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Verbal aspects in West Greenlandic

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Verbal Aspects
in West Greenlandic —
Lexical and Grammatical Aspects

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Abstract

In this article, lexical aspectual types in West Greenlandic are investigated in the five aspectual types, states, achievements, semelfactives, activities and accomplishments. It is shown that derivational verbalizing affixes include aspectual type congruent with the lexical aspect and how the aspectual type is changed in West Greenlandic. It is also shown how the grammatical aspectual affixes change the lexical aspect as well, and the ordering of the affixes is described shortly.

1. Introduction

Aspect in West Greenlandic (WG) is manifested lexically by the inherent aspectual meaning (aktionsart) of the verb stem (henceforth lexical aspect), and grammatically by aspectual derivational affixes (henceforth, aspectual affixes). The aspectual affixes, of which there are about 50–60, are divided into different semantic categories (e.g., progressive, continuative, iterative, perfective, etc.), and each of these change the inherent aspectual meaning of the verb stem (Fortescue 1980, 1984, 1996; Kristoffersen 1990, 1991; Hagedorn, 1984, 1987; Trondhjem 2007, 2009, 2010). As in other Inuit languages an unmarked verb, where the verb is not overtly marked for tense, aspect or modality, conveys the inherent aspectual meaning of the verb stem, and the temporal interpretation of the verb stem determine

whether the verb is perfective/past or imperfective/present (Swift 2004:34, MacLean 1995: 142f). Thus, the main character of the unmarked verbs in WG is the telicity of the verb, dividing the verbs into telic verbs, which include accomplishments and achievements, and atelic verbs including states and activities, also shown in both Inuktitut and Iñupiaq (ibid.). In addition, there is a group of verb stems denoting semelfactive situations in Inuit languages, i.e. in WG, *kasup-* 'knock (once)'. There are two kinds of verb stems with inherent aspectual meaning in WG, the basic (root) verb stems and derived verb stems. The derived verb stems are of two types 1. verb stems with an incorporated noun, 2) verb stem + (non-temporal) derivational affix, where the latter is a basic verb stem added with a verb-expanding affix i.e. *–juma* 'want to', which change the aspectual meaning of verb stem, for example an achievement *iser-* 'enter' is changed to a state in *iser-uma-voq* 's/he wants to enter'. The grammatical aspectual affixes also change the aspectual type of the verb. Further, some activity verbs change to accomplishments by shift of the transitivity of the verb stem i.e. *neri-* 'eat' the intransitive *neri-voq* 's/he eats' is atelic, while the transitive *neri-vaa* 's/he eats something' is telic.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the aspectual types of WG verbs including the verbalizing affixes, and to demonstrate how the aspectual type is changed by transitivity, verb-expanding affixes and by grammatical affixes.

The data used are partially from descriptions of WG aspect by Fortescue (1984) and Hagedorn (1984, 1987), and Kristoffersen (1991), but most of it is introspection.

The paper is organized in following parts. In part 2 the theoretical frame will be described followed by 3, where the temporal marking in WG will be described. In part 4 the lexical aspect in WG will be described and the ordering of the grammatical affixes will be described shortly in part 5. The paper ends with the conclusion in part 6.

2. Theoretical framework

The paper is a typological investigation of aspect in WG with a focus on lexical aspect and how lexical aspects are changed by transitivity and by grammatical aspectual affixes. It is based on general theories of aspect such as Vendler 1967; Comrie 1976; Lyons 1977; Dahl 1985; Bybee 1985; Croft 2012 etc. Aspect has to do with the internal temporal contour of a situation, where the situation is interpreted as perfective (completed), imperfective (not completed) or habitual (repeated), etc. (Comrie 1993/85:6ff). The grammatical aspects are grammaticalized oppositions, while the lexical aspects are lexicalized. The lexical aspect (aktionsart) is contained in the meaning of the verb (Comrie 1976:41), while the grammatical marking of aspect may be conveyed by derivation, inflection or periphrasis (Comrie

ibid.:9; Bybee 1985:30–31). The situations, including the arguments of the predicate, are divided into states, events and processes. States are static and durative and last until they are changed as in *I know you*, while events and processes are dynamic and require input of energy to continue (Comrie 1976: 13). Events are perfective and processes are imperfective. The events are punctual or momentaneous and do not have an internal structure. Events comprise achievements and semelfactives, in that achievements include change of state as in *I enter the room*, while semelfactives do not include change of state and the situation happens only once as in WG *allorpoq* 's/he takes one step'. The processes are dynamic and durative like *John is singing* and do not include a natural endpoint. They include activities, which are atelic, and are distinguished by accomplishments which include a natural endpoint and are telic. Accomplishments include properties from events and processes in that they have a natural endpoint (telic) and include duration too. (Madden and Ferretti, 2009:220).

The five lexical aspectual types are:

- states (durative, atelic)
- achievements (dynamic, telic, punctual)
- accomplishments (dynamic, telic, durative)
- activities (dynamic, atelic, durative)
- semelfactive (dynamic, punctual)

The lexical aspectual types will be examined in following sections.

3. Ways of marking temporal reference in WG

Marking of temporal reference in WG is complicated and involve adverbs of time, conjunctional affixes, subordinate moods, aspectual affixes and tense affixes. Only the last three points will be described here. In a simple sentence with a verb in superordinate mood and not overtly marked for temporal reference the aspectual meaning of the verb is conveyed like *iserpoq* 'he enters' denoting a perfective situation, and *pisuppoq* 'he walks' denoting an imperfective situation. In complex sentences with two or more verbs, the causative mood and the conditional mood indicate a secondary temporal meaning, besides their primary causative and conditional meanings, namely sequences of the two or more events. The situation is located in past or future time, when added by the causative or conditional mood respectively. In example 1 the causative mood specifies the past time reference and the sequencing of the two events:

1.   *angerlar   -ami   atuar   -poq*
        go.home   –CAUS.4.sg   read   –IND.3.sg
        'S/he read when s/he came home.'

The participial and contemporative moods also have a secondary temporal meaning besides their primary conjunctional meanings, and indicate simultaneous events (Trondhjem 2008, 2009, 2010). In some contexts the lexical aspect is changed, when added by the comtemporative mood to indicate the simultaneous events:

2.   *Tiitorfik   tigu   -llugu   agger   -poq*
        Cup.Abs.   take   -CONT.4.sg   approach   -IND.3sg.
        'S/he is coming holding a cup'

In example 2 the telic achievement verb stem *tigu-* 'take' becomes an atelic activity, when added to a contemporative mood, and the meaning becomes 'holding a cup', which is simultaneous with the main verb *aggerpoq* 's/he's approaching'. The change of aspect type in subordinate sentences needs more investigation, but will not be described further here.

