialects. Most scholars do, however, feel that there is some pragmatic, functional difference between the two structures, whether it be degree of definiteness, givenness, focus on the object or the verb, etc. (Bittner proposes a semantic difference based on scope).

The description of ergative case in various non-Western European languages in this century eventually led to a reevaluation of the traditional notion of subject. In nominative-accusative languages, a category is easily established, by case-marking, whereby the nominatively marked direct arguments of verbs are called subjects; this category includes the noun phrases which have the same syntactic function in both transitive and intransitive clauses. In ergative languages, however, a single case, the absolutive, includes the 'subject' of intransitive clauses and the 'object' of transitive

clauses. A definitive definition for subject is still lacking, although the list of subject-like properties proposed by Keenan (1976) is still widely accepted. There continues to be some discussion of subjecthood, however. As recently as 1993, Nowak claimed that both the absolutive object and the ergative subject of transitive clauses have subject-like properties in Inuktitut, and Inuktitut must be seen as having no single subject (although it has a single object, the instrumentally-marked object of antipassive constructions). Others, however (e.g. Johnson 1984), assume that 'subject' is a syntactic category independent of the relatively superficial case marking, and that 'ergative' and 'absolutive' are not independent categories in Inuktitut.

Ergativity is perhaps the feature of Eskimo syntax which has spawned the most discussion; but it is not the only one. As mentioned above, there has been considerable debate as to the nature of Inuit nouns and verbs. More recently, such features as incorporation have also been addressed, especially by Sadock (1980, 1991) in his development of Autolexical Syntax; the importance of incorporation (and cliticization, etc.) in linguistic studies of the Inuit language has in the past been underemphasized, largely because of the morphological description necessary. Switch-reference has lately been studied by Woodbury (1982) and Fortescue (1991) in particular. By switch-reference is meant the mechanism by which a language marks a noun phrase in one clause as coreferential or not with a noun phrase in another clause; the noun phrases are generally taken to be subjects. Fortescue has tended to take a traditionally descriptive rather than theoretical approach to language description, but in his recent article on switch-reference in West Greenlandic, he suggests the possibility of pragmatic factors at work, such that psychological subject (i.e. topic) determines switch-reference marking in anomalous situations. Finally, the verb moods have often been discussed, albeit mostly in non-theoretically oriented texts; but Kalmár (1979b, 1982) produced a number of articles suggesting pragmatically-based distribution of the various moods, related to foregrounding and backgrounding strategies in discourse.

All approaches offer insights into the structure of the Inuit language. What is notable is the appeal to factors beyond the syntactic level in explanations given by most scholars (and despite the theoretical aversion to such factors by the Chomskian approaches). Some syntactically-based analyses of Inuit structures have been relatively successful. For example, some structures, such as antipassives, have been widely analyzed in many languages and are, if not fully understood, at least structurally predictable, both cross-linguistically and within the language studied. The antipassive in the Inuit language can be viewed as a structure in which the direct object has been demoted, in relational terms, to the status of an oblique object; this explains the use of the instrumental, rather than of the absolutive or ergative (and is further argument in favor of an antipassive rather than accusative analysis). Such an explanation seems to explain the lack of transitive marking in the verb, the inability of some verbs in antipassive constructions to passivize, and the inability to perform dative movement in antipassive clauses. It also seems to argue for an antipassive rather than accusative interpretation of such structures. (It does not, however, explain the motivation for the demotion, as opposed to the passive, in which the promotion of one argument entails the demotion of another).

Syntax alone, however, is insufficient. Neither the Chomsky-derived theories nor Relational Grammar can satisfactorily account for the morphological processes such as incorporation in the Inuit language. Sadock's (1991) proposal, that a true description of a language must assume the interaction of more than one level of linguistic structure, is essential, as is the prominence of morphologic description in his (and to some extent in Lowe's 1985) linguistic theory. However, to his morphology, syntax, and semantics, one must probably add discourse, as has been argued most consistently by Kalmár (1979a,b, 1982), but perhaps not most convincingly, and as illustrated below from the writer's own perspective. The various problems raised by ergativity, for example, can be satisfactorily explained only by including all levels of description, from morphology to discourse. In

any case, a pragmatic, or discourse-level, function for the distribution of ergative and antipassive structures has been suggested by Johnson (1980) and Kalmár (1979b) explicitly, and suggested as possible by Fortescue (1984); observations that support such an interpretation have also been made by P. Langgård³ (personal communication).

In addition, linguistic analyses at the level of discourse may be as widely applicable as the syntactic categories such as subject. Furthermore, they may explain a clustering of seemingly unrelated features in the Inuit language, such as clause-chaining, ergativity, and switch-reference, all the more obvious when the Inuit language is seen as part of the greater group of languages with similar features. Longacre has many times suggested that languages have structure on a continuum of levels, from the simple phonological level to the morphological, sentential, paragraph, and discourse levels: where some languages have more tightly controlled structures at one level (e.g. the sentence, as in European languages), others seem to have more definable structural boundaries at other levels (e.g. the paragraph, as in clause-chaining languages). Thus, in clause-chaining languages, the coincidence of switch-reference and clause-chaining may have to do with topic rather than subject continuity, as a paragraph rather than sentence-level category (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the term topic). Fortescue's (1991) observations on psychological subject, or topic, in anomalous situations may in fact be the general explanation, and subject continuity merely a reflection of topic and subject coincidence in a majority of clause-chains. The further coincidence of ergativity in clause-chaining languages may also be seen as a reflection of the importance of the paragraph-level category topic, as explained above. Thus, the level of discourse may have more definable structures than has commonly been assumed.

A successful description of the Inuit language will probably have to incorporate a number of features from these different theoretical approaches, including the added importance of morphology and discourse-level descriptions and descriptions of categories

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which reflect Inuit semantics. In addition, it would also benefit greatly from comparisons with research on typologically similar languages, from which greater generalizations could be drawn than studies of the Inuit language in opposition to the European languages. These comments imply, at some level, that a description of the language will have to reflect actual language use, and that approaches which seek to characterize language knowledge without incorporating pragmatic knowledge will result in incomplete descriptions.

The discussion in the chapters to follow will focus on some, but not all of the issues raised here. In particular, I suggest that discourse may play a more important role in understanding syntactic structures in Eskimo, and specifically in West Greenlandic, than previously acknowledged. I focus on two of the more prominently discussed issues in studies of West Greenlandic, ergativity and switch-reference, both of which are systems for tracking arguments. The former has been widely discussed in studies of all of the Inuit dialects; but because of particular historical developments in the mood systems of all the dialects, switch-reference is also especially a concern of West Greenlandic (for more on this, see chapter 5 and appendix II).

1.3 Approaches to Discourse

If studies of Eskimo have shown the relevance of discourse in the analysis of syntactic structures, they have not successfully and consistently incorporated considerations of discourse in these syntactic analyses. This, in fact, is probably less a problem of resistance to the idea of including discourse in discussions of syntax and more one of the definition of discourse, the approach to the study of discourse, and the range of considerations to be taken into account. The field of discourse is so broad, compared to that of syntax, that there is a real problem in delimiting the relevant issues. Discourse can be defined as the study of language in context, but there are many kinds of context. For example, context can imply the cultural and social setting and expectations of a discourse, information which is generally assumed to be extra-linguistic, or it can be taken to refer

simply to the surrounding (linguistic) text. Discourse can be identified as any text (see de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), regardless of size or free-standing syntactic grammaticality; but it can also be described as the study of larger-than-sentence level units. Further, the rules for the use of language change from oral to written language, from narrative to oratory, from monologue to dialogue, and so forth.

Different aspects of discourse which also have relevance to syntax have, to varying degrees, been successfully studied, such as differences arising from culturally-specific ways of using language in argumentation (Young 1994), for example, or grammatical differences between elements of a particular discourse genre, such as the narrative (Labov 1972). Few studies, however, convincingly show that the syntax is affected by the discourse; rather, they show that particular syntactic constructions, described in syntactic analyses, are expected in certain contextual environments. What the studies of Eskimo suggest, however, is that the discourse can affect the syntax, not just in the choice of constructions, but in the actual constructions. If, for example, it is true that ergative constructions in Inuktitut can be characterized as indicating the definiteness of the object, then it is a pragmatic factor which controls ergativity (I will show in the following chapters that ergativity is dependent on the discourse, but not because of definiteness).

Given the wide range of issues which can be interpreted as issues of discourse, it is important to define the type of discourse study with which I will primarily be concerned. In the literature, it is possible to distinguish at least four approaches to the study of the structure of discourse, some of which are more relevant to my study than others. These include the syntactic, pragmatic, textual, and social approaches, at the very least. Few scholars, if any, follow an exclusive approach, and the following summary is not meant to suggest that they do.

Some scholars have focused on syntax, in what can be termed a syntactic approach to discourse, although their approaches differ widely in both assumptions and

scope. Inherent in most of the studies within a syntactic approach to discourse is the attempt to use discourse phenomena to explain syntactic structures, while never discussing structures greater than the sentence; and many of the discourse features taken into consideration are incorporated into the analyses by means of semantic features (e.g. level of agency, lexical features, etc.) or semantically-based reasoning (e.g. the use of formal logic). Some of these, such as Kuno (1987) and Fleischman and Waugh (1991), try to incorporate pragmatic or discourse-level explanations, such as point of view, into the traditionally generative syntactic analyses of sentences, thereby expanding the scope of, while still maintaining a model-oriented approach to, the study of syntax. Kuno, for example, shows how special interpretations of sentences, possible because of semantic ambiguity, need special reinforcement (e.g. in the form of extra lexical information); and he discusses how interpreting ambiguous sentences parallels cognitive processes, as in visual interpretations of the Necker cube (a cube drawn in such a way that it is ambiguous as to which surface is interpreted as the front face). In applying this information, he proposes a series of semantic constraints on syntactic constructions to account for lexical ambiguities, particularly in the use of pronouns, which parallel generative constraints. Others, such as Foley and Van Valin (1984), focus instead on a functional approach to syntax. Foley and Van Valin describe syntactic systems, the components of which include case marking, predication, and clause linkage, at two levels of analysis, one of semantic, or logical, structure, describing the predicate and its arguments, and the other the actual morphosyntactic construction. In their discussion, they consider pragmatic notions such as illocutionary force, presupposition, topicality, and definiteness; but their arguments, focusing on semantic relations as developed in the traditions of logic and formal syntax, reveal little about communicative and social functions of language, and pragmatics plays almost no role in their linguistic descriptions. Whatever the theoretical assumptions, syntactically-based studies of discourse are often unsuccessful for the very simple reason that most never study structures larger than the sentence, and most

sentences used in analyses are decontextualized or invented; these studies are therefore not based in discourse. Many sentences, whether elicited or invented, are structures which may be grammatically correct but are unlikely to occur in actual speech (e.g. 'the man saw the boy', etc.). This is a particularly important issue in analyses of discourse-dependent concepts such as anaphora. By confining studies of anaphora to the sentence, for example, the range of acceptable structures is restricted; and exceptions to anaphoric reference within the sentence are usually dealt with in model-dependent ways. In generative approaches, this is often done through the use of features, a practice which lends itself to being interpreted as ad hoc. Kuno (1987), for example, proposes a feature [+reflexive] to explain the use of reflexive pronouns in English; the feature is assigned to a sentence before its interpretation. It is hard to see how this feature reflects the more general cognitive processes he describes.

Despite these problematic tendencies, it is evident in the introductions of many works that there is some intuitive appeal to the notion that discourse not only affects sentence structure (as discussed above), but that it has structure itself. The current impasse in syntactically-based studies of discourse structure is largely due to the newness of the field. It is because of a long tradition of grammatical and syntactic study that notions such as subject, object, ergativity, tense-aspect, etc., are useful in describing sentential structure. Such a tradition has until recently existed in discourse only outside of the field of linguistics (e.g. in rhetoric or Biblical exegesis).

Attempts to explain distribution patterns of different kinds of sentences often take the form of a pragmatic approach to discourse, for immediate lack of a better term. Again, scholars differ widely in their assumptions and focus, although they tend to agree on the importance of such notions as focus, givenness, coreference and cohesion, topicalization, and theme. Much of the work on these notions has its basis in the writings of the Prague School of Linguistics. Early Praguian studies of syntax introduced the term *theme* (referring to the first part of the linear sequence of a clause) as a way of

characterizing sentence structure; and semantic notions such as agency and discourse notions such as theme are applied to syntactic analyses. For example, in a summary of the general approaches to linguistics by the Linguistics School of Prague, Vachek (1966), crediting Mathesius, suggests the possibility that languages differ with respect to what their subjects categorize. Based on the regular use of nominalizations and passives by English, as opposed to Czech, and on the regular use of subjectless clauses by Czech, as opposed to English, he suggests the possibility that English subjects express theme and Czech subjects agent. Mathesius (Vachek 1968:319), incidentally, also suggests that sentence structure types exist which are not generally described as sentences, as in "An excellent idea, that". In the 1960's, Halliday (1967a,b; 1968) further developed and systematized the Praguian concept of theme in reference to transitivity in English; his contributions to discourse studies are discussed at length in chapter 3. Some later linguists, such as Kalmár (1979b), Cartier (1979), and Du Bois (1987), explain the existence and distribution of various syntactic phenomena (e.g. ergativity, tense-aspect, case) using the discourse-level notions listed above (for a more detailed discussion of these notions, see chapter 3). Du Bois, for example, correlating absolutive noun phrases in ergative languages with the introduction of new information in discourse, suggests that subjecthood can be determined not only by a set of characteristics which include agency, focus, etc. (cf. Keenan 1976) but also by information flow.

Yet other scholars interested in pragmatics (including Foley and Van Valin 1984) base their work on the effect of speaker intention and presupposition. These are heavily influenced by Austin's lectures (1962) on expressions of illocutionary acts and the relevance of referential meaning and context. Speech act theory is an outgrowth of these kinds of considerations; later studies of speech acts, however, have often tended to resemble the rather more formal study of logic (see Levinson 1983 for a discussion of Searle and other speech act theorists).

Finally, some, such as Givón (1979b) and Garcia (1979), have sometimes taken extreme positions and rejected the existence of syntax altogether, relying on context and communicative principles as the structural bases of discourse. Givón (1979b) eventually tries to show there are many facts supporting the existence of a structural level we call syntax, but that syntax has no independent existence apart from discourse structure.

Pragmatically-based approaches may suffer from a set of problems somewhat different from those which are syntactically-based, the most general problem, perhaps, being the dependence on personal interpretation for what is essential versus non-essential, backgrounded versus non-backgrounded, and new versus given information. The variables are many, the range of interpretations is wide, and the resulting degree of predictability and repeatability, in the scientific sense, is low. There seems to be some intuitive appeal for discussions of these types of information in discourse (and syntactic) analyses, because there is general acknowledgment that they play a role in the choice of sentence structure in language production and interpretation. However, attempts to define their roles in discourse often have limited success, perhaps because many studies have been limited to one or perhaps two sets of pragmatic factors (e.g. focus vs. topicalization, given vs. new information, etc.), or if more are involved, these have been seen as acting in discrete ways from other types of information. For example, Kalmár (1979a), in his study of Inuktitut case, proposes a three-way distinction for the function of the verb modes (which affect the assignment of case), involving essential vs. background information, development vs. elaboration, and event vs. participant focus. The modes reflect particular combinations of these factors; for example, the indicative reflects essential information, development, and event focus, whereas the contemporative reflects event focus but elaboration and background information. However, his determinations of essential, non-essential, etc. informational status are debatable.

Another frequent problem with pragmatic approaches is the decreased ability to account for syntactic phenomena, especially in a typologically, cross-linguistically useful

way. Givón (1979b), Garcia (1979, and Kalmár (1979a), all argue for the functional determination of sentential structures in given contexts; but in rejecting theoretical assumptions of syntactic approaches, they also reject information accounted for within syntactic theories. For example, Kalmár (1979b), in a discussion of the antipassive construction in Inuktitut, rejects the Relational Grammar interpretation of the antipassive, in which an object is demoted to non-object status and the sentence is considered structurally intransitive. He argues instead for an interpretation based on the definite status of the information. Whether or not one agrees with Relational Grammar, however, what is captured by the syntactic theory and lost in Kalmár's is the reflection of the object status (or lack thereof) in the verbal morphology of Inuktitut, where both subject and object are marked verbally in transitive clauses but only subject is in so-called antipassive constructions. Thus, explanations of sentence structure based on pragmatics alone often fail to explain systematic structural information.

Syntactic approaches tend to lack discourse-level data, and therefore discourse-level structure; pragmatic approaches tend to use texts (i.e. greater-than-sentence level discourse) as the basis for analyses which are nevertheless still sentential in nature. Discussions of focus, topic, etc. tend to reflect the focus within a sentence; and the role of subject or object or verbal tense-aspect are still explained within the boundaries of the sentence, although the context is considered.

In a textual approach to discourse, the structures of texts are often analyzed in terms of plot and notional development, event and setting information, and so forth. Structural notions at the level of the sentence which are significant in these approaches include semantic roles, constituent structures, predication, and theme. Textual approaches also tend to focus on the suprasentential organization of texts. Argument structure (where 'argument' refers to a method of developing ideas for the purpose of convincing or persuading, rather than to its syntactic definition as a complement of the verb), narrative structure, thematic development, character and setting development, all

belong to the textually-based studies. A number of textual scholars come from non-linguistic backgrounds or approach the study of discourse from traditionally non-linguistic points of view, as in Grimes, who brings methods of Biblical exegesis and rhetoric to the study of discourse, and Toolan (1988), who discusses narrative as a literary form. Scholars have most often analyzed either written materials or traditional narratives, leaving other forms of discourse largely untouched (exceptions being Jones 1977 and McCune 1983).

In textual approaches, the study of syntax is often undertaken not as the study of formal sentence construction as in modern syntactic theories, but as one of proposition construction. Longacre (1976) and Grimes (1975) are both concerned with the logical and semantic relationships between words and between clauses, but their approach is quite different from that of standard linguistic theories; for example, Grimes' semantic roles are based on discourse rather than syntactic factors (e.g. orientation and process roles), and Longacre's predicate calculus has more to do with notions than with the actions of verbs per se.

The influences of the Tagmemics School are felt in the work of a number of textual scholars, including Jones (1977) and Longacre (1976), where texts are seen as hierarchically organized entities. Jones (1977) pays particular attention to the identification of theme at different levels of discourse (defined hierarchically), of culturally defined scripts, or outlines of discourses which are conventionally structured and recognizable, and of syntactic phenomena which seem to be dependent on textual and contextual, rather than syntactical, factors. The identification of theme, however, is often problematic. Insofar as hearers must reconstruct the theme or topic a speaker has in mind, based on linguistic cues, the interpretation of theme is variable in any given discourse.

Other scholars, such as Woodbury (1987) and Hymes (1981), focus instead on questions of phrasing and form-content parallelisms (in addition to which they stress the

cultural context of texts). In a masterful combination of textual, sociological, and linguistic (but not necessarily syntactic) approaches, Hymes (1981) convincingly shows how important a knowledge is of the culture within which the discourse is produced in order to interpret its theme, and how different speaker beliefs about the functions of narratives is reflected in the structure.

The importance of a native speaker's judgments about a text is essential in the work of Rhodes (personal communication) and McCune (1983), who bases much of her work on Rhodes. Rhodes is interested in the semantic relationships themes, defined rather specifically as the propositional content of clauses, have with one another and the scope and respective ranking of themes within texts. In an examination of scope in discourse, for example, Rhodes (1995) shows that certain themes (e.g. words of saying or thinking, anaphoric or adverbial phrases, etc.) have scope not over the sentences they are contained in but over the paragraph they are either contained in or refer to. Textual ambiguities, analogous to syntactic ambiguities, arise because of the possibility of different interpretations of themes by each hearer of a text. The theme of a text is therefore determined by individual judgments of native speakers.

European text linguistics, summarized by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), involves a somewhat more programmatic view of texts. A text is viewed as a string of well-formed sentences in sequence, for which a grammar is constructed with separate components for the speaker and the hearer. Some scholars suggest text grammars based on logic: de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) prefer a less formalized approach to capture actual use of texts. In this approach to text linguistics, language is viewed as an interactive system of levels of structure (including syntax, semantics, and pragmatics), and texts are analyzed with respect to operations which manipulate units and patterns of text formation.

Finally, there exists a large corpus of work on discourse based on a sociolinguistic approach to discourse. I am by design least familiar with this approach, as much of it lies outside the scope of my thesis. Not surprisingly, social and cultural factors play a major

part in sociolinguistic analyses of discourse. Presuppositions, inferences, shared cultural information, communicative intent, levels of politeness, social stratification, turn-taking strategies, and so forth, are all essential components of sociolinguistic discourse analyses. In addition, however, many studies involve observations of structural differences in language across different socio-economic strata, and such studies often lead to syntactic analyses of discourse. Such is the work of Labov (1972), for example, which includes studies of distributional patterns of sentence elements in narrative discourse. Many other studies incorporate structural analyses with more sociologically-based information, as does Schiffrin (1987), for example. In a study of the role of discourse markers (e.g. 'oh', 'well', etc.) in English, she finds that markers work as boundaries "not only at different social organizational levels, but at different levels of the organization of talk" (1987:36), and she notes differences in their behavior at different levels of talk (e.g. 'and' coordinates two like constituent phrases at syntactic levels but not necessarily at discourse levels). Sociolinguistic approaches are generally characterized by discourses elicited in the field.

The great weakness of relying only on either textually-based and sociological-based analyses is often the non-inclusion of syntactic considerations, to a far greater degree than pragmatically-based approaches. Neither approach, of course, makes any claim to be answering syntactic questions, and those questions are understandably often considered outside the scope of these two approaches. Nevertheless, some scholars do include discussions of discourse structure which can be translated into syntactic considerations. In the more developed discussions of discourse, such as those of Longacre (1976) and Grimes (1975), clause-level phenomena are considered, the role of subordination in paragraphing strategies is presented, and coreference is particularly important. Schiffrin's interpretation of 'oh' as an information management marker, or something which shift the discourse participants' orientation to information by replacing one information unit with another, can easily be restated in syntactic terms, as something which marks the boundaries between constituents. Finally, among the scholars reviewed

here, Rhodes has a particularly strong background in purely syntactic theories, methods of argumentation, and goals, which translates into an understanding of the structural relationship between syntax and discourse.

1.4 A Theoretical Approach to Discourse Structure in West Greenlandic

A satisfactory study of discourse must at some level consider issues central to each of these approaches, including the effect of the discourse on the syntax, the patterns of information flow, the thematic development of a text, and the socio-cultural context within which a text is produced. The emphasis of one set of issues over another of course depends on the goal of a particular linguistic description, but it is unlikely that ignoring any one of these sets of issues will result in a functionally adequate description. In my study, I favor a functional rather than model-dependent approach to the study of linguistics. I am particularly interested in the effect of linguistic context on clause structure, or evidence for the influence of discourse on syntactic structures and their distribution in texts; and in finding structure in discourse in the way that scholars have long found structure in sentences. I primarily use syntactic terminology and structural concepts, such as subjecthood and ergativity; however, I base my study on texts rather than sentences. Where applicable, I provide pragmatic and socio-cultural information, but these figure less prominently in my analysis.

Initially, what drew me to a study of discourse from a syntactic study of ergativity was the distribution of subordinate verb moods in eastern Inuit dialects. In the course of the analysis of my West Greenlandic data, my interest became focused on methods of tracking verbal arguments across clauses and the effect of verbal arguments on the distribution of certain syntactic constructions. The tracking of entities across clause boundaries is essentially the study of cohesion. In each of the four approaches described above to the study of discourse factors in sentence and text formation, cohesion is an integral part of the linguistic description. In syntactic approaches, the concern involves to some degree a description of the constraints on (pronominal) anaphora; in pragmatic

approaches, of the status of information in a clause; in textual approaches, of (thematic) continuity; and in sociological approaches, of shared socio-cultural knowledge. Cohesion is what differentiates a text from a group of random sentences. Any description of discourses involving more than one sentence must in some way account for cohesive elements within these discourses. In my study, I focus on one aspect of cohesion in texts, namely topic and thematic continuity as reflected by pronominal anaphora in verbal constructions. Again, my approach incorporates mainly elements of syntactic and textual studies of discourses. Although I discuss such issues as information status and presupposed socio-cultural knowledge, these do not figure as prominently in my analysis.

I use the terms 'topic' and 'theme' very specifically, in ways which are justifiable but not yet standard in the literature. By topic, I mean the nominal entity with prominence in a stretch of discourse; by theme, I refer to the propositional information with prominence in a stretch of discourse. The two are related in discourse in the way nouns and verbs are in the lexicon, and arguments and predicates are in the syntax. In this study, I propose that topic can be seen as a discourse role, in the same way that subject and object are considered syntactic roles, and that certain constructions which mark textual cohesion in West Greenlandic can best be understood by assuming topic rather than subject or object as the relevant reflection of cross-clausal cohesion. The focus of chapter 3 will be a discussion of the notions of topic, theme, discourse role, and their reflection in West Greenlandic. Chapter 2, meanwhile, provides an introduction to basic phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of West Greenlandic, an understanding of which is necessary for the discussions of the particular syntactic structures which follow. A brief summary of typological characteristics of West Greenlandic may be found in appendix I.

The syntactic structures with which I am concerned are those which show morphological agreement patterns; these structures include the ergative and antipassive, which show various patterns of subject and object agreement, and the subordinate verb

moods, which show various patterns of subject coreference. The transitive constructions in West Greenlandic show ergative patterns of case-marking on the nominal arguments, and they have both subject and object pronominal agreement on the verb. The intransitive and detransitivized constructions have only subject pronominal agreement on the verb. In previous studies, these patterns of agreement have been linked with the pragmatic notions of givenness or definiteness, such that absolutive objects of transitive constructions are identified as given or definite, and instrumentally-marked objects of detransitivized (antipassive) constructions are identified as new or indefinite. It is commonly recognized that such a characterization is inadequate, as I have explained in section 1.2. In chapter 4, I will show that instead of referencing subjects and objects, pronominal marking in West Greenlandic involves the referencing of topics: absolutely marked nominals are local topics, and instrumentally-marked objects of antipassives are non-topics.

The subordinate moods in West Greenlandic have the means to indicate what has been identified as switch-reference, or subject coreference or lack thereof with the subject of a superordinate clause. In the causative and conditional moods, this is done by pronominal inflection on the verb. In the contemporative and the participial moods, however, pronominal inflection is inadequate (i.e. paradigmatically incomplete, at least with respect to the contemporative), and it is assumed that the contemporative and the participial are in complementary distribution as markers of switch-reference. Exceptions to a strict interpretation of switch-reference are common, both in the pronominal inflection and in the use of the contemporative and the participial. In chapter 5, I show that switch-reference is more systematically explained by assuming topic rather than subject coreference. The verb moods, however, differ in kind from other switch-reference mechanisms, and the use of the contemporative and the participial as switch-reference mechanisms is more likely a reflection of thematic rather than topic continuity or lack thereof, a reflection of their propositional rather than nominal semantics. Further,

although I do not dwell on this, their use as markers of thematic continuity must, however, be seen as only one, probably secondary, function; they are more likely moods which, like the causative and the conditional, reflect a system indicating time relative to the superordinate clause. The historical plausibility of assuming that these verb moods indicate anything resembling switch-reference is discussed in appendix II.

Preferring a functional approach to linguistic description, I chose to collect my data in the form of texts rather than in the form of sentence elicitation: and the speakers themselves chose the texts. I did not attempt to collect controlled texts (as in the famous pear stories collected by Chafe 1980, in which speakers are asked to tell, in their own words, a selected story after having seen a film or pictures of the story). All of the data was collected in the form of personal recollections of past experiences. Most do not qualify as 'narratives' in the Labovian sense (Labov 1972:360), as temporally ordered sequential recountings of past experiences, where changes in order result in changes in interpretation of the narrative. Whereas Labov's narrators recount particular, one-time events, the Greenlandic narrators have chosen to describe life in general as it used to be in their youth, in the form of episodes only occasionally marked by particular memories of single events. Therefore, I use the term 'personal recollection' in referring to these narrated stories. They were collected from four speakers, one of whom was in her late eighties; the three others were all about twenty years younger. Two speakers were interviewed, and two were made to recount their recollections without intruding questions. All speakers are native speakers of West Greenlandic, although one originally came from and speaks South Greenlandic dialect in addition to West Greenlandic. The transcriber and translator is a native speaker of Greenlandic, although he speaks a more northerly dialect; as a result, some of his dialect shows up in the transcriptions, and these are duly noted in footnotes. The transcriber is trilingual in Greenlandic, Danish, and English, although his knowledge of English is not perfect. Many of the translations are therefore modified from the original, based on my morphological analyses and based on

the invaluable help of P. Langgård.. P. Langgård is a native speaker of Danish, but he has native competence in West Greenlandic and is a linguist, specializing in phonology and morphology. All texts but text 3a were reviewed by him for accuracy in the morphological analysis and translation; in addition, he provided much of the necessary contextual knowledge (cf. text 2 with respect to nautical, climatological, and geographical information). All of the data with which I worked is found in appendix III. In addition, I include the charts I made in order to analyze the data. The information I kept track of includes subject, object, oblique object, both paragraph and clausal theme, particles, temporal adverbs, and tense-aspect. Some of this information was rarely, if ever, made use of; I provide it simply for the benefit of future researchers. Appendices IV and V include further information gathered for the purposes of this study but not made use of: Appendix IV contains charts made to track the use of the contemporative and participial moods, and appendix V contains observations made about the functions of the particles and the temporal adverbs, as well as further discussion of the thematic structure of some of the texts.

2 Background Information On Greenlandic

The following brief description of various aspects of Greenlandic is presented in order to facilitate the reading of the main text of this thesis. It is not meant as a comprehensive description of Greenlandic grammar, for which the reader is referred to the following sources, all of which were consulted for this summary:

- Bergsland, Knut. 1955. *A Grammatical Outline of the Eskimo Language of West Greenland*
 Dorais, Louis-Jacques. 1990. *Inuit Uqausiqatigiit: Inuit Languages and Dialects*
 Fortescue, Michael. 1984. *West Greenlandic*
 Kleinschmidt, Samuel. 1851. *Grammatik der Grönländischen Sprache*
 Langgård, K. and P. 1988. *Oqaasilerinermik Ilinniutit/Elementær Grønlandsk Grammatik*
 Rischel, J. 1974. *Topics in West Greenlandic Phonology*
 Schultz-Lorenzen. 1945. *A Grammar of the West Greenland Language*
 Swadesh, Morris. 1946. *South Greenlandic (Eskimo)*
 Woodbury, Anthony C. 1984. *Eskimo and Aleut Languages*

I have also received extensive personal communication from Prof. Per Langgård.

Throughout, I present theoretically varied approaches to the description of Greenlandic grammar, primarily because they show different ways of thinking about the issues under discussion and they highlight different problems or difficulties in the understanding of Greenlandic.

2.1 Historical Affiliations

Greenlandic belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut family of languages, which are spoken in the Arctic from the Chukchi Peninsula in Siberia to Greenland. Periodic attempts have been made to relate the Eskimo-Aleut languages to others spoken on the Asian continent, although these attempts have not been particularly successful or convincing. There seems to be evidence for linguistic contact between speakers of the Eskimo-Aleut languages and speakers of both the Ural-Altaic and the eastern Indo-European languages, and in particular, certain inflectional similarities between the Ural-Altaic and the Eskimo-Aleut languages have led to the hypothesis of a genetic relationship between the two families:

but reconstruction to a common ancestor cannot be proven with the information we have to date.

In the historical period, Eskimo-Aleut consists of two linguistic branches, Aleut and Eskimo. The split is thought to have occurred about four thousand years ago, or during the latest migration across the Bering Strait. Only one Aleut language is known since contact with Europeans was first established in the seventeenth century. It is spoken on the Aleutian Islands and consists of several very closely related dialects, generally grouped geographically into eastern and western Aleut. The geographical distribution seems to be recent in origin, perhaps shortly preceding contact with Europeans. There are almost no speakers left, and relatively little is known about the language; some dialects are virtually undocumented.

Much more documentation is available for the Eskimo branch. By about 1000 C.E., a split had resulted in two distinct but still closely related language groups, the Yupik and the Inuit-Inupiaq¹ languages. The reasons for both the Eskimo/Aleut and the Yupik/Inuit-Inupiaq splits are essentially unknown. The Yupik branch consists of about five clearly separate languages, all of which share common innovations and dialect features. The Siberian Yupik languages, Sirenitski, Central Siberian Yupik (or Chaplinski), and Naukanski, are found along the Chukchi Peninsula and share some features with Chukchi. In Alaska, from Norton Sound to Prince William Sound, are found Central Alaskan Yupik and Pacific Yupik, the former of which shares considerably in features of Alaskan Inupiaq.

Inuit-Inupiaq, unlike Yupik, consists of a continuum of closely related dialects, spoken from Norton Sound in Alaska to East Greenland. This branch of Eskimo is generally thought to have originated in Alaska and spread with the Thule culture across

¹Inuit-Inupiaq is a term I am borrowing from Woodbury. All Inuit dialects are named according to the dialectal word for 'the people'; but all Inuit dialects vary more or less in the form of this word. There is no consensus on a common term applying to all dialects. Different compromises have been attempted but this seems to be the most acceptable.

the North American continent, probably replacing the language of the previous population. No identifiable traces are left of the pre-Thule language here. There are four major Inuit-Inupiaq dialectal regions: Inupiaq in Alaska, with two large dialects, Bering Strait and North Slope; Western Canada, with the Mackenzie Coast, Copper, Netsilik, and Caribou dialects (with subdialects); Eastern Canada, with Iglulik, South-East Baffin Inuktitut, Cape Dorset Kinngamiut, Itivimmiut and Tarramiut on Hudson Bay, and Labrador Inuttut; and finally Greenland, with Polar Eskimo, West Greenlandic, and East Greenlandic. The people of the latter three regions are called Inuit, whence the first half of the term Inuit-Inupiaq (although the Greenlanders refer to themselves as Kalaallit).

Of the Greenlandic dialects, East Greenlandic has undergone the most change, primarily because of a lexical taboo system in practice at least since the 19th century. Some East Greenlandic features are also present in Southern West Greenlandic speech forms and are thought to be the result of contact and migration from the late 19th century of South-Eastern Greenlanders from the area between Cape Farewell and Ammassalik. Polar Eskimo is a recent arrival and still shows considerable affinity to Eastern Canadian dialects. The dialect covered in this thesis is primarily a variety of West Greenlandic spoken in Nuuk and Sisimiut, although some data was collected from speakers of Southern West Greenlandic.

In general, Alaskan Inupiaq is more conservative than the more eastern Inuit-Inupiaq dialects, as in its retention of the Proto-Eskimo */ʃ/ and final */n/'s, although many innovations are shared by all the dialects. One such, described in more detail below, appears to be consonant lenition intervocalically. Greenlandic dialects share some features with Alaskan Inupiaq which are not present in other dialects, as with progressive assibilation of Proto-Eskimo */t/. In other respects, Greenlandic appears more like Labrador Inuttut and other Eastern Canadian dialects, as with consonant cluster assimilation. For more detail, Woodbury (1984) provides a summary of major developments in the major dialects of both Inuit-Inupiaq and Yupik branches of Eskimo.

2.2 Phonology

As stated above, most of the Inuit dialects have remained conservative enough to be mutually understandable, although the degree to which this is so is variable across dialects. The phonological system of Greenlandic differs little from that of Proto-Eskimo, although phonological changes have led to some important and pervasive systemic changes in Greenlandic. In the discussion below, I present the Proto-Eskimo and Greenlandic phonological systems, as well as a brief discussion of orthographic conventions in Greenlandic; the phonological distributional restrictions in Greenlandic, which for the most part are common to all Inuit dialects; and the more important of the phonological changes from Proto-Eskimo to Greenlandic, which have direct and continuing consequences on the modern language. These include the status of the phoneme /ə/, the development of */ð/, regressive consonant assimilation, intervocalic fricativization, and progressive vowel assimilation.

Proto-Eskimo, presumed to have been spoken until about 2,000 years ago, is thought to have had the following phonological system (see Dorais 1990:15):

Table 2.1:

vowels	front	back			
	i e ²	u a			
consonants	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular
stops	p	t	c	k	q
fricatives	f v	θ ³ ð		ɣ	ʀ
		l	j		
nasals	m	n		ŋ	

²mid ə according to Langgård

³This is a question; it could have been a flap (ɾ).

Modern Central and Southern West Greenlandic has undergone some changes (see Dorais 1990:147):

Table 2.2:

vowels	front i, i:	back u, u: a, a:			
consonants	labial	dental	palatal	velar	uvular
stops	p	t		k	q
fricatives	f v ⁵	s ʃ	ʃ ⁴ j	x (= <g>) g (= <g>ʃ)	χ (= <r>) R (= <r>)
nasals	m	n		h (= <ng>) ⁶	

(The above tables are, of course, highly simplified. I include the standard spellings in <>.)

Greenlandic has been written since the 18th century and was orthographically standardized by Kleinschmidt in the mid-19th century. In 1973, as a result of substantial phonological changes, the orthography was modified, and all modern texts, including the texts I collected, are written in the new orthography. The orthography is inconsistently phonemic. In certain cases, it represents vowels on an allophonic rather than on a phonemic basis, as in the use of <e> for /i/ and <o> for /u/ when these occur before a uvular consonant (e.g. /q/ or /R/, or <q> or <r> orthographically). [e] and [o] are not phonologically distinct from /i/ or /u/ respectively, although extensive phonetic differences do exist due to the uvular environment.

⁴Some dialects of West Greenlandic, particularly the more northern ones, still have a retroflex /s/ as the result of a sound change from /*ʈ/ to /ʃ/ after a vowel. Others have lost the retroflex quality and now have /s/ in all environments.

⁵ [w] or [b] according to most other sources.

⁶Swadesh also includes in the list of nasals a palatal nasal; no other source to my knowledge suggests the existence of a palatal nasal in Greenlandic or in any of the other Inuit dialects. The examples provided by Swadesh show clearly that his palatal nasals should in fact be the velar nasals.

Typically, Greenlandic words have a number of phonological distributional restrictions (Swadesh, pp. 32-33); exceptions come mostly from loanwords. A stem may begin with a vowel, stops, and /s/, /m/, or /n/. Stem-finally, only vowels, /q/, /k/, or /t/ may occur; word-finally, only vowels and (non-nasal) stops occur, although there seem to be two opposing tendencies in the modern language, for final consonants to be lost in some cases and for the final consonants to be realized as /q/. As late as Kleinschmidt's grammar (1851), women's and children's speech included final nasals, which seems to have been general in western and more conservative Inuit dialects. Consonant clusters only occur word medially; although affixes may begin with both consonant clusters and consonants other than stops and /s/, /m/, or /n/, the practical effect is felt word-medially.

Aside from a greater range of phonological distribution (at least word-finally), there have been a number of changes from the Proto-Eskimo phonological system to that of modern West Greenlandic which have resulted in the obscuring of phonological processes and in some confusion on the part of modern speakers. The language today is in a state of flux as a result of these changes. For example, whereas Proto-Eskimo had 4 distinct vowels, modern Greenlandic has only three surface forms; but the effects of the fourth vowel, the /e/ or /ə/ (and I will follow P. Langgård's usage of /ə/) are still felt in both phonological and morphophonological processes. The following examples were given to me by P. Langgård (although see also Dorais, 1990: 38):

2.1 Modern Reflexes of *ə

*ə--> i/ __C	[aŋutə][t] ---> <i>angutit</i> 'men'
*ə--> a/ __V	[aŋutə][u][vuq] ---> <i>angutaavoq</i> 'there is a man'
*ə--> i, a, Ø/ __#	[aŋutə]# ---> <i>angut</i> 'man'

Comparing the effects of *ə with other vowels, say *i, seeming irregularities in the morphophonology are explained by the distinction still made between /i/ from *i and /i/ from *ə:

2.2	<i>iki</i> : < */iki/ 'wound'	[iki][a] = <i>ikia</i> 'his wound'
	<i>ini</i> : < */inə/ 'room'	[inə][a] = <i>inaa</i> 'his room'

In addition, *i affects a following /t/, causing assibilation, but *ə does not:

2.3 Assibilation:

t ---> s/iC0__ [surair][tit][vaa] --> *soraarsippaa* 'he fires someone'
t ---> t/əC0__ [isər][tit][vaa] --> *isertippaa* 'he makes someone come in'

Proto-Eskimo *ð also is no longer found in modern Greenlandic, but its effects are still felt in phonological and morphophonological processes; the morphophoneme /T/, present-day reflex of *ð, is used by Langgård to explain synchronic alternations of this segment (again, all examples were given to me by P. Langgård)⁷:

2.4 Modern Reflex of *ð:

T ---> ʂ/V__ aniTar- ---> [ani][ʂar]- *anisarpoq* 'he usually leaves'
T ---> t/C__ isərTar- ---> [isər][tar]- *isertarpoq* 'he usually enters'

(/ʂ/ is still distinguished from /s/ in some of the northern Central West Greenlandic dialects, but for the most part, the distinction is being lost.)

In combination with the assibilation rule, where assibilation is ordered second, this produces:

2.5 t ---> s/iC0__ anilirTar- ---> *anilirsarpoq* 'he usually begins to leave'
 t ---> t/elsewhere

One of the most obvious changes in Western Greenlandic, and perhaps one of the more studied changes, is the regressive consonant assimilation which has led to an overall consonant cluster simplification, and, in consequence, to some morphological isomorphism. A wide variety of consonant clusters were described by Kleinschmidt in 1851 (see Kleinschmidt 1851:5-6). By 1973, when the orthography was revised, the only consonant clusters are [ts] (tt ---> ts/ __i), geminates, and uvular consonant + consonant groupings: in many if not most cases, the uvular consonant + consonant clusters are

⁷The morpheme *-Taq* has a further idiosyncratic manifestation:

T ---> ʂ/r__ atuaqTaq ---> *atuaqgaq* = *atuagaq* 'book'

There are at least two different morphemes *-Taq*, one of which is the marker of habitual aspect, and another of which is the passive morpheme. The latter is known as a truncating morpheme (see below in morphology), meaning that the final consonant of the preceding morpheme is lost when the passive morpheme is added. Thus, *atuaq*- 'to read' + *-Taq*- passive morpheme = *atuagaq* 'that which is read, book'.

actually geminates with a preceding pharyngeal coloring. These clusters are represented in modern orthographic practices as <rC> (e.g. *ulloq* 'day', *ullorpoq* 'it has become day').

2.6 Regressive Consonant Assimilation:

	19th century	present
he walks/walked	<i>pisugpoK</i> (Kleinschmidt 1851:113)	<i>pisuppoq</i> (Oqaatsit 1990:251)
he turns/turned	<i>sangmivâ</i> (Kleinschmidt 1851:113)	<i>sammivaa</i> (Oqaatsit 1990:306)
towards it/him	= /saŋmiva/	

The practical effect of these consonant cluster simplifications through regressive consonant assimilation has been to increase the number of homophonic lexemes and morphemes, making the interpretation of particular morphologically complex items far more context dependent, both for the listener and for the linguist. In most cases, the context is clear, but ambiguities do arise. An example of lexical ambiguity that often recurs in Dorais' descriptions is the confusion that results from the loss of distinct consonant clusters arising from the addition of personal possessive endings:

2.7 *ininni* 'my room' = 'your room' (see K. and P. Langgård 1987:231)
(previously *ininni* or *ini^wne* 'my room' and *iningni* 'your room', see Dorais 1990:172; see also Kleinschmidt 1851:35--orthography differs).

Consonant cluster simplification (i.e. gemination or regressive assimilation) has particularly important effects in combination with other morphophonological processes at morpheme boundaries. These will be discussed in more detail below.

Other phonological peculiarities of West Greenlandic include devoicing of fricatives and laterals in geminates or clusters (e.g. *nuna+qaq+vik* = *nunaqarfik* 'village, settlement'), and intervocalic weakening of non-geminate stops to voiced fricatives and sometimes loss of intervocalic fricatives (e.g. /v/, as in *taku+vaa* = *takuaa* 'he sees it', presumably because of the /u/). Lenition of intervocalic single consonants is a feature of a number of Inuit dialects and may even be a feature inherited from Proto-Eskimo.⁸ As

⁸In support of this is the particular forms of the allomorphs for affixes on verbs:

p~v	(<i>tusarpoq</i> , <i>tusaauvoq</i>)
t~s, s, or j	(<i>tusartoq</i> , <i>tusaauvoq</i>)
k~g or j/V_, r_q, and k_C	(<i>takugallarpoq</i> , <i>inerallarpoq</i> , <i>sinikkallarpoq</i>)

discussed above, it is the voiced fricative *T (ð) in Proto-Eskimo which becomes /s/ in West Greenlandic and /j/ in Inuktitut.

Dorais (1990:153) also discusses what he calls vowel harmony, particularly of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, which have become /aa/ non-finally, and of /u/ becoming /i/ under certain circumstances in South West Greenlandic. Fortescue (1984:339) and Rischel (1974:74), call it progressive vowel assimilation. The import to my texts of this assimilation is its effect at morpheme boundaries (e.g. *nuna+u+voq* = *nunaavoq* 'it is land').

2.3 Morphophonology

The highly polysynthetic nature of Greenlandic (and all the Inuit dialects) has resulted in a complicated morphophonological system. Through historical development, West Greenlandic has a large number of rather specific morphophonological rules, many of which are no longer productive and many of which apply only to small subsets of morphological groups. The most complete descriptions of these can be found in Kleinschmidt, Schultz-Lorenzen, Bergsland, and Fortescue. In the following, I summarize the most general points, including specifically the effects of stem-final consonants on following suffixes, the effects of suffix initial forms on preceding stems, and the allomorphs of suffixes with variable initial consonants.

West Greenlandic is exclusively suffixing, with one nonproductive exception, *ta-*. There are two fundamental morphemic properties to consider: whether or not the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel, and whether or not the suffix begins with a consonant or vowel. As mentioned above, stems in West Greenlandic traditionally could end in a vowel or one of three stops: /t/, /k/, or /q/. In addition, there are special considerations with regard to stems which end in /t/, all of which seem to derive from an earlier /*tə/.

In other dialects, the lenition of the dental stop results in a voiced glide:

t~j

(Inuktitut *tautuktuq*, *takujuq*)

stem ends in /tə/ suffix begins with C /tə/ stays generally (as /ti/, but in certain circumstances, it is fused especially before +/s/, /l/, or /n/

cf. [angutə][ni] *angunni* 'his father'
[qassut][lior]- *qassusiorpoq* 'he makes nets'

After the application of the appropriate morphophonological rule, where stem-final consonants are followed by suffix initial consonants, the regressive consonant assimilation rule (see 2.6 above) applies.

The table above lists generalizations; there are many exceptions. Langgård (personal communication) proposes a simplified morphophonemic description based on general tendencies: any suffix beginning with a consonant cluster or a voiced fricative truncates the stem/root final consonant and is known as a 'truncating' suffix; with the exception of some idiosyncratic forms, the phonological rules are then applied.

In addition to the above, suffixes can have variable initial consonants. In these cases, where the stem ends in a vowel, the suffix will start with /RC/, /χC/ or the voiced fricative corresponding to the place of articulation of C; where the stem ends in a consonant, the suffix starts with the simple consonant C, and the final consonant of the stem is not lost, and the consonant cluster undergoes assimilation. In the majority of cases where suffix-initial consonants are not variable, the final stem consonant is lost (but not in all such cases).

In particular, with the exception of a few verbalizing affixes, the suffixes with variable consonants seem to be those which attach to verbs. All personal endings on verbs are characterized by initial consonant variability in the indicative, participial, and contemporative and optative moods (examples were given in footnote 8 and are repeated here):

2.8	indicative: p~v	tusar-voq <i>tusarpoq</i> 'he hears that'
		tusaa-voq <i>tusaavoq</i> 'he hears'
	participial: t~s	tusar-soq <i>tusartoq</i>
		tusaa-soq <i>tusausoq</i>
	contemporative and optative: t~l	
		tusar-luni <i>tusarluni</i> (pronounced /tusartuni/)
		tusaa-luni <i>tusaalluni</i> (pronounced /tusaatuni/)

(in the causative, /g/ is realized as /k/ after stem-final /t/ or /k/ as a result of assimilation, not as a result of a variable initial consonant.) In addition, there is an idiosyncratic rule such that preceding a final /t/, /v/ is geminated (and therefore realized as /pp/; e.g. *takuvoq* 'he sees', but *takupput* 'they see'). Also, there is a general contraction of /gə/+ verbal endings, so that the initial inflectional consonant is lost (e.g. *oqarpoq* 'he talks', but *oqaatigaa* 'he talks about it', from *oqar+uti+gi+vaa*).

Many suffixes attaching to verbs also have variable initial consonants:

2.9	p~v	-pallaq-/vallaq- 'resemble'
	t~s or j [y]	-toq-/soq- nominalizing affix
	k~g or j [y]/V __, k~r/q __, k elsewhere	-kalluaq-/galluaq- consequence
	q~r	-qattaq-/rattaq- 'often'

At word boundaries, a stem-final consonant may become a nasal when followed by a vowel:

2.10 C --> N / __# V

This is particularly true where deictic words are attached to preceding nominals or pronominals (e.g. *kikunukua*, from *kikut* # *ukua*).

2.4 Morphology

Because of the polysynthetic nature of Greenlandic (and other Inuit dialects), its morphology is necessarily quite complex. It has occasionally been argued that, by reason of its nominalizing and noun incorporating capabilities, Greenlandic does not distinguish between nominal and verbal entities (see Woodbury, 1985 for a history of the arguments for this approach). Most scholars, however, recognize two separate major lexical classes, those with nominal and those with verbal characteristics (in addition to particles, demonstratives, postpositions, etc.). In the following, I restrict my discussion to those

morphological processes affecting nouns and verbs; in general, I will not deal with particles. There are three types of morphological processes: inflection, derivation, and encliticization. Under inflection, I include nominal inflection, in which I present approaches to nominal classification, the three sets of nominal endings (for simple and possessed nouns and demonstratives), the six oblique inflectional endings, and number; and verbal inflection, in which I present methods of verbal classification and the inflectional endings, indicating mood, transitivity, person, and number. Under derivation, I present methods of suffix classification, both structural and semantic; the effects of incorporation, with specific reference to copular structures and possession; and nominalizations. Finally, I present a brief summary of Greenlandic enclitics.

2.4.1 Inflection--Nominal

Nouns in Greenlandic are classified in at least two different ways: in the first, nouns are grouped according to stem-internal changes (or lack thereof), and in the second, according to the form of the inflectional endings they take, and the effect of these endings on stem-final consonants. The older sources favor the first approach, and the more modern sources the latter.

Kleinschmidt (1851:26-28) distinguishes at least three classes of nouns, depending on the root-internal changes that occur with inflection. The first class of nouns consists of those which do not change form, with the exception of the loss of the final consonants in some cases: /q/ is generally lost, [k] is lost before another /k/, but is weakened to [g] before a /t/ or a /p/: however, since a word cannot end in a consonant cluster, [k] is realized as [u] before a /p/ and as [i] before a /t/:

2.11	abs ¹⁰ sg	rel sg	dual	pl	
	<i>nuna</i>	<i>nunap</i>	<i>nunak</i>	<i>nunat</i>	'land'
	<i>qaqqaq</i>	<i>qaqqap</i>	<i>qaqqak</i>	<i>qaqqat</i>	'mountain'
	<i>inuk</i>	<i>inuup</i>	<i>inuk</i>	<i>inuit</i>	'human'

¹⁰Kleinschmidt's terms differ slightly; he calls the absolutive the 'objective', and the ergative the 'subjective'. For consistency, I will simply use the terms I am employing in general. 'Ergative' is used when I am specifically referring to its syntactic function as subject of the transitive clause, whereas 'relative' is used when discussing case marking here.

The second class includes those nouns with 'weak' changes, in which a stem vowel is 'lost' in the process (it actually appears to be metathesized with the final consonant).

Most nouns in this class are those with a final /q/ which is not lost with inflection.

although some isolated final /k/ stems behave in the same way.

2.12	abs sg	rel sg	dual	pl	
	<i>sioraq</i>	<i>siorqap</i>	<i>siorqak</i>	<i>siorqat</i>	'pebble'

Finally, the third class includes those nouns with 'strong' changes, including the metathesis of stem consonants as well as the vowel. Most words of this class appear to be final /æq/ or /iɰq/ stems, although some final /k/ stems behave in this way.

2.13	abs sg	rel sg	dual	pl	
	<i>imeq</i>			<i>ermit</i>	'water'

There are exceptions and idiosyncracies in each of the classes.

Schultz-Lorentzen (1945:18-27) distinguishes a weak declension, in which endings are simply added on, from a strong declension, in which the stem is radically modified by the affix. Kleinschmidt's explanation for the /u/ or /i/ vowel preceding the relative and the plural endings /p/ and /t/ in some stems with final consonants is adopted, although details differ in important ways: the stem cannot end in a consonant cluster, but the vowels could be present even where they do not replace a consonant:

2.14	abs sg	rel sg	dual	pl	
	<i>erneq</i>	<i>ernerup</i>		<i>ernerit</i>	'son'

Both Fortescue (1984:206) and P. Langgård (personal communication) distinguish essentially two classes based on the form of the relative and plural inflections. Langgård sees the present-day distinctions as the remnants of a two-class system, with a tendency to replace strong (/up/, /it/) endings with weak ones in Greenlandic, the result being an ever smaller strong class, an ever growing weak class, and a transitional class with features of both:

2.15	abs sg	rel sg	pl	term	3sg pos	
strong	<i>erneq</i>	<i>ernerup</i>	<i>ernerit</i>	<i>ermermut</i>	<i>ernera</i>	'son'
weak	<i>qimmeq</i>	<i>qimmip</i>	<i>qimmit</i>	<i>qimmimut</i>	<i>qimmia</i>	'dog'
both ¹¹	<i>panik</i>	<i>paniup</i>	<i>paniit</i>	<i>panimmut</i>	<i>pania</i>	'daughter'

Fortescue distinguishes the strong class, which includes most of the /k/ and some of the /q/ stems from the weak, which includes all vowel stems, most of the /q/, and some of the /k/ stems. The final consonant of the strong class is not lost with the addition of oblique endings, but rather assimilated, and the strong class stem takes /up/ and /it/ relative and plural endings. The weak class loses a final consonant before another consonant, and takes /p/ and /t/ endings. Some nouns in each class have final syllable consonant gemination.

There are at least three different sets of nominal inflectional endings. Simple nominals have one set, possessed nouns another, and demonstratives have a separate set (probably derived from a combination of the nominal inflectional endings and another suffix). Aside from the absolutive and the relative (which functions both as the marker of the ergative and as the basis for marking possession), there exist 6 oblique case markers, all of which are based on the relative form, at least for the simple nominals and the possessed forms. In recent decades, the separate inflectional endings of demonstratives have been slowly losing ground and are now used inconsistently by speakers. The six oblique cases are variously called the modalis or instrumentalis (instrumental); localis (locative); ablative; terminalis; vialis, perlative or prosecutive; and equalis¹² (see section 2.5.1 for an explanation of their functions). All oblique case endings are added to the stem after the relative case: they have the following forms:

¹¹In 18th century sources, *panik* was listed as a word with strong declension: *panik paningup paningit paninga* (P. Laggård, personal communication).

¹²For the most part, there is consensus on the naming of the cases in Greenlandic, but some small variations exist. I will adopt P. Laggård's terminology, itself adopted for the most part from Kleinschmidt, as this also tends to be the terminology found in the literature on other Inuit dialects. I use the anglicized forms 'locative' and 'instrumental'.

2.16	inst.	- <i>nik</i>	rel. sg+ inst.	- <i>p-nik</i> → - <i>mik</i>
	loc.	- <i>ni</i>	rel. sg+ loc.	- <i>p-ni</i> → - <i>mi</i>
	abl.	- <i>nit</i>	rel. sg + abl.	- <i>p-nit</i> → - <i>mit</i>
	term.	- <i>nut</i>	rel. sg + term.	- <i>p-nut</i> → - <i>mut</i>
	via.	- <i>gut</i>	rel. sg + via.	- <i>p-gut</i> → - <i>kkut</i>
	eq.	- <i>tut</i>	rel. sg + eq.	- <i>p-tut</i> → - <i>tut</i>

In Kleinschmidt's time, three numbers were distinguished, the singular, dual, and plural. During the 19th century, the dual fell into decline, and it is now no longer distinguished, with the exception of a few fossilized examples, such as *marluk* 'two'.¹³ The singular is unmarked: plurals of strong nouns are formed by the addition of /*æ*/, and plurals of weak vowels by the addition of /*ʊ*/. As stated above, there is a tendency for the weak inflectional ending to be generalized in the modern language.¹⁴

2.4.2 Inflection--Verbal

Kleinschmidt distinguishes 5 classes of verbs based on the presence or absence of a final consonant, and therefore on the morphophonological patterns of inflectional endings. The following table summarizes Kleinschmidt's characterization of these patterns, including forms for both superordinate, or independent, and subordinate, or dependent, verb forms (see below for a description of these terms). More modern analyses account for the assimilation rule and the two possible patterns of the old /*tæ*/ stems, and hence collapse Kleinschmidt's classes II and III:

Table 2.4:

class	final C/V	superordinate form	subordinate form
I	/q/	- <i>rpoq</i>	- <i>r-</i> (e.g. - <i>rama</i>)
II	/k/	- <i>gpoq</i>	- <i>k-</i> (e.g. - <i>kkama</i>)
III	/t/	- <i>ppoq</i>	- <i>k-</i> (e.g. - <i>kkama</i>) - <i>n-</i> (e.g. - <i>nama</i>)
IV	V	- <i>voq</i>	- <i>g-</i> (e.g. - <i>gama</i>)
V	/æ/	- <i>aa</i> (e.g. - <i>gaa</i>)	- <i>ig</i> (e.g. - <i>igama</i>)

¹³Other dialects, such as Inuktitut, have preserved the dual, and it is only relatively recently that it is showing signs of disappearing.

¹⁴In eastern Canadian Inuit dialects, however, it seems that the strong inflectional endings are preferred (P. Langgrd, personal communication).

These classes, however, are not taken up by other sources as major sources of distinction.

More important distinctions are made with regard to the grammatical functions that are expressed by verbs, such as transitivity, subordination, etc. In this respect, with small exceptions, there are no separate verbal classes analogous to nominal classes.

Inflectional endings indicate mood, transitivity (but not reflexivity, at least not using unique morphology), person, and number, although the last two functions are more or less fused, particularly in transitive verb endings. Moods include the superordinate moods (indicative, interrogative, optative, and imperative), and the subordinate ones (participial, contemporative, causative, and conditional)¹⁵. The first element of the inflectional ending indicates mood:

2.17	indicative	-p/-v-	participial	-t/-s-; <i>trans</i> -gə-
	interrogative	-p/-v-	contemporative	-l-
	optative	-l-	causative	-ga-
	imperative	-g-	conditional	-gu-

The causative and conditional both have suppletive forms for the third person noncoreferential forms. A negative inflectional morpheme exists, *-na*, for the contemporative, and is used interchangeably with verbs negated by addition of the negative suffix *-nngit-*:

- 2.18 *atuarnanga*
 atuannngitsunga
 'I don't read'

Greenlandic verbs can be transitive, intransitive (often called half-transitive where detransitivizing morphology is used), or reflexive. There exist a small group of verbs which can be either transitive or intransitive depending on the inflection (rather than on derivational morphology, about which more below). The second element of the inflectional ending in superordinate moods is indicative of transitivity:

¹⁵Kleinschmidt calls the contemporative 'infinitive' and does not classify it as subordinate to the main, or superordinate, moods. Rather, it has traces of independence, which entail certain consequences, about which more will be said in the discussion of its syntactic functions.

- 2.19 transitive -a-
 intransitive -u-

Reflexive verbs are sometimes indicated by the use of intransitive inflection on a transitive stem.

There are four persons (1, 2, 3 coreferential, and 3 noncoreferential¹⁶) and two numbers (singular and plural, with occasional vestiges of the old dual); only subordinate moods differentiate between 3 coreferential and noncoreferential persons. There is a general tendency for verbal inflection indicating number to parallel nominal forms, where -q-, -k-, and -t correspond to singular, dual, and plural, respectively. This is especially true of intransitive forms, but transitive forms show much more fusion between person and number. Further, there is a general tendency for person to be indicated in ways which parallel nominal number, as in -ga-, -it-, and -ni corresponding to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd coreferential singular, for example. Again, this is more consistent or transparent in the intransitive forms. One particularity of the contemporative is that in its transitive form, the inflectional suffix does not reflect the subject: This is changing in the modern plural (examples from P. Langgård):

2.20	<i>naasulerlugu</i>	'I/you/he/she put some flowers on that'
	<i>naasulerluigu</i>	'we put some flowers on that'
	<i>naasulerlusiuk</i>	'you (pl) put some flowers on that'
	<i>naasulerlugu</i>	'they (pl) put some flowers on that'

2.4.3 Derivation

Greenlandic is a highly polysynthetic language. There are roughly several hundred distinct suffixes, most of which are also semi-lexicalized in various combinations, leading to a huge number of lexical possibilities. Attempts to classify these suffixes include notably Fortescue's semantically-based system. In contrast, Bergsland (1955:89-91) offers a morphologically-based system of classification, which I follow. Swadesh's system of classification is similar (Swadesh 1946:50-52). Bergsland

¹⁶In the literature, the numbers 3 and 4 are used. Because of the different uses of these two to refer to coreference, especially between scholars of Greenlandic and scholars of other Inuit dialects, I will simply refer to them as 3c (3 coreferential) and 3nc (3 noncoreferential).

1. class-bound, of which there are two varieties:
 - a. class-converting (from verbal to nominal base or vice versa)
 - b. class-elaborating (from verbal to verbal or nominal to nominal)
2. class-free (independent of class, can attach to both verbal or nominal bases)

This leads to five classes of suffixes: verbalizing (N to V converters, or V to V elaborators, or class-free suffixes), nominalizing (V to N converters, N to N elaborators, or class-free suffixes), verb elaborating suffixes (in which are included affixes which increase the valency of the verb, such as 'cause to', 'say', 'ask', etc.), noun elaborating suffixes (most of which correspond both formally and semantically to verbalizing or class-free suffixes) and class-free suffixes (with many characteristics, including the tendency to freely combine with other derivational suffixes in a relatively fixed order).

Problems of identification arise because many stems are ambivalent (able to be used either verbally or nominally) and many suffixes are only partly class-bound. Many suffixes are obsolescent or are only mildly productive, or are limited in scope of applicability within a class, and some combinations of suffixes are now regarded as lexicalized or semi-lexicalized (see Fortescue 1980). Further, they may be somewhat classifiable in terms of the stem classes (e.g. particles, pronominals, transitive or intransitive forms, etc.). Finally, they can be classified according to their semantics or even according to their morphophonological characteristics, such as whether or not they delete a preceding consonant.

Almost all major sources of information on Greenlandic include a list of suffixes, some being more comprehensive than others, but probably none being wholly adequate. Most indicate whether or not a suffix can be added to a verbal stem, nominal stem, or both, what degree of transitivity is involved, and what the phonological effects will be. To illustrate the different classes of suffixes, I chose a random sample from *Grønlandsk Tilhængsliste* (Olsen and Hertling 1988) with the citation form and phonological effect (+ indicating retention of final stem consonant, - indicating loss thereof), meaning, and example of use, largely because Bergsland's examples are given in nonstandard

orthography; however, each of the examples given below are also cited by Bergsland as examples of the appropriate class.

- 2.21 1. verbalizing: *-nngorpoq (nngur)* V→O intransitive 'become'
palasi 'priest'
palasinngorpoq 'he has become/became a priest'
 (G.T.:49; Bergsland:93)
2. nominalizing: *+(f)fik ((v)vik)* O→V 'place where'
sanavog 'to work'
sanaaffik 'the place where one works'
 (G.T.:12; Bergsland, 1955:103)
3. verb-elaborating: *+tippaa (tit)* V→V transitive 'let, cause to'
atuarpoq 'he reads'
atuartippaa 'he teaches him (i.e. causes him to read)'
 (G.T.:82; Bergsland, 1955:106)
4. noun-elaborating: *-mineq (mini)* N→N 'a piece, a bit, a kind of'
igalaaq 'window'
igalaamineq 'a piece of glass'
 (G.T.:38; Bergsland, p. 130)
5. class-free: *+(r)suaq ((r)suaq)* N→N 'big'
angut 'man'
angussuaq 'giant'
- +(r)suarpoq ((r)suar)* V→V 'with strength, intensity'
palerpoq 'be sunburned'
palersuarpoq 'be really sunburned'
 (G.T.:79; Bergsland 1955:132)

Fortescue's system of semantic classification includes such categories as 'being and becoming', 'lacking', 'feeling', 'having', 'acquiring', 'degree', 'manner', 'tense', 'nominalizers', etc. Thus, under the category 'tense', one would find (Fortescue 1980:277):

- 2.22 *-jumaar-* 'vague future'
-niar- 'intended/inevitable future'
-qqammir- 'recently'
-qqamminngit- 'some time ago'
-riikatag- 'a long time ago already'
-sima/nikuu- 'perfect'
-ssa- 'future'

This naturally brings up the question of tense-aspect, which in Greenlandic is marked by derivational suffixes on the verb preceding the inflectional endings. Verbs unmarked for tense are interpreted as indicating past or present, but there are separate past

tense markers. These tend, in Western Greenlandic, to be sparsely used and to have aspectual elements in their meaning. The most frequent are *-sima-* and *-nikuu-*, markers of the perfect or simple past. In addition, Fortescue gives past tense simple or compound suffixes indicating recent or distant past. The future tense is marked by *-ssaq-* or *-ssaa-* and is relatively frequently used, especially in nominals. Two other future morphemes express indefinite future or variations thereto. Aspect is less easily described, largely because of the number of possible combinations of aspectual morphemes. Fortescue distinguishes at least the following simple aspectual suffixes: among the most common are *-simu* for perfective and *-saq-* for habitual; others include *-riar-* for imperfective, *-ler* for ingressive, *-juar-* for continuous, *-junnar-* for terminative, and *-qattaar-* for iterative. All can be combined with each other or with others for particular refinements in meaning.

There are particularly important grammatical ramifications of the class-converting suffixation: there are regular processes of nominalization and noun incorporation. Incorporation affects both verb morphology, especially where transitivity is affected, and noun morphology, especially in the case of stranded modifiers or appositives. Two verbalizing affixes in particular should be mentioned, the copula and the means of expressing possession. The copula is in most cases simply *-u-* and is subject to all the relevant phonological modifications depending on its surrounding environment. A free-standing variant, *ippoq*, is cited by earlier sources (e.g. Rink 1887).

Possession is expressed by a morpheme which translates as 'have x for y': when time or place is the topic, the morpheme translates as 'there is'. The morpheme has two suppletive allomorphs, *-qaq-*, which requires the use of intransitive inflectional morphology, and *-gi-* (erstwhile **-gə-*), which requires transitive inflectional morphology.

- 2.23 *nutaamik umiarsuarnut talitarviqarpuq* (Fortescue 1984:83)
 nutaa-mik umiarsuaq-nut talittarvik-qaq-voq
 new-inst ship-term.pl harbour-have-3sg.I
 'There is a new harbour for ships'
 [lit. 'it has a new harbour for ships'; note the stranded modifier]

The above example illustrates not only incorporation but the effect of incorporation on stranded modifiers. The oblique object of an antipassive construction (see section 2.5.3) is marked with instrumental case; the stranded modifier of an incorporated noun is marked with the case the noun would otherwise have had, the instrumental. For a more detailed discussion of case marking, see section 2.5.1.

Among the nominalizers are two closely related to the participial, formed by the addition of the present participial ending *-soq* (from *-soq*) and the passive participial ending *-taq* (from *-Taq*). Unlike other nominalizing affixes, they are particularly important in various syntactic functions, especially with regard to transitivization, about which more below.

The present participle is structurally indistinguishable from the participial in the third person form. Kleinschmidt (1851:100) claims that a participial is used in its nominal function when it occurs before the main verb and in its verbal function when it occurs after the main verb; however, exceptions exist.

A transitive sentence of course includes an object; the addition of *-taq* to the verb stem turns the verb into the object (or at least an abstraction of the object):

2.24 *Peerip Anna takuaa*
 Per-p Anna-0 taku-vaa
 Per-rel Anna-abs see-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 Per sees Anna

takusaq 'the object seen' = 'Anna'

2.25 *-taq* has the following allomorphs and requires final stem consonant loss:

<i>-saq/V__</i>	<i>takusaq</i>	taku-	'see'
<i>-gaq/r__</i>	<i>nuersagaq</i>	nuersar-	'knit'
<i>-taq/elsewhere</i>	<i>tikitaq</i>	tikiC-	'arrive'

Transitivity in Greenlandic is related to a number of factors, ranging from purely structural or mechanical in nature, whereby there exists no other way of expressing a concept, to syntactic, allowing a verb to express an object, to pragmatic, in which there are discourse considerations such as emphasis or topicalization. Ways of transitivizing or detransitivizing verb stems therefore play an essential role. There are two ways to make a

The second method converts intransitive verbs forms into transitive verb forms where humans are involved, using the combination suffix *-vigi-* (from *-vik* + *-ə* 'place' + 'possession'):

- 2.29 *oqarpoq*
oqar-voq
 talk-3sg.I
 'he talks'
- oqarfigivaa*
oqar-figi-vaa
 talk-trans-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 'he tells about it'

2.4.4 Enclitics

There are a limited number of enclitics in Greenlandic, or Anhangspartikeln, so-called by Kleinschmidt and retained by some scholars because they do not lose stress although they cannot be used as independent words. These include:

- 2.30 *-gooq-* 'reported speech
-lu- 'and'
-li- 'but'
-luuniit- 'or'
-mi- deixis
-toq- optative
-taa- 'also'

They can be added to the ends of verbs, nouns, particles, and so forth, and they do not take part in a word's morphology. As can be seen from the semantics, they involve methods of constituent or clause coordination. In case of constituent or clause coordination, enclitics generally attach to the first structurally parallel constituent to be conjoined:

- 2.31 *ippassaq tikipput aqagalu ikinngutaat tikissapput* (Fortescue 1984:120)
ippassaq tikiC-vut aqaga-lu ikinnguta-at tikiC-ssa-vut
 yesterday arrive-3pl.I tomorrow-and friend-3pl.abs arrive-fut-3pl.I
 'They arrived yesterday and their friends will arrive tomorrow'

2.5 Syntax

Because of the high correlation of morphology to syntactic function in Greenlandic, it is perhaps overly artificial to separate these two fields of linguistic study

in quite the way I am doing; however, I have deliberately chosen to discuss functions separately because of the high incidence of multiple functions per morpheme. It may eventually turn out that current terminology and classification of functions in Greenlandic is inadequate to describe the semantics of Greenlandic syntax, but this will be beyond the scope of this thesis. In the following section, I will present the functions of the nominal case endings, the verb moods, and the ergative structures; the methods of expressing tense-aspect; and finally patterns of sentence construction, such as the unmarked relative ordering of the constituents, verbal, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial clause structure (at a superficial level), and the effect of nonstandard ordering.

2.5.1 Functions of the Nominal Cases

There are seven cases, the absolutive, the relative, and the oblique cases, (in addition to which Fortescue identifies a vocative enclitic, *-uu*). The absolutive marks subjects of intransitive and objects of transitive constructions, the relative marks subjects of transitive constructions. Among the oblique cases, Bergsland identifies the instrumental and those which specify relations of inclusion, namely the locative and the vialis, and relations of direction, namely the ablative, the terminalis, and the equalis. Whereas all oblique cases have multiple functions, the three most important in marking the status of verbal arguments are the instrumental, the ablative, and the terminalis.

The instrumental is the case used for what some syntacticians would call the antipassive and others the accusative; it marks either the demoted object in an intransitive construction or the direct object of an accusative construction in a split-ergative language, depending on one's syntactic theory (see chapter 4, section 4.2 for a discussion of this). According to P. Langgård, however, its biggest function is as an adverbial, whether of cause, manner, or time (his examples, unless otherwise specified):

- 2.32 *asannitumik isigivaa*
asannitoq-mik isigi-vaa
 love-inst look-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 'he looks at her with love'

With incorporation, it functions as an appositive to the incorporated nominal:

- 2.33 *saqqutuumik kaffliorpunga*
 saqqortoq-mik kaffi-líoq-vunga
 strong-inst coffee-make-1sg.I
 'I made strong coffee' (where the strength is in the coffee, not in the action of making the coffee)

Bergsland also provides an example of the instrumental indicating the complement to the relative derivational suffix *-lik* 'provided with':

- 2.34 *tuqunaSunik uppatilik*
 toqungasut-nik uppatit-lik
 dead.one.pl-inst.pl thigh.pl-provided.with
 'the thighs of the dead ones'

If the verb can be either transitively or intransitively marked or if it is a transitive stem with a detransitivizing suffix, the instrumental becomes an object marker, as stated above:

- 2.35 *angutiup nanoq takuaa*
 angut-up nanoq-0 taku-vaa
 man-erg bear-abs see-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the man saw the bear
- angut nanormik takuvoq*
 angut-0 nanoq-mik taku-voq
 man-abs bear-inst see-3sg.I
 the man saw the bear

Bergsland (1955:77) provides examples of the instrumental being used as an indirect object (or 'remote' object) with transitives:

- 2.36 *qaSSusirniyarnirmik ilinniartikkumaarpakkit*
 qassuser-niar-neq-mik ilinniartit-jumaar-pakkit
 set.nets-fut-nom-inst teach-fut-trans.1sg.subj/2sg.obj.I
 'I will teach you to set nets'

Finally, the instrumental case is used for instrumental constructions, which, according to Kleinschmidt (1851:84), is its essential function:

- 2.37 *nanuq savim-mi-nik kapi-vaa* (example from Fortescue 1984:214)
 nanoq savik-ni-nik kapi-vaa
 bear-0 knife-pos.3c.sg-inst stab-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 'He stabbed the polar bear with his knife'

Both the ablative and the terminalis are used to mark the agent in a passive construction; the ablative is the case of preference in South Greenland, and the terminalis in Central and North Greenland (and in Eastern Canadian dialects, although the use of both cases has been attested.) In addition, both can be used to indicate cause (terminalis is used in this case in North Greenland, and the ablative in South Greenland). Thus, the two cases are fairly similar in a number of their secondary functions. The main function of the ablative, however, is associated with spatial or temporal source, and that of the terminalis with spatial or temporal goal:

2.38 as indicators of source and goal, respectively:

Fari-mit allagar-si-vuq (example from Fortescue 1984:214)
 Fari-abl letter-receive-3sg.I
 'He got a letter from Fari'

Nuummut aallassaavoq
 Nuuk-mut aallar-ssaa-voq
 Nuuk-term go-fut-3sg.I
 'He will go to Nuuk'

2.39 as agent of passive construction:

qimmimit upanniqarpug (Fortescue 1984:212)
 qimmeq-mit upaC-niqar-voq
 dog-abl attack-pass-3sg.I
 'he was attacked by a dog'

In addition, the terminalis is also used as a marker of the beneficiary and as the remote object of double transitive constructions:

2.40 *tunissutissaq niviarsiamut pisiaraara* (Fortescue 1984:213)
 tunissuti-ssaq niviarsiaq-mut pisiara-vara
 present-fut.abs girl-term buy-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 'I bought a present for the girl'

The locative is, of course, used for locative constructions, the vialis for indicating movement through a location or time, and for frequentive time, and the equalis for indicating equality between two events or objects, etc.

2.41 *inini*
 ini-ni
 room-loc
 'in the room'

- 2.42 *nunakkut*
 nuna-kkut
 land-via
 through/by land
- 2.43 *aasakktut kiatsiginngitsoq* (Fortescue 1984:224)
 aasa-kkut-tut kiatsi-ginngit-soq
 summer-via-eq be.warm-so-neg-3sg.P
 'not as warm as in the summer'

2.5.2 Functions of the Verb Moods

In much of his discussion of both morphology and syntax, Kleinschmidt invariably handles the nominal and verbal forms together: in discussing dependence, possession, coreference, and nominalizations, for example, he provides classification systems pertinent to both nominal and verbal argument structures. Thus, he distinguishes three syntactic categories pertaining to relationships between heads and arguments: *casus rectus*, signaling direct relationship, equatable to subject function, agent,¹⁸ possessor, and relative,¹⁹ and marked by the independent moods; *casus versus*, signaling dependence, equatable to object function, patient, possessum, and absolutive (in the case of intransitive structures, only the absolutive is used, for both *casus rectus* and *casus versus*), and marked by the participial; and *casus obliquus*, also signaling dependence and marked by the other dependent moods (not including the contemporative, or, in his terminology, the infinitive).

Kleinschmidt's method of classifying syntactic notions is quite sophisticated and is important in understanding his explanations of the uses of the verbal moods, especially the participial. However, most other scholars simply discuss the moods in terms of superordinate and subordinate functions, and, while recognizing the affinity of nominal and verbal dependence, tend to simplify the grammatical descriptions by addressing the functions separately, and I will do the same.

¹⁸Kleinschmidt's terms actually correspond to modern uses of the term: 'thäter' for 'agent', and also 'thatziel' for 'patient'.

¹⁹Kleinschmidt's terminology differs, so that 'Subjectiv' is used for 'relative', and 'Objectiv' for 'absolutive'. For consistency, I employ the terms I have already introduced for these functions.

The superordinate moods, as already mentioned, include the indicative, used for simple statements, the interrogative for questions, the optative for wishes, and the imperative for commands. The last two are in the modern language almost in complementary distribution, with the optative being used for first and third persons in imperative contexts, and the imperative for second persons.

More interesting are the subordinate moods, which all tend to express temporal relationships to the main verb (and which may be significant in the relative paucity of verbal tense morphology in frequent use). The subordinate moods, again as stated above, include the contemporative, the participial, the causative, and the conditional. According to Bergsland, the contemporative is used to indicate events concomitant with what is expressed by the superordinate verb. In the majority of cases, the contemporative has a subject coreferential with that of the superordinate verb. Contemporatives are also found in impersonal clauses: they can be the object of a transitive verb; and the superordinate can be a nominal. According to both Fortescue (1984) and P. Langgrd (private communication), the contemporative is used to express coreferential actions: the subject is the same in both the indicative and the subordinate clauses. This explains the lack of subject morpheme in the transitive contemporative, since it is redundant. This, however, will be one of the issues discussed in the following chapters. Bergsland points out that

The object of the contemporative may also be the subject of a superordinate intransitive (including passive) verb. Here too, of course, the contemporative has no subject suffix and the subject may also contextually remain unspecified.' (1955:60)

Kleinschmidt (1851) sees the contemporative as semi-independent, from which it apparently follows that the transitive contemporative never has its own subject, nor the intransitive its own object (this is not apparent to me): the contemporative thus has the subject or object of the main verb. When a passive verb has a transitive contemporative, and no other argument is named as its object, the passive subject is the object of the

contemporative (that is, both have the same underlying subjects; incidentally,

intransitives always have coreferential subjects):

2.44 *sinigtidlugo toKutauvoK* (Kleinschmidt 1851:92)

sinik-tit-lugu toqu-saq-u-voq

sleep-caus-trans.3sg. obj kill-pas-cop-3sg.I

'letting him sleep, he was killed'

i.e. 'while he slept, he was killed'

i.e. 'while they let him sleep, they killed him'

Kleinschmidt also sees a resemblance between the contemporative and the instrumental, in that both seem to be used as default forms and have many quite different grammatical functions within the language.

The participial is closely related to nominalizations, and, functionally, to the nouns with derivational suffix *-lik* 'provided with' (sometimes called relative clauses). True participials often correspond to English relative or temporal clauses. They can also be subject or object clauses of the superordinate. Again, both Fortescue and P. Langgård claim that, where the contemporative shows subject coreference with that of the main verb, the participial is used where there is no subject coreference between the subordinate and superordinate form. Bergsland (1955:49) in this case writes that 'for the combination of a participial and a superordinate verb with same subjects but different objects, no clear examples have been found'. Again, this will be the focus of further discussion in the following chapters. Bergsland also writes (ibid.) that a 3 coreferential suffix on a transitive participial can correspond to the subject of the indicative, which is an interesting observation and should be further studied. For Kleinschmidt (1851:74), the principle reason for the use of the participial is to indicate the status of the object argument. Where a participial is used, there are three relevant arguments, the subject of the main verb, the object of the main verb (which is either coreferential with the subject of the participial or is different), and the object of the participial. He does, however, provide a number of examples of participials, both for nominal²⁰ and verbal heads, with

²⁰There is an interesting split here, with the participial's subject in the relative case if it is singular, and in the instrumental if it is not.

coreferential subjects, although he declares this use to be obsolescent, being preferentially replaced by the contemporative. If so, the claims made by P. Langgård and Fortescue seem to show that the modern language has evolved in this respect.

Whereas both the contemporative and the participial generally introduce actions which occur simultaneously with the superordinate verb, the causative and the conditional signal actions occurring at another time. The causative indicates an event realized prior to what is expressed by the superordinate term and often implies cause²¹. P. Langgård (personal communication) claims that if a causative comes before the superordinate verb and does not contain derivation with future semantics, it is primarily temporal; however, if these conditions do not hold, it is primarily causative:

2.45 *Anna takkummat ua sinilerpunga*
 Anna-0 takkuC-mat ua sinik-ler-vunga
 Anna-abs show.up-3sg.CA I.abs sleep-begin-1sg.I
 'When Anna showed up, I was falling asleep'

2.46 *Sinilerpunga Anna takkummat*
 sinik-ler-vunga Anna takkuC-mat
 sleep-begin-1sg.I Anna-abs show.up-3sg.CA
 'I fell asleep because Anna showed up'

The conditional refers to some future time or irrealis, as indicated by such a suffix on the superordinate verb, and it indicates an action prior to that future time.

Kleinschmidt distinguishes the causative and conditional moods, which are used for relationships expressing locative and ablative relationships, and answering questions 'when' and 'why', from the contemporative, which he equates with the instrumental in describing the manner of the verbal action or state (answering the question 'how').

The subordinate moods can occur as heads within a sentence (i.e. there is no superordinate mood). These sentences are explained by Bergsland (1955:62) as having particular discourse-relevant effects, as in the exclamatory force of a causative without a superordinate indicative; or as in the optative or imperative force of a contemporative in

²¹The very interesting observation has been made that the causative inflectional ending alternant *-ŋu* (alternant *-gð-*) seems to bear some relation to the temporal adverb forms meaning 'when', as in *qa-ŋa* 'when? some time in the past'. Also, the conditional alternant *-ku* bears some relation to the future suffix *-gu*, as in *qa-gu* 'when? some time in the future', or *aqa-gu* 'tomorrow', etc. (Bergsland 1955:57)

such circumstances. This is not an entirely satisfactory explanation but is perhaps beyond the scope of this thesis. Kleinschmidt (along with many others) notes that causatives are often used alone where the action for which a reason is given is obvious to the observer, and therefore implied by the circumstances:

- 2.47 *igdlorput naakarmat* (Kleinschmidt 1851:89)
 illu-rput naakar-mat
 house-1pl.abs fall.down-3nc.sg.CA
 'because our house fell down'
 i.e. 'we are building this new house because our previous one fell down'

2.5.3 Function of Ergativity

Both ergativity and transitivity have been mentioned in the discussions above. Greenlandic has a number of different structural possibilities depending on the number of arguments in a clause. The subjects of intransitive clauses and the objects of transitive clauses are marked with absolutive case, and the subjects of transitives are marked with relative (or ergative) case. The intransitive verb agrees with the subject only, whereas the transitive verb has both subject and object pronominal agreement. In addition, there exist structures which, because of the formal identity of the instrumental and the accusative cases, have given rise to a disagreement in the literature. Characteristic of these structures is a certain derivational morphology on the verb which, like intransitive structures, only shows subject agreement, and the occurrence of a notional object in the instrumental case. They have been interpreted by some as nominative-accusative structures, with the object regarded as an 'accusative' marked with the instrumental case. The other view regards these as antipassive constructions, comparable to those found in other ergative languages (for more on ergativity and antipassive constructions, see chapter 4). In the following chapters, I will follow the latter view. Examples 2.48 and 2.49 illustrate the difference between transitive and antipassive constructions.

- 2.48 *angutip arnaq asavaa* (examples from P. Langgård)
 angut-p arnaq-0 asa-vaa
 man-rel woman-abs love-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the man loves the woman

- 2.49 *angut arnamik asannippoq*
 angut-0 arnaq-mik asa-nnip-voq
 man-abs woman-inst love-intrans-3sg.I
 the man loves the woman

Bergsland gives some evidence that Greenlandic is a morphologically rather than syntactically ergative language. For example, he notes that intransitive subjects and transitive objects are different persons in coordinated structures (1955:34). In any case, the claim that it is morphologically ergative is relatively undisputed. It has traditionally been held that the use of the ergative structure is connected with definiteness. The connection was made as early as Kleinschmidt (1851:85), and is generally accepted; however, a number of studies of both Greenlandic and other Inuit dialects (see Kálmar, 1979b) show that definiteness is not a comprehensive explanation. A number of scholars propose explanations for the use of the ergative which incorporate discourse-level considerations. Kálmar (1979b) tries to show that givenness rather than definiteness is at issue. Bergsland (1955:45) notes that the use of the transitive participial involves a semantic stress on the terms of the action relation, which in essence is saying that the ergative structure is related to focus or topicality. Dorais (1988:53) writes that when using a verb marked for subject only, the emphasis is laid on the subject, whereas when using a verb marked for both subject and object, the emphasis is laid on the direct object. P. Langgård (personal communication) explains the use of the ergative as a means of focusing or topicalizing the object, and the antipassive construction as a means of focusing or topicalizing the subject²². (The same would be true of the passive constructions, in which the subject is topicalized.)

2.5.4 Sentence Constructions

Greenlandic, like other Inuit dialects, is an SOV language; other orders are quite possible, and they generally have discourse functions, such as emphasis, focus, etc (see

²²P. Langgård also drew my attention to the fact that entities can be topicalized by making them objects, where in English this would not be possible: *Qaportomut tikippoq* 'he arrived in Qaqortoq' vs *Qaqortoq tikippaa* 'It was Qaqortoq he arrived in', where 'Qaqortoq' in the first is marked with terminalis case and in the second with absolutive.

Bergsland 1955:35 and discussion below). Nouns generally precede their adjectives, the possessor always precedes the possessed, and the language has some postpositions and is exclusively suffixal in nature. It has long been acknowledged as a morphologically ergative language, with antipassive constructions (as well as passive constructions; both passive and antipassive constructions are fully productive); also long recognized has been the morphological identity of the ergative and the possessive constructions. It appears to be clause-chaining, as described by Longacre (1985): in any sentence (or perhaps better, paragraph), there is at most one indicative form, but there can be any number of subordinate clauses. Furthermore, it is quite common for the superordinate form to be lacking in certain situations, especially in answer to questions or where reasons for an obvious activity are given.

Kleinschmidt states that where there is more than one verb form in a sentence, the clauses generally follow each other in order of subordination, with the superordinate form last. Varying word orders notwithstanding (about which more below), where there are multiple clauses in a sentence, material belonging to a particular clause is kept together. Clauses are conjoined with either enclitics or independent conjunctions (such as *aamma* 'and', *kisianni* 'but', etc.). Introductory conjunctive particles, such as *tassa*, are often found in discourse and are generally placed in initial position.