In a simple sentence the lexical aspect of the verb stem is changed by adding verb-expanding affixes or grammatical aspectual affixes. The tense affixes locate the sentence in a point on the timeline; before the time of speech, marking the past time; after the time of speech, marking the future time, or at the time of speech, indicating present time (see Trondhjem 2007, 2009, 2010). The tense affixes seem to appear only in the superordinate verbs, after the aspectual affixes. Tense affixes will not be included in this paper. The ordering of the aspectual and tense affixes is thus:

Verb stem + grammatical aspectual affixes + tense affixes + inflection

In the following section the lexical aspect of the verbs will be explored.

4. The aspectual meaning of the verb stem (aktionsart)

Types of verb stems

In WG, lexical aspect is contained in the verb stem, and the verb stems include 1) basic verb stems, or 2) derived verb stems.

The basic verb stems 1) are typically mono-morphemic verb stems as *iser-* 'enter' or *arpap-*'run' and added with an inflection they convey the lexical aspect of the verb stem, indicating whether the event is perfective or past or imperfective or present, i.e. *iserpoq* 's/he enters' is perfective and *pisuppoq* 's/he walks' is imperfective. Often the verbal stem

consist of two or more morphemes as *kimmiar-* 'hold between teeth', a stative verb stem coming from the achievement stem *kii-* 'bite'. Here the derivation is blurred, and therefore verbs like these will be taken as separate verb stems. Many basic verb stems take either intransitive or transitive inflection depending on the transitivity of the verb stem; for example, *arpap-poq* (run+IND.3sg) 's/he is running', *neri-voq* (eat + IND.3sg) 's/he is eating', shown here with the intransitive indicative mood. The transitivity of the verb can be decisive to the aspectual type of the situation. In *neri-voq* 's/he is eating' with an intransitive indicative mood the termination of the eating is not included the meaning of the situation and therefore the situation is atelic, whereas it is telic in the transitive indicative *neri-vaa* 's/he eats x', there is a natural ending of the situation.

There are two kinds of 'derived verb stems' in 2): a) verbalized nouns and b) verb stem + verb expanding affix. In this paper I will focus on the first type, the verbalizing affixes and only say a little about the second type verb-expanding affixes with few examples.

The verbalizing affixes a) incorporate nominal stems where the nouns have different function in accordance to the predication. Many nouns may be the object of the verb, or the subject of the verb as in *meeraqar-* 'have child', where the object *meeraq* 'child' is incorporated by *–qar* 'have', or in *inu-u-* 'be human', where the subject *inuk* 'human' is incorporated by *–u* 'be'. Others incorporate the adjectival or the goal noun as in *biilit[1] aappaluttu-u-pput* 'the car is red', where the subject (*biilit* 'car') modifier *aappaluttoq* 'red' is incorporated by *–u* 'be'. And *atuarfim-mukar-poq* 's/he is on his/her way to school', where the goal *atuarfik* 'school' is incorporated by *–mukar* 'go to'. All the verbalizing affixes has a concrete verbal meaning, and like other verbal stems they convey the inherent aspectual meaning when added an inflection i.e. *meeraqarpoq* 's/he has a child' or *inuuvoq* 's/he is a human', where both are states. There are about 90 verbalizing affixes. These are categorized in different semantic classes (see Fortescue 1980; Kristoffersen 1991). My intension is to categorize the verbalizing affixes into the different aspectual types, mentioned above. The lists of verbalizing affixes in different tables are placed at the end of this paper. Table 1 contains statives affixes; table 2 contains achievement affixes; table 3 contains activity affixes and table 4 contains accomplishment affixes. I only found one semelfactive affix which was included in the text.

The verb-expanding affixes in b) are more complicated and include the meanings of causation, volition, evaluation, potentiality and relational shifting (Kristoffersen 1990: 157–160). They can be added to verb stems or whole predications (Kristoffersen 1990: 159, Forstescue 1980: 261), and they add more concrete meaning or alter the transitivity

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[1]   *Biilit* 'car' is in plural and therefore the verb inflection is 3.pl.

of the verb stem. An example of an affix with a concrete meaning is *–juma* 'want to' in *iser-uma-voq* 's/he wants to enter', where the verb stem is an achievement and added with *–juma* the predication becomes a state. Some of the verb-expanding affixes have a pure (in) transitivizing function as the intransitivising *–neqar* 'dynamic passive' in *tigu-neqar-poq* 'it is taken', which do not change the aspectual type. Others again have a mix of the two, containing a concrete meaning and are (in)transitivizing i.e. the transitive *–qqu* 'ask/want someone to' in *iser-ta-qqu-aa* 's/he asks him/her to come regularly'. Here the verb stem *iser-tar-(poq)* 'enter-habitual' is intransitive, and the predication has a habitual aspectual type, which is altered into a transitive state with *–qqu* 'ask/want someone to'. In this example the whole predication is affected by adding *–qqu.* These affixes seem to be added anywhere before the inflection of the verb stem. About 80 affixes of this kind are categorized into different semantic categories (see Fortescue 1980, Kristoffersen 1991). Only few examples will be given of the verb-expanding affixes within the different aspectual types.

The inherent aspectual types

To my knowledge Hagedorn (1984, 1987) is the only one who describes the aspectual types in depth both the lexical aspects and grammatical aspects. The situations are divided into states, events and processes (ibid. 1984:3–8). States are imperfective and durative and do not include a terminal point. The events are perfective, punctual and dynamic and include achievements and semelfactives. Achievements are divided into ingressive, terminal and non-agentive situations, and include change of state. Semelfactives are punctual and happens only once, and do not include a change of state. The processes are imperfective, durative and dynamic and include activities and accomplishments. The activities do not include termination of the situation and are atelic, whereas accomplishments include a termination of the situation and are telic (Hagedorn 1984).