Verbal clauses are, of course, found in any mood and with any degree of complexity. Many syntactic constructions are handled through the morphology, especially the verbal morphology, including, for example, indirect questions, consequential meaning, and so forth. Objects are often incorporated, leaving stranded modifiers in the case of the incorporated nominal. Copular sentences tend to incorporate where there is a nominal complement, although zero-copula and copular constructions using the particle *tassa* are also found.

In addition to verbal clauses, there are certainly constructions which function as nominal, adjectival, and adverbial clauses. Both nominal and adjectival clauses are

generally formed with the participial or contemporative: clauses of all types are often and easily nominalized. The participial or contemporative moods seem to have a particularly large functional load, in part because there are no specific markers of relative clauses and there is no adjectival category. Adverbial clauses are generally expressed through subordination; the causative and conditional moods are particularly common in temporal clauses, whereas contemporative is often found indicating manner: participials are common in impersonal temporal clauses. Nominalized adverbial clauses commonly have instrumental case marking.

Ordering of the various sentential elements is variable, but the unmarked ordering is SOV, with indirect (sometimes called remote) and oblique objects placed after the direct object and before the verb. Other orders signal emphasis, focus, and other discourse-relevant concepts (Fortescue, Bergsland, and Kleinschmidt all comment on this). Further, information structure in Greenlandic is signaled by distinct intonational units and by the relative ordering of the intonationally distinct utterances (Fortescue 1984:174). New material is introduced with relatively high pitch, and afterthoughts are generally low in pitch. Thus, in order to understand any but the most neutral sentences, it is necessary to examine context-dependence and discourse-level phenomena.

3. Topic (and Theme) as Discourse Roles

3.1 Problems In Working with Discourse

Within mainstream studies of structural linguistics, discourse has largely been ignored as a relevant factor in syntactic descriptions. Chomsky's syntactic theories, which have been so widely accepted and influential, were eventually followed by studies of semantics; and both syntax and semantics are now accepted as relevant components of the study of sentence structure, although semantics is still considered secondary. Discourse, in general, is out of all consideration. Outside of the mainstream, as gauged not only by widespread acceptability within linguistic publications but also in introductory pedagogical materials for the field of linguistics, discourse has been more regularly featured in linguistic descriptions. Some non-mainstream approaches include tagmemics (cf. Pike), works by Longacre and Grimes, and, in more recent years, the functional approaches of mostly (but not exclusively) European linguists. The method of including discourse differs in kind from the inclusion of semantic or lexical features in structural analyses. In this chapter, I will argue primarily that discourse can be described structurally and can have an important and predictable effect on sentence structure. The theoretical points I raise here were developed in conjunction with the analyses of my West Greenlandic texts and have become the basis for my interpretation of West Greenlandic syntactic structures in the following chapters.

Various syntactic structures are associable with functions in the discourse. The value of a speech act, for example, may be interpreted through the verb mood as a question (interrogative), a statement (indicative), a command (imperative), and so forth; it can also be interpreted through intonational cues. Verb modes (dependent or independent) may indicate relative importance of information, as foregrounded or backgrounded (although see section 3.2.3 for a discussion of this). Action sequencing in a narrative is indicated by the verb tenses; referential tracing by pronouns, definiteness,

etc.; thematic organization by the use of particles, thematic frames (structures representing stereotyped situations and calling for a certain kind of discourse, see Brown and Yule 1983:238); and so forth. The syntax, combined with contextual knowledge, both of the real world and of the specific situation, provides signals for understanding the discourse. Each of the syntactic structures described above, however, can be interpreted in a number of different ways, depending on the context, and each discourse function can be signaled in a number of ways. Whereas it is possible to explain sentence structure without reference to a sentence's speech act function, its status as foregrounded or backgrounded information, and so forth, explanations of paragraph structure have most often tended to involve such considerations. This has only reinforced a longstanding impression that discourse is too unwieldy for the structural analysis of the kind found in syntactic studies: there are too many things to consider in order to describe the structure of even one paragraph, let alone to propose generalized structural rules. Furthermore, the above discourse considerations (speech acts, thematic organization, etc.) are not only unpredictable, they are too open to personal interpretations. There is too much room for ambiguity.

Most agree that discourse is somehow relevant to a functional description of language. How to incorporate discourse factors into structural descriptions of language is not clear, however. I propose another way of looking at discourse and syntax: I suggest that discourse can be analyzed as a linguistic unit, just as the sentence can, at least with respect to certain features. I suggest that there are structures which have been described as syntactic in nature but are only explainable with reference to discourse, and further, that they are nevertheless predictable and systematic in terms of discourse function. Thus, contextual knowledge is reflected in structural units in a systematic and predictable way.

In the following discussion, I limit myself to a study of 'topic' and 'theme', which I propose to view as discourse roles, parallel to roles at other levels of analysis, whether

lexical, syntactic, or semantic. Because of historical confusion in the use of the terms, I justify my view of 'topic' and 'theme' while explaining both historical uses and my own definitions of the terms. In a second section, I present some of the evidence from the literature for the existence of syntactic features which seem to have discourse-level scope; that is, that the explanation for certain syntactic phenomena either lies in or must make reference to the discourse. Of particular relevance to this thesis is that agreement marking systems such as ergativity and switch-reference have been discussed in terms of discourse and information flow. These are precisely the two phenomena I will look at with respect to West Greenlandic in the following chapters. Finally, in the most tentative part of my theory, I discuss the possibility of understanding clusters of features with respect to topic and theme.

3.2 Issues in the Definition of Topic and Theme

3.2.1 Nominal vs. Predicate Classes

At most levels of what is traditionally (specifically within modern tradition) considered part of the grammar of language, scholars recognize at least two fundamental categories or classes of things. Lexically, there is a fundamental difference between nouns and verbs, although there exist ways of transforming members of one class into members of the other. (The independent existence of other classes of words, such as adjectives, prepositions, particles, and so forth is in no way denied by this statement, but the universality of these classes of words is less widely accepted.) Syntactically, it is also generally accepted that the distinction between noun phrases and verb phrases, or, in other terms, arguments and predicates, is basic to the understanding of sentence structure. Semantically, participants and objects are opposed to states of being or actions. A more accurate statement of the semantic difference between these two classes recognizes that processes do not exist independent of their participants, objects, or otherwise affected elements; thus the semantic equivalent of the predicate or the verb is in some sense the full clause (Rhodes, personal communication). Rarely, however, has this distinction been

maintained in studies of discourse. Instead, distinctions of another kind have been made, such as topic-comment or theme-rheme structure, in which topic or theme and comment or rheme are identified with segments of clauses irrespective of the distinction between nominals and verbs or clauses. To be sure, topic or theme is often identified with nominals and discourse theme with clauses, but the definitions and uses of these terms, and assumptions on which their usage is based, relate more often to their functions within a clause than to their functions as discourse elements. In the discussion of topic, and to a lesser extent theme, which follows, I argue for the distinct use of these terms as discourse-level entities, separate from (i.e. not identifiable with) lower-level roles such as subjects, objects, agents, patients, and so forth. Topic and theme represent discourse classes analogous to nominal entities such as subjects, or participants, and clausal types, such as predicates or processes.

The terms 'topic' and 'theme' have been used quite inconsistently in the literature, many times interchangeably, and they have not always been clearly defined, if at all. There is general agreement that either term somehow refers to the main point of a text (or sentence), or what the text is about, but these are vague concepts and they have been criticized and dismissed as such, and with some justification. Brown and Yule (1983:71), based on research by Bransford and Johnson, convincingly show that discourse topic (in their terminology) is impossible to definitively articulate or identify; by discourse topic, they refer to what I will call theme. It nevertheless remains a disturbing but wide-spread tendency to discuss the role of topic or theme in grammatical analyses without overtly defining the terms; such is the case with many of the sources quoted below. Notable exceptions are Givón, (who defines topic but not theme), and Halliday (who defines theme, but not topic).

3.2.2 Topic

Past studies of discourse and thematic structure leave one with an uncertain and confused understanding of the terms topic and theme; but although the terms have

certainly not been applied with any consistency, there are identifiable characteristics which have been associated with them. 'Topic', for example, is quite often associated with a nominal; and if the term itself is not used, there is at least some concept of a nominal with clausal or textual importance at the level of discourse. Li and Thompson (1976:484) and Givón (1976) both see subjects as grammaticalized topics (that is, topics are nominals which may be grammaticalized as subjects), albeit with some important differences, about which more below. Du Bois (1987) and Dixon (1994:208) suggest that theme (or topic, neither being fully differentiated) is generally the subject (S or A in an ergative language; see chapter 4 for an explanation of these symbols), or again, the nominal rather than verbal entity. Halliday (1967a:61) notes the general tendency in English to incorporate the main components of the message into the clauses as nominal elements, so as to maximize the contrastive possibilities of the transitivity and thematic systems (according to his definitions). Hopper and Thompson (1984:711) suggest that prototypical nouns function to introduce participants and coincide with the referential or manipulable elements in discourse (or, in other words, with the topic). Friedman (1976), in a highly interesting study of American Sign Language, equates topic with the nominal which occurs first and sets the general scene for a series of actions which are then signed. Thus, given this tradition, it is reasonable to identify the term 'topic' with nominal forms. (Not all nominal forms are unambiguously nominal, however, cf. Hopper and Thompson 1984; for a discussion of verbs and clauses which have been nominalized, see below). By the same token, denominalized forms are often associated with detopicalization. Mithun (1984:849), while not using the term 'topic', notes that lexical compounding, a simple form of noun incorporation, results in loss of specificity and definiteness of the noun, characteristics associated with the lack of topicality (see below).

The status of 'topic' as an independent discourse role, however, has not clearly been articulated. Mallinson and Blake (1981:107-108) and Givón (1984:137) both discuss topics of larger-than sentence level discourse and suggest that these can appear as

either subjects or objects. Givón in fact allows any noun phrase to be a potential topic, recognizing that in practice, only those in subject or object position tend to have prominence.¹ He identifies subject as the primary clausal topic and object as the secondary clausal topic, and others for the most part being unimportant, at least in terms of continuity in discourse, and therefore in terms of cohesion.² This is generally reflected in the case-marking system, where direct and oblique arguments of the verb are semantically and morphologically differentiated. It is important to note that he speaks of a clausal topic here, and this leads to confusion in his discussion of topic continuity, about which more below. Many effectively equate topic with subject (this approach is even taken for granted in Mallinson and Blake) and agent, because of a general tendency for subjects, agents, and human participants to coincide.

Following Keenan's (1976) procedure for subjects, some scholars have proposed lists of topic-like characteristics of noun phrases, most notably Givón (1990), but also Li and Thompson (1976). Topics are identified as being definite and given, as well as being most likely the human participant, the agent, the nominal in subject position, and the backgrounded information of the clause. Li and Thompson, more systematically and explicitly than Givón, do grammatically distinguish topics from subjects, noting that the former are constrained to being definite, sentence-initial, not determined by the verb, and outside of such grammatical processes as reflexivization, passivization, and so forth.

These characteristics requires some qualification, however. Definiteness, for example,

¹Not to get caught in a terminological trap, I will make brief mention of various terms connected with 'prominence'. There are a number of different types of prominence, including intonational prominence, called 'information focus' by Halliday (1967a) and 'emphasis' by Jones (1977); grammatical prominence of the type called 'focus' by Jones, and 'focus', 'topicalization', etc. by both generativists and relationalists, referring to marked word order in the sentence; and thematic or topical prominence, referring to primary referential continuity in discourse. The three may or may not overlap in any particular clause (Halliday's claim that theme is by definition not the information focus of a clause depends on a use of the term 'theme' which is not employed in the theories presented here). Here and in the chapters to follow, unless discussing another's theoretical propositions, I use the term 'intonational emphasis' for intonational prominence, and 'emphasis' for grammatical prominence. Given the unfortunate usurpation of the word 'focus' by so many theorists for so many different concepts, I have chosen to avoid it altogether. I retain the term 'thematic prominence', however.

²In all the texts at which I looked, the number of times an oblique nominal was later taken up as topic, either as subject or direct object, without being reintroduced overtly as subject or direct object, is exceedingly small. This will be further discussed below in my analysis.

has been considered a primary characteristic of topics, to the extent that it is sometimes named as a requirement of topicality. Chafe (1976:38-43) describes definiteness as the quality a noun phrase has that allows the listener to identify what the speaker has in mind. Definiteness can be marked by a definite article, or by the uniqueness of the referent, by being a proper noun, by deictic availability, or by immediate discourse context (Chafe 1976:38-43; Givón, 1984:401). Li and Thompson (1976:461) write that topics must be definite based on Chafe's definition. Their conclusion does not seem to me to follow from Chafe's definition: Chafe (1976) also notes that definite noun phrases are not necessarily given information, and topics being introduced are not necessarily definite. Lyons (1977: 178-185) makes a further distinction, between definiteness and specificity, where specificity refers to the ability to distinguish a referent from all other possible referents: not all definite noun phrases refer to a specific noun phrase. This is especially true of predicative or attributive definite noun phrases. Further, not all specific noun phrases are definite (see especially 1977:187-188; note, for example, the specific reading of 'a heron' in Lyon's sentence 'every evening at 6 o'clock a heron flies over the chalet'). Definiteness by itself, therefore, is not a simplex characteristic. In my West Greenlandic texts, it is most often true that the topic is definite, either because it has been previously introduced through incorporation, or because it is unique (including unique by virtue of possession, as in 'my father'), but not always. In the following example, 'seals' is introduced for the first time and is signaled as topical by fronting and intonational emphasis; it is neither definite nor given.

- 3.1 1b.127 {Tikillaraangamik ualikkut_'
 when they [hunters] came back in the afternoon
- 1b.128 ullaakkut aallarunik_'
 after having gone out in the morning
- 1b.129 ilaanni_puisit_arfineq-pingasut qulit_sinnerlugilluunniit kalillugit_}
 sometimes with eight or ten or even more seals in tow

In fact, definiteness (and givenness as well, for that matter) is not a category that is grammatically marked in West Greenlandic, except insofar as absolutive objects have

been identified with definiteness and demoted objects of antipassives with indefiniteness, an issue which I take up in chapter 4. No one has suggested a similar distinction for absolutive and ergative subjects, although, as I explain below in section 3.4, Du Bois (1987) has suggested that new participants in a discourse tend to be introduced as absolutive subjects while given and therefore definite ones are continued as ergative subjects. Givón (1984:chapter 11) writes that definiteness is part of topic identification, or topic continuity, and this is a more accurate description of my observations and theoretical stance. What is important to note here is that definiteness is a feature of topicality, but not a prerequisite: a topic is definite once it is introduced; and not every definite noun phrase is a topic.

Another aspect of topicality that has preoccupied a number of authors is the status something has as given or new in a stretch of discourse, known as its activation status. Firbas (1964) defines something as given if it is present in the immediately preceding text; Chafe (1976:30) understands givenness as the knowledge a speaker assumes to be understood by the listener at the time of the utterance, including presuppositions based on the context and real-world knowledge. In either case, the question is, how does one measure the length of the preceding text, and how long can something remain given without being mentioned? Presumably, a topic which has not been mentioned in some span of clauses is no longer considered topical. The length of this span is largely arbitrary: Firbas (1964) assumes a gap length of about seven clauses; Cooreman (1983) assumes one of twenty. The issue is of course the status of the topic with respect to a certain section of the discourse, but, as I discuss more below, it may have more to do with topic ranking than loss of topicality, or with the organization of information in a discourse. Further, it is clear that different elements of discourse have different kinds of scope. For example, a temporal adverb or clause may have scope over an entire stretch of discourse, and be interrupted by parenthetical paragraphs, as opposed to a local topic, a topic which may be topical only in a given part of the discourse; in being reiterated, the

temporal adverb or clause may be repeated in such a way that the listener is assumed to remember the information carried by it: that is, it is grammatically marked as previously given. This, as I hope to show in chapter 5, is important in the switch-reference mechanism in West Greenlandic (although properly, this is an example of thematic rather than topic continuity, see discussion below; it is presented here in connection with the discussion of gap lengths). The same is true of topics: reintroduction after an interruption, usually by expressing the topic in an overt noun phrase as if it were a new topic, is qualitatively different than a first introduction. Differences can be found in the intonational emphasis, in the use of processes such as topicalization, transitivity, or even ellipsis, in the modifiers, and so forth. All of these can be found in my texts. In text 1a, the speaker discusses 'catechists' at length: they are introduced for the first time in clauses 34 and 35 as the last in a list of professionals and taken up as an extended topic in clause 36:

- 3.2 1a.34 kiisalu atuarfitsisinni atuarfinni ajoqit
 and finally catechists in our schools, in my school
- 1a.35 ajoqit taamani ilinniartitsisutut atorfeqarput aamma_}
 and the catechists at that time had jobs as teachers
- 1a.36 {Assorjujussuarlu ajoqit, taamani pingaaruteqarput_}
 and the catechists were very very important in those days

The only substantial interruption in this discussion occurs in clauses 71 to 75: the reintroduction of 'catechists' as the topic in clause 76 involves both fronting and two deictic modifiers:

- 3.3 1a.71 {Makkua allaapput_palasit_'ilinniartitsisukkut_
 others were different, the priests together with the teachers
- aammalu KGH-mi taamanikkut sulisuusut_
 and the workers at the KGH at that time
- (imaattumi) sannavinni_'aamma saffiorfinni_}
 in the carpentry shops and in the smithies
- 1a.72 {taakku nutserteqattaarneqanngillat_
 those ones were not moved much

- 1a.73 nunaqarfimmi illoqarfimmi illoqarfinni taakku inuupput_
those ones lived in the village, the town, the towns
- 1a.74 illoqarfiup inuut ilanngullutik
to become members of the town [to join the township]
- 1a.75 nuutsinneqassanatik_
they were never moved
- 1a.76 {Kisiannili ukua ajoqit taakku_
But these catechists [literally 'but these catechists those]

In text 2, the speaker discusses the place(s) used for setting up fishing nets: this is introduced in clauses 71 and 72 as the subject and repeated in clause 75, as the object of a transitive construction:

- 3.4 2.71 {Tassalu Amerloq_illugiillugu saqqaa-tungaa alannqualu tamanna_
and on both the sunshine side and on the shadow side of Amerloq
- 2.71 taamanikkut piniusersorfigineqartarpoq saarullinnik tamakkuninnga_
it was the place the hunting equipment was kept/placed in those days
for codfish and others
- 2.73 qassusersorfigalugu_
it had a place for setting nets
- 2.74 {tassalu tappavannga imaappoq_
and so from up there, you know,

taamanikkut siullermik Akisaminngaanniit_
at that time at first from Akisa.

Utoqqaat_Utoqqaat Saqqaanut allaat taamanikkut tassa_
Utoqqaat, to Saqqa, others in those days

ipuinnag_/qassusersorfigalugu.
only oars [only rowing] setting nets [i.e. by rowing, we set nets]
- 2.75 piniusersorfigisarpagut_
we used to have them as a place for hunting equipment

One might even say the same of background information: in text 2 of my West Greenlandic data, there is a particularly good example of this: the speaker mentions parenthetically in clause 2.48 that he and his colleagues only had boats with oars (*ipu* 'oar': *ipuinnag* 'only oars'):

- 3.5 2.48 imaak--_(taamanikkut ipuinnarmik angallateqarpugut
at that time we had only boats with oars

Some 30 clauses later, in clause 2.74 listed in 3.4 above, 'oars' is repeated without overt reference to the action implied by the use of oars, 'rowing'.

Finally, the interruptions which necessitate reintroduction of a topic may involve one or more clauses, as can be seen from both my examples below and from the gap lengths discussed by Firbas and Cooreman, mentioned above. It is often the case that explanatory or descriptive (or 'background') information intervenes without the loss of topicality, despite sometimes quite lengthy gaps. In text 3a, clauses 71-92, for example, the interviewer asks whether or not speaker 3 goes out for walks; after first explaining that she used to like her old house and doesn't much care for her new house, speaker 3 responds to the question: "I used to go for walks". There are 17 intervening clauses and there is no indication of loss of topicality from the question to the answer. For a more detailed discussion of this, see example 5.20 in chapter 5. Grimes (1975:58-59) suggests that background information of this sort is a means for the speaker to communicate the importance of the main point of the text. The particular methods used to organize discourse, including the use of background material in the way described above, vary from one speaker to another and from one socio-cultural setting to another. Attempts to define givenness in terms of gap length, therefore, are perhaps too programmatic.

Being definite and given implies preceding reference in the discourse. Accordingly, topics are often ranked with respect to continuity in discourse on a number of scales, including phonological size (from zero-anaphora to full noun phrases), word order (right or left dislocation, theme-rheme structure, etc.), animacy (agent being the most topical role, followed by datives/benefactives and patients), subordination, active status, and so forth. These lists, however, incorporate certain obvious and circular observations. A topic, being defined (inexplicitly) as what the discourse is about, will be more likely to be expressed with zero-anaphora or pronominals than full noun phrases in non-initial clauses. This is especially obvious from Friedman's (1976) studies of American Sign Language, or from a language like West Greenlandic, where pronominal

agreement on verbs is sufficient in non-initial clauses. It will also often (but not necessarily) be definite or given as a result of being topical, rather than the other way around (topical as a result of being definite or given). In one study of topic, Cooreman (1983) shows that affected participants (or patients) in passive clauses are more topical and more continuous than agents, which, I might note, may or may not be present in any case. These lists unfortunately also do little to describe or help determine relative topicality; in a discourse about a participant, say a man, and an affected item, say a boat, is the topic the man or the boat, when both are continuous? Most scholars have assumed that the man, as agent or as subject, is the topic, or at least the primary topic. Topicality hierarchies in fact predict that the man, as agent, is the topic; whether or not this is what the discourse is primarily about is debatable. Cooreman, largely wishing to support Givón, ranks agents as higher than affected participants (or patients) on a topicality hierarchy; in dwelling very briefly on the following, however, she downplays her own crucial observation:

It is necessary to stress the importance of the term narratives here. The data investigated consisted of a number of legends and folk tales...If one were to investigate written texts of scientific interest or even kitchen recipes different results concerning topicality and animacy of referents may be obtained...I concluded that the subject is more topical than the direct object. Since it is also true that animate referents are more topical than inanimate referents in narrative discourse one should not be surprised at the fact that subject referents in general tend to be more animate than direct object. (1983:456)

What is crucial is that 'topic' is not automatically equatable with syntactic or semantic roles such as subject or agent, despite the appeal of a topicality hierarchy, nor are they equatable with definiteness or givenness. In particular types of discourse, such as narrative, one is more likely to find a coincidence of roles, whereas in others, such as technical texts, one may be less likely to do so. In my West Greenlandic data, for the

most part, where there are several topics, the subjects of transitive verbs are of course the most agentive (and therefore in most cases human; these most often coincide with the first person form) and the objects with the next most likely 'topic' on a topic hierarchy (second person, third person animate, and so forth). What is more telling, however, is the subjects of neighboring intransitive clauses: often, they are identical with the objects of the transitives. In other words, the local topic is not constrained to being the subject of one of the few transitive clauses in a section. This is even more obvious in the following example, in which clauses 2.34 and 2.35 are transitive constructions, yet the subject is unspecified, although presumably 'fishermen' is more agentive than local topic 'codfish':

- 3.6 2.32 {Eqqaamavaralu
 and I remember
- 2.33 taamanikkut saarulliit tunineqartartut_
 at that time codfish used to be sold
- 2.34 sumilluunniit_niquernagit}
 withouth [them] even taking their heads off
- 2.35 ammamagilluunniit}}
 or even opening them up
- 2.36 {aammlu_nalunngilara
 and I know [it]
- 2.37 taamanikkut kilomut 9 øremik akeqartut,
 they cost 0 øre a kilo at that time
- 2.38 tunitsivileqqaaramik, saarullit}
 when they first started to really sell, the codfish

The suggestion, therefore, that topics are subjects or agents is an overly broad generalization based on one form of discourse. As for the identification of topic with backgrounded material, briefly mentioned above, the importance in discourse of a constituent, or clause, for that matter, is often a matter of personal interpretation; I discuss this further below, with respect to theme.

The example of the man and the boat, above, points to a further dimension in this discussion: that of competing topics in a single stretch of discourse. In first person narratives, for example, the narrator is likely to be subject more often than not; but the

narration may only partially emphasize the narrator's role in the discourse, or another participant may have as important a role, as in the following example, in which the object is at least as much a focus of information as the subject is:

3.7 I saw a stray cat yesterday and took it home and fed it, and now I'm so in love with it, I want to keep it.

The narrator is the agent and the subject throughout, but can the narrator be said to be what the text is about? Undeniably, the text is about the narrator, as most texts probably are, from a strictly psychological interpretation of the purpose of the narration; but it is also about the stray cat. Givón, as mentioned above, suggests that the subject is the primary topic in a clause. It seems to me that the structure alone does not allow one to make such a determination. Further, in discourses larger than one or two paragraphs, one is likely to identify a global topic and one or more local topics, each with prominence within their stretch of discourse. For example, a text about hunters may have a local topic 'hunters' and a more global topic such as the id of the speaker, reflected in the use of the first person pronoun: "I remember the hunters...I was a child then...the hunters used to..."; in fact, this is the case in my Greenlandic data (and the clauses given here in English translation are from text 4). Grimes (1975:103 and 361-368) mentions topic (or 'theme', in his terminology) a number of times in conjunction with the structure of paragraphing in some South American languages; in particular, he notes grammatical features which mark thematic organization, including global or local topicality. This may be particularly relevant to discussions of activation status, as well to identifications of competing topics and paragraph structure (see section 3.3 below for a discussion of topic introduction and identification, as well as chapter 4 for a more complete discussion of competing topics in relation to my data, and particularly in relation to text 3b).

It is with these considerations in mind that I define topic as a nominal entity with prominence across a continuous stretch of discourse. Any noun phrase is potentially a topic, but most noun phrases in non-argument positions rarely have prominence over more than a clause; a topic is determined with reference to more than one clause.

Whereas subjecthood, agency, and position within a clause are all determined by their function within the clause, the topic is not bounded by the clause. The topic role is therefore not restricted to a particular syntactic or semantic role, as in subject or agent, nor is it restricted to a particular position in a clause: it is not first, or last, necessarily. It is not identical with given information, but it is, in the traditional sense, the entity that a text is about.³

Some ambiguities do arise in the identification of a topic, as I discuss below, in section 3.3; in particular, however, there is a question as to how to interpret the topic status of deverbalized constructions. I discuss verbal constructions at length in section 3.2.3; deverbal constructions, however, often have characteristics of both nouns and verbs (see Hopper and Thompson, 1984, or Givón 1990). Deverbal forms seem to be able to function as do nominal topics, at least with respect to nominalization in my texts. For example, in text 3a, the nominalization *isikkorinnersuara* 'my looking good' in clause 28 (with the nominalizing suffix *-neq-* and personal possessive inflectional suffix) is clearly acting as a prototypical noun phrase; it is indexed on the verb, it is inflected in the absolutive case, and it is coreferenced by the cataphoric deictic pronoun *taanna*:

- 3.8 3a. 28 {Tusakataavittarpara taanna isikkorinnersuara_'
 I am really quite tired of hearing that, my looking good

Some deverbal forms are not so unambiguous, however. There are several ways of nominalizing verbs in West Greenlandic, one of which involves the use of *-neq-*, as in the above example; one method involves the use of the intransitive participial morphology. The intransitive participial inflected for third person can be interpreted either as a verb mood, a relativized construction, or a nominalized form. Many cases are ambiguous (see, for example text 1a clause 44, or the participials used in clauses 1a.23-28, where they could be interpreted as relatives). These forms all imply full clausal semantics, with subject and sometimes object (as in 1a.23-28 *qallunaatuinnaq oqaluttoq* 'he only spoke

³As for so-called topic-prominent languages, like Chinese, I, like Chafe (1976:50) have no direct knowledge of them. This definition, however, does not seem to conflict with Chafe's description of topic as a framework for the limiting of the application of a predicate to a particular domain.

Danish', or 'who only spoke Danish', or 'one who only spoke Danish') implicit in the construction. As relatives, they modify a topic; as nominals, they can potentially act as a topic. As deverbalized verbs, however, they potentially still express thematic information. I now turn to a discussion of thematic information.

3.2.3 Theme

There are at least two very different traditions concerning the use of the term 'theme'. The Prague School of linguistics, first through V. Mathesius and later through F. Daneš and J. Firbas (1964), use 'theme' very specifically to refer to the first of two identifiable parts of the clause as the theme, or that which is known or given from previous context, and to the second as the rheme, or the new information conveyed by the clause. The theme may be any kind of grammatical element. Halliday (1968; and in some respects Daneš 1964 too) makes several modifications in the scope of the term theme, but it is essentially used in the same way, to mean the first element of a clause. Halliday (1967 and 1968) sees the theme as the point of departure of a message within the information structure of a clause. He differentiates between a number of different grammatical levels, including intonational (information) unit, information (thematic) structure and cognitive content (transitivity, by which he means predication system irrespective of word class): the determination of roles at one level are interdependent with those at another level, but they are not identical. Thus, a theme is often also a subject and an agent and represents given information, but it is not necessarily so (1967b: 211). Within intonational units, he identifies the points of informational focus as points of prominence, and these are most often not the points of departure and are therefore not thematic. There are several particularly important observations to bear in mind which are captured by the Prague School linguists and Halliday: the very first part of a clause has special significance in discourse; it does not, however, generally carry the prominent information in the clause (by prominent, Halliday specifically refers to information focus,

identified by intonational means); and the role of one level of grammatical description may interact with, but does not depend on, that of another. I return to these points below.

The reliance on word order, however, is a reflection of the development of the theme-rheme idea for Slavic languages, which have fairly free word order. Information carried by the choice of a particular word order in such a language is of a necessarily different kind than that carried by word order variation in languages with much more rigid word order like English. This problem is to some extent explained by the different uses the different language types make of same syntactic constructions; for example, English makes extensive use of the passive whereas the Slavic languages do not. Other problems arise with yet other language types, however. Greenlandic, for example, has relatively free word order, although unmarked order is preferentially SOV. It is a highly polysynthetic language, however, and one verb form often incorporates information which in English or Czech would result in a complex clause. Theme-rheme structure thus becomes less useful for the purposes for which it was conceived. Halliday (1968:214), in discussing transitivity in English, suggests that verbs do not readily associate with any form of prominence in discourse and are rarely thematic (in his terminology, where theme is related to order in a clause); applied to Greenlandic, this would mean entire sequences of clauses are neither prominent nor thematic, which is clearly misleading (nor do I suggest that he means to apply these suggestions to Greenlandic).

The outcome of this discussion on theme must be the recognition of a particular importance attached to theme, as defined above; but also the simultaneous recognition that this is a categorically different type of importance to that of 'topic' and what I would like to propose is its correlate. Furthermore, it is a definition which depends, again, on clause-level structure, and not on discourse structure. It is defined with respect to the clause and not to the discourse. Its discourse equivalent, 'thematization' or 'staging', is discussed by Brown and Yule (1983:133-134) and Grimes (1975:323), and refers to the idea that every level of discourse is organized around a particular element which is taken as the point of

departure and which has prominence in the text. Such a definition assumes, however, that all discourses are structured in the same way, main point first, elaboration following.

This is an inaccurate view of discourse, both with respect to different discourse types in a single language and to differences in discourse organization cross-linguistically.

Another tradition, more in keeping with what I will make use of, involves the rather vague notion 'discourse theme'. Few syntacticians, typologists, or functional grammarians actually define this term, assuming, one supposes, that it is generally understood. Many use it interchangeably with 'topic', as do Dixon (1994) and Du Bois (1987), for example; some use it in the sense in which others use 'topic', as do Brown and Yule (1983:135) and Longacre (1996). Grimes (1975:103 and 324) uses it in a number of ways, including as the starting point of the message, as the topic, and as an element of the organization of the text; and to confuse matters, he uses the terms in ways standard to non-linguistic fields (such as 'topic sentence') but inconsistently with his discussion. Most, however, including Grimes, understand theme as the main idea of a discourse, or text, differing, if the distinction is made, from topic in being an abstraction of the entire discourse, rather than an identifiable nominal entity. If the terminology is confused or inconsistent, there is certainly a conceptual recognition of discourse theme. Jones (1977:1-2) defines the term as the most important idea of the discourse; since theme is not always overtly and concisely stated as one of the clauses, however, the theme of a discourse must be derived in a statement (by the scholar, i.e. outside the text) which generalizes enough to represent the whole discourse but still differentiate it from other discourses. This necessarily means a very important difference between the notions of topic and theme. The term 'topic' refers very specifically to a non-oblique nominal entity in a clause and by extension in a text; a topic is therefore present either as the subject or object of a clause, whether overtly stated or not. Unlike topics, however, themes are not clearly identifiable. Speakers rarely show thematic continuity in the strictest of terms,

and generally not in contiguous clauses; thematic continuity as expressed through lexical identity in the following example is unusual:

- 3.9 2.77 isersarnaartartoq
 there was a wind going into the fjord
- 2.80 isersarnerajuttuummat
 because there was a tendency to have a wind coming into the fjord

More often, the theme is developed by means of semantically closely related, but etymologically unrelated terms:

- 3.10 2.76 {Tassali kisianniuna kangerluk_anorlertartoq
 But so the fjord_was usually windy
- 2.77 isersarnaartartoq,
 there was a wind going into the fjord
- 2.78 qajassuunnagu}
 it was very windy/it was not a cautious wind

In a more complicated example from text 1a of my West Greenlandic data, the speaker frequently reflects on his topic, stepping out of the time frame of the narration; this is indicated by the use of what I call a 'reflection clause', a clause in which the speaker reflects, remembers, or in some way expresses cognition. Each time he uses a reflection clauses, he reenters the time frame of the recollection by introducing a theme, as in the following clauses, especially clause 50:

- 3.11 1a.47 And therefore the catechists_
 who are not without importance_
 our land should thank them_
 today_/
- 1a.48 aamma tamakku sulerujussuarsimasut_/
 and they worked a lot, those ones
- 1a.49 imaannaanngitsorujussuarmik_sulerujusima- sulisimasut_'
 they worked in a very important/meaningful/able way
- 1a.50 kisianni_pitsaviunngitsumik_pineqartarsimasut_aqutsisuninngaanniit
 but they have not been well payed/taken care of by the management

From clauses 51 to 66, the speaker describes the ways in which the catechists were not taken care of, but in more specific terms:

- 3.12 1a.51 So at that time Greenland Steering worked with them
 1a.52 via the deanery
 1a.53 Ajoqillu taamani tassa...nuutsinneqartarput_nunaqarfinnut_
 And the catechists at that time... were moved to villages
 1a.54 aperinagilluunniit
 without even asking
 1a.55 oqarfigisarpaat_
 they would say
 1a.56 "Uunnga nuussuutit!"
 "Move over there!"
 1a.57 taavalu piumannikkaangata
 and if they didn't want to
 1a.58 soraarsittarlugit_
 they would fire them
 1a.59 {nuutsikkaangamigillu taamani_
 and when they had moved them at that time
 1a.60 illussaqaartinneqarneq ajorput_
 they were [given] houses not yet built
 1a.61 {Nuukkaangamillu
 and whenever they moved
 1a.62 nammineq illulioqqaarlutik_
 they first had to build a house themselves
 1a.63 ilaanni ukiorsuaq sinnerlugu_
 sometimes over more than a year
 1a.64 illumi inissisimallutik_
 they had to live in a[nother] house
 1a.65 uffa meeraqarlutik
 even having a child
 1a.66 nuliaqarlutillu_
 and having a wife

In this section of the text, specific themes such as 'move', 'build house', 'have child', etc, are not of great importance to the text in that they are not continued in later sections; they are introduced as elaborations of the idea that catechists were not well taken care of. In none of the clauses is this theme explicitly repeated, however. Unlike 'topic', therefore,

the determination of 'theme' is more open to interpretation and therefore more likely to be seen as based on the linguist's intuition and less likely to be acceptable in a theoretical proof. Because a great majority of clauses in my texts are intransitive structures, however, it is impossible to ignore 'theme' as a concept in text structure.

Givón (1984), in discussing the differences between propositional semantics (for single-clause or sentence structure) and multi-propositional discourse, speaks of the thematic structure of discourse, which includes abstract discourse themes, thematic paragraphs, thematic unity within a paragraph or discourse, and thematic continuity across clauses and paragraphs (all these terms are highlighted and emphasized, but the term 'theme' and its derivatives are never explicitly defined). All of these terms are proposed as means to understand the coherence structure of a text, which is measured by the degree of unity in time, place, action, and participants in a segment of discourse; these are indicated by tense, location, aspect, and participants (or topics). To take a simple example from my West Greenlandic data, the text immediately preceding example 3.6 above, from clauses 2.19-2.31, concerns the description of a house which was used as a factory during the early years of the fishing industry; 'house', first introduced in clause 2.21, is the topic; the theme is a general description of the topic:

- 3.13 2.19 {Eqqaamalluarpara
 I remember it well
- 2.20 meeraallunga_tamaanikkut_
 I was a child at that time
- 2.21 massakkut amutsiviup akiani ilinniartut ilinniartut illukuat /
 now opposite the place that is now the shipyard there was formerly a
 students' house
- 2.22 taassuma illup kangia tungaani_itorsiumanermiikkami qooqqiumanermi_
 to the east of that house over there is a little depression in a valley
- 2.23 illungaatsiapilorujussuaq
 a little bigger than a big house
- 2.24 imaappoq sanaaq_
 it means it has been built

- 2.25 illungaatsiapilorujussuaq uingasoq_/
the rather larger than big house was slanted
- 2.26 taanna "Eqaluit inaannik" taasarpaput}
that one we called "char's place"

(Clauses 2.27-2.31 essentially repeat the above; see appendix for full text and chapters 4 and 5 for a full analysis.)

Both sections are introduced by reflection clauses; in clauses 2.19 and 2.33, he uses variants of the phrase 'I remember'. In clauses 2.19-2.31, *taamanikkut* 'at that time' is used once, in clause 20; it is used once again in clause 2.33 (and again in clause 2.37, there being a shift in theme). After clause 32, 'house' is no longer mentioned, and 'codfish' is introduced for the first time in clause 33. Both temporal and referential changes occur at the boundaries of the two sections of text. Thus, without being able to exactly and definitively articulate the themes of both sections, one can reasonably assume them to have changed, and one can then also reasonably assert that within each of the sections, there is unity of theme. (For a related discussion, that of topic and theme introduction and identification, see section 3.3 below.)

Both Grimes (1975) and Halliday (1976), with different terminology (e.g. setting, staging, referential coherence, and so forth), also discusses textual cohesion and thematic unity according to a number of these factors. There seems to be some agreement, therefore, that discourse theme is reflected in a discourse through continuity of the various factors mentioned above. Furthermore, although many aspects of theme remain vague and largely intuitive, these factors are relevant in analyzing certain grammatical (syntactic) features: some languages, apparently, regularly employ morphemes which mark theme rather than subject or even topic (Kroeker, in Appendix A, Grimes 1975:367-368).

Like topics, themes can exist at many different levels, and one can speak of global or local themes, the former being the overall theme of the discourse, the latter being one with prominence in a given section of the discourse (Grimes 1975:367-368; also Jones

1977:9). One of the more complete descriptions of thematic hierarchy comes from Jones (1977:130-168). At each level of discourse, from clause to paragraph to full discourse, there is a theme specific to that level. She writes specifically about expository discourse, but the principles may be applied to other types of discourse. In defining theme as the nuclear point of a level, she identifies 'constituents' of discourse units: in expository discourse, for example, she identifies concepts at the clause-level: points, or theorems, arguments, and presuppositions which form part of the exposition, at the level of the paragraph: and so forth. The theme of one level is one of the constituents of the next lower level: thus, the theme of a point, or paragraph, is a concept, or clause. The theme of a higher level of discourse may be captured in a cluster of points, or a paraphrase thereof. Both Jones (1977) and Longacre (1976, 1991) identify themes according to logical components of scripts, or general frameworks within which a type of discourse is developed (e.g. ordering food at a restaurant, lecturing to students, etc.). Thus, a discourse can involve comparison, contrast, and so forth, and the structure of the discourse is dependent on the constituents of these scripts. A comparison script, for example, involves two or more items in a particular relation to each other. The theme, according to Jones (1977), is identified according to the type of script. Such a view of theme identification is fundamentally plausible, but difficult to work with, and again, subject to different interpretations. In my analyses of West Greenlandic texts, I attempt little more than a general identification of paragraph themes, based largely on repetition and paraphrase.

Theme, therefore, can be described as the result of a complex of information associated with processes and actions (which includes information about participants), again across more than one clause. Unlike topic, no single clause necessarily captures the theme of a stretch of discourse: processes within single clauses may be thought of as clause-level themes, but only the highest-ranked theme is read as the theme of a continuous text, and this theme is not necessarily overtly or obviously marked in an unambiguous

way. This, of course, leads to problems of identification: one text may have a number of different readings, just as one sentence may be ambiguous (McCune 1983, Rhodes, personal communication).

It is in this respect that issues of foregrounding and backgrounding must be considered. The terms fore- and backgrounding have figured prominently in analyses of information structure and flow. Labov (1972:361), in his analyses of narrative structure, suggests an inherent difference between narrative, by which he means any sentence in a narrative which is sequentially ordered with respect to the narrative, and non-narrative clauses. He does not actually identify the latter as background clauses *per se*, but he identifies certain characteristics of non-narrative clauses which have been important in the distinction of backgrounded and foregrounded information in later studies; among these are subordination, explanation, non-punctual mood, and so forth. Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976, 1991) qualify this list by noting that different discourse genres differ in what is considered background, or nonessential, information; explanatory texts, for example, cannot be said to use explanation as background (Grimes 1975:56). It remains true, however, that most studies of backgrounded and foregrounded information have been applied to narratives. Mallinson and Blake (1981:99) further associate background clauses with low transitivity, while foreground clauses, which signal the main point of discourse, are associated with high transitivity, perfective action, and referentiality. Givón (1990:845) also notes that topics, not being the main point of a clause, are backgrounded information; the foregrounded information in a clause is the locus for new information. Thus, concepts of foregrounding and backgrounding, just as concepts of topicality and theme, range from information flow within the clause to information flow within a (narrative) discourse. Grimes (1975:58) makes an interesting observation, that what might be considered background information in a narrative actually may contain information essential to understanding the importance of the narrative. As such, he introduces yet another dimension to backgrounding and foregrounding. Discussions of

these terms tend to suffer from some of the same confusions as do the terms topic and theme. For example, although topic may be considered given and (therefore?) backgrounded information within a clause, can it be said to be backgrounded in a discourse? Further, it is easy to reduce foregrounding to independent clauses and backgrounding to all others, a distinction I find not very useful. However, insofar as discourse theme is determined as the most important theme of a group of clauses, foregrounding and backgrounding must be relevant. In my analyses, I see no systematic relation between discourse theme and independent clauses, and between backgrounding and dependent clauses, largely because thematic paragraphs in West Greenlandic can consist of dependent clauses only: as I have mentioned before, in spoken West Greenlandic, the causative mood can be used where one might have expected an indicative in the main clause of a paragraph or intonational unit. Although they probably can be shown to correlate to the tendencies listed above, techniques of fore- or backgrounding do not figure prominently in my analyses.

I have discussed theme at length here to show in what way the basic opposition noun-verb, etc., can be extended to discourse structure. Because it is inherently more difficult to uniquely identify in any given text, theme is a secondary, albeit important consideration in my analysis of West Greenlandic. It cannot be ignored, especially in texts where a majority of clauses are intransitive, and the text is consequently developed through predicate structure, not through topic changes. Nevertheless, my focus will be on the importance of topic in the determination of syntactic structure. It is, after all, the topic, not the theme, which is reflected in agreement patterns, as I will explain in section 3.4 below.

3.3 The Introduction and Identification of Topics and Themes

The above discussion of topic and theme has assumed that topic and theme are identifiable within a text. This naturally raises the question of how a topic or a theme is identified as such. How information is signaled as topical is crucial in a theory that

purports to assign the value 'topic' to one of several possibilities in a clause. This question naturally involves two issues: the introduction of a topic or theme, including signals of a change in topic and theme in larger discourses, and signals within a paragraph of topicality or thematicity. The two have not clearly been differentiated, and it is often not possible to do so, especially in more ambiguous texts.

Discussions of topic and theme have tended to focus on properties of thematic or topical elements in a clause or a discourse; insofar as the methods of identifying topics in clauses, most discussions have gone little further than the identification of a topic or theme as either the first element of a clause or the subject thereof. Beyond this, Du Bois (1987) suggests that the absolutive in ergative languages is the preferred case for introducing new participants in discourse (see more complete discussion of this in section 3.4 below); it remains to be seen if these new participants become topical. Grimes (1975:103), interpreting a manuscript on paragraphing in Mundurukú discourse by Sheffler, notes that when changing topics, a speaker of Mundurukú first uses a particle meaning essentially 'I am going to talk about something else'; the new topic, introduced in the following clause, is introduced as either the object or the goal. This, as I will show below, seems to be common in West Greenlandic too (and it is probably not unreasonable to suspect that it is a technique for introducing topics or themes which is typologically wide-spread). Both Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1996:119) discuss setting as the introductory material of a paragraph; the setting expresses temporal and locational information and is maintained throughout a 'constituent part' of a text (Grimes 1975:51). At thematic boundaries, temporal or locational information may be mentioned, marking the start of a new topic or theme. This is similar to observations by Givón (1984 and 1990) about thematic unity in a paragraph, as I have mentioned in the previous section.

In my West Greenlandic texts, techniques for introducing a topic are many and varied, and probably have a great deal to do with the speaker's level of expertise in relating events. They include fronting (whether contrastive or not) of the nominal,

incorporation, the use of reflection clauses, the use of discourse particles to reflect different levels of paragraph structure, and therefore perhaps different levels of topicality, interactions between theme (the verbal entity of a clause) and topic, and verb form. The exact effect of each of these I have not been able to pinpoint.

I have defined topic as a nominal entity with prominence in a stretch of continuous discourse. Accordingly, it is generally possible to identify something as the topic after several clauses of continuous reference, but the boundaries of topic shifts are not always obvious or clearly definable. As a result, especially where several nominal entities are present in a clause, it is not always possible to identify the primary topic of a series of clauses. It is necessary, therefore, to understand how information is first signaled as topical. In my West Greenlandic texts, there are three ways of directly expressing information which can become topical: by means of an overt noun phrase, whether in direct relationship with the verb or not; by means of incorporation of the noun into a verbal structure; and by means of information carried in the verb, which I refer to as 'theme'. In text 1b, for example the speaker uses all three in one section (listed in order of appearance):

3.14 incorporation:

1b.135 tamuatsivaartorluta tassa_
tamuatsivaaq-toq-luta tassa
tamuatsivaaq-eat-1pl.CT that.is
we ate "tamuatsivaaq" (seal skin and fat chewing gum)

3.15 theme:

1b.138 Tassa taanna_tamuarujoortarparput_
tassa taanna tamua-rujoor-saq-varput
that.is that.one.abs chew-casually-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
we used to chew it continually

3.16 overt nominal:

1b.139 tamuatsivaamik_tasarpaput uagut taqqavani_}}}
tamuatsivaaq-mik taasar-varput uagut taqqava-ni
tamuatsivaaq-inst call-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I we-abs south-loc
we in the south used to call it "tamuatsivaaq"

I primarily focus on topic, but given the preponderance of intransitive structures in the texts, totalling two-thirds or more of all clauses, it is clear that information is often introduced by means of the verb phrase. The problems of identifying a single theme have been described above: unlike topic, there is often no single identifiable verbal entity which has continuity over some stretch of discourse. Rather, information carried in the verb tends to be expressed via synonyms, or via terms which together express the speaker's theme. The importance of considering the introduction of a theme is particularly clear with regard to incorporation, which is discussed below.

There are a number of ways of introducing topics in my texts, including fronting, the use of reflection clauses, the reintroduction of an oblique noun phrase as a subject or object, and incorporation. It appears from the body of data with which I am working, that the fronting of overt noun phrases is the most common method of introducing a new topic. By fronting, I refer to the placement of overt noun phrases at the beginning of a clause and distinguished from normal word order in a clause either by intonation, by repetition, or by marked word order itself⁴. For example, in text 3a:

3.17 3a.25 tassami_isikkorneran__taanna isikkuminarnersuara_'
that is, my being someone who is good to look at

tusakataavittarpara, ilaa_
I get really quite tired of hearing, you know

the speaker separates the object, 'my being someone who is good to look at', by means of intonation, thus indicating special emphasis. In text 1a, both intonation and repetition are used in the following example, in which both 'hunters' and 'kayaks' are emphasized:

3.18 1a.17 tassanilu_piniartuinnaat_-ngajaviit_
and there--only hunters, almost only

⁴Creider (1979) defines both topicalization and focusing strategies in his article "On the Explanation of Transformations". Creider theorizes that languages can treat initial, preverbal, and final positions as positions associated with topicalization or focusing; and that SOV languages tend to treat initial position as topical and preverbal position as focusing. He also provides specific examples from Eskimo (1979:15), and claims that languages such as Eskimo (the dialect appears to be Eastern Canadian, possibly Inuktitut) use only changes in grammatical relations to effect changes in topic and focus, as opposed to using word order. Based on the data in my texts, I disagree with this claim (c.f. 4:73 'at that time he was very very very much praised, my father').

- 1a.18 (aalisartumininnguit
a few fishermen

taamani aalisarneq sulí ingerlalluannginnami_)}
at that time the fishing was not yet going well

- 1a.19 {Piniartut, qajat, qajaannarmik inuussuteqarput_}
the hunters, kayaks, they only used kayaks to live by

All of the above examples involve the first mention of the particular topic (e.g. 'my being someone who is good to look at', 'hunters', 'kayaks') in the respective texts. Fronting is also common as a device for emphasizing a nominal with already determined topic status. Fronted arguments are identified in my data by their isolation from the rest of the clause (a reflection also of the intonational isolation); they are also indicated by the use of a following [E] (for emphasis) in the subject or object column of the charts, but these are also used to signal right-dislocations; the reader is referred to these for additional examples.

The second most common method of introducing a topic seems to involve reflection clauses, or clauses which take the speaker out of the setting of the text, involve a speaker's reflection on the events or state of the text, and in some cases evaluate these events or states. Again, different speakers seem to have preferences in the pattern of their usage of reflection clauses, but they all involve the introduction of the topic (or theme) as the object of the reflection. Speaker 4 tends to use reflection clauses very directly:

- 3.19 4.1 {Tassa_siullermik oqaatigissavara_
so first I am going to talk about this

- 4.2 uanga Nuummi inunngorpunga_
I was born in Nuuk

or again,

- 3.20 4.27 {Taava_oqaatigissavakkalu taamanikkut piniartorsuit,
then, we can talk about the big hungers in those days

Speakers 1 and 2 tend to prefer statements such as 'I remember' in similar situations, but the effect is similar. In text 1, the speaker also makes extensive use of reflection clauses of evaluation, in particular for didactic effect in the catechist story, which appear to be

more diffuse in pinpointing his topic. In the following example, clause 47 is a reflection clause in which the speaker assesses the value of the catechists (the global topic of clauses 36-102); and, in a pattern which is repeated in other parts of the catechist story, the reflection clause leads to a statement of the theme, clauses 48-50, to be elaborated in the following paragraphs (clauses 51-65, possibly to 67, all deal with hardships endured by the catechists because of the management):

- 3.21 1a.47 {Taamaattumik ajoqit_imaannaanngitsumik_
and therefore the catechists, who are not without importance

qutsavissarai nunatta_ullumikkut_
our land should thank them today

1a.48 aamma tamakku sulerujussuarsimasut_
and they worked a lot, those ones

1a.49 imaannaanngitsorujussuarmik_sulerujusima- sulisimasut_'
they worked in a very important way

1a.50 kisianni_pitsaviunngitsumik_pineqartarsimasut_aqutsisuninngaanniit
but they have not been well paid by the management

The use of reflection clauses, unlike fronting, very often involves the introduction of themes rather than topics.

The speaker of text 4 not uncommonly establishes a topic by using as subject, object, or incorporated noun the oblique phrase of a previous clause:

- 3.22 4.29 Qaarusumminngaanniit nuupput Saarlumut_'
they moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq

4.30 taamaalillunilu,
and it was like this

4.31 Saarloq inuttusiallappoq_'
Saarloq became more populated

In addition to the above example, clauses 4, 7, and 47 seem to involve reintroduction of an oblique noun as a direct verbal argument. This is not a common device in other texts.

Particles or temporal adverbs, each signalling a structural change in the paragraph hierarchy, are rarely if ever used where no other devices (e.g. fronting, etc.) are. By themselves, particles seem to signal the reintroduction of information:

- 3.23 2.86 {atorsaroriartuaaq
the wind having gradually died down more and more
- 2.87 piniutigut tamaani_amerlup saqqaaniit uagut
our things, then the ones from the sunny side of Amerloq--we, uh,

saqqa--saqqaa-tungaani taamani_
on the way toward the sunny side at that time
- 2.88 piniuteqarajunnerusaratta_
we used to have more equipment
- 2.89 {Saqqaanilu tassa atuartarlugit,
and then on the sunny side [we] used to bring them in line [the nets]
- 2.90 imaattorlugit,
like this
- 2.91 amuartarlugit_
hauling them up
- 2.92 taamanikkummi qassuterpaalussuarnik piniuteqartarpugut tassa_
at that time we had rather a lot of nets as equipment, you know

Here, *piniuti* 'equipment' is variously mentioned, first as an independent noun (2.87), although it is first introduced in previous text (as an incorporated noun, see for example 2.81) and then as an incorporated noun (2.88); after a break, it is reintroduced in 2.92, again as an incorporated noun, in a clause introduced by the temporal adverb *taamani* (*-kkut*) 'at that time'.

More commonly, however, a number of devices are used at once, such that particles, fronting, and the use of indicative clauses all cooccur to signal topic introduction. There is a high correlation, but not a complete correlation, of indicative clauses to topic introduction and to overt topics. In text 4, for example, *ataataga* 'my father' is first introduced in clause 7, overtly, in an indicative clause:

- 3.24 4.7 {Ataataga nammineq_piniartuuvoq (I)_
my father himself was a hunter

In the same text, indicatives and topic introduction cooccur often, and the reader is referred to clauses 5, 11, 14, 27-28, 31, 34-35, 37, 46, 48, 55, and 78 for other examples. Not all indicatives signal topichood, however, and not all topics are introduced by indicatives.

Finally, the effect of incorporation on the introduction of topics must be considered. Clearly, an incorporated noun which might otherwise have been an object will affect the expression of topichood, since the topic is denominalized. Furthermore, there are interesting structures which might be compared, as in the following, all from speaker 3:

3.25 3a.99 {Tassa_piniartorsuarminngooq ataataqarsimavugut_'
that is we had a father they say was a big hunter

3a.112 ataataqarsimallunga_}
I had a father

3a.117 {Aanaanagaara Sisimiormiut}
my mother [is] from Sisimiut [i.e. I have a mother from Sisimiut]

3b.126 taava_anaanagaara Bolethe_Bolethe Olseni_'
then I have Bolethe Olsen as a mother

The first clause above is an antipassive; the second, an intransitive; the third and fourth are transitive ergative structures. All involve the incorporation of the same structural entity (father or mother). The intransitive structures can roughly be understood as 'I have a father' whereas the transitive structures can be translated as 'my mother is...'; the transitive structures therefore imply what others have noted, namely definiteness, or givenness, or perhaps prominence.

Incorporation in West Greenlandic cannot be explained, as in Nahuatl (see Merlan 1976), as a way of continuing topic; or as a mark of the change in status of nouns from rhematic to thematic (in the sense of order of introduction of information in a clause). Incorporated nouns in West Greenlandic often mark the first mention in the text (e.g. text 2, clause 4), and in many cases involve lexicalized constructions (as in *ukioqarpoq* 'he is X years old'). Incorporated nouns often involve derived intransitive structures, particularly if they are newly introduced (although they can also be found in transitive structures in West Greenlandic, as in clauses 3a.117 and 3b.126 in example 3.25 above); information added as an afterthought to these structures will therefore be marked instrumentally, as would objects in an antipassive construction:

- 3.26 2.52 {aammalu ukiumi_qassusiortarpugut nammineq uagut_/
and in the winter we ourselves used to build nets

saarullinnut qassutissatsinnik_}
nets for the codfish

but whether this is to be interpreted as an antipassive or as a structural restriction on speech is a question that must be considered. Finally, incorporation clearly brings up the issue of the relationship between topic and theme. For example, is an incorporated object thematic or topical? Is it a vehicle for introducing new information when there is no place for topic in West Greenlandic? What happens when theme and topic are both important? and when theme is new but topic is not, or vice versa? The following example illustrates some of these issues:

- 3.27 1b.107 kisiannili tassa taamani aamma piniartuuneq
but in those days to be a hunter

inuuneq piniartuuneq imaannaanngitsorujussuuvoq_/
to live, to be a hunter was very amazing
- 1b.108 nunatsinni_inuit amerlanersai,ullumikkut oqartarpugut
in our land, its many people, today we say
- 1b.109 (aalisarneq inuutissarsiutit pingaarnersarivaat)}
the most important careers are fishing
- 1b.110 {Taamani uagut meeraasugut_/
but at that time [when] we were children
- 1b.111 piniarneq inuutissarsiutit annersarivaat_}
the biggest careers were hunting
- 1b.112 {Qajaqarput, piniartut tamarmik_'
they had kayaks, all the hunters
- 1b.113 qajaqqissorsuullutik_}
they were very good with the kayaks

In clause 1b.112, 'kayak' is incorporated, and the subject is 'hunters'; but this is the first mention of both kayaks and hunters. 'Hunting' occurs as a topic in clause 111 and as a nominalized theme in clause 107 as 'to be a hunter'. Thus, is the first instance of 'hunter', in clause 112, really a new topic? Furthermore, what is the relative prominence of 'they had kayaks' and 'hunters'? In the immediately following text, 'kayaker's is used as a

synonym for 'hunters' (see clauses 126–130). The same sorts of considerations are present in clauses 135 to 141 of the same text, in which the speaker describes a form of natural chewing gum, *tamuatsivaaq*. The object being chewed is first introduced as an incorporated noun (see clauses 135 and 136 'we all used to eat the liver [incor] and we ate *tamuatsivaaq* [incor]), simultaneous with the introduction of 'eat' as a theme (or 'eat liver/gum'). Future mentions of *tamuatsivaaq*, in clauses 139 and 140, are all as independent nominals. One is tempted to say that incorporation must be a regular method of introducing new information; but not all instances of incorporation introduce new information. Further, the incorporated nominal, once introduced, seems to be topical to some degree and often shows up in subsequent text as an independent nominal argument of the verb, that is, as a topic; although, again, not all incorporated nouns have continuity in a text. At the same time, by virtue of incorporation, the nominal becomes part of the theme: in the above example of *tamuatsivaaq*, it is not the act of eating which is thematic, but the act of eating *tamuatsivaaq*. At most, one must simply acknowledge the complexity of the information a speaker can convey in a single clause.

Incorporation in West Greenlandic clearly has syntactic ramifications, as discussed by Sadock (1991); this is evident by such features as stranded modifiers, coordination, and so forth (see Sadock 1991:91 and text 2 clauses 41–42 and text 4 clauses 37–40, my data). Hopper and Thompson (1984:714) suggest that incorporated nouns cannot be referential, and that they cannot be used in further discourse without being reintroduced as independent, overt nominals. This is contradicted by my own data:

3.28 4.50 aamma Landsrådimi ataatsimeeqataasarpog
 and he used to be in the country council meetings

4.51 marloriarluni ataataga_}
 going twice, my father

Here, 'the meetings' is incorporated. Sadock (1991:86) writes that an incorporated noun introduces a new topic, and this is certainly the case sometimes (see example 3.24 above, as well as 2.4 and 4.37), but not exclusively. Some (see Merlan 1976, Mithun 1984)

write that incorporation serves to continue a topic (if it serves a discourse purpose: Mithun points out that not all forms of incorporation serve the same purpose), and again, I find this to be the case some of the time in my data (cf. 4.6 'my growing up among only the great hunters being the reason' 4.7 'my father himself was a hunter', where 'hunter' in 4.6 is an oblique nominal and in 4.7 an incorporated one). Despite Mithun (1984) and Hopper and Thompson (1984), an incorporated noun can be referential and specific (cf. examples by Sadock 1991:87); and although in most cases, incorporated nouns tend to be indefinite, there are examples of incorporated possessed nouns, as in 'her home' below:

3.29 3a.1 {Tassa massakkut, Sisimiuni Dorthe Larsenip angerlarsimaffianiippugut_'
So now we are in Dorthe Larsen's home in Sisimiut

Sadock (1991:94) notes that structures with incorporation can be used in the same circumstances as corresponding antipassives. If so, this would mean that incorporated nominals are not topical: this is worth further research. Finally, many of the most ordinary verbal constructions which are used to introduce topics are only built with denominalizing suffixes: thus, to say 'there were hunters', for example, the normal construction would necessarily involve incorporation, regardless of topic status. The problem is that there are many different issues involved with incorporation, some of which are probably purely syntactic, or even lexical, as some incorporated forms are lexicalized, and some are perhaps more affected by pragmatics. It is impossible, based on my data, for me to satisfactorily determine a systematic effect of incorporation on topic. The questions raised above are therefore quite difficult for me to address, and they must be kept under consideration, but I have no clear answers at present.

In addition to introducing a topic or theme, a speaker must also signal the relative importance of topics and themes within a stretch of discourse. In perhaps the most detailed account of thematic identification (beyond discussions of word order) Jones (1977) devotes an entire chapter to the identification of themes in texts and another to devices for highlighting (emphasizing) the theme of a text. Acknowledging the subjective nature of thematic identification, she lists a number of grammatical devices

which give prominence to a theme in a text in English, including topicalization, clefting, and thematic uses of conjunctions or phrases with conjunctive functions (as in 'in the first place', etc.). In addition, she notes textual organizational methods, such as general-to-specific organization and repetition (including paraphrase and ellipsis). I have paid little attention to general-to-specific organization in my texts, and I suspect it is less important a strategy in personal recollections, which are organized according to memory rather than argumentation or presentation structures; but Jones' other devices are common in my West Greenlandic texts in the manipulation of information to signal textual importance, coherence, and so forth. Intonation or word order, including both topicalization and focus constructions, can be used to emphasize a nominal, as can the use of reflection clause types and repetition. In particular, I find that focus constructions (right-dislocation) tend to occur where the speaker has not clearly identified the topic in an ambiguous text; in the following example, the referent of 4.68 is unclear:

- 3.30 4.67 Aggu Lyngeugalup_ 'allaaserigamiuk,
 the late Aggu Lynge wrote about this period
- 4.68 ataataga pisimagaa_ '
 he has said this about my father
- 4.69 "Pikkorinnersaallu immikkut akissarsisippaa"_}
 and the cleverest will get a special prize
- 4.70 (Tassa kunngip Christiaap qulingata_)}
 that is, king Christian the 10th
- (Christiaap qulingata_)}
 Christian the 10th

I suggest it is the topic rather than the subject which is relevant, and in the above example, the king is one of at least three possible topics, 'Aggu Lynge', 'my father', and 'Christian X'; evidence for the relevance of topic rather than subject is found in the same text:

- 3.31 4.41 Tassaavoq arnaq utoqqaq: Henriette Ezekiassen_}
It was an old lady: Henriette Ezekiassen
- 4.42 {Maani, naluneqanngittut Joel Ezekiassen-ikkut,
Barsalaj Ezekiassen-ikkut
here the well known Joel Ezekiassen and Barsalaj Ezekiassen [families]

aanaavat_}
their grandmother
- (translated as: 'here they are well known, she's their grandmother' by the transcriber)

where *aanaavat* 'grandmother' refers to the topic of previous text.

In addition, the choice of discourse particles can signal continuation of a topic or theme, parenthetical status of a clause or clauses to the main topical paragraph, or topic shift. The choice of verb form can indicate relative hierarchical importance of a clause within a paragraph, and therefore of topic or thematic prominence. In most paragraphs, a combination of these devices is used--one is unlikely to find only one.

In addition to the introduction and maintenance of topics and themes, some general observations can be made concerning topic or thematic shift. Many have already been mentioned above, in some form or another. The use of connecting particles, such as *tassa* 'that is', *kisianni* 'but', *taava* 'then', and so forth, suggests a change in paragraph or paragraph level. These are often accompanied by the repetition of certain clauses throughout a text, especially of temporal and locational expressions or clauses. From a general examination of my texts, it appears that expressions such as *taamani* 'at that time' or *meeraallunga* 'when I was a child' are mentioned not more than once per paragraph (although they are not necessarily the first expression or clause following a topic or thematic shift). One of the clearest examples of this comes from text 1b (it is particularly clear because of the use of participials at the beginning of each new paragraph; for a discussion of this, see chapter 5). From the beginning of the text, *taamani* is used at most once per paragraph, with two or three exceptions, and each of these exceptions involves a parenthetical statement (see clauses 125, 177, and 179). However, clauses such as

meeraallunga 'when I was a child' or *ukiulluni* 'in the wintertime' are expected to be remembered across a discourse. For a discussion of these cases, see chapter 5.

3.4 Discourse Roles and Syntactic Description

The view of topic as a discourse role analogous to the grammatical roles and the semantic roles is the basis for my analyses of West Greenlandic syntactic structures in the following chapters. Roles such as subject, object, agent, and patient have been applied in syntactic analyses because they have been useful in identifying and describing categories in different languages. For example, nominal arguments morphologically marked in a similar way and with similar functions in the syntax may be thought to represent a natural class of things: those marked with nominative case endings in a nominative-accusative language may be called subjects and those marked accusatively may be called objects, and they can be described according to predictable behavior as subjects and objects. Such a definition of subject, however, is superficial and proves inadequate for the descriptions of many languages, including English, where case is distinguished morphologically only with pronouns. Within mainstream syntactic theories, various roles have been defined with respect to the syntactic constructions they are part of, and with respect to their relationship with the predicate. Thus, in Chomskian approaches, the subject and the object are differentiated with respect to their position in a hierarchy of structural units, the subject being on an equal level to the predicate, the object being subsumed into the predicate. The arguments are not defined in any other way except by position relative to the verb phrase. In Relational Grammar, the approach favored by typologists, subjects and objects are defined as primitives, but they are ranked on a hierarchy of semantic roles. In many languages, semantic roles have been found to be either additionally useful or more useful in describing a category. There seems to be a general tendency for agents to be subjects in transitive sentences, patients to be direct objects, and benefactives or recipients to be indirect objects. Comrie (1981:59) links this to functional requirements of language, suggesting that languages require semantic relations, which are connected

with information flow, whereas it is unclear why syntactic roles are necessary (although he concedes that attempts to do away with syntax have not been successful). Agency or animacy hierarchies may more accurately reflect morphological marking or syntactic structures. Dixon (1994:29) mentions Manipuri as a language with semantically-based morphological marking; in a discussion of split-ergativity, he describes a group of languages with syntactically based marking on transitive verbs but a semantically based marking for intransitive verbs (Dixon 1994:78). In an interesting shift in the classification of English predicates, Halliday (1968:184) suggests that English clause organization may be better viewed, in some respects, as semantically ergative. Thus, syntactic roles alone have not accounted for essentially syntactic phenomena (e.g. passive or antipassive constructions, etc.). Since Fillmore's discussion of case in 1968, in which he showed how underlying semantic roles can be mapped onto surface syntactic constructions, the importance of semantic roles in syntactic descriptions has been widely accepted, not merely by typologists and relational grammarians, but also by generativists, and characteristics of verbal arguments are often described in both syntactic and semantic terms.

Proposing distinct discourse-level roles, therefore, suggests the possibility of finding languages with discourse roles reflected in some way in the syntax, or in other words, of finding discourse roles which motivate syntactic constructions. Comrie (1981:56-57) suggests that there are, in fact, pragmatic or discourse roles; but by these he refers to quite different types of roles than semantic roles. Unlike semantic roles, pragmatic roles are not restricted to noun phrases, nor do they reflect the same types of syntactic relationships with other elements that semantic roles do. They refer to the 'different ways in which essentially the same information, or the same semantic content, can be structured differently to reflect the flow of given and new information' (Comrie 1981:56-57). Like Halliday (1967a), he calls 'focus' the essential piece of new information carried by the sentence, and he calls 'topic' what Halliday calls 'theme'. Some

languages have even grammaticalized these pragmatic roles, as in the Japanese topic marker *wa*, for instance, or the word order patterns used to indicate focus in Hungarian. These are all still clause-level roles, however, despite their identification as pragmatic or discourse roles.

More important than the formal identification of roles as pragmatic or discourse roles, however, is evidence that syntactic phenomena are dependent on environments greater than the sentence. A number of studies have shown that pragmatic and discourse factors play a significant role in the distribution of certain syntactic structures. For example, as I have mentioned before, Du Bois (1987) effectively shows that the grammatical argument positions (subject, object) in Sacapultec are preferentially filled not only with respect to their morphological but also to their pragmatic type. Thus, objects of transitive clauses in Sacapultec are not only marked as absolutes, but also tend to reflect information flow: absolute objects tend to fill a position in which new participants are introduced in the discourse, as opposed to ergative subjects, which overwhelmingly tend to be thematic (in his terminology), that is, maintained in successive clauses, definite, and given (1987:829). The study of ergativity has, in fact, led to a number of studies of discourse structure, and I look at this in depth in the following chapter. In my analysis of West Greenlandic, I find a further requirement for absolute objects: absolute object position is not just the slot for the introduction of new participants in the discourse; it is the slot for local topics. Since not all absolute objects are new participants, this is a more general statement than Du Bois'. For example, in example 3.12, none of the ergative structures in this section of text (clauses 1a.58, 1a.59) introduce a new participant or topic; but the absolute is the topic in all cases. Thus, topic as a role is useful in the generalization of a particular syntactic category. Givón (1984:256) has suggested that new information tends to be introduced in the verb in intransitive sentences and as either the verb or the object in transitive sentences. Interestingly enough, my West Greenlandic data shows that an overwhelming majority of

the clauses in discourse seem to be intransitive (as do Dixon's Dyirbal text samples, 1972:368-397): about 428 of 620 clauses are intransitive in my data. If Givón is right, then the importance of theme, rather than topic, is explained in the switch-reference phenomena I examine in chapter 5. (Givón, however, suggests that intransitive constructions are somehow more marked than the transitive constructions, in that the verb is included in the scope of new information in the former, but not in the latter. I suspect this is merely a reflection of the difficulty in defining theme as opposed to topic).

Givón (1976), tries to show that grammatical agreement of the subject with the verb or the object with the verb or both derives from topic-verb agreement. Argument agreement with the verb is hierarchically arranged, such that if a language has indirect object agreement, then it also has direct object agreement; and if it has direct object agreement, then it also has subject agreement. He proposes a topic hierarchy, similar to the semantically-based agency hierarchy (and an earlier version of the topic hierarchy proposed by him and discussed previously in section 3.2.2), such that humans are more topical than non-humans, definite nouns are more topical than indefinite, more involved participants are more topical than less-involved ones, and first and second persons are more topical than third. He discusses anaphoric pronominalization and verbal agreement both as a result of topic shift (topicalization) and afterthought constructions, bringing evidence from a number of languages and construction types, including agreement differences between dependent and independent clauses. Especially interesting about the latter is his claim that dependent clauses are most likely to drop agreement, as well as to reflect background, or nontopical, information. I doubt that afterthought constructions are ever so prevalent that they lead to grammaticalization in this way, unless he merely refers to right dislocation constructions by the term 'afterthought'; further, the link of topics to particular types of participants, such as humans, very much depends on the type of discourse, as mentioned above. However, the reinterpretation of agreement with topic, rather than subject, is worth thinking about. There is evidence from other types of

agreement constructions, such as switch-reference, that agreement crosses paragraph boundaries: Stirling (1993), crediting Payne, notes that the switch-reference system in Chickasaw indicates reference relations across sentence and paragraph boundaries. Cross-sentence coreference can be seen in the following extract from text 3a of my West Greenlandic data:

- 3.32 3a.28 {Tusakataavittarpara taanna isikkorinnersuara_'
I am really quite tired of hearing that, that I look good
- 3a.29 Emiliannguup panimma
Emily my daughter
- taamaallunga (CT)
while I am like that
- 3a.30 oqarfiginikuuaanga_
said to me
- 3a.31 "Tassamiuna illit_ajouteqarnerit upperineq ajornartoq
"in any case your having a sickness is impossible to believe
- 3a.32 isikkorinnersuarmit"_}
because you look so good

In clause 29 is a contemporative clause, 'while I am like that', which refers back to the previous clause and refers to the speaker's 'looking good'. The contemporative in West Greenlandic, as described in chapter 2, is defined as a marker of subject coreference between two clauses in a sentence. In this example, it not only does not mark subject coreference with that of its superordinate ('Emilia'), but marks coreference to a preceding clause, which arguably can be viewed as a previous sentence (a concept which is somehow less than clear in a clause-chaining language, as well as in spoken discourse). For a more detailed review of studies of switch-reference as a phenomenon of discourse, see chapter 5.

In explaining agreement, whether the agreement marking has to do with case, as with ergativity, or with coreference, as with switch-reference, explanations often hinge on relative transitivity of the clauses in question. Most discussions of transitivity revolve around a very limited number of verbs which are taken to be prototypically transitive,

such as 'kill', 'stab', 'kick', and 'love' (and most examples, unfortunately, involve the rather violent prototypes). The majority of verbs, however, do not so clearly represent action initiated by one participant and undergone by another, if for no other reason than they require non-prototypical case marking (compare 'I stabbed him' vs. 'I sat on him').

Among the plethora of hierarchies proposed for semantic analyses of constructions is a hierarchy of transitivity traits, including degree of action, number of participants, choice of aspect, degree of volition, and so forth. This hierarchy is described at length by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Although this hierarchy certainly reflects semantic differences between prototypically transitive and less transitive verbs, it is often used as an explanation for anomalous agreement marking. In an analysis of switch-reference in West Greenlandic, Fortescue (1991) suggests that anomalous coreference or lack thereof can be explained by viewing the marked clause (the clause marked for coreference) generally the subordinate clause, as more transitive than the unmarked, generally superordinate clause. Such explanations depend a great deal on individual interpretations of degrees of agency to determine the coreferentiality of subjects, or syntactic roles. In my West Greenlandic data, I find that a great many examples of anomalous switch-reference reflect topic continuity or topic shift. One of the clearest examples of this in my texts is in text 1b, in which the speaker uses participial constructions almost exclusively in reflection clauses, and in each case, the topic or theme shifts:

3.33 1b.147 {eqqaamagiga (P) tassa taamani Ittu '
I remember Grandfather at that time

1b.148 tyggegummimik amerikamiuninngaanniit tunisittarsimagami_}
used to get chewing gum from the Americans

(Clauses 1b.149-158 continue 'chewing gum' as a topic.)

1b.159 {Tassa eqqaamalluariga (P)
that is I remember very well

1b.160 taamani Narsamukaraangatta aasakkut_}
in those days, whenever we went to Narsaq during the summer

(Clauses 1b.161-177 continue 'trips to Narsaq', with another memory within this section about a particular trip.)

Rather than depending on semantic roles for the interpretation of same or different subject, switch-reference can be reanalyzed as marking topic switch, irrespective of semantic roles in West Greenlandic. The use of a discourse role therefore simplifies the explanation considerably.

The acceptance of discourse roles is merely the acceptance of an extension of a previous system of classification to another level of linguistic analysis. The existence of discourse roles should not be surprising. In essence, roles are reference mechanisms; they provide a way for speakers of a language (and listeners) to track an entity across a certain amount of text, whether they are syntactic, semantic, or discursal. As such, it makes sense that both ergativity and switch-reference reflect particular roles; in the next section, I discuss this more in depth.

3.5 The Greater Applicability of Discourse Roles

The notion of a discourse role such as topic may explain a clustering of seemingly unrelated features in West Greenlandic, such as clause-chaining, ergativity, and switch-reference. This would be especially interesting given the tendency for these features to cooccur in typologically similar languages: languages which are clause-chaining, as I discuss in the chapter 5, tend to have switch-reference mechanisms with similar characteristics, for example, although they do not necessarily have ergative marking. It would be interesting to suggest a possible explanation for the cooccurrence of these characteristics across different languages. The heart of the question may lie in the choice of units of speech in the different languages.

Longacre (1976, 1985) and Givón (1990) both explicitly discuss the differences between sentences and paragraphs and their relation to clause-chaining. The difference between the two, Longacre suggests (1976:281; 1995: 289), is not the respective sizes: sentences may be as long as paragraphs, and paragraphs as short as short sentences:

rather, they should be considered different structural units which involve different stylistic options. Sentences may be seen as the result of clause combination. He distinguishes two main models of sentence structure: in a coranking structure (I follow his use of the term), a sentence consists of a nucleus with one or more independent clauses and a periphery with (or without) various modifying clauses, such as temporal or purpose clauses; in a clause-chaining structure, a sentence consists of a nucleus with no more than one independent, usually final (at least in SOV languages), clause and a series of (optional) dependent clauses, the first of which often recapitulates preceding discourse. The latter type is commonly found in languages in parts of South America and in the Highlands of New Guinea; and, I contend, in West Greenlandic. (Either type may be subordinated and embedded within another sentence, an important observation for thematic coherence and interruption.) Thus, in the following West Greenlandic example, the first four clauses are dependent (causative verb mood), and the final two are independent; the last is arguably a separate sentence.

- 3.34 3a.50 {Pujortartorujussuugaluarama (CA)_
I used to smoke very much but
- 3a.51 ullormut_20-it nungunngilaaginnartaraluarakkit (CA)
I finished a little bit less than 20 a day...
- 3a.52 1987-arsimi tassanngaannarsuaq pujortarunnaarama (CA)_
in 1987 from then on I stopped smoking
- 3a.53 uanga cigaritsip ajuleraminga (CA)_/
cigarettes didn't like me anymore
- 3a.54 uanga cigaritsi ajulinngikkaluarpara (I)_/
I don't like cigarettes anymore
- 3a.55 taamangaasit oqartarpunga (I)}
that is what I say

Some languages may make limited use of one type while being predominantly of the other type; Givón (1990:865) provides an example of clause-chaining in English, noting that it is a type of construction rarely used in English oral discourse. Clause-chaining may occur within either sentences or paragraphs; the identification of a chain as one or

the other depends on the degree of 'closure'; Longacre suggests that sentences are more tightly structured and have more closure than paragraphs do. In point of fact, in spoken speech, sentences and paragraphs are not as clearly definable as they are in theory. In English, for example, run-on sentences in spoken discourse are common and resemble clause-chains; in my West Greenlandic texts, there are often series of clauses grouped by intonation but consisting of several indicatives, or in some cases, no indicatives at all.

While Longacre (1985) does not consistently identify clause-chaining with any more discourse-level structure than coranking, he does note that some clause-chains can extend over several pages, as opposed to coranking sentences, which generally do not. According to Givón (1990:865) and Longacre (1985:238) clause chains are judged to represent thematic paragraphs, or discourse-level units, rather in the way that clauses are considered units of a sentence. The main difference between sentences and thematic paragraphs is in the criteria used to define the two: sentences are defined by reference to grammatical concepts such as constituent structure, whereas thematic paragraphs are defined by pragmatic and semantic concepts such as theme and topicality. Within a thematic paragraph, certain clusters of features are found, which reflect thematic coherence across clause boundaries: referential cross-clausal continuity is indicated by anaphoric or cataphoric pronouns (among other things); temporal continuity by tense, temporal adverbs, and in some cases, verb form; continuity of action by aspect; and so forth. Certain devices, such as mood, can indicate more general thematic continuity, as in subordination and clause-chaining. These are devices for constructing clauses, but it is the combination of clauses, by coordination, subordination, clause-chaining, etc., which results in the indication, whether overt or not, of coreferentiality, contemporality, sequentiality, and so forth. In combination, the lack of overt marking is as important as the presence thereof; for example, there is often a tendency for dependent clauses to be unspecified for tense, aspect, and subject where they are identical to those of the independent clause. The more features in common between a group of clauses, the more

tightly the paragraph is defined⁵. Clause chains, as chains of medial clauses dependent on (generally) one independent clause, all share more features of coherence than clauses between chains, or at least all contribute to the meaning of the chain rather than to that of clauses outside the chain. In section 3.2.3 above, I provided some examples with reference to thematic boundaries which illustrate this feature of clause chains. In example 3.13, from clauses 2.19 to 2.25, the speaker uses dependent verb forms, with one exception, the semantically empty incorporated particle *imaappoq*; and the final clause in this group of clauses, identified as a group by intonation, is indicative; it can be said to be a chain. From clauses 27 to 31, the speaker repeats, almost clause for clause, the previous chain. Clauses 32 to 35 make up the next clause chain and they involve both temporal and thematic changes from the previous chain. Each chain is determined not only by intonational means or verb mood, but by use of the temporal particle *taamani* only once per chain, by the indication of aspect once in each chain (although aspect is not necessarily marked on the independent verb mood in West Greenlandic), by theme or topic continuity, and so forth, as discussed in section 3.2.3. This is rather different in coranking structures, where two conjoined (and somewhat independent) clauses may each be marked for the features described above. This is not to suggest that coranking structures cannot be thematic paragraphs, or that they cannot share coherence features; Givón (1990:865) observes that complement clauses in equi-subject or object constructions tend to be less marked for tense or aspect, for example. It does, however, suggest that clause-chains are more likely to share coherence features based on paragraph-level considerations.

All of the features of thematic coherence described above (and largely taken from Givón, 1990) are true, if they are true, for all languages, whether they are clause-chaining or whether they form coranking sentences as described above. Furthermore, languages

⁵One of the clues to thematic unity is the particular linear organization of speech, involving the adjacency or lack thereof between mentions of a same theme or topic. The speaker's return to an old theme or the change of an old theme to fit a new purpose are signals for the level of importance or level of paragraph structure in a text.

can have either or both types of sentence formation structure, although most seem to prefer one or the other. Presumably, both coranking and clause-chaining sentences can be considered thematic paragraphs in context; and in oral discourse, sentences can probably not be shown to be as clearly bounded (i.e. to have closure) as modern syntactic theories lead one to believe. In West Greenlandic, certainly, I find less closure than has commonly been assumed; final clauses are often 'medial' in structure, or in other words, they are dependent clauses. However, it has been noted (chiefly by Longacre 1985, Grimes 1975, etc.) that clause-chains in a clause-chaining language are often roughly the same length as paragraphs in languages which are described in terms of coranking sentences. A single clause-chain is a thematic paragraph and is linked by topic continuity; the same is generally (but not necessarily) said of more than one coranking sentence. Based on these considerations, it is plausible to suggest that languages with clause-chaining structure rely on discourse roles for reference marking within a chain. With respect to switch-reference, rather than subject continuity within a sentence, we can speak of topic-continuity within a thematic paragraph. Furthermore, the fact that switch-reference is so often identified as a system for marking same or different subjects may be attributable to the tendency for topic and subject to coincide in clause-chains, especially given the preference for intransitive structures, as discussed above. This is evident in the following example from text 4 of my West Greenlandic data. The topic is 'Greenland seals'; all clauses are intransitive and all subjects are identical with the topic (with the exception of clause 83, which is the start of the chain in which 'Greenland seals' is introduced as a topic):

- 3.35 4.83 piniagassat saqqummeriartortarput_ '
the hunting animals used to come out more and more
- 4.84 allatuulli_ ' taava aataarpassuit_
and young Greenland seals and lots of Greenland seals
- Newfoundlandip avataaninngaanniit_ ' nunatsinnut tikerallaraangamik_ '
arrived continually from the Newfoundland coast to our land
- 4.85 sineriapput_ kangerluillu_pulaararlugit

visiting our coasts and the fjords for a while

- 4.86 aataarpassuannngortarput_/
there used to be lots of Greenland seals

In languages with ergative marking, therefore, ergativity can be said to reflect the fact that topic, rather than subject or object, is the cohesive link in the paragraph. Where languages do not have ergative marking, it would be interesting to see if switch reference is specifically not switch-topic. As ergative and switch-reference marking are both forms of agreement marking, it is reasonable to suppose, in fact to expect, that if topic is grammaticalized as the relevant determiner of agreement for one system, such as ergativity, it is also the relevant determiner for the other.

I do not suggest that all clause-chaining languages must have topic agreement systems. Rather, I suggest that different languages grammaticalize categories with respect to different levels, and that discourse should be considered one of those levels. If discourse is grammaticalized, then one can expect discourse roles to be relevant categories, and not just in one aspect of the grammar, but throughout. Thus, just as there are languages which seem to be adequately described with reference to syntactic roles, and others with reference to semantic roles, one can expect still others to be effectively described with reference to discourse roles. In the following chapters, I will suggest that discourse roles are the relevant categories in West Greenlandic.

4. Ergativity as a Reflection of Topic Status

4.1 A description of ergativity and ergative characteristics in West Greenlandic

Although ergative characteristics of West Greenlandic were presented in chapter 2 section 2.5.3, a short description of ergativity in the language is repeated below in more concentrated form, for the purposes of the discussion to follow. Ergative morphology in West Greenlandic is both nominal and verbal. I note in passing that both nominal and verbal ergative marking are similar or identical to that used to mark possession in West Greenlandic. In chapter 1 section 1.2 I discussed some of the work that concerns this issue. Nominally, the subjects of intransitive clauses and the objects of transitive clauses with transitive verbal morphology are morphologically unmarked and are said to be in the absolutive case. The subjects of transitive clauses with transitive verbal morphology receive relative case endings and are said to be in the ergative case. The subjects of intransitively inflected verbs with transitive semantics are absolutive; the objects of such verbs receive instrumental case endings; such nominals are variously called accusatives or demoted objects of antipassive constructions. There are good reasons to prefer the latter interpretation, which I explain below. There are therefore three distinct active constructions to be distinguished: intransitive clauses, ergative clauses, and antipassive clauses:

4.1 intransitive

Arnaq sinippoq
 arnaq-0 sinik-voq
 woman-abs sleep-3sg.I
 the woman is sleeping

4.2 ergative

Angutip arnaq takuvaa
 angut-ip arnaq-0 taku-vaa
 man-rel woman-abs see-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the man sees the woman

4.3 antipassive

Angut arnamik takuvoq
 angut-0 arnaq-mik taku-voq
 man-abs woman-inst see-3sg.I
 the man sees a woman

The above examples also demonstrate subject/object agreement in the verbal inflectional morphology. Intransitive clauses and antipassive clauses have subject agreement only; transitive ergative clauses have both subject and object agreement. In addition, the contemporative mood differs in having only object agreement in its transitive ergative clauses.