States

States are imperfective and durative, and do not include a terminal point, for example, *issiavoq* 's/he is sitting'. The states last until there is a change in the situation. The stative verbs are divided into different semantic groups (Hagedorn, 1984), and many stative verbs have an adjectival nature, for example, *qaqorpoq* 'it is white', which means that in the different semantic groups, many verbs correspond to adjectives in other languages such as Danish and English. Most stative verbs are intransitive in WG, and the subject might be both animal and non-animal. There are not many transitive stative verbs, and it seems, these are among emotion and sensory perception verbs, and here the subject is most often an animal. The verb stems are divided into:

a. Verbs denoting colours (e.g., *qernerpoq* 'it is black');
b. Measurement verbs (e.g., *angivoq* 'it is big');
c. Characteristics or quality of things or people (e.g., *ipippoq* 'it is sharp'; *saamavoq* 's/he is gentle/mild');
d. Mental states, (e.g., *neriuppoq* 's/he hopes (x)),
e. Emotion states, (e.g., *ersivoq* 's/he is afraid'),
f. Bodily reactions (e.g., *kaappoq* 's/he is hungry'; *qiiavoq* 's/he is cold');
g. Sensory perception verbs (e.g., *isigaa* 's/he is watching x'; *malugaa* 's/he feels x');
h. Physical states (e.g., *napavoq* 'it/s/he is in a upright position or *puttavoq* 'it floats');
i. Atmospheric verbs (e.g., *nittaappoq* 'it is snowing' or *issippoq* 'it is freezing' *kiappoq* 'it is warm').

All the verbs denoting colours (a) indicate the character of an object, not the colour as such, only that it is a kind of black or white. The colour terms[2] are nominalised forms of these verbs as *qernertoq* 'black', *qaqortoq* 'white', *aappaluttoq* 'red' etc., where the verb stem is nominalised with the active participium *–toq*. They are often used in nominal phrases as adjectival nouns. The colour terms must be added with the verbalizing *–u* 'be' to indicate that a thing is in some colour, as in *nasaq qernertu-u-voq* 'the cap is black'. The rest of the adjectival verb stems can be used without nominalising the verb first.

The measurement verbs (b) characterise humans, animals or things as being small, tall, thin etc., such as *angivoq* 's/he/it is big', *saluppoq* 's/he/it is thin', *mikivoq* 's/he/it is small', *issuvoq* 'it is thick (slice)' or *saappoq* 'it is thin (slice). The measurement verbs are often used in short forms as *angeq* '(how) big', *saluk* '(how) thin', *mikeq* '(how) little' etc.

The verbs of characteristics or quality of things or people or animals (c) describe the quality of things such as *ipippoq* 'it is sharp', *kinerpoq* 'it is viscous', *ikkappoq* 'it is shallow'. Other examples are *masappoq* 'it is wet' and *panerpoq* 'it is dry'. Many verbs describe the personality, temperament or quality of people or animals as *saamavoq* 's/he is gentle/mild', *kisippoq* 's/he is modest', *pinnerpoq* 's/he is beautiful', *kusanarpoq* 'it/s/he is good-looking', *qaasuppoq* 's/he/ is vicious/wants to attack' (often about dogs but also human when very aggressive) etc.

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[2] Some colour terms are dialectal, such as brown is *kajortoq* in Upernavik, *sukkulaajusaq* in Disco Bay, and green has several terms for example *qorsorpaluttoq* in Upernavik, *qorsuk* in Central West Greenlandic.

The mental states (d) describe the state in the mind for example *neriuppoq* 's/he hopes (x)', *naluaa* 'he does not know (it)'. The intransitive form of the last verb can give another meaning: *naluvoq* 's/he is ignorant or dumb'. The opposite is *nalunngilaa* 's/he knows' adding the negation affix –*nngit*. Many mental verbs are lexicalized derived verb stems, where a grammatical aspectual affix is added as *ilisimavaa* 's/he knows x' coming from the achievement verb stem *iliC-* 'learn' added with the resultative perfective –*sima* (lit. 's/he has learned'). The verb stem *iliC-* 'learn' is used by older people, but the achievement verb stem *ilikkar-*'have learned' are more often used today. Other derivations are like *eqqaamava* 's/he remembers (x)', where the stem is an achievement *eqqaa-* 'remember/mention'. There are some verbalized nouns like *isumaqarpoq* 's/he means' where the nominal stem *isuma* is the object of the verbalizing -*qar* 'have' (lit. 's/he has an idea'). These will be described later in this paragraph.

Emotion states (e) with basic verb stems are like *ersivoq* 's/he is afraid', *usoraa* 's/he envies x', *maqaasivaa* 's/he misses x' and *nuannaarpoq* 's/he is glad', *asavaa* 's/he loves x' *kamappoq* 's/he is angry'. The derived verbs are like *peqqissimivoq* 's/he regrets', where the verb stem might be *peqqiC-* 'be well, healthy' (Fortescue et. al., 2010; 284). Other derived verbs are *puungavoq* 's/he is sleepy/drowsy', coming from *puuC-*'be confused' added with a grammatical state affix –*nga*. Other verbs with the grammatical state affix –*nga* are of newer type such as *nakkangavoq* 's/he is depressed' coming from *nakkar* 'fall' added with –*nga.* Verbs with a verbalizing affix are *isumaluppoq* 's/he is sullen, bad-tempered'.

Bodily reactions (f) describe a feeling or reaction in the body like *kaappoq* 's/he is hungry', *qiiavoq* 's/he is cold', or *sajuppoq* 's/he is shaking'. Some derived verbs are as, *qilalerpoq* 's/he is thirsty' where the stem is an achievement *qilaC-* 'die of thirst' added with the ingressive aspectual affix –*ler* 'be about to', or *perlilerpoq* 's/he is hungry' also with an achievement verb stem *perler-* 'die of hunger'. Another derived verb is *kiaguppoq* 's/he is sweating, perspiring', where the stem seems to be the noun *kiak* 'heat in the air'.

Sensory verbs (g) are often transitive like *isigaa* 's/he looking at (x)', *tusaavaa* 's/he is hearing (x)' from the achievement verb *tusar–* 'hear', or *misigaa* 's/he feels (x)', *malugaa* 's/he feels x'.

The physical states h) describe the position of things or people, animals such as *napavoq* 'it is in an upright position, *puttavoq* 'it floats', *qangatavoq* 'it is floating in the air'. Many of the physical states are rest of achievement situations, where the verbs do not have a transparent marking of the state such as *nikorfavoq* 's/he is standing' from *nikuiC-*'get up', *ammavoq* 'it is open' from *ammar–* 'open', *issiavoq* 's/he is sitting from *ingip–* 'sit down', or *nalavoq* 's/he is lying down' from *nallar–* 'lay down', *napavoq* 'it/s/he is in an upright position' from the achievement verb *nappar-* 'raise, get ill'. The last verb stem

nappar 'raise, get ill' has another result state which is *napparsimavoq* 's/he is ill'. Here the resultative perfective *–sima* is added to give the result state. This belong to the lexicalised derived verbs with resultative perfective such as *angerlarsimavoq* 's/he is at home', from the accomplishment *angerlar-* 'go home', *isersimavoq* 's/he stay indoors' from the achievement *iser-* 'enter'.