The lack of object agreement on verbs of the third type listed above (the antipassive) has been used as evidence for the interpretation within Relational Grammar of these structures as antipassives rather than transitives and of the instrumentally marked nominals as demoted objects rather than accusatives. There are more compelling reasons to prefer such an analysis. Johnson (1980:14-15), for example, shows that whereas transitive structures can be passivized, antipassives cannot (the following examples, from Johnson, are in Inuktitut):

4.4 transitive:

Maaliup Piita nagligivaa
 Maali-up Piita-0 nagligi-vaa
 Molly-rel Peter-abs love-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 Molly loves Peter

4.5 passive:

Piita Maalimut nagligijauvuq
 Piita-0 Maali-mut nagligi-jau-vuq
 Peter-abs Molly-term love-pas-3sg.I
 Peter is loved by Molly

4.6 antipassive:

Maali Piitamik nagligusukpuq
 Maali-0 Piita-mik nagligusuk-puq
 Molly-abs Peter-inst love.intrans-3sg.I
 Molly loves Peter

4.7 *passive of antipassive:

*Piita Maalimut nagligusuktauvuq
 Piita-0 Maali-mut nagligusuk-jau-vuq
 Peter-0 Molly-term love.intrans-pas-3sg.I
 *Peter is loved by Molly

They also cannot have a dative variant, as opposed to transitive structures (Johnson

1980:16-17. Inuktitut examples):

4.8 transitive:

angutiup titiraut nutararmut tunivaa
 angut-up titiraut-0 nutaraq-mut tuni-vaa
 man-rel pencil-abs child-term give-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the man gave a/the pencil to the child

4.9 dative:

angutiup titirautimik nutaraq tunivaa
 angut-up titiraut-mik nutaraq-0 tuni-vaa
 man-rel pencil-inst child-abs give-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the man gave the child a/the pencil

4.10 passive based on dative (there is also a passive based on transitive which has not undergone dative movement, so to speak, but it is not necessary to repeat here: see example 4.5 above):

angutimit titirautimik nutaraq tunijauvuq
 angut-mit titiraut-mik nutaraq-0 tuni-jau-vuq
 man-abl pencil-inst child-abs give-pas-3sg.I
 the child was given a pencil by the man

4.11 antipassive:

angut titirautimik nutararmut tunisivuq
 angut-0 titiraut-mik nutaraq-mut tuni-si-vuq
 man-abs pencil-inst child-term give-intrans-3sg.I
 the man gave the child a pencil

4.12 *antipassive based on dative:

*angut titirautimik nutararmik tunisivuq
 angut-0 titiraut-mik nutaraq-mik tuni-si-vuq
 man-abs pencil-inst child-inst give-intrans-3sg.I
 *the man gave the child a pencil

Thus, despite arguments by Kalmár (1979b) and even more recently by Nowak (1993), that oblique nominals of antipassive structures are still objects, these obliques are best seen as demoted objects. In the following discussion, therefore, I assume a relational approach, and use the term antipassive rather than accusative to explain the structures in question.

As these examples have also shown, ergativity in West Greenlandic is not to be equated with passivity. In addition to an antipassive construction, there are a number of passive constructions with various degrees of passive meaning (see Fortescue 1984:265-266 for a more complete description). Two derivational morphemes in particular are

identified specifically with passive semantics and are exemplified in the sentences below (from Fortescue 1984:265-266, spelling changed to reflect contemporary Greenlandic orthography):

4.13 dynamic passive: passive perfective morpheme *-neqaq-*:

nanoq inunnit takuneqarpoq
 nanoq-0 inuk-nit taku-neqaq-voq
 bear-abs person-pl.abl. see-pas-3sg.I
 the bear was seen by the people

4.14 stative passive: passive participle morpheme *-saq-*:

asasaavoq
 asa-saq-u-voq
 love-pas-cop-3sg.I
 she is loved

One of the recurring theories of the character of ergative languages is that of their passive nature, an identification made on the basis of case marking similarities to passive structures in accusative languages: the object, or patient, is marked as is the subject of not only basic intransitive constructions, but also passive constructions, with obvious syntactic and semantic similarities to the surface subjects of the passives. It should be clear from the above examples that ergativity in Greenlandic is at least morphologically distinct from the passive. Examples 4.4 and 4.5 above also show that the two constructions are semantically distinct, although the importance of the agent may be similarly affected in both.

Under the relational interpretation, West Greenlandic does not appear to be a split-ergative language, although there are some indications of an agency split in the pronominal marking on the transitive verbs, while in the contemporative, objects of transitively-marked contemporative verbs sometimes indicate the subject of an underlying intransitive verb (see chapter 5 section 5.4.4.2.6); the objects are, of course, in the absolutive case. Vaxtin (1976), in an article describing splits in the person and mood paradigms of Asiatic Eskimo verbs, finds what appears to be an interesting distributional difference between nominal and verbal ergative marking. He finds that first and second person pronominal inflection on verbs, at least in the independent moods, reflects an

ergative case-marking pattern, whereas third person for the most part reflects a nominative pattern. At the same time, he notes that first and second person independent pronouns have only one case form for both the absolutive and relative functions. In other words, nominal and verbal ergative marking seem to be in complementary distribution. Fortescue (1995), in a discussion of the development of ergativity in Eskimo, makes some further observations: the indicative 3rd person object has a clearly ergative pattern; the first and second person objects in both subordinate and independent moods have an ergative pattern by paradigmatic extension; but the third person object of subordinate moods has an accusative pattern. This kind of split is not analogous to splits based on a nominal hierarchy, according to Trask (1976:399), although Fortescue's findings do fit the Silverstein hierarchy (see below for further discussion of this).

It is commonly recognized that West Greenlandic is a morphologically rather than syntactically ergative language, although there are a number of West Greenlandic inflectional features that regularly disambiguate nominals in complex structures. For example, although clauses can be coordinated along the lines of Dixon's famous example 'Father saw mother and returned' (Dixon 1979:63), the clauses would typically consist of an indicative and a subordinate form, with a switch-reference mechanism in the subordinate clause to disambiguate the subject of 'returned' (or of 'saw', depending on which verb is subordinated). In the case of both verbs being independent, this switch-reference mechanism is generally unavailable, and the subjects would be understood to be coreferent. The exception again seems to be in the contemporative mood. Fortescue (1984:131) points out that it is not possible to coordinate two active sentences where the subject of one is the object of the other using the contemporative; this is expected, given that the contemporative signals same subjecthood (although see chapter 5):

- 4.15 Hansi isirpoq Kaalamillu takuneqarluni (Fortescue 1984:131)
 Hansi-0 isir-voq Kaalat-mit-lu taku-neqaq-luni
 Hansi-abs enter-3sg.I Kaalat-abl-and see-pas-3sg.CT
 Hansi came in and was seen by Kaalat

- 4.16 *Hansi isirpoq Kaalallu takullugu/takulluni
 Hansi-0 isir-voq Kaalat-lu taku-lugu/luni
 Hansi-abs enter-3sg.I Kaalat-and see-trans.3sg.obj.CT/3c.sg.obj.CT
 Hansi came in and Kaalat saw him
- 4.17 Hansi isirpoq Kaalallu takuaa
 Hansi-0 isir-voq Kaalat-lu taku-vaa
 Hansi-abs enter-3sg.I Kaalat-and see-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 Hansi came in and Kaalat saw him

Unfortunately, this is contradicted in a number of ways, all listed by Fortescue. Two clauses sharing the same derivational affix on different nominal bases may involve coordination with the contemporative, even though the subjects are not coreferential (Fortescue 1984:134):

- 4.18 Suuvvia ataaniippoq Kaalallu inimiiniilluni
 Suuvvia-0 ataa-niit-voq Kaalat-lu ini-mi-niit-luni
 Suuvvia-abs below-be.at-3sg.I Kaalat.abs-and room-3sg.coref.pos-be.at-3sg.CT
 Suuvvia is downstairs and Kaalat is in her room

Furthermore, transitive contemporatives, marking only the object, may occasionally have objects coreferent with the subject of the superordinate (see Fortescue 1984:148; again, a more detailed discussion of this is found in chapter 5 section 5.4.2.7):

- 4.19 igalaaq urninniarlugu asirorpoq
 igalaaq-0 urniC-niaq-lugu asiror-voq
 window-abs approach-try-trans.3sg.obj.CT break-3sg.I
 'When one tried to approach the window, it broke'

This last example is particularly interesting in that it appears to show syntactic ergativity. Fortescue (1984:148) notes that in most such cases, the superordinate is generally less agentive than the contemporative. Vaxtin (1976:287, example 8) also suggests the existence of some syntactic ergativity in Chaplino Eskimo, but it is unclear whether or not the example given really reflects true syntactic ergativity or whether pronominals indexed in the verb disambiguate the third persons, as mentioned above:

- 4.20 laghanhwa, Ungasimun kanighata, upughataqiangit
 and-so, to Ungasik when-they-come, they-meet-them
 "So, when they_i come to Ungasik, they_j meet them_i"

West Greenlandic has many of the features listed by Trask (1976:385-6) as canonical typological characteristics of ergative languages. It is an SOV language, it is

morphologically ergative, the ergative case is overtly marked, transitive verbs index the object, and it is identical with the relative (possessive, genitive) case. It also has a fully developed passive voice, it is not confined to certain tenses or aspects, and if it has a split based on a nominal hierarchy, it is restricted to the indexing on verbs. Further, it has characteristics both of languages in which ergative structures developed from passives and of those in which the ergative developed from perfectives, although the latter is the more likely to have happened in West Greenlandic. According to Trask (1976:395-7), languages with an ergative system derived from a perfective have the following predictable characteristics: ergativity tends to be superficial, with overt case marking on transitive subjects only and no object indexing on the verb; a tense-aspect based split, with past tense or perfective aspect requiring ergative case structures; a semantic difference between verbs in ergative and accusative structures, such that the former have a perfective and the latter an imperfective meaning; a correlation between ergative and possessive marking; and no verb 'to have'. Theoretically, the historical development of ergativity is tied to that of the perfective. The perfective is a nominalized deverbal form with stative semantics. Stative forms are said to lack an agent (e.g. *he fell*; *the vase broke*) and are therefore formally analogous to the ergative. In predicate constructions, the nominal most closely connected to the perfective, namely either the subject of an intransitive or the object of a transitive, is unmarked. The agent is marked overtly in some oblique case; in the nominalized form, this is often done by means of a possessive construction. The ergative would then be the result of a reinterpretation of the perfective as a part of the inflectional verbal system, and its formal identity with the possessive construction is explained; Trask further correlates this with the lack of the verb 'to have', itself marking possessive relationship. West Greenlandic fits this pattern in several important ways, but not exclusively. It lacks an independent verb 'to have', having only the morphologically bound affixes *-qaq-* and *-gi-*; as mentioned above, it has an ergative construction which is formally identical with the possessive construction; and although it

does not have a tense-aspect split, it does show some semantic differences between the ergative and the antipassive constructions. As an example of the latter, *tusaa-* (intransitive) in Inuktitut is glossed as 'hear (a continuous sound)' by Mallon (1990:1.24), whereas *tusaq-* is glossed as 'hear a short burst of sound' (Mallon 1990:2.147; the glosses are not so dramatically different in the Greenlandic dictionary *Oqaatsit*). The latter, however, seems to be a stem capable of taking both transitive and intransitive inflection. Whether or not this difference is general across the Inuit dialects, or even across transitive and intransitive verbs within one dialect, is beyond the scope of this discussion. There exists another type of semantic distinction associated with the ergative which will be addressed more below.

Ergativity in West Greenlandic, however, does not seem to be as superficial as Trask suggests of languages with perfective-derived ergativity. As was discussed above, West Greenlandic transitive verbs are typically marked for both subject and object agreement, and the inflectional paradigm is relatively complete across most moods and all persons. Some small evidence of syntactic ergativity was presented. Further, noun incorporation is a highly productive process in all the Inuit dialects, including of course West Greenlandic, a characteristic Trask associates with languages with passive-derived ergative systems (1976:389). Finally, there is no tense-aspect split. With the exception of a split in the nominal hierarchy, which West Greenlandic has to a limited extent, all these features are characteristic instead of passive-derived ergativity. For such cases, Trask has suggested a later extension of the original ergative system.

The historical development of ergativity in Eskimo from the passive participle is acknowledged in the work of a number of scholars of the Inuit dialects, whether implicitly or not. Dorais (1988), Mallon (1974, 1990), and Kalmár (1979a) all at various times gloss transitive verbs as combinations of passive participles and possessive suffixes, as in the following:

4.21 *takuvara*
 takuvaq-ga
 seen.thing-1sg.pos
 my seen thing

Fortescue (1995) also states that the Inuit ergative comes from a passive participle third person object form in the indicative, which was then extended throughout the rest of the paradigm. Morphologically, this is still relatively transparent today. Fortescue seems to prefer an identification with languages that Trask associates with passive-based ergativity.

Whatever its origin, however, ergativity in Greenlandic is more than superficial, and as mentioned above, it does not have passive semantics.

4.2 The treatment of ergativity in modern syntactic theories of Greenlandic

Such is the status of ergativity in West Greenlandic, grammatically, typologically, and historically. Functionally, a number of theories have been proposed to explain the use and distribution of ergative clauses in Inuit narratives. Formal syntactic theories applied to the study of the Inuit dialects have met with varying degrees of success. Early modern syntactic descriptions were based on Transformational Grammar and its offshoots (including Government and Binding theory, and Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar), with grammatical relations being structurally defined according to a constituent hierarchy. Subjects and objects were purely structural entities, with the subject being the outside argument of the verb and the object being the dependent argument. This early work, salient examples of which include Mallon's (1974, 1990) descriptions of Inuktitut, failed to account for the existence of both ergative and antipassive patterns of sentence formation in Eskimo, nor were case assignment, incorporation, and the results of a highly polysynthetic morphology adequately accounted for. Recently, Bok-Bennema (1991) has specifically addressed the problem of ergativity in Inuktitut from within the framework of Government and Binding Theory, especially with respect to case assignment. Her discussion revolves around the ability of transitive verbs in ergative languages to assign

case, in which she proposes to treat ergative case as genitive, and to allow transitive clauses to assign nominative and genitive cases, intransitives to assign nominative, and antipassives to assign accusative case¹. The real difference between the transitive and antipassive clauses is attributed to S-structure and the particular case-assigning abilities of verbs. The proposed theory is explained in great detail, but it is essentially descriptive in nature, leaving the ultimate explanation of ergativity to ad hoc specifications in the lexicon.

A recent offshoot of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Autolexical Syntax, has been developed by Sadock (1991) specifically for the study of West Greenlandic (although with the hope that it will be applicable universally). A three-tiered grammatical system is proposed, involving the separation of syntax, morphology, and semantics (or logical form). Each of these three faces, as they are called, affects the final structure of a sentence. Each is autonomous; in no way is one to be seen as hierarchically related to another. This means, however, that a well-formed, grammatical sentence must fulfill the requirements, whatever they be, of each of these three faces, requirements which may or may not conflict with those of another face. In their interaction, therefore, one may sometimes see what are called mismatches, or non-alignment between the requirements of one and the requirements of another face. For example, in Greenlandic, noun incorporation results not only in the incorporation of a noun into the verb, but in the stranding of a noun's modifiers; this leads to a structure in which morphologically, the modifier's head is part of the verb but in which syntactically, the incorporated noun is still independent. The theory is discussed primarily with respect to cliticization and incorporation, although some examples of the applicability of this theory to case assignment are given (unfortunately, not with respect to West Greenlandic). Viewing sentence structure as the result of the interaction of more than one level of grammar is

¹Actually, antipassives in West Greenlandic require that the demoted object be marked with instrumental case; but Bok-Bennema considers the deep-level differences between accusative and instrumental functions in her discussion of case.

interesting, and reminiscent of Halliday's (1967a, b; 1968) functional approach; but Sadock (1991) approaches the study of language from a modular rather than functional point of view, built on rather arbitrary constraints, and it is not clear how to incorporate discourse considerations into his theory. It is still relatively unclear how adequately the theory deals with ergativity and accusativity (or with verb moods, for that matter), and neither case system plays a substantial part in his theoretical presentation. Sadock has, consequently, not addressed the coexistence of ergative and antipassive structures in West Greenlandic (or passives, for that matter, which are of considerable importance in Bok-Bennema's 1991 presentation). I therefore will not discuss autolexical syntax further.

Much recent work on Greenlandic and other Inuit dialects has been either descriptive or typological in nature; and the tendency among typologists has been to favor Relational Grammar over Chomskian syntactic theories. In Relational Grammar, arguments of the verb are treated as hierarchically ranked primitives and are associated with semantic roles. Case is a reflection of the relationship of the arguments to the verb. Thus, an ergative structure consists of a subject and direct object in direct relationship with the verb, and an antipassive structure of a subject in direct relationship with the verb but a direct object demoted to peripheral object status, as reflected by the instrumental case assigned to the antipassive object. In an early article on Greenlandic Eskimo and ergativity, Woodbury (1977) discusses ergative and antipassive structures in Greenlandic according to early Relational Grammar theory, albeit with some aspects of Transformational Grammar mixed in. Ergativity is treated as a largely morphological phenomenon, and he derives that all clauses must contain an absolutive argument. This leads him to conclude (Woodbury 1977:328) that the laws which apply to subjects apply to absolutives, and those which apply to direct objects apply to ergatives. This brings up one of the most obviously problematic issues in connection with ergativity, namely the definition of subject and direct object. I discuss this at length below; but in connection with the above mentioned article, later studies of ergativity within Relational Grammar

have not equated case and argument status, and ergativity is seen as a secondary, derived function, as opposed to subjecthood. More objectionable to some researchers has been the theoretical equation of antipassives with intransitive structures. Kalmár in particular has written a number of articles (e.g. 1979b) in response to this, in which he attempts to show not only the transitive nature of the antipassive clause, but the equally basic nature of both ergative and antipassive clauses. The latter is in response to features of both transformationally based theories and Relational Grammar, in which a clause type is seen as basic and others as derived from the basic clause; in most cases, the transitive clause is taken to be the basic structure.

Kalmár's (1979a,b, 1982) work represents a third major school of structural study of the Inuit dialects, distinguished by the attempt to explain syntactic structures from a functional, discourse-based perspective, much of which seems to originate in the work of Menovshchikov. Menovshchikov (1969) explains the ergative, absolute (antipassive), and passive structures in Eskimo-Aleut (with particular reference to Asiatic Eskimo) as a reflection of 'logical accent', by which he can be assumed to mean focus or topic. The logical accent of an ergative clause is its object, that of an absolute its subject, and the passive its surface subject but actual object (he writes in terms of 'real' vs. 'actual' arguments). An added complication is the possibility of having the logical accent on the verb, which Menovshchikov understands to be the case with detransitivized verbs (so-called half-transitives). He does not appear to offer any clear statement justifying these identifications, other than the instance of transitive or intransitive inflection on the verb. The real issue, apparently, is the type of inflection a verb receives, not case-marking, which is not distinctive (i.e. there is no 'ergative' case per se, as one and the same case, the relative, is used for possession and ergative marking). Menovshchikov's (1969) theory is in some respects remarkable and similar to what I will propose below.²

²Kalmár (1979a:72) mentions the unpublished work of J.-P. Paillet, in which Paillet identifies sentence structure with topic status. A topic which is the sentential agent has an intransitive, accusative structure; a topic which is the sentential patient has an ergative structure if previously unknown or a passive structure if previously known. Kalmár laments the fact that Paillet did not define his terminology, but essentially, the

Functional interpretations of the ergative did not begin with these two, however. Very early in the study of Greenlandic, scholars had identified the ergative structure with definiteness of the direct object, and the antipassive with indefiniteness thereof; both Egede and Kleinschmidt (1851:85; see also Kalmár 1979a:68) make this connection. Kalmár (1979a,b), Fortescue (1984), and others note, however, that this identification is not an adequate description of the distribution of ergative and antipassive structures in Greenlandic or in any of the Inuit dialects. In a discussion of the antipassive, Kalmár (1979b) suggests that the distinction is one of givenness rather than definiteness. In a discussion specifically of case in Inuktitut (1979a), he suggests that case assignment is dependent on a number of interrelated factors, including predication, coreference, and thematic coherence. In brief, the ergative/accusative distinction reflects given/new information and rheme (theme being reflected in passive clauses), assuming Prague School definitions of theme-rheme, which I will discuss more below. Particularly interesting in connection with my proposals below is his identification of the importance of the patient (or direct object) in the determination of case marking, rather than that of agent (or subject). Kalmár raises some important issues, such as the need to accept the existence of the antipassive (accusative in his terminology) clause within the grammatical system of Inuktitut (and by extension, West Greenlandic); or the distributional differences in instances of the ergative or antipassive (e.g. in elicited materials, see Kalmár, 1979b). Some of his interpretations, however, cannot be accepted, in the same way that he does not accept interpretations of the antipassive as an intransitive clause within the framework of Relational Grammar. For example, the structural identity between patient and agent in some cases (specifically between antipassive and reflexive structures) leads him to conclude that a one argument clause in Inuktitut cannot be said to be active or passive, since the distinction agent/patient is neutralized.

relevant features in the determination of clause structure are topichood and givenness. Not having access to this paper, I cannot comment on it further; however, although some features of Paillet's theory are close to what I propose below, there are some irreconcilable differences.

Relatively little has been done on discourse in the Inuit languages, save for a few comments in passing within articles on syntactic phenomena. Fortescue (1991), for example, suggests the possibility (probability?) of "psychological subject" (i.e. topic) as the controlling factor in West Greenlandic switch-reference (see chapter 5 sections 5.3 and 5.4); Per Langgrd (personal communication) suggests that the focus or topic of ergative clauses is the object, and that of antipassives and intransitives is the subject. Nothing systematic has been done with such suggestions, however. In the following sections, therefore, and based on these suggestions and primarily on my data, I present my proposed explanation of the issues involved in the distribution and function of the ergative and antipassive clauses.

4.3 Subjecthood, Agency, Topic

Ergativity and accusativity are generally defined by and related to case-marking and to syntactic or semantic roles of verbal arguments. The nominal arguments of a verb can, in fact, be described at several different levels of structure, each of which involves different terminology. Grammatical relationships are indicated by the terms 'subject' and 'object'; semantic relationships by 'agent' and 'patient'; and pragmatic relationships by such concepts as 'given/new', 'topic/comment', or 'theme/rheme'. The identification of core elements representing such relationships has been a major focus of attention in typological discussions of case and grammatical structure; at the heart of these discussions is the question of what can be considered a structural primitive. Grammatically (syntactically), subjects and objects are primitives, both traditionally (at least subjects) and within some syntactic theories, such as Relational Grammar. The discovery, by Western linguists, of ergative languages caused some problems in the identification of subjects, and the ergative was often interpreted as a passive-like structure. In an attempt to define the term 'subject', until then often left undefined as an intuitively obvious concept, Keenan (1976) noted that what were identified as subjects tended to have a cluster of features, many of which were semantic in nature. For

example, subjects tended to be agents of an action. This characterization of subjecthood has generally served as the point of reference for subsequent discussions of subjecthood in the literature.

Linking the purely grammatical concepts of 'subject' and 'object' with semantic roles is now standard, as I explained in chapter 3; indeed, in Relational Grammar, the semantic role of an initial stratum argument is predictable: an agent (experiencer, etc.) is a subject, a patient is a direct object, and so forth. This is a recognition that not only is the semantic role of a subject different in active and passive sentences (as well as other constructions), but that the same semantic role can be realized as a subject, direct object, or other object. Further, there are strong cross-linguistic tendencies for subjects to be associated with agents, direct objects with patients, and so forth. Languages may differ in the degree of distinction made within semantic roles; for example, some languages distinguish agents with respect to degree of control, volition, animacy, etc.; nevertheless, the general concept of semantic roles appears to be important in a great many languages.

A number of attempts have been made to explain tendencies in discourse by means of semantic roles, based on cross-linguistic tendencies of the sort just noted. In particular, Silverstein (1976) proposed a theory of hierarchical features to account for some types of split ergativity. Noting a systematic distribution of ergative case-marking across a number of languages, he suggested an animacy hierarchy, such that in a split-ergative language, ergative marking is more likely to be associated with noun phrases lower on the hierarchy, namely third person and common nouns, than with elements higher on the hierarchy, such as first or second person pronouns. This animacy hierarchy is explained by the 'naturalness' or 'markedness' of a noun phrase in its function as an agent of a transitive verb. Thus, the use of an ergative or an accusative structure in a split-ergative language tends to depend on the status of a subject or agent on the animacy hierarchy with respect to an object or patient.

One of the methods of accounting for tendencies such as those described by Silverstein has been to redefine the entities taken to be primitives. In Relational Grammar, grammatical relations, including subjects and objects, are assumed to be undefined primitives (Blake 1990:1). Dixon (1991:113, see also Dixon 1979 and Comrie 1981) takes subjects of intransitive clauses (henceforth S), subjects of transitive clauses (A), and objects (O) to be universal core categories of nominal arguments, and suggests that syntactic rules in every grammar are framed around them. At a further level, S and A may be grouped together as 'subject' and considered important to the grammar of some but not necessarily all, languages. At another level, S and O may be grouped together as a natural category reflecting information flow in discourse, and especially in terms of the opposition given/new (Dixon 1994, Du Bois 1987).

If such an assumption can be made, then it is perhaps a small step to propose a further level, in which noun phrases with prominence in connected text are grouped together as 'topic'. In fact, Dixon (1972) makes extensive reference to topic chains and topicality in reference to Dyirbal, and particularly with reference to ergative structures, in which he tries to show how topic is reflected in connected text. He identifies (1972:67) any noun phrase with absolutive (or nominative, in his terminology) case as a topic, although he does not define the term itself; this use of the term topic is what he refers to in later writings as pivot (1979, 1994). A noun phrase which has the same referent and which is the topic in two or more consecutive sentences is called a 'common topic'; the sequence of sentences with a common topic is called a 'topic chain'. Dixon (1972:65-66) further notes an interesting difference in emphasis between ergative and antipassive constructions, such that in the former, the object is the topic and the actor (A) implicates the goal in the event, and in the latter, the actor, goal, and action (S and verb) make up the event. He suggests the difference is one of topic. Dixon (1972:72) provides a number of examples in which he explains the motivation for identifying a topic in a stretch of text

and for claiming that a topic has shifted, been elaborated, or been taken up again.³ His stated theory is quite close to what I have been proposing, the analyses of his Dyirbal texts (1972:368-397) seem to support my analyses of West Greenlandic, and the distribution of ergative and antipassive structures in Dyirbal seems to mirror that of West Greenlandic. He nevertheless remains within the traditional interpretive framework and does not seem to allow for the possibility of a non-animate topic, nor does he allow more than one topic within a topic chain. These are points which become relevant in the analysis which he provides for the texts. The texts for the most part show consistency with the identification of absolutively-marked noun phrases with topic; but Dixon himself is sometimes inconsistent in this identification. For example, in text 1, line 6 (1972:370) there is an absolutive object 'heart' which he does not identify as a topic; in fact, Dixon never identifies 'heart' as a topic in this text, where topics include 'man', 'woman', 'sisters', and 'child'. Dixon does not seem to know what to do with stray nominals, especially where they have been topics in previous stretches of text or where they are non-agentive. Again, he seems to make an implicit equation with animacy and topicality. In some topic chains, he identifies what we might call the global topic as the common topic, despite its occurrence as the A of ergative constructions and contrary to his observations about the topic of ergative constructions. He therefore places topic continuity ahead of topic ranking in the determination of topicality. For example, in a chain of two sentences both of which are ergative, with 'child' as A and two different O's, he identifies the topic as 'child' and suggests the O's have in some way elaborated the topic:

³He identifies, for example, a particle which is used consistently at thematic boundaries and which seems to signal topic shift. Although it is beyond the direct scope of this work, I have noted the same general tendencies in West Greenlandic (as has Schiffrin 1987 for English). The charts in the appendices include columns for the occurrences of particles in my texts; in addition to indicating paragraph levels and structure, they also often indicate topic shifts, elaborations, and so forth.

- 4.22 'He [the child] drank from the heart without pausing for breath. As a result he [the child] vomited a lot; he vomited up breastmilk' (1972:375)

'child' is A, 'heart' and 'breastmilk' are O's

(Longacre (1996) might say these are sentences in a paragraph which reflects contrast. At any rate, if one holds that absolutive nominals are topics, then one must say that the emphasis in the above sentences is on what the child drank and vomited, i.e. the [blood from] the heart and the breastmilk.) Thus, Dixon notes some tendencies in Dyirbal and explains them as best as possible within a semantic framework. These are very similar to what I have found in West Greenlandic. The difference seems to be that Dixon does not see 'topic' as a category, like subject, which influences the structure of clauses, but rather as a category which more loosely reflects information flow. In his later work (1994), he sees absolutive as a category which tends to reflect new information if new information is being introduced, but not exclusively: whereas, as I noted above, syntactic grouping resulting from coordination, reflexivization, and so forth, which is based on absolutive marking rather than subject function in a language is described by another term, 'pivot' (Dixon 1979; 1994:168). This already suggests a different form or level of categorization of absolutive nominals, having more to do with clause combination within a sentence than with discourse.

It is interesting to note a certain ambiguity in the characterization of the absolutely-marked noun phrase as both the bearer of new information and as the topic. As I noted above, Dixon emphasizes continuity as a means of identifying topic, and generally finds that absolutive objects of transitive constructions are topics; but this clearly conflicts with a view of the absolutive case as a means for introducing new information. Presumably, a newly-introduced entity may have some topicality status, but it is not considered topical compared with the ergative noun phrase if the latter is continued from previous discourse. In his later work, Dixon gets around this conflict by modifying his concept of topicality, such that topics tend to be subjects (about which more below). I take the opposite approach, and assume that this conflict arises because.

as I have mentioned before, not all absolutes introduce new entities, and the explanation of the use of the absolute case as the means by which new participants are introduced into the discourse is inadequate.

The distinction between given and new information as a method of discussing the nature of information flow is evident in the work of a great many typologists; it seems to be especially popular in the interpretation of ergativity. Du Bois sees the distinction between given and new information as 'more fundamental than, and in some sense prior to, the decision between morphological expressions' (1987:830). His analysis of the distribution of lexical subjects and objects is given in terms of givenness; for example, he notes the tendency of new participants to be introduced through noun phrases in the absolute (i.e. S and O). Further, in his analysis of Sacapultec texts, he found tendencies to have not more than one lexical argument per clause and not more than one new argument per clause, as well as tendencies for A to avoid being lexical or new. He suggests, again based on theories of givenness, that if two or more new arguments are never introduced at the same time in the same clause, there is less likelihood of needing two lexical arguments in the same clause. His emphasis on the importance of givenness as a concept in the explanation of ergativity has been reflected by, or is paralleled by, Dixon (1994), as discussed above; both scholars are considered influential in the field.

Du Bois (1987) and others who have addressed ergativity as a discourse-level phenomenon raise a number of very interesting points in connection with pragmatic roles which are relevant to my proposal. Du Bois (1987:816) notes that it is easier to decide if a nominal referent is new or not, or whether there are one or two new entities in a clause than if a verb and its modifiers represent one, two, or more pieces of new information. In addition, he notes that the concept of given or new information is largely confined to the direct arguments of the verb, and that verbally or obliquely introduced information is not taken into account. In both these respects, he acknowledges the difficulty of analyzing information introduced in verbal entities, as theme (according to my definition, see

chapter 3 section 3.2.3). He also opens himself to criticism (and this criticism applies to others as well): since so much information is introduced in verbal constructions or oblique arguments, one must ask how important the concept of givenness is if it is studied strictly in terms of the direct verbal arguments. Perhaps the most obvious effect of givenness is in the full lexical realization of a nominal entity; but beyond this, does givenness relate to other grammatical features, such as ergativity? I argue that there are no correlations between givenness as it is currently understood in the literature and such features as ergativity. Rather, it is the difference in kind of new information, or in other words, in the intended topicality of the noun phrase, that must be considered important.

Du Bois (1987) does write about topicality and topic continuity. He assumes nominals higher on the animacy hierarchy are more topical than those lower on the hierarchy, noting that intransitive subjects and transitive subjects tend to behave similarly especially with respect to human referents. Further, human referents tend to be more continuous in stretches of discourse than other referents. In effect, he equates agent with topic (and it is this equation which allows him to argue against Mallinson and Blake's (1981) analysis of topic in ergative languages, about which more below. On the other hand, Mallinson and Blake, (1981:86 and 90), suggest that the agency hierarchy is really a topicality hierarchy, in which case the equation may not be so far-fetched as I make it out to be). Again, I will argue that topics are not agents, nor are topics automatically relatable to the animacy hierarchy. Topichood depends on the speaker's signal of the prominence of a participant in the discourse; it is a feature of discourse and connected text, not of the clause. Topics can be identified within a single clause, but the relative importance of topics within a clause can only be determined through the text. Therefore, although human referents, and especially first and second person, tend to be recurring verbal arguments in connected texts, they are not automatically the topic with prominence. Their treatment will depend on what features are grammaticalized in a language, and at what level. In a language in which animacy is truly a grammaticalized

feature, then one can expect grammatical structures to be modified depending on the status of the subject or object argument: a clause with a subject lower on the hierarchy than the object may require passive treatment, etc. Where topichood is grammaticalized, as I hope to argue is the case in West Greenlandic, the identification of agent and topic, or human referent and topic, etc. is irrelevant; instead, what is relevant is the identification of topical prominence.

Dixon (1991:211-213) writes that the theme or topic of a clause tends to be the noun phrase with an underlying S/A alignment or function, or in other words, the subject, partly because it tends to be associated with control. The most likely themes are therefore higher on the animacy hierarchy and more prototypically agent-like. In languages with an S/O alignment, or pivot, an antipassive structure is needed because the theme is likely to be an S in one clause and an A in the next. (Dixon, incidentally, finds that antipassives are almost never used at the beginning of discourse; rather, they continue it. Kalmár, 1979b, claims the opposite.) In languages with split ergativity, he finds that clauses which involve the development of a theme are likely to have accusative grammar, while clauses which provide background information, such as setting or minor participants, are ergative. Furthermore, the introduction of a new participant, which typically links S and O structures, is a feature of intra-clausal grammar, whereas the continuation of a discourse theme, in S or A function as described above, is one of inter-clausal grammar. Accusativity therefore marks thematic continuity, whereas ergativity marks the introduction of new material.

I find Dixon's (1991) conclusions problematic for the following reasons, and hope to show that a quite different interpretation is likely. First, as mentioned above, the identification of ergativity with the introduction of new material ignores the fact that not all ergative structures involve new material; a stated tendency therefore misses a generality (i.e. that absolutive objects are topical). Second, the identification of topic (theme) with agency, even if only a tendency, is not only unnecessary but misleading,

since agency is determined within the clause. As a result of a dependency on the animacy hierarchy to discuss the tendency of topics to be agents, Dixon associates accusativity with discourse structure and ergativity with the demands of intra-clausal thematic development. I find quite the opposite, at least with respect to ergativity (not having a split in West Greenlandic of the type Dixon 1991 is describing, I cannot comment on thematic continuity as reflected by the use of accusative structures): that ergative structures in my texts reflect topical continuity, and in most cases, the absolutive object is not new information, whereas the antipassive object appears to reflect indefinite and new information. Thus, identifying accusative structures with thematic continuity misses the point that ergative structures also reflect thematic continuity, albeit in a different way (i.e. continuity is not reflected through the subject). In fact, as argued above, the grammatical relation 'subject' is one which belongs to the clause: it is the confusion of a syntactic notion with a discourse notion ('theme') that leads Dixon to his conclusion. Both Du Bois (1987) and Dixon (1991) seem to be influenced by Praguean views of theme, although their determination of givenness is not based on word order, but on grammatical hierarchies.⁴

In another study of ergativity and grammatical relations, Bechert (1976:53) attempts to incorporate discourse-level considerations by discussing noun phrases as carriers of discourse categories such as topic, comment, focus, and presuppositions. Although he also does not budge from the idea that subjects are agents and topics, and objects are patients and comments, he admits the possibility of a realignment to patient-topic and agent-comment (1976:57). It is this aspect of his study which is particularly

⁴With respect to the assignment of values to elements of a clause based on word order, I also question the usefulness of this device in cross-linguistic studies. In languages such as West Greenlandic, with both incorporation and inflectional pronouns, the first element of a clause is as often as not an oblique nominal, temporal adverb, discourse particle, etc. Kálmár, (1979a) also accepts the notion of theme/rheme, but he specifies that exceptions must be made for pronominals on the verb in clauses with no overt nominals. Is it therefore useful to talk of a pragmatic structural device for which exceptions must be made in the majority of cases, namely clauses with no overt lexical arguments of the verb? This is not to suggest that word order within clauses has no discourse significance; rather, it is the pairing of theme/rheme to fixed order which is unconvincing.

relevant (and not his conclusion, which has to do with the identification of ergative languages as ones with agent rather than subject agreement). This suggestion offers support to several proposals made by Mallinson and Blake (1981:99-114) concerning topicality in accusative and ergative languages. Unfortunately, Mallinson and Blake do not actually define their use of the term 'topic', but they occasionally suggest that it is related to the concept of semantic prominence, or to 'what the clause is about' (1981:107), and they allow for degrees of topicality within a clause, as well as for the possibility of more than one topic per clause (1981:108). Subjects and topics are considered separate concepts, but subjects in accusative languages can be seen as grammaticalized topics, based on similarities between subject position, agreement, and case marking and topicalization strategies (1981:100). Objects are also topical, but secondary to the subject. In ergative languages, however, at least syntactically ergative ones, the absolutive is the locus of the topic (i.e. S/O or patient alignment). They offer a number of supporting arguments, of which two directly reflect the state of the ergative in West Greenlandic: the tendency for first and second persons to be unmarked for ergativity (which is true of the independent pronouns in West Greenlandic) and the tendency for nonspecific patients to be demoted to a peripheral marked case (i.e. the antipassive construction). In an interesting discussion of topicality, they show how topics in both ergative and accusative languages are generally associable with a grammatical category, such as subject or absolutive, but also how in belonging to a larger discourse, it need not be automatically or uniquely identified with either. In accusative languages, the primary topic tends to be associable with subject and the secondary topic with object, although which will be the primary topic of a clause ultimately depends on the surrounding context. In ergative languages, the primary topic is seen as the absolutive and the secondary topic as the ergative. (Further, this explains the incompatibility of theories identifying the ergative construction with the passive, insofar as passive constructions detopicalize the agent, whereas ergative constructions do not). It is this feature of

Mallinson and Blake's (1981) interpretation of the relative importance of topics in a clause that Du Bois (1987:840-841) has missed when he refers to S/A alignment in the continuous treatment of human referents in a text. As noted above, it is not that agents are not topics, but rather that other nominals can be the primary topics. Interestingly enough, where Kalmár (1979a) found evidence that ergativity is related to givenness, Mallinson and Blake (1981) explain it in terms of topicality.

Mallinson and Blake's (1981) and Dixon's (1972) view of topicality and its function in ergative languages come the closest to what I wish to propose for ergativity and accusativity in West Greenlandic.

4.4 The role of topic in the use and distribution of ergative and accusative structures in West Greenlandic

Above, I presented some of the issues concerning the various interpretations of the ergative structure. 'Subject', as a concept, is problematic because a distinct and identifiable morphological category 'subject' is absent in ergative languages. Another way of categorizing nominal entities in a clause using semantic roles seemingly allows the semantic category 'agent' to substitute for 'subject', thereby accounting for the fact that most ergative languages are merely morphologically ergative, and not syntactically so. It does not account for the many discourse-level tendencies noted by typologists and scholars of ergative languages, such as the correlations between ergative and antipassive structures and information flow.

As I have pointed out above, concepts such as 'subject' and 'agent' are essentially clause-level concepts. They are defined with respect to their function or action in the clause. To explain discourse-level phenomena, one must have access to concepts and terminology which are relevant at the level of discourse. Attempts to define such concepts have, I believe, met with limited success because of their dependence on clause-level considerations, such as semantic roles, agency, and strict interpretations of word order. I propose, instead, a notion of topicality rather like that proposed by Mallinson and

- 1a.38 ullut tamaasat atuarfinni ajoqit ilinniartitsisutut sulisarput
every day in the schools the catechists used to work as teachers

In the first case, the noun *atorfik*, 'job', is incorporated; in the second, the intransitive *suli-* 'work' is used. Later in the same text, the speaker expresses the duties of the catechists using transitive constructions:

- 4.24 1a.82 ajoqip atuarfik tamaat tigummivaa
the catechist has the whole school to take care of

- 1a.83 atuartut tamaasa atuartissavai
he has to teach all of the students

The majority of transitive structures are ergative. Where ergative structures are used, I hope to show that the primary topic is the absolutive argument of the clause. Where antipassive structures are used, the instrumentally-marked object is of secondary or peripheral importance in the text.

Any new theory must prove to have some advantage over previous interpretations. Problems in the description of West Greenlandic were briefly discussed above, and include the lack of object marking on the antipassive structures; the lack of subject marking on the transitive contemporatives; the imperfect correlation of ergative structures with given or definite information and antipassives with new or indefinite information; and the typological difficulties in identifying West Greenlandic as a superficially ergative language (based on historical development). If topic is the relevant concept in describing West Greenlandic structures, then some of these problems are resolvable. West Greenlandic verbs can be seen as marking topic, rather than subject/object. The lack of object marking on antipassives is due to the lack of topic status of the object. The lack of subject marking on transitive contemporatives may reflect the importance of the object as the primary topic--in other words, if the transitive construction is going to lack subject or object inflection, one would expect the non-topic inflection to be lacking. The tendency for objects of antipassives to be indefinite or new has to do with the peripheral nature of the object with respect to topicality; peripheral nominals tend not to be repeated in

discourse. The opposite of course is true of the object of an ergative construction, which, being the primary topic, will have been mentioned previously and will therefore tend to be given or definite.

Thus, an explanation based on the assumption of a topic role has descriptive and explanatory value. One question remains, and that is the function of the ergatively marked noun phrase, or agent⁵ of a transitive construction. In my texts, the agent always refers to an entity that is topical; but it is most often a global topic, a topic with general importance across the text but not emphasis. For example, in most cases, the ergative agent refers to the narrator or to a group of people that includes the narrator. Although a text is generally about the narrator, a section of text often emphasizes another entity (see discussion in chapter 3, section 3.2.2). Where an ergative subject may also be a local topic, the section has two or more local topics which potentially change in rank across the text (see section 4.5.4). To summarize, absolutively-marked noun phrases are local topics, or global topics where the two coincide, ergative noun phrases are likely to be global topics, and instrumentally-marked demoted objects of antipassive constructions are nontopics. This allows the case-marking to reflect a natural category, topic, rather than parts of two categories (subject and object for absolutive marking, subject for ergative marking).

How information is signaled as topical is crucial in a theory that purports to assign the value 'topic' to one of several possibilities in a clause. Techniques for introducing a topic are many and varied, and probably have a great deal to do with the speaker's level of expertise in relating events. They include fronting (whether contrastive or not) of the nominal, incorporation, the use of reflective clauses, the use of discourse particles to reflect different levels of paragraph structure, and therefore perhaps different levels of topicality, interactions between theme (the verbal entity of a clause) and topic, and verb

⁵By using the generally accepted term 'agent' here, I do not imply that I necessarily agree with the identification of ergatively-marked noun phrase of a transitive construction and agent. I use the terms here as they are used by Dixon (1979, 1994) and Comrie (1981). I discuss the terms agent, subject, and object more in the following sections.

form. The exact effect of each of these I have not been able to pinpoint. I cannot, therefore, prove conclusively that ergative structure signals the topicality of the object, or that topic and paragraph are more relevant than subject and sentence in West Greenlandic; but many things are explained if this interpretation is accepted. Although some aspects of this evidence are debatable, nevertheless the observable tendencies clearly support the theory advanced here.

4.5 Data

Table 4.1

texts	1a	1b	2	3a	3b	4
# clauses	103	114	113	124	68	98
# ergatives	26	40	30	48	21	27
# antipass	1	6-7	2	3		1

In most cases, slightly less than one third of the clauses in each text are ergative in structure, and in most cases, a negligible number are antipassive.

4.5.1 Clear Examples of Topichood and Transitivity

In the following example, 'catechist' is the global topic of a stretch of text spanning about 70 clauses; here, 'knowledge' is introduced in clause 43 as an oblique nominal and reintroduced with emphasis (fronting) in clause 44, becoming a local topic in the clauses which follow. It is in all cases the object of ergative constructions; it is overtly expressed in clause 45 and pronominally expressed in clause 46. The topic 'catechist' is overtly expressed in clause 43 and clause 47; in the latter, it is the object, it is intonationally emphasized (by fronting), and it marks the end of the small section of text in which 'knowledge' was topical.

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.25	1a.43 {Taakkutuaappullu ajoqit tassa_ and those catechists	catechists	S	intrans
	taamanikkut ilisimasassanik_tiguinnarissanik in those days [who] could spread knowledge	catechists		N

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
1a.44	ilinniartinneqarsimasut Ilinniartissuarmi_ / they had been educated in the Greenlandic Seminary	catechists	S	intrans
1a.45	taakkulu ilinniakkatik, namminerlu aamma_ and this knowledge, their own			
	eqqarsaatersuutisik atorlugit_ using their own philosophy/thought	knowledge catechists	O S	erg
	qaammarsaaneq annertoorujussuaq_ this enormous knowledge	knowledge		
1a.46	sinerissami tamarmi_ingerlatarivaat_ they spread it all over the coast	knowledge catechists	O S	erg
1a.47	{Taamaaattumik ajoqit_maannaanngitsumik_ and therefore, the catechists, who are not without importance			
	qutsavissarai nunatta_ullumikkut our land should thank them today	catechists	O	erg
1a.48	aamma tamakku sulerujussuarsimasut_ / and they worked a lot, those ones	catechists	S	intrans
1a.49	imaannaanngitsorujussuarmik_sulisimasut_' they worked in an important way	catechists	S	intrans
1a.50	kisianni_pitsaviunngitsumik_ pineqartarsimasut_aqutsisuninngaanniit but they have not been well paid by the management	catechists	S	intrans
1a.51	tassa taamani_Grønlands Styrelsep_ that is at that time Greenland Steering			
	tamaasa ingerlatarivai worked with them all	catechists	O	erg
1a.52	provsteqarfik aqutigalugu_ they did this by way of the deanery	catechists	O	erg

Incidentally, clauses 45 and 52 above involve transitive contemporatives, which coindex at most one argument. In traditional interpretations, contemporatives are said to mark subject coreference (see chapter 5); thus, subject coindexing on transitive contemporatives is redundant and therefore absent. If local topics are coindexed, however, then the coindexing pattern on contemporatives can be explained as one that is determined by relative topicality of the argument. In transitive contemporatives, the

object is the local topic. In the examples which follow (for others, see also appendix III), the transitive contemporatives are consistently used where the absolutive object is the topic.

In the following segment from text 2, the topic, 'house', is first mentioned in clause 21; it is overtly mentioned in clauses 21, 22, 23, and 28, and mentioned by means of a deictic pronoun in 27 and 31. There are no other overt noun phrases in this section of text. 'House' is the subject in all but four clauses, clauses 19, 20, 26, and 30; in 26 and 30, it is the topic. Clause 20 is intransitive adverbial clause of time, clauses 19, 26, and 30 are all ergative, and clause 19 is a reflection clause. In other words, the topic, 'house' is continually present in all clauses from 21 to 31, and where it is not the subject, but the object, the clause is ergative; it is a canonical local topic. The subjects of the ergative clauses are first person inflectional pronouns and are not maintained in continuous text. The first person singular tends to be used for reflection clauses and the first person singular or plural for indicating participants within the framework of the recollections.

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.26	2.19 {Eqqaamalluarpara I remember it well			
	2.20 meerallunga_taamanikkut_ I was a child in those days			
	2.21 massakkut amutsiviup <u>akiani</u> now opposite the place that is now the shipyard,			
	ilinniartut_ilinniartut illukuat_ [there was] a former student's house	house		
	2.22 taassuma illup kangia tungaani_ to the east of that house over there			
	itersiumanermiikkami qooqqiumanermi_ it is in a little depression in a valley	house	S	intrans
	2.23 illungaatsiapilorujussuaq a little bigger than a big house	house		
	2.24 imaappoq sana- sanaaq_ it means it has been built	house		

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
2.25	illungaatsiapilorujussuaq uingasoq, or _/ the rather larger than big house was slanted	house	S	intrans
2.26	taanna "Eqaluit inaannik" taasarpaput} that one we called "char's place"	house	O	erg
2.27	{Tassalu taanna_aalisarmermut_ and that [house], to the fishing industry saarulliormermut_Sisimiuni_ to the codfishing factory in Sisimiut aallarnersaataalluni_ it was the means with which to begin	house	S	intrans
2.28	taanna illuusarsuaq uingasoq_ that house was slanted/uneven	house	S	intrans
2.29	uingasumik qalialik_ the roof was one that was tilted [the one with the tilted roof]	house		
2.30	(eqaluit inaannik taasartagarput), we used to call it the place of char	house	O	erg
2.31	tassa ima tarajorterivittut atoqqaarsimavoq_ like, you know, it was first used as a [cod]salting place	house	S	intrans
	taanna_ that one	house		

Another very clear example of 'topic' is found in text 3a. The primary local topic is 'old house'; the narrator and occasionally the narrator's sons are participants. Consistently, 'old house' is introduced in clause 74 through incorporation and stated overtly in clause 75 in object position; and in most of the rest of the relevant text it is in object position. It is particularly interesting to note that the single antipassive clause has a demoted object which is an entity other than 'old house'; as I will discuss antipassives in section 4.5.5, I merely refer the reader to clauses 74-87.

In the following extract from text 3b, 'mother' is the primary topic through most of the text. The topic was introduced first in text 3a and reintroduced as a topic in text 3b clause 126 in the form of an incorporated noun; the first overt nominal mention is in the form of a fronted subject in line 130. From lines 136 to 147, the primary topic is 'mother':

there exist a few other overt nominal entities, none but the last being continuous in any way, but all linked by common semantics: 'trader', 'Danes', and 'Bro' are all Danish traders that 'mother' worked for as a maid. 'Mother' is the subject of all clauses but the following: 136 (intransitive temporal adverbial clause) and 138 (dummy subject of incorporated particle), and 137, 139, 156, 157, and 158. The last five are all ergative and 'mother' is the object of each of these. In this section, 'mother' is a local topic.

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.27	3b.136 {tassa anaaana_ataataarukkatta_ that is my mother, we lost my father imaattoq 1918-imi_ 'erniinnaarsuaq_ like in 1918, very soon after ukiuk novemberip 2-ni_ winter- on the 2nd of November	mother		
	3b.137 {taava_kiguninnguagut anaaana niuertukkut then a little bit after the trader qaaqqaat_ came to call on my mother	mother	O	erg
	3b.138 Imaattoq_ it's like this			
	3b.139 ikiortigisarumallugu_ [they] wanted to have her help	mother	O	erg
	3b.140 tassalu taamanimiilli anaaana and that is right from that time my mother qallunaanut_kiffanngorpoq_ was a maid for the Danes	mother	S	intrans
	3b.141 {Qallunaarparujorujussuit many many Danes 70-it sinnerlugit not before she was more than seventy	mother	S	intrans
	3b.142 ukioqalereerluni years old	mother	S	intrans
	3b.143 kiffartorunnaarpoq_ she was no longer a maid	mother	S	intrans

Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
3b.144 {Taamaammatt therefore			
3b.145 toqummat_' when she died	mother	S	intrans
3b.146 Bro niuertuulluni_ Bro being the trader			
3b.147 kransersuarmik naasortalerpaa_/ he lay a big wreath of flowers on [her grave]	mother	O	erg
3b.148 (tassa kiffartorsimanera pillugu__} that is [because] she had been in his service [he had her service]	mother	O	erg

What is also interesting about this section is the casual introduction of another participant in 3b.146, 'Bro'; but this participant remains peripheral to the text, or in other words, non-topical, even though it is the subject of an ergative construction in 3b.147. The subject of an ergative is not, as I have said before (see chapter 3), the local topic, and 'Bro' is certainly not a global topic, at least in the sense that 'mother' or even the narrator is in the text.

The text continues with a change in theme but with the same topic; from clause 149 to clause 160, the speaker describes the mother's industry in getting food. 'Mother' is overtly expressed in clause 149 and is the subject of all clauses except clauses 153 and 156 (dummy subjects of setting clauses) and 154 (intransitive setting clause), and 149, 159, and 160. The last three clauses are all transitive, ergative structures, and 'mother' is the object in each case; the only overt subject is in clause 159.

4.28 3b.149 {Arnaq imaannanngitsorujussuurtut a special woman			
taasinnaavara anaanaga_/ I could call my mother	mother	O	erg
3b.150 Eqiasuitsorujussuaq_' [she was] very industrious			
3b.151 sulinngiffimmigut_sinissanani in her free time she didn't sleep	mother	S	intrans

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
3b.152	piliniartartoq_ she was getting/hunting for food	mother	S	intrans
3b.153	saarulleqallarmat taamanikkut, there was a lot of codfish at that time			
3b.154	1920-ikkut aallartilaarneranni, at the beginning of the 1920's umiaasaarannguaqaratta_' we had a little flatbottomed boat			
3b.155	kiffaaffini_unnukkut suliunnaaraangami whenever she stopped working as a maid in the late evening	mother	S	intrans
3b.156	unnuarsiorluni when it was night			
3b.157	illutterluni rowing	mother	S	intrans
3b.158	aalisariartarpoq. she went fishing	mother	S	intrans
3b.159	uanga aqqaluaralu tikitsiisarparput. me and my little brother waited for her to come back	mother	O	erg
3b.160	tassa ikiorniassagatsigu_ because we tried to help her	mother	O	erg

4.5.2 Reflection Clauses

In addition to relatively clear examples of topic, such as those above, there are a number of regular uses of ergative structures which do not seem to behave in the same way. These include the reflection clauses themselves, as well as some very specific forms of temporal clauses. With respect to the first, some of course have direct objects, and these are identified with the topic:

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.29	3a.7 makku soorlu oqaluuserivagut_ for example, we talked about these	old people	O	erg
	3a.8 nunatsinni ullutsinni utoqqaat_ in our land, in our days, the old people			

amerliartuaartut_'
they are gradually increasing in number

The inflectional ending on the verb in 3a.7 indicates a plural object, namely 'old people'. The translator provided the translation which appears in the appendices, 'for example, we talked about these, in our land, in our days, the old people are more and more' (i.e. there are more and more old people), and the verbal inflection on the participial in 3a.8 is 3pl. Because of the intonation, 'old people' might appear to belong to clause 3a.8; however, it is referenced on the verbal inflection of 3a.7.

In the following example, because of inflection in West Greenlandic, the intonational phrase 'my father' can be interpreted as belonging to either 4.15 or 4.16; in any case, a number of possibilities exist in translating these clauses, and 'my father' can be interpreted as the object of 4.15 and as the subject of 4.16:

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.30	4.15 {Oqaatigissavaralu, and I will talk about it	father	O	erg
	4.16 ataataga aamma, tamalaarpassuarnik soqutigisaqarami_' my father, he was interested in many things			

The ambiguity in the above example is reflected in most reflection clauses: in most cases there seems to be something like subject-to-object raising (which may not always be clear from the translation): the following clause is signaled as topically important, and the following clause is a clausal object to the reflection clause. The subject of the following clause is the topic of the section. In this way, the topic of the section is contained in the object of the reflection clause.

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.31	2.32 {Eqqaamavaralu and I remember it	codfish	O	erg
	2.33 taamanikkut saarulliit tunineqartartut_ at that time the codfish used to be sold			
	(i.e. I remember codfish used to be sold)			

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure
1a.13	eqqaamavara_ I remember it	Qaqortoq	O erg
1a.16	Qaqortoq inukitsunnguuvog_ Qaqortoq did not have many people (i.e. I remember Qaqortoq did not have many people: clauses 14 and 15 are parenthetical adverbial clauses of time)		
In many cases, the clausal object of the reflection clause involves the incorporation of a topic, or it develops a theme rather than a topic:			
4.32	1b.117 {Qaqortumi uanga eqqaamavara... In Qaqortoq, I remember...	have row boats	O erg
	1b.118 umiaasaqaraluarpoq there were little flat-bottomed rowboats		
	1b.159 {Tassa eqqaamalluariga I remember very well	go to Narsaq	O erg
	1b.160 taamani Narsamukaraangatta aasakkut in those days, whenever we went to Narsaq during the summer		

Reflection clauses, as I mentioned in chapter 3 section 3.3, are one of the common ways of introducing a topic or theme. Whether the object is a noun phrase, or more commonly, a clausal construction, the topic or theme is introduced as an object to the reflection clause.

4.5.3 Temporal Adverbs

A second clause type which is commonly ergative but not clearly topical is a specific type of temporal adverb relating to periods in the year, as exemplified by 4.33:

- 4.33 1a.21 ukiorlu naallugu
 and all winter long

in which 'winter' is the object of a transitive construction with an unspecified, or dummy subject. I have found perhaps 7 instances of these in the texts, of which two, at least, show thematic continuity with the previous clauses:

- 4.34 2.76 {Tassali kisianniuna kangerluk_amorlertartoq
 but so the fjord was usually windy
- 2.77 isersarnaartartoq,
 there was a wind going into the fjord

- 2.78 qajassuunnagu}
it was very windy / it was not a cautious wind

In 2.76, the windiness is first mentioned; in both 2.76 and 2.77, the concept is thematic, or verbally expressed. 2.78 is a transitive construction with a dummy subject which is not encoded in the inflection, as a result of the contemporative mood. The closest the text comes to expressing a nominal entity at this point is in 2.77, with *isorsarnaar-*, which is related etymologically to *isorsarneq*, 'wind coming into the fjord'. If the object of 2.78 is indeed 'wind coming into the fjord', then the transitive construction is expected as a marker of the topic. The conceptual problem with such clauses is that the object is semantically the subject. The object status is perhaps more clear in example 4.33 above, in which *ukioq*, 'winter', is expressed in the absolutive, or in the following:

- 4.35 2.100 {Taamalu_ullaassanngoriartornerani_,
and then in the almost dawn time
- 2.101 seqernup nuiartornerani tassa_,
in the sun's rising
- 2.102 uernaleriartuaaq,
[we] begin to be sleepy
- 2.103 seqineq kissakkiartuaartillugu_
[it] is causing the sun to get warmer
(i.e. the sun is getting warmer; perhaps 'the sun's rising is causing the sun to get warmer'?)

As with example 4.34 above, there is some thematic continuity leading up to the transitive construction in 2.103. Thematically, 'the sun's rising' is the speaker's emphasis; in 2.103, however, 'sun' is the overtly expressed object (overtly expressed only once before, as the possessor in 2.101). This is problematic, but it seems that theme and topic continue to interact in the following text (see clauses 104, 'at dawn'. and 107 'in the morning the sun rose', where 'sun' is overtly expressed). In any case, *seqineq*, 'sun', is absolutive and must be syntactically the object.

There are, however, five cases in which no temporal continuity of this sort is found, thus posing a problem for the theory. Of those three have overtly expressed

absolute objects which are semantically the subjects. One such was given in example 4.33 above; the others are given below; the clauses in question are 1a.62 and 3a.104:

- 4.36 1a.60 {Nuukkaangamillu,
and whenever they moved
- 1a.61 nammineq illulioqqaarlutik_
they first had to build a house themselves
- 1a.62 ilaanni ukiorsuaq sinnerlugu_
sometimes over more than a year
- 1a.63 illumi inissisimallutik_
they had to live in a[nother] house
- 4.37 3a.103 ataatagooq_pingajungaarami
my father, they say, always got something
- 3a.104 qaamatit_ullui naasarpai/
the days of the month used to pass
- 3a.105 ataasiinnaanngitsunik, puisinik tikiussuilluni_
he arrived with not just one seal [i.e. he got more than one seal]

In both cases, it could be argued that the time period is being emphasized; in 1a.62, the sheer length of time the catechists had to wait before getting their own house is stressed, and in 3a.104, the complete number of days (all the days of the month) is stressed as the number of times the speaker's father arrived with a seal or more.

The final two examples of ergativity in temporal clauses involve a construction with the agentive suffix *-tit-*; the clauses in question are 3a.91 and 4.84:

- 4.38 3a.88 aneersuarlunga
I went for walks a lot
- 3a.89 aneersuarlunga
I went for walks a lot
- 3a.90 ullorsuaq pisarpunga
I used to do this all day long
- 3a.91 silagitsillugu_
if the weather was good
- 3a.92 Assorsuaq maqasivara massakkut_
I miss it very much now
- 4.39 4.81 taavalu aamma_soorunalumi puisit_
and then of course what about the seals

- 4.82 sikukkut avungalu, Natsilimmut_'
up north to Natsilik over the ice

Saarluminngaanniit ilaanni sisoraarserlutik
sometimes going on sledge from Saarloq

- 4.83 piniariartarlutik_}
hunting

- 4.84 {Taava_upernariartortillugu,
then, when spring came

- 4.84 piniagassat saqqummeriartortarput_'
the hunting animals used to come out

These kinds of clauses could also be structured intransitively; therefore, the decision to use transitive structures is difficult to explain. As I mention in the following chapter, contemporatives involving an incorporated noun and the agentive affix *-tit-* are thought of as implicating a human agent in the action (P. Langgård, personal communication); this would require a transitive construction for structural reasons. For these examples, however, I have no satisfactory answer.

4.5.4 Sections with more than one topic or theme in interaction

So far, all of the sections reviewed have been relatively straightforward in having one identifiable primary topic; where another possibility existed, there was no extended continuity. There are several sections in the texts with a more complicated and consequently more difficult to explain distribution of ergative structures, precisely where more than one topic or theme is treated as important. One such example come from text 3b, clauses 162 to 172:

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure
4.40	3a.162 {Aana sulitupinnaq_' and what was most wonderful of all		
	3a.163 aqqaluara apersortittussaasoq_ '(1930-imi)' when my little brother was to be confirmed (in 1930)		
	3a.164 illutaarpugut' we got a new house	get house	intrans

Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
3a.165 takanna sulī illukoq oqaluffiup kanginnguani house this old house still a ruin beside [a little east of] the church taanna qaqqajunnaasannguup qaaniittoq_' is on the top of that little hill		S	intrans
3a.166 tassa anaana taamanikkut illutaarpoq_} that is my mother got the house then	get house mother	S	intrans
3a.167 {Anaanama_tupinnartumik_ it was wonderful that my mother naminneq tamaat akilerlugu_ ' paid for it all herself mother	house? S	O	erg
sanasullu taamaasa_ and all the workers	workers	O	
3a.168 angutitaqannginnatta" because we didn't have a man [in our family]			
3a.169 sanasullu tamaasa akilerlugit she paid all the workers	workers mother	O A	erg
3a.170 assigiinngitsut inuit sanavaat different people worked on it	house people	O A	erg
3a.171 angutit_ ' sanavaat men worked on it	house men	O A	erg'
3a.172 tassa tamaasa akilerlugit, she paid them all	workers mother	O A	erg

In this section, leaving out all the noncontinuous nominal entities, there are at least three different topics all vying for prominence. 'Mother', the topic of the preceding section (see example 4.28) appears once overtly, in clause 167, and is only found as the subject in this section. 'House' is introduced in 164 as an incorporated noun, then mentioned overtly as the subject in clause 165. After this, it is only found as an object (in clauses 168, 170 and 171). Finally, 'workers' is introduced in clause 167, as an elaboration of the theme of the mother paying for the whole house by herself; in addition to paying for the house by herself, itself a remarkable achievement, the mother paid for all the workers. 'Workers' is then repeated overtly as an object in 169 and 172, and as a subject using synonyms in 170 and 171. All clauses with two of these three topics are ergative in structure, with the

exception of 166, which involves an incorporated noun 'house' and involves the reintroduction of the topic after a parenthetical break (clause 165). The prevalence of ergative structures is hardly suprising, since the semantics are almost all transitive actions; therefore, this section obviously is not proof of the topical nature of the objects of transitive constructions. However, it can serve as confirmation of such a theory, after the theory has been adequately supported elsewhere. Clause 167 is interesting, in that 'workers' is first introduced as an object. According to both the established theory, that the object of a transitive construction is either definite or given, and to the proposed theory, that the object is the primary topic, one might have expected an antipassive construction; but this noun phrase follows a definite, given, or topical object in a transitive construction. Certainly, this section challenges the idea that there are constraints on the amount of information that a speaker (or listener) can handle at once.

Another text involving multiple topics is from text 1b, from clause 144 to 157. This section is particularly interesting because of the use of the instrumental in clauses with three direct arguments of the verb, in particular in clauses 149, and 153:

	Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
4.41	1b.144 taavalu anaanama ataataaa taalliortorsuarput_ and then my mother's father, our poet			
	Kalaallit Nunaata taalliortorsua_lindaleeraq Henrik Lund_ Greenland's big poet Henry Lund			
	1b.145 aasat tamaasa_ every summer			
	tikeraartaratsigu Qaqortuminngaanniit we used to visit him from Qaqortoq	Henry we	O A	erg
	1b.146 uagut aasiffigisaratsigu Narsaq_ we used to spend summer in Narsaq	Narsaq we	O A	erg
	(meeqqat aamma anaanakkut ataatakkullu the children and my mother's family and my father's family			
	meeqqat qatanngutigullu tamatta)) the children and the sibling's family and all of us			

segment of the text, the speaker specifically refers to his family and relatives as a unit: the first use of 'we' in this way in this segment (as opposed to 'we children' in the immediately preceding piece') is in clause 145; the first overt mention is in clause 146, in which the speaker both uses an independent pronoun and lists the participants included. 'We' is the object in 149 and 153. 'Chewing gum' continues, in a slightly modified way, the previous section's topic 'tamuatsivaaq', but it appears to have been nontopical in this section. It is expressed overtly in all clauses in which it occurs, with the exception of 152, in which it is incorporated (as 'tobacco'), and always occurs as the direct or indirect object: as the indirect object, it is always marked in the instrumental case. It takes on various shades of meanings, ranging from 'chewing gum' to 'tobacco' to 'tamuatsivaaq'. Whenever there are two objects, 'us' and 'chewing gum', 'us' is the direct object marked on the verb and the verb is transitively marked. There are two clauses with 'chewing gum' as the direct object and no other object: clauses 154 and 155. The first is an antipassive construction, and the second an ergative construction. It is possible to suppose that the antipassive is used because 'chewing tobacco' is differentiated in kind from 'chewing gum' of the previous clause. The object of clause 155 refers to the same 'chewing tobacco' and is absolutely marked as part of an ergative construction. This might explain the need to reiterate 'chewing gum' in all its forms. This interpretation is certainly difficult to maintain over the standard explanation of definiteness (although in 154, 'chewing tobacco' is certainly already given and one might therefore expect an ergative structure according to such a theory). It also suggests that the agency hierarchy in terms of verbal marking and ergativity holds in West Greenlandic; and it is not at all obvious that 'us' is more topical than 'chewing gum'. The proposed theory suffers in this respect.

The same considerations are raised in the section containing clauses 182 to 200, in which the speaker describes the start of a typical day:

	Text	Topic	Argument	Structure
4.42	1b.182 {tassa Ittukkunniikkaangatta, whenever we were with Grandfather	we Grandfather	S incor	intrans
	1b.183 eqqaamagiga I remember it			
	1b.184 eqqaamaqaara taamani_ I really remember it in those days			
	1b.185 Iindalleeqqap_Ittup_Ittup_ Henry, Grandfather, Grandfather,	Grandfather		
	ullaakkut_tamatta iteraangatta_ In the morning_all of us together would wake up	we	S	intrans
	1b.186 tiitoreerluta_ when we had already drunk tea	we	S	intrans
	1b.187 taava inimut iserluta_ then [when] we entered/came into the room	we	S	intrans
	Ittup issia_ Grandfather to his chair	Grandfather		ellips
	1b.188 pattagissaminut ingikkuni_ if he sat down at the piano	Grandfather	S	intrans
	1b.189 taava_inersimasut_naalasaarfimmut issiavikuluunullu issaallutik while sitting down on the couch and in arm chairs	we (adults)	S	intrans
	1b.190 uagut meeqqat natermut ingilluta_ we children sitting down on the ground	we (children)	S	intrans
	1b.191 taava Ittup qinnutinnguaq atuartarpaa_ then Grandfather would read a little prayer	prayer Grandfather	O A	erg
	1b.192 palasiugami aamma_ and he was also a priest	Grandfather	S	intrans
	1b.193 taamaasereeraangamilu and he was doing all this	Grandfather	S	intrans
	1b.194 taava ullaarsiummik tussiummik_ tussiartarpugut_ then we sang a morning psalm	we psalm	S O	intrans ant
	1b.195 Ittu pattagissamik pattattoq_ Grandfather played the piano	Grandfather piano	S O	intrans ant

Text	Topic	Argument Structure	
1b.196 taava ilaanneeriarluta aama tassa, erinarsuummik_ then sometimes we did a non-religious song	we song	S O	ant
1b.197 nalinginnaasumik erinarsuummik_ a normal song (ullormik tassunga naleqqussorisaminik) that seemed suitable for the day	song	O	
1b.198 erinarsortittarpaatigut tamatta_ he let us sing all together tassami inersimasullu meeqqallu_ in any case the adults and the children	Grandfather us us	S O O	erg
1b.199 taamaalilluta ulloq aallartittarparput_ and that is how we began the day	we day	S O	erg

There are several topics in this section; two are clearly continuous over the entire stretch of text, 'Grandfather' and 'we'. 'Grandfather' is overt in clauses 185, 187, 191, and 195, and it always occurs as the subject (unless it is actually the object of 184). A second topic is 'we', which variously includes everyone but 'Grandfather', 'adults', and 'we children'; it is overt in clauses 185, 189, 190, and 198; where 'Grandfather' and 'we' both occur in the same clause, 'we' is the object. Finally, there is a third potential topic, 'prayer' or 'morning psalm', or 'nonreligions song', which occurs overtly in all cases and as object only.

Complications arise in clauses 191, 194, 196, and 197. In clause 191, there is an ergative structure; one might assume that it ought not to be, given that it is a third topic with variable interpretation, just as 'chewing gum' was above. Clause 191 is just as problematic to the traditional theory, since it is the first introduction of 'prayer', and can be expected to be antipassive. But clauses 194, 196, and 197 are antipassives; if 191 is explained according to the same method used for 'chewing gum' above, then these clauses should be expected to follow the same pattern, which in any case they do not. It is fairly clear that both 'Grandfather' and 'we' are topical, and further, that 'Grandfather' is the more global topic and 'we' the more local one, as is evident by the greater continuity of 'Grandfather' in text 1b, as well as by the relative ranking of 'Grandfather' vis-à-vis 'we'. The

particularly revealing clause is clause 198 'he let us sing a normal song all together', where three nominals are present: like 'chewing gum', 'song' is marked with the instrumental. I suggest that the fundamental emphasis of this section is not on the particular song, but on the relationship between 'Grandfather' and 'we', and therefore, that 'song' is not a topic. This explains the antipassives in 194, 196, and 197; I also note that an antipassive also occur with the use of the nominal 'piano' in 195, although this is more obviously a nominal peripheral to the text. The speaker summarizes the theme of the section in clauses 199 and 200 'and that is how we began the day', which suggests that the section is really more about a general procedure than about 'singing psalms'. All of this is suggestive, but not conclusive, and again, sections with multiple topics are more likely to be understood in reference to a theory than they are to prove the theory. In this case, if it is accepted on prior evidence that absolutes are topics, then the demoted objects of the antipassives in clauses 194, 196, and 197 can be interpreted as non-topical, and the absolute object of clause 191 can be interpreted as the local topic (in one clause only—this is generally contrary to the idea that topics have continuity across texts; but perhaps the speaker can be said to have had the intention of emphasizing 'psalms' and changed his mind as he continued his story).

Theme rather than topic seems to be responsible for the ergative structures in the following excerpt from text 3a. In clauses 49 to 55, the speaker is asked whether or not she has smoked; the section starts out with a clearly defined topic, 'cigarettes' or 'tobacco', introduced by the interviewer; but in the follow-up question, in clause 56, 'like how did they stop liking you?', the focus shifts to the theme, 'to smoke'. Many of the ergative structures here reflect the abstract object 'smoke', never actually stated overtly (since it is stated overtly in many of the verbs).

- 4.43 3a.57 {Tassa_sapilerakku ilaa_
 that is I just couldn't do it [i.e. smoke] you know
- 3a.58 millusisaraluarpunga_
 I used to inhale,

- 3a.59 iserneq saperami_
it couldn't go in
- 3a.60 soorlu_ ilaa_ maanga piumajunnaarami ilummut_
for example, you know, it wouldn't come inside anymore
- 3a.61 {_tassa paasivara ilaa_
that is I understand it you know
- 3a.62 (pujortaqqissinnaajunnaarlunga)/
I just couldn't smoke anymore
- 3a.63 aamma maqaasinngilara_
and I didn't miss it
- 3a.64 aamma_ ajornartorsiutiginnigilara,
and it wasn't a problem for me
- 3a.65 pujortarunnaarama
that I didn't smoke anymore
- 3a.66 (tassa massakkut qujaannartarpunga)
that is now I am thankful
- 3a.67 pujortarunnaarsimagama_)}
because I have stopped smoking

There are a number of sections throughout the texts in which themes similarly seem to be abstract objects in ergative constructions. In most of these cases, the objects are not stated overtly, as the theme is stated verbally. In some cases, the object is a nominalized verb form, as in the following example from text 4 (the nominalization is in 4.25):

- 4.44 4.24 {Taamaalilluni,
and in this way
- 4.25 ajoqitut sulilivinnini_
he really began to work as a catechist
- 4.26 (tassami, uppermarsaaserlugu_/)}
in any case, he proved it

4.5.5 Antipassive Structures

If ergative-absolutive case marking is used when the primary topic is in object position, then instances of antipassive structure should indicate the lack of topic status of the demoted object. In West Greenlandic, objects of antipassive constructions are marked

with the instrumental case, in the same way that indirect objects of transitive constructions or modifiers of incorporated nouns are:

4.45 antipassive:

1b.194 taava ullaarsiummik tussiummik tussiartarpugut _/
then we sang a morning psalm

4.46 indirect object:

1b.149 {Tyggegumminik tuningaagamitigut
when he gave us a lot of chewing gum

4.47 modifier of incorporated noun:

3a.42 immiaarartortarpunga ataatsimik /
I would drink one little beer

In addition, there is a common construction, formed with a nominal (often nominalization) in the absolutive case and the intransitively inflected *ajor-*, 'be bad':

4.48 3a.48 baajatorneq ajorpunga _}}
I haven't drunk beer

Only the first example above is an antipassive, noun incorporation is probably related in some way to topic or thematic coherence and the question of ergative or accusative marking.

There are very few antipassive constructions in the texts, and in many cases, it is fairly clear that the objects are non-topical:

In text 1b, two antipassives demonstrate this concept. In the first case, clauses 182 to 199 describe the start of the day in the speaker's family; clause 195, an antipassive, has the object 'piano', an argument which has been introduced obliquely in clause 188 and not continued as a topic (unlike 'morning psalm', as discussed previously). Its only other occurrence is clause 195. According to standard theory, one would expect an ergative clause, because the 'piano' is both definite and given (clause 188). The text has been given above, in example 4.42. The second such antipassive occurs in the section containing clauses 200 to 219, a rather vague section about the power of the senses of sight and hearing (it should be stated that the 'Grandfather' in question was perhaps the most well-known recent Greenlandic poet and artist). The object of the antipassive in clause 204 is 'paper and pencil': it is first introduced in this clause and has no continuity

whatsoever, not being brought up again (T/NT column in the following examples refers to topic status; the object in antipassive constructions is to be understood as NT,

nontopic):

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.49	1b.202 Ittu aallaraangami whenever Grandfather went walking	Grandfather	S	intrans
	1b.203 qaqqamut pisuttuaraangami_/ whenever he walked to the mountains	Grandfather	S	intrans
	1b.204 tamatuma pappilissamik aqerluusamillu nassartarpoq he used to bring along paper and pencil	Grandfather paper/pencil	S O	ant

Other antipassives in text 1b include clauses 152, 194, 196, and 197, explained above (example 4.40), although all of these are less readily explainable.

In text 2, the section from clauses 41 to 45 described 'Qeqertalik': it is part of a larger section describing the hunting of codfish. 'Qeqertalik' is introduced in clause 41 and there is some ellipsis of the verb in clause 42 leaving an accusatively-marked object with no overt verb. The verb in clause 41 involves an incorporated object, 'houses' and is intransitive in structure; the ellipsis in clause 42 arises because of the lexicalized use of the concept 'to have', which must regularly involve incorporation. The accusative object 'salting place' is introduced and not continued in the text; for that matter, 'houses' is not continuous either:

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.50	2.41 {aamma Qeqertalik_taanani_illoqarpoq and Qeqertalik, at that time, had houses [i.e. was a settlement]	Qeqertalik	S	intrans
	2.42 aamma tarajorterivimmik and a salting place	salting place	O	
	2.43 taavalu upernaakkut tappavunga aallaartarpugut and then in the spring we used to travel up there to hunt			

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
2.44	tappanna saarullippassuaqartarmat_} because there used to be a lot of codfish up there			
2.45	tassa meeraanitsinni_}} that is in our childhood			

In the following, from text 3a, the speaker is responding to the question 'haven't you drunk beer in your whole life?': the actual response is 'when I was still working, when I ate some Greenlandic food, I would drink one little beer, sometimes not finishing it: the year. I don't even know the year, now, what year when I tasted beer. I don't know, I don't remember. I haven't drunk beer'. The antipassive is in clause 45. The focus is on the last time the speaker drank beer, not on the drinking of beer itself:

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.51	3a.44 {Tassa ukioq_naluaraluunniit ukioq massakkut, year that is the year, I don't even know the year now.		O	erg
	ukioq suna what year	year	O	
	3a.45 baajamik usserama when I tasted beer	beer	O	ant

In the next example from the same text, the speaker is discussing her old house: the 'old house' is very clearly the topic of the section from clause 74 to 86 and possibly to 92. The antipassive is in clause 79, the only clause to discuss the son's fishing:

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.52	3a.75 emerma, uagut illutoqarput emerma suliarinikuugamiuk_ my son, we, my son had fixed our old house	son house (incorporated)	S	intrans
	3a.76 nutarterlugu making it new/modernizing it	house	O	erg
	3a.77 tamaat nutaanngorlugu tassami_ making everything new/modern in any case	house	O	erg
	3a.78 atortorissaarutit tamaasa tamaat_ all modern things	modern things	O	

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
3a.79	kisianni upernaaq manna_siornali_ aalisarnermik ajutoorami_/	son fishing	S O	ant
	but last year he was unlucky at fishing			

In the following, from text 4, the speaker has just talked about his father's becoming a catechist (clauses 10 to 14); in 16 he mentions that his father was interested in many things (antipassive construction), and in clauses 17 to 26 he again talks about his father's work as a catechist. Other of the father's interests are mentioned one by one, in succeeding paragraphs. In clause 15, therefore, the 'many things' that the father is interested in is not taken as the topic of the paragraph; 'father' is the topic and 'work as a catechist' might be the theme (*soqutigi*- 'be interested in' is technically an incorporated noun root, but it has been lexicalized, according to *Oqaatsit*).

	Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.53	4.14 meeraaffinni Saarlumi_ in the place where I was a child, in Saarloq,			
	ajokitut sulivoq_ukiorpassuit_}	father	S	intrans
	he worked as a catechist for many years			
	4.15 {Oqaatigissavaralu, and I will talk about this			
	4.16 ataataga aamma, tamalaarpassuarnik soqutigisaqarami_	father many things	S O	ant
	and my father was interested in many things			
	4.17 siullermik_seminariami atuaqataavoq the first time he went to the seminary	father	S	intrans

On the other hand, the antipassive in 4.16 may not, in fact, be an antipassive, as it involves an incorporated object and a modifying noun phase (see 4.45-4.47). The same is true of the following example, from text 2. There is a puzzling use of the antipassive in clause 92, involving a topic which is prevalent throughout an extended portion of the text. There is a section from clauses 50 to 59 involving the 'nets' used to catch the codfish; from clauses 60 to 70, a rather ill-defined section on the settlements and the hunters from those settlements; from clauses 71 to 75, a section on 'Amerloq' as a place for setting nets;

and from clauses 76 to 85, possibly 88, a loose section on the wind and the best time to look after the fishing equipment. Clauses 89 to 92 begin a section of net maintenance. Clause 92, the antipassive, takes up the topic of 'nets' in a parenthetical paragraph; it then serves as a basis for the following section, once again about some aspect of the work involved with the setting of nets:

		Text	T/NT	Argument	Structure
4.54	2.89	{Saqqaanilu tassa atuartarlugit, and then on the sunny side [we] used to bring them in on the line	we nets	S O	erg
	2.90	imaattorlugit, like this	nets	O	erg
	2.91	amuartarlugit_ hauling them up	nets	O	erg
	2.92	taamanikkummi qassuterpaalussuarnik piniuteqartarpugut tassa_ at that time we had a lot of nets as equipment, you know	we nets	S O	ant

This seems to be a counterexample to my theory; nets is topical throughout. Again, however, *qassuterpaalussuarnik* 'a lot of nets' can be seen as the stranded modifying noun phrase to *piniuti* 'equipment', which is incorporated. Thus, these two last examples may be better explained by reference to incorporation.

4.6 Problems

There are a number of clauses in the texts which present particular difficulties for my analysis. Some have already been discussed, as, for example, the ergative structure in 1b.191 or the antipassives in the same text, clauses 194, 196, and 197, or as in the antipassive in 1a.89. These types of clauses have often presented difficulties for all theories of ergativity in Greenlandic, both standard ones and my proposed theory of topicality. Those instances of ergativity in the texts which seem to pose problems for my theory but not for the more standard theory of definiteness or givenness mostly involve the antipassives, which have been discussed above, and which in all probability involve

incorporation. Problems discussed below seem to affect both approaches to the interpretation of ergativity.

Towards the end of text 1a, the speaker presents a list of duties that the catechist was responsible for; each clause in which a duty is specified is ergative, and in each case, there is a different object. The same line of reasoning applied to the temporal adverbial clauses can be used here: in these clauses, the speaker emphasizes the objects by using an ergative construction. This is not an argument in support of my theory, and this section cannot be used to prove the theory that I am proposing; but it can be used to explain the semantics of these clauses if the theory is proved elsewhere and accepted.

	Text	Subj	Obj	Structure
4.55	1a.83...ajqip atuarfik tamaat tigummivaa_ the catechist has the whole school to take care of	catechist	school	erg
	1a.84 atuarut tamaasa atuartissavai he has to teach all of the students	catechist	students	erg
	1a.85 1. klassiminngaanniit 7. klasse tikillugu from the first to the seventh grades			
	1a.86 kisimiilluni being alone	catechist		intrans
	1a.87 ulloq tamaat suleriarluni_ when he's going to work all day	catechist		intrans
	1a.88 sapaammi naalagiaritsilluni_ leading services on Sunday	catechist		intrans
	1a.89 toqusoqarpat if there is a dead one	dead one		intrans
	1a.90 toqusunik ilisilluni_ he buries them	catechist	dead	ant
	1a.91 kuisittoqassappat if there is someone to be christened	one to be christened		intrans
	1a.92 kuisillugit_ he christens them	catechist	ones	erg
	etc.			

Explanations provided by the traditional theories are no better. All of the objects are indefinite and new, and one would expect antipassives. What is particularly perplexing about this section is the antipassive in clause 89, in comparison with the ergative in clause 91. The two clauses are semantically parallel, and should be structurally parallel as well. Neither theory properly explains these clauses. P. Langgård (personal communication) suggests that the speaker may have had a particular christening in mind but no particular dead person in mind. This is an extremely interesting observation and lends support to my theory that the absolutive object is the topic.

In text 1b, the section from clauses 158 to 181 involves the speaker's recollection of 'going to Narsaq' (a theme); from clauses 164 to 177, there is a subsection concerning a particular instance of 'going to Narsaq', in which the speaker remembers seeing piked whales circling the boat. 'Motor boat' is not mentioned anywhere but in clause 173, as the absolutive object, and one might have predicted an antipassive structure for the clause. One might therefore presume that the speaker has incorporated the notion of 'motor boat' in the statements 'going to Narsaq', as this is the only feasible and regular way of getting to Narsaq from Qaqortoq on a regular basis. This is an assumption that can be made only if it is generally true that absolutive objects are topical, as there is no great difference in type of information content between this example and some of the antipassives explained above (cf. 1b.194). Again, examples such as this one may be interpreted in this way as a result of a general understanding of the nature of ergativity as an indicator of topic status, but unlike such examples as 4.25 or 4.26, they cannot be used to prove topic status.

In text 4, the section from clauses 67 to 70 is unclear, because of the nature of the introduction of participants; two of the three are introduced as afterthoughts, and the connection to one is not directly made. There are three or possibly four participants: 'Aggu Lynge', 'father', 'cleverest', and 'king'. 'Cleverest' may or may not be the same as 'father' (Fortescue, personal communication, believes them to be the same; if they are the

same, then the ergative construction is expected, as 'father' is found in the object position).

	Text	Subj	Obj	Structure
4.56	4.67 Aggu Lyngeugaluup_'allaaserigamiuk, the late Aggu Lynge wrote about this period	A.L.	?	erg
	4.68 ataataga pisimagaa_' he has said [about my father?]	?	father	erg
	4.69 "Pikkorinnersaallu immikkut akissarsisippaa"cleverest prize erg and the cleverest will get a special prize			
	4.70 (Tassa kunngip Christiaap qulingata_}) that is, king Christian the 10th	king?		

The passage is in any event confusing, even to those with native ability (the transcriber had difficulty with this section, as did P. Langgård). Part of the problem in this and other problematic sections involves the identification of the primary topic, which in many cases is the local topic, but especially where several topics are present, may be the more global topic. Problems arise especially where three or more topics or combinations of topics and themes interact in a continuous way within a section of text. This is perhaps a reflection of the difficulty normally associated with the presentation of more than one piece of information at once. It does occur, but when it does, it can cause ambiguity or confusion to the listener.

4.7 Evaluation

There are about 620 clauses in my body of data. Of these, about 192 are ergative and 13-14 are antipassive. Most of the ergative structures in the texts, about 182 of them, can be explained in terms of topic prominence in the object position; however, many require special explanation for assigning topic to the object position. The clearest cases, those which do not merely support but possibly demonstrate the topicality of the absolutive object and the peripherality of the instrumental object (in antipassives) are those which involve at most one topic. Most other cases, involving multiple topics or topic and theme combinations, require further explanation; they can be interpreted

according to the theory but cannot be seen as proof of the theory. The clearest examples of the non-topic status of demoted objects in antipassive constructions also are those in which the nominal has no second mention. There also exist examples, however, of absolutive objects in transitive constructions which show no continuity, and again, these must be interpreted according to the theory.

There are around 10 problematic cases, especially with respect to the interpretation of the antipassive structures, or enough problems with the theory that topic is reflected in the choice of syntactic structures used that a question must be addressed. In most cases, it is possible to show that the ergative structures reflect definiteness or givenness, and antipassives the opposite. Furthermore, in most cases where there are problems, both the standard theories and the proposed theory are affected. Therefore, is assigning the value 'topic' to the absolutive argument of a transitive clause just renaming the problem, from 'definite' or 'given' to 'topic'? I offer several reasons for preferring the reanalysis as given. First, it is perfectly common for features such as 'subject' or 'object' to be coded in the verb, as inflectional endings, just as are features such as person and number. It is not as common to see features such as 'definiteness' or 'givenness' coded in the verb, rather than in the noun phrase to which the feature belongs, and it is particularly not the case in West Greenlandic. 'Topic' is a structural feature, just as 'subject' and 'object' are, the difference being one of structural level; therefore, it is plausible for 'topic' to be encoded in the verb. As such, the lack of 'topic' marking in antipassives, or the 'topic' marking in contemporatives, can be explained, as I hope to show in the next chapter, whereas I have not yet come across an explanation for these marking systems within the standard theories of definiteness or givenness.

Further, the importance of considering 'topic' over 'definiteness' or 'givenness' is the recognition that not just any random object is marked as definite, given, or topical. It is one that has continuous reference in a given stretch of speech, for the most part; or, in some cases, it is one that is the center of pragmatic emphasis (as in example 4.53 above,

or temporal clauses) in a stretch of speech. Therefore, even though all examples given above can be explained quite simply according to the standard theory (in fact, not all of them can, but not all can be explained according to my theory either), a theory of topical or thematic coherence has more explanatory value.

Finally, as I hope I show in the following chapter (on switch-reference and verb mood), topic is also the relevant category in other parts of West Greenlandic grammatical structure, and therefore to be preferred over givenness or definiteness as a factor in West Greenlandic discourse.

5. Switch-Reference or Thematic Coherence and Topic Continuity?

Switch-reference in Greenlandic is exclusively associated with subject coreference or lack thereof, although examples of anomalous switch-reference are common. In addition, the contemporative and the participial verb moods in West Greenlandic have been identified as primarily switch-reference mechanisms, although each verb mood has a number of other functions and there are commonly identified environments for anomalous coreference. It therefore becomes necessary to ask how useful it is to think of the switch-reference mechanisms in West Greenlandic as indicators of switch-subject. After a brief review of switch-reference in West Greenlandic and the questions with which I shall be concerned in this chapter, I present a summary of theories and generalizations from the literature concerning switch-reference, finding evidence relating switch-reference to other phenomena including thematic coherence. I then discuss thematic coherence and its relevance to subordination and clause-chaining. This leads me to present my West Greenlandic data and to suggest an alternative explanation for the use of the switch-reference, involving switch topic or theme rather than switch-subject. In particular, I am primarily concerned with a reinterpretation of the contemporative and participial moods. Finally, this interpretation is compared to the more traditional interpretation and evaluated in terms of its effectiveness, comprehensiveness, and plausibility.

5.1 Switch-Reference in West Greenlandic

Switch-reference is marked both nominally and verbally in West Greenlandic; traditionally, at least three mechanisms for indicating switch-reference are described, including nominal possessive inflection, pronominal inflection on some subordinate verbs, and the complementary distribution of contemporative and participial verb forms, illustrated in the following tables:

5.1.1 nominal possessive inflection

(absolute case endings listed below; the distinction is maintained across all case endings)

Table 5.1

<u>possessor</u>	<u>singular possessum</u>	<u>plural possessum</u>
3sg coreferential	-ni/i	-ni
3sg noncoreferential	-a	-i
3pl coreferential	-(r)tik	-tik
3pl noncoreferential	-at	-i/at

examples:

5.1	nuliani	nuliaa
	nuliaq-ni	nuliaq-a
	wife-3sg.coref.abs	wife-3sg.noncoref.abs
	his _j wife (verb _i ¹)	his _j wife (verb _i)

5.1.2. subordinate mood pronominal inflection

(forms listed below are 3rd person subjects for both intransitive and transitive inflections and 3rd person objects for transitive inflections; the 3rd coreferential/noncoreferential distinction is present throughout the paradigm)

Table 5.2

<u>mood</u>	<u>intransitive</u>	<u>trans 3nc obj</u>	<u>trans 3c obj</u>
caus sg coref	-gami	-gamiuk	—
caus sg noncoref	-mmat	-mmagu	-mmani
causative pl coref	-gamik	-gamikku	—
causative pl noncoref	-mmata	-mmassuk	-mmani
condit sg coref	-guni	-guniuk	—
condit sg noncoref	-ppat	-ppagu	-ppani
condit pl coref	-gunik	-gunikku	—
condit pl noncoref	-ppata	-ppassuk	-ppanni

¹The verb is pronominally marked for coreference as well, see 5.1.2

example (Fortescue 1984:147².)

5.2 nuliani qiareerami isermat
 nuliaq-ni qia-reer-gami iser-mat
 wife-3c.sg.abs cry-already-3c.sg.caus enter-3nc.sg.caus
 When his_i wife came in because she_j had finished crying

 oqarpoq
 oqaq-voq
 say-3sg.indic
 he said (something)/he talked.

In addition, Fortescue (1991) notes the use of 3c forms on indicative endings, in rare cases, although they are commonly held not to exist.

5.1.3. contemporative vs. participial

The contemporative indicates subject coreference and the participial subject noncoreference. The fact that the transitive form of the contemporative lacks subject pronominal agreement is taken as evidence for same-subject interpretation, since marking the subject of both the contemporative and the superordinate verb form is redundant. Except for third person noncoreferent object, however, the transitive form of the contemporative is identical with that of the intransitive:

Table 5.3a

takullunga taku-lunga see-1sg.CT or trans.1sg.obj.CT I see or [subject] sees me	takulluta taku-luta see-1pl.CT or trans.1pl.obj.CT we see or [subject] sees us
takullutit taku-lutit see-2sg.CT or trans.2sg.obj.CT you see or [subject] sees you	takullusi taku-lusi see-2pl.CT or trans.2pl.obj.CT you see or [subject] sees you
takulluni taku-luni see-3sg.CT he sees or [subject] sees him _i ³	takullutik taku-lutik see-3pl.CT they see or [subject] sees them _i

²The example is from Fortescue, but I have modified the orthography to reflect actual Greenlandic orthographic practices (e.g. *oqarpoq* instead of *uqarpuq*) and I have used the names and abbreviations I have used in my data instead of his (e.g. '3nc' instead of '3rd' and '3c' instead of '4th').

³I follow the established convention of using 'i' for coreference and 'j' for noncoreference with another noun phrase. In the examples given, since contemporatives and participials are used in conjunction with another, superordinate, clause, subscript 'i' indicates coreference and 'j' noncoreference with the subject of the superordinate.

takullugu
taku-lugu
see-trans.3sg.obj.CT
[subject] sees him_j

takullugit
taku-lugit
see-trans.3pl.obj.CT
[subject] see(s) them_j

The third person intransitive and transitive coreferent form has the pronominal switch-reference morpheme *-ni-*, and the third person transitive form has the pronominal 3rd object form *-gu-*.

The participial, on the other hand, has full subject/object transitive inflection (only 3rd person forms are provided below, but forms exist for all persons and numbers):

Table 5.3b

<u>participial</u>	<u>intransitive</u>	<u>trans 3nc obj</u>	<u>trans 3c obj</u>
3sg 3sg coref	-soq	-gaa -ginni	-gaani
3pl 3pl coref	-sut	-gaat -gitsik	-gaanni

examples (From Fortescue 1984:60):

- 5.3 atertunga Antariarsip tikippaanga
ater-sunga Antariarsi-p tikiC-vaanga
go.down-1sg.P Antariarsi-rel come.to-trans.3sg.subj/1sg.obj.I
'When I went down Antariarsi came to me'

The transitive 3c.obj form of the participial has become lexicalized as 'when(ever)...' and can be used with either transitive or intransitive verbs (Fortescue 1984:61):

- 5.4 anigaanni qiianaqaaq
ani-gaanni qiiana-qi-voq
go.out-trans.3pl.subj/3c.sg.obj.P be.cold-intens-3sg.subj.I
'When you go outside it's really cold'

Both the contemporative and the participial forms fulfill many other functions in the grammar, as described in the chapter 2, section 2.5.2. The contemporative has both subordinate and coordinate senses, according to Fortescue (1984:34), depending on whether it precedes or follows the superordinate verb. In essence, the contemporative and the participial function in many ways but are defined as markers of switch-reference (in

spite of the exceptions noted above), as opposed to the causative and conditional verb moods, which indicate switch-reference but are defined according to their functions. The question is, is it useful or even accurate to think of the contemporative and participial verb moods as markers of switch-reference?

Furthermore, while my texts are poor in examples of nominal possessive switch-reference inflection, there are a number of examples of anomalous subordinate mood pronominal inflection. By extending the use of topic as a relevant factor in the grammar of West Greenlandic, I suggest that these anomalies are no longer problematic if switch-reference in West Greenlandic is understood as a switch-topic mechanism. The contemporative and the participial moods, on the other hand, can be seen to function, much of the time, in complementary distribution as switch-topic markers. I suggest, however, that they are first and foremost part of the tense system of West Greenlandic, and that they have, because of attrition of the switch-reference marking system, come to be identified as part of the system. Further, they are more likely to have been identified as markers of thematic continuity or shift, rather than as switch-subject markers, not only because other grammatical agreement patterns suggest switch-topic (i.e. ergativity, pronominal switch-reference), or discourse-level agreement but also because of the still loose application of switch-reference to these moods. Finally, the assumption of discourse-based agreement seems to account for a number of rather arbitrary exceptions to the identification of the contemporative and the participial as switch-reference (i.e. switch-subject) markers.

5.2. Theoretical Considerations/Generalizations

5.2.1. Switch-Reference

Switch-reference is a relation between two clauses, in which two noun phrases are marked as coreferential or noncoreferential⁴. Typologically, switch-reference seems to be

⁴Comrie (1983:23) is careful to characterize it as a clausal property, rather than as a property specifically of the noun phrases in question. This in part explains the range of marking systems described above.

largely, although not exclusively, a phenomenon of SOV languages. There are a number of systematic characteristics of languages with switch-reference systems, including verbal switch-reference marking, switch-reference marking on the subordinate verb but not the main verb, clause-chaining, subordinate clause predominantly preceding the main clause, and final position of the verb, among others.

Typically, the overt switch-reference marking is found on the verbs: however, systems with nominal marking and independent sentence-particle marking of switch-reference are known. West Greenlandic has both verbal and nominal switch reference, as well as a separate verb form specifically for marking coreference, as described above.

Although switch-reference marks coreference or lack thereof between two clauses, only one clause is actually marked overtly (Comrie 1983:23-25). Switch-reference is found in both subordinate and coordinate structures: where there is clear subordination, it is the subordinate structure that is marked for switch-reference. In West Greenlandic, verbal switch-reference marking is found exclusively in subordinate structures⁵; nominal switch-reference is independent of verb mood; and coordinate switch-reference structures are presumably signaled by use of the contemporative. Coordination in West Greenlandic is indicated by enclitics, conjunctive particles, or by the use of the contemporative mood on all but one of the coordinated clauses (Fortescue 1984:120), presumably what can be taken to be the independent clause.

Another feature often associated with switch-reference languages, or rather associated with SOV languages and therefore with most languages with switch-reference systems, is clause-chaining. The term 'clause-chaining' describes a method of conjoining clauses in which only one verb can be considered independent and all others are dependent in some way (see also chapter 3, section 3.4). The dependent verbs are

⁵Fortescue (1991:64) notes the occasional occurrence in spoken discourse of switch-reference marking in indicatives, something that has not been mentioned as being possible in grammars of West Greenlandic. How acceptable or prevalent this is is unknown.

generally non-final (and are therefore referred to as 'medial')⁶; are often not fully inflected for tense, aspect, or mood; and often share topic or thematic unity (Longacre 1985:238; Givón 1990:864-865). One outcome of clause-chaining is the tendency to find switch-reference marking on the non-final clauses, since it is the dependent, and therefore non-final, clauses which are marked for switch-reference. Although, to my knowledge, it has not been identified as such (even Woodbury, in an article on switch-reference in Central Yup'ik Eskimo, does not call it clause-chaining), West Greenlandic shows all the signs of being a clause-chaining language. It is predominantly an SOV language, it is generally described as building sentences from strings of dependent clauses and one final independent clause, and it is the dependent clauses which are marked for switch-reference. It will become apparent from my data (see below) that the emphasis on clause order is perhaps not deserved, at least in spoken discourse, and not all dependent clauses precede the independent clause, with various effects on the interpretation of coreference.

Whereas the above discussion has focused on typological similarities across languages with switch-reference systems, it is clear that languages differ in the particulars of their switch-reference systems. Some languages, for example, mark both coreference and noncoreference, while others only mark one of the two. Others can be classified by what Nichols (1983:247) calls restricted and open reference: a form is restricted if it can have only same or different subject reference, and open if it can have either. Languages differ in the way they treat overlapping reference, whether as same-subject or different-subject. In some cases, switch-reference can be shown to relate a subject and a non-

⁶It is on the basis of the medial/final distinction that Longacre (1985:239) suggests that the subordinate/coordinate distinction in such languages is irrelevant. A sentence would consist of a chain of medial verbs and end with a final verb clause, the latter being the only independent clause structure in the chain. However, the data I collected shows that in spoken discourse, clause-chaining is often only partially realized, and multiple juxtapositions of independent clauses do occur frequently, as do sentences consisting only of dependent forms. Further, the Inuit languages do seem to have different forms for subordinate and coordinate structures. Givón (1984:ch. 8) discusses a continuum of finiteness with respect to subordination and coordination, in which he shows that all clauses are interdependent but vary according to the level of finiteness. Subordinate structures are less finite in that they have fewer features of finiteness, including tense, modality, aspect, and negation, these features being more predictable in structures which depend on others for interpretation. To what extent West Greenlandic can be shown to have less finite subordinate forms will be discussed in the text below.

subject noun phrase, although this seems to be true only where a switch-reference system regularly relates subjects in general. The prototypical system of switch-reference, according to Comrie (1983:36), is sensitive only to coreference or noncoreference of subjects; where other factors are involved, such as semantics, this is attributable to diachronic development of the switch-reference system. If switch-reference can be related to other phenomena, to what kinds of phenomena can it be extended?

In fact, there are a number of studies which show that switch-reference can be related to factors other than subject coreference, including syntactic, semantic, and discourse-level factors. Pamela Munro (1983) shows that nonstandard uses of same-subject markers in Chickasaw can be attributed to the grammaticalization of contextual factors, acquiring new syntactic functions and in some cases losing switch-reference function as a result. The use of same-subject markers, for example, has been extended to differentiate between ordinary switch-reference and relative constructions, and in some cases has become morphologized in auxiliary constructions, losing its switch-reference meaning. She discusses the same-subject interpretation for certain participial verb forms arising from phonological reduction of a coordinating conjunction and from lack of subject person marking on the verb to which the conjunction is attached. This, along with the lack of a corresponding different-subject marker, distinguishes it from ordinary switch-reference in Chickasaw. This state of affairs bears certain surface similarities to West Greenlandic contemporatives: although the West Greenlandic contemporative does not historically derive from a fossilized form of the coordinating enclitic *-lu*, both the coordinating function and the lack of subject marking are features which it shares with Chickasaw.

In a study of switch-reference in Quechuan languages, Peter Cole (1983) suggests that in addition to same/different subject marking, a person hierarchy is involved. Same-subject marking is used when the subordinate subject outranks the superordinate subject⁷.

⁷The hierarchy Cole describes, where 1, 2, and arbitrary reference are higher than non-agentive 3, is reminiscent of Silverstein's ergativity hierarchy (as Cole himself points out, 1983:11). This makes sense if

Anthony Woodbury (1983), in his study of switch-reference in Yup'ik, proposes the existence of two systems for organizing discourse, one involving the traditional syntactic explanation for switch-reference, the other involving prosodic phrasing. He claims that within the syntax, the appositional (i.e. contemporative) mood is a restrictive switch-reference mechanism, although because of other functions of this mood (e.g. denoting simultaneous or sequential time), there are cases in which the appositional (i.e. contemporative) is used even when the coreference conditions are not strictly met (1983:297). He notes that syntactic requirements for proper constituent structure are not always met in discourse; specifically, rhetorical structure, determined by intonation, among other things, does not always correspond to acceptable sentence structure. At this level, switches in subjects from one appositional (contemporative) to another seems to be predictable from rhetorical structural devices such as intonation; within a rhetorical group, one can expect subject coreference among appositional clauses. In this respect, Woodbury makes an observation similar to Johanna Nichols' (1983) about switch-reference in languages of the Northeastern Caucasus. She notes a difference between elicitation and text in her fieldwork: where elicitation shows grammatically expected properties, her texts show a different pattern, due to factors inherent in the construction of texts (1983:257).

Fortescue (1991), in a discussion of switch-reference anomalies in West Greenlandic, lists the environments in which anomalous switch-reference is found; these include many of the environments I list in section 5.4.5, such as elliptical, impersonal, or overlapping constructions, and cases in which the antecedent of a coreferent form is found outside the sentence. He explains the use of noncoreferent forms in atypical situations as a result of the greater transitivity of the subordinate clause, where transitivity is defined as a set of features including action, telicity, the existence of more than one

ergativity is a marker of local topic as object, as I hope to show in the next chapter, since there is a tendency for the speaker or some other human to be the subject and the inanimate noun to be the object. In my earlier work on Inuktitut, I came upon some evidence for an agency hierarchy in the use of ergative structures, although this interpretation might need to be revised in light of my current work.

participant, punctual aspect, volition, and agency. He further extends the notion of transitivity to include coreference with the 'psychological' subject or topic of a preceding discourse context (1991:68), in which the psychological subject is the principal participant in on-going discourse (participant being agentive and displaying high transitivity, Fortescue 1991:68). Such an interpretation lends support to my theory, although Fortescue approaches the notion of psychological subject in a more traditional way, as in the use of the term topic to refer to foregrounded information (1991:57) or agent. Fortescue provides examples of nominals marked for switch-reference, but he does not provide the extended context. It is reasonable to suggest, however, that if there are regular anomalies with respect to all switch-reference marking, including marking on nominals, and if topic is shown to be the determining factor in switch-reference marking elsewhere (i.e. on verbs), that topic is also relevant in explaining switch-reference marking on nominals. For lack of sufficient data, I do not address anomalous nominal switch-reference marking below, and take Fortescue's evidence as support for my own interpretation. I also note that he assigns a pragmatic value to the use of the contemporative (he does not discuss the participial); the contemporative in fact figures prominently in his discussion.

Thematic coherence rather than subject coreference is the relevant notion in general, according to Talmy Givón (1990:879ff). Givón cites evidence from Swahili, an SVO language with non-clause-chaining type subordinate and superordinate verb forms, in which he shows that switch-subjects in mid-chain can be explained as thematic switches. Givón takes quite a different approach to switch-reference than does Comrie; whereas Comrie describes the prototypical switch-reference system and assumes that coreference other than subject coreference arises from the extension of switch-reference rules to other aspects of grammar, Givón assumes that switch-reference is one form of coherence, albeit the most obvious and widely spread form. A review of thematic coherence is presented in greater detail below, since I hope to show that the

contemporative and participial in West Greenlandic are governed, at least in large part, by thematic considerations. For a more complete review of the literature on thematic coherence, see chapter 3.

5.2.2 Thematic Coherence

Insofar as discourse is multi-propositional, there exist relations of meaning between different elements of discourse, as well as signals of the continuity and recurrence of important elements in discourse. Givón (1984:137) calls this cohesive aspect of discourse 'thematic coherence', the components of which include temporal, action-event (or sequential), locational, and referential (participant) coherence. Temporal and sequential unity tend to be reflected in the tense-aspect-modality systems of a language and are especially relevant in the discussion of clause-chaining and subordination below. Referential coherence denotes topic (participant) continuity; and since topic is most commonly subject or object, referential coherence is Givón's general term for what is meant by switch-reference.

Textual cohesion is indicated by the use of grammatical devices whose scope crosses clause boundaries. Thus, referential cross-clausal continuity is indicated by anaphoric or cataphoric pronouns (among other things); temporal continuity by tense, temporal adverbs, and in some cases, verb form; continuity of action by aspect; and so forth. The examples below illustrate the different kinds of continuity:

- 5.5 1. referential: *Sally* ate the wilted lettuce, but *she* didn't like it very much
2. temporal: Sally *opened* the door and *ran* out.
3. action: Sally *is jumping* up and down and *waving* her hands.

With respect to referential coherence, Givón proposes a topic hierarchy, as discussed in chapter 3, with subject being the primary topic and direct object being the secondary topic. It has been noted in the literature that subjects tend to be presupposed, old, or background information (Givón 1984:256; Chafe 1976, *inter alia*); when both direct and indirect objects are present, the direct object tends to be presupposed, old, or

background information. (All languages, however, have mechanisms for reversing this hierarchy and allowing less likely parts of a proposition/clause to become the topical entity.) Therefore, the subjects and sometimes the direct objects are elements of the proposition which must reflect textual cohesion through some form of anaphora.

Temporal and sequential continuity are related to more or less predictable syntactic characteristics different clause types have in combination with other clauses. Givón (1990:852-864) in discussing these syntactic indications of thematic coherence, suggests categorizing different levels of finiteness, where finiteness is a grammatical means to express the degree of dependency of a clause on another clause. Syntactically, a clause is finite if it is marked for tense, aspect, modality, and in languages with pronominal agreement, for pronominal agreement. On a hierarchy of finiteness, the clauses that are most finite are indicative, followed by subjunctives, participials, infinitives, and finally nominalized verb forms. The more predictable a feature is, the less finite the verb form is likely to be, since marking for that feature becomes redundant. Therefore, dependent verbs tend to be less finite, in that one or more of these features are not marked. Subordinate clauses and medial clauses in chains tend to be more predictable and therefore less finite. In clause-chains where there is no explicit switch-reference system medial clauses tend to have the same subject as the final clause. In a chain, one might expect tense-aspect-modality agreements and subject agreement; conversely, a break in agreement, signaled by explicit marking of any of these forms of agreement, can mark the end of a chain. The degree of finiteness is therefore a consequence of thematic coherence (Givón, 1990:876).

These reflections or generalizations do not all seem to hold for West Greenlandic, at least not in the same way. Certainly, tense-aspect markers are found on subordinate or coordinate clauses (contemporatives, participles, and causatives) where they are not marked on indicatives, and all but the contemporative have full pronominal agreement. Furthermore, the causative often acts in the same way as the indicative, as the

independent verb form in a clause-chain. Finally, contemporatives can function as either subordinate or coordinate clauses, whereas causatives and conditionals do not. However, within a clause-chain, as I noted in chapter 3 section 3.4, one tends to find at most one temporal adverb, one set of aspect markers⁸, and so forth. Thus, predictability does seem to affect marking in a clause-chain, although marking is not restricted to independent forms. On the other hand, contemporatives and participials do differ in significant ways from other subordinate structures. Transitive contemporatives lack subject marking, and participials, morphologically similar to indicatives rather than the subordinate moods, are also morphologically identical to some nominalizations and are distinguishable only in that they can be conjugated. Also, unlike the causative and conditional moods, the contemporative does not have the paradigmatically complete formal pronominal marking for switch-reference, and the participial is one of the more ambiguously verbal moods in the system. Structurally, therefore, subordinate and coordinate verb forms in West Greenlandic are morphologically and functionally dissimilar, despite the fact that they are both dependent on the main verb.

Participials (Givón's term, 1990) tend to be less finite and more nominal, to have the same subject as their main clause, and to reflect simultaneous, or cotemporal, action or state and progressive aspect, or sequential time and perfective aspect. Givón equates progressive aspect with backgrounding and sequentiality with foregrounding, (although this is one of his less convincing proposals). Interestingly, it has been found that order with respect to the main clause is important. Preposed participials tend to have wider scope and be anaphoric to elements in previous sentences, whereas postposed participials tend to refer to the main clause (Givón 1990:844-847), in addition to which participial

⁸In my data, clauses are grouped based on high-level intonation features rather than on grammatically-correct clause-chains. This is a reflection of the oral nature of my texts. However, within each intonational group, one can often distinguish subgroups (subparagraphs), sometimes based on intonation (as in the parenthetical paragraphs), and sometimes based on syntactic or semantic grounds, such as verb mood, aspectual indication, and so forth. Thus, if a clause-chain reports on a single occurrence in the past, and one clause indicates habitual activity (e.g. 'once we went to Narsaq and I saw these piked whales' vs 'we used to go there every summer'), one might reasonably propose that the latter has a separate level of textual organization than the chain.

placement tends to affect the temporal interpretation (i.e. as sequential vs. contemporaneous). My data (sections 5.3-5.4) strongly suggests that participial/contemporaneous placement before or after the superordinate clause is related in much the same way to thematic coreference (although this is also highly suggestive of the causative in Greenlandic, which I have not looked at in great detail, see chapter 2). Givón's participials describe West Greenlandic contemporaries and participials both, and as I will discuss below, this suggests an interpretation of the West Greenlandic forms more in line with Lowe's description of the tense system in Inupiaq (see section 5.4.7 and appendix II).

5.2.3 The Contemporaneous and the Participial in Studies of Discourse

Above, the contemporaneous and the participial have been discussed with respect to their identification as switch-reference markers. There exists a study, however, by Ivan Kalmár (1982) of at least one of these forms with respect to its function in discourse in the Inglulingmiut dialect of Inuktitut; it is one of the very few studies of narrative structure on an Inuit language, and the only one I know of which specifically addresses the distribution of the contemporaneous in discourse. Kalmár begins by recognizing the inadequacy of European terminology and categorization in understanding the function of the Inuit verb moods, which he calls modes. In particular, he is interested in the contemporaneous, or appositional (as it is called in studies of Inuktitut and other more western dialects of Eskimo), and the causative, or relative in his terminology (which includes causative and conditional). He analyzes a number of narrative texts collected by Rasmussen, and concludes that the independent moods convey information essential to the narrative, while the causative conveys background information (as opposed to causation, condition, or doubt according to traditional grammatical explanations); both, however, advance the development of the narrative. The contemporaneous clauses are explained as expressing background information, but elaborations at a point of development in the narrative, rather than narrative development. In an attempt to explain participials, he introduces the notions of participant and event focus: the difference

between the participial and the contemporative would be one of focus, with the former being participant focus and the latter event focus. The analysis is interesting insofar as it is one of the first studies of the function of verb moods in Inuktitut discourse, but it is less than successful in its goal. It relies on intuition in explaining the essential, background, or elaborative nature of the clauses of a narrative. Kalmár has produced a number of studies of Inuktitut grammatical features in narrative discourse, but they all seem to suffer from this shortcoming. I have mentioned his work here because it is an interpretation which bears on the discussion below; but I will not be considering this approach to a study of discourse in Eskimo.

5.2.4 The Role of topic in the use and distribution of switch-reference marking in West Greenlandic

There is evidence from switch-reference systems in other languages, as I have shown above, that switch-reference systems can be extended to other phenomena, including discourse-level phenomena such as thematic coherence. Unlike studies of ergativity, however, studies of switch-reference have not shown a clear link to topicality, and switch-reference is generally accepted as referring to subject coreference or lack thereof. Thus, arguing that discourse-level concepts such as topic are being misapplied (see chapters 3 and 4) is not helpful. On the other hand, the kinds of exceptions that have been noted for cases of switch-reference in West Greenlandic strongly suggest discourse-level phenomena. Fortescue's list (1991:56) of anomalous switch-reference environments can to a great extent be restated as discourse environments: reference which lies outside the boundaries of a sentence is an obvious example. In such an environment, topic continuity is already relevant. Pronominal inflections which mark for switch-reference can just as well mark switch-topic. The contemporative and the participial forms, however, are verb moods and in addition to their purported function as referential coherence markers, they also carry information about other kinds of thematic coherence (temporal, sequential, etc.) Unlike ergative or pronominal switch-reference inflection, which marks identifiable entities in a clause, or in other words, subject or topic, etc., verb

moods cannot be said to identify roles in the same way. In fact, to the extent that they can be said to mark switch-reference, they appear to mark thematic, or propositional switch-reference, rather than topic switch-reference.

I suggest that the importance of subject in switch-reference marking is a result of the structure of a West Greenlandic sentence. It is an artifact of clause-chaining, where a thematic paragraph commonly consists of same-subject clause chains because of the continuity of the topic. Switch-reference is understood and explained by assuming a discourse role, topic, such that switch-topic marking reflects paragraph-level organization within and across clause-chains. Further, to the extent that the contemporative and the participial forms indicate referential continuity or lack thereof, they are discourse-level thematic coreference markers. In the following section, I present some evidence that switch-reference in West Greenlandic, like ergativity, reflects topic rather than subject agreement. This is especially noticeable when looking at the scope of coreference: I find that contemporatives and participials which precede their superordinate clause refer back to previous discourse and show the same or different (respectively) theme with respect to previous discourse; and contemporatives and participials which follow may or may not continue the theme from a preceding paragraph, but certainly refer back to the superordinate clause in the same sentence, showing thematic continuity or lack thereof (respectively). I then present both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the clauses in the oral texts I have collected to show that theme is a better explanation of the distribution of contemporatives and participials than subject. In particular, I will look at clause order, instances of contemporatives and participials with exceptional subject agreement or lack thereof and traditional explanations of these exceptions, and finally at topic and thematic continuity with respect to the distribution of these verb moods.

5.3 Data Analysis of Subordinate Pronominal Inflections

Most instances of switch-reference marking in the subordinate moods in my texts are consistent with traditional analyses of same or different subject. In addition, they are

quite consistent with the proposed analysis, in which they indicate same or different topic; this is unsurprising, given that most examples involve intransitive forms:

- 5.6 4.44 *ataataga, aamma soqutigisaqaqigami* (3c)
 my father, because my father had many interests
- 4.45 *kommunerådi Nuummi ilaasortaavoq* '
 he was a member of the community council in Nuuk

The following table lists the number of clauses marked for switch-reference (SR) in the respective texts, the number of anomalous coreferent forms (anom.3c) and the number of anomalous noncoreferent forms (anom.3nc):

Table 5.4

Anomalous Subordinate Mood Pronominal Inflections

Text	1a	1b	2	3a	3b	4
#SR	12	24	15	12	6	9
#anom. 3c	3	6	9	7	0	1-3
#anom.3nc	0	1	0	0	0	0

It is evident from this table that for the most part, anomalous reference can be found at least one fourth of the time. Anomalous reference seems to be confined to coreference rather than noncoreference. This is in part due to a preponderance of examples of coreference in my texts, as opposed to examples of noncoreference. Because of this, I reserve my comments below to anomalous coreference. P. Langgård (personal communication) suggests there is a tendency towards paradigmatic leveling of the causative, as the noncoreferential third person form is suppletive. However, the speakers in my texts seem to be at ease with both coreferential and noncoreferential forms. Once again, the instances of anomalous coreference can be explained by an analysis based on topic continuity or shift.

In the following example, all clauses but 131 are in the causative; this section can be said to begin in clause 122 with the reflection clause *eqqaamavara* 'I remember...'; the indicative immediately preceding clause 127 is the last clause of the preceding intonation

group, and the subject is 'hunters/kayakers'. The indicative immediately following this example, in clause 135, has the subject 'we children'. Thus, in either case, there are anomalous references to be explained. In the simplest approach, the subordinate clauses with coreferent marking, in clauses 127 and 128 refer back to clause 126 and assume the same subject, 'hunters':

- 5.7 1b.126 amerlasoorpassuupput taamani)}}
there were very many [hunters/kayakers] at that time
- 1b.127 {Tikillaraangamik (3c) ualikkut_}'
when they [hunters] came back in the afternoon
- 1b.128 ullaakkut aallarunik (3c)_}'
after having gone out in the morning
- 1b.129 ilaanni_puisit_arfineq-pingasut qulit_sinnerlugilluunniit kalillugit_}'
sometimes [with] seals, eight, ten, or even more in tow
- 1b.130 {tikileraangata (3nc)_}'
whenever they began to arrive
- 1b.131 meerarpasuulluta
we were a lot of children
- 1b.132 sissamukaasaratta_
we used to go as a group to the beach
- 1b.133 tassani pilattaramikkit (3c) tassa taamani_
and there they used to cut them up that is in those days
- 1b.134 pilannerini_}'
in its being cut up
- 1b.135 uagut_tinguttuuttarpugut_/'
we [children] all used to eat the liver

The two clauses which require explanation are clauses 130 and 133, the former being marked for noncoreference and the latter for coreference. If 'hunter' is assumed to be the superordinate reference (from clauses 126, 127, and 128), then clause 130 is anomalous. If 'child' is assumed to be the superordinate reference (cataphorically, from clause 135), then clause 133 is anomalous. On the other hand, in context, it can be seen that the topic changes, briefly, in clause 129, with the fronting and intonational isolation of 'seals' (this is more than a brief, passing local topic; it is taken up again in the clauses that follow);

immediately thereafter, in clause 130, 'hunters' is marked as noncoreferential. The coreferential marking in clause 133 reestablishes 'hunters' as topical; but at the same time, the clause is ergative, and the object is 'seals'. In fact, both 'hunters' and 'seals' are topics, and coreferential marking on the verb here signals degree of topicality. Explanations which depend on the degree of transitivity of the subjects must fail, given that 'hunters' is clearly more agentive than 'seals' and it is subject in both the coreferent and noncoreferent cases.

In the same text, there are a number of examples of coreference which can only be explained as thematic:

- 5.8 1b.164 {Qaqortuminngaanniit Narsamukartarpugut_'
we used to go from Qaqortoq to Narsaq
- 1b.165 Ataasiarlunga
I did once [one time]
- 1b.166 eqqaamagigia,
I remember it
- 1b.167 taamanikkut aamma_eqqaamalluariga_
I remember it well
- 1b.168 assorjujussuaq taamani_tikaagulleqartarami (3c)_}
there were many many lesser rorquals

Technically, there is no coreference here. Clause 168 can, however, be seen as the object of the participial in clause 167 (see section 5.4.4), which explains not only the ergative construction, but the coreference marking on what is overtly identified as topical (i.e. the presence of the whales). For other clear examples from this text, see clauses 119, and 179.

In the following text, most of the potential subjects are actually incorporated into the verb form and the clauses, in English, are translatable only through the use of dummy subjects; in West Greenlandic, the subject is either 3sg or 3pl and refers to the incorporated noun:

- 5.9 2.65 {Taavalu_taamanikkut angallaterpassuusaramik (3c).
and then at that time there were a lot of ships

(aammalu piniarniat, maanilu nunaqarfiit,
and hunters and settlements here
- 2.66 taamanikkut Sisimiut_nunaqarfippaalussuaqarami (3c) aamma)/
and at that time Sisimiut had rather many settlements
- 2.67 Ikerasakkut Uummannaaarsukkut Saqqakkut tamakkua Itillikkut_
Kiersak Uummannaaarsuaq Saqqa and this one Itilleq

tamakkua inuit assaqtakkut_
and those people. the people from Assaqlutaq
- 2.68 aamma taamanikkut tappavunga ilummut kangerlummut tassa_
and at that time [they took] to the fjord up there you know
- 2.69 upernaakkut tappanna saarulleqarnerusarmat (3nc)/_
because in the spring up there there used to be more codfish
- 2.70 tappavunga aallaarattartorsuugamik (3c)_}
they were a lot of people who used to camp/hunt⁹ up there

To say that the subjects of clauses 65, 66 and 70 are the same is inaccurate: in the first, the subject is 3pl and refers to the incorporated noun and the following coordinated nouns; in the next, the subject is clearly 'Sisimiut'; and in the last, it is again 3pl, referring this time to the incorporated nominalized form 'ones who go hunting/camping a lot'. Assuming topic or thematic reference, however, we see that there is thematic continuity throughout: 'settlements' is repeated (lexically) from clause 65 to clause 66, and it is in the semantics of clause 70. The noncoreferent form in clause 69 is particularly interesting in that the pronominal noncoreferent marking is 3sg and refers to the incorporated noun 'codfish': the only mention of 'codfish' in this section is in this clause. While clause 69 is not anomalous according to traditional interpretation, it lends support to one in which topic or theme replaces subject as the relevant factor in determining coreference.

In the same text is a rather clear example of topic, rather than theme, determining coreference:

⁹This was glossed as 'hunt' in the lexicon but translated as 'camp' by the transcriber/translator.

- 5.10 2.92 taamanikkummi qassuterpaalussuarnik piniuteqartarpugut tassa_}
at that time we had rather a lot of nets as equipment. you know
- 2.93 {taavalu_soorunami arlalippasuusaramik (3c) tamakkua qassutit_
because of course there were a lot of those nets
- 2.94 aammalu ipuinnaq tassa imaak angalsuugatta_
and by rowing [with oars] only you know since we moved like this
- 2.95 unnuaq ilaanni tamangajaat, tamaat tassami_
sometimes almost the whole night. the whole in any case
- 2.96 piniuserisarpugut_
we had to deal with the equipment
- 2.97 aammami_imak_ilarussimasartorsuugamik (3c)
and they might have to be untangled
- 2.98 imaalitsiaannarlugit aamma_
and in a short period of time
- 2.99 naammassineq ajornartaramik (3c)_}
they were usually impossible to finish

The local topic here is 'nets': it is also the subject of clauses 93, 97, and 99, all of which are marked for coreference. The subjects of all independent and superordinate clauses, however, however is 1pl ('we'). Again, where traditional interpretations fail, assuming topic rather than subject coreference seems to resolve the problem.

Yet another example of topic coreference is found in text 3a:

- 5.11 3a.49 {Makkuami pujortagassat cigaritsit?}
What about these, tobacco and cigarettes?
- 3a.50 {Pujortartorujussuugaluarama_
I used to smoke very much but
- 3a.51 ullormut_20-it nungunngilaaginnartaralarakkit
I finished a little bit less than 20 a day...
- 3a.52 1987-arsimi tassanngaannarsuaq pujortarunnaarama_
in 1987 from then on I stopped smoking
- 3a.53 uanga cigaritsip ajuleraminga (3c)_/
cigarettes didn't like me anymore
- 3a.54 uanga cigaritsi ajulinngikkalarpara_
but I don't like cigarettes anymore
- 3a.55 taamangaasit oqartarpunga}
that is what I say

3a.56 {Qanuttut ajuleramitit (3c)?}
how did they stop liking you?

In all clauses with coreferent marking, the subject is 'cigarettes', yet the subject of the superordinate clauses (clauses 50-52 are all causative, but 54 and 55 are both indicative, lest verb mood should be questioned) is the narrator (1sg). 'Cigarettes' is established as topical by the interviewer in clause 49 and is maintained as the topic throughout this stretch of text. In the same text, the narrator establishes a theme, 'to smoke/inhale' and coreference can be seen to pertain to this theme (see clauses 59 and 60). Other clear examples of topic or thematic coreference can be found in clauses 3a.75, 83, and 103.

4.12: a discussion of these adds nothing to what I have brought up before.

On the surface, an interpretation of switch-reference as switch-topic in West Greenlandic seems to work quite well. There is, however, a complicating factor, in the existence of object coreferent morphology. If the object of a subordinate construction is the topic, then one must assume that it will be marked for coreference. I have not found this to be the case in my data. In example 5.11 above, 'cigarettes' has been identified as the topic; yet in clause 3a.51, the verb is marked with 1sg.subj/3nc.obj causative agreement:

5.12 3a.51 ullormut_20-it nungunngilaaginnartalarakkit
nungu-nngit-laaq-innaq-saq-galuaq-gakkit
finish-neg-little-just-habit-conseq-trans.1sg.subj/3nc.obj.C
I finished a little bit less than 20 [cigarettes] a day

The expected form would have been *-garsik* '1sg.subj/3c.obj.C'. Throughout my texts, in fact, I find that where topic is in object position in a subordinate clause, the object marking is consistently for noncoreference. This is true in clauses 1b.133, 1b.176, 1b.213, 2.11, 3a.2, 3a.6, 3a.51, 3a.75, 3a.81, and 3b.160. In most cases, the subject is first person. In two cases, 1b.133 and 3a.75, the object cannot be marked for coreference since the subject is:

- 5.13 1b.133 tassani pilattaramikkit tassa taamani_
 pilaC-saq-gamikkit
 cut.up-habit-trans.3c.pl.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 and there they [hunters] used to cut them [seals] up that is in those days

As explained in example 5.7 above, 'hunters' is vying for topic status with 'seals' in this clause. Unfortunately, there is no example in my texts of a third person noncoreferent subject and third person coreferent object, which, I think, is the combination necessary to draw a conclusion (one way or the other) about topic versus object coreference here.

There is, for that matter, no example in my texts of the use of coreferent object marking, regardless of subject (first, second, or third person). One speaker mistake was made which may or may not be suggestive:

- 5.14 3a.2 D.L.-ip_ima-siuliatigut_innuttaasut illuanni utoqqaat
 D.L., you know, before, in the community house, old people

 naapisimaranni-- naapisimaaratsigut_
 naapi-sima-ganni naapi-sima-gatsigik¹⁰
 meet-perf-trans.1sg.subj/3c.sg.obj.CA meet-perf-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 I have met her- we have met them

*(D.L.-ip, you know, when I met her- when we met the old people
 before in the community house...)*

It is interesting to note that the interviewer was going to use the third coreferent form to refer to the speaker of text 3a (the above extract was from the interviewer's speech preceding speaker 3a's text), but having misspoken, the interviewer corrected himself and used a third plural noncoreferent form to refer to 'old people'. On the other hand, speaker 3 later uses the third singular noncoreferent form *-gakku* in the same circumstances (see 3a.81-82). Thus, without further evidence, one might be tempted to suggest that object coreferent forms are less frequently used: and that topics in object position, being already identified by the use of the transitive construction, need not be redundantly be marked with coreferent pronominal agreement on the verb. The question is then, obviously, what does object coreference refer to? The answer must only come from examples of real use, and these are unfortunately not available to me.

¹⁰See footnote 7 of text 1b

5.4 Data Analysis of Contemporatives and Participials

I have now discussed, despite a shortage of examples, the plausibility of an analysis of switch-reference pronominal marking based on discourse roles in West Greenlandic. It remains to be seen, however, how this analysis is suited to a description and explanation of the last switch-reference mechanism I discussed in section 5.1, namely switch-reference as indicated by the use of the contemporative or participial verb moods. Demonstrating that topic and theme are relevant notions in explaining the distribution of these moods, however, is less straight-forward than demonstrating the same for ergative structures and pronominal switch-reference inflection, in part because the contemporative and participial moods are associated with other functions. Consequently, the presentation below is more detailed.

5.4.1 Quantitative Analysis

In the following tables, the columns represent the 6 texts used for this analysis. The rows indicate an approximate number of clauses in the texts, the number of contemporative or participial clauses in each text, the number which precede or follow the clause to which they are subordinated, the number of clauses for which such a determination could not be made without reasonable doubt, and the number of clauses with unexpected subject coreference or noncoreference (for participials and contemporatives, respectively).

The determination of clause hierarchy depended on a number of factors, including intonation, thematic continuation, and conjunctions. Clauses were determined to be subordinate to another clause within the same intonational group (indicated by roman numerals in the transcriptions and tables, see appendices) if they modified in some way another clause (e.g. an adverbial clause such as 1a.21 *ukiorlu naallugu* (CT) 'and all winter long' modifies the clause 1a.22 *qajaq atorluarneqaqaaq* (P) 'the kayak is very much used'). Modification could involve a clause with subordinate mood inflection modifying a clause with independent mood inflection (see 1a.1a.58 and 1a.59 'and when

they had moved them in those days (CA) they [were] given houses not yet built (I)'); two subordinate moods (two contemporatives as in 1a.62 and 1a.63 'sometimes over more than a year (CT) they had to live in another house (CT), a contemporative and a causative, as in 1a.60 and 1a.61 'and whenever they moved (CA) they first had to build houses themselves (CT), and so forth). Parenthetical clauses, indicated by parentheses in the data, were considered to be outside the scope of the immediate hierarchy of a group of clauses (unless of course contemporative or participial clauses occurred within the parentheses). For the purposes of the tables below, clauses were considered subordinate to the immediately superordinate clause rather than to the highest clause in the intonational group; problems and questions which arise from this will be discussed below. Contemporative or participial clauses which began or ended an intonational group were rather obviously counted as clauses which preceded or followed, respectively, a superordinate clause. Non-initial medial clauses sometimes presented problems in determining the proper hierarchy, and in these cases, both intonational clues and clues from the clausal semantics and thematic continuity were used. Neither type of clue is satisfactory by itself, and problems will be discussed below.

The number of contemporative or participial clauses with noncoreferent or coreferent subjects, respectively, was determined based on the hierarchies determined for clause order, described above. Again, differences which might arise from considering different levels of hierarchy will be discussed below.

Table 5.5a

Contemporatives

Text	1a	1b	2	3a	3b	4
# clauses	104	116	113	125	68	100
# CT	30	25	26	27	18	23
before	8	10	7	9	7	10
after	22	14	14	15	10	12
unsure	0	1	2	3 or 4	1	1
diff. subj.	9	7	7	5	6	12

Table 4b

Participial

Text	1a	1b	2	3a	3b	4
# clauses	104	116	113	125	68	100
# P	15	10	8	9	9	4
before	3	5	5	3	3	3
after	9	4	3	5	6	1
unsure	3	1	0	1 (P? N?)	0	
same subj.	10	3	1	0	1	0

5.4.2 General Findings and Observations

From the tables, several things are obvious, namely that clause order does not conform to that of prototypical switch-reference systems, as reported in the literature, and that at least one third of the time, contemporatives are used where subjects are noncoreferent; the proportions are smaller for participials. Furthermore, as contemporatives and participials together account for roughly one-third to slightly less than one-half of all clauses (others being indicatives, causatives, conditionals, and interrogatives, with occasional nominalized and relative forms), they are significant

enough to consider investigating anomalies. The most direct reflection of switch-reference is subject coreference or noncoreference; but both the contemporative and the participial have multiple grammatical functions, and proof that they reflect something other than subject coreference is less clearly available from anomalous coreference or lack thereof than such proof was for other forms of switch-reference discussed in section 5.3.

5.4.3 An Alternative Explanation for the Distribution of the Contemporative and the Participial

In keeping with my explanation of switch-reference with respect to pronominal marking in section 5.3 above, I suggest that switch-reference in West Greenlandic is more a reflection of topic or thematic reference than subject reference. However, as I have noted above, the contemporative and the participial differ in kind from other forms of switch-reference marking. I find that to that to the extent that they reflect coreferentiality, they tend to reflect thematic rather than topic coreference (or lack thereof). It is important, however, to bear in mind that both verb forms have multiple functions, and their use as markers of thematic switch-reference is likely to be the result of paradigmatic irregularities in the system. All subordinate moods have some pronominal switch-reference marking, but the contemporative is not paradigmatically complete in this respect and the participial is ambiguous in its use as a verbal form unless it is inflected for case (unambiguously nominal) or for transitivity (unambiguously verbal; I address the possible origin of the use of these verb moods as switch-reference markers in appendix II). In the following section, I discuss methods of identifying themes in a text, in so doing showing the plausibility of viewing the contemporative and the participial moods as markers of thematic continuity or shift. In following sections, I discuss first the effect of clause order on the scope of a theme, then the contemporative and the participial moods in turn, presenting examples of anomalous switch-reference for each, and providing explanations within a theory of thematic continuity.

In discussing thematic continuity and shift, it is of course necessary to have some systematic guidelines for identifying the theme of a section of text. The issue has been raised before (see chapter 3 section 3.3 and chapter 4 section 4.4), although primarily within the context of topic identification. Unlike systems of pronominal inflection, however, whether they mark coreference or argument status, the contemporative and the participial are verb moods; and in the analysis of my data, it has become apparent that they indicate thematic rather than topic continuity or shift. This makes eminent sense, given that the definition of 'theme' revolves around the proposition and not the nominal entity in a clause. What this means, however, is an increased likelihood of ambiguity and therefore disagreement on the reading of a text, since themes are more likely to be expressed via synonyms and paraphrases than topics are (pronominal forms of the latter notwithstanding). In my texts several means of establishing the theme are apparent, in addition to methods discussed before (intonational emphasis, varying word order, etc.); these include the (lexical) repetition of phrases, clauses, or other constituent parts of the text and the appeal to contextual knowledge by the use of particular lexical items. In three of my texts, the format of the text itself, the interview, permits the general identification of local themes. Themes are established by the questions and generally expanded upon in the answers.

It has long been said that most clauses in discourse have relatively little new information and much more old information; in practical terms, there must be a great deal of repetition in discourse. Repetition of information is in essence thematic continuity, or coherence. In the most extreme instances, some of which have been noted by Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976), entire paragraphs are routinely repeated in narration. Although this level of repetition does not seem to be an inherent part of Greenlandic discourse, at least based on my texts, the speaker of text 2 in particular seems to approach it. In the following, for example, clauses 18-26 are conceptually repeated in clauses 27-31:

- 5.15 2.18 {Taamanikkullu_1920-ip aallartisimalernerani,
At that time at the beginning of the 1920's,

aalisarneq_saarullinnik aalisarneq aatsaat aallarnersalerpoq (I)_}
fishing, codfish fishing was first going to start
- 2.19 {Eqqaamalluarpara (I)
I remember it well
- 2.20 meerallunga (CT)_taamanikkut_
I was a child then
- 2.21 massakkut amutsiviup akiani_ilinniartut_ilinniartut illukuat_
now on the other side of the shipyard there was a former student's house
- 2.22 taassuma illup kangia tungaani_itorsiumanermiikkami (CA)
that one to the east of the house over there is a little depression

qooqqiumanermi_
in the valley
- 2.23 illungaatsiapilorujussuaq
a little bigger than a big house
- 2.24 imaappoq (I) sana- sanaaq_
it means it has been built
- 2.25 ilungaatsiapilorujussuaq uingasoq (P/N),
the rather larger than big house was slanted
- 2.26 taanna "Eqaluit inaannik" taasarpaput (I)}
that one we called char's place
- 2.27 {Tassalu taanna_aalisarnermut_saarulliornermut_
And that [house] to the fishing industry, to the codfishing industry

Sisimiuni_aallarnersaataalluni (CT)_
in Sisimiut, it was the means to begin
- 2.28 taanna illuusarsuaq uingasoq (P/N)_/
that house was slanted/uneven; or that house with the slanted roof
- 2.29 uingasumik qalialik (R)_/
the one with the roof with a tilt
- 2.30 (eqaluit inaannik taasartagarput (I)),
we used to call it the place of char
- 2.31 tassa ima tarajorterivittut atoqqaarsimavoq (I)/taanna_
like you know, it was first used as a salting place, that one

In most cases, however, clause by clause repetition of information for whole paragraphs is not the norm in my texts. In most cases, a clause which repeats information either

repeats the immediately preceding clause(s) or clauses from preceding paragraphs. The following illustrates repetition of an immediately preceding clause:

- 5.16 1b.104 {taava ajoqit eqqartullatsiaratsigit (CA)
so we told you about/mentioned the catechists
- 1b.105 aatsaaginnaq eqqartullatsiarpakka (I)_,
just now I talked about/mentioned them

In the second case, the clauses tend to reestablish a previously mentioned setting (temporal, spatial, etc). In text 1b, for example, the speaker focuses on the time of his childhood: "when we were children", or variations thereof, is repeated throughout the text, in clauses 109, 122, and 130:

- 5.17 1b.109 taamani uagut meeraasugut (P)_/
at that time when we were children
- 1b.122 meeraalluta (CT) upernaakkut_
when we were children in the spring
- 1b.130 meerarpassuulluta (CT)
we were a lot of children

Clauses which establish a general setting, whether temporal or situational, present information which is assumed to be relevant throughout the following text, unless specifically changed. Thus, the speaker in texts 1a and 1b often alternates between the recollections, all occurring 'when we were children', and recollection clauses such as 'today the occupations are...' or 'I think this (i.e. now that I am an adult)'. Clauses which establish a temporal or spatial setting are often repeated, whether for emphasis, contrast, or as a way to gain time during gaps in the narration, but these clauses are often different in structure and content when repeated. Thus, in text 2, the speaker, in discussing the hardships of earlier days, says that he and his co-workers only had boats with oars at the time; in later clauses, he reminds the listener of this through elliptical constructions:

- 5.18 2.48 (taamanikkut ipuinnarmik angallateqarpugut (I)
at that time we had only boats with oars
- 2.74 {tassalu tappavannga imaappoq_
and so from up there, you know,

taamanikkut siullermik Akisaminngaanniit_'
at that time at first from Akisa,

Utoqqat Saqqaanut allaat taamanikkut tassa_
Utoqqaat, to Saqqa, others in those days

ipuinnaq_/
only oars [i.e. only rowing]

qassusersorfigalugu (CT),
setting nets

2.84 tappavanngaanniit silammut_ 'ipuinnaq_'
[we go] out from there, only oars

2.94 aammalu ipuinnat tassa imaak angalasuugatta (CA)_/
and only oars [i.e. by only rowing] you know since we moved like this

2.110 {Taamanikkut_ipuataarluni (CT)
in those days, rowing

Reviewing the data in terms of thematic continuity or lack thereof, contemporatives and participials consistently occur with same-theme and different topic/theme clauses respectively. In the examples listed above, where contemporatives are used (as opposed to causatives or indicatives), they are used not to introduce but to continue or repeat a theme (e.g. clauses 1b.122, 1b.130, and 2.110 above).

Lexical or phrasal repetition is only one way in which thematic coherence may be signaled. More often, a speaker develops a theme by means of descriptive phrases. In text 1a, clauses 47 through 66, for example, speaker 1 describes the hardships that the catechists were made to suffer at the hands of the management (cf. clause 50 'they have not been paid well by the management'), by listing a variety of hardships, such as having no say in a move, having to build their own houses, and living in another's house. The segment of text is lengthy, and parts will be discussed further below in connection with individual speakers' methods of introducing themes (see example 5.21; see appendix for full text).

In some cases, however, neither lexical repetition or synonymy signals thematic development; rather, a certain amount of cultural contextual knowledge in the hearer is

assumed by the speaker. For example, in text 4, the speaker assumes a common knowledge of the local area in which the discourse is situated:

- 5.19 4.17 siullermik_seminariami tuaqataavoq (I)
the first time he [father] went to the seminary [teacher's school]
- 4.18 ima kursuserpoq (I)
like to take courses
- 4.19 maannakkutoorlugu (CT)_'
it would be called now
- 4.20 1929-imi_}
[it was] in 1929
- 4.21 {Taava_tamaterna kinguninngaatsiarsuagut 1942-imi
so then much later in 1942
- 4.22 aamma kingumut ukiivoq (I) Nuummi_
and he again was one year in Nuuk
- 4.23 aamma seminariami_atuaqataalluni (CT)_}
and he learned in the seminary

The seminary in Nuuk is a religiously-based teacher's training seminary, and until very recently it was the only one in Greenland. When the speaker says, in clause 22, that his father again spent one year in Nuuk, the speaker is assuming that the first extended period in Nuuk occurred during 1929 (see clause 17). Clause 22, therefore, is not really new information, and the contemporative in clause 23, therefore, really does continue a common theme. (Furthermore, going to the seminary implied an education as a catechist, whose job it was not only to provide religious education but also elementary education, among other things. The contemporatives in 23, 24, and 26 of this text, therefore, all refer to information implied through clauses 11, 14, and 15-22; see appendix for full text.) For other examples of contextually-based information and thematic development, see in particular the footnotes of text 2 (appendix III).

Although most of my efforts were directed toward collecting continuous text, three of my texts are interviews. Texts 2 and 3b have rather long stretches of uninterrupted text, but the interviewer features regularly in text 3a. It is possible to see, therefore, the effect of the interviewer's questions on the text following the questions.

Typically, a question establishes a theme (even if it is only asking for elaboration of a theme introduced by the speaker) and the speaker has this in mind as she answers. For example, the interviewer suggests that speaker 3 looks young in clause 21; in clauses 22 to 37, the speaker talks about the fact that she looks good (but does not necessarily feel good). In clause 35, the speaker suggests that perhaps the fact that she does not drink beer might affect her looks. In clause 38, she is asked about drinking beer; in clauses 39 to 48, she discusses drinking beer. In clause 49 she is asked about cigarettes; in clauses 50 to 55, she discusses cigarettes; and so forth. Although she may diverge for one or more paragraphs, her answer is shaped by the interviewer's question:

5.20 3a.71 aneertarpiit? (IN)_}
do you go out for walks?

3a.72-87 speaker 3 discusses her old house and her feelings towards moving to a new house

3a.88 aneersuarlunga (CT)
I went for walks a lot

3a.89 aneersuarlunga (CT)_
I went for walks a lot

3a.90 ullorsuaq pisarpunga (I)
I used to do this all day long

3a.91 silagitsillugu (CT)_/
if the weather was good

3a.92 Assorsuaq maqasivara (I) massakut_}
I miss it very much now

The speaker's digression was in fact a long introduction to the actual answer, that she used to go for walks when she still lived in her old house. The theme was never lost, the stage was merely being set; the contemporatives in clauses 89 and 90 thus do not refer to reintroduced material but to continued material, the 17 intervening clauses notwithstanding.¹¹

¹¹ This must bring up questions of gap length and givenness status; 17 clauses is substantially more than many people allow for the maintenance of given information. The example should show, however, that gap length is unpredictable, and attempts to rely on methods of studying the flow of information based on gap length statistics are inadequate unless supplemented by contextual information.

This form of thematic identification is of course not available in the other texts. Other speakers have their own, regularly preferred methods of signaling theme; however, the use of reflection clauses (see chapter 3) seems to be one of the most commonly used devices. Speaker 1 tends to introduce a theme in the clauses following a reflection clause, and to elaborate on this theme in following clause-chains. For example, in clause 47, (see also discussion above about text 1a, clauses 47 to 65), the speaker makes a reflection; in clauses 48 to 50, he introduces the theme, and in clauses 51 to 66, he elaborates on this theme:

- 5.21 1a.47 {Taamaattumik ajoqit_imaannaanngitsumik_qutsavissarai (I) nunatta_
And therefore the catechists who are not without importance

ullumikkut_/
today
- 1a.48 aamma tamakku sulerujussuarsimasut (P)_/
and they worked a lot, those ones
- 1a.49 imaannaanngitsorujussuarmik_sulisimasut (P)_'
they worked in a very important way
- 1a.50 kisianni_pitsaviunngitsumik_pineqartarsimasut (P)_aqutsisuninngaanniit
they have not been paid well/well taken care of by the management
- 1a.51-1a.66 they were moved on a whim
they were given houses not yet built
they had to build the houses themselves
etc.

This segment of text is interesting for a number of reasons. In addition to clauses introducing the theme of this section, I note the use of participials, precisely where a new theme is being introduced. The next use of a participial is in clause 68, with the introduction (in the same way, after a reflection clause) of a new theme. Further, there are quite a number of clauses within the section of text from 1a.51 to 1a.66 with contemporatives. Speaker 4 also regularly uses reflection clauses (see clauses 1, 15, 27, 44, and 60); he also makes use of incorporated particles to repeat a theme:

- 5.22 4.29 Qaarusumminngaanniit nuupput (I) Saarlumut_'
they moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq
- 4.30 taamaalillunilu (CT),
and it was like this
- 4.31 Saarloq inuttusiallappoq (I)_'
Saarloq became more populated

Examples of this are found in clauses 4, 13, 24, etc. (see appendix) and in most cases are in the contemporative (and never in the participial) mood.

5.4.4 Clause Order

Both contemporatives and participials show definite semantic differences based on their distribution in a clause. Contemporatives and participials which precede their immediately superordinate clause tend to have a temporal meaning, and contemporatives which do not precede tend to have a causative or locative meaning. Both contemporatives and participials which follow tend to be associable with manner, or they function as objects of their superordinate clause, although almost all of the participials in my texts function as objects.

This confirms a number of statements by Fortescue (1984): that participials usually have a temporal sense preceding the main verb and usually represent an object clause when following (1984:59); and that contemporatives can be used in adverbial clauses of time, manner, and cause (among others--actually, the contemporative is something of a default mood). Fortescue claims that in these functions the contemporatives generally precede the main verb (1984:62). Object clauses with coreferential subjects are also contemporative. My data shows some notable differences, however. In text after text, the majority of contemporative clauses follow the superordinate verb and seem to have functions different from those which precede, although there is some overlap. In general, contemporative clauses which precede the independent verb tend to be temporal, causative, or locative in function, whereas those which follow tend to be adverbial clauses of manner, object clauses, or generally descriptive.

- 5.23 1b.218 Aamma_peroreerlunga (CT-temporal)
when I was already an adult
- 1b.219 tassa paasivara (I)/
I understood it
- 1b.220 ilumoortoq taanna (P-obj)_
that it was true, that [what was said before]
- 5.24 1a.95 pissaqarniarlutik (CT-cause)_
to have food
- 1a.96 qajartorneq ilinniartarpaat (I)
they had to learn to be kayak-rowers
- 1a.97 ilikkavillugu (CT-manner)_
learning it completely
- 5.25 3a.33 Naluara (I)
I don't know [it]
- 3a.34 sooq taamaannerlunga (CT-obj)
why I am like that

There are a number of instances in which these tendencies may explain ambiguities or lack of structural clarity in the texts, as I will show in the discussion to follow.

Ellipsis of the superordinate clause is obvious in the following, in which the intonational group consists of clauses from 4.74 to 4.81, and in which the two overt indicatives cannot be considered the relevant superordinate form to the contemporatives below:

- 5.26 4.74-4.78 but then just to mention these a bit_
I will talk a little about my childhood_/
at that time in the time of my childhood_'
there were animals that were hunted_'
I can give the list of the hunted animals_'
In the winter_[there were] foxes_' ptarmigans_' and hares_'
- 4.79 taavalu aamma_soorunalumi puisit_'
and then of course what about the seals
- 4.80 sikukkut avungalu, Natsilimmut_'
across the ice up north to Natsilik

Saarluminngaanniit ilaanni sisoraarserlutik (CT-manner)
sometimes putting skis on from Saarloq from Saarloq

- 4.81 piniariartarlutik (CT-manner)_}
hunting

In the following, the intonation and the semantics seem to clash. 1b.186, a temporal adverbial clause, semantically, should belong to the following clauses rather than the preceding (it being impossible to have already drunk tea before waking up). The contemporatives in clauses 1b.189-190 can be read as either adverbials of time or manner; given the general tendencies noted above, they can be interpreted as temporal adverbs.

- 5.27 1b.185 lindaleeqqap_Ittup_Ittup_ullaakkut_tamatta iteraangatta (CA)_
Henry_Grandfather_Grandfather_in the morning_ all of us together would
wake up

- 1b.186 tiitoreerluta (CT-temporal)_/
when we had already drunk tea

- 1b.187 taava inimut iserluta (CT-temporal)_'
then [when] we entered/came into the room

Ittup issia_
Grandfather to his chair

- 1b.188 pattagissaminut ingikkuni (CO)_/
if he sat down at the piano

- 1b.189 taava_inersimasut_nalaasaarfimmut issiavikuluunullu issaallutik (CT)
then the adults_sitting down on the couch and in arm chairs

- 1b.191 uagut meeqqat natermut ingilluta (CT)_'
we children sitting down on the ground

- 1b.192 taava Ittup qinnutinnguaq atuartarpaa (I)_/
then Grandfather would read a little prayer

(The same general clash of intonation and semantics occurs in 1b.135-137, some of which, however, is an afterthought.)

Of course, there are a number of instances in which a contemporative clause seems to function as an adverbial manner clause and actually occurs before its superordinate, and so forth; for the most part, however, there do seem to be clear functional differences between those which precede or follow the superordinate verb

form, and as such, some determination of of clausal hierarchy can be made based on these tendencies.

Perhaps more importantly, the semantic differences due to the different ordering of the various kinds of modifying clauses affects the scope of coreference. In all my texts, I have found a clear functional difference in the scope of thematic continuity between contemporatives and participials which precede or follow the superordinate clause. Contemporative clauses which precede the superordinate refer to information from a previous paragraph or intonational group. This is especially true of temporal adverbial clauses such as 'when we were children', as in clause 131 of text 1b, which repeats information from clauses 109 and 122 (both of which are 'when we were children'). Those which follow the superordinate for the most part continue the theme of the immediately preceding superordinate (see example 5.24 above). Participials which precede their superordinates signal paragraph-level thematic shifts, and participials which follow their superordinates signal very local shifts in theme (with some variation in the meaning of local/paragraph-level between speakers). Thus, in the following example, speaker 1, by far the most prolific user of participials, uses the participial in clause 44 as a local shift from the theme of clauses 43 to 46:

- 5.28 1a.43 {Taakkutuaappullu (I) ajoqit tassa_
And the catechists were the only ones then

taamanikkut ilisimasassanik_tiguinnarisassanik_
in those days who could spread knowledge
- 1a.44 ilinniartinneqarsimasut (P) Ilinniarfissuarmi_
they had been educated in the Greenlandic Seminary
- 1a.45 taakkulu ilinniakkatik, namminerlu aamma_
and this knowledge, their own

eqqarsaatersuutisik atorlugit (CT)_qaammarsaaneq annertoorujussuaq_
and using their own philosophy, the enormous education
- 1a.46 sinerissami tamarmi_ingerlatarivaat (I_)
they spread it all over the coast

Compare this to the paragraph-level shifts in theme by the same speaker in text 1b (discussed at length in connection with anomalous coreference in section 5.4.5.2).

5.4.5 The Contemporative

As I have noted before, there are a number of systematic exceptions to regular switch-reference patterns in the use of the contemporative in West Greenlandic. These exceptions are noted by Fortescue (1991), Bergsland (1955), and others, and include most, if not all, of the environments which I make note of below. What I have found is therefore not surprising. I offer a new interpretation of these exceptions which has rather more explanatory power than the traditional explanations. Rather than providing a list of environments in which we may expect to see exceptions, I find most of these exceptions to be understandable within the greater context of the discourse. I do not, however, satisfactorily explain all instances of the contemporative. Some can be attributed to other functions of the contemporative, such as that of indicating simultaneous time. Others, however, remain exceptional, and I discuss these in section 5.4.7.

5.4.5.1 Some Issues in the Determination of Same vs. Different Subject

5.4.5.1.1 Structural Ambiguities

The transitive and intransitive forms of the contemporative are almost identical, the only exception being the third person noncoreferent object. Other forms are structurally ambiguous, and depend on the context for interpretation (see 5.1.2.3).

5.29 1a.89 {Toqusoqarpat (CO)
If there is a dead one [When/if someone dies]

1a.90 toqusunik ilisilluni (CT)_/
he buries the dead ones

1a.91 kuisittoqassappat (CO)
if there is someone to be christened

1a.92 kuisillugit (CT)_/
he christens them

1a.90 above can be interpreted as marking either 3sg subject or 3sg coreferential object, especially since preceding clauses, all with *-luni* or *-lugu*, alternate between transitive and

intransitive; but it is clear that the form must be interpreted as intransitive here, both from the context, especially given 1a.92, and from the instrumental marking on its argument. The identity of form for coreferential subject or object, however, can be expected to be confusing in conversational speech and is a potential source for subject noncoreference in contemporatives, if one assumes the identity of the contemporative mood with subject coreference. This example further illustrates a problem of the clausal hierarchy (about which more below): the contemporatives have coreferent objects but not coreferent subjects with the immediately superordinate verb form, the conditional. The subjects of the contemporatives are, however, coreferential with those of the indicative of the intonational group (the boundaries of which are somewhat unclear).

Whether or not these are seen as examples of subject coreference, they do not conflict with an interpretation based on thematic continuity. Clauses 81 to 93 of text 1a are all items in a list of the duties of the catechists, a theme introduced by clause 79 'it is true those ones have worked amazingly'. Thus, although the contemporatives in this part of the text do not repeat each other, they all commonly support a same theme.

5.4.5.1.2 Inclusion, or Overlapping Subject; Object Constructions

Of the contemporative clauses identified as clauses with subjects different than the clause to which they are subordinate, a number of them in fact involve inclusive subject forms (or possession, which is handled below, see section 5.4.4.2.1). It appears that West Greenlandic treats these as same subject forms. For example, of the 8 object clauses with contemporative mood, 3 of them are noncoreferential:

5.30	1b.122	qajat_qajartortut taamani tassa_eqqaamavara (I)
the kayaks_the kayak rowers at that time, that is_I remember
	1b.123	meeraalluta (CT) upernaakkut_
when we were children in the spring
5.31	1b.170	eqqaamagiga (P)
I remember
	1b.171	Qaqortuminngaanniit Narsamukarluta (CT)
we were going from Qaqortoq to Narsaq

- 5.32 4.88 eqqaamasqaqqanngilanga (I),
I don't have any memories
- 4.89 ajorsapilluta (CT) ukiorsiorlunnitsinnit
that we had bad luck in our bad winters

All of these examples, however, show referential overlap; not one of the participial object clauses has referential overlap. This inclusive interpretation of switch-reference in West Greenlandic is also seen in non-object constructions:

- 5.33 4.13 {Taamaalillutalu (CT)}_'
and we were like that/it was like that for us
- 4.14 meeraaffinni Saarlumi_ajqitut sulivoq (I)_ukiorpassuit_
in the place where I was a child, in Saarloq, he worked as a catechist for many years

In any case, these examples can also be explained as showing thematic continuity.

The information in example 5.30 above is a repetition of clause 109 in the same text, 'when we were children'. Clause 1b.171 in example 5.31 repeats the information from clause 163 'we used to go from Qaqortoq to Narsaq'. Clause 4.13 in example 5.33 repeats, using an incorporated particle, the information in clause 4.11 'he began to have to work as a catechist' (note that speaker 4's use of incorporated particles and the contemporative mood generally entails a following clause, in this case in the indicative, which essentially repeats previous information with semantically full lexical items). Finally, I interpret clause 4.89 in example 5.32 to refer to clause 4.86 'there used to be lots of Greenland seals', since 4.89 refers to the plenty that were to be had even in bad times; this is slightly less obvious and direct an instance of thematic continuity, but nevertheless reasonable.

5.4.5.1.3 Problems of Clausal Hierarchy Interpretation

Some problems may arise in the interpretation of clausal hierarchy, leading to an identification of different subject where, in fact, speaker production problems (such as inarticulation, redefinition, or change of thought in mid-sentence) may be the issue. In the next example, a particle, *ima*, is incorporated and the verb is technically an indicative but is semantically empty compared to the surrounding clauses. In all likelihood, the

contemporative should not be seen as dependent on the semantically-empty indicative; rather, it is a clarification of the preceding causative clause and ultimately a temporal adverb clause modifying the following causative clause:

- 5.34 2.4 {Tassa_inersimasunngorama (CA)_
that is, when I became an adult
- 2.5 imaappoq (I)_
that means
- 2.6 18-19-inik ukioqarlunga (CT)_/
when I was 18 or 19 years old
- 2.7 amutsivimmi ilinniartunngornikuugama (CA)_}
I became an apprentice in a shipyard

Although the contemporative in clause 2.6 modifies the following causative, it also repeats the information of clause 2.4; thus, regardless of questions of hierarchy, there is thematic continuity.

In the following example, the speaker moves rapidly from one subject to another without overtly expressing the changes. The determination of the level of dependence of the contemporative will affect the interpretation of the contemporative as same or different subject. If the contemporative is immediately dependent on the causative in 1a.57, then different subjects are involved (the causative in this case is marked for noncoreferential subject); however, if the contemporative is dependent rather on the indicative in 1a.55, then same subjects are. From a syntactic point of view, this piece of text is perfectly explainable within the traditional framework for understanding the contemporative. From a semantic point of view, however, the situation is less clear:

- 5.35 1a.53 And the catechists at that time_
and what about the priests_
especially the catechists_
they were moved_
to villages_
- 1a.54 aperinagilluunniit (CT)
without even asking
- 1a.55 oqarfigisarpaat (I)_
they [Greenland Steering] would say to them [catechists]

- 1a.56 "Uunnga nuussuutit (I)!"
"Move over there!"
- 1a.57 taavalu piumannikkaangata (CA)
and if they [catechists] didn't want to
- 1a.58 soraarsittarlugit (CT)_}
they [Greenland Steering] would fire them [catechists]

The contemporatives in these clauses have already been discussed with respect to thematic continuity (see example 5.21 and the discussion in section 5.4.2 above).

These possibly same-subject cases aside, however, there are a number of clear different-subject contemporative forms, which can be loosely grouped by some common characteristics—loosely, because most have a number of these characteristics.

5.4.5.2 Environments of Different Subject Occurrences

In my texts, I have noted a number of different environments for anomalous reference in contemporative constructions. In fact, they are comparable to Fortescue's list of such environments (1991:56), which include ellipsis, differing levels of passivity between the clauses, impersonal subjects of contemporative constructions, part/whole relationship between the subjects of the superordinate and the contemporative, an antecedent outside of the boundaries of the sentence, and contemporative object clauses with the affix *-sori* 'think'. The environments I list and discuss below include cases in which the noncoreferent subject of a contemporative is in some way possessed by or the possessor of the subject of the superordinate; there is ellipsis of some kind in (or of) the superordinate clause is involved; one of the clauses is a reflection clause (cf. Fortescue's *-sori*- 'think' constructions); one of the clauses involves an incorporated particle or a dummy subject; and the subject of the contemporative is coreferent with the object of the superordinate. I differ from Fortescue primarily with regard to the consideration of relative transitivity or passivity.

5.4.5.2.1 Possession

Cases in which the subject of one clause is the possessor of the subject of another clause are sometimes seen as cases of referential overlap.

- 5.36 1a.3 {Uanga isikka isigilluaqqaalermata (CA),
when my eyes could see well
- 1a.4 siutikkalu tusaalluaqqaalerlutik (CT)_}
and my ears could hear well
- 5.37 1a.94 {Imalu akissarisiai suunggitsigaat (I)_
and so his pay is very little
- 1a.95 uffa ilinniartitsisutullu aammalu palasitut suligaluarlutik (CT)_}
even if they are working as a teacher and as a priest
- 5.38 3a.21 Sulimi soorlu_soorluluunniit_'70-it inoritit
yet for example, for example it seems like you are just under 70
- 3a.22 isikkut isigalugu_
seeing well through my eyes

In the first example, the possessor in both clauses is the speaker, although he is not stated as the subject in either clause. In this case, the speaker is using metaphoric language to refer to a time in his childhood when he first began to remember things. Both clauses are structurally parallel, and it can be said that the contemporative in clause 1a.4 is a continuation of clause 1a.3. In the second example above, the singular possessor of the first clause is contrasted with the plural subject of the second, although both the possessor of the first and the subject of the second refer to the same entity, the 'catechists'. The contemporative clause in 1a.95 repeats information which has been thematic in the previous groups of clauses (see example 5.29 above and surrounding text in appendix III). In the last example, there seems to be some ellipsis of the superordinate clause (see the following section).

5.4.5.2.2 Ellipsis

In the following example, different subjects occur either because of the ellipsis of a clause overtly introducing the subject of the following clauses, or because of the lack of overt introduction of this subject (as the ergative argument, which is highly unusual in any case):

- 5.39 2.32 Eqqaamavaralu (I)
 and I remember
- 2.33 taamanikkut saarulliit tunineqartartut (P)_
 at that time the codfish used to be sold
- 2.34 sumilluunniit_niaquemagit (CT)}
 without [them] even taking their heads off
- 2.35 ammarnagilluunniit(CT)}}
 or even opening them up

In the above example, the subject of the indicative clause is the speaker. It can be argued that because of the participial construction, the speaker has assumed, and not expressed, a superordinate construction in which the fishermen are the subject. According to this interpretation, then, the participial form marks switch-subject, with 'codfish' as subject, and the following contemporatives would mark same-subject, with 'fishermen' as subject. This involves some manipulation of the syntax, and does not recognize a dependency of the contemporatives in 2.34 and 2.35 on the participial in 2.33. The assumption, rather than overt expression, of more than one subject is also clearly seen in example 5.35 above, although this is not due to ellipsis of a syntactic construction. This section has already been discussed many times with respect to thematic and topical continuity, and I will not repeat the argumentation here.

At the beginning of text 1a, the speaker has not yet decided how to say what he wishes to say. After a few false starts, he produces a contemporative clause, followed by an indicative; but they are not directly related to each other. The contemporative takes up the topic of the preceding nominalization. Strictly speaking, this is a problem of speaker organization and production rather than ellipsis, but the effect is similar:

- 5.40 1a.1 Ullumi_nunatsinni_pissusiusut_
Today in our land our culture
- uagut meeraanitsinnut naleqqilullugu (CT),
if we compare it to our childhood
- 1a.2 allaraju- taamani inuunermik allarujussuuvoq (I)_}
was very differ- at that time it was a very different life

If one assumes that fronting can establish a topic or theme, then the fronting of 'our culture' here entails the use of the contemporative in 1a.1; however, this must remain speculative, as the use of a contemporative as the first full clause is not expected at the beginning of a text.

Many instances in which a contemporative does not seem to be subordinate to an overt superordinate structure involve the contemporative apparently functioning as the indicative, or in the same way as the indicative; this is also often explained as ellipsis (see example 5.38 above).

5.4.5.2.3 Reflection Comments

In general, the speakers uses the indicative for reflection comments in the texts. In text 1b, as I will show later, the speaker makes repeated use of the participial in this function. There are several examples of this in the contemporative:

- 5.41 1b.210-212 therefore Grandfather used to say
"bid your eyes and ears to try to do well/use them well"
from those we can get something"
- 1b.213 iluamik atorluarutsigit (CO)_
if we use them well
- 1b.214 angeqimmata (CA),
it's enormous
- 1b.215 annertoqimmata (CA),
it's enormous
- 1b.216 taama oqarluaannarlunga (CT)_}
let me just say it in this way
- 5.42 4.XXIII {aamakku avatinnguatsinni aalisagarpassuit_
and all this fish right outside! redfish
- 4.90 suluppaakkat_'eqqarsaatigalugit (CT)
the redfish, [I] have thoughts about them

- 4.91 suluppaakkat taakku piniaagaanarpaapput (I)
those red fish were most hunted

In both examples above, the contemporatives very simply comment on the theme of the preceding text. Clause 4.90, for example, can be seen to refer to 4.XXIII, and as for 1b.216, it shows wide referential scope over the preceding clauses, as discussed in Rhodes (1995:8).

5.4.5.2.4 Incorporated Particles

There are a number of incorporated particles with various verb moods, including the contemporative. Example 14 above was one such. The speaker of text 4 uses the construction *tamaali*- a number of times, but none with a clear example of different subject. The speaker of text 3a, however, does have such a construction:

- 5.43 3a.29 Emilianguup panimma taamaallunga (CT)
Emilia my daughter while I am like that
- 3a.30 oqarfiginikuuaanga (I)_/
said to me

Yet again, this is easily explained as thematic continuation: *taamaallunga* 'while I am like that' in clause 3a.29 refers to the immediately preceding clause, in which the speaker says 'I am really quite tired of hearing that, that I look good'; the theme of the section of text from clauses 22 to 34 is just that, that the speaker is tired of being told that she looks good (see appendix III for the full text).

Even more interesting are cases in which an incorporated particle has superordinate mood inflection and seems to have lexically full subordinate clauses. One such instance was example 5.34 above; a better example of this is the following:

- 5.44 1a.41 {Tassaappullu (I) taakku ajoqit_
That is they are those catechists
- Kalaallit Nunaata seminariata- ilinniarfissuaninngaannit ilinniariarlutik
(CT)_/
educated in the Greenland Seminary
- 1a.42 nunatsinnut illoqarfinnut nunaqarfinnut siaruarsimasut (P)_}
they spread out to our land to towns and villages

What is especially interesting here is that in this intonational group, the only indicative is the incorporated particle, and it seems to have the subject 'catechists', although it might have a dummy subject¹². The contemporative is inflected transitively; the object is 'catechists', and the subject seems to be 'Greenland Seminary', which is in the relative case. The subject of the participial is once again the 'catechists'. This clause is also difficult to explain in terms of thematic continuity, however. The immediately preceding clauses are reflections, and as I pointed out in section 5.4.5.2.3, this speaker tends to state his theme following a reflection. If a contemporative is used here, one expects thematic continuity, according to my proposed theory, and strictly speaking, the previous theme dealt with the function of catechists as educators, not as acquiring education.

5.4.5.2.5 General, Unspecified, and Dummy Subjects

In the following example, the subject of the contemporatives may be assumed to be an unspecified human, a fisherman in general, whereas the subject of the stative indicatives is a dummy.

- 5.45 2.110 {Taamanikkut_ipuataarluni (CT)
 in those days, rowing
- 2.111 uernataarluni (CT)
 when one is really sleepy
- 2.113 sussaanngittorsuuvoq (I)_'
 it was really bad
- 2.114 ajorluinnartorpoq (I)_}
 it was absolutely awful

Michael Fortescue (1984:148 and 1991:66) has explained this in terms of level of transitivity. In sentences in which the superordinate clause is more passive or less agentive than the subordinate, he notes that third person coreferential marking is used, as is the contemporative. He notes that one of the functions of the contemporative is the depersonalization or despecificization of the subject, especially in the transitive, where only the object is marked pronominally on the verb. One might argue that this is also one of

¹²*tassa* can function as the copula in equative clauses, although it is usually invariant; and when inflected for case, at least, it no longer functions as the copula.

the functions of the passive, and therefore also a sign of lower transitivity. Fortescue (1991:67) also notes that impersonal (contemporative) clauses are not obviously high in transitivity, but nevertheless explains that they are still more transitive than their superordinate verb. This explanation can also be applied to example 5.39, in which the contemporatives are more active than the participial. Whether or not this is so, there are a number of systematic exceptions, including the contemporatives expressing temporal setting (see below). The explanation seems to be no more than descriptive: why should coreferentiality be associated with a verb form which specifically depersonalizes subjects?

The following example may belong more properly to section 5.4.1.3 with questions of clausal hierarchy; but I include it here because clause 2.98 was translated as 'it was not that easy' by the transcriber and as 'in a short period of time' by P. Langgrd. The verb is formed by incorporating the rather empty particle *imaak* and adding a number of modifying affixes indicating speed. The implication is that the nets had to be untangled quickly and this was not an easy task. Presumably there are connotations missed in the English translation:

- 5.46 2.96 piniuserisarpugut (I)_/
 we had to deal with the equipment [i.e. make it ready to use]
- 2.97 aammami_imak_ilarussimasartorsuugamik (CA)
 and [it could be] they [i.e. nets] might have to be untangled
- 2.98 imaalitsiaannarlugit aamma (CT)_/
 and in a short period of time[3pl. obj = nets; i.e. doing them fast]
- 2.99 naammassineq ajornartaramik (CA)_}
 they were usually impossible to finish

Here, the indicative subject of the indicate clause, 2.96, is 'we'. The subject of the causative clauses is 'nets', and that of the contemporative is unspecified (it is probably understood to be 'we'); and its object is 'nets'. One might say that in this clause-chain, the contemporative has the same subject as the superordinate, the indicative. However, the situation is not that straightforward: both causatives are marked for coreferentiality, and

neither is coreferential with the indicative; and the contemporative in clause 2.98 directly modifies clause 2.99. Thus, subject coreferentiality is already compromised in this clause-chain, whether or not the subject of the contemporative is 'we' or a more general one.

Both examples above are fairly easily explainable as instances of thematic continuity. Clause 2.111 in the first example above is almost a direct repetition of clause 2.102 'we begin to get sleepy' in the same text; in fact, clauses 103 to 113 are an expanded repetition of the text in clauses 100 to 102. Clause 98 is a further explanation of the work involved in dealing with nets, already brought up in clauses 89 to 97.

From unspecified subjects, it is a small leap to dummy subjects:

- 5.47 3a.93 {uani_llaanemit_'
here, it is different
- 3a.94 aneerfeqaranilu (CT)_/
there is no place to walk

As mentioned above, the lack of subject marking on transitive contemporatives tends to despecify subjects. Another feature seems to be that transitive (object) inflection on verbs with essentially intransitive meaning refers to the subject (see following section for more details). Formally, then, the subject is a dummy subject. The semantic subject (marked inflectionally as the object) should then be coreferent with the superordinate subject. This is not the case in my data (see examples 5.52 and 5.53 below). This part of text was explained at length in example 5.20 above, and based on the previous text, one might expect a participial rather than a contemporative here, depending on what constitutes thematic continuity or shift. If the speaker is contrasting her ability to take walks in her old and new homes, then one might expect a participial; if instead this continues her answer to the interviewer's question in clause 71 'do you go out for walks?', then perhaps the contemporative is indicating thematic continuity. Such an argument presumably can only be made if sufficient evidence has been provided to satisfactorily

demonstrate that thematic continuity is indeed the relevant factor in the distribution of the contemporative and participial moods.

5.4.5.2.6 Simultaneous time

One of the main functions of the contemporative is to indicate contemporaneous time with the indicative, regardless of subject coreference or lack thereof; this is not fulfilled by the participial. The following are examples of this:

- 5.48 1a.20 {umiaasat aalisariutigisarpaat (I)_/
they used to use small boats as fishing vessels
- 1a.21 ukiorlu naallugu (CT)
and all winter long
- 1a.22 qajag atorluarneqaqaaq (P)_}
the kayak is very much used
- 5.49 4.17 siullermik seminariami atuaqaavoq (I)
the first time he went to the seminary (teacher's school)
- 4.18 ima kursuserpoq (I)
like to take courses
- 4.19 maannakkutoorlugu (CT)_'
it would be called now

This is even more obvious in the following, in which the contemporative is immediately dependent on the preceding conditional, which itself is the temporal clause. The contemporative does have the same subject, 'father', as the superordinate indicative, but not with the conditional.

- 5.50 4.71 {taamanikkut tassa, nersusaasorujorujorujoruussuuvoq (I) ataataga,
at that time he was very very very much praised, my father
- 4.72 maannakkuusuuppat (CO)
if it were today
- 4.73 tusaamasanngorsimagaluarluni (CT)_}
he would have been very popular

The same is true in the following, although in this case, the contemporative does depend on the preceding indicative; it does not have the same subject as either of the two immediately preceding indicatives:

- 5.51 3a.102 oqartarput (I),
they used to say
- 3a.103 ataatagooq_pingajungaarami (CA)
my father, they say, got a lot/always got something
- 3a.104 qaammatit_ullui naasarpai (I)/
the days of the month used to be done/pass
- 3a.105 ataasiinnaanngitsunik, puisinik tikiussuilluni (CT)_}
he arrived with not just one seal

One of the ways of expressing temporal relations with the contemporative involves the use of the agentive affix *-tit-* with the transitive inflections. In this case, 'the formal object marked on the contemporative inflection indicates the subject of the underlying verb if intransitive or its object if transitive...' (Fortescue 1984:57), the underlying verb being the verb without the agentive affix:

- 5.52 4.82 {Taava_upernariartortillugu,
then, when spring came,
- 4.83 piniagassat saqqummeriartortarput '
the hunting animals used to come out
- 5.53 3a.88 aneersuarlunga (CT)
I went for walks a lot
- 3a.89 aneersuarlunga (CT)_
I went for walks a lot
- 3a.90 ullorsuaq pisarpunga (I)
I used to do this all day long
- 3a.91 silagitsillugu (CT)_/
if the weather was good

Per Langgård (personal communication) believes that such expressions show some form of subject control, so that in the above example, the hunting animals would have had something to do with the arrival of spring. I notice that in my data, agentive affix or not, such temporal clauses appear to have transitive inflection.

All of the examples above have involved general dummy subjects in contemporative expressions of simultaneous time. There are a number of examples in the text involving simultaneous or sequential time with semantically full subjects. Examples

include 1b.186-189, and 1b.191-192. In general, I will not try to claim that these show thematic continuity; rather, I take these examples to be instances of the contemporative functioning as an indicator of simultaneous time. In any event, these are systematic exceptions to both the traditional explanation of switch-reference and to an explanation based on thematic continuity. In fact, I suggest that they are not 'exceptions', since the contemporative marks simultaneous time (see section 5.7 below and appendix II).

5.4.5.2.7 Subject-Object Coreference

Finally, within the literature, it is acknowledged that the contemporative can be used in cases of coreference of subordinate subject and superordinate object, as in 5.54:

- 5.54 3b.171 angutit_ 'sanavaat (I)
the men worked on it
- 3b.172 tassa tamaasa akilerlugit (CT),
she paid them all

In some cases, however, it appears as if there is also object-to-object coreference. In the following example, this is complicated by the use of object incorporation into the verb:

- 5.55 3b.177 Ikangka akitsinniit siorarsuarnit taasartakkatsinnik (CA),
from the place we used to call "old sand"
- sioqqiartitsilluni (CT)
she made some people get sand [she made sand be fetched]

The contemporative in both examples above are rather straight-forwardly continuing the themes of preceding clauses. Thus, clause 172 has its antecedent in clauses 167 'it was wonderful that my mother was able to pay for it all herself, and all the workers' and clause 169 'she paid all the workers'. Clause 177 has its antecedent in clause 176 'sand could not be used for cement, the sand of our land').