The atmospheric verbs i) denote how the weather is as *nittaappoq* or *apivoq* 'it is snowing', *issippoq* 'it is freezing', *kiappoq* 'it is warm', *seqinnerpoq* 'the sun is shining', *siallerpoq* 'it is raining', *anorlerpoq* 'it is windy' etc.

The stative verbalizing affixes in different semantic categories are listed in table 1. The verbalizing affixes incorporate the noun with different syntactic functions in the predication. As already stated above it may be the object of the verb as in *nulia-qar-poq* 'he has a wife' or the subject of the verb, as in *anguta-a-voq* 'he is a man'. It could be a modifier of the explicit subject *biilit aappaluttu-u-pput* 'the car is red' where the adjectival noun *aappaluttoq* 'red' is incorporated. The different semantic categories used here are from Fortescue (1980), and it seems that the affixes of *feeling, lacking, having* and *acting and seeming* incorporate the object heads or modifiers to the head of the object. Only the group of *being* incorporates the subject or the modifier of the subject of the verb.

The verb-expanding affixes seem to be added anywhere in between the verb stem and the inflection, as they are added directly to the verb stem or to the whole predication. Examples of a stative verb expanding affix *–juma* 'want to' in different position before the verb stem are *iser-uma-voq* 's/he wants to enter', *ise-qattaar-uma-voq* 's/he wants to come again and again' and as it is shown in example 3 the whole predication *meeqqat takusartar-* 's/he used to have a view on the children' is in the scope of *–juma* 'want to'.

3.   *Meeqqat   taku   -sar   -tar   -uma   -vai*
        child.pl   see   -ITER   -HAB   -want.to   -IND.3sg
        'S/he wants to have a view on the children from time to time.'

There are several verb-expanding affixes denoting state, *-sori* 'think that' in *iser-sori-vara* 'I think s/he has come in', *-juminar* 'be easy' *iser-uminar-poq* 'it feels nice to come in', *-katag* 'be tired' *issiakatappoq* 's/he is tired of sitting'.

All stative verbs take any form of continuant affixes, such as *–juar* 'continuously' as in *ammajuarpoq* 'it is open all the time', or *–juaannar* 'continually' as in *nalujuaannarpaa* 's/he always does not know' and *tusaajuarpaa* 's/he keeps on hearing it', etc.

Achievements

Achievements are punctual events, where the change happens instantaneously to the result state, but the extended result state is not denoted (Croft 2012, 10f). All achievements are telic/ bounded, which means that the event has a natural endpoint. Hagedorn (1984; 4) divides the achievement verbs into ingressives, terminatives and non-agentive verbs. The ingressive verbs are perfective verbs, which indicate the beginning of a situation (Comrie 1976; 19–20). The terminative verbs are also perfective and indicate the end of a situation. The non-agentive forms are special, since the intransitive forms are the passive or reflexive forms of transitive agentive verb forms; for example, *nuna sermerpoq* 'the land is covered with ice' has the transitive form *issersuup nuna sermerpaa* 'the frost has covered the land with ice' (literally, the frost has 'iced' the land).

In WG the achievement verbs are often basic verbs, which need a stative affix to indicate the result state, as already mentioned in the description of the states. The stative affixes used in these verbs are different, and in some cases the particular stative morphemes are lexicalized as in *nuivoq* 's/he comes into view/appeared', *nuisavoq* 's/he/it is visible', where the stative –*sa* is not productive anymore. Another this kind is *nikuippoq* 's/he gets up' and the lexicalized stative form is *nikorfavoq* 's/he is standing'. Other verbs with non-transparent stative morphemes are such as *ammarpoq* 'it has opened' where the stative form is *ammavoq* 'it is open', *qeqqippoq* 's/he places himself', where the stative form is *qeqarpoq* 's/he is standing' (only human), *nallarpoq* 's/he lies down', with the stative *nalavoq* 's/he is lying' (only human). Many of these verb forms both the achievement verbs and stative verbs seem to have existed side by side (Fortescue et al. 2010). However, most of the achievement verbs are added with productive stative affixes, which are three stative affixes –*ma, –qqa,* and –*nga* and the resultative perfective affix –*sima.*

The ingressive verbs with basic verb stems are *iserpoq* 's/he has entered', *nikuippoq* 'he has gotten up', *napparpoq* 's/he becomes sick' or 'it has been placed in an upright position', *qeqqippoq* 's/he places himself', *nallarpoq* 's/he lies down', *anivoq* 's/he has gone out', *aallarpoq* 's/he departs', *ingippoq* 's/he sits down'. Some temperature verbs are *kissappoq* 'it has warmed' and *nillorpoq* 'it has cooled', *qerivoq* 'it has frozen'. There are some emotion verbs also as *nikallorpoq* 's/he becomes downhearted', or *nakappoq* 's/he has bent his/her head in sadness'. It seems that the emotion verbs often take the stative affix –*nga,* where the stative verb is *nikallungavoq* 's/he is downhearted' and *nakangavoq* 's/he is sad'. There are some derived verb stems as *aallartippoq* 'it/s/he starts', a lexicalized verb with the verb stem *allar*- 'depart' and the passive[3] affix –*tip*, and *ajugaavoq* 's/

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[3]   The transitive -*tip* 'causative' becomes a passive verb, when used in an intransitive verb.

he has won', where the verb stem is *ajor* 'cannot, does not, be bad', added with passive participium, -*gaq* and -*u* 'be'.

The terminative verbs are *tikippoq* 's/he has arrived', *inerpoq* 's/he has finished', *qaqivoq* 's/he has reached the summit', *kivivoq* 'it has sunk', *aappoq* 'it has melted', *apuuppoq* 's/he has reached (x)'. Some verbs end in death as *toquvoq* 's/he has died', *qiuvoq* 's/he has frozen to death', *perlerpoq* 's/he has starved to death'. Added with the ingressive affix –*ler* the two last verbs form lexicalized stative verbs as *qiulerpoq* 's/he is freezing', *perlilerpoq* 's/he is starving'. There are some transitive basic verbs as *nanivaa* 's/he has found y', *naavaa* 's/he has ended y'. Another group refers to destruction, such as *alippoq* 'it has torn', *putuvoq* 'it has got a hole', *qupivoq* 'it has cracked/split', or *nutippoq* '(the cup) has cracked'. A few cooking verbs are like *qalappoq* 'it has cooked'.

The non-agentive verbs, with non-agentive subjects are verbs as *nakkarpoq* 'it has fallen down', *matuvoq* 'it has closed', *ammarpoq* 'it has opened', *sermerpoq* 'it has iced', *sikuvoq* 'it has frozen (the sea)'.