5.4.6 Participials

There is an interesting variation in the use of participial constructions across the speakers of my West Greenlandic texts. Of all the speakers, the speaker of texts 1a and 1b deviates the most from the canonical use of the participial, at least as described in the standard grammatical texts. Text 1a, in particular, is noteworthy because of the very high

proportion of participials which are potentially interpretable as same-subject constructions. Whereas contemporatives account for roughly one fourth of all the clauses in a text, participials never account for more than one seventh of all clauses in my texts, with, as I mentioned above, considerable variation in frequency across the texts. As with contemporatives, questions of structural ambiguity, partial overlap, and clausal hierarchy affect the interpretation of same or different subject between two clauses. Again, as with contemporatives, there are examples of anomalous reference in different environments, including those with differences in levels of passivity, those with reflection clauses, and subject-object coreference. There are a number of notable differences between the contemporatives and the participials. For example, whereas incorporated particles are readily declined in the contemporative mood, there are no examples of incorporated particles in the participial in anything but third person form (singular or plural), as in 3a.39 *imaattooq*. There are therefore no clear instances of incorporated particles with participial mood and subject coreference. Furthermore, while a dummy subject in the contemporative might be expected to require explanation, because of the implication of subject coreference with the use of the contemporative, the same is not true of a participial form with a dummy subject. Whereas one of the most important functions of the contemporative is specifically to denote an action or state contemporaneous with that of a superordinate verb, the analogously important function of the participial is to serve as a relativizer or nominalizer.

5.4.6.1 Some Issues in the Determination of Same vs. Different Subject

5.4.6.1.1 Structural Ambiguities--Nominalizations

One of the most frequent sources of confusion with the use of participials is the morphological identity between third person participials and nominalizations with the participially-based nominalizing suffix *-soq*. The speaker of texts 3a and 3b in particular uses many nominalized forms including nominalizations with the suffixes *-soq* and *-neq*, far more frequently than do other speakers.

- 5.56 3a.25 tassami_taanna isikkuminarnersuara (N)_ 'tusakataavittarpara (I), ilaa_ '
that is, my being someone who is good to look at, I get really quite tired of
hearing, you know
- 3a.26 pingaartumik peqqippallaarneq (N) ajorama massakkut
especially as I am not so very healthy now
- angalaniarnikkut (N)_/
when walking

The use of *-neq* nominalizations, which are unambiguously nominal, suggests the possibility that many of her *-soq* forms are nominal rather than verbal as well.

The participial is also commonly used as a relativizer, as in the following:

- 5.57 3a.108 {Taanna eqqaamavara (I),
I remember that one
- 3a.109 qajaasoq (R/N)_
(the one) who died by kayak

This ambiguity is sometimes present in the other texts, even in the seemingly clear cases of participial subject coreference, as in example 5.62 below or as in the following:

- 5.58 1a.37 {tassami_oqaluffiinnaangitumi (P)_
in any case they weren't [working] just in churches
- 1a.38 ullut tamaasat atuarfinni ajoqit_ilinniartitsisutut sulisarput (I)_}
every day in the schools the catechists used to work as teachers

5.4.6.1.2 Overlapping Subject

In Text 1a, two thirds of the participials seem to be used in same-subject constructions. Of these, however, perhaps three clauses may show partial overlap. Given that partial overlap of subjects with contemporative mood can be interpreted as same-subject, it is as reasonable to suppose that the same is true of partial subject overlap with participial mood as it is to suppose that partial subject overlap must be interpreted as different subjects:

- 5.59 1a.23 {Tassalu illoqarfimmi_palasi_qallunaaq_
and in the town the priest, a Dane
- 1a.24 (kisianni kalaallisut oqaluttoq (P))
but he spoke Greenlandic
- 1a.25 taavalu_niuertoq qallunaaq
and then the trader, a Dane

- 1a.26 (qallunaatuinaq oqaluttoq (P)),
he only spoke Danish
- 1a.27 niuertussat_napparsimavimmi nakorsaq_niviarsiat_
the traders, the doctor in the hospital, the nurses,

atuarfimmi ilinniartitsisoq qallunaaq_
the teacher in the school, a Dane
- 1a.28 (qallunaatuinnaq oqaluttut (P))"
they only spoke Danish
- 1a.29 {tassa taamani qallunaat taama ikitsigipput_}
that is in those days there were not so many Danes

The participial clauses 24, 26, and 28 are all intonationally parenthetical in an intonational group which seems to have no independent verb form, unless the noun *qallunaaq* 'Dane' is understood as a predicate noun in a zero-copula construction; Fortescue (personal communication) however states that zero-copulas are not a feature of Greenlandic; the noun *qallunaaq* would therefore have to be explained as an apposition. If these participial clauses are somehow dependent on clause 29, itself intonationally separate, then technically, there is partial subject overlap, since the subjects of two of the three participials are singular; the third is plural, however (28 'they only spoke Danish'), and is identical to the subject of clause 29. This section of text can be understood as a list of the types of Danes in towns, and it does not appear that the speaker had clause 29 in mind when he began the list. Therefore, the participials are perhaps better interpreted as locally dependent on the preceding predicate or appositional noun, in which case they clearly have the same subject as their head. If they are locally dependent, and they follow their superordinate, they tend to show very local thematic shifts, as I showed in section 5.4.4.

The same situation is true of the immediately following clauses 30 and 31, which together form an intonational group without an independent clause:

- 5.60 1a.30 {Taavalu atorfillit (R) kalaallit_
and the Greenlanders who had a job
- 1a.31 saffiorfimmi_allaffimmi ikittunnguit sulisut (P)_}
in the smithy, in the office they were few workers

5.4.6.1.3 Clause Structure and Hierarchy

As with the contemporatives, questions of sentence structure, hierarchy, and dependence have implications for the interpretation of the participials as same or different subject constructions. In the following example from text 1b, the question is whether clause 183 is dependent on clause 184, or whether 184 is merely a repetition of 183 and 183 is the clause for which 182 is the object. If the former is the case, then the participial has the same subject as its superordinate; if the latter, then it does not:

- 5.61 1a.182 {tassa Ittukkunniikkaangatta (CA),
whenever we were with Grandfather
- 1a.183 eqqaamagiga (P),
I remember it
- 1a.184 eqqaamaqaara (I) taamani_
I really remember it in those days

Furthermore, whether or not the participial is dependent on an immediately superordinate clause or on the sentence-level superordinate clause will of course affect an interpretation of same or different subject.

5.4.6.2 Environment of Same Subject Occurrences

5.4.6.2.1 Subject Coreference At All Levels

In the following, all but the three middle clauses (1b.172-174) have essentially coreferent subjects; clause 1b.171 involves partial overlap. Clause 1b.170 shows anomalous coreference:

- 5.62 1b.169 {(ataasiarlunga (CT)
once
- 1b.170 eqqaamagiga (P)
I remember it
- 1b.171 Qaqortuminngaanniit Narsamukarluta (CT)
we were going from Qaqortoq to Narsaq

- 1b.172 tikaagulliit marluk_/
[there were] two piked whales
- 1b.173 pujortuleeraq kaajallallugu (CT)_'
they were circling the motor boat
- 1b.174 pisseqattaartut (P/N)_/
jumping again and again
- 1b.175 assut alutomartut (P/N)_/
[they were] very breathtaking/beautiful
- 1b.176 eqqaamagaarakku (CA)
whenever I remember it
- 1b.177 taamani puiorneq ajorpara (I)_}
I can't forget that time

Ataasiarlunga in clause 169 refers back to previous text, in which the speaker says he used to go from Qaqortoq to Narsaq; this is repeated in clause 171. The indicative and the causative in clauses 177 and 176, respectively, are both first person singular subject forms, as is the participial in line 170. (I note, here, that the contemporative in line 173 refers to the whales, not the speaker, circling the boat, and is therefore not coreferential with its superordinate.) The forms in line 174 and 175 are ambiguous and can be interpreted as participials or as nominal forms. Of interest here, however, is the participial in clause 170, whose subject is coreferential with the superordinate clause 169 ('once (CT), I remember (P), ...), and incidentally also with the causative and the indicative in clauses 175, and 176, lest it be argued that a contemporative (clause 169) is not superordinate to a participial (clause 170).

This example is interesting not only because it shows anomalous coreference, but because of its role, along with most of the other participials in the same text, within the complete text, regardless of the coreference or lack thereof of the subject:

5.63 1b.141-145 visits to Grandfather in the summer

- 1b.146 eqqaamagiga (P) tassa taamani Ittu_
I remember Grandfather at that time
- 1b.147-175 Grandfather giving out chewing gum to the kids

- 1b.158 Tassa eqqaamalluariga (P)
I remember it very well
1b.159-181 trips to Narsaq
- 1b.182 {tassa Ittukkunniikkaangatta (CA),
whenever we were with Grandfather
- 1b.183 eqqaamagiga (P),
I remember it
1b.184-199 how we began the day
- 1b.200 {Tassalu eqqaamavara (I)
that is I remember
- 1b.201 Ittup uagut oqaluttuukkaatigut (P) Niels Henrik-lu illora_'
Grandfather telling my cousin Niels Henrik and me
1b.202-216 about using one's eyes and ears well

The participials clearly occur at topical and thematic boundaries. In fact, speaker 1's texts show an interesting development in his use of the participial, from rather frequent to rather infrequent use; and from a more specific, almost clause-level, to a more general, paragraph-level marker of switch-topic/theme.

Other very clear examples of the use of participials at topic or thematic boundaries include example 4.24 from the previous chapter and the immediately following text; for brevity, I repeat only the last clauses of example 4.24:

- 5.64 2.30 (eqaluit inaannik taasartagarput (I)),
we used to call it the place of char
- 2.31 tassa ima tarajorterivittut atoqqaarsimavoq_/taanna_}
like, you know, it was first used as a [cod]salting place, that one
- 2.32 {Eqqaamavaralu (I)
and I remember
- 2.33 taamanikkut saarulliit tunineqartartut (P)_
at that time the codfish used to be sold

Here, the participial is used when the speaker begins to talk about 'cod'; he was previously discussing the 'house' used for the codfishing industry.

In text 4, the speaker talks about the midwife his family used, in clauses 37 to 42; clause 43 marks a shift in topic, from 'midwife' to 'father':

- 5.65 4.37 {Taava_juumooqarpugut (I)_'
we had a midwife
- 4.38 aamma, ilinniarsimanngitsumik (N),
and [she was] without learning
- 4.39 imaappoq (I) tiguinnakkamik (N)_'/
let me say this, she was just taken
- 4.40 kisianni juumootut, atorluartorujussuarmik (N),
but as a midwife she was a very good one
- 4.41 Tassaavoq (I) arnaq utoqqaq: Henriette Ezekiassen_}
it was an old lady: Henriette Ezekiassen
- 4.42 {Maani, naluneqanngittut (N)
Here, the well known
- Joel Ezekiassen-ikkut, Barsalaj Ezekiassen-ikkut, anaavat
Joel and Barsalaj Ezekiassen families, their grandmother
- 4.43 {taava soorlu oqareersunga (P)
then, like I said before
- 4.44 ataataga, aamma soqutigisaqaqigami (CA)
my father, because he had so many interests,

For other clear examples, see the text around 2.51 and 3b.163.

5.4.6.2.2 The Participial and the Passive

In two cases, the use of the participial in same subject constructions coincides with a passive construction. Although this is superficially reminiscent of the use of third person coreferent marking as mentioned above in connection with the use of the contemporative, the level of passivity is irrelevant. The participial is passive in one clause, 1a.44, and active in the other, 1a.42; in 1a.42, the preceding clause, a contemporative with the same subject, is passive. In fact, 1a.42 is even more active than the preceding indicative, in clause 1a.41:

- 5.66 1a.41 {tassaappullu (I) taakku ajoqit_Kalaallit Nunaata seminariata_
That is they are those catechists
- Ilinniartissuaninngaanniit ilinniariarlutik (CT)_'/
who were educated in the Greenland Seminary
- 1a.42 nunatsinnut illoqarfinnut nunaqarfinnut siaruarsimasut (P)_'
they spread out to our land to towns and villages

- 1a.43 {Taakkutuaappullu (I) ajoqit tassa_taamanikkut ilisimasassanik_
And the catechists were the only ones then in those days who could
tiguinnarissanik
spread knowledge

- 1a.44 ilinniartinneqarsimasut (P) Ilinniarfissuarmi_
they had been educated in the Greenlandic Seminary

Thus, passive or active meaning or morphology does not seem to explain the use of the participial with same subject constructions. Again, this can be seen as a question of local thematic shift, as indicated by clause order.

5.4.6.2.3 Subject-Object Coreference

As with the contemporatives, it is recognized that occasionally, a participial shows subject coreference with the object of its superordinate. The following example is a problem of several issues: clause hierarchy and dependence, and coreference. If the participial refers to its preceding contemporative or nominal (clauses 151 and 150, respectively), then it is coreferent with them; if it refers back to the preceding indicative (clause 149), then it is coreferent with the object of its superordinate, and therefore overlaps in function with the contemporative:

- 5.67 3b.149 Arnaq imaannangitsorujussuartut taasinnaavara (I) anaanaga_
I could just call her a special woman, my mother
- 3b.150 Eqiasuitsorujussuaq_
[she was] very industrious
- 3b.151 sulinngiffimmigut_sinissanani (CT)
in her free time she didn't sleep
- 3b.152 piliniartartoq (P)_
she was getting/hunting for food

Clause 152 marks a shift from the mother working as a maid to the mother as provider for her children; see the appropriate section of the text in appendix III.

5.4.7 Problems with the Proposed Interpretation of the Verb Moods

Some problems are noted for an interpretation of thematic continuity and shift for the use of the contemporative and participial, respectively. Some are more explainable than others, and may not, in fact, be problematic. Thus, in text 1b, the speaker uses

contemporatives before he has satisfactorily established the theme in the following example:

- 5.68 1b.182 whenever we were with Grandfather
 1b.183 I remember it
 1b.184 I really remember it in those days
- 1b.185 *linndaleeqqap_Ittup_Ittup_ullaakkut_tamatta iteraangatta* (CA)
 Henry, Grandfather, Grandfather, in the morning all of us would wake up
- 1b.186 *tiitoreerluta* (CT)/
 when we had already drunk tea
- 1b.187 *taava inimut iserluta* (CT)_'Ittup issia_
 then when we came into the room, Grandfather to his chair
- 1b.188 *pattagissaminut ingikkuni* (CO)/
 if he sat down at the piano
- (see also clauses 189-198)
- 1b.199 *Taamaalilluta* (CT) *ulloq aallartittarparput_}*
 and that is how we began the day

It may be, however, that the theme is in some way indicated by both the temporal adverb 'in the morning' and the causative phrase 'when we would all wake up' in clause 185. Whatever the answer, however, clauses 186 and 187 are thematic within the clause-chain. This raises the issue of theme identification, one which is always likely to be open to question. Alternatively, as I will suggest below, this is really an instance of the primary purpose of the contemporative, namely to indicate cotemporal or sequential action (in this case, of course, sequential).

The following example may also be considered a problem, because although it is technically an example of thematic repetition, the repetition comes after forty two clauses of intervening text:

- 5.69 3a.26 *pingaartumik peqqippallaarneq ajorama massakkut angalaniarnikkut_*
 especially as I am not so very healthy now when walking
- 3a.27 *(imaa soorlu_uummaatinnik patsiseqartumik (N))_}*
 like, for example, because of my heart

...

- 3a.66 (tassa massakkut qujaannartarpunga (I)
that is now I am thankful
- 3a.67 pujortarunnaarsimagama (CA)_}
because I have stopped smoking
- 3a.68 Sunaaffa, uumallulerlunga_
think about it, it was because my heart was getting bad

In an indirect way, the fact that the speaker lacks health is repeated in clauses 52-69, in a discussion of the speaker's reasons for having stopped smoking. Thus, the contemporative in clause 68 may refer more to the theme of the section, the fact that she is unhealthy, than to the more exact reference in clause 27.

Perhaps most problematic is an example such as the following, in which a participial should have been expected:

- 5.70 4.66-4.73 Aggu Lynge wrote about speaker's father and the king
- 4.74 {Kisianni taava taallatsiaannarlugit (CT)_
but then just to mention these a bit
- 4.75 meeraanera_eqqartulaassavara (I)_/
I will talk a little about my childhood
- 4.76 Taamanikkut meeraanerma nalaani_' piniagassaapput (I)_'
at that time in the time of my childhood, there were animals that were
hunted
- 4.77 piniagassatigut taasinnaasakka (P) tassa_'
I can give the list of the hunted animals

The contemporative in 4.74 is a transitive construction, and the object is plural, thus possibly referring to the animals in clause 4.76. If so, one cannot argue that the contemporative somehow continues the temporal setting of 'speaker's childhood', repeated numerous times in the text. On the other hand, if the antecedents of 'these' in 4.74 are the speaker's father and the king, from the preceding text, then there is no problem with the proposed theory.

It is interesting to note that speaker 4 makes very little use of participials, there being only about four in the text; and his style differs from those of the first three speakers, in that his participials mark shifts in topic, but not necessarily as the first clause

marking the shift. His participials consistently mark global rather than local topic shifts. For example, clause 77 essentially repeats clause 76 (a related theme has already been introduced previously (cf. 'we can talk about the big hunters in those days', but this marks the first time the animals hunted are described). The contemporative in 74, therefore, conflicts with the expectations of a participial, which in fact is found in clause 77. I have no really convincing answer to give for this use of the contemporative.

As I have suggested above, the contemporative may be better seen as part of a paradigm of temporal relations to the action or event in the superordinate clause. Lowe (1985:202-203), in a discussion of the subordinate moods in Uummarmiutun, a Western Canadian dialect of Eskimo, suggests that the contemporative, the causative, and the conditional may all be viewed as expressing different types of relationships between the events of the subordinate and superordinate clauses in a sentence. Causatives express the anteriority of a real event in relation to another real event; conditionals, the anteriority of a hypothetical event to another hypothetical event; and contemporatives, the time within which an event takes place, whether the events described are real or not. Given the differences between the switch-reference system involving the use of pronominal inflections, found both nominally and verbally, and that involving the complementary distribution of verb moods, it seems more plausible to understand the contemporative as part of the paradigm indicating temporal relationship to the main verb. Not only would this interpretation not conflict with the examples of the use of the contemporative given above, it would also explain the use of the contemporative in the following examples:

- 5.71 4.78 Ukiumi_terianniat_' aqissit_' ukallit_'
 In the winter [there were] foxes, ptarmigans, and hares
- 4.79 taavalu aamma_soorunalumi puisit_'
 and then of course what about the seals
- 4.80 sikukkut avungalu, Natsilimmut_'
 across the ice up north to Natsilik
- Saarluminngaanniit ilaanni sisoraaserlutik (CT)
 sometimes putting on skis from Saarloq

- 4.81 piniariartarlutik (CT)_}
hunting
- 4.82 {Taava_upernariartortillugu (CT),
then, wen spring came
- 4.83 piniagassat saqqummeriartortarput (I)_'
the hunting animals used to come out more and more
- 5.72 1b.200-216 Grandfather explains the benefits of good eyes and ears
- 1b.217 {Aamma_peroreerlunga (CT)
and when I was already an adult
- 1b.218 tassa paasivara_
I understood it
- 1b.219 ilumoortoq taanna_
that it was true, that

In the first example above, it could of course be argued that there is thematic continuation in terms of the discussion of animals that were hunted. The progression of time, however, from the winter to the spring, and the scope of each adverbial phrase (clause, in the second case), clearly relates events to the respective time periods. In the second example, this is even more clear, because the theme is only implicitly stated as the deictic pronoun *taanna* 'that one', and again, the respective time periods are different.

With respect to the participial, one may note the similarity between the participial and the indicative moods; the former is morphologically related to the latter. Lowe 1985:119, in fact, provides the paradigm of the indicative in Uummarmiutun; it is morphologically identical with the participial in West Greenlandic. For a discussion of the historical development of the contemporative and the participial in the Inuit dialects, as well as the plausibility of an interpretation of switch-reference, or thematic continuity, for these moods, see appendix II. Briefly, however, the participial is morphologically related to nominalized forms and relative constructions, in addition to the indicative. These are constructions which often have a different relationship to the superordinate than other clauses in a clause chain. The nominalized form may not need information such as the subject and the object overtly expressed to suggest clausal semantics (see

especially speaker 3's use of nominals), and the relative clause relates to a noun phrase within a clause chain, and not necessarily to one which is an argument of the main clause. Thus, an interpretation of the participial as a marker of noncoreference is plausible on purely structural grounds. The contemporative lacks the means of marking more than one argument in a clause. Yet in clause chains, where most clauses are intransitive and all are linked thematically (excluding parenthetical clauses, of course), the use of the contemporative as one of the structurally important clauses in a clause chain (as opposed to the participial in many cases, for the reasons stated above) often coincides with the use of at most one argument, coincidentally the subject. Therefore, the contemporative can be associated with switch-reference as well. The fact that the contemporative and the participial can be identified with thematic continuity or thematic shift is therefore not surprising.

It is, however, also not surprising that the degree to which these moods mark thematic continuity or shift varies from speaker to speaker. This merely reflects the problem inherent in assigning multiple functions to a single structural form, especially where gaps in one system create a structural need, and the reinterpretation of one form does not produce constructions which conflict with the old use of that form. Thus, in most cases, the reinterpretation of the contemporative as a marker of thematic continuity does not conflict with the function of the contemporative as a marker of simultaneous or sequential time. Which function prevails is hard to determine. In my texts, the speaker who shows the most variation in the canonical use of the verb moods in question (i.e. switch-reference with respect to subject) is speaker 1; the one who shows the least variation is speaker 4.¹³

¹³Incidentally, speakers 1 and 4 also differ greatly in the reflection of textual organization. For example, whereas speaker 1 shows development in his use of the participial, from being a minute marker of switch-topic/theme (from clause to clause) to a general marker of topic/theme at paragraph level as the recollection progresses and becomes clearer and more organized, speaker 4 shows a high-level interpretation of switch-topic/theme right from the beginning.

Finally, as noted at the end of section 5.3, there is a complicating factor in the existence of object coreferent morphology. Both the contemporative and the participial have switch-reference inflectional marking, as I mentioned in section 5.1.3, although to a somewhat restricted degree. If the contemporative, and the participial are to be understood as indicating thematic continuity or shift, then an interpretation of pronominal switch-reference inflection as an indication of topic continuity or shift should not be affected. One would expect object coreference with topic continuity and object noncoreference with topic shift. Consistently, however, when the contemporative indexes the object, the noncoreferent form is used (*-lugu* rather than *-luni*). In text 2, for example, the speaker quite often uses transitive contemporative constructions; all of them involve the noncoreferent form (see clauses 71, 73, 74, 89, 90, 91, 98, 103, and 110, for example). In all of these, the topic is in object position, as in the following example:

5.73 2.103 seqineq kissakkiartuaartillugu_
 seqineq-0 kissaq-giartuaaq-tit-lugu
 sun-abs warm-gradually.more.and.more-cause-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 [it] is causing the sun to get warmer [the sun is getting warmer]

The sun is an absolutive object; and the subject is unspecified.

In at least one example, there is an interesting difference in transitivity between two contemporatives in the same sentence:

5.74 3b.141 70-it sinnerlugit
 70-it sinner-lugit
 70-pl.abs be.more.than-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 not before she was more than seventy

3b.142 ukioqaleerluni aatsaat_
 ukioq-qaq-leq-reer-luni aatsaat
 year-have-begin-already-3sg.CT first
 years old

This however does not shed any light on the problem. Again, I find that there are no morphologically intransitive noncoreferent forms and in my texts, there are no examples of transitive coreferent forms of the contemporative. This creates an interesting distributional difference in my texts: intransitive coreferent forms of the contemporative are consistently used where either the theme is expressed intransitively or the topic is in

the subject position (a distinction largely only made when there are dummy subjects as a result of incorporation), and transitive noncoreferent forms where there is topic in object position. A true test of the theory would require examples of third person coreferent objects in context. This problem is also a strong argument in favor of a traditional explanation of switch-reference as subject coreference or noncoreference, and it requires more thought and data in context. Traditional arguments have also been based on the lack of subject coindexing on the transitive contemporative verb; but, as I have suggested in chapter 4, this poses no problem for the proposed theory. If only one argument is coindexed on the verb, it is the topic.

There is one instance of a transitive participial form with coreferent object:

- 5.75 1a.67 {nersunartarsimaqaat taamani_ajokit_/
they were impressive, the catechists
- 1a.68 eqqarsaatigissagaanni_
eqqarsaatigi-ssa-gaanni
think.about-fut-when.trans.3pl.subj/3c.sg.obj.P
when they think about it

In this example, unfortunately, the speaker uses what is apparently the only form left of a paradigm with *-gaa-* 'whenever' and the participial endings, and it is somewhat fossilized and lexicalized in meaning. Thus, in neither case is it possible to determine the function of the object coreferent or noncoreferent inflection from the data at hand.

5.5 Evaluation

Given the possibilities for speaker production problems, such as afterthoughts, production mistakes, changes in train of thought, sidetracks, and so forth, the level of consistency in the above analysis is quite remarkable. Of 620 clauses in the body of my data, about 78 have switch-reference pronominal marking, and 28 are anomalously marked for coreference and 1 for noncoreference according to the traditional interpretation of switch-reference. The use of the coreferent pronominal inflection occurs where the topic is continued, and the use of the noncoreferent inflection wherer the topic is changed. With the exception of object coreferent morphology, the reinterpretation of

switch-reference as topic reference can be successfully applied to all exceptions noted above. Of the 620 clauses, there are about 149 contemporative clauses, of which about 46 involve anomalous noncoreference according to traditional explanations of contemporative and participial distribution; and there are about 55 participials, of which 15 appear to show anomalous coreference according to these traditional explanations. The contemporative in my texts consistently appears where theme is continued, and the participial where the theme does show a shift. The number of exceptions is really rather small, certainly smaller than the number of exceptions to the traditional explanation of switch-reference in most cases, although the exact identification of exceptions depends on the interpretation of theme made by each hearer (or reader). There are 10 to 15 problematic clauses, contemporative or participial, and most of these involve a noncoreferent object on the contemporative. Most of these problems have to do with the difficulty in identifying the theme, but they can be satisfactorily explained. Further, an explanation based on switch-topic/theme seems to be more comprehensive than the traditional explanation; whereas proponents of the latter have generally had to resort to lists of environments in which the contemporative or the participial is used, the number of exceptions in the former has not so much to do with different environments and different structures but rather with problems in interpreting the theme. The single regular exception appears to be contemporatives of time, which indicate time contemporaneous with that of the superordinate verb (as in 'in the wintertime', etc.). The newly proposed theory of the switch-reference mechanisms marking topic or thematic continuity or lack thereof is therefore more inclusive and consistent than the traditional explanation of switch-reference.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Findings with respect to West Greenlandic

In this study, I have been concerned with two of the syntactic systems of agreement marking in West Greenlandic, and with anomalies in the assignment of agreement arising from the traditional interpretations of the circumstances of this assignment. Specifically, I have looked at the assignment of absolutive case in a study of ergativity, and at the assignment of coreference or noncoreference in a study of switch-reference in subordinate clauses. The resolution of the problems posed by anomalous agreement patterns has required a detailed look at certain aspects of discourse and discourse theory. I have argued that these agreement patterns are better explained in general by assuming agreement with the discourse role 'topic' rather than with the syntactic roles subject or object; and by assuming the existence, at discourse level, of a dichotomy between topic and theme analogous to the syntactic dichotomy between noun phrases and verb phrases.

Although the assignment of absolutive case is generally not explained in traditional interpretations of West Greenlandic sentence structure, the difference between the absolutive object of a transitive construction and the demoted, instrumentally-marked object of an antipassive construction is linked to the definiteness or givenness of the absolutive object, and the indefiniteness or newness of the demoted object. Not all absolutive objects are definite or given, however, and not all demoted objects are indefinite. By reviewing ergative and antipassive clauses in context, I have shown that the absolutive objects are not random, definite noun phrases; they are ones with continuity and prominence throughout a part of text. Further, the demoted objects are not random indefinite noun phrases; they are specifically those noun phrases with no continuity or prominence within a part of text. To refer to noun phrases with continuity and prominence throughout a part of text, I have proposed the notion of a discourse role,

topic, in analogy to syntactic and semantic roles. I have shown that objects in West Greenlandic are more systematically explained as a reflection of topic status: the absolutely-marked noun phrases are (local) topics, and the demoted objects are nontopics. I have not dwelt much on the topicality of ergative subjects, but they appear to be global topics: in most cases they have prominence throughout a greater stretch of discourse than absolutive objects, but they are less prominent locally than a local topic. Further, support for such an interpretation is found in the pattern of pronominal inflection on the verbs: transitive verbs coindex both subject and object arguments, and intransitive verbs coindex only the subject; neither construction involves the coindexing of definiteness. If the verbs coindex topical items, then not indexing a nontopic, such as a demoted object, is an obvious corollary.

The assignment of coreference or noncoreference marking in West Greenlandic is traditionally associated with the identity or lack thereof between the two subjects of a pair of clauses, one of which is subordinate to the other; switch-reference is shown on the subordinate verb (and subject, if possessed). The subject of a superordinate clause is not always the anaphor of the subject of the subordinate; and the object of one can sometimes be coreferent with the subject of another. In reviewing my texts, I have shown that in context, most anomalous cases of switch-reference can be explained as marking topic continuity or topic shift. Coreferent pronominal inflection on the verb is consistently found in cases where the topic of a previous clause or piece of text is continued, and noncoreferent inflection where the topic is not continued. In an interesting complication, the coindexed object does not show pattern of coreference, although the coindexed object was determined to be the local topic.

The contemporative and the participial have been identified as switch-reference mechanisms in West Greenlandic, despite the fact that they differ in kind from other methods of switch-reference marking. Further, there are as many examples of anomalous switch-reference with respect to these verb moods as pronominal switch-reference

anomalies, if not more. Some of these exceptions involve environments in which coreference crosses sentential boundaries. I have shown that, to the extent that contemporative and the participial are markers of switch-reference, they must be considered markers of thematic, rather than topic, continuity. As verb moods, they imply verbal, and therefore propositional, semantics. This accounts nicely for the difference in switch-reference systems based on pronominal inflection and on verb mood. I have also suggested, however, that the indication of thematic continuity or shift must probably be considered a secondary function of the contemporative and participial moods. For one, both the contemporative and the participial also have the means to indicate switch-reference through the inflectional system, although the inflectional paradigm is severely restricted in the contemporative (only one argument is marked, the subject for intransitives, the object for transitives). Although all languages have a high level of redundancy in the grammar, it is unlikely that two verb moods exist solely, or even primarily, to indicate switch-reference when at least two other, paradigmatically-complete systems to indicate it exist. Further, West Greenlandic has a system, primarily signaled by the verb moods, for indicating time relative to the superordinate. The causative tends to indicate events which occurred prior to the events of the superordinate: the conditional, events which have not yet happened with respect to those of the superordinate; and the contemporative, events which occur contemporaneously with the superordinate. If the contemporative and the participial have come to be used as markers of thematic continuity or shift, it is likely a result of sentence or discourse structure in West Greenlandic, ambiguities in certain constructions, and gaps in the inflectional paradigm. West Greenlandic is a clause-chaining language; clauses in a clause chain tend to have topical or thematic continuity. As most clauses tend to be intransitive, there is also a tendency for subject and topic to coincide. Further, participial constructions are structurally ambiguous with relative and nominalized constructions, either of which tend to involve non-topical information. The gap, mentioned above, in the contemporative's

inflectional system for marking switch-reference and for marking more than one argument, the association of the participial with constructions which tend to involve non-topical material, and the tendency of clause-chains to signal topical or thematic unity, and incidentally to coincide with subject continuity, have resulted in the association of the contemporative and the participial with switch-reference mechanisms. Switch-reference, however, must be seen as their secondary function.

These interpretations of West Greenlandic constructions are not without problems, however. There are examples of the use of absolutive objects which cannot readily be explained by assuming the local topic to be the absolutive object. Nor can all examples of coreference or noncoreference be readily explained as instances of topic or thematic continuity or shift; this is especially true in the case of contemporative or participial use. The advantages of my proposals have been discussed above; but there are exceptions. If the theory is sound and the evidence in simple cases is convincing, then one may be able to interpret the more complicated and less obvious instances of transitivity and switch-reference according to the theory. Certainly, the latter would not be used to prove the theory. The existence of these less-than-obvious cases may also reflect the lack of clarity or ambiguity normally found in much of oral language. Not all speakers are equally able to express themselves, nor do all speakers manipulate language in the same way. There are certainly differences in language use to be noticed between the texts I have collected: speaker 1 tends to use more participials than the others, whereas speaker 4 tends not to use them; speaker 3 tends to use nominalizations far more than the others; speaker 4 shows a preference for incorporated particles in structuring paragraphs, whereas others more often use independent particles; with respect to particles, the speakers use the particles for organizing paragraphs in different ways; and so forth. Finally, especially where more than one topic is prominent, the ranks of the respective topics may be continually changing, requiring continual reassessment of topicality, both by the speaker and the hearer.

All these conclusions depend on the soundness of the theoretical assumptions and proposals I have made regarding the nature of discourse and the effect that certain aspects of discourse have on the syntactic structures I have studied. In the following section, I present a summary of these assumptions and proposals.

6.2 Some Comments on the Potential Role of Discourse in Linguistic Descriptions

I hope to have convincingly shown that discourse has structure and that this structure can be systematically analyzed. In this study, I have limited myself to structure as reflected by the discourse-level equivalents of nouns and verbs or arguments and predicates, namely topic and theme. There is no reason to see discourse as something necessarily and entirely different from other levels of linguistic structure. Just as the syntax has readily identifiable classes of constituents, such as noun phrases and verb phrases, or arguments and predicates, so the discourse has similarly identifiable classes, both nominal and propositional. This difference is clearly seen in the different characterizations of switch-reference in West Greenlandic, for example, where pronominal inflection marking switch-reference can be characterized as marking continuity and shift, and verb mood distribution can be characterized as marking thematic continuity and shift. The parallels extend further. Just as there are both clearly and less clearly, more ambiguously defined noun phrases and verb phrases in the syntax, there are both clear and ambiguous topics and themes in the discourse. Hopper and Thompson (1984:707-709) suggest that the most prototypical members of the different grammatical categories (such as noun and verb) form a rather small set, other items having to a greater or lesser degree characteristics typically identified as belonging to a number of categories. The dearth of clear examples of transitivity is called to mind. In West Greenlandic, this is particularly evident in the use of the participial, the third person intransitive form of which is ambiguously a verb form (the participial), a relative construction, and a nominalized form. In discourse-level interpretation, this leads to some ambiguity in determining the topic or thematic status of a particular form and consequently in

determining the role of topic with respect to theme. Although the scope is wider and the variables more numerous, the issues in a structural description of discourse are similar in kind to those raised in discussions of syntax.

Further, just as we can identify roles which characterize the grammaticalization of a syntactic category, and others which do the same for a semantic category, we can also identify discourse roles which characterize the grammaticalization of a category of discourse. Insofar as roles provide a means to keep track of noun phrases in clauses and sentences, there is no necessary difference in kind between the means to keep track of noun phrases in texts. Comrie (1981) writes that the differences in case-marking systems basically reflect the different options available for keeping track of a noun phrase where there is more than one noun phrase in a clause. Thus, we find nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive case marking, and in rarer instances, three-way case marking, in which S, O, and A are all inflected differently. There is no necessary difference between keeping track of more than one noun phrase in a clause and doing the same for more than one noun phrase in a text; there are simply more noun phrases to keep track of. Thus, the question of topic ranking in texts with more than one local topic is raised. In my West Greenlandic texts, the most prominent local topic is marked (as the absolutive), and others are not. Switch-reference systems, as traditionally described, provide a way for keeping track of a noun phrase across clauses. Again, there is no necessary difference between switch-reference systems which mark the coreference or lack thereof of subjects and those which mark the coreference or lack thereof of topics. Systems which mark topic switches provide a way of keeping track of a noun phrase across a larger piece of text. In a system which marks topic switches, the coreferenced entity need not be the subject, since topics can occur in either subject or object position. Rather than speaking of exceptional examples of coreference (or lack thereof) as arising from differences in transitivity between clauses or differences in the agency of the respective subjects,

differences which are not always clearly demonstrated, we can continue to speak in terms of coreferentiality. In this case, it is coreferentiality of the topic.

Thus, the terms and the methods used to describe syntactic structures can be extended to describe discourse-level structures. Consequently, categories which have traditionally been described in terms of the syntax can also be described in terms of the discourse, and in some cases, such as West Greenlandic, this seems to be more useful. Discourse roles, for example, can be shown to be relevant to the study of syntax. Thus, both ergativity and switch-reference in West Greenlandic are more clearly explained as constructions which reflect discourse roles rather than definiteness (in the former case) and subjecthood (in the latter). There is also a clear advantage of using discourse roles to explain features of the syntax of West Greenlandic: the assumption of a discourse role 'topic' not only explains one aspect of West Greenlandic grammar, e.g. ergativity, but also another, i.e. switch-reference. The two are seemingly unrelated aspects of grammar, and traditional grammatical descriptions have assigned different explanations to the two. The explanation of switch-reference is straightforwardly based on the morphology, if one excludes the contemporative and the participial from the discussion. Ergativity, however, has been said to reflect definiteness or givenness; yet it does not have overt morphology which specifically identifies something as definite or given (c.f. subjects, which are not differentiated for givenness). The assumption of a topic role, however, allows both these grammatical forms to be covered by a single explanation (and one with a certain amount of functional merit). Another clear advantage of discourse roles lies in the explicit differentiation between topic and theme; the two have different effects on the syntax. For example, the difference between the pronominal switch-reference inflectional systems in West Greenlandic and the use of the contemporative and the participial as part of the switch-reference system is one of topic and theme. The contemporative and the participial, after all, are verb moods, not substitutions for noun phrases.

In proposing discourse roles, I am not suggesting that categories such as subject or object are irrelevant in general, nor, indeed, that they are necessarily irrelevant in West Greenlandic in particular. Nor am I suggesting that all languages have grammaticalized ways to mark discourse roles. Subjecthood, for example, has worked well as a category in the description of English. As the literature concerning subjecthood suggests, however (see Keenan 1976, for example), it has not worked well as a descriptive category for all languages. In the same way, I suggest that topic may work well as a descriptive category for West Greenlandic, but it may not for other languages.

The possibility of marking noun phrases according to topicness brings up one more way in which languages can vary. Languages can differ with respect to the phonology, the morphology, the syntax, the semantics, the pragmatics. Within each of these broad linguistic systems, languages can vary in a great many ways: for example, with respect to phonology, languages can differ not only in the use of particular phonemes, but also in the use of suprasegmentals such as tone, intonational patterns, and so forth. Similarly, levels of organization within the syntax can differ. Where some languages categorize nouns according to subjecthood, others according to agency, still others according to animacy or some other syntactic or semantic hierarchy, it seems not unreasonable that some languages should categorize nouns according to relative importance in a text. It need not be animate, it need not even be real. There is no a priori reason that a language should not have the means to formally distinguish the topic, regardless of the syntactic or semantic character of this topic (i.e. regardless of its status as subject or object, or agent or patient).

I also do not suggest that concepts such as theme-rheme structure, givenness, definiteness, and so forth are not useful in characterizing discourse in a language. Rather, they reflect a different kind of information about discourse. This information is not as structurally predictable as it has often been made out to be. It reflects tendencies in language, but not necessarily grammatical, usage; and perhaps it also reflects questions of

style. Furthermore, concepts such as definiteness and givenness tend to be a reflection of something else (e.g. topic) rather than grammaticalized categories in and of themselves. The likelihood, therefore, that they determine a particular syntactic structure must be small (this is not to say that they cannot; in fact, if they are grammaticalized, one might assume they do affect the syntax). Their use in studies of syntax, in fact, reflects a confusion in the kinds of information being described. It is for this reason that many syntactic descriptions which make reference to the discourse concept 'theme' (as in theme-rheme), for example, have, in fact, no more than sentence-level applicability. Whereas syntactic structures have to do with the relationships between different clausal elements, the theme-rheme structure has to do with the linear organization of information. Thus, the first clause in a text says something about the linear organization of that text, and the first element in a sentence says something about the linear organization of that sentence; but the former is not related to the latter in the way that a noun is related to an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun, for example.

This leads me to emphasize the importance of studying discourse within the setting of discourse. In other words, a study of discourse cannot be based on the study of decontextualized clauses. If discourse can affect the syntax, this also has ramifications for the study of syntax (or at least functional studies of syntax). If a language has grammaticalized discourse roles, then studying clauses and sentences in isolation will only result in inadequate and perhaps faulty descriptions. Furthermore, studying aspects of discourse other than discourse roles which affect sentence formation must be undertaken in context; short of the formal study of logic and the philosophy of language, the true intent of the speaker, as reflected in the choice of clausal organization (e.g. 'theme' and 'rheme') and presentation (e.g. speech act) is only meaningful in context. Out of context, native speaker judgments about both the grammaticality and meaning of a clause is compromised. This is not to suggest that studies of syntax cannot be functional. On the contrary, the study of syntax has resulted in tremendously useful analyses of

clause structures: and they have cross-linguistic value. Rather, if discourse is considered in studies of syntax, then the studies must include context with clausal analysis.

Finally, it is important to consider the flexibility inherent in language. Halliday (1967b), in discussing the order of the presentation of information in discourse, notes that slots in the sentence are generally filled according to the type of information that is expressed: he is mainly referring to givenness, but his statements are valid in all areas of the study of human discourse:

These are options on the part of the speaker, not determined by the textual or situational environment: what is new is in the last resort what the speaker chooses to present as new, and predictions from the discourse have only a high probability of being fulfilled. Nevertheless the structure of the information unit does contribute in large measure to the organization of discourse, by providing a framework within which these options are exercised.' (1967b:211)

Applied to the theory proposed here, this is saying that the speaker ultimately decides what he or she is speaking about, and how he or she will express this. Ultimately, linguistic rules are really guidelines that can be broken for the purpose of the moment, within reason (communication being the deciding factor). Many syntactic theorists speak of constraints in the grammar, of disallowed structures, or of violations of rules. In a functional approach to linguistic description, these are not very useful concepts. Rather than speaking of constraints on language, we can speak of the choices that a speaker has in indicating information status in discourse. Rather than being constrained to introduce no more than one piece of salient information per unit, for example, the speaker consciously chooses to focus on one for effect. I claim that this is encoded grammatically in West Greenlandic in the choice of clause structure and referential marking, among other things. This grammaticalization gives the linguist (not to mention the hearer) some predictability in determining the meaning of a construction. Indeed, one expects

predictability in a majority of cases. Ultimately, however, the structure will depend on the choices made by the speaker; and these choices vary from speaker to speaker.

Appendix I--Typological Characteristics of West Greenlandic

1. West Greenlandic is a highly polysynthetic language.
2. It has fairly free word order, although its preferred word order is SOV; alternate word orders generally entail semantic differences.
3. Adverbial clauses can be inserted in between the subject and the verb (see 3b.130 in appendix III. for example).
4. It is a clause-chaining language: a typical sentence will have one independent clause and one or more dependent clauses. Dependence is marked by verbal inflection. Dependent clauses can precede or follow the clause to which they are dependent; but their order relative to the superordinate clause affects their semantics. Dependent clauses which precede their superordinate typically have a temporal meaning; those which follow are typically either in an object relation to their superordinate or they have the semantics of an adverbial clause of manner.
5. It has both nominal and verbal marking for switch-reference. Verbal marking for switch-reference is found only in the subordinate moods.
6. It is a morphologically ergative language, with both nominal case marking and verbal pronominal inflection. In transitive clauses, both subject and object are coindexed on the verbal inflection; in intransitive clauses, only the subject is. The absolutive case is unmarked, the ergative is overtly marked. In a topic-based interpretation of the ergative constructions, the absolutively-marked noun is the topic.
7. It has ergative, antipassive, and passive constructions. Both passive and antipassive constructions, like intransitives, are marked for subject only. Demoted objects of antipassives are marked with instrumental case. In passive constructions, the (optional) agent phrase is marked with ablative case.
8. In general, it is not a split-ergative language, although there appears to be some split in the pronominal inflection on the verbs: first and second person subject inflections appear

to follow an accusative case-marking pattern, and third persons an ergative one (with some particularities, see Fortescue 1995).

9. Verbs are marked for mood, person, and number; inflectional endings are somewhat fused in transitive forms.

10. It is an exclusively suffixing language. There is only one prefix, *ta-*; it is now unproductive and largely fossilized.

11. Nouns are case-marked. The morphology distinguishes the following cases: absolutive, relative (ergative, genitive), instrumental, terminalis, ablative, vialis, and equalis. The last five indicate oblique relationship of the noun to the verb.

12. In noun phrases, modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses) generally follow the head. Possessors in possessive constructions generally follow the possessed noun (but non-possessed adjectives follow).

13. Modifiers agree with the noun in number and case. Nouns agree with the verb in number; as stated in point 5 above, nominal arguments are coindexed on the verb.

14. There are productive processes whereby nouns can be incorporated into the verb. Verb forms with incorporated nouns can be inflected transitively (e.g. *anuaanagaara* 'I have a mother', see 3a.117). Modifiers stranded by noun incorporation are generally marked with instrumental case.

15. Conjunctions follow the last conjoined element. Conjunctions may be suffixed to nouns or verbs following the inflectional morphology.

Appendix II--Historical Discussion of Verb Moods

At the end of section 5.2.1, I indirectly suggested that there were two ways of looking at switch-reference systems; either canonical switch-reference systems could develop into more complex systems marking not only switch-reference but also other grammatical or semantic coherence features; or discourse-level thematic features might give rise to switch-reference interpretations. If indeed the West Greenlandic system is to be interpreted as a system marking switch-topic or theme, is there comparative support for this? Or does it make more sense to view the West Greenlandic system as a switch-reference system which is developing into a more complex system marking thematic coherence? Is there a historical basis for suggesting that the contemporative and participial moods indicate switch-reference, or for that matter, switch-topic/theme? To address these questions, I present a discussion of the history of the verbal moods in Eskimo in the following section; this is based on my own comparative work based on the different texts available on the Eskimo languages of today, as well as some of the articles, particularly those by Swadesh (1946 and 1951-2) on the reconstruction of Proto-Eskimo. Unfortunately, most works concerned with reconstruction are primarily concerned with phonological or morphological issues; the following is therefore tentative.

The West Greenlandic verb moods show interesting differences from those of other Inuit dialects; and a review of the state of the contemporative and participial moods in all the dialects raises a number of questions relevant to this study. The contemporative and the participial moods have already been described for West Greenlandic. Each mood fulfills multiple functions in the grammar, the contemporative being somewhat of a default mood used for such disparate functions as simultaneous time, sequential time, coreferential subjecthood, adverbial indications of manner, cause, time, and so forth. The participial indicates subject noncoreference, relativization, nominalization, etc.

In most other Inuit dialects, the participial form, *-j/t-*, is a variant of the indicative mood. All dialects have *-v/p-* variants, but in a number of dialects, these forms quite

restricted in their application, at least in the formal linguistic descriptions. The Labrador dialect of Inuktitut primarily makes use of *-v/p-* forms, the *-j/t-* variant occurring only in the third person. Other Inuktitut dialects vary in their preference of forms, with Southeastern Baffin Island Inuktitut preferring the *-j/t-*, and Northern Baffin Island tending to prefer *-v/p-* as the normal form of the indicative. In these Eastern Canadian Inuit dialects, the *-j/t-* variant is still morphologically identical to nominalized verbs and relative clauses. In more western dialects, such as Siglutun, Uummarmiutun, Inuinaqtun, Natsilingmiutun, the *-j/t-* forms are the normal indicative forms; *-v/p-* are rare, in some cases found only with transitive endings, and used only in traditional narratives. Ronald Lowe (1985:135) calls these 'kiihaimma declaratives', indicatives which are used to indicate the end of an episode in a narrative:

II.1 kiihaimma, pikhaqqivaa!
 and finally, it landed on him

 kiihaimma, qaaqpuq
 finally, he exploded

In Inupiak, in some ways considered one of the more conservative dialects of Eskimo, three types of indicative are distinguished, two of which involve the *-j/t-* form. These two together are the forms primarily used for declarative speech; the third, *-v/p-*, is restricted and has the same function as Lowe's kiihaimma declaratives (Dorais 1990; 1991:57). Thus, Western Greenlandic is the only dialect with a clear distinction between the indicative and the participial.

The distinction between participial and indicative has been maintained in Yup'ik, however, where the participial has a clear predicative or nominal function.

The contemporative in Greenlandic is so named because one of its functions is to indicate cotemporaneous/simultaneous time with that of the main verb. The term used for this mood in most other Inuit dialects is 'appositional', because one of its functions is conjunctive. The appositional in all other Inuit dialects has two forms, distinguishing between past/present and future action:

Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, Baffin Island (examples from Dorais 1991:112):

- II.2 **takullunga**
 while seeing, I...
- takulunga**
 while seeing, I will...

In addition, all other dialects appear to have a formal distinction between appositional forms with coreferent and noncoreferent subjects, based on an agentive morpheme:

Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, Baffin Island (examples from Dorais 1991:112;

applicable to all other dialects except for Greenlandic):

- II.3 **takutillunga**
 taku-tit-lunga
 see-agentive-1sg.CT
 while I see, you/he/she/they...

Although this construction exists in West Greenlandic, it does not appear to be a formal mechanism for indicating switch-reference. Per Langgård (personal communication) suggests that it continues to indicate same-subject, showing an element of control in the actions of the main clause subject.

In the westernmost Inuit dialects, there exist two verb moods where there exists only one in all other dialects: an appositional and a contemporative. Inupiaq (according to Dorais 1991) and Uummarmiutun (according to Lowe 1985) both distinguish between the appositional, which is formally the same as the appositional in other dialects and the contemporative in Greenlandic, and the contemporative, which has been completely lost (recently, in some cases) in other dialects. The appositional (or conjunctive, in Lowe's terminology), expresses manner, reason, coordination in a clause chain, sequential time in a narrative, or simultaneous time, and appears to be unmarked for subject in the transitive forms. The many different functions of the appositional reflect the fact that there is no comparable category in English (or French, Danish, Latin, or Russian, the languages of those who have produced Eskimo grammars). Lowe suggests that the subordinate mood forms in Uummarmiutun can be understood in terms of the way they express relationship

to the main verb. The causative indicates the anteriority of a real event relative to another real event (and therefore is associated with past tense):

- II.4 Paulatuumukkama apiqrukkara (Lowe 1985:202)
 Paulatuk-umuk-kama apiqru-kkara
 Paulatuk-go.to-1sg.CA ask-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.past.declarative (indic)
 When I went to Paulatuk, I asked him

The conditional indicates the anteriority of a hypothetical event to another hypothetical event (and therefore is associated with future or irrealis):

- II.5 Paulatuumukkama apiqrumiariga (Lowe:1985:202)
 Paulatuk-umuk-kama apiqru-riaq-giga
 Paulatuk-go.to-1sg.CO ask-fut-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.pres.declarative (indic)
 If I go to Paulatuk, I will ask him

The appositional indicates the time frame in or during which the event expressed by the main verb occurs:

- II.6 Havakhuni kiliqtuaq (Lowe 1985:203)
 Havak-huni kiliq-tuaq
 work-3sg.CT cut-3sg.past.declarative (indic)
 While working, he cut himself

Such an interpretation of the subordinate moods is easily applicable to the other Eskimo dialects, and perhaps makes lists of functions such as 'expresses manner, reason, simultaneous time, etc.' unnecessary, leaving only the question of its role as a switch-reference marker.

The contemporative (henceforth 'contemporative I', to distinguish it from the use of the term 'contemporative in the rest of this thesis) expresses what Lowe describes as a 'reflexive' type of action performed at the same time as that of the main verb and involving the same persons. Among its characteristics are:

lack of tense marking, its interpretation depending on that of the main verb (examples from Lowe 1985:232):

- II.7 muqpaurillarma naalaktuaqtuanga
 muqpauri-llarma naalaktuaq-tuanga
 make.bread-1sg.CT I listen.to.radio-1sg.past.I
 while making bread, I was listening to the radio

 muqpaurillarma naalaktuaqtunga
 muqpauri-llarma naalaktuaq-tunga

make.bread-1sg.CT₁ listen.to.radio-1sg.pres.I
 while making bread, I am listening to the radio

subject coreferentiality with the main verb in the intransitive, but either subject, agent, or subject to agent coreferentiality in the transitive (examples from Lowe 1985:233):

- II.8 ikayullapku hiñikhaqtunga
 ikayuq-llapku hiñikhaq-tunga
 help-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.CT₁ sleep-1sg.I
 while I was helping him, I fell asleep
- ikayullamni hiñikhaqtuq
 ikayuq-llamni hiñikhaq-tuq
 help-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.coref.CT₁ sleep-3sg.I
 while I was helping him, he fell asleep

an alternative set of third person transitive verb endings which do not differentiate object person (Lowe 1985:235):

- II.9 uqautillaan
 uqauti-llaan
 wait-3.subj/1, 2, or 3sg.obj.CT₁
 he is waiting for me/you/him/her/it

a set of coreferential and noncoreferential pronominal endings for third person (Lowe 1985:234-235):

- II.10 uqautillapku
 uqauti-llapku
 wait-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.CT₁
 I am waiting for him_j [...he/him_i]
- uqautillamni
 uqauti-llamni
 wait-1sg.subj/3sg.obj.coref.CT₁
 I am waiting for him_i [...he/him_i]

The contemporative₁, therefore, has both a full set of both subject and object pronominal endings in the transitive, as well as a full set of pronominal switch-reference markers, just as the causative and the conditional do. Because of the similarity in useage between the appositional and the contemporative₁, and because of the resulting interchangeability in certain cases, the contemporative₁ has been lost in other dialects, and its functions have been associated with the appositional mood.

What is especially interesting is both the existence of switch-reference pronominal markers and the possibility of using the contemporative₁ to mark continuity in either

subject or agent (which, in the example given above, is object). Assuming the soundness of Lowe's description, identifying the contemporative_I as a mood specific to cases of coreferential subject is not only unnecessary, but also fails to account for cases of subject-object or object-object coreference. In fact, this looks like an issue of thematic or topic continuation. In Greenlandic this seems to be supported by the morphological identity between all but third person (Greenlandic) contemporative forms, both intransitive and transitive, or in other words, in both subject and object forms.

Thus, a Proto-Eskimo system of verbal moods would have consisted of the following subordinate moods: appositional, contemporative_I, participial, and causative and conditional. These seem to have indicated a temporal/aspectual relation to the independent clause, with the causative indicating past realis, the conditional future or irrealis, the appositional general time during which the event of the independent clause takes place, and the contemporative simultaneous time. Although the participial is associated with nominalizations and relatives in most of the dialects, it is linked to the completed past in its semantics, indeed specifically denotes vivid past in Yup'ik. The participial, pragmatically, is most often likely to modify the object topic in a clause, or the topic which is the focus of the construction. In Eastern Inuit dialects, when the contemporative_I was lost, a mechanism for indicating switch-reference during present time with respect to the superordinate verb. In the Canadian dialects, even in those which retained the contemporative_I, the agentive affix on the appositional came to represent the preferred method for indicating switch-reference in this verb mood, while the participial eventually merged in form with the indicative and retained its nominalizing function without further semantic development. In Greenlandic, the participial came to be associated with different subject, for the pragmatic reason stated above. The appositional (i.e. Greenlandic contemporative), with the coreferential subject morpheme and essentially same temporal meaning, came to be associated with same subject; but it also assumed the functions of the contemporative_I, including that of indicating topic or

thematic continuity. In modern Greenlandic, therefore, the contemporative (old appositional) and the participial are in functional opposition, as markers of switch-topic/theme. Their identification as markers of switch-reference seems to have become grammaticalized in tight constructions, such as in object clauses; but elsewhere, there is considerably more freedom in the interpretation of same/different subject. The identification of same subject with contemporatives and different subject with participials would have arisen by virtue of the clause-chaining sentence structure of Greenlandic (and Inuit dialects in general), in which a number of clauses are thematically and intonationally grouped as a unit, and by virtue of the general semantic attachment of the participial to object clauses.

One question which remains, for which I have no satisfactory answer, is why the appositional and the contemporative mark objects only in the transitive.

Appendix III

Speaker 1, Text 1a

Recorded 17. Aug. 1995 Nuuk

L

1. Ullumi_
Ulloq-mi
day-loc

nunatsinni_
nuna-tsinni
country-1pl.pos¹.loc

pissusiusut_
pissuseq-u-soq-t
culture-cop-nom -pl.abs

{uagut meeraanitsinnut naleqqiullugu.
uagut meeraaneq-tsinnut naleqqiup²-lugu
1pl childhood-1pl.pos.term. compare-3sg.obj.CT³
If (we) compare our way of life today in our country with our childhood

Today, in our country, our culture, [if] we compare it to our childhood

2. allaruju-- taamani inuunermik allarujussuuvoq__}
alla-ruju-- taamani inuuneq-mik alla-rujussuuvoq⁴
different/another-very-- at.that.time life-inst different/another-very.3sg.I
was very differ- at that time it was a very different life

¹Inuit nominal endings mark both number and case. Where number of possessum is unmarked, possessum is singular.

²There is a long and well-established tradition among scholars of Greenlandic to provide both verbal stem and verbal affix forms with the 3sg indicative ending in citation form. Thus, according to tradition, I should be providing the form *naleqqiuppaa*. Because of the potential for confusion, I will not provide more than one personal ending per analysis. This of course has implications for the phonological form provided, where, for example, final '-q-' is provided instead of preconsonantal '-r-', and so forth.

³Inuit verbal endings identify number, person, mode, and transitivity. There are separate personal endings for transitive and intransitive verb forms, and separate affixal forms for the different modes. Number and person, however, are often fused. Person, number, and modal categories will generally be given; where number is not indicated, the singular and plural forms are indistinguishable and meaning is derived from context. Where unmarked for transitivity, forms will be intransitive.

⁴All sources used in analyzing the affixes mention the nominal affix *-rujussuaq* 'very much'; Fortescue 1983 mentions the verbal affix (*pilu*)*rujussuar* 'enormously'. Presumably, *-rujussuuvoq* consists of the same elements *-rujussu* without the now obsolescent abbreviated form of the nominalizer *-aq*, the copula *-u-*, and the 3sg indicative ending *-voq*.

II.

3. {Uanga isikka isigilluaqqaalermata.
 Uanga isi-kka isigi-lluaq-qqaaq-ler-mata
 1sg eye-1sg.pos.abs/pl.posm see-well-first-begin-3nc.pl.CA
 When my eyes could see well [When my eyes first began to see well]
4. siutikkalu tusaalluaqqaalerlutik__}
 siuti-kka-lu tusaa-lluaq-qqaaq-ler-lutik
 ear-1sg.pos.abs/pl.posm-and hear-well-first-begin-3pl.CT
 and my ears could hear well [When my ears first began to hear well]

III.

5. {kalaallit nunatsinni_
 kalaalleq-t nuna-tsinni
 kalaalleq-pl land-1pl.pos.loc
 In Greenland [the land of the Greenlanders]
- nunarput allarujussuuvoq
 nuna-rput alla-rujussuuvoq
 land-1pl.pos.abs different/another-very-3sg.I
 our land was very different
6. (nunarput allaanngikkaluarpoq
 nuna-rput allaa-nngit-galuaq-voq
 land-1pl.pos.abs different-neg-conseq⁵-3sg.I
 our land was just the same [was not different]
7. kisianni illoqarfiit allarujussuupput)__}
 kisianni illoqarfik-it alla-rujussuu-vut
 but settlement-pl.abs different/another-very-3pl.I
 but the settlements were very different

IV.

8. {Inuit (inooriaassiat) ullumikkumut naleqqilullugu_
 Inuk-it inooriassiat⁶ ullumi-kkut⁷-mut naleqqiup-lugu
 person-pl way.of.life/lifestyle-abs today-via-term compare-3sg.obj.CT
 Comparing the people's way of life to today

⁵According to Per Langgård (personal communication) *-galuaq-* is a syntactic marker and consequential sememe, indicating a following paratactic or hypotactic construction. With future tense, it can be understood as irrealis, or perhaps a form of politeness. It can indicate the speaker's reservations about what has just been said, etc.

⁶This word-form is not attested in the various lexicons used for this analysis. The morphology is as follows: *inuk-u-riar-usiq-at* human-cop-intens-nom-3pl.pos.abs. It is essentially lexicalized in this meaning.

⁷The form *ullumikkut* shows a relatively common but recent change in word structure involving the reinterpretation of original case endings as part of the stems of certain words and the resulting addition of new case endings as required by the syntax. *ullumikkut* consists of the word *ulloq* 'day', *-mi*, a locative, and an additional but nontraditional *-kkut*, a vialis. Both the older *ullumi* and the newer *ullumikkut* are currently used in West Greenlandic.

9. Inuusuttunut meeqqanullu oqaluttuarissagutsigu
 Inuusuttoq-t-nut meeraq-t-nut-lu oqaluttuaq-gi-ssa-gutsigu
 youth-pl-term child-pl-term-and history/story-have-fut-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CO
 To the youth and the children, if you should tell the story [to them]
10. upperinaviannngilaat,
 upperi-naviannngit-laak
 believe-most.likely.not.[intens.neg]-3pl.subj/3sg.obj.neg.I
 they will most likely not not believe it
11. uppermannngingaarmat__}
 uppernar-nngit-ngaarmat
 be.believable-neg-very.much-3sg.nc.CA
 because it is really unbelievable
- V.
12. {Taamani uagut meeraalluta,
 Taamani uagut meeraq-u-lluta
 At.that.time 1pl child-cop-1pl.CT
 At that time we were children
13. eqqaamavara_
 eqqaama-vara
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I remember it
14. (tassa Qaqortumi meeraavunga_
 tassa Qaqortoq-mi meeraq-u-vunga
 that.is Qaqortoq-loc child-cop-1sg.I
 that is, I was a child in Qaqortoq
15. taamani_silattorama_
 taamani silattoq⁸-gama
 at.that.time acquire.wisdom-1sg.CA
 then I got wiser [i.e. when I acquired knowledge/wisdom/ability to reason]
16. Qaqortoq inukitsunnguuvuq_
 Qaqortoq-0 inuk-kit-soq-nnguuvuq
 Qaqortoq-abs person-have.little-nom-dim+cop.3sg.I
 there were not many people in Qaqortoq [i.e. Qaqortoq didn't have many people]
17. tassanilu_piniartuinnaat_
 tassani-lu piniartoq-innaq-it,
 there-and hunter-only-pl.abs
 and there--[were] only hunters,

 -ngajaviit_
 -ngajak-vik-it
 almost-real-pl.abs
 almost only [almost entirely,]

⁸*silattoq*- is a way of saying 'grow up', and refers to the development of memory and consciousness in children. The speaker is suggesting something like 'one of the first things I remember...'

(aalisartumininnguit
 aalisartoq-mineq-nnguaq-it
 fisherman-kind.of-dim-pl.abs
 [there were] a few fishermen

18. taamani aalisarneq suli ingerlalluannginami_}
 taamani aalisarneq-0 suli ingerlaC-lluaq-nngit-gami
 at.that.time fishing.[industry]-abs yet be.underway/going-well-neg-3c.sg.CA
 at that time the fishing was not yet going well

VI.

19. {Piniartut.
 Piniartoq-t.
 Hunter-pl.abs
 [The] hunters.

qajat.
 qajaq-t
 kayak-pl.abs
 kayaks

qajaannarmik inuussuteqarput_
 qajaq-innaq-mik inuu-ssuteqaq-vut
 kayak-only-inst live-by.means.of-3pl.I
 they only used the kayak to live by [i.e. hunt]

VII.

20. {umiaasat aalisariutigisarpaat_
 umiaq-asaq-t aalisariuti-gi-saq-paat
 umiaq-resemble-pl.abs fishing.vessel-have-habit-trans.3pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 they used to use small boats as fishing vessels

21. ukiorlu naallugu
 ukioq-0-lu naa-llugu
 winter-abs-and be.finished-3sg.obj.CT
 and all winter long

22. qajaq atorluameqaqaaq_
 qajaq-0 ator-lluaq-neqaq-qaaq
 kayak-abs use-well-pas-3sg.P
 the kayak is very much used [i.e. well used]

VIII.

23. {Tassalu illoqarfimmi_
 Tassa-lu illoqarfik-mi
 Then-and town-loc
 and in the town

palasi_
 palasi-0
 priest-abs
 the priest

qallunaaq_
 qallunaaq-0
 Dane-abs
 a Dane

24. (kisianni kalaallisut oqaluttoq)
 kisianni kalaallisut oqaluk-toq
 but Greenlandic speak-3sg.P
 but he spoke Greenlandic

25. taavalu_niuertoq qallunaaq
 taava-lu niuertoq-0 qallunaaq-0
 then-and trader/colonial.chief-abs Dane-abs
 and then the trader. a Dane

26. (qallunaatuinnaq oqaluttoq⁹).
 qallunaatut-innaq oqalutktoq
 Danish-only speak-3sg.P
 he only spoke Danish

27. niuertussat_
 niuertoq-ssaq¹⁰-t
 trader.in.training-fut-pl.abs
 the traders in training.

napparsimavimmi nakorsaq_
 napparsimavik-mi nakorsaq-0
 hospital-loc doctor-abs
 the doctor in the hospital.

niviarsiat_
 niviarsiaq-t
 nurse-pl.abs
 the nurses.

atuarfimmi ilinniartitsisoq qallunaaq_
 atuarfik-mi ilinniartitsisoq-0 qallunaaq-0
 school-loc teacher-abs Dane-abs
 the teacher in the school. a Dane

28. (qallunaatuinnaq oqaluttut)}
 qallunaatut-innaq oqaluk-tut
 Danish-only speak-3pl.P
 they only spoke Danish

⁹This was transcribed as *oqaluttoq*, but it seems to be *oqaluppoq* on the tape: the difference is one of verb mood, the former being a participial, the latter indicative. The indicative would signal a clear parenthetical thought on the part of the speaker (P. Langgård, personal communication).

¹⁰The affix *-ssaq-* generally indicates some future aspect: when attached to nouns, the meaning of the construct becomes 'a future N'.

IX.

29. {tassa taamani qallunaat taama ikitsigipput_}
 tassa taamani qallunaaq-t taama ikit-tigi-vut
 that.is at.that.time Dane-pl.abs just few/not.many-as.much.as-3pl.I
 that is in those days there were not so many Danes

X.

30. {Taavalu atorfillit kalaallit_
 Taava-lu atorfik-lik-t kalaalleq-t
 then-and position-having-pl abs Greenlander-pl.abs
 and the Greenlanders who had a job
31. saffiorfimmi_
 saffiorfik-mi
 smithy-loc
 in the smithy.
- allaffimmi ikittunnguit sulisut_
 allaffik-mi ikit-toq-nnguaq-it suli-soq-t
 office-loc few-nom-dim-pl.abs work-nom-pl.abs or 3pl.P
 in the office they were few workers

XI.

32. {taamani allaffillua- allaffipassuaqannginnami_
 taamani allaffik-passuaq-qaq-nngit-gami
 at.that.time office-many-have-neg-3c.sg.CA
 at that time [in those days] there were not so many offices [as today]

XII.

33. {taavalu napparsimavimmi_
 taava-lu napparsimavik-mi
 then-and hospital-loc
 and then in the hospital
- juumuut_
 juumooq-t
 midwife-pl.abs
 midwives
- juumuussat_
 juumooq-ssaq-t
 midwife-fut-pl.abs
 midwives in training
34. kiisalu atuarfitsisinni¹¹ atuarfinni ajoqit.
 kiisa-lu atuarfik-tsinni atuarfik-ni ajoqi-t
 finally-and school-1pl.pos.loc school-1sg.pos.loc catechist-pl.abs
 and finally catechists in our schools. in my school

¹¹This is an untranscribed word on the tape.

35. ajoqit taamani ilinniartitsisutut atorfeqarput aamma_
 ajoqi-t taamani ilinniartitsisoq-tut atorfik-qaq-put aamma
 catechist-pl.abs at.that.time teacher-sg/pl.eq work/job-have-3pl I and
 and the catechists at that time had jobs as teachers

XIII.

36. {Assorujussuarlu ajoqit.
 assut-rujussuaq-lu ajoqi-t
 very-very-and catechist-pl abs
 and the catechists were very

 taamani pingaaruteqarput_
 taamani pingaar-ut(i)-qaq-put
 at.that.time important-means to-have-3pl.I
 very important in those days

XIV.

37. {tassami_oqaluffiinnaannngitsumi_
 tassami oqaluffik-innaq-u-nngit-sut-mi
 in.any.case church-only-cop-neg-3p. P-deict
 in any case they weren't [working] just in churches

 38. ullut tamaasa atuarfinni ajoqit_
 ulloq-t tamaq-asa atuarfik-ni ajoqi-t
 day-pl.abs all.abs school-pl.loc catechist-pl.abs
 every day in the schools the catechists

 ilinniartitsisutut sulisarput_
 ilinniartitsisoq-tut sulis-qaq-put
 teacher-sg/pl.eq work-habit-3pl.I
 used to work as teachers

XV.

39. {Ajoqeqarsimanngitsuuppat
 Ajoqi-qaq-sima-nngit-soq-u-pat
 catechist-have-pres/past.perf-neg-nom-cop-3nc.pl.CO
 If there hadn't been catechists

 40. ullumikkut_
 ullumi-kkut
 today-via
 today

 ineriartorsimanerput immaqa/
 ineriartorneq¹²-sima-put immaqa
 development-pres/past.perf-1pl.pos.abs maybe
 our way of life/development/evolution maybe

¹²As explained previously, where possible, I am using glosses from the lexical sources rather than attempting a complete morphological analysis of each word. *Oqaatsit* contains a lexical entry for *ineriartorneq*: the addition of *-sima-* within the word simply adds a perfective meaning to a word which is perhaps semi-lexicalized.

allaassagaluarpoq_
 allaa-ssagaluar-poq
 different-should-3sg.I
 would be different

XVI.

41. {Tassaappullu taakku ajoqit_
 Tassa-u-vut-lu taakku ajoqi-t
 That.is-cop-3pl.I-and those catechist-pl.abs
 That is they are those catechists

Kalaallit Nunaata seminariata- ilinniarfissuaninngaanniit¹³ ilinniariarlutik_
 Kalaallit Nunaata seminaria-ta- ilinniarfissuaq¹⁴-a-ninngaanniit ilinniaq-riag-lutik
 Greenland seminary-pl.rel seminary--3nc.sg.pos-abl learn-right.after-3pl.CT
 educated in the Greenland Seminary

42. nunatsinnut illoqarfinnut nunaqarfinnut siaruarsimasut_
 nuna-tsinnut illoqarfik-nnut nunaqarfik-nnut siaruag-sima-sut
 land-1pl.pos.term town-pl.term village-pl.term spread.out-perf-3pl.nom
 they spread out to our land to towns and villages

XVI.

43. {Taakkutuaappullu ajoqit tassa_
 Taakku-tuaq-u-put-lu ajoqi-t tassa
 Those-only-cop-3pl.I-and catechist-pl.abs that.is
 And the catechists were the only ones then [those only were the catechists that is]

taamanikkut ilisimasassanik_
 taamani-kkut ilisimasat-ssaq-nik
 at.that.time-via knowledge-fut-pl.inst
 in those days [who] could spread knowledge

tigunnarisassanik¹⁵
 tigu-innaq-giaq-ssaq-nik
 take-only-intens-fut-pl.inst

¹³-nit, -niit, and -ninngaanniit are all interchangeable allomorphs indicating ablative case.

¹⁴The last morpheme of this word, -suaq-, actually derives from two, -suk- and -aq. -aq is found on a number of morphemes and its provenance is unknown. In word formation, the -aq disappears, and all derivational and inflectional affixes are appended to the preceding morpheme (in this case, -suk), which then undergoes the usual morphophonemics. In *ilinniarfissuaninngaanniit*, *ilinniarfissuk-* is the base to which the 3rd noncoreferent possessive ablative is appended. There is one word in Greenlandic which does not function in this way, and which retains -aq in derivation: the word for the building which now houses the University of Greenland is known as *Norlliit illorsuaat*, from *Nuuk-rleq-it illu-rsuaq-at* 'promontory-farthest-3pl.rel house-big-3pl.pos/sg.posm', or 'the German's house' (i.e. the house of the ones who live in the furthestmost point of land). This example was given to me by P. Langgrd, who suggests that the German missionaries spoke Greenlandic so badly that they added the inflectional ending to -aq.

¹⁵The two words *ilisimasassanik* *tigunnarissanik* were explained by the translator as a metaphoric expression meaning roughly 'to take in what will be learned'. The translation 'to spread knowledge' is his. The use of the word *tigunnariaq* is standard in speaking of 'lay' catechists.

44. ilinniartinneqarsimasut ilinniarfissuarmi_
 ilinniartit-neqag-sima-sut ilinniarfissuaq-mi
 teach-pas-perf-3pl.P Greenlandic.Seminary-loc
 they had been educated in the Greenlandic Seminary

45. taakkulu ilinniakkatik,
 taakku-lu ilinniagaq-tik
 that/those-and training-3c.pl.pos/pl.posm.abs
 and this knowledge/training,

namminerlu aamma_
 nammineq-lu aamma
 self-and and

eqqarsaatersuutisik atorlugit_
 eqqarsaatersuut-tik ator-lugit
 aphorism¹⁶-3c.pl.pos/pl.posm.abs use-3nc.pl obj.CT.(unspec subj)
 and using their own philosophy/thought

qaammarsaaneq annertoorujussuaq_
 qaammarsaaneq-0 annertoq-rujussuaq-0
 illumination/educational.standard-abs voluminous/extensive-very-abs
 the enormous education/knowledge

combining what they learned at the Greenland Seminary and their own ideas about life

¹⁶*eqqarsaatersuut* is lexicalized as 'aphorism', but is parsable as *eqqarsar-uti-rsur-uti* 'thought-device-use/deal.with-device'

46. *sinerissami*¹⁷ *tamarmi_ ingerlatarivaat_*
*sinerissaq-mi tamaq-mi*¹⁸ *ingerla-uti-saq-gi-vaat*
 coast-loc all/whole-3c.rel spread-manner-pas.P-have-trans.3pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 they spread it all over the coast

XVIII.

47. {*Taamaattumik ajoqit_*
Taamaattumik ajoqi-t
 Therefore catechist-pl.abs
 And therefore the catechists

imaannaanngitsumik_
*imaannaanngi[soq]*¹⁹-mik
 ones.not.without.importance-inst
 who are not without importance

qutsavissarai nunatta_
qutsavi-ssaq-gi-vai nuna-tta
 thank-fut-have-trans.3sg subj/3pl.obj.I.land-1pl.pos
 our land should thank them

ullumikkut_
ullumikkut
 today
 today

¹⁷*Oqaatsit* lists *sineriak* 'coast' and *sinerissap silaa* 'coastline', but does not have a separate entry for *sinerissaq*, which fairly obviously has to do with 'coast'. Whether or not the latter is a self-standing word is currently beyond my ken.

¹⁸The stem *tamaq* belongs to a very restricted remnant class of words which have a separate set of inflectional case endings; they may be the last and only traces of true adjectives in Greenlandic (P. Langgrd, personal communication; he suggests that they refer to some spoken or unspoken topic.). Unlike the rest of the system, they seem to function on a nominative-accusative basis, but they all take relative case endings:

	absolute function:	relative function; or with intransitive verb:
1sg	<i>tamarma</i>	<i>tamarma</i>
2sg	<i>tamarpit</i>	<i>tamarpit</i>
3sg	<i>tamaat</i> (3nc)	<i>tamarmi</i> (3c)
1pl	<i>tamatta</i>	<i>tamatta</i>
2pl	<i>tamassi</i>	<i>tamassi</i>
3pl	<i>tamaasa</i> (3nc)	<i>tamarmik</i> (3c)

ex: *tamarmik sinipput* 'all of them are sleeping'; the verb is intransitive.

The main difference is in the third person forms. The third person noncoreferential is only used as an object; the third person coreferential form is used as subject of intransitive and transitive clauses. Other members of this class include the stems *kisi* 'alone', *nammi* and *immi* almost synonymous reflexives, and *ilunngaq* 'entirely, all of' (for less physical concepts than *tamaq*).

¹⁹*Oqaatsit* lists *imaannaanngilaq* 'be not without importance/meaning' but not *imaannaanngitsoq* 'one not without importance/meaning'.

48. aamma tamakku sulerujussuarsimasut_
 aammatamakku sulirujussuaq-sima-sut
 and those work-very much-perf-3p. P
 and they worked a lot, those ones
49. imaannaanngitsorujussuarmik_
 imaannaanngitsoq-rujussuaq-mik
 ones.not.without.importance-very great-inst
 they worked in a very important/meaningful/able way
- sulerujusima- sulisimasut_
 sulirujussuaq-sima-sut
 work-perf-3pl.P

50. kisianni_
 kisianni
 but
 but
- pitsaviunngitsumik_
 pitsak-vik-u-nngit-soq-mik
 excellent-genuine-cop-neg-nom-inst
 they have not been paid well/well taken care of
- pineqartarsimasut_
 pi-neqaq-taq-sima-sut
 do-pas-habit-perf-3pl.P
 [be taken care of]

aqutsisuninngaanniit **fast segue into 51: paranthetical? appositional?**
 aqutsisut-ninngaanniit
 management-abl
 by the management

51. tassa taamani Grønlands Styrelsep_
 tassa taamani Grønlands Styrelse-p
 that.is at.that.time Greenland Steering-rel
 So at that time Greenland Steering
- tamaasa ingerlatarivai
 tamaq-asa ingerlaC-saq-gi-vai
 they.all-abs work.with-pas.P-have-trans.3sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 worked with them

52. provsteqarfik aqutigalugu_
 provsteqarfik-0 aqut-gi-lugu
 deanery-abs way-have-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 via the deanery

XIX.

53. {Ajoqillu taamani tassa_
 Ajoqi-t-lu taamani tassa
 catechist-pl abs-and at.that.time that.is
 And the catechists at that time

palasillumi_
 palasi-t-lu-mi
 priest-pl.abs-and-sure
 and of course the priests

ingattammik ajoqit_
 ingattammik ajoqi-t
 especially catechist-pl.abs
 especially the catechists

nuutsinneqartarput_
 nuuC-tit-neqaq-saq-put
 move-cause-pas-habit-3pl.I
 they were moved

nunaqarfinnut_
 nunaqarfik-t-nut
 village-pl-pl.term
 to villages

54. aperinagilluunniit
 aperi-nagit-luunniit
 ask-3pl.obj.neg.CT-or
 without even asking them.

55. oqarfigisarpaat_
 oqarfigi-saq-paat
 say-habit-trans.3pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 they would say to them

56. "Uunnga nuussuutit!"_
 Uunnga nuuC-ssaa²⁰-vutit
 Over.here move-fut-2.I
 "Move over there!"

57. taavalu piumannigikkaangata
 taava-lu piuma-nngit-gaangata
 then-and want-neg-when(ever).3nc.pl.CA
 and if they didn't want to

58. soraarsittarlugit_
 soraarsit-saq-lugit
 fire-habit-3pl.obj.CT
 they would fire them

XX.

59. {nuutsikkaangamigillu taamani_
 nuuC-tit-gaangamigit-lu taamani
 move-cause-when(ever).trans.3pl.subj/3nc.pl.obj.CA-and at.that.time
 and when they had moved them at that time

²⁰-ssuu- is a dialectical variant of -ssaa-.

60. illussaqartinneqarneq ajorput_
 illu-ssaq²¹-qaq-tit-neq-0 ajor-put
 house-fut-have-cause-pas-condition/state-abs bad-3pl.I
 they were not given a house to stay in/they didn't house them

XXI.

61. {Nuukkaangamillu,
 NuuC-gaangamik-lu
 move-when(ever).3c.pl.CA-and
 and whenever they moved
62. nammineq illulioqqaarlutik_
 nammineq illu-lioq-qqaaq-lutik
 self house-build-first-3pl.CT
 they first had to build a house themselves
63. ilaanni ukiorsuaq sinnerlugu_
 ilaanni ukioq-suaq sinner-lugu²²
 sometimes winter-big-abs over/more.than-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 sometimes over more than a year
64. illumi inissisimallutik_
 illu-mi inissi-sima-lutik
 house-loc live-perf-3pl.CT
 they had to live in a[nother] house
65. uffa meeraqarlutik
 uffa meeraq-qaq-lutik
 even child-have-3pl.CT
 even having a child
66. nuliaqarlutillu_
 nuliaq-qaq-lutik-lu
 wife-have-3pl.CT-and
 and having a wife

XXII.

67. {nersunartarsimaqaat²³ taamani_
 nersunaq-saq-sima-qaat taamani
 admire.sme.because.he.can.last-habit-perf-intens.3pl.I at.that.time
 the catechists lasted admirably/the catechists are admired because they lasted/the
 catechists were impressive

²¹*illussaq* is a house which is being built but is not completed; or it is a house which will be owned (by the relevant participant) but is not yet inhabited.

²²*sinnerlugu* appears in *Oqaatsit* as a lexical entry, meaning 'more than'; if lexicalized, it's verbal status can be called into question.

²³*Oqaatsit* translates *nersunarpooq* as 'to admire him because he can last'; my translator rendered *nersunartarsimaqaat* as 'to be badly off'.

ajogit /
 ajoqi-t
 catechist-pl.abs
 the catechists

68. eqqarsaatigissagaanni_
 eqqarsaatigi-ssa-gaanni²⁴
 think.about-fut-when.trans.3pl.subj/3c.sg.obj.P
 when one thinks about [it]

XXIII.

69. {Nersortariaqartut_
 Nersor-tariaqaq-tut
 Thank-should/must²⁵-3pl.P
 they should be thanked

--torujorujorujussuartut taakku
 toq-ruju-ruju-rujussuaq-tut taakku
 P ending-very-very-very much-3pl.P those
 very very much

70. uanga isumaqarfigivakka}
 uanga isumaqaq-vigi-vakka
 1sg think/believe-transr-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 I think [this]

XXIV.

71. {Makkua allaapput_
 Makkua allaa-vut
 Others different-3pl.I
 Others were different,

palasit_
 palasi-t
 priest-pl.abs
 [like] the priests

ilinniartitsisukkut_
 ilinniartitsisoq-t-kkut
 teacher-pl.abs-'and.fellows'²⁶
 together with the teachers

²⁴This is apparently the only form left of a paradigm with *-gaa-* and the participial endings.

²⁵The use of certain morphemes, such as *-tit-*, *-tariaqaq-*, *-qqu-*, and others, with intransitive inflectional morphology on a transitive stem, automatically entails passive semantics (P. Langgård, personal communication).

²⁶Fortescue (1984, p. 129) mentions the use of *-kkut*, otherwise a 'prosecutive' (or vialis) nominal case ending, to express accompaniment, and he glosses this use of *-kkut* as 'and fellows'; examples are glossed as 'X together with Y'.

aammalu KGH-mi taamanikkut sulisuusut_
 aamma-lu Kongelig Grønlandske Handel-ni taamani-kkut sulisut-u-soq-t
 and-and Royal Greenlandic Trade-loc at.that.time-via²⁷ personnel-cop-nom-pl.abs
 and the workers at the KGH at that time what about these?

(imaattumi) sannavinni_
 imaattu-mi sannavik-ni
 like this-what.about carpentry.shop-loc.pl
 in the carpentry shops

aamma saffiorfinni_
 aamma saffiorfik-ni
 and smithy-loc.pl
 and in the smithies

XXV.

72. {taakku nutserteqattaarneqanngillat_
 taakku nutser-tit-qattaaq-neqaq-nngit-lat
 those move-cause-again.and.again-pas-neg-3pl.neg.I
 those ones did not move much [they weren't moved much]}

73. nunaqarfimmi illoqarfimmi illoqarfinni taakku inuupput_ ***stumbling over words**
 nunaqarfik-mi illoqarfik-mi illoqarfik-ni taakku inuu-vut
 village-loc town-loc town-loc.pl those live-3pl.I
 those ones lived in the village, the town, the towns

74. illoqarfiup inuinit ilanngullutik
 illoqarfik-up inuk-inut ilanngu-lutik
 town-rel person-3sg.pos./pl.posm.term include/join-3pl.CT
 to become members of the town [to join the township]

75. nuutsinneqassanatik_
 nuuC-tit-neqaq-ssa-natik
 move-cause-pas-fut²⁸-3pl.neg.CT
 they were never moved

XXVI.

76. {Kisiannili ukua ajoqit taakku_
 Kisianni-li ukua ajoqi-t taakku_
 But-but these catechist-pl.abs those
 But these catechists

 puiorsinnaanngilakka_
 puor-sinnaa-nngit-lakka
 forget-can-neg-trans.1sg.subj/3nc.pl.obj.neg.I
 I cannot forget them

²⁷Fortescue (1984, p.240) mentions the use of the vialis (or prosecutive, as he calls it) for frequentative usage.

²⁸The use of the future morpheme here signals narrative style and functions as a habitual. The combination of narrative future (i.e. habitual) and negative in some contexts has the semantics of 'never'.

77. isumaqarpunga
 isuma-qaq-vunga
 thought-have-1sg.I
 I think
78. oqaluttuarisariaqartut assorujussuaq_
 oqaluttuaq-gi-sariaqaq-sut assut-rujussuaq
 story-have-should/must-3pl.P much-very
 they should be talked about very much

annertunerusumik_
 aneq-tu-neru-soq-mik
 big-big-more-nom-inst
 much more

79. Ilumut taakkua_
 Ilumut taakkua
 It.is.true those
 It is true those ones
- tupinnaannamik sulisimapput_
 tupinnar-innaq-mik sulisima-vut
 amazing-only-inst work-perf-3pl.I
 have worked just amazingly

80. qasusuisimaqaat_
 qasusuiC-sima-qaat
 tireless-perf-intens 3pl.I
 they were very tireless

XXVII.

81. {Nunaqarfinni
 Nunaqarfik-ni
 Village-loc.pl
 In the village

(taamani asimioqarfinnik taaneqartartuni)_/
 taamani asi²⁹-miut-qaq-fik-nik taaneqartartoq-ni
 at.that.time out.of.the.way.place-from-have-place-pl.inst so.called-loc.pl
 in those days [they were] called 'asimioqarfinnik' [the place with people in an out-of-the-way place]

ajoqi tassaavoq niuertoruserlu_
 ajoqi-0 tassa-a-voq niuertoruseq-0-lu
 catechist-abs like.that-cop-3sg.I trade.manager-abs-and
 the catechist was like that and the trade manager [too]

²⁹The word *asi* is translated as 'out of the way place' in *Oqaatsit* but as 'nature' by the translator.

82. *tassa_qaammarsaasussat_*
tassa qaammar-sar-i-soq-ssaq-t
 like.that be.light-agent-intrans-nom-fut-pl
 that is, the ones to spread light [i.e. they teach]

XXVIII.