The verbalizing affixes indicating achievement verbs are listed in table 2. There are not so many achievement affixes, and these are grouped in *becoming*, *acquiring* and *doing with and providing*. The only member in the group *becoming* is –*nngor* as in *inu-nngor-poq* 's/he is born' (literally, 's/he became a human'), *illu-nngor-poq* 'it became a house', or *atuaga-nngor-poq* 'it became a book'. The verbalized nouns are the subject of the verbs, and are *inuk* 'human/person', *illu* 'house' and *atuagaq* 'book', respectively. In the rest of the group the incorporated noun is either a head or a modifier to the head in the object phrase. An example is *motoori-iar-poq* 'his engine has broken down', where the object *motoori* is incorporated.

It seems that there are no verb-expanding affixes belonging to the achievement verbs. When the achievement verbs are added with the ingressive affix –*ler* the meaning is that the situation is approaching the change of state, and with ingressive achievements it is the beginning of the state that is approaching as in *isi-ler-poq* 's/he is about to enter', or *nikuilerpoq* 's/he is about to get up'. When –*ler* is added to terminative achievements the meaning is that the situation is approaching the end as in *tiki-ler-poq* 's/he is the arrival' or *ini-lerpoq* 's/he has almost finished'. When added with a continuant as –*juar* 'continuously, on and on' or –*juaannar* 'always, continually' the continuant meaning will change to habitual as in *isertuarpoq* 's/he always comes (to visit)' or *marlunut tikittuarpoq* 's/he arrives at too o'clock (every day)'. When the continuant is added to the non-agentive verbs the meaning does not change as *amma-juar-poq* 'it keeps on being open', but in some context such as opening hours in business, the meaning will change to habitual as *amma-juar-poq* 'it is always open', where the meaning is, that it is open in opening hours. Some achieve-

ment verbs change to activities, when added with the anti-passive affix, belonging to the verb-expanding affixes and is in the group of *relation shifters.* An example of this kind is *nui-si-voq* 's/he's sewing beads' where the achievement verb is *nuivaa* 's/he penetrades it'.

Semelfactives

The difference between semelfactive and achievement is that there is no change of state in semelfactive, and the situation happens only once (Comrie 1976; 42), while there is a change of state in an achievement. Semelfactives are punctual and describe a single event. In WG there are some motion verbs like *pissippoq* 's/he has jumped' or *allorpoq* 's/he has taken a step', *kasuppaa* 's/he knocks once', *uisorerpoq* 's/he blinks once'. There are also some expression verbs like *nillerpoq* 's/he has given a sound', *oqarpoq* 's/he has said (x)', or *suaarpoq* 's/he has shouted (once)'. Verbs describing more or less controlled physical reaction verbs are like *tangajorpoq* 's/he has sneezed' or *nissaappoq* 's/he has burped'.

The only semelfactive verbalizing affix is *-(r)pallag* 'sound like', *nipe-rpallap-poq* 'it sounds like a noice' which indicate one single act of noise. This affix also belongs to the verb-expanding affixes added to verb stems, as in *iser-pallap-poq* 'it sounded like someone came in'. There are few verb-expanding affixes belonging to the expression affixes as *–ar/ ur* 'say/quote' and *–nerar* 'say that' as in *iser-nerar-paa* 's/he says that x has come/entered'.

All semelfactives need to have repetitive affixes added, to continue from this one act; for example, *pissit**taar**poq* 's/he is jumping', where *–taar* is a repetitive affix, and *allo**rar**poq* 's/he is stepping', where *–rar* is repetitive. Some lexicalised forms are given non-productive continuant affixes, such as *nilli**a**voq* 's/he keeps on shouting', where *–a* is a continuant affix, and *oqalu**ppoq*** 's/he is speaking', where *–lup* is also a continuant affix. Only the perfective affix *–reer* 'is finished V-ing' can be added to semelfactives, such as *pissereerpoq* 's/he has finished jumping'. When *–sima* is added, the meaning becomes 'has V-ed apparently' (epistemic), as in *pississimavoq* 's/he has (apparently) jumped', which is either a perfect or epistemic modal, depending on the context (see Trondhjem 2007, 2009). When semelfactives are given productive continuant affixes, the meaning of the continuant shifts to habitual as with *–juar* 'continuously, on and on' or *–juaannar* 'always, continually', *oqartuarpoq* 's/he keeps on saying (x) (from time to time)', or *tangajortuaannarpoq* 's/he is always sneezing (when it is cloudy weather)'.

Activities

Activities are durative, dynamic and atelic, which means that they do not include a termination of the situation. Activities need energy to proceed. There is no outcome in

activities. Basic verb stems denoting activities in WG, include physical activity, such as the movement verbs as *qitippoq* 's/he is dancing', *arpappoq* 's/he is running (human)', *pangalippoq* 'it is running (animal)', *pisuppoq* 's/he is walking (human)', *ingerlavoq* 'it/ s/he is moving', *paarmorpoq* 's/he is crawling', or *naluppoq* 's/he is swimming'. Another group is musician-related verbs, such as a*giarpoq⁴* 's/he is playing the violin', *pattappoq* 's/he is playing the piano', or *tumerparpaarpoq* 's/he is drumming'. A group of physical activities indicating crafting verbs are such as *ulimavoq* 's/he is cutting', *sanavoq* 's/he is manufacturing', *mersorpoq* 's/he is sewing', and verbs indicating work are *sulivoq* 's/he is working/at work', *piniarpoq* 's/he is out hunting', or *aalisarpoq* 's/he is out fishing' etc. There are some mental verbs also such as *eqqarsarpoq* 's/he is thinking', *isumaliorpoq* 's/he is considering'.

Most activity verbs especially the crafting verbs can be added the intransitive or the transitive inflection. In this kind of activity verbs the subject has volition /control. Such verb stems are *sana*– 'manufacture', *ulima*– 'cut', or *mersor*– 'sew' and others like *neri*- 'eat', and *atuar*- 'read'. Without an object argument the termination of the situation is not included and the intransitive verb denotes an activity. In this form the verb is anti-passive and has focus on the agent/subject of the verb, and the object is degraded and receives an oblique instrumental case or is omitted. When the object argument in instrumental case is explicit the verbs become accomplishments such as, where the natural ending can be expected as in 4 and 5:

4. *tujuulu   –mik   mersor   –poq*
    jersey   INST.SG   sew   IND.3sg
    's/he is sewing a jersey'

5. *kaagi   -mik   neri   -voq*
    cake   -INST.   eat   -IND.3sg
    's/he eats the cake'

When these verbs are added a transitive inflection, they become accomplishments with or without explicit object, such as *(nerrivik) sanavaa* 's/he is manufacturing it (the table) ', *(qisuk) ulimavaa* 's/he is cutting it (the wood) ', or *(annoraaq) mersorpaa* 's/he is sewing it (the anorak)', and *(kaagi) nerivaa* 's/he eating it (the cake)', *(atuagaq) atuarpaa* 's/he

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⁴ These are relatively new terms, where the meaning comes from the way the action is done; for example, *agiar*– 'stroke', *pattap*– 'tap', and *tumerparpaar*– ,which is comprised of *tumeq + paluk + paat* (footstep + sound.of + many).

reading it (the book)'. The motion verbs as *arpap-* 's/he runs', *pisup-* 'walk' can also be added a transitive mood as in *7 km-it arpappai/pisuppai*, 'he has run/walked 7 km', where the object indicates the distance of the motion.

There are about 10 verbalizing affixes indicating activity (table 3), and these include three semantic groups *movement, doing with and providing* and *acting & seeming like*. There are three movement affixes, and the noun incorporated indicates the path or direction of the movement as in *aqqusinik-koor-poq* 's/he goes along the road', where the verbalizing affix is *–kkuur* 'move in/through'. In the rest of the activity affixes, the head of the object or the modifier of the object is incorporated. An example of this is *kaffillerpoq* 's/he serves coffee (to x)' where the verbalizing affix is *–ller* 'offer/serve'. Another example is *nanuusaarpoq* 'he acts as a bear', where the verbalizing affix is *–usaar* 'act/do like' and the subject acts or performs being a bear.

It seems the only verb-expanding affix forming activity verbs is the intransitivizer or anti-passive affix *–i/si/ti*. As already mentioned there are some (semi)lexicalized crafting verbs as *nuisivoq* 'she is sewing beads' where the achievement verb stem *nui-* 'penetrades x' is added with the anti-passive *–i* and *qiortaavoq* 's/he is cutting with scissors', where the achievement verb stem is a derived verb stem *qior-tar* 'cut (with scissors)-iterative' added with the anti-passive *-i*. The transitive verb stem *error-*'wash', belonging to accomplishments form two different derived verbs of washing, using two different anti-passive affixes, namely *erruivoq* 's/he is washing (the dishes)' using the anti-passive *-i* and *error-sivoq* 's/he washing (clothes)' using the anti-passive *–si*. Both are activities, in that the end point is not included in the situation, and to differentiate the difference between these two activities, the two different anti-passive forms are used. The verbs will become an accomplishment when added intransitive objects as *tiitorfinnik erruivoq* 's/he is washing up the cups' and *atisanik errorsivoq* 's/he is washing clothes'.

Accomplishments

The accomplishments are dynamic, telic and durative, i.e. the situation needs energy to continue, have a natural end point, and has a limited duration. Accomplishments involve a change from one state to another. Generally WG accomplishment verbs do not include the end point in the situation, but one expects that the situation will last for some time and terminate eventually, especially when the motion verbs are used as *aggerpoq* 's/he is coming', one expects the person will be at your place in a specific time period, depending on the distance of course. In WG some motion verbs, some transitive activity verbs, as those described in the former section *activities,* are accomplishment verbs, and there are about 17 verbalizing affixes and only few verb-expanding affixes of this kind.

Many agentive motion verbs in WG denote the direction of the motion, where the subject of the verb is moving towards an end point, such as *aggerpoq* 's/he is coming', *angerlarpoq*[5] 's/he is going home', *ornippaa* 's/he is going to (x)', or *pallippaa* 's/he is approaching'. These verbs do not indicate the end point of the situation, but the situation seems to have a natural end point for example in *angerlarpoq* 's/he is going home', where the subject is expected to reach home in a period of time. Other motion verbs that do not indicate an end point are activity verbs, such as *ingerlavoq* 's/he/it is moving', *pisuppoq* 's/he is going', *arpappoq* 's/he is running', etc. When an adverbial nominal denoting a goal is added, these become accomplishments:

6.   *qaqqamut ingerlavoq*

qaqqaq   –mut   ingerla   –voq

hill   ALLAT.sg   move   IND.3.sg

's/he/it is to going/moving up the hill'

As already mentioned under *activity,* the physical activity verbs are accomplishments when they have a transitive inflection, as *sanavaa* 'he is building/making it' or *mersorpaa* 'she is sewing it', but are activities when the inflection is intransitive, and there is no explicit object in the predication. The explicit object is inserted when it is new information, or to specify what the person is occupied with, as in *illu sanavaa* 's/he is building a house'. The transitive accomplishment verbs become activity when added an intransitive inflection such as *mersorpoq* 's/he is sewing'. Here the situation only tells about an ongoing activity without specification of the object. But when added an intransitive object in instrumental, such as *tujuulumik mersorpoq* 's/he is sewing a jersey' (see example 4) the situation becomes an accomplishment, and one can expect that the jersey will be finished one day. These verbs are common anti-passive forms. Within this group, are verbs stems like *atuar–* 'read', which can also be used as an anti-passive and transitive form, as in *atuagaq atuarpaa*, or transitive as in *atuakkamik atuarpoq* 's/he is reading a book', *allap–* 'write', *allakkamik allappoq*, or *allagaq allappaa* 's/he is writing a letter', etc.

The list of verbalising affixes forming accomplishment situations is in table 4, and it comprise three semantic groups *acquiring, motion and doing with or providing.* In the *acquiring* and *doing with or providing* the incorporated noun is the head or a modifier to the head of the object phrase. The incorporated noun in the movement affixes is the goal of the movement; that is, *–mukar* 'go to' and *–liar* 'go to', in *illu**mukar**poq* 's/he is going

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to the house', and *pisiniarfiliarpoq* 's/he going to the shop', where the goal *illu* 'house' and *pisiniarfik* 'shop' are incorporated. Some affixes denote creativity and incorporate the object of the predicate, such as *–lior,* 'make', as in *kaagiliorpoq* 's/he is baking a cake', or *liari/-ssiari* 'make into', as in *suppiliarivaa* 's/he makes it into soup', where the incorporated objects are *kaagi* 'cake' and *suppi* 'soup'.

There are only few verb-expanding affixes forming accomplishments as *-(gi)jartor* 'go and/in order to' in *suliartorpoq* 's/he is on her/his way to work', or *–naveersaar* 'try not to' in *orlunaveersaarpoq* 'he tries not to fall' and *–niar(sari)* 'try' in *siulliuniarsarivoq* 's/he tries to be the first to'. It seems that *-(gi)jartor* 'go and/in order to' applies only to basic verbs stems or derived verb stems as:

7.   *pisorta*   *-a*   *-jartor*   *-poq*
       chief   –be   –in order to   –IND 3.sg
       's/he has left in order to be the chief of x'.