83. *{Juumooq_*
Juumooq
 Midwife
 The midwife

ajqip atuarfik tamaat tigummivaa_
ajqi-p atuarfik-0 tamaq-at tigummivaa
 catechist-rel school-abs the.whole/all-abs hold.in.hands-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 the catechist has the whole school to take care of

84. *atuartut tamaasa atuartissavai_*
atuartoq-t tamaq-asa atuar-tit-ssa-vai
 student-pl.abs all.of.them-pl.abs learn-cause-fut-trans.3sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 he has to teach all of the students

85. 1. *klassiminngaanniit* 7. *klasse tikillugu_*
 1. *klasse minngaanniit* 7. *klasse tikit-lugu*
 first class-abl seventh class arrive-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 from the first grade [going] to the seventh grade

86. *kisimiilluni_* *list of things; unclear if sentences in speaker's mind or not
kisimi-u-luni
 alone-cop-3sg.CT
 being alone

87. *ulloq tamaat sulierarluni_*
ulloq tamaq-at suligiaq-luni
 day all-abs work-go.to.do-3sg.CT
 when he's going to [be at] work all day

88. *sapaammi naalagartitsilluni_*
sapaat-mi naalagartitsi-luni
 Sunday-loc lead.divine.service-3sg.CT
 leading services on Sunday

89. *Toqusoqarpat*
Toqusoq-qaq-pat
 dead.one-have-3nc.sg.CO
 When/if there is a dead one [When someone has died]

90. *toqusunik ilisilluni_*
toqusoq-nik ilisi-luni
 dead.one-pl.inst bury-3sg.CT
 he buries the dead ones

91. *kuisittoqassappat*
kuisiC-toq-qaq-ssa-ppat
 christen-nom-have-fut-3ncsg.CO
 when/if there is someone to be christened
92. *kuisillugit_ /*
kuisiC-lugit
 christen-trans 3pl.obj.CT
 he christens them
93. *allagassarpassuillu oqaluffimmut ilagiinnut*
allaC-saq-ssaq-passuit-lu oqaluffik-mut ilagiit-nut
 write-nom-fut-many/a.lot-and Church-term Christian.society-pl.term³⁰
 he had to write a lot of things about the Church and Christian society
- tunngasut allallugit_ }*
tunnga-soq-t allaC-lugit
 be.about-nom-pl.abs write-trans.3pl.obj.CT
- XXIX.**
94. {*Imalu akissarsiai suunngitsigaat_*
Ima-lu akissarsiaq-i suu-nngit-si-gaat
 so-and pay-3sg.pos what-neg-intrans-intens.3pl.I
 and so his pay is very little
95. *uffa ilinniartitsisutullu aammalu palasitut suligaluarlutik_ }*
uffa ilinniartitsisoq-tut-lu aamma-lu palasi-tut suligaluaq-lutik
 even.if teacher-eq-and and-and priest-eq work-conseq-3pl.CT
 even if they are working as a teacher and as a priest
- XXX.**
96. {*pissaqarniarlutik_*
pissaq-qaq-niaq-lutik
 something.one.will.have-have-fut-3pl.CT
 to have food
97. *qajartorneq ilinniartarpaat*
qajartoq-neq ilinniaq-taq-paat
 row.a.kayak-nom one.who.abs learn-habit-trans.3pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 they had to learn to be kayak-rowers [learn kayak skills]
98. *ilikkavillugu_ }*
ilikkaq-vig-lugu
 learn.something-completely-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 learning it completely

³⁰*ilagiit* is a plural form.

XXXI.

99. {Taassuma saniatigut ilinniartitsereeraangamik
 Taassuma saniatigut ilinniartitsi-reer-gaangamik
 This [latter] moreover/in.addition teach-past perf-when[ever] 3c.pl.CA
 Moreover when they had taught

100. atuartitsereeraangamik_
 atuartitsi-reer-gaangamik
 teach.to.read-past.perf-when[ever] 3c.pl.CA
 when they had taught

XXXII.

101. {piniarniartarput_
 piniaq-niaq-saq-vut
 hunt-fut-habit-3pl.I
 they went hunting [would go hunting]

102. iisassaqarumallutik
 iisassaq-qaq-juma-lutik
 something.to.eat-have-want-3pl.CT
 wanting to have something to eat

103. nerisassaqarumallutik_
 nerisassaq-qaq-juma-lutik
 food-have-want-3pl.CT
 wanting to have some food

XXXIII.

104. {tassunga unilaariarlunga..._
 tassunga uni-laaq-giaq-lunga
 there stop-little-go.to.do-1sg.CT
 I am going to stop a little there....

text theme	#	text	subject tople	object tople	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
I-IV comparison of culture today and then focus on then	I										
	1	today									
		in our country									
		our culture		our culture [E]							
		compared to our childhood	unspec		compare	CT	to our childhood		erg		
	2	it was very different as a life	dummy		be different	I	as a life		taamuni		
	II										
	3	when my eyes first began to see well	eyes		see	CA 3nc					-lcr-
	4	and my ears first began to hear well	ears		hear	CT					-lcr-
	III										
	5	in Greenland					in Greenland				
		our land was very different	land		be different	I					
	6	our land was not different	land		be different	I					-guluuq-
	7	but the settlements were very different	settlement		be different	I		kisianni			

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
setting = childhood	IV 8	comparing the people's way of life to today	unspec	people way of life	compare	CT	to today		erg	ullumikkut	
	9	if we should tell the story to the youth and children	we	story: way of life	tell	CO- incorp	to youth and children		erg		
	10	they will most likely not believe it	youth	story: way of life	not believe	I			erg		
	11	because it is really unbelievable	story: way of life		not believe	CA 3nc					
	V 12	At that time we were children	we		be child	CT				tuamani	
	early days in Qaqortoq	13 I remember it	I	it	I remember	I			erg		
	14	that is, I was a child in Qaqortoq	I		be child	I	in Qaqortoq	tassa			
	15	when I got wisdom	I		be child	CA				tuamani	
	16	there were not many people in Qaqortoq	Qaqortoq		be few people	I-incor					
	17	and there [were] only hunters	hunters					tassanilu			
		almost only			mostly						

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		[there were] a few fishermen	fishermen								
	18	in those days fishing was not going well	fishing		be underway	CA 3c				taamuni	
hunters use kayaks	VI										
	19	hunters	hunters [E]								
		kayaks	kayaks [E]								
		they only used the kayak to live by	hunters		live by means of	I					
	VII										
	20	they used to use small boats as fishing vessels	hunters	small boats	have fishing vessel	I-incor			erg		habit
	21	and all winter long	dummy	winter	be finished	CT			erg		
	22	the kayak is much used	kayak		be used	P					pas
	VIII										
town workers VIII:23- XII:35	23	and in town					in town	tassalu			
		the priest	priest [E]								
VIII-IX: Danes in town		a Dane		Dane							

text theme	#	text	subject tople	object tople	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
high social position, Danish, tendency to speak Danish only	24	but he spoke Greenlandic	priest		speak Greenlandic	P		kisianni			
	25	and then the trader, a Dane	trader [E]	Dane				taavalu			
	26	he only spoke Danish	trader		speak Danish	P					
	27	the traders	traders								
		the doctor in the hospital	doctors [E]				in the hospital				
		the nurses	nurses [E]								
		the teacher in the school, a Dane	teacher [E]	Dane			in the school				
	28	they only spoke Danish	traders, etc		speak Danish	P					
	IX 29	that is in those days there weren't so many Danes	Danes		be few	I		tassa		taamani	
	X 30	and the Greenlanders who had a job	Green- landers [E]		having job	rel		taavalu			
X-XI): few Greenlanders with jobs	31	in the smithy					in the smithy				

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		in the office they were few workers	GreenIndrs		be few	P or N	in the office				
	XI 32	at that time there were not so many offices then	dummy		be few	CA 3c incorp				taamani	
	XII 33	and then in the hospital					in the hospitals	taavalu			
		midwives	midwives {E}								
		midwives in training	midwives in training {E}								
<i>jump-off</i>	34	and finally catechists in our schools, in my school	catechists				in my school	kiisalu			
	35	and the catechists at that time had jobs as teachers	catechists		have job as	I-incor	as teachers	aamma		taamani	
catechist story: catechists work as teachers	XIII 36	and the catechists were very	catechists					-lu			
		very important in those days	catechists		be important	I				taamani	
	XIV 37	in any case they weren't {working} just in churches	catechists		be in church	P- incor		tassami -mi			

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	38	every day in the schools the catechists	catechists				in school				
		used to work as teachers	catechists		work	I	as teachers				habit: -saq-
XV = evaluation	XV 39	if there hadn't been catechists	dummy		be catechists	CO 3nc incor					-sima-
	40	today								ullumikkut	
		our way of life maybe	way of life								
		would be different	way of life		be different	I					should: ssagalua
<i>jump-off</i>	XVI 41	those catechists	catechists		that is	I		tassapput, -lu			
		were educated in the Greenland Seminary	catechists		educated in seminary	CT	from Grnld Seminary				go to do: -giaq-
	42	they spread out to our land, to towns and villages	catechists		spread out	N	to land, to towns, to settlements				perf:- sima-
catechists spread knowledge	XVII 43	and the catechists [were] the only ones then	catechists		that is	I		-lu tassa			

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics with knowledge	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs taamanikkut	tense- aspect
		in those days [who] could knowledge									
		spread					to spread				
	44	they had been educated in the Greenland seminary	catechists		be educated	P	in Seminary				pas: -neqaq-, perf: -sima-
	45	and this knowledge		knowledge [E] own knowledge				aamma			
		using their own philosophy/thought	catechists		use	CT			erg		
		the enormous knowledge		knowledge [E]							
	46	they spread it all over the coast	catechists	knowledge	spread	I	on the coast		erg		habit? pas?: -saq-
XVIII:47 evaluation	XVIII 47	and therefore the catechists	catechists [E]					taamaattum ; ik			
		who aren't without import			be important	N					
		our land should thank them	land	catechists	thank	I			erg		fut:- ssaq-
		today								ullumikkut	

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
jump-off catechists have not been well taken care of	48	they worked a lot, those ones,	those ones catechists		work	P		aamma			perf:- sima-
	49	in a very important/ meaningful/able way			be important	N					
		they worked	catechists		work	P					perf:- sima-
	50	but						kisianni			
		not well									
		they have been payed	catechists		pay	P					pas: -neqaaq-, habit: -saq- perf: -sima-
		by the management					by the mngment				
	51	So at that time, Greenland Steering	Greenland Steering [E]					tassa		taamani	
		worked with them	Greenland Steering	them all catechists	work	I			erg		pas P: -saq-
	52	via the deanery	[Greenland Steering]	deanery	by way of	CT					

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XIX:53- XX:59 catechists made to move by Greenland Steering	XIX 53	And the catechists in those days	catechists [E]					-lu tassa		taamani	
		and of course the priests	priests [E]					-lu-mi			
		especially the catechists	catechists [E]								
		they were moved	catechists		move	I					pus: -neqaq- habit: -suq-
		to villages					to villages				
	54	without even asking them,	[Greenland Steering]	catechists	ask	CT		-luunniit	erg		
	55	they would say to them	Greenland Steering	catechists	say	I			erg		habit: -suq-
	56	"move over there!"	(you)		move	I					fut: -ssaa- when: -gaangat
	57	and if they didn't want to	catechists		not want	CA 3nc		taavalu			
	58	they would fire them	Greenland Steering	catechists	fire	CT			erg		habit: -suq-

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	XX 59	and when they had moved them in those days	Greenland Steering	catechists	move	CA 3c		-lu	erg	taamani	when : -guangat
	60	they were not given a house to stay in	catechists		have house	I					
XXI:60- XXIII:69	XXI 61	and whenever they moved	catechists			CA 3c		-lu			when: -guangat
catechists don't have home	62	they first had to build houses themselves	catechists self		build houses	CT					
	63	sometimes over a more than a year	dummy	year	time	CT			erg		
	64	they had to live in another house	catechists		live	CT	in a house				perf:- sima-
	65	even having a child	catechists		have child	CT incorp					
	66	and having a wife	catechists		have wife	CT incorp		-lu			
XXII: 66- 67 evaluation	XXII 67	they really were impressive	catechists		be impressive	I					habit: -saq perf:- sima-

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		the catechists	catechists [E]								
	68	when one thinks about [it]	3pl	it	reflection: think	P					fut: -ssa-
XXIII:68- 69 evaluation	XXIII 69	they should be thanked	catechists		thank	P					should: tariaqaq-
		very very much	those catechists		thank	P					
	70	I think [this]	I	catechists 3pl	think	I			erg		
XXIV:70- XXV:74 others in town	XXIV 71	others were different	others		be different	I					
		{like} the priests	priest								
		together with the teachers	teachers								
		and the workers at the KGH at the time, what about these?	workers							aammalu imaattumi	
		in the carpentry shops						in shops			
		and the smithies						in smithies			

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	XXV										
	72	those ones weren't moved much	those ones [E] others		move	I					agent: -tit- contin: -qattaq- pas: -neqaq-
	73	those ones lived in the village, the town, the towns	those ones others		live	I	in village, in town, in towns [F]				
	74	to join the township	others		join	CT	to township				
	75	they were never moved	others		move	CT					pas: neqaq- fut:-ssa-
	XXVI										
XXVI:76-78 evaluation	76	but these catechists	catechists [E]					kisiannili			
		I can't forget them	I	those catechists	can't forget	I			crg		
	77	I think	I		think	I incorp					
	78	they should be talked about	unspec 3pl		tell story	P					should: - tariaqaq-
		much more			lots						
<i>jump-off</i> catechists had a lot of	79	it is true those ones	those ones catechists								

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
duties to do		have worked amazingly	catechists		work hard	I					perf:- sima-
	80	they were very tireless	catechists		work tirelessly	I					perf:- sima-
	XXVII										
	81	in the villages					in villages				
		in those days [they were] called 'asimiuqarf'innik' (the places with people in an out-of-the-way- place)								tuamani	
		the catechist was like that, and the trade manager too	catechists		catechist, trade manager, tireless	I		-lu			
	82	that is, they were the ones to spread light			they teach			lassa			(fut):- ssaq-
	XXVIII										
XXVIII:82-92 duties of the catechist	83	the midwife the catechist has the whole school to take care of	catechist	whole school	take care of	I			erg		
	84	he has to teach all of the students	catechist	all students	teach	I			erg		(fut: -ssa-
	85	from first [going] to seventh grade	unspec	?	teach	CT			erg		

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	86	being alone	catechist		be alone	CT					
	87	when he's going to be at work all day	catechist	all day	work	CT					
	88	leading services on Sunday	catechist		lead service	CT					
	89	when/if there is a dead one {when someone has died}	dummy		be dead one	CO incorp					
	90	he buries the dead ones	catechist	dead ones	bury	CT					
	91	when/if there is someone to be christened	dummy		be one to be christened	CO incorp					fut: -ssa-
	92	he christens them	catechist	ones to be christened	christen	CT			erg		
	93	a lot of things about the Church and Christian society		a lot of articles			about church and religion	-lu			
		he had to write about	catechist		write about	CT			erg		
XXIX	94	and so his pay is very little	pay		be nothing	I		imulu			
	95	even if they are working as a teacher and as a priest	catechist		work	CT	as teacher and priest				-galuuq-

text theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clause theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XXX:95- XXX11:102 catechists have to hunt their own food	XXX										
	96	to have food	catechist		have food	CT incorp					fut: -niaq- habit:- ssu-
	97	they had to learn to be kayak-rowers	catechists	kayak rower	learn	1			erg		
	98	learning it completely	catechists	kayak rower	learn	CT			erg		
	XXXI										
	99	moreover when they had taught	catechists		teach	CA 3c		taassuma			past perf -reer- when: -gaungat
	100	when they [had] taught	catechists		teach	CA 3c					past perf -reer- when: -gaungat
	XXXII										
	101	they went hunting	catechists		hunt	1					fut: -niaq- habit: -suq-
	102	wanting to have something to eat	catechists		have food	CT incorp					
XXXIII: coda	103	wanting to have some food	catechists		have food	CT incorp					
	xxxiii										
	104	I am going to stop here a little	1		stop narration	CT					go to do: -giauq-

Speaker 1, Text 1b
Recorded 17. Aug. 1995 Nuuk

XXXIV

105. {Taava ajoqit eqqartullatsiaratsigit
 Taava ajoqi-t eqqartor-llar-tsiar-gatsigit
 so catechist-pl abs talk/tell.about-with.intensity-little-trans. 1pl.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 so we mentioned the catechists

106. aatsaaginnaq eqqartullatsiarpakka_.
 aatsaat-innaq eqqartor-llar-tsiar-vakka
 now-just talk.about-with.intensity-little-trans. 1sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 just now I talked about/mentioned them

107. kisiannili tassa taamani aamma piniartuuneq
 kisianni-li tassa taamani aamma piniartoq-u-neq
 but-but that.is at.that.time and hunter-cop-nom.abs.one.who
 but in those days to be a hunter

inuuneq piniartuuneq imaannaanngitsorujussuuvoq_/
 inuuneq piniartoq-u-neq imaannaanngit-soq-rujussu(aq)-u-voq
 life hunter-cop-nom.abs.one.who be.amazing-nom-very much-cop-3sg.I
 to live, to be a hunter it was very amazing

108. nunatsinni_
 nuna-tsinni
 land-1pl.pos.loc
 in our land

inuit amerlanersai¹.
 inuk-it amerla-nersaq-i
 person-pl.abs be.many-nom.most-3pl.pos/pl.posm.abs
 its many people

ullumikkut oqartarpugut_
 ullumi-kkut oqaq-saq-vugut
 today-via say-habit-1pl.I
 today, we say

109. (aalisarneq inuutissarsiutit
 aalisarneq-0 inuutissarsiut-it
 fishing-abs career/occupation-pl.rel

pingaarnersarivaat))}
 pingaar-nersaq-gi-vaat
 important-nom.most-have-trans.3pl.subj/3sg.or.pl.obj.I
 the most important careers/occupations are fishing

XXXV

¹The use of *-sai* for 3pl.pos is a recent development; the older form is *-saat*.

110. {Taamani uagut meeraasugut_
 taamani uagut meeraq-u-sugut
 at that time 1pl.abs child-cop-1pl.P
 [but] at that time [when] we were children

111. piniarneq inuutissarsiutit annersarivaat_
 piniarneq-0 inuutissarsiut-it annersaq-gi-vaat
 hunting-abs career/occupation-pl.rel biggest-have-trans.3pl.subj/3sg.or.pl.obj.I
 the biggest careers/occupations were hunting

XXXVI

112. {Qajaqarput.
 qajaq-qaq-vut
 kayak-have-3pl.I
 they had kayaks

piniartut tamarmik_
 piniartoq-t tamaq-mik
 hunter-pl.abs all-3pl.abs
 all the hunters

113. qajaqqissorsuullutik_
 qajaqqiC-soq-suaq-u-lutik
 be.good.with.kayak-nom-very.much-cop-3pl.CT
 they were very good with the kayaks

XXXVII

114. {amerlanertigullu sila qanoq ikkaluaraangalluunniit
 amerla-neq-tigut-lu sila-0 qanoq iC-kkaluaq-gaangat-luunnit
 be.many-nom-pl.via-and weather-abs how be-conseq-whenever.3nc.sg.CA-or
 and through however many [kinds of] weather there might be

ilaanni,
 ilaanni
 sometimes
 sometimes

115. aallartarput_
 aallar-saq-vut
 go-habit-3pl.I
 they went

116. inuutissaqarusullutik_
 inuutissaq-qaq-rusug-lutik
 food-have-want-3pl.CT
 wanting to have food

ullut tamaasa_}
 ulloq-t tamaq-asa²
 day-pl.abs all.together-3pl.abs
 every day

XXXVIII

117.{Qaqortumi uanga eqqamavara tassa taamani_
 Qaqortoq-mi uanga eqqama-vara tassa taamani
 Qaqortoq-loc 1sg.abs remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I that.is at.that.time
 In Qaqortoq I remember, that is, at that time

118.umiaasaqaraluarpoq,
 umiaasaq-qaq-galuaq-voq
 little.flat.bottomed.rowboat-have-conseq-3sg.I
 it had little flat-bottomed rowboats

119.aasaanerusukkullu umiaq ator- umiaasaq atorneqartarput_
 aasaq-u-neru-soq-kkut-lu umiaq-0 umiaasaq-0 ator-neqaq-saq-vut
 summer-cop-compar-nom.P-via-and umiaq-abs rowboat-abs use-pas-habit-3pl.I
 and umiaks- rowboats were used more in the summertime

120.aalisaatigalugit_
 aalisaq-utigi-lugit
 fish-in.order.to-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 in order to fish [i.e. in order to use them to fish]

XXXIX

121.{qajatut aamma_
 qajaq-tut aamma
 kayak-pl.eq and
 and as kayaks

sukkatiginnginnamik_
 sukka-tigi-nngit-namik
 fast-as.much.as-neg-neg.3c.pl.CA
 they were not as fast

122.qajat³
 qajaq-t
 kayak-pl.abs
 the kayaks,

qajartortut taamani tassa_
 qajartoq-toq-t taamani tassa
 row.kayak-nom.P-pl.abs at.that.time that.is
 the kayak rowers, at that time, that is,

²In clause 115, the syntactic function of *ullut tamaasa* is as the object of the contemporative, and it is thus syntactically an absolutive case, but *tamaasa* itself is in the relative (or non-subject case, reflecting the old nominative-accusative inflection). see footnote 18, text 1b.

³South Greenlandic for *qaannat*. The speaker uses both terms interchangeably

eqqaamavara
 eqqaama-vara
 remember.trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I remember it

123.meeraalluta upernaakkut_
 meeraq-u-luta upernaak-kkut
 child-cop-1pl.CT spring-via
 when we were children in the spring

124.sikorsuit tikillaraangata_
 sikorsuit tikiC-llar-gaangata
 big.ice.abs arrive-with.force-whenever.3nc.pl.CA
 whenever the drift ice arrived⁴

XL

125.{qaannamik_
 qaannat-mik
 kayaks-sg.inst
 by kayaks

Qaqortormiut qajartai.
 Qaqortoq-miut qajartaq-it
 Qaqortoq-people.from.rel kayaker-pl.posm.abs
 the inhabitants of Qaqortoq, the kayakers

lindalissuasikkut, lisaakkut, Jaakukkut_
 lindalissuasi-kkut lisaa-kkut Jaaku-kkut
 Big.Henry-family Isaac-family Jacob-family
 Big Henry, Isaac, Jacob

(atii eqqaamanngilakka
 ati-i eqqaama-nngit-lakka
 name-pl.abs remember-neg-trans.neg.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 I don't remember the [other] names

126.amerlasoorpassuupput taamani)}}
 amerlasuut-rpassuit-uC-vut taamani
 many-many-cop-3pl.I at.that.time
 there were very many at that time

⁴Every summer, large pieces of ice break off from the frozen stretches of the Arctic Ocean near the North Pole and drift down the east coast of Greenland, around Cape Farewell, and up to Qaqortoq and Narsaq on the West Coast (and in cold years, occasionally as far north as Nuuk), before being carried by the current out to the west coast of the American continent, by Labrador and Newfoundland. These are not icebergs, which break off from glaciers from the inland ice, but rather flat ice floes from the Arctic sea ice; hence the term *sikorsuaq*, from *siku-rsuaq* 'big sea.ice' rather than *iluliaq* 'iceberg'.

XLI

127. {Tikillaraangamik ualikkut_'
 TikiC-llaq-gaangamik ualikkut
 arrive-intens.-whenever.3c.pl.CA in.the.afternoon
 when they came back [from hunting, to Qaqortoq] in the afternoon

128. ullaakkut aallarunik_'
 ullaakkut aallar-gunik⁵
 in.the.morning go-3c.pl.CO
 after having gone out in the morning

129. ilaanni_
 ilaanni
 sometimes
 sometimes

puisit_
 puisit
 seal-pl.abs
 seals

arfineq-pingasut qulit_
 arfineq-pingasut qulit
 eight ten
 eight, ten

sinnerlugilluunniit⁶ kalillugit_
 sinnerlugit-luunniit kaliC-lugit
 more.than-or.even in.tow-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 or even more in tow

sometimes [with] eight or ten or even more seals in tow

XLII

130. {tikileraangata_'
 tikiC-leq-gaangata
 arrive-begin-whenever.3nc.pl.CA
 whenever they began to arrive

131. meearpassuulluta
 meeraq-passuit-u-luta
 child-many-cop-1pl.CT
 we were a lot of children [there were a lot of us children]

⁵As with the use of the future morpheme *-ssa-*, the conditional here does not have conditional but iterative semantics. It is typical of narrative style. The unmarked form would be *aallarsimallutik*, from *aallar-simallutik* 'go-perf-contemp'.

⁶*sinnerlugit* is lexicalized and means 'more than'; it is formally trans.3pl.obj.contemp.

132.sissamukaasaratta_
 sissaq-mukar-a-saq-gatta
 beach-go.to.do-many.do-habit-1pl.CA
 we used to go as a group to the beach

133.tassani pilattaramikkit tassa taamani_
 tassani pilaC-saq-gamikkik⁷ tassa taamani
 there cut.up/carve-habit-trans.3c.pl.subj/3pl.obj.CA that.is at.that.time
 and there they useD to cut them up that is in those days

134.pilannerini_
 pilaC-neq-ini
 cut.up/carve-nom-3pl.pos.loc
 in its being cut up [and then they cut it up]

135.uagut_
 uagut
 1pl-abs
 we

 tinguttuuttarpugut_
 tinguk⁸-toq-uti-saq-vugut
 liver-eat-many.of.us-habit-1pl.I
 we all used to eat the liver

136.aammalu_
 aamma-lu
 and-and
 and

 tamuatsivaartorluta tassa_
 tamuatsivaaq-toq-luta tassa
 tamuatsivaaq-eat-1pl.CT that.is
 we ate tamuatsivaaq

137.puisip amia orsutalerlugu_
 puisip ameq-a orsoq⁹-saq-leq-lugu
 seal-rel skin-3sg.pos.abs fat/grease-belong.to.one-add.to-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 adding the fat to the seal skin[i.e. eating the seal skin with the fat to which it was attached]

⁷Most, if not all, grammar books of Greenlandic list the 3pl.coref.subj/3pl.obj.caus as *-gamikkik*. This was originally a dual, which left its trace here in the plural. This form has not been used for years, however, and current usage is *-gamikkik* (which is, in fact, the plural rather than old dual).

⁸The transcriber here wrote *tigu-* rather than *tingu-*. Whereas the speaker is from South Greenland, the transcriber is from North Greenland. From Attu north, all intervocalic velar fricatives are nasalized. With increasing literacy, North Greenlanders know there is a dialectal difference, but they tend to hypercorrect, writing all velar nasals as fricatives ([g] is a velar fricative rather than stop).

⁹This word was transcribed as above, *orsutalerlugu*, although it is in all probability *orsoqtalerlugu*.

138.(amimininnuaq orsutalerlugu)}} **mumble**
 ameq-mineq-nnguaq-0 orsoq-saq-leq-lugu
 skin-piece.of-little-abs fat-belong.to.one-provide.with-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 a little piece of skin with the fat [we chewed]

139.Tassa taanna_ tamuarujoortarparput_
 tassa taanna tamua-rujoor-saq-varput
 that.is that.one.abs chew-casually-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 we used to chew it continually

140.tamuatsivaamik_
 tamuatsivaaq-mik
 tamuatsivaaq-inst
 'tamuatsivaaq'.

taasarparput uagut taqqavani_ }}}
 taasar-varput uagut taqqava-ni
 call-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I 1pl.abs south-loc
 we called it, we in the south [i.e. we in South Greenland]

141.(qanoq avannaamiut
 qanoq-0 avannaa-miut
 how-abs what.lies.in.the.north-people.from.pl.abs

taasarnarpaat taakku?))}} **mumble; afterthoughts**
 taasar-ner-vaat taakku
 call-wonder-trans.3pl.subj/3sg.obj.I those-abs
 I wonder what the people from the north call it, those ones

XLIII

142.{Tassa eqqaamagigaana taamani_
 tassa eqqaama-giga-una taamani
 that.is remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P-deict at.that.time
 that is I remember

sorsunnersuup nalaani_
 sorsunnersuaq-up nalaani
 World.War.II-rel period.3sg.pos/sg.posm.loc
 the period of World War II

143.Qaqortuminngaanniit ataataga ilinniartitsisuugami efterskolemi_
 Qaqortoq-minngaanniit ataata-ga ilinniartitsisoq-u-gami efterskole-mi
 Qaqortoq-abl father-1sg.pos.abs teacher-cop-3c.sg.CA high.school-loc
 when from Qaqortoq my father was a teacher in high school [for older students]

144.taavalu anaanama ataataa_
 taava-lu anaana-ma ataata-a
 then-and mother-1sg.pos.rel father-3nc.sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 and then my mother's father,

taalliortorsuarput_
 taalliortoq-suaq-rput
 poet-big-1pl.pos/sg.posm.abs
 our poet

Kalaallit Nunaata taalliortorsua_ linndaleeraq Henrik Lund_ '
 Kalaallit Nunaat-a taalliortoq-suaq-0 linndaleeraq-0 Henrik Lund-0
 Greenland-3sg.pos.rel poet-big-abs Henry-abs Henrik Lund-abs
 Greenland's big poet Henry Henrik Lund

145.aasat tamaasa_ '

aasaq-t tamaq-asa
 summer-pl.abs every/all-abs
 every summer

tikeraartarsigu Qaqortuminngaanniit
 tikeraar-saq-gatsigu Qaqortoq-minngaanniit
 visit-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CA Qaqortoq-abl
 we used to visit him from Qaqortoq

146.uagut aasiffigisaratsigu Narsaq_ /

uagut aasi-ffigi-saq-gatsigu Narsaq-0
 1pl-rel spend.the.summer-trans.have.as-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CA Narsaq-abs
 we used to spend the summer in Narsaq [have summer vacation with him in Narsaq;
 have Narsaq as a summer vacation place]

(meeqqat aamma anaa-kkut ataatakkullu meeqqat
 meeraq-t aamma anaana-kkut ataata-kkut-lu meeraq-t
 child-pl.abs and mother-family.abs father-family.abs-and child-pl.abs
 the children and [my] mother's family and [my] father's family the children

qatanngutigullu tamatta_})
 qatanngut-tivut-lu tamaq-tta
 siblings-family.pl.abs-and all.together-1pl.abs
 and the sibling's family, all of us

XLIV

147.{eqqaamagiga tassa taamani Ittu_ '

eqqaama-giga tassa taamani Ittu-0
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P that.is at.that.time Grandfather-abs
 I remember Grandfather at that time

148.tyggegummimik amerikamiuninngaanniit tunisittarsimagami_ }

tyggegummi-mik amerika-miut-ninngaanniit tunisit¹⁰-saq-sima-gami
 chewing.gum-inst America-people.from-abl get-habit-perf-3c.sg.CA
 used to get chewing gum from the Americans¹¹

¹⁰*tunisit-* is derived from *tuni-tit*, meaning 'to be given', from the stem 'give' and the agentive *-tit-*, which here acts as a reflexive in combination with the intransitive inflection on a transitive stem. Another example of this was provided by P. Langgård: *Perimut ilinniartippunga* 'I was taught by Per', from *Per-mut ilinniar-tit-vunga* 'Per-term learn-agen-1sg.indic', as opposed to *Per ilinniartippara* 'I taught Per'. Note the use of the stem *ilinniartit-* in both cases.

¹¹At this time, there was an American military base, Blue West 1, in Narsarsuaq, not far from Narsaq.

XLV

149. {Tyggegummimik tuningaagamitigut¹²
 Tyggegummi-mik tuni-gaa-ngamitigut
 chewing.gum-inst give-when-ever-trans.3nc.sg.subj/1pl.obj.CA
 whenever he gave us a lot of chewing gum

150. oqartarpoq_
 oqaq-saq-voq
 say-habit-3sg.I
 he used to say

151. "Qallunaat tamuatsuvaavat"_
 Qallunaaq-t tamuatsivaa- at¹³
 Dane/white.man-pl.rel tamuartsivaa-3pl.pos.abs
 "[this is] white man's tamuartsivaaq'

152. taava nammineq sukuloortuugami_
 taava nammineq sukulooq-tooq-gami
 then self chewing.tobacco-take-3c.sg.CA
 then he would take some chewing tobacco [for] himself.

linndaleeraq_
 linndaleeraq
 Henry
 Henry

XLVI

153. {tyggegummimik tuneriarluta_
 tyggegummi-mik tuni-riar-luta
 chewing.gum-inst give-intens-trans.1pl.obj.CT
 giving us chewing gum

154. nammineq_
 nammineq
 self
 himself

sukulumik oqormersisarpoq¹⁴ tassa_
 sukulooq-mik oqummer-si-saq-voq tassa
 chewing.tobacco-inst put.in.mouth-intrans-habit-3sg.I that.is
 biting into chewing tobacco

¹²This clause was transcribed *tyggegummimik* (i.e. pl) *tuningaagamitigut*; it is another example of overcompensation of the North Greenlandic transcriber, see footnote 8. The inflectional ending, however, shows the lack of assibilation characteristic of South Greenlandic: *-gamitigut* instead of *-gamisigut*.

¹³The /v/ is epenthetic, because of the impossibility of having three identical vowels in a row. The transcriber wrote *tamuatsuvaavat* instead of *tamuatsivaavat*, because of dialectal differences.

¹⁴Spelled this way by the transcriber, and translated as 'bite', *oqor-* seems to mean 'be warm'; *oqummer-* is listed in *Oqaatsit* as 'to put something in the mouth'. This is probably a misprint, but it could possibly be hypercorrection or overextension of a regressive assimilation rule, even extending to uvular lowering. Uvular lowering is a fairly recent phenomenon (P. Langgård, personal communication).

155.ammaraangamiut¹⁵ taanna qillertuusaarannguaq}
 ammar-gaangamiut taanna qillertuusaq-araq-nnguaq-0
 open-when-ever.trans.3c.sg.subj/3sg.obj.CA that.one container-little-little-abs
 whenever he opened that little [chewing tobacco] container

156.taava oqartarpoq tassa_
 taava oqaq-saq-voq tassa
 then say-habit-3sg.I that.is
 then he would say

157."Tassa Ittup tamuatsivaava"_}
 tassa Ittu-p tamuatsivaaq-a
 that.is Grandfather-rel tamuatsivaaq-3nc.sg.pos
 "That is Grandfather's tamuatsivaaq"

XLVII

158.{linndaleeraq taamatut oqaluttuugami_
 linndaleeraq-0 taama-tut oqaloq-toq-u-gami
 Henry-abs like.that-eq tell/speak-nom-cop-3c.sg.CA
 Henry said it like this [this is the way Henry spoke]

XLVIII

159.{Tassa eqqaamalluariga
 tassa eqqaama-lluaq-giga
 that.is remember-well-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P
 I remember very well

160.taamani Narsamini- Narsamukaraangatta aasakkut_
 taamani Narsaq-muqaq-gaangatta aasaq-kkut
 at.that.time Narsaq-go.to-when-ever.1pl.CA summer-via
 in those days, whenever we went to Narsaq during the summer

XLIX

161.{angallatit_ amerlasoorsuunngillat taamani_
 angallat-it amerlasooq-suaq-u-nngit-lat taamani
 vessel-pl.abs be.many-big-cop-neg-3pl.neg.I at.that.time
 there weren't many vessels in those days

162.tassa_ uagut ilaagajuttarpugut
 tassa uagut ilaa-gajug-saq-vugut
 that.is 1pl.abs be.passenger-often-habit-1pl.I
 we were often passengers [i.e. we often went by boat]

¹⁵This was transcribed with the inflectional ending *-gamiut*, although it should be *-gamiuk*. Final consonants are rather arbitrary to native speakers, as they are not clearly distinguished in normal speech. In fact, final syllables are often left inarticulated by speakers, as in clause 155 below, where the speaker does not actually say the final syllable of *oqartarpoq* (whence the boldface). Rischel suggests that although it is normal not to enunciate case endings in oral Greenlandic, hearers can distinguish meanings from intonation patterns at word endings.

savaateqarfiup pujortuleeraanut Hvalsømut
 savaateqarfik-up pujortuleeraq-a-nut Hvalsø-mut
 sheep.farm-rel motor.boat-3sg.pos-pl.term Hvalsey-term
 on the sheep-farm's boat "Hvalsey"

("anilimmut" ajunngimut)
 ???? unclear on tape

163.ilaalluta_}
 ilaa-luta
 be.passenger-1pl.subj.CT
 we were passengers

L

164.{Qaqortuminngaanniit Narsamukartarpugut_'
 Qaqortoq-minngaanniit Narsaq-mukaq-saq-vugut
 Qaqortoq-abl Narsaq-go.to-habit-1pl.I
 we used to go from Qaqortoq to Narsaq

165.Ataasiarlunga
 ataasiar-lunga
 do.once-1sg.CT
 I did once [one time]

166.eqqaamagiga.
 eqqaama-giga
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P
 I remember it

167.taamanikkut aamma_
 taamani-kkut aamma
 at.that.time-via and
 and at that time

eqqaamalluariga_
 eqqaama-lluaq-giga
 remember-well-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P
 I remember it well

168.assorujussuaq taamani_
 assut-rujussuaq-0 taamani
 many-many-abs at.that.time
 at that time

tikaagulleqartarami_
 tikaagullik-qaq-saq-gami
 piked.whale-have-habit-3c.sg.CT
 there were many many lesser rorquals

LI

169.{(ataasiarlunga
 ataasiar-lunga
 do.once-1sg.CT
 I did it once [i.e. one time]

170. eqqaamagiga
eqqama-giga
remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P
I remember it
171. Qaqortuminngaanniit Narsamukarluta
Qaqortoq-minngaanniit Narsaq-muqaq-luta
Qaqortoq-abl Narsaq-go.to-1pl.CT
we were going from Qaqortoq to Narsaq
172. tikaagulliit marluk_
tikaagullik-it marluk
lesser.rorqual-pl.abs/rel two
[there were] two lesser.rorquals
173. pujortuleeraq kaajallallugu_
pujortuleeraq-abs kaajallaC-lugu
motor.boat-abs circle-trans.3sg.obj.CT
they were circling the motor boat
174. pisseqattaartut_
pissiC-qattaar-sut
jump-again.and.again-3pl.P
jumping again and again/the whole time
175. assut alutormartut_
assut alutor-naq-sut
very breathtaking/moving-pl/beautiful-be.such.that-nom-pl.abs
[they were] very breathtaking/beautiful
176. eqqaamagaarakku
eqqaama-ngaar-gakku
remember-well-trans.1/2sg.subj/3nc.sg.obj.CA
I remember it well
177. taamani puioorneq ajorpara_)}
taamani puioorneq¹⁶ ajor-vara
at.that.time forget-nom not.able.to-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
I can't forget that time

LI

178. {Tassa Narsamut pigaagatta taamani_
tassa Narsaq-mut pi-gaan-gatta taamani
that.is Narsaq-term do-whenever-1pl.CA at.that.time
when we got to Narsaq at.that.time

¹⁶-*neq* is a nominalizing affix and can convert a clause to an object or subject noun phrase, taking normal nominal inflections but losing markings of mood, person, and number. With certain verbs, however, including *ajorq-*, the transitivity of the nominalized verb is preserved in the superordinate verb, the underlying subject and object of the nominalized verb is marked by the superordinate verb, and the nominalized verb is not inflected for case (Fortescue 1984:47).

179. Narsaq aamma taamani mikisuarakasiugami
 Narsaq-0 aamma taamani miki-soq-araq-kasik-u-gami
 Narsaq-abs and at.that.time small-nom-small-dear-cop-3c.sg.CA
 and Narsaq was very small and dear at that time

180. inukitsuarakasiullunilu,
 inuk-kit-suaraq-kasik-u-luni-lu
 person-have.little-very.small.dear-cop-3c.sg.CT-and
 and there were not so many people

181. ullumikkutut inngivikkami_
 ullumi-kkut-tut iC-nngit-vig-gami
 today-via-eq neg.cop-neg-completely-3c.sg.CA
 it is extremely different from today

LIII

182. {tassa Ittukkunniikkaagatta,
 tassa Ittu-kkut-niit-gaan-gatta
 that.is Grandfather-family-be.by-whenenever-1pl.CA
 whenever we were with Grandfather

183. eqqaamagiga,
 eqqama-giga
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.P
 I remember it

184. eqqaamaqaara taamani_
 eqqaama-qi-vara taamani
 remember-intens-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I at.that.time
 I really remember it in those days

185. linndaleeqqap_
 linndaleeraq-p
 Henry-rel
 Henry

Ittup_ Ittup_
 Ittu-p Ittu-p
 Grandfather-rel
 Grandfather. Grandfather

ullaakkut_
 ullaag-kkut
 morning-via
 in the morning

tamatta iteraangatta_
 tamaq-tta iter-gaangatta
 all.together-1pl.abs wake.up-whenenever.1pl.CA
 all of us together would wake up

186. *tiitoreerluta_*
 tii-toq-reer-luta
 tea-drink-already-1pl.CT
 when we had already drunk tea

187. *taava inimut iserluta_*
 taava ini-mut iser-luta
 then room-term enter-1pl.CT
 then [when] we entered/came into the room

Ittup issia¹⁷
 Ittu-p issia[vik-minut]
 Grandfather-rel chair-3c.sg.pos.term
 Grandfather to his chair

188. *pattagissaminut ingikkuni_*
 pattagiaq¹⁸-minut igiC-guni
 piano-3c.sg.pos.term sit.down-3c.sg.CO
 if he sat down at the piano¹⁹

189. *taava_ inersimasut_*
 taava inersimasoq-t
 then adult-pl.abs
 then adults

nalaasaarfimmut issiavikuluunullu issaallutik
 nalaasaarfik-mut issiavik-kulooq²⁰-nut-lu isser-a-lutik
 couch-term arm.chair-big-term.pl-and sit-pl-3pl.CT
 when/while sitting down on the couch and in arm chairs

190. *uagut meeqqat natermut ingilluta_*
 uagut meeraq-t nateq-mut ingiC-luta
 1pl.abs child-pl.abs ground-term sit.down-1pl.CT
 we children sitting down on the ground

191. *Taava Ittup qinnutinnguaq atuartarpaa_*
 taava Ittu-p qinnut-nguaq-0 atuar-saq-vaa
 then Grandfather-rel prayer-little-abs read-habit-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 then Grandfather would read a little prayer

¹⁷The transcriber explained that the speaker should have said *issiavimminut*, from *issiavik* 'chair' and *-minut* 3sg.coref.pos.term.

¹⁸There is a palatalized quality to the /i/ in *pattagiaq*; when followed by a nonuvular consonant in the following syllable, single voiced consonants are geminated. In this case, a geminated /j/ is realized as /ss/, whence *pattagissa-minut*.

¹⁹The transcriber explained that the speaker had apparently not finished his first thought; the sentence should consist of at least two parts, 'he went to the piano' and 'he sat down [at the piano]'.
²⁰According to the transcriber, *issiavikulu* is South Greenlandic for 'arm chair'. In Nuuk, 'arm chair' is *issiavissuaq*.

192. palasiugami aamma_
 palasi-u-gami aamma
 priest-cop-3c.sg.CA and
 and [i.e. because] he was also a priest

193. Taamaasereeraangamilu
 taamaat-si-reer-gaangami-lu
 the whole/all-intrans-already-whensoever.3c.sg.CA-and
 and [they transcribed] were doing all this

194. taava ullaarsiummik tussiummik²¹_
 taava ullaarsiut-mik tussiut-mik
 then morning.prayer-inst psalm-inst
 then a morning psalm

tussiartarpugut_
 tussiar-saq-vugut
 sing.psalms-habit-1pl.I
 we sang

then we sang a morning psalm

195. Ittu pattagissamik pattattoq_
 Ittu-0 pattagiasaq-ssaq-mik pattaC-soq
 Grandfather-abs piano-fut-inst play-3sg.P
 Grandfather played the piano

196. Taava ilaanneeriarluta aamma tassa.
 taava ilaanni-ir-riag-luta aamma tassa
 then sometimes-verb-intens-1pl.CT and that.is
 then sometimes we did

erinarsuummik_
 erinarsuut-mik
 song-inst
 a [regular/normal/non-religious] song

197. nalinginnaasumik erinarsuummik_
 nalinginnaq-u-soq-mik erinarsuut-mik
 normal/usual-cop-nom-inst song-inst
 a normal song

(ullormik tassunga naleqqussorisaminik
 ulloq-mik tassunga naleqquC-sori-saq-minik
 day-inst over.there suitable-think-pas.P-3sg.pos.inst
 that seemed suitable for that day

²¹ Oqaatsit glosses *tussiut ullaarsiut* as well as *ullarsiut* as 'morning prayer(s)'; word order notwithstanding, the transcriber also translated this passage as 'morning psalm'.

198.erinarsortittarpaatigut tamatta_/
 erinarsor-tit-saq-vaatigut tamaq-tta
 sing-cause-habit-trans.3sg.subj/1pl.obj.I all.together-1pl.abs
 he let us sing all together

tassami inersimasullu meeqqallu_/
 tassami inersimasoq-t-lu meeraq-t-lu
 in.any.case adult-pl.abs-and child-pl.abs-and
 in any case the adults and the children

199.Taamaalilluta ulloq aallartittarparput_}
 taamaali-luta ulloq-0 aallartit-saq-varput
 like.that-1pl.CT day-abs begin-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 and that is how we began the day

LIV

200.{Tassalu Ittup_
 Tassa-lu Ittu-p
 that.is-and Grandfather-rel
 and Grandfather

eqqaamavara
 eqqaama-vara
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I remember

201.Ittup uagut oqaluttuukkaatigut
 Ittu-p uagut oqaluttuuC-gaatigut
 Grandfather-rel 1pl tell-trans.3sg.subj/1pl.obj P
 Grandfather telling us

Niels Henrik-lu illora_
 Niels Henrik-0-lu illoq-ga
 Niels Henrik-abs-and cousin-1sg.pos.abs
 [me] and my cousin Niels Henrik

202."Ittu aallaraangami_/
 Ittu-0 aallaq-gaangami
 Grandfather-abs walk/go-whensoever.3c.sg.CA
 whenever Grandfather went walking

203.qaqqamut pisuttuaraangami_/
 qaqqaq-mut pisuC-suaq-gaangami
 mountain-term walk-with.strength-whensoever.3c.sg.CA
 whenever he walked to the mountains

204.**tamatuma?** pappilissamik aqerluusamillu nassartarpoq_} **on tape, not transcribed**
 tamatuma? pappiala²²-ssa-mik aqerluusaq-mik-lu nassar-saq-voq
 that.one? paper-fut-inst pencil-inst-and bring.with-habit-3sg.I
 he used to bring along paper and pencil

²²Although transcribed as *pappiliaq* here, *Oqaatsit* lists it as *pappiala* or *pappiara* 'paper'. There may be dialectal differences.

LV

205. { "Tassa isima isigisai_ /
 tassa isi-ma isigi-saq-i
 that.is eye-1sg.pos.rel see-pas.P-3pl.pos.abs
 that is what my eye can see

206. siutimalu tusaasai_ /
 siuti-ma-lu tusaa-saq-i
 ear-1sg.pos.rel hear-pas.P-3pl.pos.abs
 and my ear can hear

207. allallugit
 allaC-lugit
 write-trans.3.obj.CT
 I am writing them

208. titartarniassagakkit_ /
 titartar-niaq-ssa-gakkit
 draw-try-fut-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 I will try to draw them

I am writing what my ey can see and my ear can hear, i.e. my visual and aural impressions, I will try to draw them

209. Aamma qalipaasarami }
 aamma qalipaa-saq-gami
 and paint-habit-3sg.CA
 and he painted [i.e. he was also a painter]

LVI

210. { taamaattumik tassa Ittu oqartarpoq_
 taamaattumik tassa Ittu-0 oqaq-saq-voq
 therefore that.is Grandfather-abs say-habit-3sg.I
 therefore Grandfather used to say

211. "Isigut siutigullu
 Isi-vut siuti-vut-lu
 eye-1pl.pos.pl.posm.abs ear-1pl.pos.pl.posm.abs-and
 your eyes and your ears

atorluarniartaqqullugit_ '
 ator-luaq-niaq-saq-qqu-lugit
 use-well-try-habit-bid/command-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 bid them to try to do well [use them well]

212. taakkuninngaaniinngaanniit pissarsiassagut_ /
 taakku-ninngaa-ninngaanniit pissarsia-ssaq-vut
 those-from-abl.pl get.something/purchase-fut-1pl.pos/pl.posm
 from those we can get something

"make sure your ears and eyes really exploit their impressions since it is our purchase/what we're going to get via them"

213.iluamik atorluarutsigit_
 iluamik ator-luaq-gutsigit
 the.right.way/correct/well use-well-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.CO
 if we use them well

214.angeqimmata,
 ange-qi-mmata
 big-intens-3nc.pl.CA
 they are incredible

215.annertoqimmata,
 annertu-qi-mmata
 enormous-intens-3nc.pl.CA
 they are incredible

216.taama oqarluaannarlunga"}
 taama oqaq-luaq-innaq-lunga
 this say-well-just-1sg.CT
 let me just say it in this way"

LVII

217.{Aamma_
 aamma
 and
 and

 peroreerlunga
 peror-reer-lunga
 become.adult-already-1sg.CT
 when I was already an adult

218.tassa paasivara_
 tassa paasi-vara
 that is understand-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I understood it

219.ilumoortoq taanna_
 ilumoortoq taanna
 true that
 that was true [it was true, that]

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique toples	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	xxxiv										
previous theme: catechists	105	so mentioned the catechists	we	catechists	tell about	CA		taava	erg		
	106	just now I mentioned them	I	catechists	tell about	I			erg	aatsaaginnaq	
to be a hunter	107	but in those days to be a hunter	to be a hunter [E]					kisiannili tassa aamma		taammani	
		to live, to be a hunter it was very amazing	to live, to be a hunter [E]		be amazing	I					
	108	in our land its many people	its many people [E]				in our land				
		today, we say	we		say	I				ullumikkut	habit: -saq-
comparison of careers	109	(the most important careers/occupations are fishing)	careers	fishing	be important	I			erg		
	xxxv										
	110	[but] at that time [when] we were children	we		be child	P- incor				taamani	
	111	the biggest careers/occupations were hunting	careers	hunting [E]	be big (i.e. important)	I			erg		

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
the hunters are good in kayaks	xxxvi										
	112	they had kayaks	hunters		have kayaks [E]	I-incor					
		all the hunters	hunters [E]								
	113	they were very good with the kayaks	hunters		be good with kayak	CT					
	xxxvii										
	114	and through however many [kinds of] weather there might be sometimes	weather		be	CA- 3nc		-luunniit			conseq; -galuaq- whenever -gua-
rowboats were used for fishing	115	they went	hunters		go	I					habit; -saq-
	116	wanting to have food every day	[hunters]		have food	CT					
	xxxviii										
	117	in Qaqortoq I remember, that is, at that time	I	it	reflection: remember	I	in Qaqortoq	tassa	erg	taamani	
	118	it had little flat- bottomed rowboats	dummy		have rowboats	I-incor					conseq; -galuaq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	119	and rowboats were more in the summertime	rowboats		use	I		-lu		through summer	pas; -neqaq- habit; -saq-
	120	in order to fish [to use them to fish]	[hunters]	rowboats	use to fish	CT			erg		
	XXXIX										
	121	and as kayaks					as kayaks	aamma			
		they were not as fast	rowboats		be fast	CA-3c					
	122	the kayaks	kayaks [E]								
		the kayak rowers, at that time, that is	kayak rowers [E]	it				tassa		taamani	
		I remember it	I	it	reflection: remember	I			erg		
XL-XLII caing liver and fat of seals caught by hunters	123	when we were children in the spring	we		be child	CT- incor				upernaakkut	
	124	whenever the drift ice arrived	drift ice		arrive	CA- 3nc					whenevr -gaa-
	XL										
	125	by kayaks					by kayaks				
		the inhabitants of Qaqortoq, the kayakers Big Henry, Isaac, Jacob	inhabitant kayakers [E]								

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		(I don't remember the {other} names	I	names	remember	I			erg		
	126	there were very many at that time)	{kayakers}		be many	I				taamani	
XLI	127	when they came back {from hunting, to Qaqortoq} in the afternoon	kayakers/ hunters		arrive	CA-3c				ualikkut	whenevr -gaa-
	128	after having gone out in the morning	kayakers/ hunters		go	CO-3c				ullaakkut	
	129	sometimes									
		seals		seals [E]							
		eight, ten									
		or even more in tow	{kayakers/ hunters}	seals	tow	CT		-luunniit	erg		
XLII	130	whenever they began to arrive	kayakers/ hunters		arrive	CA- 3nc					begin: -leq- whenevr -gaa-
	131	we were a lot of children [there were a lot of us children]	we		be child	CT- incor					

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	132	we used to go as a group to the beach	we		go to beach	CA-incor					habit: -saq-
	133	and there they used to cut them up that is in those days	kayakers/ hunters	seals	cut up	CA-3c		tassa	erg	taamani	habit: -saq-
	134	in its being cut up			cut up	nom	in its being cut up				
	135	we we all used to eat the liver	we we		eat liver	I-incor					habit: -saq-
	136	and						aammalu			
		we ate 'tamuatsivaaq'	we		chew/cat fat etc	CT-incor		tassa			
	137	providing the seal skin with fat [i.e. eating the seal skin and fat with the liver]	{we}	seal skin	provide with fat	CT			erg		habit: -saq-
	138	(a little piece of skin with the fat [we chewed])	{we}	a little piece of skin	provide with fat	CT			erg		habit: -saq-
	139	we used to chew it continually	we	that one [seal skin]	chew	I		tassa	erg		habit: -saq-
	140	'tamuatsivaaq'					tamuatsi-vaaq [E]				

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		we used to call it in South Greenland	we	that one	call/name	I	in the south				
	141	(how northerners	norther- ners								
		I wonder how the northerners call it, those ones)	those ones [E]	tamuatsi- vauq	call/name	I			erg		
XLIII											
period of WWII, visiting relatives in Narsaq	142	that is whenever I remember	I		remember	P		tassa	erg	taamani	whenevr -gaa-
		the period of World War II		period							
	143	from Qaqortoq when my father was a teacher in high school	my father		be teacher	CA-3c incor	from Qaqortoq in high school				
	144	and then my mother's father	mother's father					taavalu			
		our poet Greenland's big poet Henry Henrik Lund	our poet poet H.L.								
	145	every summer								every summer	
		we used to visit him from Qaqortoq	we	H.L.	visit	CA	from Qaqortoq		erg		habit: -saq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	146	we used to spend the summer in Narsaq [have N as a summer vacation place] (the children and [my] mother's family and [my] father's family the children and the siblings' family, all of us)	we	Narsaq	spend summer	CA			erg		habit: -saq-
XLIV- XLVII Grandpa gives out chewing gum	XLIV 147	I remember Grandfather at that time	I	Grandpa	remember	P		taasa	erg	taamuni	
	148	used to get chewing gum from the Americans	Grandpa	chewing gum	get	CA-3c	from Americans		ant		habit: -saq- perf: -sima-
	XLV 149	when he gave us a lot of chewing gum	Grandpa	1pl [us]	give	CA- 3nc	chewing gum		erg		
	150	he used to say	Grandpa		say	I					habit: -saq-
	151	"[this is] white man's tamuartsivaaq"									
	152	then he would take some chewing tobacco [for] himself	Grandpa		take tobacco	CA-3c incor		taava			

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		Henry	Henry {E}								
	XLVI										
	153	giving us chewing gum	[Grandpa]	1pl {us}	give	CT	chewing gum		erg		go to do: -giar-
	154	himself									
		biting into chewing tobacco	Grandpa	chewing tobacco	bite	I		tassa	ant		habit: -suq-
	155	whenever he opened that little {chewing tobacco} container	Grandpa	that container	open	CA-3c			erg		whenevr -gaa-
	156	then he would say	Grandpa		say	I		tauva tassa			habit: -suq-
	157	"That is Grandfather's tamuatsivaaq"	dummy	tamuatsiv aaq	tassa cop						
	XLVII										
	158	Henry said it like this	Henry		tell/speak	CA-3c	like this				
	XLVIII										
XVIII-LI trips to Narsaq	159	I remember very well	I	it	reflection: remember	P		tassa	erg		
	160	in those days, whenever we went to Narsaq during the summer	we		go to Narsaq	CA				taamani aasakkut	whenevr -gaa-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
single episode: whales	XLIX										
	161	there weren't many vessels in those days	vessels		be many	I				taamani	
	162	we were often passengers	we		be passenger	I		tassa			habit: -saq-
		on the sheep-farm's boat "Hvalsey"					on bout				
	163	??? we were passengers	we		be passengers	CT					
	L										
	164	we used to go from Quqortoq to Narsaq	we		go to Narsaq	I	from Quqortoq				habit: -saq-
	165	I did once	I		do once	CT					
	166	I remember it	I	it	reflection: remember	P			erg		
	167	and at that time						aamma		taamanikkut	
		I remember it well	I	it	reflection: remember	P			erg		
	168	at that time					taamani				
		there were many lesser rorquals	dummy		be lesser rorquals	CA-3c incor					habiat: -saq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	LI										
	169	(I did it once	I		do once	CT					
	170	I remember it	I	it	reflection: remember	P			erg		
	171	we were going from Qaqortoq to Narsaq	we		go to Narsaq	CT	from Qaqortoq				
	172	{there were} two lesser rorquals	lesser rorquals [E]		=	ellips					
	173	they were circling the motor boat	lesser rorquals	motor boat	circle	CT			erg		
	174	jumping again and again	lesser rorquals		jump	P					contin; -qattaar-
	175	{they were} very breathtaking	lesser rorquals		be beautiful	P/N					
	176	whenever I remember it	I	it	remember	CA			erg		whenevr -gua-
	177	I can't forget that time)	I	time {part of verbal construct}	can't forget	I			erg	taamani	
	178	when we got to Narsaq at that time	we		do	CA	to Narsaq	tassa		taamani	
	179	and Narsaq was very small and dear at that time	Narsaq		be small	CA-3c		aamma		taamani	

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
LIII how the day started	180	and there were not so many people	dummy		be people	-lu					
	181	it is extremely different from today	dummy [Narsaq]		be		like today				complet: -vig-
	LIII 182	whenever we were with Grandfather	we		be with Grandpa	CA- incor		tassa			whenevr -gaa-
	183	I remember it	I	it	reflection: remember	P			erg		
	184	I really remember it in those days	I	it	reflection: remember	I			erg	taamani	
	185	Henry	Henry [E]								
		Grandfather	Grandpa [E]								
		in the morning								ullaakkut	
		all of us together would wake up	we all		wake up	CA					whenevr -gaa-
	186	when we had already drunk tea	we		drink tea	CT					already: -reer-
	187	then [when] we entered/came into the room	we		enter	CT	into room	taava			
		Grandfather to his chair	Grandpa		ellipsis: go	ellips	to chair				

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	188	if he sat down at the piano	Grandpa		sit down	CO-3c	to piano				
	189	then the adults	adults								
		when sitting down on the couch and in arm chairs	adults		sit down	CT	on couch in chairs				
	190	we children sat on the ground	we children		sit down	CT	on ground				
	191	then Grandfather would read a little prayer	Grandpa	prayer	read	I		taava	erg		habit: -suq-
	192	because he was also a priest	Grandpa		be priest	CA 3c incor		aamma			
	193	and whenever he did all this	Grandpa		do all this	CA 3c		-lu			already -reer whenever -gaw-
	194	then a morning psalm		morning psalm [E]				taava			
		we sang	we		sing	I					habit: -suq-
	156	Grandfather played the piano	Grandpa	piano	play instrument	P					
	196	then sometimes we did	we		sometimes	CT		taava aamma tassa	ant		go to do: -giaq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
I.IV-I.VII Grandpa talks about the senses	197	a non-religious song		non-relig. song [E]							
		a normal song		non-relig. song [E]							
		(that seemed suitable for that day)		suitable		N	ullormik				think: -sori- pas part: -saq-
		he let us sing all together	Grandpa	1pl [us] together	sing	I			erg		cause: -tit- habit: -saq-
		in any case the adults and the children		adults and children [E]							
	198	and that is how we	we		like that	CT					
	199	we began the day	we	day	begin	I			erg		habit: -saq-
	LIV 200	and Grandfather	Grandpa [E]					tassalu			
		I remember	I	it	reflection: remember	I			erg		
	201	Grandfather telling us	Grandpa	1pl [us]	tell	P			erg		

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		[me] and my cousin Niels Henrik		me and cousin N.H. [E]							
	202	whenever Grandfather went walking	Grandpa		go walking	CA-3c					whenevr -gaa-
	203	whenever he walked to the mountains	Grandpa		walk	CA-3c	to mountains				whenevr -gaa-
	204	he used to bring along paper and pencil	Grandpa	paper and pencil	bring	I		tamatuma	ant		habit: -saq-
LV	205	"That is what my eye can see	my eye		see	N		tassa			
	206	and my ear can hear	my ear		hear	N		-lu			
	207	I am writing them	I [Grandpa]	what eyes see & cars hear	write	CT			erg		
	208	I will try to draw them"	I [Grandpa]	what eyes see & cars hear	draw	CA			erg		fut: -ssa-
	209	and he was also a painter	Grandpa		paint	CA-3c					habit: -saq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	LVI										
	210	therefore Grandfather used to say	Grandpa		say	I		taamaat- tumik tassa			habit: -saq-
	211	"bid your eyes and ears to try to do well	{you}	eyes and ears	bid to use well	CT			erg		habit: -saq-
	212	from those we can get something	we		get/ purchase	I	from those				fut: -ssa-
	213	if we use them well	we	eyes and ears	use correctly	CO			erg		
	214	they are incredible	eyes and ears		be big	CA- 3nc					
	215	they are incredible	eyes and ears		be enormous	CA- 3nc					
	216	let me just say it in this way"	I		say	CT					
	LVII										
	217	and						aamma			
		when I was already an adult	I		become adult	CT					already: -reer-
	218	I understood it	I	it	understand	I		tassa	erg		
	219	that was true	that		be true						

Speaker 2, Text 2
Recorded Aug 1993 Sisimiut
Interviewed by Kêrte Jeremiassen

I

1. {Massakkut_Sisimiuni_
 Massakkut Sisimiut-ni
 now Sisimiut-loc
 now, in Sisimiut

pulaarpagut S. O.-kkut_angerlarsimaffiannut_
 pulaar-vagut¹ S. O.-kkut angerlarsimaffik-annut
 visit-1pl.I S. O.-family.abs home-3pl.pos.term
 we are visiting the S. O. family to their home

2. assigiinngitsunik oqaloqatigilaarniarlugit_
 assigiinngitsut-nik oqaloqatigi-laaq-niaq-lugit
 different/various-pl.inst² talk.with-little-fut-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 talking with them about various things

II

3. {S. sulerisuunikuvimmaa?}
 S. su-leri-soq-u-nikuu-vit-maa[nna]
 S. what-deal.with-nom-cop-past-2sg.IN-now/wonder
 S., what have you been doing?

III

4. {Tassa_inersimasunngorama_
 Tassa inersimasooq-nngoq-gama
 That is adult-become-1sg.CA
 That is, when I became an adult

5. imaappoq³_
 imaappoq
 that means
 than means

6. 18-19-inik ukioqarlunga_
 18-19-nik ukioq-qaq-lunga
 18-19-pl.inst year-have-1sg.CT
 when I was 18 or 19 years old

¹-*vagut* is the standard dialectal form for -*vavut*; however, on the tape, the form distinctly sounds like *pulaarpagut*, which is the intransitive form. -*vavut* is the form found in all grammars and in the old writing system; it has not been used in oral form for many years.

²*assigiinngitsut* is a plural form.

³The word *ima* appears in various forms in the text: *imaappoq* (verb), *imatut* (participial), *ima* (particle), and so forth. In most cases, it can be translated as 'that is' or 'you know' as these phrases are used in English. In the other texts, the form *imaattooq* is also found; in contrast to the verb *imaappoq*, it is used as a filler particle, meaning roughly 'well', or 'uh'.

7. amutsivimmi ilinniartunngornikuugama_
 amutsivik-mi ilinniartoq-nngoq-nikuu-gama
 shipyard-loc apprentice/student-become-past-1sg.CA
 I became an apprentice in a shipyard

IV

8. {taannalu_
 taanna-lu
 that one-and and
 and that

aamma radiokkut aallakaatitassiarilaarnikuugakku
 aamma radio-kkut aallakaatitassat-liaq⁺-gi-laaq-nikuu-gakku
 radio-via. program-something.made-have-little-past-trans. 1sg.subj/3nc.sg.obj.CA
 I have told before on the radio

ilaatigut_
 ilaatigut
 sometimes
 sometimes

9. imaappoq_
 imaappoq
 that means
 that means

10. meeraaninninngaanniit amutsiviup_
 meeraaneq-m-ninngaanniit amutsivik-up
 childhood-1sg.pos-from shipyard-rel
 from my childhood

aallarteqqaarnerani amutsiviliormermi,
 aallartit-qqaq-neq-ani amutsivik-liaq-neq-mi
 begin-intens-nom-3c.sg.pos.loc shipyard-build-nom-loc
 in the very beginning of the building of a shipyard

11. suleqataarnera eqqartoreersimagakku
 suleqat-u-neq-ga eqqartor-reer-sima-gakku
 partner-cop-nom-1sg.pos.abs talk.of-already-perf-trans. 1subj/3nc.sg.obj.CA
 I have already talked about my partaking in the forming/building of the shipyard [i.e.
 I was a partner/my being a partner in the ...]

12. aamma ilaatigut_ **could belong either to 11 or 12**
 aamma ilaatigut
 and in.some.way/sometimes
 and in some way

⁺-ssaq- + -liaq- contracts to -ssiaq-.

amutsivimmi sulinera eqqaalaareerlugu taanna_
 amutsivik-mi sulineq-ga eqqaa-laaq-reer-lugu that
 shipyard-loc work-1sg pos abs mention-a little-already-trans 3sg obj .CT that
 I have already mentioned my work in the shipyard

13. imatut_massakkut_eqqaaqqinngikkallassavara_
 ima-tut massakkut eqqaa-qqi-nngit-gallaq-ssa-vara
 like.this-eq now mention-again-neg-continuing/finally-fut-trans.1sg/3sg.I
 so now I don't want to mention it again in this [story].

V

14. {Kisianni_eqqartulaarsinnaavara taamanikkut_
 Kisianni eqqartor-laaq-sinnaa-vara taamani-kkut
 but talk.about-little-can-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj at.that.time-via
 but I can talk a little bit about it at that time

15. tassa_1920-kut aallartinneranni,
 tassa 1920-kut aallartit-neq-anni
 that.is 1920-via begin-nom-3nc.pl.pos.loc
 that is, at the beginning of the 1920's

VI

16. (1918-imi inuugama,
 1918-imi inuu-gama
 1918-loc be.born-1sg.CA
 I was born in 1918

17. taava 1920-kkunni tassa meeraasimavunga taamanikkut)_}
 taava 1920-kkut-ni tassa meeraq-u-sima-vunga taamani-kkut
 so 1920-via-pl.loc you.know child-cop-perf-1sg.I at.that.time-via
 so I was a child you know then in the 1920's

VII

18. {Taamanikkullu_
 Taamani-kkut-lu
 at.that.time-via-and
 at that time

1920-ip aallartisimalernerani,
 1920-ip aallartit-sima-ler-neq-ani
 1920-rel begin-perf-begin-nom-3sg.pos.loc
 at the beginning of the 1920's

aalisarneq _
 aalisarneq-0
 fishing-abs
 fishing.

saarullinnik aalisarneq aatsaat aallarnersalerpoq_}
 saarullik-nik aalisarneq-0 aatsaat aallarnar-saq-ler-voq
 cod-pl.inst fishing-abs at.first begin-agent⁵-begin-3sg.I
 codfish fishing was first going to start

VIII

19. {Eqqaamalluarpara
 Eqqaama-lluq-vara
 remember-well-trans 1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I remember it well

20. meeraallunga_
 meeraq-u-lunga
 child-cop-1sg.CT
 I was a child

taamanikkut_
 taamani-kkut
 at.that.time-via
 then

21. massakkut amutsiviup akiani
 massakkut amutsivik-up aki-ani
 now shipyard-rel other.side-3sg.pos.loc
 now on the other side of the shipyard [opposite the place that is now the shipyard]

ilinniartut_ ilinniartut illukuat_
 ilinniartoq-t ilinniartoq-t illu-ku-at
 student-pl.rel student-pl.rel house-former-3pl.pos.abs
 there was a former students' house [there was formerly a students' house]

22. taassuma illup kanga tungaani_
 taassuma illu-p kanga tungaani
 that.one-rel house-rel lying.east over.there/in.that.direction
 to the east of that house over there

itersiumanermiikkami qooqqiumanermi_
 itersi-juma-neq-mii-gami qooqqi-juma-neq-mi
 make.a.hole.in.ground-want-nom-be.in-3c.sg.CA make.a.furrow-want-nom-loc
 is a little depression in a valley

⁵There are several ways of indicating agentive function in Greenlandic: *-tit-* as in *ilinniartippooq* 'he causes to learn, he teaches', and *-sar-* as in the example in clause 18, or as in *egeersaasoq* 'something which causes one to wake up, alarm clock'. There is apparently no clear distinction in meaning between the morphemes; they are not interchangeable, however. A word which normally takes one agentive morpheme will not also take the other.

23. illungaatsiapilorujussuaq
 illu-ngaatsiaq⁶-pilorujussuaq-0
 house-rather-very.big-abs
 a little bigger than a big house
24. imaappoq sana- sanaaq_'
 imaak-voq sanaaq-0
 like.that-3sg.I something.one.has.done-abs
 it means it has been built
25. illungaatsiapilorujussuaq uingasoq, or _/
 illu-ngaatsiaq-pilorujussuaq-0 uinga-soq
 house-rather.big-very.big-nom slant-3sg.P
 the rather larger than big house was slanted
26. taanna "Eqaluit inaannik" taasarpaput⁷
 taanna eqaluk-it ini-annik taasarpaput
 that.one char-pl.abs/rel place-3pl.pos.inst call-trans. 1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 that one we called "char's place"

IX

27. {Tassalu taanna_aalisarnermut _
 Tassa-lu taanna aalisarneq-mut
 then-and that.one fishing.(industry)-term
 and that [house], to the fishing industry

saarulliornermut_
 saarullik-lloq-neq-mut
 codfish-make-nom-term
 to the codfishing industry/factory

Sisimiuni_
 Sisimiut-ni
 Sisimiut-pl loc
 in Sisimiut

aallarnersaataalluni_
 aallarner-saq-uti-u-taaq-luni
 begin-agent-means.to-cop-3sg.CT
 it was the means with which to begin

It was the means to begin the fishing industry, the codfishing industry, in Sisimiut

28. taanna illuusarsuaq uingasoq_
 taanna illu-u-saq-suaq-abs uinga-soq
 that.one house-cop-fut-big-abs uneven/slant-3sg.P
 that shack [poor house, about to fall appart] was slanted/uneven

⁶*illugaatsiaq* was translated by the translator as 'a house not too small, not too big' (i.e. a medium sized house).

⁷This house was a fish plant, bigger than a residential house.

29. uingasumik qalialik_
 uinga-soq-mik qaliaq-lik
 slant-nom-inst roof-relational.(something.that.has)
 the one with the tilted roof
30. (eqaluit inaannik taasartagarput).
 eqaluk-it ini-annik taasar-saq-varput
 char-pl.rel place-3pl.pos.inst call-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 we used to call it the place of char
31. tassa ima tarajorterivittut atoqqaarsimavoq_
 tassa ima tarajorterivik-tut ator-qqaq-sima-voq
 that.is you.know salting.place-eq use-first-perf-3sg.I
 like, you know, it was first used as a [cod]salting place.
- taanna_
 taanna
 that.one
 that one
- X**
32. {Eqqaamavaralu
 Eqqaama-vara-lu
 remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj-and
 and I remember
33. taamanikkut saarulliit tunineqartartut_
 taamani-kkut saarullik-it tuni-neqaaq-saq-tut
 at.that.time-via codfish-pl.abs sell-pas-habit-3pl.P
 at that time the codfish used to be sold
34. sumilluunniit_niaquernagit}
 sumik-luunniit niaquer-nagit
 what-or.even take.head.off.(fish)-trans.neg.3pl.obj.CT
 without [them] even taking their heads off
35. _ammarnagilluunniit}}
 ammar-nagit-luunniit
 open up-trans.neg.3pl.obj.CT-or.even
 or even opening them up

XI

36. {aammalu_nalunngilara
 aamma-lu nalunngi-lara
 and-and know-trans.neg⁸.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 and I know [it]

⁸The stem is *nalu-* 'to not know'; *nalunngit-*, consisting of the stem and the negative affix *-nngit-* means 'to know' and takes the negative form of the personal endings.

37. taamanikkut kilomut 9 øremik akeqartut,
 taamani-kkut kilo-mut 9 øre-mik akeqaq-tut
 at.that.time-via kilo-term 9.øre-inst cost-3pl.P
 they cost 9 øre a kilo at that time
- tunitsivileqqaaramik, saarullit}
 tunitsi-vik-leq-qqaar-gamik saarullik-t
 sell-really-begin-first.time-3c.pl.CA codfish-pl.abs
 when they first started to really sell, the codfish

XII

38. {Taava_tassa meeraanitsinniilli uagut_
 Taava tassa meeraaneq-tsinnit-li uagut
 then that.is childhood-1pl.pos.abl-intens 1pl.abs
 then that is right from our childhood
- aallaartuartuuvugut_,
 aallaar-tuaq-toq-u-vugut
 travel.to.hunt-continuous-nom-cop-1pl.I
 we were ones who always travelled [on hunting trips]
39. imaappoq_
 imaappoq
 that.means
 that means
40. saarullinniartarpugut_taamanikkut_
 saarullik-niaq-saq-vugut taamani-kkut
 codfish-hunt-habit-1pl.I at.that.time-via
 we used to hunt codfish at that time

XIII

41. {aamma Qeqertalik_
 aamma Qeqertalik
 and Qeqertalik
 and Qeqertalik
- taamani_
 taamani
 at.that.time
 at that time
- illoqarpoq
 illo-qaq-voq
 house-have-3sg.I
 it had houses [i.e. was a settlement]
42. aamma tarajorterivimmik
 aamma tarajorterivik-mik
 and salting.place-inst
 and [it was] a salting place [a place to salt fish]

43. taavalu upernaakkut tappavunga aallaartarpugut
 taava-lu upernaq-kkut tappav-unga⁹ aallaar-saq-vugut
 then-and spring-via up.there/to.the.east-term travel.to.hunt-habit-1 pl.I
 and then in the spring we used to travel up there to hunt
44. tappanna saarullippassuaqartarmat_
 tappa-nna saarullik-passuaq-qaq-saq-mat
 up.there/to.the.east-nom codfish-a.lot.of-have-habit-3nc.sg.CA
 because the one in there [i.e. the fjord] used to be full of cod
45. Tassa meeraanitsinni _}} **afterthought**
 Tassa meeraaneq-tsinni
 that.is childhood-1 pl.pos.loc
 that is in our childhood.

XIV

- {taava kisianni _apersortereerlunga_
 taava kisianni apersortit-reer-lunga
 then but confirm-already-1 sg.CT
 then when I was confirmed however
46. nammineerlunga_
 nammineer-lunga
 do.by.oneself/be.independent-1 sg.CT
 when I myself did [this]
47. aalisarsinnaanngorama tassami_
 aalisar-sinnaa-nngor-gama tassami
 fish-can-become-1 sg.CA in.any.case
 when I learned to fish [i.e. became able to fish] in any case
48. imaak--_(taamanikkut ipuinnarmik angallateqarpugut **low voice, softer**
 ima taamani-kkut ipu-innaq-mik angallat-qaq-vugut
 so at.that.time-via oar-only-inst vessel-have-1 pl.I
 at that time we had only boats with oars
49. umiaasat_
 umiaasaq-t
 flat-bottomed.rowboat-pl.abs
 flat-bottomed rowboats
- umiatsiaallu taamani
 umiatsiaaq-t-lu taamani
 rowboat-pl.abs-and at.that.time-via
 and rowboats in those days

⁹The only prefix in West Greenlandic, *ta-* is commonly attached to deictic markers such as the stem *pav-*. The directional deictic stems all have an inflectional system separate from that of other nouns. Thus, as a noun, the nominative of this stem is *panna* 'the place up there/the place to the east/the place to landward', the relative *passuna*, the terminal *ispavunga*, and so forth. A list of the members of this restricted class of words can be found in Kleinschmidt 1968:21.

angallatigineqarput)_}
 angallat-gi-neqaq-vut
 vessel-have-pas-3pl.I
 were used

XV

50. {Tassalu taamanikkut_
 Tassa-lu taamani-kkut
 that.is-and at.that.time-via
 that is at that time

eqqaamalluarpara qassutit_
 eqqaama-lluaq-vara qassutit¹⁰
 remember-well-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I nets-abs
 I well remember it the nets

51. pi-- siullermik piniutigineqartut_)
 siullermik piniuti-gi-neqaq-tut
 at.first equipment-have-pas-3pl.P
 were used at first

XVI

52. {aammalu ukiumi_
 aamma-lu ukioq-mi
 and-and winter-loc
 and in the winter

qassusiortarpugut nammineq uagut_
 qassut-lioq-saq-vugut nammineq uagut
 net-build-habit-1pl.I self 1pl.abs
 we ourselves used to build nets [make nets]

saarullinnut qassutissatsinnik¹¹)
 saarullik-nut qassutit-ssaq-tsinnik
 codfish-pl.term nets-fut-1pl.pos.inst
 nets for the codfish

XVII

53. {Allunaasaaqqat_
 Allunaasaq-qat-0
 rope/string-companion-abs
 the string

¹⁰*qassutit* is listed as a plural form in the lexical sources.

¹¹The construction here involves an incorporated noun repeated in the instrumental. *Saarullinnut qassutissatsit* is a compound noun modifying the incorporated noun; its absence would change the meaning of the phrase: *saarullinnut qassutissartiortarpugut* would mean 'we are making nets to catch cod', whereas the construction in clause 52 means 'we are making a certain kind of net, codfish nets'. This is a normal way of constructing clauses with compound nouns (e.g. also *Petap atuagaataanik atuagaatsiqarpoq*, 'he has Peter's books', literally 'he has books, Peter's books').

(taamanikkut imusat)_
 taamani-kkut imusaq-t
 at.that.time-via roll/something.rolled-pl.abs
 at that time [they were] rolled

nioqutaapput_
 nioqut-u-vut
 wares-cop-3pl.I
 were in the store

54. taavalu tamakku allunaasaaqqat _
 taava-lu tamakku allunaasaq-qat-0
 then-and these rope/string-companion-abs
 and then this string

tassa_ qassussiarisarpagut.
 tassa qassut-liaq-gi-saq-vagut
 that.is net-make-have-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 we used to make into nets

55. nammineerlugit.
 nammineer-lugit
 do.by.oneself/be.independent-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 [we] made [them] ourselves

56. (qassutit sanallugit).
 qassutit sana-lugit
 nets pl.abs make-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 [we] made nets

57. (qimissersorlugit).
 qimiaq-lersor-lugit
 fishing.line-provide.with-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 providing them with fishing lines¹²

(upernaakkut tassa).
 upernaak-kkut tassa
 spring-via that.is
 in the spring, that is

58. (aalisarnermi saarullinniarnermi atugassagut))
 aalisarneq-mi saarullik-niaq-neq-mi ator-saq-ssaq-vut?
 fishing.industry-loc codfish-hunt-nom-loc use-nom.something.that-fut-1pl.I
 the ones we were going to use for our future fishing, in codfishing

59. Taamanikkut_ }} **afterthought? or beg of the next S?**
 Taamani-kkut
 at.that.time-via
 At that time

¹²Codfishing involved the use of long ropes attached to the net and extending in a line from the beach or from a buoy. The nets were generally placed in a line, one after the other.

XVIII

{(saarullippassuaqarpoq
 saarullik-passuaq-qaq-voq
 codfish-a.lot.of-have-3sg.I
 there was a lot of codfishing

60. oqarsinnaavugut taamak)}} **starts as afterthought, becomes sentence**

oqaq-sinnaa-vugut taamak
 talk-can-1pl.I like.this
 we can say this

XIX

61. {Tassami_qeqertani imatut_
 Tassami qeqertaq-ni imatut
 there island-pl.loc you.know
 we could no longer. you know. in the islands

annertuumik aallaarfiujunnaarmat
 annertoq-mik aallaavik-u-junnaaq-mat
 extensive/voluminous-inst point.of.departure-cop-no.longer-3nc.sg.CA
 use the islands to camp [camp in the islands a lot: i.e. when we could no longer go out
 to any great degree to the islands]

62. taava qaninneriugaralugu_Sarfannguanut.
 taava qanik-neq-sior-saq-gi-lugu Sarfannguit-nut
 then near-sup-deal.with-pas-have-trans.3sg.obj.CT Sarfannguit-term
 then going for the nearest one. namely Sarfannguit [i.e. Sarfannguaq is nearest place]

63. (Sarfannguit eqqaannut taamani aallaartarpugut)}¹³
 Sarfannguit eqqaaC-nut taamani aallaar-saq-vugut
 Sarfannguit-rel near-term at.that.time travel.to.hunt-habit-1pl.I
 we used to go hunting near Sarfannguit [in Sarfannguit's neighborhood] at that time

XX

64. {Tassani siullermik Sarfannguit akiani
 Tassani siullermi Sarfannguit akia-ni
 There at.first Sarfannguit-rel other/far.side-loc
 At first on the other side of Sarfannguit

"Akisami" taamanikkut tupersimasarpugut_
 "Akisa"-mi taamani-kkut tupeq-sima-saq-vugut
 "Akisa"-loc at.that.time-via tent-perf-habit-1pl.I
 at "Akisa" [name of other side of Sarfannguit] in those days we used to set our tents up

XXI

65. {Taavalu taamanikkut angallaterpassuusaramik.
 Taava-lu taamani-kkut angallat-(r)passuit-u-saq-gamik
 then-and at.that.time-via vessel-a.lot.of-cop-habit-3c.pl.CA
 and then at that time there were a lot of ships

¹³The narrator is probably talking about directions in this passage: since the fishermen could no longer go in one direction to fish, they had to go the other way; and in the other direction, Sarfannguit was the closest place to set up camp.

(aammalu piniarniat,
 aamma-lu piniarniaq^{14-t}
 and-and hunter-pl.abs
 and hunters

maanilu nunaqarfiit,
 maani-lu nunaqarfik-it
 here-and settlement/village-pl.abs
 and settlements here

66. taamanikkut Sisimiut_
 taamani-kkut Sisimiut
 at.that.time-via Sisimiut
 and at that time Sisimiut

nunaqarfippaalussuaqarami aamma)_/
 nunaqarfik-pak-aluk-ssuaq-qaq-gami aamma
 village-many-rather-big-have-3c.sg.CA and
 had rather many settlements [i.e. within the governing district of Sisimiut]

67. Ikerasakkut Ummannaarsukkut Saqqakkut tamakkua Itillikkut_
 Ikerasak-kkut Ummannaarsuaq-kkut Saqqa-kkut tamakkua Itilleq-kkut
 Ikerasak-group Ummannaarsuaq-group Saqqa-group those Itilleq-group
 Ikersak Ummannaarsuaq Saqqa and this one Itilleq

tamakkua inuit Assaqtakkut_/
 tamakkua inuk-it Assaqttaq-kkut
 those person-pl.abs Assaqtta-people
 and those people, the people from Assaqttaq

68. aamma taamanikkut tappavunga ilummut kangerlummut tassa_
 aamma taamani-kkut tappav-unga ilummut kangerluk-mut tassa
 and at.that.time-via up.there/to.the.east-term inwards fjord-term that.is
 and at that time [they took] to the fjord up there (eastwards) you know

69. upernaakkut tappanna saarullegarnerusarmat_/
 upernaq-kkut tappa-nna saarullik-qaq-neru-saq-mat
 spring-via up.there/to.the.east-abs codfish-have-more-habit-3nc.sg.CA
 because in the spring up there there used to be more codfish

70. tappavunga aallaarrattartorsuugamik_
 tappav-unga aallaar-CCati-saq-soq-u-gamik
 up.there.(to.the.east)-term go.hunting-a.lot.of people.do-habit-nom-cop-3c.pl.CA
 they were a lot of people who used to camp up there

¹⁴The lexical sources do not have a listing for *piniaarniaq*. *piniaarpoq* is cited as 'to hunt', and Fortescue (1980:269) claims that *piniaarniarpoq* is lexicalized as 'to set out hunting'. The translator glossed the word in question as 'hunter', whereas *Oqaatsit* glosses *piniaarpoq* as 'hunter'. The text is in Sisimiut dialect, and most glossaries are in the dialect of the Nuuk area.

XXII

71. {Tassalu Amerloq_illugiillugu saqqaa-tungaa alanngualu tamanna_/
 Tassa-lu Amerloq illugiig-lugu saqqaa-tungaa alanngoq-a-lu tamanna
 that.is-and Amerloq be.pair-3sg.obj.CT sunside-towards shadow-3sg.pos.abs-and this
 and on both the sunshine side and on the shadow side of Amerloq

72. taamanikkut piniusersorfigineqartarpoq
 taamani-kkut piniut-lersor-fik-gi-neqaq-saq-voq
 at.that.time-via (fishing).equipment-equip.with-place-have-pas-habit-3sg.I
 it was the place the hunting equipment was kept/placed in those days/where one put
 nets

saarullinnik tamakkuninnga_
 saarullik-nik tamakku-ninnga
 codfish-pl.inst these-pl.inst
 for codfish and others

73. qassusersorfigalugu_
 qassuser-soq-fi-gi-lugu
 set.nets-nom-place-have-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 it had a place for setting nets

XXIII

74. {tassalu tappavannga imaappoq_
 tassa-lu tappav-annga imaappoq
 that.is-and up.there-abl you.know
 and so from up there, you know,

taamanikkut siullermik Akisaminngaanniit_
 taamani-kkut siullermik Akisa-minngaanniit
 at.that.time-via at.first Akisa-abl
 at that time at first from Akisa,

Utoqqaat_ Utoqqaat Saqqaanut allaat¹⁵ taamanikkut tassa_
 Utoqqaat Saqqa-anut allaat taamani-kkut tassa
 Utoqqaat Saqqa-3sg.pos.term others at.that.time-via that.is
 Utoqqaat, to Saqqa, others in those days

¹⁵*saqqaanut allaat*, meaning 'even to Saqqa', or more probably, 'even to its south side', is an idiomatic construction; *allaat* generally means 'others'. The speaker is describing the setting of nets, but to understand these and the following clauses, some background in fishing techniques, weather patterns, and topography is necessary. In this paragraph, the speaker says they started with Akissa and moved to Utoqqaat, even to Saqqa. *Saqqa* can be interpreted as a place name, as the transcriber did, or as 'south side [of a fjord]', as does P. Langgård. There is generally one bad side of a fjord, where no one would put a net because of its shallow slope (and therefore danger to boats and unlikelihood of holding big fish).

ipuinnag¹⁶ /
 ipu-innaq-0
 oar-only-abs
 only oars [only rowing]

qassusersorfigalugu,
 qassuser-soq-fik-gi-lugu
 set nets-nom-place-have-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 setting nets [had a place for nets]

75. piniusersorfigisarpagut_}
 piniut-lersor-fik-gi-saq-vagut
 [fishing/hunting].equipment-equip with-place-have-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 we used to have them as a place for hunting equipment [we went hunting there]

XXIV

76. {Tassali kisianniuna kangerluk_
 Tassa-li kisianni-una kangerluk-0
 that.is-but but-deict fjord-abs
 But so the fjord¹⁷

anorlertartog
 anorler-saq-soq
 blow.[i.e.wind]-habit-3sg.P
 was usually windy

77. isersarnaartartog,
 isersarnaaq-saq-soq
 wind.going.into.fjord-habit-3sg.P
 there was a wind going into the fjord

78. qajassuunnagu}
 qajassuut-nagu
 be.cautious/spare-trans.neg.3sg.obj.CT
 it was very windy [i.e. not a cautious wind, it didn't spare them]

¹⁶It is fairly common to find *-innaq* as an abbreviated form of a verb (without verbal inflection; e.g. above clause; or *pisuiinnaq* 'by foot'). The speaker, by emphasizing the use of oars, indicates that the boats used were simple (probably dinghies).

¹⁷In the following paragraphs, the speaker makes reference to certain well-known (locally) weather patterns in the Greenlandic fjords. In the summer, the land warms up faster than the sea, especially where the water is deep. In the afternoon, there is a strong up-current of warm air, leaving a vacuum. Cold air rushes in from the surface of the sea, creating a strong late afternoon wind, known as an *isersarneq* (+ *-aq*, *isersarnaaq*). The warmer the day, the stronger the wind. This fades away when the sun sets and the land cools down. In the winter, the opposite phenomenon occurs. The sea is warmer than the land, and the wind goes from the land to the sea, out of the fjord; this is called an *aniserneq*. The same is true of the night. In the summer at night, the land cools down and towards dawn, the wind rushes out of the fjord.

XXV

79. {tassalu taamaattumik taamanikkut_
 tassa-lu taamaatumik taamani-kkut
 that.is-and therefore at.that.time-via
 so therefore in those days,

taamak silagitsillugumi tassa,
 taamak silagik-tit-lugu-mi tassa
 like.this good.weather-cause-trans.3sg.obj.CT-intens that.is
 like this, when the weather was very good, that is,

80. isersarnerajuttuummat_/
 isersarneq-gajug-toq-u-mmat
 wind.coming.in.the.fjord-tendency-nom-cop-3nc.sg.CA
 because there was a tendency to have a wind coming in the fjord

81. piniusiornissatsinnut
 piniut-sior-neq-ssaq-tsinnut
 [fishing].equipment-deal.with-nom.one.who-fut-1pl.pos.term
 to go to the fishing equipment

pingaartumik unnuk, unnuaq
 pingaartumik unnuk-0 unnuaq-0
 especially evening-abs night-abs
 especially the evening and night

piniuserinissatsinnut atornerusarparput_
 piniut-leri-neq-ssaq-tsinnut ator-neru-saq-varput
 equipment-deal.with-nom-fut-1pl.pos.term use-more/all-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 we used to use the night to attend to the fishing equipment

*because there was a tendency to have a strong wind when the weather was good, we
 used to use the good weather at night to get there and deal with the nets*

XXVI

82. {Tassa unnukkut_
 Tassa unnuk-kkut
 that.is afternoon-via
 that is in the afternoon,

unnunnerani_
 unnuk-neq-ani
 afternoon-sup-3sg.pos.loc
 in the latest afternoon,

isersarneq_qatsortarami_
 isersarneq-0 qatsor-saq-gami
 wind.going.into.fjord-abs die.down-habit-3c.sg.CA
 when the wind going into the fjord had died down

XXVII

83. {atorsaroriartulernerani taamatut tassa
atorsaror--riartoq-leq-neq-ani taamatut tassa
[wind].has.died.down.a.bit-more.and.more-near.fut-nom-3sg.pos.loc likewise that.is
likewise in the case of the wind having died down a bit you know [i.e. when the wind
has died down for a while]¹⁸

84. tappavanngaanniit silammut _'
tappavannga-anniit silammut
up.there.(abl)-from outside
[we go] out from there

ipuinnaq _'
iput-innaq
oar-only
just [use] oars/row

85. tassa aallartarpugut _}
tassa aallar-saq-vugut
that.is travel-habit-1pl.I
that is we go out

XXVIII

86. {atorsaroriartuaaq¹⁹
atorsaror-riartuaaq
wind.died.down-gradually.more.and.more
the wind having gradually died down more and more

87. piniutigut taamaani _
piniut-vut taamaani
equipment-1pl.pos.abs at.that.time
our things. then

Amerlup saqqaaniit uagut
Amerloq-p saqqaa-niit uagut
Amerloq-rel sunshine.side-abl 1pl.abs
the ones from the sunny side of Amerloq--we, uh.

saqqa-- saqqaa-tungaani taamaani _/
saqqaa-tungaa-ni taamaani
sunny.side-towards-loc at.that.time
on the way toward the sunny side at that time

88. piniuteqarajunnerusaratta _}
piniut-qaq-gajug-neru-saq-gatta
things-have-often-more-habit-1pl.CA
we used to have more equipment

¹⁸The translator glossed *atorsaavoq* as 'it is useful', and *atorsaroriartorpoq* as 'it is going to be useful', where (in this case) 'it' refers to the weather.

¹⁹This is an absolute construction.

XXIX

89. {Saqqaanilu tassa atuartarlugit,
 Saqqaa-ni-lu tassa atuartaq-lugit
 sunny.side-loc-and that.is follow-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 and then on the sunny side [we] used to bring them in line [the nets]²⁰
90. imaattorlugit,
 imaattoq-lugit
 like .his-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 like this [gestures]
91. amuartaarlugit_
 amuar-saq-lugit
 haul up-habit-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 hauling them up
92. taamanikkummi qassuterpaalusuarnik piniuteqartarpugut tassa_
 taamani-kkut-mi qassut-(r)pak-aluk-ssuaq-nik piniut-qaq-saq-vugut tassa
 at.that.time-via-intens net-many-rather-big-pl.inst equipment-have-habit-1pl.I that.is
 at that time we had rather a lot of nets as equipment, you know

XXX

93. {taavalu_ arlalip-- soorunami arlalippasuusaramik
 taava-lu soorunami arlallit-passuit-u-saq-gamik
 then-and naturaly/of.course several/more.than.one-many-cop-habit-3c.pl.CA
 because of course there were a lot of
- tamakkua qassutit_
 tamakkua qassutit-abs
 those nets
 those nets
94. aammalu ipuinnaq tassa imaak angalasuugatta_
 aamma-lu iput-innaq tassa imaak angala-soq-u-gatta
 and-and oar-only-abs that.is like.this be.on.the.road-nom-cop-1pl.CA
 and by rowing [with oars] only you know since we moved like this
95. unnuaq ilaanni tamangajaat, tamaat tassami_
 unnuaq-0 ilaanni tamangajaat tamaat tassami
 night-abs sometimes almost.the.whole the.whole in.any.case
 sometimes almost the whole night, the whole in any case
96. piniuserisarpugut_
 piniut-leri-saq-vugut
 equipment-deal.with-habit-1pl.I
 we had to deal with the equipment [i.e. make it ready to use]
97. aammami_imak_ilarussimasartorsuugamik
 aamma-mi imak ilaguC-sima-saq-soq-suaq-u-gamik
 and-intens like.this tangled-perf-pas-nom-big-cop-3c.pl.CA
 and [it could be] they might have to be untangled

²⁰see footnote 11

98. imaalitsiaannarlugit aamma_
 imaali-tsiaq-innaq-lugit aamma
 be.like.this-a.little-only-trans.3pl.obj.CT and
 and in a short period of time/soon/fast²¹
99. naammassineq ajornartaramik_
 naammassi-neq-0 ajornar-saq-gamik
 accomplish/finish-nom-abs²² impossible-habit-3c.pl.CA
 they were usually impossible to finish

XXXI

100. {Taamalu_ ullaassanngoriartornerani_
 Taama-lu ullaassaq-nngor-riartor-neq-ani
 then-and dawn-become-almost-nom-3sg.pos.loc
 and then in the almost dawn time
101. seqernup²³ nuiartornerani tassa_
 seqineq-up nui-jartor-neq-ani tassa
 sun-rel [sun].rises-more.and.more-nom-3sg.pos.loc that.is
 in the sun's rising [i.e. when the sun is coming up/rising], you know
102. uernaleriartuaaq,
 uerna-ler-riartuaaq
 sleepy-nearly-gradually.more.and.more
 [we] begin to be sleepy
103. seqineq kissakkiartuaartillugu_
 seqineq-0 kissaq-giartuaaq-tit-lugu
 sun-abs warm-gradually more and more-cause-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 [it] is causing the sun to get warmer [the sun is getting warmer]²⁴
- illummut_' assumut²⁵_
 illummut assumut
 to.the.inside to.windward
 to the inside to windward

²¹The translator suggested 'it was not that easy' as the translation here.

²²*naammassineq ajorpaa* 'he couldn't finish it'; *-nar-* + transitive stem makes what used to be the object into the passive-like subject, according to P. Langgrd. cf. also *maqaasivaa* 'he missed him' *maqaasinarpoq* 'he has been missed'. A limited number of intransitive verb stems lose their own identity and get their transitivity from a nominalized verb as compound verbal constructions. These include *nalu-* 'not know', *ajor-* 'not good', *saper-* 'cannot', and *artor-* 'use'. Thus, *porku neqaa nerini ajorpara* 'I don't eat pork meat'. They are in effect compounds with *-neq*.

²³*seqinerup* becomes *seqernup* by metathesis and deletion.

²⁴*-tit-* + contemporative in effect converts the grammatical object to the functional subject (see Fortescue, 1984; also P. Langgrd, personal communication).

²⁵see footnote 17. At night, the wind is going out of the fjord. Thus, the rowers row out with a headwind at night, work all night, and go back in the headwind.

104.aamma tassa ullaakkut ullaassakkut aamma_
 aamma tassa ullaq-kkut ullaassaq-kkut aamma
 and you.know morning-via dawn-via and
 and you know in the morning, at dawn
 assarnaarajuttunnguugami_
 assarnaar-gajug-soq-nngu-u-gami
 wind.going.out.of.fjord²⁶-tendency-nom-small-cop-3c.sg.CA
 there was a tendency to be a wind going out of the fjord

105.{unnukkut silammukarutta,
 unnuk-kkut silammukaq-gutta
 evening-via go/be.on.way.out.of.fjord-1pl.CO
 if we were on the way out of the fjord in the evening

106.assorluta_
 assoq-luta
 have.wind.against.one-1pl.CT
 we were against the wind

107.ullaakkut seqineq nuilersoq
 ullaq-kkut seqineq-0 nui-leq-soq
 morning-via sun-abs rise-begin-3sg.P
 in the morning the sun rose

108.ilummut aallassaagut
 ilummut aallar-ssa-vugut
 inside.(term) travel-fut²⁷-1pl.I
 we traveled to the inside

109.aamma assumukarluta_
 aamma assoq-mukaq-luta
 and have.wind.against-go.to-1pl.CT
 and we went against the wind

110.{Taamanikkut_ ipuataarluni
 Taamani-kkut ipuataar-luni
 at.that.time-via row/pull.oars.through-3sg.CT
 in those days, rowing

111.uernataarluni
 uernga-ataaq-luni
 sleepy-entirely-3sg.CT
 when one is really sleepy

²⁶*assarneq* and *anisarneq* are both used to mean 'wind going out of the fjord'. *-aq* is also added to the noun stem.

²⁷The future here is in fact not functioning as a future marker, but is narrative style, found in old folk tales, indicating habitual aspect.

112.sussaannigitsorsuuvoq²⁸_'
 sussaanngit-soq-suaq-u-voq
 a.bit.rotten/bad-part-big-cop-3sg.I
 it was really bad

113.ajorluinnarpoq_
 ajor-luinnaq-voq
 awful-complete-3sg.I
 it was absolutely awful

²⁸The translator occasionally transcribed the data according to his own, North Greenlandic, dialect. Clause 112 is one such example, where he transcribed *sussaannigitsorsuuvoq* rather than the form given above.

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
interviewer	I 1	now, in Sisimiut								massakkut	
		we are visiting the S.O. family at their home	we	S.O. Family	visit S. at home	I			erg		
	2	talking with them about different things	(we)	S.O. Family	talk with	CT	various things		erg		fut: -niaq-
what has speaker done	II 3	S., what have you been doing?	you [S.]		S.'s life	IN					pas: -nikuu-
	III 4	That is, when I became an adult	I		story: become adult	CA- incor		tassa			become: -nngoq-
	5	that means	dummy			I		imaappoq			
III-IV: S. doesn't want to talk about has already told, his early apprentice- ship	6	when I was 18-19 years old	I		story: become adult	CT- incor					
	7	I became an apprentice in a shipyard	I		story: become adult/work	CA- incor	in shipyard				become: -nngoq-, past: -nikuu-
	IV 8	That I have told it before on the radio	I	that story	story tell story	CA- incor		-lu amma	erg		past: -nikuu-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		part of it									
	9	that means	dummy			I		imaappoq			
	10	from [my] childhood									
		to the very beginning of the building of a shipyard					in shipyard				
	11	I have already talked about my partaking in the building of the shipyard	I	partner	story tell story	CA			erg		already: -reer- perf: -sima-
	12	and partly						aamma			
		I have already mentioned my work in the shipyard	(I)	work	story tell story	CT	in shipyard		erg		already: -reer-
	13	so now I don't want to mention it again in this story	I	work/story	story tell story	I		imatut	erg	massakkut	-gallaq-, fut: -ssa-
V-VI setting time	V 14	but I can talk a little bit about it at that time	I	work/story	tell story	I		kisianni	erg	taamanikkut	
	15	that is, at the beginning of the 1920's					In 1920's	tassa			

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
VII beginning of codfishing industry	VI 16	I was born in 1918	I		be child/born	CA					
	17	so I was child you know then in the 1920's	I		be child	I-incor	in 1920's	taava		taamanikkut	perf: -sima-
	VII 18	at that time						-lu		taamanikkul-lu	
		at the beginning of the 1920's					in 1920's				
		fishing	fishing {E}								
VIII-IX description of factory		codfish fishing was first going to start	codfishing		start of fishing industry	I					aatsat, saq, begin: -ler-
	VIII 19	I remember it well	I	it	reflection	I			erg		
	20	I was a child	I		be child	CT-incor					
2. cod salting place		then								taamanikkut	
	21	now on the other side of the shipyard					of shipyard	massakkut			
		there was a former students' house	{house} {E}		description be house						

paragraph theme	#	text	subject tople	object tople	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	22	to the east of that house over there									
		is in a little depression in a valley			description be in valley	CA					
	23	a little bigger than a big house					big				
	24	it means it has been built	dummy	{house built}	description be built	I		imaappoxi			
	25	the rather larger than big house was slanted	house		description be slanted	P	big				
	26	that one we called "char's place"	we	house	description be called	I	char's place		erq		
IX	27	and that {house}, to the fishing industry	that {house} {I:}				to fishing industry	tassalu			
		to the codfishing industry					to codfish industry				
		in Sisimiut					in Sisimiut				
		it was the means with which to begin	(house)		use in start of fishing industry	CT					
	28	that sack was slanted	that house		description be slanted	P					

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	29	the one with the tilted roof	house		description be slanted	rel					
	30	we used to call it "char's place"	we	house	description be called	I	char's place		erg		habit: -suq-
	31	like, you know, it was first used as a {cod}salting place	{house}		use for fishing industry	I	salting place	tassa ima			perf: -sima-
		that one	that [E]{house}								
X selling codfish	X 32	and I remember	I	it	reflection	I		-lu	erg		
	33	at that time the codfish used to be sold	codfish		be sold	P				taamanikkut	pas: -nequq-, habit: -suq-
	34	without {them} even taking their heads off	{fishermen}	codfish	prepare for sale	CT		-luunniit	erg		
	35	or even opening them up	{fishermen}	codfish	prepare for sale	CT		-luunniit	erg		
XI cost of codfish	XI 36	and I know [it]	I	it	reflection	neg I		aammalu	erg		
	37	they cost 9 øre a kilo at that time	codfish		cost	P				taamanikkut	
		when they first started to really sell, the codfish	codfish [E]		be sold	rel					

paragraph theme	#	text	subject tople	object tople	clausal theme	verb form	oblique toples	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XII-XIII Qeqertalik was a place to hunt codfish	XII 38	then that is in/from our childhood, we	we				<i>in</i> childhood	<i>tauva tassa</i>			
		we were ones who always travelled [on hunting trips]	we		go fishing	I					continuo us: -tuuq-
	39	that means	dummy			I	<i>imuuqqoq</i>				
	40	we used to hunt codfish at that time	we		go codfishing	I					habit: -suq-
XIII	41	and Qeqertalik at that time	Qeqertalik [E]					<i>amma</i>		<i>tuamani</i>	
		it had houses	Qeqertalik		be settlement/ place for fishing	I					
	42	and [it was] a salting place	Qeqertalik	salting place	be place for fishing	ellip		<i>amma</i>			
	43	and then in the spring we used to travel up there to hunt	we		go fishing	I	<i>to</i> Qeqertalik	<i>tuvalu</i>			
	44	because the one in there used to be full of codfish	{the {jord} one in there		be place for fishing	CA 3nc- incor					habit: -suq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XIV rowing	45	that is in/from our childhood			be child		in childhood	tassa			
	XIV	then when I was confirmed	I		be adult	CT		taava kisianni			already: -reer-
	46	when I myself did {this}/became independent	I		be adult/learn to fish	CT					
	47	when I learned to fish [i.e.became able to fish] in any case	I		be adult/learn to fish	CA		tassami			become: -nnoq-
	48	at that time we had only boats with ours	we		have rowboats	I-incor		imaak		taumanikkut	
	49	flat-bottomed rowboats	boats [E]								
XV-XVIII making nets		and rowboats in those days	boats [E]					-lu		taamani	
		were used	boats		have rowboats	I-incor					pas: -nequq-
	XV 50	that is at that time						tassalu		taamanikkut	
		I well remember it the nets	I	it	reflection-	I			erg		
	51	were used at first	nets [E]		have nets	P- incor					pas: -nequq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	XVI										
	52	and in the winter									
		we ourselves used to build	we		make nets	I-incor			ant		habit: -saq-
		nets for the codfish		nets for codfish [E]							
	XVII										
	53	the string	string [E]								
		at that time {they were} rolled								taamanikkut	
		were in the store	string		be in store	I					
	54	and then this string		string [E]				taavalu			
		we used to make into nets	we	string	make nets	I-incor			erg		habit?: -saq-
	55	{we} made {them} ourselves	{we}	nets	make nets	CT			erg		
	56	{we} made nets	{we}	nets	make nets	CT			erg		
	57	providing {the nets} with fishing lines	{we}	nets	make nets	CT- incor			erg		
		in the spring, that is						tassa			

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	58	the ones we were going to use for future fishing, in codfishing	{we}		use	I	for codfishing				
	59	at that time								taamanikkut	
	XVIII										
		there was a lot of codfishing	dummy		have codfish	I-incor					
	60	we can say like this	we		reflection	I					
	XIX										
XIX-XXIII what settlements were used for fishing	61	there, in the islands you know					in the islands	tassami- imatut			
		could no longer use them to camp	dummy	big	be point of departure	CA 3nc- incor					
	62	then going for the nearest one, Sarfannguit	unspec {we}	nearest one	be near fishing	CT- incor	to Sarfannguit	taava	erg		
	63	(we used to go hunting near Sarfannguit [in S's neighbourhood] at that time)	we		go fishing	I	to Sarfannguit			taamani	habit: -saq-
	XX										
	64	at first on the other side of Sarfannguit						tassalu			

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		in Akisa in those days we used to set our tents	we		be campsite	I	in Akisa			taamanikkut	perf; -sima- habit; -saq-
	XXI 65	and then at that time there were lots of ships	dummy ships		be ships	CA 3c- incor		taavalu		taamanikkut	habit; -saq-
		and hunters	hunters [E]								
		and settlements here	settlement [E]								
	66	and at that time Sisimiut	Sisimiut [E]								
		had a big bunch of settlements	Sisimiut		have settlements	CA 3c- incor		aamma			
	67	the people from Ikersak, Uummannaarsuaq, Saqqa, and this one Iilleq	people from... [E]		be from settlements						
		and those people, the people from Assaqtta			be from settlements						
	68	and at that time [they took] to the fjord up there [eastwards] you know			[go up fjord]		to fjords	aamma tassa		taamanikkut	

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	69	because in the spring up there there used to be more codfish	dummy		be codfish	CA 3nc- incor					habit: -saq-
	70	they were a lot of people who used to camp up there	people		be campsite	CA 3c					?
XXII											
	71	and on both the sunshine side and on the shadow side of Amerloq	Amerloq		be settlement	CT	sunny/ shadow sides	tassalu			
	72	it was the place the hunting equipment was kept in those days	Amerloq		be equipment site	I-incor				taamanikkut	
		for codfish and others					for codfish				
	73	it had a place for setting nets	{we}	Amerloq	be equipment site	CT- incor			erg		
XXIII											
	74	and so up there you know	dummy			I		tassalu imaappoxq			
		at that time at first from Akisa					from Akisa			taamanikkut	
		Utoqqat to Saqqa others in those days								taamanikkut	

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		only oars [rowing]			rowing	ellip	oars				
		we set nets/we had it as a place to set nets	[we]	Amerloq	set nets	CT- incor			erg		
	75	we used to have a place for hunting equipment	[we]	nets?	be equipment site	I-incor			erg		?
XXIV fjord is windy	XXIV 76	the fjord	fjord [E]					tassali kisianniuna			
		was usually windy	fjord		be windy	P					habit: -saq-
	77	there was a wind going into fjord	dummy		be wind	P	into fjord				habit: -saq-
	78	it was very windy	dummy	?	be windy	neg CT			erg		
XXV-XXX repairing equipment	XXV 79	so therefore, in those days,						tassalu taamatumik		taamanikkut	
		if the weather was very good, that is	dummy		be good weather	CA 3c		taamak tassa			
	80	because there was a tendency to have wind coming into the fjord	dummy		be wind into fjord	CA 3nc					often: -gajug-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	81	to go to the fishing equipment				N	for repairs				
		especially in the evening and night									
		we used to use the night to attend to the equipment	we	evening, night	attend to equipment	I			erg		habit: -saq-
	XXVI 82	that is in the afternoon						tassa			
		in the latest afternoon									
		when the wind going into the fjord had calmed down	wind into fjord		wind into fjord calm	CA 3c					habit: -saq-
	XXVI 1 83	likewise in the case of the wind having died down a bit you know			wind into fjord calm			taamatut tassa			
	84	{we go} out from there	{we}		leave fjord						
overlap in theme rowing is hard		only rowing			rowing	ellip					
	85	that is we travel	we		go fishing	I					habit: -saq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	XXVI										
	II										
	86	the wind having gradually died down more and more	dummy		wind calm	I					gradual: - riartuaaq -
	87	our things, then									
		the ones from the sunny side of Amerloq, we-			come from sunny side	N					
		on the way to the sunny side at that time			come from sunny side				taamani		
	88	we used to have more equipment	we		have equipment	CA- incor					often: -gujuk-, habit: -saq-
	XXIX										
	89	and then on the sunny side we used to bring them [fish] in on the line	{we}	fish	get fish	CT			erg		habit: -saq-
	90	like this	dummy	nets	get nets	CT			erg		
	91	hauling them up	{we}	nets	get nets	CT			erg		habit: -saq-
	92	at that time we had a lot of nets as equipment, you know	we	nets	have equipment	I-incor		tassa	ant		habit: -saq- habit: -saq-

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	XXX 93	because of course there were a lot of	{nets}		be many	CA 3c- incor		taavalu soorunami			habit: -saq-
		those nets	those nets [E]		nets						
	94	and by rowing only you know we moved like this	we		travel/ move	CA- incor	rowing-abs	aammalu tassa imaak			
	95	sometime almost the whole night, whole in any case							ilaanni		
	96	to deal with the equipment	we		repair equipment	I-incor					habit: -saq-
	97	they might have to be untangled	{nets}		attend to equipment	CA 3c		aamma imak			perf: -sima- pas: -saq-
	98	and it in a short period of time	{we}	nets	fast	CT		aamma	erg		
travel is hard	99	they were usually impossible to finish	{nets}		attend to equipment	CA 3c					habit?: -saq-
	XXXI 100	and then in the almost dawn time					at dawn	taamalu			
	101	in the sun's rising you know					in sun's rising	tassa			

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	102	{we} begin to get sleepy	{we}		get sleepy	I					begin: -ler-
	103	{it} is causing the sun to get warmer		sun	sun rising	CT			erg		gradual: riartuaaq
		to the inside, windward					to inside				
	104	and you know in the morning, at dawn						aamma tassa aamma			
		there was a tendency for a wind going out of fjord	dummy		be wind out of fjord	CA 3c					often: -gajug-
	105	if we were on the way out of the fjord in evening	we		leave fjord	CO					
	106	we were against wind	we		be against wind	CT					
	107	in the morning the sun rose	sun		sunrise	P					
	108	we traveled inside	we		enter fjord	I	to inside				fut: -ssa-
	109	and we went against wind	we		be against wind	CT		aamma			
	110	in those days, rowing	one		rowing	CT				taamanikkut	

paragraph theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	111	when one begins to get sleepy	one		get sleepy	CT					new; begin; -laaq-
	112	it was really bad	dummy		be bad	I					
	113	it was absolutely awful			be bad	I					

Speaker 3, Text 3a
Recorded in Sisimiut, 1993
Interviewed by Kêrte Jeremiassen

I

1. {Tassa massakkut, Sisimiuni D. L.-ip angerlarsimaffianiippugut_'
 Tassa massakkut Sisimiut-ni D.L.-ip angerlarsimaffik-ani-u-vugut
 That.is now Sisimiut-pl.loc D.L.-rel home-3c.sg.pos-cop-1pl.I
 So now we are in D.L.'s home in Sisimiut

2. D.L.ip_imaasiuliatigut_
 D.L.-ip imaa siuleq-a-tigut
 D.L.-rel like one.that.goes.before-3nc.sg.pos-sg.via¹
 D.L.. you know, before

innuttaasut illuanni utoqqaat
 innuttaasoq-t illu-anni utoqqaq-it
 community.member-pl.rel house-3pl.pos.loc old.person-pl.abs
 in the community [members'] house [for] old people

naapisimaranni-- naapisimaaratsigit_
 naapi-sima-ranni- naapi-sima-uti-gatsigik
 meet-perf-trans.1sg.subj/3c.sg.obj.CA meet-perf--for/with-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 I have met her- we have met them

D.L., you know, when we have met her-, when we met with the old people before in the community house

3. taava oqaluttuassaqarunaqimmat_'
 taava oqaluttuaq-ssa-qaq-gunar-qi-mmat
 so story-fut-have-probably-intens-3nc.sg.CA
 when she seemed to have a story [more stories to tell]
4. pulaaqqillugu.
 pulaar-qqig-lugu
 visit-again-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 [we] visited her again
5. oqaloqatigeqqinniarpaput_'
 oqaloqatigi-qqig-niaq-varput
 talk.with-again-fut-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 we will talk with her again
6. Taamani. innuttaasut illuanni
 Taamani innuttaasoq-t illu-anni
 at.that.time community.member-pl.rel house-3pl.pos.loc
 at that time in the community house

¹a present day variant of *-kkut* is *-gut*, or *-tigut* when possessed, according to Fortescue (1984:209). For example, *illuagut* or *illuatigut* both mean 'through his house'.

oqaloqatigigatsigu_
 oqaloqatigi-gatsigu
 talk.with-trans.1plsubj/3sg.obj.CA
 when we were talking with her

7. makku soorlu oqaluuserivagut_
 makku² soorlu oqaluuseri-vagut
 this-pl.rel for.example talk.about-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.I
 for example, we talk about these
8. utoq- nunatsinni ullutsinni utoqqaat_
 nuna-tsinni ulloq-tsinni utoqqaq-it
 land-1pl.pos.loc day-1pl.pos.loc/sg.or.pl.posm old.person-pl.abs
 in our land, in our days

 amerliartuaartut_
 amerliC-jartuaaq-tut or toq-t
 be.more.and.more-gradually.more.and.more-3pl.P or nom-pl.abs
 there are more and more old people
9. ukiortusiartuaartut
 ukioq-tusi-jartuaaq-tut or toq-t
 year-become.bigger/more-gradually.more.and.more-3pl.P or nom-pl.abs
 they are gradually getting older
10. amerliartortut_
 amerliC-jartor-tut or toq-t
 be.more.and.more-more.and.more-3pl.P or nom-pl.abs
 there are more and more [of them]
11. taavalu nammineq_atuakkat_soqutigalugit **aamma could belong here**
 taava-lu nammineq atuagaq-t soqutiga³-lugit
 then-and self book-pl.abs be.interested.in-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 and then she herself has been very interested in books
12. aamma eqqartorpai_
 aamma eqqartor-vai
 and tell.about-trans.3sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 and she tells about them,

 kalaallit_kalaallisut atuakkat_
 kalaalleq-t kalaallisut atuagaq-t
 Greenlander-pl.abs Greenlandic book-pl.abs
 Greenland- Greenlandic books

²*makku* is one of the deictic class of words with separate inflectional endings; in modern speech, the relative and the absolutive forms are often confused and switched, such that *makkua* (absolutive) is used instead of *makku*, and vice versa.

³This can be parsed *soquti-gi-*, where *-gi* has the special form *-ga-* before the contemporative; *soquti* is not listed as an independent word in lexical sources.

II

13. D._

D.

D.

D.,

aallaqqaasiutigalugu.....

[interruption in tape]

aallaqqaasiut-ga-lugu

beginning-have-trans.3pl.obj.CT

at first/in the beginning

(14.sumi inunngorsimavit?)

sumi inunngor-sima-vit

where be.born-perf-2sg.IN

where were you born?

III

15. {Sisimiuniunga,

Sisimiut-nii-vunga

Sisimiut-be.from-1sg.I

I am from Sisimiut

16. Sisimiuni inunngorpunga_'

Sisimiut-ni inunngor-vunga

Sisimiut-loc be.born-1sg.I

I was born in Sisimiut

ukioq 1914_

ukioq-0 1914

year-abs 1914

[in the] year 1914.

17. maj. asanninnerup qaammataa 17}

17. maj asanninneq-up qaammat-aa

17

17th may love-rel month-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs 17

17th of may. 17th of the month of love

IV

17. {Aap_tamanikkununa innuttaasut illuanni

Aap tamani-kkut-una innuttaasoq-t illu-anni

Yes at.that.time-via-deict community-pl.abs/rel house-3nc.pl.pos.loc

Yes at that time in the community house

aamma ukiutit pigigut.

aamma ukioq-tit pi-givut

and year-2sg.pos/pl.posm.abs thing-have-trans.1pl.subj/3pl.obj.P

and we were [talking] about your years [i.e. your age. how old you were]

18. qassinimmaa ukioqarput massakkut?}
 qassinik-maa(nna)⁴ ukioq-qaq-vit⁵ massakkut
 how.many inst-now year-have-2sg.IN now
 how old are you know?

V

19. {79-it_'
 79-it
 79-pl.abs
 79

20. majimi asanninnerup qaammataa aappaagu
 maj-mi asanninneq-up qaammataa aappaagu
 May-loc love-rel month-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs next.year
 In May, the month of love, next year

80-sinngussagaluarpakka./ massakkut}_
 80-si-nngu-ssa-galuaq-vakka massakkut
 80-intrans-become-fut-conseq-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.I now
 I will be 80 now

VI

21. Sulimi soorlu_soorluluunniit_'
 Suli-mi soorlu soorlu-luunniit
 yet-what.about for.example for.example-even
 yet for example, for example, it seems like you are

70-it inoritit angurit- angup- inoritit_ on tape
 70-it inor-gitit angu-rit-
 70-pl.abs under-trans.2sg.subj/3nc.pl.obj.P approach-(incompleted ending)
 just under 70 are approaching 70

22. isikkut isigalugu_}
 isi-kkut isigi-lugu
 eye-via see.well-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 [seeing well through [my] eyes]

VII

23. {Tassa_taama, taama pisarpaannga_
 Tassa taama taama pi-saq-vaannga
 that.is like.this like.this thing-habit-trans.3pl.subj/1sg.obj.I
 that is, they tell me like this

24. naluara_
 nalu-vara
 not.know-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj
 I don't know [it]

⁴Fortescue (1984:13), includes *maa(nna)* as an 'enclitic' (or anhangspartikel); he does not define it, but on its own, *maanna* is glossed as 'now'. Its function as an enclitic, according to Fortescue, is to render the question more speculative.

⁵The word was transcribed as written above, *ukioparput*. Fortescue (personal communication) believes this to be a typographical error on the part of the transcriber. If it is not, then the verb form is 3pl indicative, a highly unusual form in this context.

25. tassami_ isikkorneran-_ taanna isikkuminarnersuara_ '
 tassa-mi taanna isi-kkuminar-neq-suaq-ga
 that.is-intens that.one eyes-be.good.for-nom-big-1sg.pos.abs
 that is, my being someone who is good to look at
- tusakataavittarpara, ilaa_
 tusa-katag-?-vit-saq-vara ilaa
 hear-be.tired.of-?-really.quite-habit-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.you.know
 I get really quite tired of hearing, you know
26. pingaartumik peqqi-, peqqippallaarneq ajorama massakkut
 pingaartumik peqqiC-vallaar-neq-0 ajoq-gama massakkut
 especially healthy-so much-nom-abs be bad-1sg.CA now
 especially as I am not so very healthy now
- angalaniarnikkut_
 angala-niaq-neq-kkut⁶
 walk-fut-nom-via
 when walking
27. (imaa soorlu_uummaatinnik patsiseqartumik)_} **lower, softer**
 imaa soorlu uummat-nnik patsisiqaaq-soq-mik
 like.this for.example heart-1sg.pos.inst use.for.excuse-nom-inst
 like, for example, because of my heart

VIII

28. {Tusakataavittarpara taanna
 Tusa-katag-a-vit-saq-vara taanna
 hear-be tired of-?-really.quite-habit-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I that.one
 I am really quite tired of hearing that.
- isikkorinnersuara_ '
 isikku-rik-neq-suaq-ga
 view-have.a.good-nom-big-1sg.pos.abs
 [that] I look good
29. Emilliannguup panimma
 Emillia-nnguaq-p paniq-ma
 Emilia-dim-rel daughter-1sg.pos.abs
 Emily my daughter
- taamaallunga
 taamaa-lunga
 be.like.that-1sg.CT
 while I am like that

⁶Fortescue (1984:61) writes that nominalized clauses can function as temporal adverbs, most commonly those with the nominalizer *-niq-* and a personal possession affix and a case inflection, normally either locative or vialis. In the form given here, no personal possession affix is present.

30. oqarfiginikuuaanga_
 oqarfigi-nikuu-vaanga
 say.to-past-trans.3sg.subj/1sg.obj.I
 said to me
31. "Tassamiuna illit_ajouteqarnerit_
 Tassami-una illit ajoqut-qaq-neq-it
 in.any.case-deict 2sg sickness-have-nom-2sg.pos.abs
 "in any case your having a sickness
- upperineq ajornartoq
 upperi-neq-0 ajornar-soq
 believe-nom-abs impossible-3sg.P
 it is impossible to believe
32. isikkorinnersuarmit"}
 isikku-rik-neq-suaq-mit⁷
 view-have.a.good-nom-big-abl
 because you look so good

IX

33. {Naluara
 Nalu-vara
 not.know-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I don't know
34. sooq taamaannerlunga}
 sooq taamaaC-ner-lunga
 why be.like.this-wonder-1sg.CT
 why I am like that

X

35. {Immaqa baajatorneq ajorama.
 Immaqa baaja-tor-neq-0 ajoq-gama
 maybe beer-drink-nom-abs be bad-1sg.CA
 maybe because I don't drink beer [because I am not a beer drinker]
36. naluara
 nalu-vara
 not.know-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I don't know
37. tamakku pissutaasarnersut_
 tamakku pissut-u-saq-ner-sut
 these-rel reason-cop-habit-wonder-3pl.P
 [if] these are the reasons

⁷-neq- nominalized verbs with the ablative case are used for adverbs expressing causation (Fortescue 1984:65).

XI

38. {Tassa inuunerit tamaat baajartor- baajatortanngilatit?}
 Tassa inuuneq-it tamaq-at baaja-toq-saq-nngit-latit
 that.is life-2sg.pos.abs all/whole-3sg.abs beer-drink-habit-neg-2sg.IN
 that is you haven't drunk beer in you whole life?

XII

39. {Tassa imaattooq,
 Tassa imaat-tooq
 that.is like.that-much.(part)
 that is, it was like this
40. suligallarama_'
 suligallar-gama
 work-still-1sg.CA
 when I was still working
41. soorlu kalaaliminertorlunga
 soorlu kalaalleq-mineq-toq-lunga
 for.example Greenlandic-piece.of-eat-1sg.CT
 for example when I ate some Greenlandic food
42. immiaartortarpunga ataatsimik_
 immiaq-araq-toq-saq-vunga ataaseq-mik
 beer-little.one-drink-habit-1sg.I one-inst
 I would drink one little beer
43. ilaani nungunnagu_
 ilaani nunguC-nagu
 sometimes finish-trans.3sg.obj.neg.CT
 sometimes not finishing it

XIII

44. {Tassa ukioq_naluaraluunniit
 Tassa ukioq-0 nalu-vara-luunniit
 that.is year-abs not.know-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I-even
 that is the year, I don't even know
- ukioq massakkut, ukioq suna,
 ukioq-0 massakkut ukioq-0 suna
 year-abs now year-abs what
 the year, now, what year
45. baajamik usserama
 baaja-mik usser-gama
 beer-inst try-1sg.CA
 when I tasted beer
46. naluara,
 nalu-vara
 not.know-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I don't know

47. eqqaamasaaruppunga_
 eqqaama-saq-irup-vunga
 remember-pas-privative.(take.away)-1sg.I
 I don't remember [I have lost my memories]

48. baajatorneq ajorpunga_}} **afterthought**
 baaja-toq-neq ajoq-vunga
 beer-drink-nom be.bad-1sg.I
 I haven't drunk beer

XIV

49. {Makkuami pujortagassat cigaritsit?}
 Makkua-mi pujortagaq-ssaq-t cigaritsi-t
 These-intens stuff.that.is.smoked-fut-pl.abs cigarette-pl abs
 What about these, tobacco and cigarettes?

XV

50. {Pujortartorujussuugaluarama_
 Pujortaq-toq-rujussuaq-u-galuaq-gama
 smoke-consume-very.much-cop-conseq-1sg.CA
 I used to smoke very much but

51. ullormut_20-it nungunngilaaginnartalarakkitt
 ulloq-mut 20-it nungu-nngit-laaq⁸-innaq-saq-galuaq-gakkit
 day-term 20-pl.abs finish-neg-little-just-habit-conseq-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.CA
 I finished a little bit less than 20 a day...

52. 1987-arsimi tassanngaannarsuaq pujortarunnaarama_
 1987 ars-mi tassannga-innaq-suaq pujortaq-junnaaq-gama
 1987 years-loc from.then.on-only-big.smoke-no.more-1sg.CA
 in 1987 from then on I stopped smoking [I no longer smoked]

53. uanga cigaritsip ajuleraminga_
 uanga cigaritsi-p ajoq-leq-gaminga
 1sg.abs cigarette-rel be.bad-begin-trans.3c.sg.subj/1sg.obj.CA
 cigarettes didn't like me anymore [began to be bad for me]

54. uanga cigaritsi ajulinngikkalarpara_
 uanga cigaritsi-0 ajor-leq-nngit-galuaq-vara
 1sg.rel cigarette-abs be.bad-begin-neg-conseq-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 but I don't like cigarettes anymore [I began not to have/like cigarettes anymore]

55. taamangaasit oqartarpunga}
 taamanga-aasiit oqaq-saq-vunga
 like.that-as.usual say/talk-habit-1sg.I
 that is what I usually say [I usually say like this]

⁸the /g/ between -laaq- and -innaq- is epenthetic (personal communication from Per Langgård).

XVI

56. Qanutut ajuleramitit?
 Qanoq-tut ajoq-leq-gamitit
 how-eq be.bad-begin-trans.3c.pl.subj/2sg.obj.CA
 like how did they stop liking you [how did they begin to be bad to you/for you]?

XVII

57. {Tassa_sapilerakku ilaa_
 Tassa saper-leq-gakku ilaa
 that.is cannot-begin-trans.1sg.subj/3nc.sg.obj.CA you.know
 that is I just couldn't do it [i.e. smoke] you know
58. millussisaraluarpunga_
 millu-ssi-saq-galuaq-vunga
 inhale-do like-habit-conseq-1sg.I
 I used to inhale, ...
59. iserneq saperami_
 iser-neq-0 saper-gami
 go.in-nom-abs cannot-3c.sg.CA
 it couldn't go in [i.e. smoke]
60. soorlu_ila_ pigisa- maanga piunajunnaarami ilummut_
 soorlu ilaa maanga pi-juma-junnaaq-gami ilummut
 for.example you.know to.here thing-want-no.more-3c.sg.CA to.inside
 for example, you know, it wouldn't come inside anymore

XVIII

61. {_tassa paasivara ilaa_
 tassa paasi-vara ilaa
 that.is understand-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I you.know
 that is I understand it you know **starts as afterthought**
62. (pujortaqqissinnaajunnaarlunga)/ **lower, softer**
 pujortaq-qqik-sinnaa-junnaaq-lunga
 smoke-again-can-no.more-1sg.CT
 I just couldn't smoke anymore
63. Aamma maqaasinngilara_
 Aamma maqaasi-nngit-lara
 and miss-neg-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.neg.I
 and I didn't miss it
64. aamma ajornartorsiutiginnigilara,
 aamma ajornartorsiut-gi-nngit-lara
 and problem-have-neg-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.neg.I
 and it wasn't a problem for me [I didn't have a problem]
65. pujortarunnaarama_
 pujortaq-junnaaq-gama
 smoke-no.more-1sg.CA
 that [when] I didn't smoke anymore

66. (tassa qujana-_massakkut qujaannartarpunga
tassa massakkut qujaannaq-saq-vunga
that.is now thankful-habit-1sg.I
that is now I am thankful

67. pujortarunnaarsimagama_)}
pujortaq-junnaaq-sima-gama
smoke-no.more-perf-1sg.CA
because I have stopped smoking

68. Sunaaffa, uummallulerlunga_
Sunaaffa uummat-luk-leq-lunga
think.about.it heart-bad-begin-1sg.CT
think about it, it was because my heart was getting bad

69. (taamanikkut tassa taamaalivunga_)}} **afterthought**
taamani-kkut tassa taamaali-vunga
at.that.time that.is become.like.that-1sg.I
then that is I became like this

XIX

70. {Qanormi_illoqarfimmut_akulerusimatigaat,
Qanoq-mi illoqarfik-mut aku-leri-sima-tigi-vit⁹
how-what.about town-term live-be.involved.with-perf-transr-2sg.IN
how about that you are involved (in the society) in the town

71. aneertarpiit?_)
aneer-saq-viit?
go.for.walk-habit-2sg.IN
do you go out for walks?

XX

72. {Kanani_
Kanani
down.there
down there

massakkut tuapannguani_
massakkut tuapaat-nnguaq-ni
now pebbles-dim-pl.loc
now among the pebbles,

samani itersap iluanut nuunnikuugama
samani itersaq-p ilua-nut nuuC-nikuu-gama
down.there.to.the.west depression/hollow-rel inside-term move-past-1sg.CA
down there to the west when I moved inside the valley

⁹The final [i] in the affix *-tigi-* is really a schwa, and the inflectional ending of verbs with a schwa preceding the inflectional ending is slightly modified: the intervocallic /v/ is lost and both the schwa and the inflectional vowel are realized as /a/'s.

73. ippingiatoqaanga.
 ippingiatoq-qi-vunga
 feel.uneasy/unwell-intens-1sg.I
 I didn't feel good about it [i.e. the move]
74. kanani oqaluffiup eqqaaniikkallarama illunnguami_
 kanani oqaluffik-up eqqaani-u-gallar-gama illu-nguaq-mi
 down.there church-rel neighborhood-cop-still-1sg.CA house-dim-loc
 when I was still beside the church down there in the small house,
75. ernerma, uagut
 erneq-ma uagut
 son-1sg.pos.rel 1pl.rel
 my son we
- illutoqarput ernerma
 illu-toqaq-vut erneq-ma
 house-old-1pl.pos.abs son-1sg.pos.rel
- suliarinikuugamiuk_
 suliaq-gi-nikuu-gamiuk
 work-have-past.perf-trans.3c.sg subj/3nc.sg.obj.CA
 my son had fixed our old house [rebuilt it]
76. nutarterlugu
 nutarter-lugu
 make.new-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 making it new/modernizing it
77. tamaat nutaanngorlugu tassami_
 tamaat nutaanngor-lugu tassami
 everything become.new-trans.3sg.obj.CT in.any.case
 making everything become new/modern in any case
78. atortorissaarutit tamaasa tamaat_
 atortorissaarutit-0 tamaq-asa tamaq-at
 technological.appliances-abs all/whole-3pl.abs all/whole-3sg.abs
 all modern things
79. kisianni upernaaq manna_
 kisianni upernaaq-0 manna
 but spring-abs this
 but this spring.
- siornali_aalisarermik ajutoorami_
 siorna-li aalisarneq-mik ajutooq-gami
 last.year-but fishing-inst unlucky-3c.sg.subj.CA
 but last year he was unlucky at fishing
80. (imaattoq_
 imaaC-toq
 that.means-3sg.P or nom-abs
 that is

81. qimattariaqalerakku
qimaC-sariaq-leq-gakku
leave-must-begin-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.CA
I had to leave it

82. qimakkakku_)}
qimaC-gakku
leave-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.CA
I left it

XXI

83. {Takanani_
Takana-ni
over.there-loc
there

inissisimalluaqigami takanna,
ini-ssi-sima-lluaq-qi-gami takanna
room/place-do-perf-good/well-intens-3c.sg.CA down.there
it was good down there/it lay well down there

84. eqqaalu nuannersartarlugu
eqqaa-lu nuanner-saq-saq-lugu
around-and pleasant/nice-agentive-habit-trans.3sg.obj.CT
around it [I? he?] made it nice

85. naasulersorlugulu_
naasoq-lersor-lugu-lu
flower-supply.with-trans.3sg.obj.CT-and
and supplying it with flowers

86. naatittarlugu upernaakkut naasut
naatit-saq-lugu upernaak-kkut naasoq-t
make.grow-habit-trans.3sg.obj.CT spring-via flower-pl.abs
I used to make the flowers grow in the spring/make it grow flowers...

87. pinikuugakkit nuannersorujussuaq
pi-nikuu-gakkit nuanner-soq-rujussuaq-0
thing-past.perf-trans.1sg.subj/3nc.pl.obj.CA nice-nom-very.much-abs
I made it very nice

88. aneersuarlunga
aneer-suaq-lunga
go.for.a.walk-a.lot-1sg.CT
I went for walks a lot

89. aneersuarlunga_
aneer-suaq-lunga
go.for.a.walk-a.lot-1sg.CT
I went for walks a lot

90. ullorsuaq pisarpunga
 ulloq-suaq-0 pi-saq-vunga
 day-big-abs thing-habit-1sg.I
 I used to do this all day long
91. silagitsillugu_
 sila-gik-tit-lugu
 weather-have.a.good-cause-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 if the weather was good
92. Assorsuaq maqasivara massakkut_
 Assut-suaq maqaasi-vara massakkut
 much-very.much-abs miss-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I now
 I miss it very much now

XXII

93. {uani_allaanermit_
 uani alla-u-neq-mit
 here different-cop-nom-abl
 here it is different
94. aneerfeqaranilu_
 aneer-vik-qaq-nani-lu
 go.for.walk-place-have-3sg.neg.CT-and
 there is no place to walk
95. soorlu_puup iluani_
 soorlu puu-p ilua-ni
 for.example bag-rel inside-loc
 it is like [being] in a bag

XXIII

96. {Doorti_oqarputit
 Doorti oqaq-vutit
 D. say-2sg.I
 D., you said
97. Sisimiormiuullutit_
 Sisimiut-miut-u-lutit
 Sisimiut-from-cop-2sg.CT
 you are from Sisimiut
98. kikkunukua angajoqaarisimavigit?_
 kikkut-ukua angajoqaaat-gi-sima-vigit
 who.pl.abs-these.pl abs parents-have-perf-trans.2sg.subj/3pl.obj.IN
 who were your parents?

XXIV

99. {Tassa_piniartorsuarminngooq ataataqarsimavugut_
 Tassa piniartoq-suaq-mik-gooq ataata-qaq-sima-vugut
 that.is hunter-big-inst-reported.speech father-have-perf-1pl.I
 that is we had a father they say was a big hunter

100.ullut tamarluinnaasa_
 ulloq-t tamaq-lluinnaq-isa
 day-pl.abs all/every-all.the.time-3pl.pos.rel
 every single day

anaanakkut allallu
 anaana-kkut-0 alla-t-lu
 mother-family-abs others-pl.abs-and
 my mother's family and others

nunaqqatigut
 nunaqqat-vut
 who.live.in.same.town-3pl.I
 who lived in the same town

101.meeragallaratta
 meeraq-gallar-gatta
 child-still-1pl.CA
 when we were still children

102.oqartarput,
 oqaq-saq-vut
 say-habit-3pl.I
 they used to say

103.ataatagooq_pingajungaarami
 ataata-0-gooq pingajuq-ngaaq-gami
 father-abs-reported.speech get.something/be.lucky-a.lot-3c.sg.CA
 my father, they say, got a lot/always got something

104.qaammatit_ullui naasarpai/
 qaammat-it ulloq-i naa-saq-vai
 month-pl.rel day-3sg.pos.pl.posm.abs be.done-habit-trans.3sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 the days of the month used to be done/pass

105.ataasiinnaanngitsunik, puisinik tikiussuilluni_
 ataasiq-innaa-nngit-soq-nik puisi-nik tiki-ussor-i-luni
 one-only-neg-nom-pl.inst seal-pl.inst arrive-one.after.another-intrans-3sg.CT
 he arrived with not just one seal [he got more than one seal]

XXV

106.{Kisianni uagut, uanga, sisamanik ukioqartunga,
 Kisianni uagut uanga sisamat-nik ukioq-qaq-sunga
 but 1pl.abs 1sg.abs four-pl.inst year-have-1sg.P
 but when we- I was four years old

107.ataataga qajaasimavoq}
 ataata-ga qajaa-sima-voq
 father-1sg.pos.abs die.in.kayak-perf-3sg.I
 my father died in the kayak

XXVI

108.{Taanna eqqaamavara,
Taanna eqqaama-vara
that remember-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
I remember that one

109.qajaasoq_
qajaa-soq
die.in.kayak-3sg.P or nom abs
the one who died by kayak

ulloq taanna/
ulloq-0 taanna
day-abs that.one
that day

110.kisianni ataataga puijukkiutinngilara_
kisianni ataata-ga puiukkiuti-nngit-lara
but father-1sg.pos abs forget.completely-neg-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.neg.I
but I always remember my father

111.nalunngiinnarpara
nalu-nngit-innaq-vara
not.know-neg-only-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
I just know it

112.ataataqarsimallunga_
ataata-qaq-sima-lunga
father-have-perf-1sg.CT
I had a father

113.aqqaluara marluinnannguanik ukiulik_}} **afterthought**
aqqaluaq-ga marluk-innaq-nnguaq-nik ukioq-lik
little.brother-1sg.pos.abs two-only-dim-pl.inst year-R
my little brother who was only two years old

XXVII

114.{(kisianni aamma aqqaluannguara siorna 90-isimi_toquvoq_
kisianni aamma aqqaluaq-nnguaq-ga siorna-0 90-mi toqu-voq
but and little.brother-dim-1sg.pos.abs last.year-abs 90-loc die-3sg.I
but my little brother died last year in 1990

115.siornaak_
siorna-ak
last.year-dual
two years ago

116.Aamma aanaartoorluni_
Aamma aanaartoor-luni
and cerebral.hemorrhage-3sg.CT
and he got a cerebral hemorrhage,

E.M._}}
 E.M.
 E.M.
 E.M.

XXVIII

- 117.{Anaana-gi-vara Sisimiut-miut
 mother-have-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I Sisimiut-from
 I have a mother from Sisimiut

XXIX

- 118.{taanna ataata-ga
 taanna ataata-ga
 that.one father-1sg.pos.abs
 that one my father
- Itilliminngaanneersuusimavoq/
 Itilleq-minngaannee-soq-u-sima-voq
 Itilleq-from-nom-cop-perf-3sg.I
 was from Itilleq

- 119.Kisianni maanga nuussimalluni_
 Kisianni maanga nuuC-sima-luni
 but to.here move-perf-3sg.CT
 but he moved here

- 120.(aleqanigooq_atsagigaluara
 aleqa-ni-gooq atsagi-galuaq-ga
 big.sister-3c.sg pos.abs-reported.speech aunt-conseq-1sg.pos.abs
 his big sister, they say, my late aunt,

maani uinimmat_
 maani uiniC-mat
 here marry-3nc.sg.CA
 got married here

XXX

- 121.{inuusuttuaraalluni
 inuusuttuaraq-u-luni
 teen-ager-cop-3sg.CT
 when he was a teen-ager

- 122.anaanaarussimagami/
 anaana-eruC-sima-gami
 mother-be.no.more-perf-3c.sg.CA
 because he didn't have a mother any more [his mother was no more?]

- 123.ilalagalugu
 ilala-gi-lugu
 together.with-have-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 he went with her

124.maanga nooqatigisimagamiuk}}
 maanga nuuC-qati-gi-sima-gamiuk
 to.here move-companion-have-perf-trans.3c.sg subj/3sg.obj.CA
 she moved here with him

XXXI

125.{anaanaga taamak oqaluttuarpoq}
 anaana-ga taamak oqaluttuaq-voq
 mother-1sg.pos.abs like.this tell.story-3sg.I
 my mother tells it like this

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
interviewer introducing D.	1	So now we are in D. L.'s home in Sisimiut	we		visit D.L.	1- incorp	in Sisimiut	tassu		massakkut	
	2	D. L., you know, before	D. L. [E]					imua		siliutigit	
		in the community house for old people		old people [E]			in community house				
		we have met her-, they met us	we/they	old people/us	visit D.L.	CA			eq		perf
	3	when she seemed to have more stories to tell	D.		tell stories	CA 3nc		tuuva			
	4	[we] visited her again	[we]	D.	meet with D.L.	CT			eq		
	5	we will talk with her again	we	D.	talk to D.L.	I			eq		niug
	6	at that time in the community house when we talked with her/she was talking to us	we	D.	talk to D.L.	CA	in community house		eq	taumani	
	7	for example we talked about these,	we	these [old people]	talk about	I		sorlu	eq		
	8	in our land in our days					in our land			ullutsuni	

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		the old people are more and more	old people		be more old people	P/N					gradual increase: -jartuuuq
	9	they are gradually getting older	old people		be older old people	P/N					gradual increase: -jartuuuq
	10	they are more and more	old people		be more old people	P/N					increase: -jartor-
	11	and then she herself has been very interested in books	D.	books	be interested in books	CT		taavalu	erg		
	12	and she tells about them	D.	books	talk about books	I		aamma	erg		
		Greenland- Greenlandic books		Grn. books							
	II 13	D.									
tape interrupt		at first/in the beginning---	unspec		at first	CT			erg		
II-III where D. was born	14	where were you born?	you {D.}		be born	inter					perf
D.	III 15	I am from Sisimiut	I		be from Sisimiut	I					

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	16	I was born in Sisimiut	I		be born	I	in Sisimiut				
		in the year 1914									
		the 17th of May, the 17th of the month of love									
interviewer IV-V how old D. is	IV 17	Yes, at that time in the community house					in community house			taamanikkun -una	
		and we were taling about your age	we	years	do	P		uamma	erg		
	18	how old are you now?	you		age	IN				maanna	
D.	V 19	79			age						
	20	in May, the month of love, next year,								uappaugu	
		I will be 80 now	I	80 years	age	I			erg	massakkut	fut:-ssa-conseq:-galuaq-
interviewer VI-X D. looks good	VI 21	yet for example, for example, it seems like you are approaching, are just under 70	2sg	70 years	look good	P		sulimi soorlu soorluluun-iit			

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
D.	22	seeing well through my eyes	unspec [I]	eyes?	opinion	CT	through my eyes		erg		
	VII										
	23	that is, they tell me this	3pl	me [D.]	say; look good	I		tassa	erg		habit: -saq-
	24	I don't know	I	it	reflection	I			erg		
	25	that is, my being someone who is good to look at		good to look at [E]	look good	N		tassami			
		I get really quite tired of hearing, you know	I	good to look at	tired of hearing:	I		ilaa	erg		habit: -saq-
	26	especially as I am not so very healthy now	I	health [verb. construct]	not healthy	CA		pingaartum ik		massakkut	
		when walking				N	through walking				
	27	like, for example, because of my heart			unhealthy heart	N	with bad heart				
	VIII										
	28	I am really quite tired of hearing that	I	that [good to look at]	tired of hearing	I			erg		habit: -saq-
		that I look good		good to look at [E]	look good	N					
	29	Emily my daughter	Emily [E]								

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		while I am like that	I		look good	CT					
	30	she said to me	Emily	me		I			erg		past: -nikuu-
	31	"in any case your having a sickness	your having sickness [E]		be sick	N		tassamiuna			
		is impossible to believe	sickness		be sick	P					
	32	because you look so good"			look good	N	because look good				
	33	I don't know	I	it	reflection	I			erg		
	34	why I am like that	I		look good	CT					
	X 35	maybe because I am not a beer-drinker	I	beer drinker	don't drink beer	CA		immaqa			
	36	I don't know	I	it	reflection	I			erg		
	37	if these are the reasons	these [reasons]		reason-no beer	P					habit: -saq-
interviewer XI-XIII did D. drink beer?	XI 38	that is you haven't drunk beer in your whole life?	2sg		don't drink beer	inter- incor		tassa			habit: -saq-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
D.	XII 39	that is, it was like this,	dummy		situation	P		tassa imaattoxq			
	40	when I was still working	I		time: working	CA					still: -gallaq-
	41	for example when I ate some <i>Greenlandic</i> food	I		time: eating	CT- incor		soorlu			
	42	I would drink one little beer	I	one [beer]	drink beer	I-incor					habit: -saq-
	43	sometimes not finishing it	[I]	beer	drink beer: unfinished	CT			erg	ilaani	
	XIII 44	that is the year, I don't know	I	year [E]	reflection	I		tassa -luunniit	erg		
	45	the year, now, what year when I tasted beer	I	beer [E]	drink beer	CA			ant	massakkut	
	46	I don't know	I	year	reflection	I			erg		
	47	I have lost my memories	I		reflection	I					pas: -saq-
	48	I haven't drunk beer	I	beer drinker	don't drink beer	I					

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
interviewer XIV-XV did D. smoke? D.	XIV 49	what about these, tobacco and cigarettes?		tobacco, cigarettes [E]	smoke?	ellipsis					
	XV 50	I used to smoke very much but	I		smoke	CA					conseq: -galuaq-
	51	I finished a little bit less than 20 a day	I	20 [cigarettes]	smoke	CA	in a day		erg		habiat: -saq- conseq: -galuaq-
	52	in 1987 from then on I stopped smoking	I		stop smoking	CA					stop: -
	53	cigarettes didn't like me anymore	cigarettes	me	smoke: stop liking	CA 3c			erg		junnuaq- begin: -leq-
	54	but I don't like cigarettes anymore	I	cigarettes	smoke: stop liking	I			erg		conseq: -galuaq-
	55	that is what I usually say	I	that	reflection	I					habit: -saq-
interviewer XVI-XVII why D stop smoking	XVI 56	like how did they stop liking ;you?	cigarettes	2sg [D.]	smoke: stop liking	CA 3c			erg		begin: -leq-
D.	XVII 57	that is, I just couldn't do it	I	it	can't smoke	CA		tassa ilaa	erg		begin: -leq-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	58	I used to inhale	I		inhale (= smoke)	I					habit: -saq- conseq; -galuaq-
	59	it couldn't go in	smoke? or N?		can't inhale (= smoke)	CA 3c, N					
	60	for example, you know, it wouldn't come inside anymore	smoke		can't inhale (= smoke)	CA 3c	inside	soorlu ilaa			stop: - junnaaq-
XVIII											
	61	that is I understand it you know	I	it	reflection	I		tassa ilaa	erg		
	62	I just couldn't smoke anymore	I		can't smoke	CT					again: -qqik- stop: - junnaaq-
	63	and I didn't miss it	I	it [smoking]	don't miss smoking	I		aamma	erg		
	64	and I didn't have a problem	I	it [not smoking]	don't smoke	I		aamma	erg		
	65	that I didn't smoke anymore	I		don't smoke	CA					stop: - junnaaq-
	66	that is now I am thankful	I		evaluation	I		tassa		massakkut	habit: -saq-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	67	because I have stopped smoking	I		don't smoke; stop	CA					stop: - junnaaq- perf: -sima-
	68	think about it, it was because my heart was getting bad	I		heart bad	CT- incor		sunaaſſa			begin: -leq-
	69	that that is I became like this	I		don't smoke	I		tassa		taamanikkut	
interviewer XIX-XXII does D. take walks?	XIX 70	how about that you are involved in the town?	2sg		be involved with town	IN	through town	-mi			perf: -sima-
	71	do you go out for walks?	2sg		go walking	IN					habit: -saq-
D. XX-XXI D likes old house	XX 72	down there					down there				
		now among the pebbles, down there,					among the pebbles			massakkut	
		to the west when I moved inside the valley	I		move	CA	to west in valley				past: -nikuu-
	73	I didn't feel good about it	I		feel bad [move]	I					

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	74	when I was still beside the church down there in the small house	I		be in old house	CA	there by the church in small house				still; -gallar-
	75	my son, we	son, we [E]								
		my son had fixed our old house	son	old house	renovate	CA 3c			erg		past perf: -nikuu-
	76	making it new/modernizing it	{son}	old house	renovate	CT			erg		
	77	making everything modern in any case	{son}	old house	renovate	CT		tassami	erg		
	78	all modern things									
	79	but this spring						kisianni		manna	
		but last year he was unlucky at fishing	son	fishing	bad fishing	CA 3c		-li		siorna	
	80	that is	dummy			P or N		imaattoq			
	81	I had to leave it	I	old house	leave	CA			erg		must: - sariaqaq- begin: -leq-
	82	I left it	I	old house	leave	CA			erg		
	XXI 83	over there									

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		it was good down there	old house		be nice	CA 3c- incor? CT					
	84	around it [he/I] made it nice	unspec	old house	make nice			-lu	erg		agentive: -saq- habit: -saq-
	85	and supplying it with flowers	unspec {I}	old house	make nice: grow flowers	CT		-lu	erg		
	86	I used to make the flowers grow in the spring/make it grow flowers	unspec {I}	old house/flow ers	make nice: grow flowers	CT/ dltrans			erg	upernaakkut	habit: -saq-
	87	I made it very nice	I	very nice old house	make nice	CA			erg		past perf: -nikuu-
	88	I went for walks a lot	I		go walking	CT					
	89	I went for walks a lot	I		go walking	CT					
	90	I went for walks a lot all day long	I		go walking	I					habit: -saq-
	91	if the weather was good	unspec		weather	CT			erg		cause: -tit-
	92	I miss it very much now	I	old house	miss	I			erg	massakkut	

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
interviewer 2 XXIII D's parents D. XXIV-D's father was a good hunter	XXII										
	93	here it is different				N	because it is different				
	94	and there is no place to walk	dummy		have no place for walking	CT		-lu			
	95	it is like being in a bag for example					inside a bag	soorlu			
	XXIII										
	96	D. you said	2sg		say	I					
	97	you are from Sisimiut	2sg		be from Sisimiut	CT					
	98	who were your parents?	2sg	parents	have parents	IN- incor			erg		perf: -sima-
	XXIV										
	99	that is we had a father they say was a big hunter	we	big hunter	have father	1-incor		tassa -goooq			perf: -sima-
	100	every single day									
		my mother's family and others	mother's family and others [E]								
		who lived in the same town	mother's family...		live	I					

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	101	when we were still children	we		be child	CA- incor					still: -gallur-
	102	they used to say	mother's family...		say	I					habit: -suq-
	103	my father, they say, always got something	father		get something/ be lucky	CA 3c		-gool			
	104	they days of the month used to pass	dummy?	days of month	time	I			erg		habit: -suq-
	105	he arrived with more than one seal	father	not just one seal	arrive with	CT					one after another; -ussor- intrans; -i-
XXV- XXVI D's father died in kayak	XXV 106	but when we, I was four years old	we, I	four	be young	P- incor		kisanni			
	107	my father died in the kayak	father		die in kayak	I					perf: -sima-
	XXVI 108	I remember that one	I	that one [father]	reflection	I			erg		
	109	the one who died by kayak that day		who died by kayak	die in kayak	P or N				that day	

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	110	but I always remember my father	I	father	reflection	I		kisianni	erg		
	111	I just know it	I	it [I had a father]	reflection	I			erg		
	112	I had a father	I		have father	CT- incor					perf; -sima-
	113	my little brother who was only two years old	brother		be child	rel					
XXVI D's brother died	xxvii										
	114	but my little brother died last year in 1990)	brother		die	I		kisianni aamma		siorna	
	115	two years ago								siornaak	
	116	and he got a cerebral hemorrhage	brother		die; cause	CT		aamma			
		E.M.	Eli M.. [E]								
	xxviii										
D's mother from Sisimiut	117	I have a mother from Sisimiut	I	[mother]	have mother	I-incor	from Sisimiut		erg		
XXIX- XXX how D's father got to Sisimiut	xxix										
	118	that one my father was from Itilleq	father [E] father			I-incor					perf; -sima-
	119	but he moved here	father		move	CT	to here	kisianni			perf; -sima-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	120	his big sister, my late aunt got married here	father's sister, late aunt		get married	CA 3nc	here	-g(ɔxx)ɪ			
	XXX										
	121	when he was a teen- ager	father		be young	CT- incor					
	122	because he didn't have a mother any more	father		have no mother	CA 3c- incor					perf: -simu-
	123	he went with her	unspec {father?}	father's sister?	move: be together	CT'			erg		
	124	he moved here with her	unspec {father?}	father's sister?	move	CA-3c	to here		erg		perf: -simu-
	XXXI										
	125	my mother tells it like this	mother		tell story	I					

Speaker 3, Text 3b
Recorded in Sisimiut, 1993
Interviewed by Kêrte Jeremiassen

XXXII

125. {Qanormita ateqarpaa--
 Qanoq-mita ati-qaq-vaa--
 how-wonder name-have-trans.3sg.IN
 What. I wonder. was your father's name?

 ateqarsimava ataatat?_}
 ati-qaq-sima-va ataata-t
 name-have-perf-3sg.IN father-2sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 did his name used to be?

XXXIII

126. {H.. H.M._}
 H., H. M.
 H.. H. M.
 H., H. M.

XXXIV

{sooq_/
 sooq
 so
 so

taava_anaana_ anaanagaara B._ B.O._'
 taava anaana-gi-vara B. B.-0 O.-0
 then mother-have-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I B. B.-abs O.-abs
 then I have B., B.O. as a mother [my mother was B. O.]

127. O.iuvoq inunnguutsiminik_
 O.-u-voq inunnguutsiminit¹
 O.-cop-3sg.I at/from birth
 she was O. at/from birth [i.e. her maiden name was O.]

128. imaattoq_
 imaaC-soq
 like this-3sg.P
 like this

¹The transcriber wrote *inunnguutsiminik*, but the term is lexicalized in *Oqaatsit* as *inunnguutsiminit*; the difference is in the case. The former is instrumental, the latter ablative. They might be translated roughly as 'at birth' and 'from birth', respectively. Per Langgård (personal communication) points out that the final consonants in modern Greenlandic are all but nonexistent and the difference between *-nik* and *-nit* is phonologically neutralized.

XXXV

129. {T.-- ataatisimavaa T.O._}
 ataata-gi-sima-vaa T.-0 O.-0
 father-have-perf-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I T.-abs O.-abs
 She had as her father T.O.

XXXVI

130. {Aanaanaga kisianni,
 Anaana-ga kisianni
 mother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs but
 my mother, however

 aatsaat uanga meeqqiulereersunga
 aatsaat uanga meeqqiuC-leq-reer-sunga
 first 1sg.abs have.children-begin-already-1sg.P
 when I had already begun to have children

131. toquvoq_
 toqu-voq
 die-3sg.I
 she died

132. '39-mi anaanaga toquvoq_
 '39-mi anaana-ga toqu-voq
 '39-loc mother-1sg.pos.abs die-3sg.I
 my mother died in 1939

133. 81-arsiliilerluni_
 81-arsi-li-ler-luni
 81-years-turn.(so.many.years)-begin-3sg.CT
 she turned 81 years old

134. tassa taanna ilaqutariinni kisimi_
 tassa taanna ilaqutariit-nni² kisimi
 that.is that.one family-pl.loc alone
 that is that one, she is the only one in the family

inuunertunertaasimavoq_
 inuuneq-tuneq-taq³-u-sima-voq
 life-have.a.lot.of-belong.to-cop-perf-3sg.I
 who lives the longest [gets very old]

²*ilaqutariit* is a mass noun meaning 'family'

³There are several ways of expressing possession in Greenlandic. *-gi* indicates inalienable possession, as in *arnagivaa* 'he has a woman', meaning in essence 'he has a mother'; *-utigi-* indicates alienable possession, as in *arnaatigaa*, 'he has a woman', meaning 'he has a girlfriend'; and *-taq-* indicates collective possession, always with a specific context, as in *arnatavoq* 'she is a woman member of a given group' (given by context). The morpheme *-qaq-* is sometimes given as the intransitive form of *-gi-*, but it also has existential meanings, as in *qimneqarpoq* 'there are dogs, there is a dog'.

135. Imaattoq}}
 Imaa-q-soq
 like.this-3sg.P
 it's like this

XXXVII

136. {tassa anaanaga_
 tassa anaana-ga
 that.is mother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 that is my mother

ataataarukkatta_
 ataata-eruC-gatta
 father-be.no.more-1pl.CA
 we lost/had.no.more my father

imaattoq_ 1918-imi_
 imaattoq 1918-mi
 like.that 1918-loc
 like.that in 1918

erniinnaararsuaq_
 erniinnaq-araq-suaq
 soon/shortly-a.little-very/extremely
 very soon after,

ukiuk novemberip 2-ni _}
 ukiuk-0 november-ip 2-ni
 winter-abs November-rel 2-loc
 winter- on the 2nd of November

XXXXVIII

137. {taava_ kiguninnguatiqut anaanaga niuertukkut
 taava kinguneq-nngu-aq-tiqut anaana-ga niuertoq-kkut
 then after-little-pl.via mother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs trader-family.pl.rel
 then a little bit after the trader

qaaqqaat_
 qaaqqu-vaat
 call.on-3pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 came to call on my mother

138. Imaattoq_
 Imaa-q-soq
 like.this-3sg.P
 it's like this

139. ikiortigisarumallugu_
 ikiorti-gi-saq-juma-lugu
 helper-have-pas.part-want-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 [he] wanted to have her help

140.tassalu taamanimiilli anaanaga qallunaanut_
 tassa-lu taamani-miit-li anaana-ga qallunaaq-nut
 that.is-and at.that.time-abl-intens mother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs Dane-pl.term
 and that is right from this time, my mother was

kiffanngorpoq_
 kiffaq-nngor-voq
 maid-become-3sg.I
 a maid for the Danes

XXXIX

141.{Qallunaarparujorujussuit
 Qallunaaq-pak-it-ruju-ruju-ssuaq-it
 Dane-a.number-pl-many-many-big-pl.abs/rel
 many many Danes

70-it sinnerlugit
 70-it sinner-lugit
 70-pl.abs be.more.than-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 Not before she was more than seventy

142.ukioqalereerluni aatsaat_
 ukioq-qaq-leq-reer-luni aatsaat
 year-have-begin-already-3sg.CT first
 years old

143.kiffartorunnaarpoq_
 kiffartor-junnaar-voq
 be.in.service-no.more-3sg.I
 she was no longer a maid [i.e. to the Danes]

XL

144.(Taamaammat
 taamaat-mmat
 therefore-3sg.noncoref.CA
 therefore

145.toqummat_
 toqu-mmat
 die-3sg.noncoref.CA
 when she died

146.Bro niuertuulluni_
 Bro niuertoq-u-luni
 Bro trader-cop-3sg.CT
 Bro being the trader

147.kransersuarmik naasortalerpaa_
 kranse-suaq-mik naasorta-ler-vaa
 wreath-big-inst flowers-provide.with-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 lay a big wreath of flowers [on it, i.e. grave]

- 148.(tassa kiffartorsimanera pillugu)_}
 tassa kiffartor-sima-neq-a pi-lugu
 that.is be.in.service-perf-nom-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs do-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 that is [because] she had been in his service [he had her service]

XLI

- 149.{Armaq imaannanngitsorujussuartut taasinnaavara
 Armaq-0 imaannanngit-soq-rujussuaq-tut taa-sinnaa-vara
 woman-abs unusual-P/N-very.much-eq call-just-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I could just call her a special woman,

anaanaga_
 anaana-ga
 mother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 my mother

- 150.Eqiasuitsorujussuaq_
 eqiasuiC-soq-rujussuaq-0
 be.diligent-nom-very-abs
 she was very industrious

- 151.sulinngiffimmigut_ sinissanani
 sulinnigfik-migut siniC-ssa-nani
 vacation/free.time-3sg.pos.via sleep-fut-3sg.neg.CT
 in her free time she didn't sleep

- 152.piliniartartoq_
 piliniaq-saq-soq
 provide-habit-3sg.P
 she was getting/hunting for food [for the winter]

- 153.saarulleqallarmat taamanikkut,
 saarullit-qaq-llaq-mat taamani-kkut
 codfish-have-great-3sg.noncoref.CA at.that.time-via
 there was a lot of codfish at that time

- 154.1920-ikkut aallartilaarneranni,
 1920-kkut aallarti-laaq-neq-anni
 1920-via beginning-a.bit-wonder-3pl.pos/sg.posm.loc
 at the very beginning of the 1920's

umiaasaarannguaqaratta_
 umiaasaaraq-nguaq-qaq-gatta
 flatbottomed.boat-little-have-1pl.CA
 we had a little flatbottomed boat

- 155.kiffaaffini_ unnukkut suliunnaaraangami
 kiffaaffik-ni unnuk-kkut suli-junnaaq-gaa-gami
 housework-3sg.coref.pos.loc evening-via work-no.more-whensoever-3sg.coref.CA
 whenever she stopped working as a maid in the evening

156.unnuarsiorluni
 unnuaq-sioq-luni
 night-deal.with-3sg.CT
 when it was night [i.e. she was doing nightshift]

157.illuttorluni
 illuttor-luni
 bearing.something.in.both.hands-3sg.CT
 rowing

158.aalisariartarpoq,
 aalisag-giaq-saq-voq
 go.fishing-go.to.do-habit.3sg.I
 she went fishing

159.uanga aqqaluaralu tikitsiisarpaput,
 uanga aqqaluaq-ga-lu tikiC-sii-saq-varput
 1sg.abs little.brother-1sg.pos.abs-and arrive-wait-habit-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.I
 my little brother and I waited for her to come back

160.tassa ikiorniassagatsigu_}
 tassa ikior-niaq-ssa-gatsigu
 that.is help-try-fut-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CA
 because we tried to help her [we had to, were to help her]

XLII

161.{taamaappoq tassa}
 taamaat-voq tassa
 like.that-3sg.I that.is
 it was like that [that's how it was]

XLIII

162.{Aana suli tupinnameq_'
 aana suli tupinnaq-neq
 here.it.is/that.one.there yet wonderful/unusual-sup.abs
 and what was most wonderful of all

163.aqqaluara apersortittussaasoq_'
 aqqaluaq-ga apersortit-sussaa-soq
 little.brother-1sg.pos/sg.posm.abs be.confirmed-planned/shall-3sg.P
 when my little brother was to be confirmed

(1930-imi)'
 1930-mi
 1930-loc
 in 1930

164.illutaarpugut'
 illu-taaq-vugut
 house-get.a.new-1pl.I
 we got a new house

165.takanna suli illukoq oqaluffiup kanginnguani
 takanna suli illu-koq-0 oqaluffik-up kangia-nnguaq-ni
 this.one.down.there yet house-former/old-abs church-rel east-little-3sg.pos
 this old house, still a ruin, beside [a little east of] the church

taanna qaqqajunnaasannguup qaaniittoq_
 taanna qaqqajunnaqasag-nnguaq-up qaani-iC-soq
 that.one low.hill-little-rel top-cop-N or 3sg.P
 on the top of that little hill

166.tassa anaana taamanikkut illutaarpoq_
 tassa anaana-0 taamani-kkut illu-taaq-voq
 that.is mother-abs at.that.time-via house-get.a.new-3sg.I
 that is my mother got the house then

XLIV

167.{Anaanama_ tupinnartumik_
 anaana-ma tupinnaq-soq-mik
 mother-1sg.pos.rel wonderful-nom-inst
 it was wonderful that my mother

naminneq tamaat akilerlugu_
 naminneq-0 tamaq-at aki-leq-lugu
 self-rel all-3sg.abs pay-provide-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 paid for it all herself

sanasullu tamaasa_
 sanasoq-t-lu tamaq-asa
 worker-pl.abs-and all-3pl.abs
 and all the workers

168.angutitaqannginnatta'
 anguti-taq-qaq-nngit-natta
 man-belonging.to-have-neg-1pl.neg.CA
 because we didn't have a man [in our family]

169.sanasullu tamaasa akilerlugit_
 sanasoq-t-lu tamaq-asa aki-leq-lugit
 worker-pl.abs.-and all-3pl.abs pay-provide-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 she paid all the workers

170.assigiinngitsut inuit- inuit sanavaat
 assigiinngitsut[†] inuk-it inuk-it sana-vaat
 different-rel person-pl.rel person-pl.rel work-trans.3pl.subj/3.obj.I
 different people worked on it

171.angutit_
 angut-t
 man-pl.rel
 men

[†]assigiinngitsut is a plural lexical form, according to Oqaatsit.

sanavaat'
 sana-vaat
 work-trans.3pl.subj/3.obj.I
 worked on it

172.tassa tamaasa akilerlugit,
 tassa tamaq-asa aki-ler-lugit
 that.is all.-3pl.abs pay-provide-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 she paid them all

173.taamanikkut aamma uanga eqqarsaatigalugit
 taamani-kkut aamma uanga eqqarsaat-gi-lugit
 at.that.time-via and 1sg.abs thought-have-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 and even at that time, I thought about them/these facts

174.tupigisarpara_
 tupigi-saq-vara
 wonder about-habit-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I wondered about it

175.imaattoq_
 imaattoq
 that.is.P
 that is

176.taamanikkunuku sioqqat cementimut atoqqusaanngitsut
 taamani-kkut-uku sioqqat⁵ cement-mut ator-qqusaanngit-sut
 at.that.time-via-deict sand-abs cement-term use-must.not-3pl.P
 at that time sand could not be used for cement

nunap siorai.
 nuna-p sioraq-i
 land-rel piece.of.sand-3sg.pos/3pl.posm
 the sand of the land [i.e. Greenland's sand]

177.Ikannga akitsinniit siorarsuarnit
 ikannga akitsi-nniit sioraq-suaq-nit
 from.over.there high.up-from.abl piece.of.sand-big-pl.abl

taasartakkatsinnik
 taa-saq⁶-saq-saq-gatsinnik
 call-habit-habit-pas-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CA
 from the place we used to call "old sand" [big sand]

⁵*sioqqat* is a plural noun, lexicalized, according to *Oqaatsit*.

⁶All verb stems with final vowel apparently take two habitual markers rather than one (P. Langgård, personal communication).

178.sioqqiartitsilluni
 sioqqiar-tit-si-luni
 fetch.sand-agent-intrans-3sg.CT
 she made some people get sand/she made sand be fetched

179.laajalerluni_'
 laaja-leq-luni
 hired.hand-provide-3sg.CT
 getting hired hands

180.upanniussuaq niuertoqarfiup upanniussua
 upanniussuaq-0 niuertoqarfik-up upaniussuaq-a
 "upanniussuaq"⁷-abs trading.post-rel big.whaling.dinghy-3sg.noncoref.pos.abs
 she [rented] the trading post's [town's] whaling dinghy "upanniussuaq"

umiatsiaritillugu,
 umiatsiaq-gi-tit-lugu
 rowboat-have-agent-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 as a transport boat

181.ilumut tassa_'
 ilumut tassa
 true that.is
 it is true

182.inersimaleriarama
 iner-sima-leq-giaq-gama
 grow.up/become.adult-perf-begin-go.to.do-1sg.CA
 now that I am an adult

183.kingoma assut eqqarsaatigisarpa anaana
 kingoma assut eqqarsaat-gi-saq-vara anaana-0
 later much thought-have-habit-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I mother-abs
 much later I thought about my mother

184.inuup nakuusimassusia_}
 inuk-up nakuaq-u-sima-ssuseq-a
 person-rel strong-cop-perf-quality-3sg.noncoref.pos/sg.posm.abs
 what a very strong person

XV

185.{Taava aqqaluataama apersortinnissaanut
 Taava aqqaluataaq-ma apersortinneq-ssaq-anut
 then little.brother-new-1sg.pos/sg.posm.rel confirmation-fut-3sg.noncoref.pos.term
 then at the time of my youngest brother's confirmation

illutaarpugut
 illu-taaq-vugut
 house-get.a.new-1pl.I
 we got a new house

⁷the translator claims this is the name of a boat; the term *upanniut* means 'whaling dinghy'; *upanniussuaq* means 'big whaling boat'.

186.nuannersorujussuuvoq taamanikkut_
 nuanneq-soq-rujussuaq-u-voq taamani-kkut
 be.nice-N-very.much-cop-3sg.I at.that.time-via
 it was very nice in those days

187.akuttugallarmata igaffillit_
 akuttu-gallar-mata igaffik-lik-t
 rare-yet/still/for.the.time.being-3pl.noncoref.CA kitchen-provided.with-pl.abs
 because it was rare to have kitchens/kitchens were rare

188.igaffilinnguaq_
 igaffik-lik-nnguaq-0
 kitchen-provided.with-little-abs
 a little kitchen

inilik_ nuannersorujussuaq_
 ini-lik-0 nuanneq-soq-rujussuaq
 room-provided.with-abs nice-nom-very.much
 a little room [was] very nice

XVI

189.(Aamma kingorna uigigaluarma allivaa_
 aamma kingorna ui-gi-galuaq⁸-ma alli-vaa
 and later husband-have-conseq-1sg.pos.rel grow-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 and later my late husband made it bigger

190.aqqaluara nuliaqalermat
 aqqaluaq-ga nuliaq-qaq-leq-mat
 little.brother-1sg.pos.abs wife-have-provide-3sg.noncoref.CA
 when my little brother got married [had a wife]

191.meeqqiulerlunilu
 meeqqior-leq-luni-lu
 have.children-provide-3sg.CT-and
 and got children

192.aamma allinikuuaa_
 aamma alli-nikuu-vaa
 and grow-past-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 and he made it bigger

193.sinittarfiit inilerlugit taakku immikkut_}}
 sinittarfik-it ini-leq-lugit taakku immi-kkut
 bedroom-3pl.pos/pl.posm.abs room-provide-trans.3pl.obj.CT those-rel own
 those ones built their own bedrooms/those ones made separate bedrooms

⁸There are several ways of expressing the concept of 'late' or 'former' state: *-gi-* is used to indicate late possession, as in *uigigaluaq* 'late husband', and *-u-* to indicate the former state of a nonpossessed entity, as in *Peterseniuqaluaq* 'the late Petersen'. (P. Langgård, personal communication)

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
interviewer father's name	XXXII 125	What, I wonder, was your father's name-	father		have name	Int-incor					perf: -sima-
	xxxiii 126	H., H.M.									
speaker	xxxiv										
XXIV- XXV		so then I have B.O. as my mother	I	B.O.	have mother	I-incor		suuq taava	erg		
mother's history	127	she was O. at/from birth	mother		be Olsen	I-incor	from birth				
	128	like this	dummy		be like	P					
	XXXV 129	she had as her father T.O.	mother	T.O.	have father	I-incor			erg		perf: -sima-
XXXVI mother's age	xxxvi 130	my mother, however	mother [E]								
		when I had already begun to have children	I		have children	P-incor					begin: -leq- already: -reer-
	131	she died	mother		die	I		aatsaat			
	132	my mother died in 1939	mother		die	I					
	133	she was close to 81 years old	mother		be 81 years	CT-incor					begin: -leq-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XXXVII- XL mother as maid	134	that is that one, she is the only one in the family	that one [F] [mother]				in the family	tassa			
		who lives the longest [gets very old]	mother		be old	I-incor					perf: -sima-
	135	it's like this	dummy		be like	P		imaattoq			
	xxxvii										
	136	that is my mother	my mother [E]					tassa			
		we lost/had no more my father	we		lose father	CA- incor					
		like, in 1918 very soon after,				(P)		imaattoq			
		winter- on the 2nd of November									
	xxxvii										
	137	then a little bit after, the trader	trader [E]	mother				taava		a bit after	
		came to call on my mother			call on	I			erg		
	138	it's like this	dummy		be like	P		imaattoq			
	139	he wanted to have her help	[trader]	mother	have help	CT			erg		

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	140	and that is right from this time my mother was a maid for the Danes	mother		be maid	I- incor?	for the Danes	tassalu		taumani?	become; -nngor-
	xxxix										
	141	many many Danes		many many Danes							
		not before she was more than seventy	{mother}	seventy	be more than	CT					
	142	years old	{mother}		be years old	CT- incor					begin; -leq- already; -recr-
	143	she was no longer a maid	mother		be maid	I					
	XI.										
	144	(therefore	3sg		therefore	CA 3nc incor		taumaat			
	145	when she died	mother		die	CA 3nc					
	146	Bro being the trader	Bro		be trader	CT incor					
	147	he lay a big wreath of flowers on it	Bro	her? it?	lay flowers on	I incor	big wreath		erg		

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	148	(that is because she had been in his service {he had her service}))	Bro	her service	have something	CT		tassa	erg		
XLI- mother industrious after work	XLI 149	I could just call her a special woman, my mother	I	my mother [E], a woman	call	I	special {eq}		erg		
	150	she was very industrious	mother			N					
	151	in her free time she wouldn't sleep	mother		not sleep	CT	in free time {via}				{ut; -ssa-
	152	she was getting/hunting for food	mother		get food	P					
	153	there was a lot of codfish at that time	dummy		be codfish	CA 3nc incor				tuumanikkut	
	154	at the very beginning of the 1920's									
		we had a little flatbottomed boat	we		have boat	CA- incor					
	155	whenever she stopped working as a maid in the evening	mother		work	CA 3c	as a maid {loc} in afternoon {via}				whenevr -gua-

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
XIII- XIV mother has new house built	156	when it was night	dummy		be night	CT					
	157	rowing	mother		row	CT					
	158	she went fishing	mother		go fishing	I					go to do; -giaq- habit; -saq-
	159	my little brother and I waited for her to come back	me and my little brother	mother	wait for return	I			erg		
	160	because we tried to help her	we	mother	help	CA		lassa	erg		fut: -ssa-
	XIII 161	it was like that	dummy		be like	I		taamaat lassa			
	XIII 162	and most wonderful,			be wonder	N		suh			
	163	when my little brother was to be confirmed	my little brother		be confirmed	P					fut: -sussa-
	164	(in 1930) we got a new house	we		get house	I-incor					
	165	this old house beside [a little east of] the church	old house [E]				east of church [loc]	suh			

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		on the top of that little hill	old house taanna		be on top	P	of hill {rel}				
	166	that is my mother got the house then	mother		get house	I-incor		tassa		taamanikkut	
	XLIV										
	167	it was wonderful that my mother	mother [E]				wonderful				
		was able to pay for it all herself	mother	all herself?	pay	CT			erg		
		and all the workers		all workers [E]				-lu			
	168	because we didn't have a man	we		have no man	CA					
	169	she paid all the workers	mother	all workers	pay	CT		-lu	erg		
	170	different people worked on it	different people	house	work	I			erg		
	171	men	men [E]								
		worked on it	men	house	work	I			erg		
	172	she paid them all	mother	all	pay	CT		tassa	erg		
	173	and even at that time, I thought about them	I	all	have thoughts	CT- incor		aamma	erg	taamanikkut	

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	174	I wonder about it	I	it	wonder	I			erg		habit: -saq-
	175	that is	dummy		be like	P		imaaC			
	176	at that time sand could not be used for cement	sand		be used	P	for cement [term]			taumanikkut- uku	
		the sand of the land	sand [E]								
	177	from the place we used to call "old sand"					from the place... [abl]				
	178	she made sand be fetched	mother		fetch sand	CT					intrans: -si- agent: -tit-
	179	getting hired hands	mother		get hired hands	CT- incor					
	180	she [rented] the trading post's whaling boat "upanniussuaq" as a transport boat	mother	whaling boat	have boat	CT- incor			erg		agent: -tit-
	181	it is true that						lassa			

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	182	now that I am an adult	I		be adult	CA					perf: -sima- begin: -leq- go to do: -giaq-
	183	much later I thought about my mother	I	mother	have thoughts	I-incor			erg	kingorna	habit: -saq-
	184	what a very strong person	mother		be strong	N					
XV how nice the house was	XV 185	then at the time of my little brother's confirmation				N	confirmation n [abl]	taava taama			
		we got a new house	we		get house	I-incor					
	186	it was very nice in those days	house		be nice	I				taamanikkut	
	187	because it was rare to have kitchens	kitchens		be rare	CA 3nc					still: -gallar-
	188	a little kitchen a little room [was] very nice	kitchen [E] room [E]		be nice	N					
XVI expansions to house	XVI 189	(and later my late husband made it bigger	late husband	house	make big	I		aamma	erg		

discourse theme	#	text	subject topic	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topics	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	190	when my little brother got married [had a wife]	little brother		have wife	CA 3nc incor					
	191	and got children	little brother		have children	CT- incor		-lu			
	192	and he made it bigger	little brother	house	make big	l		aamma	erg		past: -nikuu-
	193	those ones built their own bedrooms	those [brother and family]	bedrooms	get room	CT- incor	own [via]		erg		

Speaker 4, Text 4
Recorded 21.Aug. 1995 in Nuuk

I

1. {Tassa_siullermik oqaatigissavara_
 Tassa siullermik oqaatigi-ssa-vara
 that.is at.first talk.about-fut-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 so first I am going to talk about this,
2. uanga Nuummi inunngorpunga_
 uanga Nuuk-mi inunngor-vunga
 1sg.abs Nuuk-loc be.born-1sg.I
 I was born in Nuuk
3. tassa 1928-imi_
 tassa 1928-mi
 that.is 1928-loc
 that is in 1928

II

4. {Taamaalillunga.
 Taamaali-lunga
 be.like.that-1sg.CT
 myself, and in this way, [I was like this]
5. Nuup eqqaa_
 Nuuk-up eqqaq-a
 Nuuk-rel near-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 around Nuuk

 meeraaninniilli_
 meeraaneq-m-niit-li
 childhood-1sg.pos/sg.posm-from-intens
 ever since my childhood

 angallavigiuarsimavara_
 angala¹-vigi-juaq-sima-vara
 travel-transr-always-perf-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I have always been traveling
6. piniartuinnarsuit akornanni
 piniartoq-innaq-suaq-it akorneq-ni
 hunter-only-big-pl.pos.rel space-3sg.pos.loc

 peroriartornera pissutaalluni_
 peror-jartor-neq-ga pissut-u-luni
 become.adult-more.and.more-nom-1sg.pos.abs.reason-cop-3sg.CT
 because I have grown up among only the great hunters [my growing up among only
 hunters being the reason]

¹The stem is *angala-*; the morpheme *-vigi-* apparently always geminates a preceding consonant (P. Langgård, personal communication).