The last two affixes *–naveersaar* 'try not to' and *–niar(sari)* 'try' seem to apply after a habitual affix as in *orlusarnaveersaarpoq* 's/he usually tries not to fall' or *siulliusarniarsarivoq* 's/he usualy tries to be first one'. These affixes need more investigation.

All accomplishment verbs receive continuant affixes like *–juar* 'continuously, always', but the situation denotes either a continuous or habitual situation. The motion verbs such as *aggerpoq* 's/he is coming', *ornippaa* 's/he approaching x' denote a habitual situation when added the continuant *–juar* as in *aggertuarpoq* 's/he usually comes' or *ornittuarpaa* 's/he always comes to x'. In the crafting verbs as *sanavaa* 's/he is making it' the continuant *–juar* denotes both continuously and habitual, as in *illu sanajuarpaa* 's/he keeps on building the house' where *–juar* has the continuous meaning. But when the verb is intransitive as in *illunik sanajuarpoq* 's/he keeps on building houses' the meaning is habitual.

Having described the lexical aspectual types, the grammatical aspectual affixes will be described shortly in the next section.
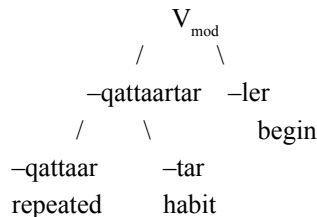
5. Grammatical aspectual affixes

There are 50–60 grammatical aspectual affixes, divided into quantificational affixes and phasal aspectual affixes (Kristoffersen 1992) and includes perfective, state, continuative, terminative, ingressive, semelfactive, prospective, progressive, continuative, iterative-habitual, repetitive and distributive aspects (Forstescue 1984; Hagedorn 1987). These affixes are grammaticalized in that they form an opposition between for example ingres-

sive versus non-ingressive. The aspectual affixes are divided into inner phasal aspects and outer phasal aspects. Few of the aspectual affixes (such as *–sima* 'resultative perfective/ perfect/past/apparently', *-ler* 'begin, be about to, near future') belong to both the inner, which is verb modifying, and the outer phasal aspect, tense and epistemic modality, which is sentence modifying (Fortescue 1980; Kristoffersen 1992; Trondhjem 2007, 2009). The difference is that the first scopes over the verb stem, and the latter scopes over the whole sentence and is mainly added to the main verb. Thus, the order of the affixes that are relevant for aspectual affixes is:

stem + inner phasal aspect + outer phasal aspect + tense + epistemic + inflection

Within the sentence-modifying affixes, an affix from one semantic category is added only once within a sentence, most often to the head verb (Fortescue ibid.:261; Kristoffersen ibid.:146). Hence, it is relatively simple to figure out the meaning of the sentence-modifying affixes, but it is more complicated with the ordering of the verb-modifying affixes. The order of the verb-modifying affixes, including the verb-expanding affixes, is: $V_b + V_e + V_{mod}$. Here, V_b is the verb base, V_e is a verb-expanding affix with a concrete meaning, such as *–juma* 'want', and V_{mod} is a verb-modifying affix that includes manner, degree and aspectual affixes. Both the verb-expanding V_e and verb-modifying V_{mod} are recursive affixes, which means that more than one affix from the same semantic category can be added in the same slot. While it seems that V_e has scope to the left (i.e., it modifies everything to the left), the V_{mod} has a tendency to build units with a modified head, which modifies the verb stem as a unit, such as: *–(sa)qattaartaler –* 'begins to V repeatedly as a habit'; this consists of aspectual affixes *–(sa)qattaar*[6] 'repeatedly', *–tar* –habitual, and *–ler* 'begin'.

Figure 1.