III

7. {Ataataga nammineq_ piniartuuvoq_'
 Ataata-ga nammineq piniartoq-u-voq
 father-1sg.pos.abs self hunter-cop-3sg.I
 my father himself was a hunter
8. (oqarsinnaavunga
 oqaq-sinnaa-vunga
 say-can-1sg.I
 I can say
9. piniartorsuuvoq inuusunnermini_')
 piniartoq-suaq-u-voq inuusunneq-mini
 hunter-big-cop-3sg.I youth-3c.sg.pos.loc
 he was a great hunter in his youth
10. kisianni_ pisoqasaanngorluni_
 kisianni pisoqasaaq-nngor-luni
 but one.who.is.advancing.in.years-become-3sg.CT
 but when he got old
11. tassa_ ajoqitut tiguinnakkatut²_ sulisinneqalerpoq_'
 tassa ajoqi-tut tigu-innaq-gaq-ttut sulitit-neqaq-leq-voq
 that.is catechist-eq take-only-nom-eq work-caus-pas-begin-3sg.I
 he was put to work as a catechist
12. allamik pisussaarummat_
 alla-mik pisussaaruC-mat
 other-inst no.one.wants.to-3nc.sg.CA
 because no one else could be got

IV

13. {Taamaalillutalu_'
 Taamaali-luta-lu
 be.like.that-1pl.CT-and
 and we were like that [it was like that for us]
14. meeraaffinni Saarlumi_
 meeraq-vik-nni Saarloq-mi
 child-place-1sg.pos.loc Saarloq-loc
 in the place where I was a child, in Saarloq,

 ajoqitut sulivoq_ ukiorpassuit_
 ajoqi-tut sulivoq ukioq-passuaq-it
 catechist-eq work-3sg.I year-a lot-pl
 he worked as a catechist for many years

²*ajoqi tiguinnagaq* is a compound construction, meaning 'lay catechist'. The same sort of construction is found in clause 39 (with incorporated head noun in clause 37).

V

15. {Oqaatigissavaralu,
Oqaatigi-ssa-vara-lu
talk.about-fut-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I-and
and I will talk about this
16. ataataga aamma, tamalaarpassuarnik soqutigisaqarami_ '
ataata-ga aamma tamalaaq-passuaq-nik soqutigisaq-qaq-gami
father-1sg.pos.abs and a.little.of.everything-a.lot-pl.inst interest-have-3c.sg.CA
and my father was interested in many things
17. siullermik_ seminariami atuaqataavoq
siullermik seminaria-mi atuaqat-u-voq
at.first seminary-loc schoolmate-cop-3sg.I
the first time he went to the seminary (teacher's school)
18. ima kursuserpoq
ima kursus-er-voq
like course-have.a.course-3sg.I
like to take courses
19. maannakkutoorlugu_ '
maanna-kkut-tooq-lugu
now-via-like-trans.3sg.obj.CT
it would be called now
20. 1929-imi_
1929-mi
1929-loc
[was] in 1929

VI

21. {Taava_ tamatuma kinguningaatsiarsuagut 1942-imi_
Taava tamatuma kinguneq-ngaatsiaq-suaq--agut 1942-mi
so this-rel result/succession-very.much-big-3sg.pos.via 1942-loc
so then much later in 1942
22. aamma kingumut ukiivoq Nuummi_
aamma kingumut ukii-voq Nuuk-mi
and again winter over-3sg.I Nuuk-loc
and he again was one year [wintered over] in Nuuk
23. aamma seminariami_
aamma seminaria-mi
and seminary-loc
and in the seminary
- atuaqataalluni_
atuaqat-u-luni
schoolmate-cop-3sg.CT
he learned

VII

24. {Taamaalilluni,
Taamaali-luni
be like that-3sg.CT
and in this way
25. ajoqitut sulilivinnini_'
ajoqi-tut sulileq-vig-neq-ni
catechist-eq work-begin-really-nom-3sg.coref.abs
he really began to work as a catechist [i.e. his really beginning to work as a catechist
was authorized]
26. (tassami, uppersaaserlugu_/})
tassami uppersaat-ler-lugu
in.any.case proof/certificate-provide.with-trans.3sg.obj.CT
in any case he got a certificate

VIII

27. {Taava_
Taava
then
and then
- oqaatigissavakkalu taamanikkut piniartorsuit,
oqaatigi-ssa-vakka-lu taamani-kkut piniartoq-suaq-it
talk.about-fut-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.I-and at.that.time-via hunter-big-pl.abs
I can talk about the big hunters in those days
- piniautinnarsuit akornanni Saarlumi_
piniautoq-innaq-suaq-it akornanni Saarloq-mi
hunter-only-big-pl.rel among Saarloq-loc
among only the big hunters in Saarloq
28. inuit_'
inuk-it
person-pl.abs
the Inuit
- (uanga meeraanerpiama nalaani_) **softer**
uanga meeraaneq-piaq-ma nalaani
1sg.abs/pos.abs childhood-exactly-1sg.pos.rel.time.period
when I was just a child at this time
29. Qaarusumminngaanniit nuupput Saarlumut_'
Qaarusuk-minngaanniit nuuC-vut Saarloq-mut
Qaarusuk-abl move-3pl.I Saarloq-term
they moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq
30. taamaalillunilu,
taamaali-luni-lu
be.like.that-3sg.CT-and
and it was like this/in this way

31. Saarloq inuttusiallappoq_'
 Saarloq-0 inuttu-si-allag-voq
 Saarloq-abs have/be.people-intrans-increase-3sg.I
 Saarloq became more populated
32. tassa, immaqa 70-80-it missaanni inoqalerluni_
 tassa immaqa 70-80-it missaanni inuk-qaq-leq-luni
 that.is maybe 70-80-pl.rel about person-have-begin-3sg.CT
 that is it had maybe about 70-80 people
33. (Taakkulu tamarmik piniartuupput_)
 Taakku-lu tamaq-mik piniartoq-u-vut
 Those.abs-and all-abs hunter-cop-3pl.I
 and those ones were all hunters

IX

34. {Ataataga ajoqitut_meeqqanullu atuartitsisutut sulivoq_'
 Ataata-ga ajoqi-tut meeraq-t-nut-lu atuartitsisoq-tut suli-voq
 father-1sg.pos.abs catechist-eq child-pl-term-and teacher-eq work-3sg.I
 My father worked as a catechist and as a teacher to children
35. uangalu_ atuarianni_
 uanga-lu atuari-anni
 1sg.abs-and school-1sg.pos.loc
 and me, in my school
- meeqqat atuarianni atuariigaara_
 meeraq-t atuari-anni atuari-gi-vara
 child-pl.rel school-3pl.pos.loc school-have-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I had him as a teacher in the children's school
36. meeraqatikka allat ilagalugit_
 meeraq-qat-kka alla-t ilaga-lugit
 child-companion-1sg.pos/pl.posm.abs other-pl.abs together.with-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 together with my other child playmates

X

37. {Taava_juumooqarpugut_'
 Taava juumooq-qaq-vugut
 then midwife-have-1pl.I
 we had a midwife
38. aamma, ilinniarsimannngitsumik,
 aamma ilinniaq-sima-nngit-soq-mik
 and learn-perf-neg-nom-inst
 and [she was] without learning [i.e. [she was] someone without learning]
39. imaappoq tiguinnakkamik_
 imaak-voq tigu-innaq-saq³-mik
 be.like.this-3sg.I take-just/only-pas-inst
 let me say this, she was just taken [i.e. that is, she was just taken]

³/g/ + noncontinuent C becomes /kk/ when following syllable begins with /m/.

40. kisianni juumootut.
 kisianni juumooq-tut
 but midwife-eq
 but as a midwife

atorluartorujussuarmik,
 atorluaq-soq-rujussuaq-mik
 use.in.a.reasonable.way-nom-very big-inst
 [she was] a very good one

41. Tassaavoq arnaq utoqqaq: H.E._}
 Tassa-u-voq arnaq-0 utoqqaq-0: H.E.
 that.is-cop-3sg.I woman-abs old.person-abs: H.E.
 It was an old lady: Henriette E.

XI

42. {Maani, naluneqanngittut
 Maani nalu-neqaq-nngit-sut
 here not.know-pas-neg-3pl.P
 Here the well-known

J.E.-ikkut, B.E.-ikkut.
 J.E.-kkut-0 B.E.-kkut-0
 J.E.-family-abs B.E.-family-abs
 J.E. and B.E. [families],

aanaavat_}
 aanaa-at[†]
 grandmother-3pl.pos/sg.posm.abs
 their grandmother

XII

43. {Taava soorlu oqareersunga
 Taava soorlu oqaq-reer-sunga
 then for.example/like say-already-1sg.P
 then, like I said before

44. ataataga,
 ataata-ga
 father-1sg.pos.abs

aamma soqutigisaqaqigami
 aamma soqutigisaq-qaq-qi-gami
 and interest-have-intens-3c.sg.CA
 because my father had many interests

[†]the /v/ in *aanaavat* is epenthetic; the same vowel cannot occur more than twice without a consonant in Greenlandic.

45. kommunerådi Nuummi⁵ ilaasortaavoq_ '
 kommuneråd-0 Nuuk-mi ilaasorta-q-u-voq
 community.council-abs Nuuk-loc member-cop-3sg.I
 he was a member of the community council in Nuuk

46. taamanikkut Saarloq_ '
 taamani-kkut Saarloq-0
 at.that.time-via Saarloq-abs
 because at that time Saarloq

Nuup Kommuneaniikkami_
 Nuuk-up Kommune-aniit-gami
 Nuuk-rel Commune-3sg.pos.loc-3c.sg.CA
 was a part of the Nuuk Commune

47. kommunerådi Nuummi_ '
 kommunerådi Nuuk-mi
 community.council-abs Nuuk-loc

ataatsimeeqatigiuarpaa_}
 ataatsimii-qat-gi-juaq-vaa
 be.in.a.meeting-companion-have-always-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj
 he always used to have [had] a meeting with the Nuuk community council

XIII

48. {Taava inuunermi ilaatigut,
 Taava inuuneq-mi ilaatigut
 then life-3sg.coref.pos.rel sometime/once/part
 then for a part of his life

aamma Landsrådimi_ '
 aamma Landsråd-mi
 and country's.council-loc
 in the country's council

49. (tassa, qanormaannaa?_ '
 tassa qanoq-maanna-a
 that.is how-now-IN.vowel.lengthening
 that is, how do we say it?

suppleant_
 suppleant
 vice.member [Danish word]
 as a vice member

tassa_)
 tassa
 that.is
 that is

⁵long words and compounds, strange words, etc. suspend all case endings in Greenlandic. Thus, *Annamik* *atiqarpunga* 'I am called Anna', but *atiqarpunga Anna Berge* 'I am called Anna Berge'

sinnisut-- sinniisussatut_ '
 sinniisussa-tut
 vice.member-eq [Greenlandic word]
 as a vice member

50. aamma Landsráðimi ataatsimeeqataasarpoq **tape: ataatsimeeqat-- ataaseq**
 aamma Landsráð-mi ataatsimii-qat-u-saq-voq
 and country.council-loc be.in.a.meeting-companion-cop-habit-3sg.I
 and he used to be in the country council meetings

51. marloriarluni ataataga_}
 marloq-giaq-luni ataata-ga
 two-do.x.times⁶-3sg.CT father-1sg.pos.abs
 going twice, my father [i.e. as vice-member, taking over when the chief was
 indisposed]

XIV

52. {taamaalilluni_
 taamaali-luni
 like.this-3sg.CT
 and in this way/like this

53. politikkimut_
 politikki-mut
 politics-term

ataataga iseriartuaarsimavoq,
 ataata-ga iser-jartuaaq-sima-voq
 father-1sg.pos.abs enter-more.and.more-perf-3sg.I
 my father got more and more into politics

54. aammalu nalunngilara
 aamma-lu nalu-nngit-lara
 and-and not.know-neg-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj neg.I
 and I know

55. inuusunnerminiit soqutigisariuarsimagaa_}
 inuusunneq-minit soqutigisaq-gi-juaq-sima-gaa
 youth-3c.sg.pos.abl interest-have-always-perf-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.part
 he has always been interested in it from his youth

XV

56. {Ataataga_
 Ataata-ga
 father-1sg.pos.abs
 My father

⁶-giaq- refers back to noun stem for its meaning: *N-giaq-* 'do N times'.

imaannaanngitsorsuartut oqaatigineqarsinnaavoq_
 imaannaanngit-soq-suaq-tut oqaatigi-neqaq-sinnaa-voq
 not.without.importance/meaning-nom-big-eq⁷ sa. about.one-pas-can-3sg.I
 he was said to be an exceptional person [i.e. was like one not without importance]

My father was said to be an exceptional person; it can be said that my father was like an exceptional person

57. aammami_ takisuuliorpallaarnanga
 aamma-mi takisooq-liq-vallaaq-nanga
 and-intens long-make-so/too much-1sg.neg.CT
 and not to make it [story] too long [I won't make it too long]

58. oqaatigitsiarsinnaavara,
 oqaatigi-tsiaq-sinnaa-vara
 say.about.one-a.little-can-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I can say a little about this

59. qanoq inuuneqarsimasoq_
 qanoq inuuneq-qaq-sima-soq
 how life-have-perf-3sg.P
 how he has lived

XVI

60. {Inuusunnermini_
 Inuusunneq-mini
 youth-3c.sg.pos.loc
 in his youth

suli ajoqinngunngikkallartilluni_
 suli ajoqi-nngur-nngit-gallaq-tit-luni
 yet catechist-become-neg-temporary/continuous-cause-3sg.CT
 when he hadn't yet been caused to become a catechist.

61. ataataga.
 ataata-ga
 father-1sg.pos.abs
 my father

kunngerput_
 kunngi-rput
 king-1pl.pos/sg.posm.abs
 our king

1921-imi_
 1921-mi
 1921-loc
 in 1921

⁷The equalis here is used in its predicative function.

danskit kunngiat. Christiaat 10.-lingat (qulingat).
 danski-t kunngi-at. Christiaat 10.-lingat (qulingat)
 Dane-pl.rel king-3pl.pos.abs. Christian 10th (tenth)
 the Danes' king. Christian the 10th

tikeraarmat_'
 tikeraar-mat
 arrive.from.traveling-3nc.sg.CA
 when he arrived

62. taamanikkut. Nuup eqqaani qajarpar-- --passuit.
 taamani-kkut Nuuk-up eqqaq-ani qajaq-passuit
 at.that.time-via Nuuk-rel neighborhood-3sg.pos.loc kayak-lots.of.pl
 at that time around Nuuk

umiarpassuillu piugallarmata_
 umiaq-passuit-lu pi-u-gallaq-mata
 boat-lots.of.pl-and thing-cop-continuous-3nc.pl.CA
 there were lots of kayaks and umiaqs

XVII

63. {taamani_ qaannakkut_
 taamani qaannat⁸-kkut
 at.that.time kayak.sg-via
 at that time

immaqa unammersuartut siullerpaat_
 immaqa unammer-suaq-tut siulleq-paat
 maybe competition-big-eq first-intens
 maybe the very first kayak competitions

64. Nuup eqqaa. tamakkerlugu_
 Nuuk-up eqqaq-a tamakker-lugu
 Nuuk-rel neighborhood-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs all.together-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 including the whole Nuuk area

65. ataatama peqataaffiginikuuvai_
 ataata-ma peqataa-ffigi-nikuu-vai
 father-1sg.pos.rel be.with/take.part.in-trans-past.perf-trans.3sg.subj/3pl.obj.I
 my father took part in them

XVIII

66. {Issuatsiarsinnaavaralu_
 Issuar-tsiaq-sinnaa-vara-lu
 cite-a.little-can-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj-and
 and I can cite a little of this

⁸*qaannat* is a singular or plural form of *qajar*; it can also refer to the person paddling the kayak. In modern South Greenlandic, the form *qajat* is often heard. *qaannat* is the result of a phonological rule which is slowly becoming obsolescent, in which a continuant becomes long when followed by a nonuvular consonant in the next syllable: *j* becomes *n* when geminated.

67. Aggu Lyngeugaluup_'
 Aggu Lynge-u-galuaq-up
 Aggu Lynge-cop-late-rel
 the late Aggu Lynge

allaaserigamiuk.
 allaaseri-gamiuk
 write.about-trans 3c.sg.subj/3sg.obj.CA
 wrote about this period

68. ataataga pisimagaa_'
 ataata-ga pi-sima-gaa
 father-1sg.pos abs thing-perf-trans.3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 he has said this *****ataataga is absolutive; is it object of allaaserigamiuk?**

69. "Pikkorinnersaallu immikkut akissarsisippaa"_}
 PikkoriC-neq-saat-lu immikkut akissarsi-tit-vaa
 clever-sup-means.to-and special/individual ge. prize-cause-tran. 3sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 and the cleverest will get a special prize/he will get a prize to the cleverest

70. (Tassa kunngip Christiaap qulingata_)}
 Tassa kunngi-p Christiaa-p qulingat-a
 that.is king-rel Christian-rel tenth-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 that is, king Christian the 10th

(Christiaap qulingata_)}
 Christiaa-p qulingat-a
 Christian-rel tenth-3sg.pos/sg.posm.abs
 Christian the 10th

XIX

71. {taamanikkut tassa, nersusaasorujorujorujoruussuuvog
 taamani-kkut tassa nersor-saq-u-soq-ruju-ruju-rujussuaq-u-voq
 at.that.time that.is praise-pas.P-cop-nom-very-very-very.much-cop-3sg.I
 at that time he was very very very much praised.

ataataga,
 ataata-ga
 father-1sg abs
 my father

72. maannakkuusuuppat
 maanna-kkut-u-soq-u-ppat
 now-via-cop-nom-cop-3nc.sg.CO
 if it were today/now

73. tusaamasanngorsimagaluarluni_
 tusaamasaq-nngor-sima-galuaq-luni
 famous-become-perf-conseq-3sg.CT
 he would have been very popular

XX

74. {Kisianni taava taallatsiaannarlugit_
 kisianni taava taa-llatsiaq-innaq-lugit
 but then mention-little-just-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 but then just to mention these a bit
75. meeraanera_ eqqartulaassavara_
 meeraaneq-ga eqqartor-laaq-ssa-vara
 childhood-1sg.pos.abs talk.about-a.little-fut-trans.1sg.subj/3sg.obj.I
 I will talk a little about my childhood
76. Taamanikkut meeraanerma nalaani_
 Taamani-kkut meeraaneq-ma nalaani
 at.that.time-via childhood-1sg.pos.rel time.period-3c.sg.pos.loc
 at that time in the time of my childhood
- piniagassaapput_
 piniagassat-u-vut
 hunted.animal-cop-3pl.I
 there were animals that were hunted
77. piniagassatigut taasinnaasakka tassa_
 piniagassat-tigut taa-sinnaa-sakka tassa
 hunted.animals-pl.via give.provenance.of-can-trans.1sg.subj/3pl.obj.P that.is
 I can give the list of the hunted animals
78. Ukiumi_
 Ukioq-mi
 winter-loc
 In the winter
- terianniat_
 terianniaq-t
 fox-pl.abs
 [there were] foxes,
- aqissit_
 aqisseq-t
 ptarmigan-pl.abs
 ptarmigans,
- ukallit_
 ukaleq-t
 hare-pl.abs
 and hares
79. taavalu aamma_ soorunalumi puisit_
 taava-lu aamma sooruna-lu-mi puisit
 then-and and of.course-and-what.about seal-pl
 and then of course what about the seals

80. sikukkut avungalu, Natsilimmut_ '
 siku-kkut avunga-lu Natsilik-mut
 ice-via in.the.north-and Natsilik-term
 across the ice up north to Natsilik

Saarluminngaanniit ilaanni sisoraaserlutik
 Saarloq-minngaanniit ilaanni sisorar-uti-ler-lutik
 Saarloq-abl sometimes ski-device-begin-3pl.CT
 sometimes putting skis on from Saarloq

81. piniariartarlutik_}
 piniar-giaq-saq-lutik
 hunt-go.to.do-habit-3pl.CT
 hunting

XXI

82. {Taava_
 Taava
 then
 then

upernariartortillugu,
 upernar-giartoq-tit-lugu
 become.spring-go.to.do-caus-trans.3sg.obj.CT
 when spring came

83. piniagassat saqqummeriartortarput_ '
 piniagassat saqqummer-giartoq-saq-vut
 hunting.animals.pl.abs come.out-more.and.more-habit-3pl.I
 the hunting animals used to come out more and more

84. allatuulli_ '
 allatooq-t-li
 young.Greenland.seal-pl.abs-intens
 and young Greenland seals

taava aataarpassuit_
 taava aataaq-passuit
 then Greenland.seal-lots.of.pl.abs
 and lots of Greenland (harp) seals

Newfoundlandip avataaninngaanniit_ '
 Newfoundland-ip avataa-ningaanniit
 Newfoundland-rel coast-pl.abl

nunatsinnut tikerallaraangamik _' **tape: nunatsinnip**
 nuna-tsinnut tiker-gallaq-gaangamik
 land-lpl.pos.term arrive-intens-whenever.3c.pl.CA
 arrived continually from the Newfoundland coast to our land

85. sineriapput_
 sineriak-vut
 coast-lpl.pos/pl.posm.abs

kangerluillu_pulaararlugit
 kangerluk-it-lu_pulaar-ar-lugit
 fjord-pl.abs-and visit-for.a.while-trans.3pl.obj.CT
 visiting our coasts and the fjords for a while

86. aataarpassuanngortarput_
 aataaq-passuaq-nngor-saq-vut
 Greenland.seal-lots.of-become-habit-3pl.I
 there used to be lots of Greenland seals [coming]

meeraaffimma nalaani Saarluni_
 meeraq-ffik-ma nalaani Saarloq-ni
 child-place/time-1sg.pos.rel time.period-3c.sg.pos.loc Saarloq-loc
 in the time of my childhood in Saarloq

Saarluminngaanniit_}} **unclear voice on tape**
 Saarloq-minngaanniit
 Saarloq-abl
 from Saarloq

XXII

87. {Taamanikkullu pissarsiomerput_
 Taamani-kkut-lu pissaq-sioq-neq-vut
 at.that.time-via-and game⁹-deal.with-nom-1pl.pos
 and at that time our livelihood

88. eqqaamasaaqanngilanga,
 eqqaamasat-qaq-nngit-langa
 memories-have-neg-1sg.neg.I
 I don't have any memories

89. ajorsapilluta ukiorsiorlunnitsinnit_
 ajor-saq-0 pi-luta ukioq-sioq-lug-neq-tsinnit
 be bad-nom-abs thing-1sg.pl.CT winter-be.out.in-bad-nom-1pl.pos.abl¹⁰
 [that] we had bad luck in our bad winters

I don't remember that we had actual hardship because of bad winters

XXIII

{aamakku avatinnguatsinni aalisagarpassuit_
 aamakku avati-nnguaq-tsinni aalisagaq-passuit
 [exclamation]¹¹ outside-little-1pl.pos.loc fish-lots.of.pl.abs
 and all this fish right outside!

⁹The term *pissaq* refers to 'game' in a hunting economy; otherwise, it means 'income' in contemporary usage.

¹⁰The ablative can have causal semantics.

¹¹*aamakku* is an exclamatory, demonstrative, or vocative particle.

90. suluppaakkat_ '
suluppaagaq-t -
redfish-pl.abs
redfish

eqqarsaatigalugit
eqqarsaat-gi-lugit
thought-have-trans.3pl.obj.CT
[I] have thoughts about them

91. suluppaakkat taakku piniagaanerpapput
suluppaagaq-t taakku pinia-gaq-a-nerpaa-vut
redfish-pl.abs those.abs hunt-pas-3sg.pos-sup-3pl.I
those red fish were most hunted

92. taamanimi meearpiaanerma nalaani
taamani-mi meeraq-piaq-u-neq-ma nalaani
at.that.time-intens child-only.just-cop-nom-1sg.pos.rel time.period.3sg.pos.loc
at that time in the time of my childhood [when I was only just a child]

saarulliit suli imat-- imannarsuaq pitsilersimannngimmata¹²_}
saarulleq-it suli imannarsuaq pi-si-leq-sima-nngit-mata
codfish-pl.abs yet to.such.a.degree thing-intrans-begin-perf-neg-3nc.pl.CA
the codfish weren't yet [hunted] to such a degree

XXIV

93. {Kisianni_ taamanikkut saarulliit qaffartarput tassami_ /
Kisianni taamani-kkut saarulleq-it qaffar-saq-vut tassami
but at.that.time-via codfish-pl.abs come.higher.up-habit-3pl.I in.any.case
but at that time the codfish used to come higher up in any case

94. itisuuminngaanniit qaffartarput upernaakkut.
itisooq-minngaanniit qaffar-saq-vut upernaq-kkut
deep-abl come.higher.up-habit-3pl.I spring-via
they came higher up from the deep [water] in the spring

95. soorlu eqqarsaatigigutsigu
soorlu eqqarsaatigi-gutsigu
for.example think.about.it-trans.1pl.subj/3sg.obj.CO
for example if we think about it

96. aprili_ '
apriili
April
April

¹²The derivation and meaning of this word is unclear, and it may involve a misprint by the transcriber. The two possibilities listed by P. Langgård here are *pitsip*- meaning 'buy something for someone' and *pitser*- meaning 'little by little'

apriili majikkunni_'
 apriili maji-kkut-ni
 April May-family-loc
 in April or May

qaffaraangata
 qaffar-gaangata
 come.higher.up-whenenever.3nc.pl.CA
 whenever they came higher up

97. tassa saarullissuit piisaarutigilersarpagut aamma
 tassa saarulleq-ssuaq-t piisaar-utigi-leq-saq-vavut aamma
 that.is codfish-big-pl.abs overflow-reason-begin-habit-trans. 1pl.subj/3pl.obj.I and
 that is we began to overflow/gorge ourselves with codfish

98. piliassat naammattorsuit_}
 piliat¹³-ssat naamaC-soq-suaq-t
 winter.supply-fut pl.abs good-nom-big-pl.abs
 the future winter supply [was] great/[there was] a very good future winter supply

¹³*piliat* is a lexicalized plural noun.

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
I-II growing up near Nuuk	I										
	1	so first I am going to talk about this	I	it	reflection: talk about	I		tassa	erg		future:- ssa-
	2	I was born in Nuuk	I		be born	I	in Nuuk				
	3	that is in 1928						tassa			
	II										
	4	It was like this for me/I was like this	I		be like	CT- incor		(taamaali)			
	5	around Nuuk		neighbor- hood of Nuuk {E}			since childhood				
		ever since my childhood						-li			
		I have always been traveling	I	neighbor- hood of Nuuk	travel	I			erg		always: -juaq- perf: -sima-
	6	my growing up among only the great hunters being the reason	my growing up {E}		reason	CT- incor	among great hunters				
	III										
	7	my father himself was a hunter	my father		be hunter	I-incor					
III--IV father became a catechist	8	(I can say	I		reflection	I					

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	9	he was a great hunter (in his youth)	father		be hunter	I-incor	in his youth				
	10	but when he got old	father		become old	CT		kisianni			become: -nngor-
	11	that is he was put to work as a catechist	father		work	I	as a catechist	tassa			begin: -ler-
	12	because no one else could be got	other		not want	CA 3c	other (inst)				
	IV 13	and we were like that	we		be like	CT- incor		(taamali) -lu			
	14	in the place where I was a child, in Saarloq					in place where I was child, in Saarloq				
		he worked as a catechist for many years	father		work	I	as a catechist			many years	
	V 15	and I will talk about this	I	it	reflection: talk about	I		-lu	erg		future: -ssa-
V-VII father learned to be a catechist	16	and my father was interested in many things	father	a little of everything	be interested	CA 3c		aamma			
	17	the first time he went to the seminary	father		be schoolmate	I	in seminary				

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect begin: -ler-
	18	like to have a course	father		take courses be called now	I-incor		ima			
	19	it would be called now	dummy {to take courses}			CT			erg	maannakkut incor	
	20	{was} in 1929									
	VI 21	so then much later in 1942						tauva			
	22	and he again was one year {wintered over} in Nuuk	father		winter {verb}	I	in Nuuk	aamma			
	23	and in the seminary					in seminary	aamma			
		he learned	father		be schoolmate	CT					
	VII 24	and in this way	dummy		be like	CT'		(taamaali)			
	25	he really began to work as a catechist	father		work	N	as a catechist				begin: -leq-
	26	(in any case he got the certificate)	father	it	get certificate	CT		tassami	erg		begin: -leq-
	VIII										
VIII hunters	27	and then						tauva			

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		I can talk about the big hunters in those days	we	hunters	talk about	I		-lu	erg	taamanikkut	future:- ssu-
		among only the big hunters in Saarloq			hunters		among hunters in Saarloq				
	28	the Inuit (when I was just a child at this time)	the Inuit [E]		be child	N	in time				
	29	moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq	the Inuit		move	I	from Qaarusuk to Saarloq				
	30	and it was like this/in this way	dummy		be like	CT		(tuamaali) -lu			
	31	Saarloq became more populated	Saarloq		have more people	I					
	32	that is it had maybe about 70-80 people	Saarloq		have people	CT- incor		tassa immaqa			begin:- -leq-
	33	(and those ones were all hunters)	those ones	all	be hunters	I-incor		-lu			
IX father taught kids	IX 34	my father worked as a catechist and as a teacher to children	my father		work	I	as a catechist as teacher to children				

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
X-XI speaker's midwife	35	and me, in my school	I				in school				
		I had him as a teacher in the children's school	I	father	have school	I-incor	in children's school		erg		
	36	together with my other child playmates	[I]	other child playmates	be together with	CT			erg		
	X 37	then, we had a midwife	we		have midwife	I-incor		taava			
	38	and someone without learning		someone without learning [E]		N		aamma			
	39	let me say this [that means], she was just taken (as a lay one)	dummy	just taken	be like [imaa] [be]	I N		imaappoq			
	40	but as a midwife					as a midwife	kisianni			
		a very good one		good one [E]		N					
	41	it was an old lady: Henriette Ezekiasen	old lady H.E. [E]		be that	I		tassa(avoq)			
	XI 42	here the well-known	J.E. and B.E.		be known	N/P adj					pas: -neqaq-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr erg	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		Joel Esekiassen and Barsalay Esekiassen, their grandmother									
XII-XIV father is politically involved	XII 43	then, like I said before	I		reflection: say	P		taava soorlu			already: -reer-
	44	my father	my father [E]								
		because my father had many interests	my father		have interests	CA 3c- incor		aamma			
	45	he was a member of the community council in Nuuk	father	comm. council	be member	1-incor	in Nuuk				
	46	because at that time Saarloq	Saarloq [E]							taamanikkut	
		was a part of the Nuuk Commune			be part of council	CA 3c incor					
	47	community council in Nuuk		comm. council [E]			in Nuuk				
		he always used to have a meeting with it	father	comm. council	have meeting	1-incor			erg		always: -juaq-
	XIII 48	and for a part of his life					in life	taava			

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		in the country's council					in country's council	aamma			
	49	(that is how do we say it?)	unspec		reflection	ellipsis		tassa		-mau(nna)	
		as a vice member					as vice member				
		that is)						tassa			
		as a vice member					as a vice member				
	50	and he used to be in the meetings in the country's council	father		be in meetings	I-incor	in country's council	aamma			habit: -saq-
	51	going twice, my father	my father [E]		go twice [to meetings]	CT					go to do: -giaq-
XIV											
	52	and in this way/like this	dummy		be like	CT		(taamaali)			
	53	into politics					into politics				
		my father got more and more	my father		enter	I					increase: - jartuaaq- perl: -sima-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	54	and I know	I	it	reflection	I		aammalu	erg		
	55	he has always been interested in it from his youth	father		have interest	P	from his youth		erg		always: -juaq- perf: -sima-
XV-XIX kayak compet. and father's qualities	XV 56	My father	my father [E]								
		he was said to be an exceptional person/it can be said that he was an exceptional person	father		be not without importance	I	predicative like an exceptional person				pas: -neq- can: -sinnua-
	57	and not to make it [story] too long	I		make [story] long	I		aammami			too much: -vullaq- can: -sinnua-
	68	I can say a little about this	I	it [how father lived]	reflection: say	I			erg		
	59	how he lived	father		live	P- incor					pas: -neqaq- perf: -sima-
	XVI 60	in his youth					in youth				
		when he hadn't yet been caused to become a catechist	father		become catechist	CT		suli			continua : -gallaq- cause: -tit-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	61	my father our king in 1921 the Danes' king, Christian the 10th when he arrived	my father [E] our king [E] king [E]								
	62	at that time around Nuuk there were lots of kayaks and umiaqs			arrive	CA 3nc	around Nuuk			taamunikkut	
			kayaks and umiaqs		be lots of things	CA 3nc					continua l: -gullaq-
XVII	63	at that time, via kayak maybe the first kayak competitions								taumani	
	64	including the whole Nuuk area	unspec	Nuuk neighbor- hood	be together	CT- incor	through kayaks	immaqa		erg	
	65	my father took part in them	my father	kayak compet.	take part in	I			erg		past perf: -nikuu-
XVIII	66	and I can cite a little of this	I	it	reflection	I		-lu	erg		can: -sinnua-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	67	the late Aggu Lynge wrote about this period	A. Lynge [E] Lynge	it {time}	write	CA 3c			erg		
	68	he has said this ?	king?	father?	{say}	I			erg		perf:
	69	"and the cleverest will get a prize"	cleverest		get prize	I-incor		-lu	erg		-sima- cause: -tit-
	70	that is King Christian the 10th Christian the 10th	king [E] king [E]								
	XIX 71	at that time he was very very very much praised, my father	my father [E]		be praised [E]	I		tassa		taamanikkut	
	72	if it were today/now	dummy		be now	CO incor				maannakkut	
	73	he would have been very popular	father		be popular	CT					become: -nngor- perf: -sima- conseq: -galuuq-
XX list of animals hunted	XX 74	but then just to mention a bit	unspec	animals? king and father?	mention	CT		kisianni tuava	erg		

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	75	I will talk a little about my childhood	I	my childhood	reflection: talk about	I			erg		future: -ssa-
	76	at that time in the time of my childhood					in time of childhood			taamanikkut	
		there were animals that were hunted	dummy		be hunted animals	I-incor					
	77	I can give the list of the hunted animals	I		give list	P	through animals	tassa	erg		can: -sinnaa-
	78	in the winter					in winter				
		foxes	foxes [E]								
		ptarmigan	ptarmigan [E]								
		and hares	hares [E]								
seals	79	and then of course what about the seals	seals [E]					taavalu aamma soorunalu mi			
	80	through the ice up north to Natsilik					through ice in the north to Natsilik				
		sometimes putting skis on from Saarloq	unspec 3pl		put skis on	CT	from Saarloq			ilaanni	begin: -ler-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	81	hunting	unspec 3pl		hunt	CT					go to do: -giaq- habit: -saq-
	XXI 82	then						taava			
		when spring came	dummy		become spring	CT- incor			erg		go to do: -giartoq- cause: -tit-
	83	the hunting animals used to come out more and more	animals		come out	I					go to do: -giartoq- habit: -saq-
arrival of seals	84	and young Greenland seals	Grld seals [E]					-li			
		and lots of Greenland seals	Grld seals [E]					taava			
		from the Newfoundland coast					from NI coast				
		arrived continually to our land	Grld seals		arrive	CA 3c					continua l: -gallaq- wheneve r: -gaa-
	85	our coasts		our coasts [E]							

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
		and our fjords visiting for a while	seals	our fjords	visit	CT		-lu	erg		for a while;
	86	there used to be lots of Greenland seals	Grld seals		be many	I-incor					-ar- become; -nngor- habit: -saq-
		in the time of my childhood in Saarloq					in time of childhood in Saarloq				
		from Saarloq					from Saarloq				
	XXII										
	87	and at that time they had to travel [here]	seals		travel?	I		-lu		taamanikkut	must: -neq-
	88	I don't have any memories	I		reflection: remember	I-incor					
	89	[that] we had bad luck in our bad winter	we		no bad luck	CT					habit: -saq-
	XXIII										
XXII[- plenty of redfish		and all this fish right outside!	fish					aamakku			
		redfish	redfish [F]								
	90	I have thoughts	[I]	redfish	reflection	CT- incor			erg		

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense-aspect
	91	those red fish were most hunted	redfish		be hunted	I					
	92	at that time in the time of my childhood					in time of childhood	-mi		taamani	
		the codfish weren't yet [hunted] to such a degree	codfish		not be hunted yet	CA 3nc		suli			begin: -leq- perf: -sima-
XXIV plenty of codfish	XXIV 93	but at that time the codfish used to come higher up in any case	codfish		come higher up	I		kisianni tassumi		taamanikkut	habit: -suq-
	94	they came from higher up from the deep {water} in the spring	codfish		come higher up	I	from deep			upernaakkut	habit: -suq-
	95	for example if we think about it	we	it	reflection: think	CO		soorlu	erg		
	96	April									
		in April or May					in April or May				
		whenever they came higher up	codfish		come higher up	CA 3nc					whenever: -gaa-

discourse theme	#	text	subject	object topic	clausal theme	verb form	oblique topic	particles	Tr	temporal adverbs	tense- aspect
	97	that is we began to overflow/gorge ourselves with codfish	we	codfish	gorge	l		tassa aamma	erg		begin: -leq- habit: -saq-
	98	the future winter supply [was] great/[there was] a very good future winter supply	winter supply			be good					

Appendix IV--supplementary charts of CT/P distribution

(From early attempts to analyze the distribution of CT/P in the texts.)

In the following tables, the first column represents the assumed thematic antecedent of the contemporative; the second column represents the instances of contemporative in the respective texts. Where only clauses are listed (as opposed to discourse themes), there is some direct repetition or connection between the contemporative and a preceding clause.

text 1a contemporatives

1-11: comparison of life today with life in the past	theme applies especially to contemporatives in clauses 1 and 8
1 our culture	1 compared to our childhood
3 when my eyes first began to see well	4 and my ears first began to hear well
1 today in our country our culture, compared to our childhood, it was a very different life	8 comparing the people's way of life to today
1 compared to our childhood 3 when my eyes first began to see well 4 when my ears first began to hear well	12 At that time we were children
hunters in Qaqortoq use kayaks	theme applies to contemporative in clause 21 and all winter long
23-35 list of workers in towns 36-38 catechists are teachers 39-46 catechists spread knowledge	applies to contemporatives in clauses 41 and 45 41 those catechists were educated in the Greenland Seminary 45 they have been using in explaining the enormous knowledge
43 the catechists were the only ones in those days who could spread knowledge 45 and this knowledge, their own	
47-66 catechists were not well taken care of by the management 51 Greenland Steering worked with them	applies to contemporatives in clauses 54, 58, and 62-66 52 Greenland Steering did it by way of the deanery
50 they have not been payed well by the management	54 without even asking them 58 they would fire them

59 they were given houses not yet built	62 they first had to build houses themselves
	63 sometimes over more than a year
	64 they had to live in another house
	65 even having a child
	66 and having a wife
67-69 reflection	applies to contemporatives in clauses 74 and 75
70-74 conditions for non-catechists	74 to join the township
72 those ones lived in the villages, the towns	
71 those ones weren't moved much	75 they were not moved
75-92 duties of the catechist	applies to contemporatives in clauses 85-88, 90, 92, 93
37 in any case they weren't just in churches	85 from first to seventh grade
48 they worked a lot, those ones	86 being alone
49 in a very important/meaningful way they worked	87 when he's going to be at work all day
79 it is true those ones have worked amazingly	88 leading services on Sunday
89 if there is a dead person	90 he buries the dead
91 if someone is to be christened	92 he christens them
37, 48, 49, 79, etc.	93 he had to write about the Church
94-103 extra-professional needs	applies to contemporatives in clauses 96, 98, 101-102
79-93	95 even if they are working as a teacher or as a priest
	96 to have food
97 they had to learn to be kayak rowers	98 learning it completely
95 to have food	102 wanting to have something to eat
101 they went hunting	103 wanting to have food
	104 I am going to stop here a little

Text 1a, like the other texts, seems to have a clear functional difference in the scope of thematic continuity between contemporatives which precede or follow the superordinate clause. Clauses which precede have been identified as 1, 8, 12, 21, 41, 54, and 96. With the exceptions of clause 1, which clearly cannot have a thematic antecedent in previous discourse, since it is the start of the text, and clause 21 'all winter long', a temporal clause similar to like clauses in other texts in not having a clear antecedent, all

others refer to information from a previous paragraph or intonational group. Clauses which follow the superordinate, including 4, 45 (headed by the focused noun phrase 'this knowledge'), 52, 58, 62-66, 74, 75, 85-88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 102, and 104, for the most part continue the topic or theme of the immediately preceding superordinate. For example, clause 90 'if there is someone to be christened' is followed by the contemporative clause 91 'he christens them': the topic is local and never repeated. Clause 95, however, 'even if they are working as a teacher or priest', repeats a theme which has had importance in a great many of the preceding clauses.

text 1a participials

	22 the kayak is much used
23 the priest--Dane	24 he spoke Greenlandic
25 the trader--Dane	26 he only spoke Danish
27 the traders, the doctor, the nurses, the teacher--Dane	28 they only spoke Danish
23-35 different townspeople, Danes and Greenlanders	(36 the catechists were very important)
	37 they weren't just in churches
38-41 the catechists work in schools as teachers	42 they spread out to our land, to towns and villages
43 and 45-46 the catechists spread knowledge	44 they had been educated in the Greenland Seminary
38-41 the catechists work in schools as teachers	48 they worked a lot
43-46 they spread knowledge	49 they worked in an able way
	50 but they were not well paid by the management
	69 We should thank them those very very much
	78 they have to tell about them

With respect to clause order, it will be noticed that all the participials which unambiguously follow the clause to which they are subordinate, clauses 22, 24, 26, 28, 31, 42, 44, and 78, indicate very local shifts in topic or theme. Thus, clause 24 'he spoke Greenlandic' only refers to shift in focus from clause 23 'the priest, a Dane', and so forth. (It should be noted that these may very well be nominalized forms.) Two clauses clearly

precede their superordinate. 37, and 69, the first of which heads a thematic shift for the paragraph. Clauses 48, 49, and 50, which seem to have no identifiable superordinate clause, also signal shifts in the succeeding paragraph.

text 1b contemporatives

107-111 comparison of occupations	applies to contemporatives in clauses 113 and 120
112-124 hunters went hunting in kayaks	113 they were damned good with the kayaks
112 they had kayaks	
111 they used to make rowboats	120 in order to use them to fish
110 when wh were children	124 when we were children
	131 we were a lot of children
125-129 kayakers arrive with seals	applies to contemporatives in clauses 129 and 136-138
130-141 eating seal liver and fat	129 even more seals in tow
135 we used to eat the liver	136 we ate tamuatsivaaq
	137 eating the seal skin with fat and liver
	138 we chewed a bit of skin and fat
142-146 visiting Grandfather	
147-158 Grandfather giving out chewing gum	applies to contemporatives in clause 153
149 when he gave us chewing gum	153 giving us chewing gum
159-163 going to Narsaq-	applies to contemporative in clauses 163, 172
162 we were often passengers	163 we were passengers
164-177 seeing the whales around the ship	applies to contemporatives in clauses 165, 169, and 173
164 we used to go from Qaqortoq to Narsaq	165 once
	169 once
	171 we were going from Qaqortoq to Narsaq
	173 they were circling the boat
178-181 Narsaq was small	
182-199 how the day started	applies to contemporatives in clauses 186, 187, 189, 190, and 196
	186 when we had drunk tea
	187 we entered the room
189 sitting himself down to the piano	189 the adults sitting down on the couch
	190 we children sitting down on the ground

195 we sang a morning psalm	196 we did a non-religious song
183-198 what we did when we woke up	199 that is how we began the day
200-219 Grandfather explains the uses of the eyes and ears	applies to contemporative in clauses 207, 211, 216, and 217
204 he used to bring along paper and pencil	207 I am writing them
205 that which my eyes can see	
206 and that which my ears can hear	
	211 bid your eyes and ears to do well
	216 let me just say it in this way
	217 when I was already an adult

In almost all of the instances in which a contemporative precedes the clause to which it is subordinate, it repeats information from a preceding intonational group, or paragraph. Thus, clauses 131, 153, 165, 169, 189, 190, 207, 217, all precede the clause to which they are subordinate, and all repeat information from a preceding paragraph. In all instances in which a contemporative follows the clause to which it is subordinate, the contemporative may or may not repeat information from a previous intonational group (or paragraph), but it does repeat information from its superordinate clause. Thus, clauses 113, 116, 120, 123, 129, 136, 137, 138, 197, 199, and 216 all repeat information from the preceding superordinate.

text 1b participials

108 in our land, its many people, today...	110 at that time when we were children
142-146 visits to Grandfather in the summer	147 I remember Grandfather
	148 used to give us chewing gum
147-158 Grandfather giving out gum	159 I remember when we went to Narsaq
159-164 going to Narsaq	166 I remember piked whales
	174 whales jumping again and again
165-181 piked whales	183 I remember...Grandfather in the morning
191 Grandfather read a prayer	195 Grandfather played the piano

183-199 how we started the day

201 Grandfather told Niels Henrik and me
about writing things down

All of the participials, with the exception of clause 174, very clearly occur at major shifts in topic. In this respect, they show the same level of marking of topic/thematic shift as the end of text 1a; that is, they tend to indicate paragraph rather than clause-level shifts, the exception being clause 174, which follows its superordinate. With respect to clause order, participials (as with contemporatives) which follow their superordinate seem to have restricted scope in terms of indicating topic or thematic change.

text 2 contemporatives

1-3 interviewer's question
1 we visit O. family

applies to contemporative in 2
2 we talk with O. family

4-13 speaker has already talked about is
early years working

applies to contemporative in 13

4 when I became an adult

6 when I was 18-19

12 I have already talked about my being a
partner in the fishing industry

13 I have already thought about my work

14-17 temporal setting
18-31 description of fish house

applies to contemporative in 27

17 I was a child in the 1920's

20 I was a child

18 codfishing was going to start

27 that house was the means to begin to the
fishing industry

32-35 selling codfish
36-37 cost of codfish

applies to contemporatives in 34 and 35

33 codfish used to be sold

34 without taking cods' head off
35 without opening them up

38-40 they used to travel to hunt
41-45 Qeqertalik use to have fish
50-59 we made nets

applies to contemporatives in 54-57

4 when I became an adult

46 when I was confirmed
47 when I did this
48 when I learned to fish

52 we ourselves used to build nets...	54 we used to make nets 55 we made them ourselves 56 we made nets 57 providing them with fishing lines
60-75 places for setting nets	applies to contemporatives in 62, 71, 73, 74
61 we couldn't use use the islands to camp	62 because it is nearest to Sarfannguit 71 Amerloq had houses on the sunshine and shadow sides
72 it was the place the hunting equipment was kept	73 it had a place for setting nets 74 there they set nets/had a place for nets
76-78 fjord is windy 76-99 taking care of the equipment	applies to contemporative in 78 applies to contemporatives in 89-91, 98
76 the fjord was usually windy	78 it was very windy
81 we used to use the night to attend to the fishing equipment 87 our things, then 88 we used to have more equipment on the sunny side	89 we used to bring them in on the line 90 like this 91 hauling them up
97 they might have to be untangled	98 they were a little like this
100-113 travelling to take care of equipment	applies to contemporatives in 106, and 109
101 in the sun's rising	103 it is causing the sun to get warmer 106 we were against the wind 109 we were against the wind
48 we had only boats with oars 74 only oars [i.e. only rowing with oars] 84 only oars 94 only oars	110 rowing
102 we begin to get sleepy	111 when one begins to get sleepy

As with text 1, clause order and thematic continuity are predictable. Clauses 20, 27, 46, 47, 71, 75, 110, and 111 all precede the clauses to which they are subordinate and all repeat information from a preceding paragraph. The clauses 2, 6, 11, 34, 35, 55, 56, 57, 62, 73, 78, 98, and 103 all follow the superordinate clause and repeat information from the preceding superordinate.

There are few instances of participials in this text, and in all but the last two cases, the participial is also the first mention of a particular bit of information in the text; and following mentions are either contemporatives or some other verb form, but not participial:

text 2 participials

18-31 house for salting fish	33 at that time codfish used to be sold
33-36 preparation of codfish for sale	37 cost of codfish
38-49 hunt codfish, have boats, travel	51 we had nets as equipment
50-59 have or make equipment	76 the fjord was windy
60-75 have settlements, travel, place for equipment	77 there was wind into the fjord
76-86 wind into fjord	87 we came from sunny side of Amerloq
87 false start about equipment	
	107 in the morning the sun rose

text 3a contemporative

1-14 interviewer introduction	applies to contemporatives in 4, 11, 13
13-120 where was D. born, how old D. is	
1 we are in D.'s home	4 visiting her again
2 we have met her before	
	11 she has been interested in books
	13 in the beginning
21-37 D. looks good	applies to contemporatives in 22, 29, 33-34
	22 seeing well through my eyes
21 it seems like you are young	29 while I am like that [look good]
25 I'm tired of hearing I'm someone who looks good	33-34 I don't know why I am like that [look good]
28 I'm tired of hearing that I look good	
38-48 does D. drink beer?	applies to contemporative in 43
40 when I was still working	41 when I ate Greenlandic food
35 maybe because I'm not a beer-drinker	43 sometimes not finishing it
38 you haven't drunk beer in your life?	
42 I would drink one beer	

49-55 does D. smoke?

56-69 why did she stop smoking?

52 in 1987 I stopped smoking

53 cigarettes didn't like me anymore

54 I don't like cigarettes anymore

56 how did they stop liking you?

57 I just couldn't do it

59 [smoke] couldn't go in

60 it wouldn't come inside anymore

26 I am not so healthy now

27 because of my heart

70-95 does D. take walks?

72-86 D.'s old house

75 my son had fixed our old house

83 it was good down there

71 do you go out for walks?

93 here it is different

96-125 who are D.'s parents, father

99-107 D.'s father was a good hunter

108-113 D.'s father died in a kayak

114-116 D.'s brother died

117-125 how D.'s father came to Sisimiut

15 I am from Sisimiut

16 I was born in Sisimiut

103 my father always got something

108 I remember [my father]

110 I always remember my father

114 my brother died last year

120 his big sister got married here

applies to contemporative in 62

62 I just couldn't smoke anymore

68 it was because my heart was getting bad

applies to contemporative in 88, 89, 91

applies to contemporative in 76, 77, 84-86

76 making it new

77 making everything modern

84 I made it nice

85 I supplied it with flowers

86 I used to make flowers grow

88 I went for walks a lot

89 I went for walks a lot

91 if the weather was good

94 there is no place to walk

applies to contemporative in 97

applies to contemporative in 195

applies to contemporative in 112

applies to contemporative in 116

applies to contemporative in 119, 121, 123

97 you are from Sisimiut

105 he arrived with more than one seal

112 I had a father

116 he had a cerebral hemorrhage

119 he moved here

121 when he was a teenager

123 he went with her

Texts 3a and 3b are structured differently than most of the other texts; they are interviews. The theme or topic is therefore established by the interviewer's question, and the speaker has this in mind as she answers, although she may diverge for several paragraphs. For example, the interviewer asks two questions in clauses 70 and 71: 'how about that you are involved in the town, do you go out for walks?' From clauses 72 to 87, the speaker seemingly answers a different question, focusing on the house she used to live in; but clause 88 brings the focus of her discourse back to the original question: 'I went for walks a lot.' and the following clauses elaborate on this. The same is true of the question in clauses 96-98 'you said you are from Sisimiut, who are your parents?'. From clauses 99 to 116, the speaker reminisces about a father she barely knew, and it is not until clause 117 that she directly addresses the question. The contemporative in 119, therefore, refers back to the original question and to the topicality of 'Sisimiut': 117 'I have a mother from Sisimiut' 118 'my father was from Itilleq' 119 'but he moved here [i.e. to Sisimiut]'.

In addition to different structure, these texts also represent a continuation of a previous interview between the speaker and the same interviewer. Some information has already been shared between the two. For example, clause 11 does not seem to have an antecedent, although the preceding clauses clarify the situation: clause 2 'we have met her/they met us before in the community house for old people' clause 6 'at that time in the community house when we talked with her/she was talking to us' clause 7 'for example, we talked about these'. Clauses 6 and 7 therefore introduces a list of things that have already been discussed at a previous meeting; clauses 8 through 12 are elements of this list. The contemporative in clause 11 can therefore be seen as a continuation of a previously mutually understood discourse. Clauses 8 through 10 are morphologically either participials or nominalizations; if the previous discourse is understood, then to support the theory proposed here, these clauses would have to be understood as nominalizations.

As with the preceding texts, clause order and thematic continuity are predictable, although apparently less so. Of the contemporative clauses which precede their superordinate verbs, with the exception of clause 4 (being in the very first intonational group or paragraph), most refer to a preceding paragraph or intonational group in the discourse: these include clauses 11, 13, 29, 68, 121, and 123. Clause 11 refers to shared knowledge from a previous discourse. Of those which follow, namely all of the other contemporatives in the text, with the exception of clauses 88, 89, and 90, all refer explicitly to the superordinate verb in the same sentence. Clauses 88, 89, and 90 refer specifically to the question asked in clause 71, namely the act of taking walks, and not to the neighbouring discourse about making the speaker's house nice.

3a participials

1-5 visiting with D. again	8 there are more and more old people [O]
6 she talked to us	9 they are getting older
7 we talked about this	10 there are more and more
13-16 where and when D. was born	17 we talked about your years
21-3-, 32-34 They say I look good, I'm tired of hearing this	31 your being sick is impossible to believe [O]
35 maybe because I'm not a beer-drinker	37 if these are the reasons [O]
36 I don't know	
99-105 my father was a good hunter	104 but when I was four years old

There are few participials in text 3a, and at least the first three may in fact better be interpreted as nominalizations. Of the four remaining participial clauses, two are object clauses and mark local topic shifts. In three of the four cases, the participials mark the first introduction of a topic or theme: in clause 17, the interviewer switches the focus from place and date of birth to present age; in clauses 35 to 37, the speaker introduces the 'beer-drinking' (or lack thereof) as a theme, with the participial being the object of a reflective clause modifying the introduction of this theme; and in clause 104, the speaker switches the focus of discourse from her father's hunting prowess to his death. Clause 31 seems to be an exception to this pattern; however, the participial reflects a local rather

than paragraph-level switch, marking topic shift within a confined set of clauses involving indirect speech. Both object clauses follow the clause on which they depend, and the other two precede.

text 3b contemporatives

125-126 father's name

127-135 mother's family and death

132 my mother died in 1939

applies to contemporative in clause 133

133 she was close to 81 years old

136 explains reason for mother having to work

137-148 mother was maid to Danes

applies to contemporatives in 139, 141, 142, 148

137 then, a little bit afterwards, the trader called on my mother

139 he wanted to have her help

140 from that time my mother was a maid for the Danes

141 not before she was more than 70
142 years old

141 many many Danes

137 a bit later, the trader called on my mother

146 Bro being the trader

139 [the trader] wanted to have her help

140 from that time my mother was a maid for the Danes

141 many many Danes

146 Bro being the trader

148 because she had been in his service

149-160 mother went fishing after work

applies to contemporatives in 151, 156, 157

150 she [was] very industrious

151 in her free time she didn't sleep

155 whenever she stopped working as a maid in the early evening

156 when it was night

154 we had a little flatbottomed rowboat

157 rowing

161-184 mother has a new house built

applies to contemporatives in 167, 169, 172, 173, 177, 178, 180

162 this is a wonder

167 it was wonderful that my mother was able to pay for it all herself, and all the workers

167 it was wonderful that my mother was able to pay for it all herself, and all the workers

169 she paid all the workers

170 different people worked on it 171 men worked on it	172 she payed them all
	173 I think about them/think back to them at that time
176 sand could not be used for cement, the sand of our land	177 from the place we used to call "old sand" she made some people get sand
167...all the workers 170 different people worked on it 171 men worked on it	178 getting hired hands
177 from the place we used to call "old sand" she made some people get sand	179 she [rented] the trading post's whaling boat as a transport boat
185-188 new house was nice 189-193 later additions to house	applies to contemporative in 193
190 when my little brother got married	191 and got children
192 he made it bigger	193 those ones built their own bedrooms

The majority of contemporatives in text 3b quite clearly show thematic coreference with a preceding clause or section; of the few clauses that require an added explanation.

Of the clauses which precede the clause to which they are immediately subordinate, namely clauses 141, 142, 146, 157, 167, and 173, all but 173 unambiguously refer back to a thematic antecedent in a previous paragraph or intonational group. All other contemporative clauses follow, with the exception of 156 and 169, which may be construed as ambiguous. Of those that follow, all refer unambiguously to the immediately preceding superordinate clause in the same intonational group. In most cases, there has been no previous reference outside the local group of clauses to which these contemporatives could refer, the most obvious exception being 172 'she paid them all', which was repeated a number of times, albeit in the same general section.

text 3b participials

	128 it's like this
	135 it's like this
126-129 my mother was an O.	130 when I had already begun to have children
	138 it's like this
137-148 my mother was a maid 149-151 she was industrious	152 she was getting/hunting for food
152-160 mother hunting for fish	163 when my little brother was confirmed (164 we got a new house)
164 we got a new house	165 this old house on top of the hill
	175 it's like this
163-172 we got a new house, mother paid people who worked on it	176 sand could not be used for cement

Of the 9 participials listed, four are formed from particles, from the stem *imaaC*; in fact, one instance of *imaattoq* has not been included in the above list because it does seem to be functioning as a particle (cf. clause 136 'we lost my father *imaattoq* in 1918'). Its inclusion would not prove problematic, however. The four participials based on a semantically rather empty particle *imaaC* all occur at the end of an intonational group or subgroup. Although what generally follows is thematically or topically different, the intonation of the discourse is such that these participials belong with the preceding discourse. Their presence perhaps belongs more to a study of the meaning and distribution of particles than to one of participials. Why they should occur morphologically as participials rather than as indicatives or otherwise (cf. 161 *taamaappoq* 'it was like that') is unclear.

Clauses 130, 163, and 176 all signal topical or thematic shifts in entire sections; they all precede the clauses to which they are subordinate; it is difficult to say whether clause 152 precedes or follows. If it is dependent on the following causative, then it

functions as do the above-mentioned clauses. Clause 165, which follows its superordinate, has local scope.

text 4 contemporatives

1-9 speaker was child among hunters

2 I was born in Nuuk

4 It was like this for me
(5 around Nuuk since childhood...)

6 my growing up among only great hunters
was the reason

7-12 speaker's father and hunting
10-26 father worked as a catechist

applies to contemporatives in 13, 23, 24,
26

10 but when he got old

11 he began to have to work as a catechist

13 and we were like that
(14 he worked as a catechist for years)

17 the first time he went to seminary

(18 like to take courses)
19 it would be called now

11 he began to work as a catechist
14 he worked as a catechist for years
17 the first time he went to seminary
18 like to take courses
22 and he again was one year in Nuuk

23 and in seminary he learned
24 and in this way
(25 he began to work as a catechist)

25 he really began to work as a catechist

26 in any case he proved it

27-33 how Saarloq became populated

applies to contemporatives in 30 and 32

28 the Inuit...
29 moved from Qaarusuk to Saarloq

30 and it was like this
(31 Saarloq became more populated)

31 Saarloq became more populated

32 that is it had maybe about 70-80 people

34-36 father taught in school

35 I went to school in the children's school

36 together with my other child playmates

37-42 speaker's family had a midwife
43-55 father was active in politics

applies to contemporatives in 51 and 52

50 he used to be in the meetings in the
country's council

51 going twice

43-51 father into politics, councils, etc.

52 and in this way
(53 my father got more into politics)

56-70 kayak competitions for the king	applies to contemporatives in 60 and 64 60 when he hadn't yet become a catechist
62 around Nuuk there were lots of kayaks 63 they had the first kayak competitions	64 the whole Nuuk area all together
71 he was very much praised	73 he would have been very popular
74-96 animals that were hunted 74-81 animals in the winter	applies to contemporatives in 74, 80, 81, 82, 85, 89, 90 74 but then just to mention these a bit 80 going in sledge from Saarloq 81 hunting 82 when spring came
86 young Greenland seals arrive to our land 88 there used to be lots of Greenland seals	85 visiting our fjords and coasts for a while (88 I don't have any memories) 89 that we had bad luck in bad winters
89-96 fish (redfish, codfish) are plentiful 91 and all this fish right outside	applies to contemporatives in 92, 90 I have thoughts (those red fish were most huntable)

The speaker of text 4 makes regular use of the particle *taamali*, and in most, if not all, cases, they are incorporated into a contemporative mood verbal construction. In all cases, they show topic or thematic continuation of the immediately following clause (the particle itself being semantically rather empty) with that of the immediately preceding paragraph (or clause, in one case). Clause 4 links clause 5 to clauses 2 and 3; clause 13 links clause 14 to clauses 11-12; and so forth. This is indicated in the table above by including noncontemporative constructions in the second column, and distinguishing them from the contemporatives by placing them in parentheses.

text 4 participials

37-41 we had a midwife

42 here they are known

37-43 midwife

44 then, like I said before
(45-57 father is into politics)

10-26 father worked as a catechist

(60 I can say this)

27-33 hunters around Saarloq

61 how he lived [O]

37-43 midwife

(62 in his youth, before being catechist)

45-57 father interested in politics

1-75 father

79 I can give the list of the hunted animals

76 I will talk about my childhood

77 there were animals hunted

There are only four participials in text 4. Clause 42 marks a switch from the midwife as topic to her grandsons. Clause 44 seems to involve the speaker's repetition of something he said before; in fact, what he repeats is the fact that his father had many interests (in clause 45), but whereas this was mentioned previously in connection with the father's work as a catechist, now it refers to his work as a politician in his community. Clause 61 changes the setting to a time prior to that of the previous discourse, from his father's mature years to an episode in his father's younger years. Clause 79 begins a section on the animals hunted by the hunters of the speaker's childhood.

This speaker's style differs from those of the first three speakers, in that his participials mark shifts in topic, but not necessarily as the first clause marking the shift. Clause 44, for example, 'as I said before', does make reference to the previously stated clause 16 'my father was interested in many things' (cf. clause 45 'because my father had many interests'), but the focus of the description of the father's interests has changed. Clause 79 essentially repeats clause 78 'there were animals that were hunted', the theme of which has already been introduced previously (cf. 27 'we can talk about the big hunters in those days, among only the big hunters in Saarloq' and 33 'and those ones were all hunters'); but the clauses following 79 for the first time describe the animals hunted. Speaker 4's participials, therefore, seem to mark overall shifts in more global topics but not shifts in topics from one clause to the next.

Appendix V--Particles, Temporal Adverbs, and Supplementary Information

(Information reflected in the texts and the tables but not made direct use of in this study.)

Analyses of the texts and the tables

The structure of these narratives is not so much that of a narrative story but rather that of a collection of general recollections, most of which might fall into the 'orientation' category of Labov's (1972) 'parts of the narrative' scheme. Instead of calling them narratives, therefore, I refer to them as 'personal recollections'.

The Functions of Particles

The following is a list, debatably comprehensive, of particles which I have found in the various texts. Inclusion of a lexical item of course depends on the definition of 'particle', which is rather vague.

'that is, you know'	'then'	'that means,' 'like that'	'and'	'but'
<i>tassa</i>	<i>taava</i>	<i>imaappoq</i>	<i>aamma</i>	<i>kisianni</i>
<i>tassalu</i>	<i>taavalu</i>	<i>imatut</i>	<i>aammalu</i>	<i>kisiannili</i>
<i>tassami</i>	<i>taava tassa</i>	<i>imaak</i>	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-li</i>
<i>tassamiuna</i>		<i>imaattoq</i>		
<i>tassani</i>				
<i>tassalu imaappoq</i>				
<i>tassali kisianniuna</i>				
<i>tassa imaak</i>				
'of course'	'for example'	'like that, in this way'	'like'	'now'
<i>soorunami</i>	<i>soorlu</i>	<i>taamak</i>	<i>ilaa</i>	<i>massakkut</i>
	<i>sooluluuniit</i>	<i>taamatut tassa</i>		
	<i>soorlu ilaa</i>	<i>taamali</i>		
'yet'	'especially'	'maybe'	'just think'	
<i>sulimi</i>	<i>pingaartumik</i>	<i>immaqa</i>	<i>sunaaffa</i>	

The most frequent are *tassa*, *taava*, *imaak*, and *aamma*, and their variations. Two of the *tassa* variations seem to have been lexicalized and represent other semantic information: *tassami* 'in any case, quite rightly', and *tassani* 'there'.

tassa occurs about twice as often at the beginning of a clause than at the end of a clause.

In most cases, *tassa* appears to act as an indicator of modification: the following

sentence, clause, or postpositional phrase modifies the immediately preceding sentence, clause, or phrase in some way, either in terms of topic or thematic modification: *tassa* indicates a change from a more general to a more specific topic. The following examples are from text 2.

- V.1 2.13 so now I don't want to mention it again in this [story]
 2.14 but I can talk a little bit about it at that time
 2.15 *tassa* in the beginning of the 1920's [modifies 'at that time']
- V.2 2.9 I remember well
 ...
 2.21...there was a former student's house
 ...
 2.26 that one [house] we called "char's place"
 2.27 *tassalu* that [house], to the fishing industry
 to the codfishing industry
 in Sisimiut
 it was the means with which to begin [modifies topic 'house']
- V.3 2.30 we used to call it "char's place"
 2.31 *tassa ima* it was first used as a [cod]salting place
 that one [modifies name "char's place"]
- V.4 2.81 to look after the fishing equipment
 especially in evening and night
 we used to use the whole time to repair the equipment
 2.82 *tassa* in the evening
 in the late evening
 when the wind going into the fjord had calmed down
 [modifies both 'time' and 'repair equipment'?]

Where *tassa* occurs medially or finally, the function is less obvious. In some cases, it appears to modify some part of the clause, but it is not always clear which part:

- V.5 2.16 I was born in 1918
 2.17 *taava* in the 1920's *tassa* I was a child at that time
 [does it modify 'in the 1920's' or 'I was a child'?]
- V.6 2.68 and at that time [they took] up there to the east to the fjord *tassa*
 2.69 because in the spring up there there used to be more codfish
 [does it modify 'to the fjord' or 'because in the spring...'?]

tassa is sometimes used to introduce a question by the interviewer in texts 3a and 3b. In the first instance, the interviewer introduces the listeners to the scene of the interview:

- V.7 3a.1 *tassa* now we are in D.L.'s home in Sisimiut

one could argue that the interviewer is answering an unasked listener question 'where are we now?' but this is rather pragmatic in nature. In the next example, the interviewer picks up on something mentioned by speaker 3 a few clauses previously:

- V.8 3a.35 maybe because I am not a beer-drinker
 3a.36 I don't know
 3a.37 if these are the reasons
 3a.38 *tassa* you haven't drunk beer in your whole life?

In speaker 3's responses *tassa* occurs when speaker 3 just begins answering the questions put to her:

- V.9 3a.21 yet for example, for example, it seems you are just under 70
 3a.22 seeing well through my eyes?
 3a.23 *tassa* they tell me this...
- V.10 3a.38 *tassa* you haven't drunk beer in your whole life?
 3a.39 *tassa* it was like this...
- V.11 3a.56 how did they stop liking you?
 3a.57 *tassa* I just couldn't do it...
- V.12 3a.98 who were your parents?
 3a.99 *tassa* we had a father they way was a good hunter...

tassa also occurs non-initially within speaker 3's answers:

- V.13 3a.40 when I was still working
 3a.41 for example when I ate some Greenlandic food
 3a.42 I would drink one little beer
 3a.43 sometimes not finishing it
 3a.44 *tassa* the year, I don't know
 3a.45 the year, now, what year when I tasted beer
- V.14 3a.58 I used to inhale
 3a.59 it couldn't go in
 3a.60 for example, you know, it wouldn't come inside anymore
 3a.61 *tassa* I understand it you know
 3a.62 I just couldn't smoke anymore
- V.15 con't from above
 3a.63 and I didn't miss it
 3a.64 and I didn't have a problem
 3a.65 that I didn't smoke anymore
 3a.66 *tassa* now I am thankful
 3a.67 because I have stopped smoking
- V.16 con't from above
 3a.68 think about it, it was because my heart was getting bad
 3a.69 *tassa* I became like this

In all cases (explicitly in all but the first), *tassa* indicates that what follows is a modification of the previous text. The interviewer wants more specific information about speaker 3's beer-drinking or lack thereof; speaker 3 gives more specific information about the interviewer's questions, about how well she looks, about her beer-drinking, about why she stopped smoking, and about her parents. speaker 3 specifies what it is that she is talking about when using *tassa* text-medially, as in when she drank beer, what it means to her not to smoke anymore, what it meant that her heart got bad, etc.

Tassa is optional: it does not occur each time the interviewer asks for more details about something speaker 3 has said (e.g. 3a.56 how did they stop liking you? is not prefaced by *tassa*), and speaker 3 does not always respond with a *tassa* (e.g. 3a.70 how about that you are involved in the town? 3a.71 do you go out for walks? –3a.72 down there...). But where it occurs, it has a predictable function.

taavalu, on the other hand, can be seen as signaling a continuation of a topic (as in a list). In text 1, it first shows up in 1.25, right after the Danish priest is brought up: 'and then the trader...'. Again, after it is stated that there were only few Danes, in 1.30 'and then the Greenlanders provided with a job'; and in 1.33 'and then in the hospital [there were] midwives'. *kisalu* is self-evidently the signal of the last item in a sequence.

Both *aamma* and *kisianni*, when they coordinate clauses, could be seen as coordinating larger parts of the text, as in subparagraphs, showing a certain parallelism or at least equivalence of structural level. In text 2, for example, the house episode is followed by the codfish episode, this latter being prefaced by *aamma*. The two parts of the codfish episode are similarly conjoined. *aamma* is fairly common in the texts, *kisianni* less so: both have enclitic forms. The enclitic form is always found after the first word in a of an intonational phrase or clause. Most *aamma*'s are found in first or second position: more rarely, they are clause final.

The problem will be to determine the different textual levels of *aamma* and the difference between *-lu* and *aamma*.

I have not looked much at other particles, although it seems that *imaak* and its verbal forms may have a distribution which depends on the other verb forms in the sentence: for example, where *imaappoq* is found, it seems to take the function of an indicative for the sentence (or at least sentence in a subparagraph). For example:

V.17	2.4	That is, when I became an adult [caus]
	2.5	<i>imaappoq</i> [indic]
	2.6	when I was 18-19 years old [contemp]
	2.7	I became an apprentice in a shipyard [caus]

Taamani

Both particles and aspect affixes are present in more or less copious amounts in the stories. *taamani* seems to appear within the boundaries of certain segments and appears to have scope over everything within the respective segments. It is, in the absense of a regular use of tense affixes, the tense marker for a section. For example, the only tense affixes in the catechist story of text 1, for example, are the future markers *-ssaq-* and *-niaq-*. In text 2, the interviewer asks the narrator what he has been doing, and employs the past tense affix *-nikuu-*: the narrator recognizes the affix (this affix is apparently used more often in some dialects than others, according to my translator: but it has a long history of use in Greenlandic in general according to P. Langgård) and himself uses it in the following clauses, but in his extended narrative after the first few clauses, he never uses it. Instead, he employs the independent temporal adverb *taamani-kkut* (in either form, with or without the vialis ending). One is tempted to make a preliminary hypothesis that the two indicate different trends in speaking, one being to employ an independent tense marker for the past and one being to employ the affixal form.

taamani occurs regularly with topic shifts and where there are intonationally paranthetical sections. Its occurence therefore reinforces both topical and intonational determinations of section boundaries; but i does not appear to be obligatory, or perhaps it is an indicator

of different levels of organization and only needs appear once per level, provided there is no speaker uncertainty. There are some questions which must be addressed, however: does *taamani* always have to show up in the first clause of a section? if not, how can we determine the borders of a section and why does *taamani* show up where it does? is its effect on scope different if it is in a subordinate or an indicative clause? is its effect dependent on its placement in a clause?

V.18 *taamani* in text 1a

1a.2 'it was very different [indic] as a life *taamani* '

1a.12 '*taamani* we were children [contemp]'

1a.13 I remember it [indic]'

1a.29 'that is, *taamani* there weren't so many [indic] Danes'

1a.32 '*taamani* there were not so many [caus] offices'

1a.35 'and the catechists *taamani* had jobs [indic] as teachers'

1a.36 'and the catechists were very
very important [indic] *taamani*'

1a.43 'and the catechists [were] the only ones [indic] *taamani*
who could spread knowledge'

1a.51 'So *taamani* Greenland Steering
worked with [indic] the deanery'

1a.53 'And the catechists *taamani*
and what about the priests
especially the catechists
they were moved [indic]
to villages'

1a.58 'and when they had moved them [caus] in those days

1a.59 they [were] given houses not yet built'

1a.81 'in the villages
in those days called 'asimiuqarfínnik' [nominal]'

Thus, *taamani* is most often found in indicative forms; but it is not found in all indicatives, nor is it found in all sections. As to whether or not it should be expected for each indicative, that clearly need not be the case, insofar as there appears to be no restriction on the number of indicatives per section. As to the absense of this tense

marker in some sections, a possible answer is suggested by looking at a number of other factors, but the analysis is complicated.

In the course of looking at both the possible scope for each *taamani* and the boundaries between sections, one question which came up was the effect of interruptions in the narrative caused by the evaluative paragraphs. There are four such paragraphs within the catechist story. The first two evaluation paragraphs actually specify a different time period with the temporal adverb *ullumikkut*, 'today'.

V.19 evaluation paragraphs

1. part of introduction

1a.39 'if there hadn't been catechists

1a.40 today
our way of life maybe
would be different'

2. part of the spreading knowledge section

1a.47 'and therefore the catechists
who aren't without importance
our land should thank them
today'

3. part of the having no home section

1a.69 'we should thank
those very very much
1a.70 I think [this]'

4. part of others section

1a.76 'but these catechists
I can't forget them
1a.77 I think
1a.78 they have to tell about them
much more
(1a.79 it is true those ones
have worked amazingly')

Each breaks the flow of the narrative, and one must wonder what the function of these interruptions is. In the first, the narrator claims that life would be very different without the catechists; in the section to which this interruption belongs, he explains the general importance of the catechists. In the second, we should thank the catechists, after he has explained how they spread knowledge; in the third, we should thank the catechists, because they have suffered for us; and in the fourth, they should be talked about and not

forgotten about, in comparison to others. Although their presence is not predictable (in other words, there is no reason, for example, that the section on catechist duties should not have such an interruption, nor that a thanks should not belong there rather than in a discussion of their hardships), they seem to be relevant to the sections in which they are found. They not only involve a narrator comment on the story, but the themes of the interruptions reflect the point the narrator is trying to focus on in the story. In most, if not all, cases, they lead to what becomes the jumping-off point for the next section.

The first interruption, a reflection on the difference they made in Greenlandic life, the following clauses begin the explanation of how they made a difference:

- V.20 1st interruption is followed by:
 1a.41 'those catechists
 came from learning in the Greenland Seminary
 1a.42 they spread out to our land, to towns and villages'

the next section, starting with XVII:43, describes the spreading of knowledge in Greenland by the catechists.

- V.21 2nd interruption is followed by
 1a.48 'they worked a lot
 those ones
 1a.49 in a very important way
 they worked
 1a.50 but
 not well
 they have been payed
 by the management

the next section, after a small introductory clause, describes their hardships with the Steering company.

3rd interruption is followed by nothing but the immediate beginning of the next section, about the other members of the communities.

- V.22 4th interruption is followed by
 1a.80 'they were very tireless
 1a.79 in the villages
 in those days called 'asimiuqarfinnik'
 the catechist was like that, and the trade manager too
 1a.82 that is, they brought the light/ they are light-bringers'

This last is interesting; an opening is made for a new theme to be developed, that they worked a lot, but it seems to be closed up by the last clause, which refers to a theme already developed previously. The very next section in fact elaborates on the theme of catechists working a lot, however.

The relevance of this discussion to the distribution of *taamani* is this: in those places where what I have been calling a 'jumping-off' clause or two is present, a section seems to be headed by *taamani*, as if the evaluation of the narrator of the importance of the catechists near the end of a section leads the narrator to providing a more descriptive explanation of the evaluation, which in turn leads to a new or modified theme. It is a reflection of the development of the story. *taamani* serves to mark the beginning of a section which will be relevant to the clause or clauses immediately preceding.

If this is so, there should be as many *taamanis* as jumping-off points, not including those which seem to belong to subparagraphs (which may be marked as general instances, such as 'called 'asmiuqarfinnik' in those days' in XXVII:80, which is a nominal modifier of the oblique noun phrase 'in the villages'; or which may be marked intonationally, among other things, as we have seen in the matrix orientation, etc.). In fact, this is the case, with one exception, the interim clauses before the section about the catechists being moved by the Steering company. This may be simply an introduction or an aside about the agents involved, as they have not been properly introduced before.

What is also evident is that *taamani* is not present where there is not jumping-off clause(s). After the last two interruptions, for example, there is not temporal adverb. In the following section, there are abrupt changes in theme and no temporal adverbs.

Particles

One thing to keep an eye out for is the cooccurrence of *tassa* with overt subjects. Subjects are overt every time there is a switch in subject, unless the new subject is a dummy; but in some cases, there appears to be an overt subject with each instance of

tassa; does this signal a new paragraph structure? or does this have to do with the semantics of *tassa*, i.e. that the particle is present to specify a theme and therefore the subject is overtly marked?

The Identification of Section Boundaries

At a superficial level of analysis, sections are identifiable by theme or topic

Text 1a

A. Introduction

B. Danes and their jobs vs Greenlanders and their jobs = themes

Structure of these two themes is not the same; the first half, or the discussion of the Danes and their jobs, first lists the socio-economic group (i.e. 'priest', 'trader', 'doctor', 'nurse', 'teacher'), followed by the ethnic identification (Danish). There are **repeated syntactic structures** which follow the pattern:

1. Noun (socio-economic group)
2. (0-copula) + N (ethnic identification)
3. Participle (the group speaks or does not speak Greenlandic)

Thus,

- V.23 'In town,
1. the priest
 2. was a Dane
 3. (but he spoke Greenlandic)
-
1. and the trader
 2. was a Dane
 3. (he only spoke Danish)
-
1. the traders
 1. the doctor
 1. the nurses
 1. the teacher
 2. was a Dane
 3. (they only spoke Danish)'

The third part is in each case expressed faster, in a lower tone of voice, and more softly. In each case, the verb form is a participle, unlike the (unexpressed) verb in each structure, a 0-copula. The participle form is supposed to be noncoreferential (according to both P. Langgrd and M. Fortescue 1984:55), unless they are relative clauses (see Fortescue 1984:49) or nominals. Participle forms are often used as independent arguments within a

clause and can be considered headless relative clauses, although as nouns, they are generally not marked for person (except for 3rd). Thus, one would translate these structures something like: 'the priest was a Dane who spoke Greenlandic, the trader was a Dane, but who only spoke Danish, ...'. There is some difficulty in employing this reasoning in the third structure, where the predicate object is in the singular but the participle form is plural.

The second theme in this section emphasizes first the ethnic identity in question (Greenlandic), which is not repeated. Presumably, from the speaker's point of view, the characters can be automatically assumed to be Greenlanders (cf. 'our country', 'our culture', etc. in previous sections) unless otherwise specified. The socio-economic group is identified next, often in terms of the workplace, again in list form. The focus, however, seems to be not on the ability to speak Greenlandic, but on the relatively few numbers of workers (IIa.29-1a.30 'that is in those days there weren't so many Danes and the Greenlanders provided with a job...they were few workers...'). Structurally, there is more variation than with the previous theme, but workplace tends to be identified first and job second:

1. Greenlanders provided with a job
2. location
3. job title

Thus,

V.24 'that is in those days there weren't so many Danes

1. and the Greenlanders provided with a job
 2. in the smithy
 2. in the office
 3. they were few workers
[because at that time there were not so many offices]
2. and then in the hospitals
3. [there were] midwives
3. midwives in training
3. and finally catechists
2. in the schools
3. and the catechists at that time had jobs as teachers'

The **contrast between themes** in this section is complex: the high positions are held by Danes, most of whom do not speak Greenlandic but only Danish; this is in opposition to the few Greenlanders with jobs in positions secondary to those of the Danes (doctors and nurses are Danish, midwives are Greenlandic; priests and teachers are Danish, catechists are Greenlandic; traders are Danes, smiths and office workers are Greenlandic).

Structurally, within each section, each item on the list is syntactically similar (usually 0-copula, similar phrase ordering, etc.) to the other items.

C. Catechist Story

Each time the speaker launches into a new topic/theme, he seems to have a jumping-off point in the previous clause(s). For example, strictly speaking, 'that is in those days there weren't so many Danes' seems to be a transition point, incorporating thematic elements from both the previous (Danes) and the following (few in number). 1a.34 mentions the catechists, after which the next sections revolve around catechists; but 1a.34 is structurally still part of the preceding section, as described above. To handle the extended nature of the story (if it can be called a story, since it does not seem to fit the Labovian definition of narrative), the analysis was undertaken in sections which seem to be marked by readily apparent jumping-off points, but the results are given in terms of the whole story.

Strictly speaking, the clauses from 1a.36 to 1a.42 do not seem to delimit a section unified either thematically or structurally. I suspect this is because the speaker is still developing what he wants to say about the catechists. At any rate, there are some reasons for claiming that 1a.41-42 are a jumping-off point for the next section, in which the catechists are described as the ones who spread knowledge around Greenland: structurally, this will be more clear at the end of this discussion, and I will return to this point at that time.

The story can be divided into the following sections (and the catechist story jumps off at 1a.34 and starts roughly in the following clauses):

V.25	1a.36-1a.42	introduction
	1a.43-1a.50	catechists spread knowledge
	1a.51-52	interim
	1a.53-1a.560	catechists made to move by Greenland Steering
	1a.61-1a.70	catechists didn't have a home
	1a.71-1a.75	others in towns
	1a.76-1a.87	interim
	1a.82-93	duties of the catechists
	1a.92-93	interim
	1a.94-1a.103	catechists have to hunt
	1a.104	coda

The interims are sections which could arguably, at least preliminarily, be part of the preceding sections, the following sections, or neither. In two cases, they involve an evaluative comment by the narrator and therefore already stand somewhat outside the general narrative.

Unlike most of the other texts, text 3 is a dialogue between interviewer and narrator. Large story-like structures are therefore less likely to be seen in this text. There are several interesting observations to be made that are unique to this text because of the dialogue. For example, the interviewer either initiates discussion of a topic or asks a question regarding a point made in the previous stretch of text; the narrator, however, rarely answers the question in the most direct way. For example, the interviewer comments that speaker 3 looks young; speaker 3 responds by discussing why such a view of her is wrong before actually reflecting on why she might look young. The interviewer later asks about her current activities in town; speaker 3 responds by discussing her sorrow at moving and her activities before her move to her new house before answering the question. The interviewer asks speaker 3 who her parents were; she responds by describing her father whom she barely knew, as described by other family members. (Since the interviewer is actually trying to get an oral history, these answers are not inappropriate to the situation.)

When the interviewer picks up on a topic and asks about some aspect of that topic or theme, the narrator addresses that as a new topic or theme. The questions are therefore useful indicators of topic or theme, although not absolute determinors of topic or theme.

Starting from 3a.21, I have identified the following sections:

V.26	3a.21-22 and 3a.23-3a.37:	speaker 3 looks good
	3a.38 and 3a.39-3a.48:	speaker 3 doesn't drink much beer
	3a.49 and 3a.50-55:	
	3a.56 and 3a.57-69	speaker 3 stopped smoking
	3a.70-71 and 3a.72-3a.95	speaker 3's old house
	3a.96-98 and 3a.99-3a.125	speaker 3's father

These are fairly obviously question and answer pairs, although at least one section consists of two questions and answers (and thus of two parts). Each section is fairly obviously topically or thematically different from the preceding section.

Speaker 3's text is interesting in the heavy use of indicative verb forms and nominals.

The first two sections have about 6 indicatives, the third 8 the fourth 3, and the fifth 12.

There are particularly many nominal forms in the first section, and most of these occur with deictic pronouns. She also has a tendency to repeat herself often, often with slightly different words but with similar forms.

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