$$V_{mod}$$
```
                    V_mod
                   /      \
            –qattaartar   –ler
             /      \        begin
       –qattaar    –tar
       repeated    habit
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[6] *–(sa)qattaar* 'repeatedly', *–sar* 'iteration' are added only occasionally, which is why they are not shown in Figure 1.

The head is –*qattaar*, modified by the habitual –*tar*, creating –*qattaartar* 'used to V repeatedly' and modified by –ler 'begin', which creates 'begins to V (repeatedly as a habit)'. Currently, it is not possible to tell if this pattern applies to all the aspectual affixes. The meaning of this particular unit depends on the order of the last two aspectual affixes; for example, when –*ler* is added before –*qattaar*, the meaning of the unit is changed to –*qattaalertar* 'used to begin V-ing repeatedly'. Thus, when added to a verb stem, it gives two different meanings: the first is *iseqattaartalerpoq* 's/he/it begins to have the habit to enter repeatedly' (several times a week, because of a certain girl); and the second combination is *iseqattaalertarpoq* 's/he usually begins to enter repeatedly' (e.g., 'every time he finds out there is a nice girl, he begins to enter repeatedly'). Because of the huge amount of possible combinations, it seems difficult to apply an ordering matrix to the verb-expanding and verb-modifying affixes (Kristoffersen ibid.:147). However, within a semantic group, some of the members are compatible and some are not. This suggests a need to analyse the compatibility of the aspectual affixes based on written and oral language; this work has already been started by Hagedorn.

6. Conclusion

This article describes the five aspectual types; state, achievement, semelfactive, activity accomplishment. Each aspectual type is composed of basic verbs and derived verbs, where the latter also comprise derived verbs created from incorporated nouns as well as verb stems that are given verb-expanding affixes, which can change the aspectual type. It has been shown that the change in the aspectual type happens by changing the transitivity of the verb and/or adding an adverbial noun phrase to the verb; this happens especially when activities change to accomplishments through a change in the transitivity. Another way of changing aspectual type is to add aspectual affixes, where achievements change to states with the addition of resultative perfective or stative affixes. It was also shown that the continuant affixes change meaning according to which aspectual type they apply. In addition, the ordering of the aspectual affixes was outlined, which demonstrated that aspectual affixes have a tendency to create units that are applied to the verb stem, and the order of the affixes changes the whole situation of the verb.

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Table 1. The stative affixes

Being	Having
-giip 'be mutually', *Nuliariipput* 'they are wife and husband'	*-gasag* 'have scattered', *inugasappoq* 'there are many people'
-giiaar 'be mutually', *Illugiiaarput* 'they are grouped as pair'	*-gi* 'have as' — *panigaa* 'it is his/her daughter'
-kkuminar 'be good as/for', *nunakkuminarpoq* 'it is (a) good land to live in' (Fortescue 1984;321)	*-gig(ssaar)* 'have a good', *illugi(ssaar) poq* 's/he has a good house'
-kuutaar 'be grouped in –s,'*marlukkuutaarput* 'they are in groups of two'	*-kit(lliur)* 'have little/few' — *pissakilliorpoq* 's/he is poor'
-miip- 'be in/on' *nunamiippoq,* 'it's on the ground'	*-kisaar* 'have rather little', *Inukisaarpoq* 'there are few people'
-u 'be' *illuuvoq,*'it's a house'	*-lisaar* 'be wearing', *Kamilisaarpoq* 's/he is wearing kamiks'
Feeling	*-lisar* 'have with one', *Tiitorfilisarpoq* 'she has her cup with her'
-gug 'thirst/long for', *neqiguppoq*'s/he longs for (seal)meat'	*-lissuu* 'have much/many', *Kaffilissuuvoq* 'there is a lot of coffee'
-(irsi) 'feel cold in', *assaarsivoq* 's/he has cold fingers'	*-rlug* 'have a bad/painful', *tikerluppoq* 's/he has a painful forefinger'
-katag 'be fed up with', *Neqikatappoq* 's/he is fed up with meat'	*-maar* 'be wearing', *Qaqortumaarpoq* 'he is wearing a white annorak'
-liri 'feel pain in', *Niulerivoq* 's/he has pain in the leg'	*-qar* 'have/there is', *Illoqarpoq* 'there is a house'
-nngir 'like/crazy about', *Neqinngerpoq* 's/he likes (seal)meat'	*-qatigiig* 'have together/ share', *Illoqatigiipput* 'they live together'
-nngu 'feel bad in', *Niaqunnguvoq* 's/he has headache'	*-qurtu* 'have much/a big', *qingaqqortuvoq* 's/he has a big nose'
	-tujaar 'have rather a big', *initujaarpoq* 'it has a rather big room'

Lacking	Acting and Seeming
-ilaatsi 'be short of', *Imiilaatsivoq* 's/he lacks water' '	*-lisar* 'resemble', *angalisarpoq* 's/he looks like his/her uncle'
-irser 'have lost', *Alerseerserpoq* 's/he has lost her/his socks'	*-nga* 'resemble', *Inungavoq* 'it looks like a human'
-(ssa)irut 'have no more', *Alissaaruppoq* 'he has no more strap'	*-(r)palaar* 'seem', *inuppalaarpoq* 's/he is kind' (lit. acting as a human')
-isag 'have very few', *Inuisappoq* 'there are few people'	*-(r)pasig* 'seem like', *Uumasoorpasippoq* 'it seems to be an animal'
-it 'be without', *Ipiippoq* 'it is clean'	*-sunnit* 'smell like', *Neqisunnippoq* 'it smells like meat'
-ssaleqi 'lack', *kaffissaaleqivoq* 's/he lack coffee'	**Movement**
-ssaasua 'lack', *tupassaasuavoq* 'he lacks tobacco'	*-miir* 'come from', *danmarkimeerpoq* 's/he comes from Denmark'
	-siur 'celebrate', *Inuuissiorpoq* 's/he has birthday'

Table 2. Achievement affixes

Becoming	Doing with — providing
-nngor 'become, turn', *inunngorpoq* 's/he is born'	*-iar* 'break/damage', *motooriiarpoq* 'his engine breaks down'
Acquiring	*-ir* 'be removed /sell', *nasaarpoq* 's/he takes her/his cap of'
-gissi 'get a good', *tipigissivoq* 'it has got a better smell'	*-lir* 'provide with', *putulerpaa* 's/he makes a hole in it'
-tusi/tur 'have more/ bigger' *initusivoq* 'it has got more room'	*-liut(i)* 'use as', *nasaliuppaa* 's/he begins using it as a cap'
-killi 'have fewer/less' *Inukillivoq* 'there are fewer people'	*-mig* 'touch with one's', *ikusimmippaa* 'he gives y an elbow'
-nnag 'get as gift/plenty, *oorinnappoq* 's/he has got money'	*-rur* 'hit on the', *seeqororpaa* 's/he hits y on the knee'
-si 'get/buy/find', *qarlissivoq* 's/he buys trousers '	*-ssit* 'give', *neqissippaa* 's/he gives y some meat'
-t/r 'catch', *appappoq* 's/he catches a guillemot'	
-taar 'get a new', *qarlittaarpoq* 's/he has got new trousers'	

Table 3. Activity affixes

Movement	*-lirsaar* 'tell about', *angalanilersaarpoq* 's/he is telling about her/his travels'
-kkuur 'move in/through, *aqqusinikkoorpoq* 's/he goes along the road'	*-llir* 'offer/serve', *kaffillerpoq* 's/he serves coffee (to all colleagues)'
-muur 'move toward', *sanimoorpoq* 's/he moves sideways'	*-r* 'loanword verbalizer' — *biilerpoq* 's/he is driving a car'
-siur 'travel on/celebrate', *nunasiorpoq* 's/he travels on land'	Acting and seeming like
Doing with — providing	*-(r)palug* 'act/seem like', *anguterpaluppoq* 'he acts as a man'
-liri 'occupy oneself with', *atuakkerivoq* 's/he is doing homework	*-usaar* 'act/do like', *nanuusaarpoq* 's/he is acting as a bear'

Table 4. Accomplishment affixes

Acquiring	Doing with — providing
-niar 'hunt' — *puisinniarpoq* 'he is hunting seals'	*-iar* 'remove' — *kukiiarpoq* 's/he's removing her/his nails'
-isur 'fetch' — *qisussaasorpoq* 's/he is fetching firewood'	*-liari/-siari* 'make into' — *illuliarivai* 's/he's making x to a house'
-lirngusaa 'fight for' — *arnalerngusaapput* 'they fight for a woman'	*-lirsor* 'provide with, several' — *qalipaasersorpaa* 's/he puts colours on it'
-raar 'catch — so many' *pingasoraarpoq* 'he caught three x'	*-liur* 'make' — *appaliorpoq* 's/he's cooking guillemot'
-siur 'look for' — *illussiorpoq* 's/he looks a house'	*-tur/(r)sur* 'use/eat/drink' — *kaffisorpoq* 's/he is drinking coffee'
-tar 'fetch' — *imertarpoq* 's/he fetches water'	*-tir* 'supply with/cover' *taratserpai* 's/he puts salt in y'
-nialug 'hunt small game/poorly' — *appannialuppoq* 's/he is trying to get some guillomots'	*-niut* 'hunt — of several', *appanniutigaa* 'he is hunting guillomots with it'
Movement	
-liar 'go to' — *pisiniarfiliarpoq* 'S/he goes to the shop'	
-mukar 'go to' — *pisiniarfimmukarpoq* 'S/he goes to the shop'	