



Affixes
Symposium



Turku



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Affixes in a polysynthetic language: Aspect and transitivity in Inuk(ti)tut

Bettina Spreng, University of Saskatchewan

bettina.spreng@usask.ca

Roadmap

1. The language family

2. Marked and unmarked Antipassives

2.1 Antipassive marker and inceptive marker

2.2 Aims of this talk

3. Distribution

4. Function of the Antipassive marker: viewpoint aspect in Inuit

5. Problem: Phonology and ordering

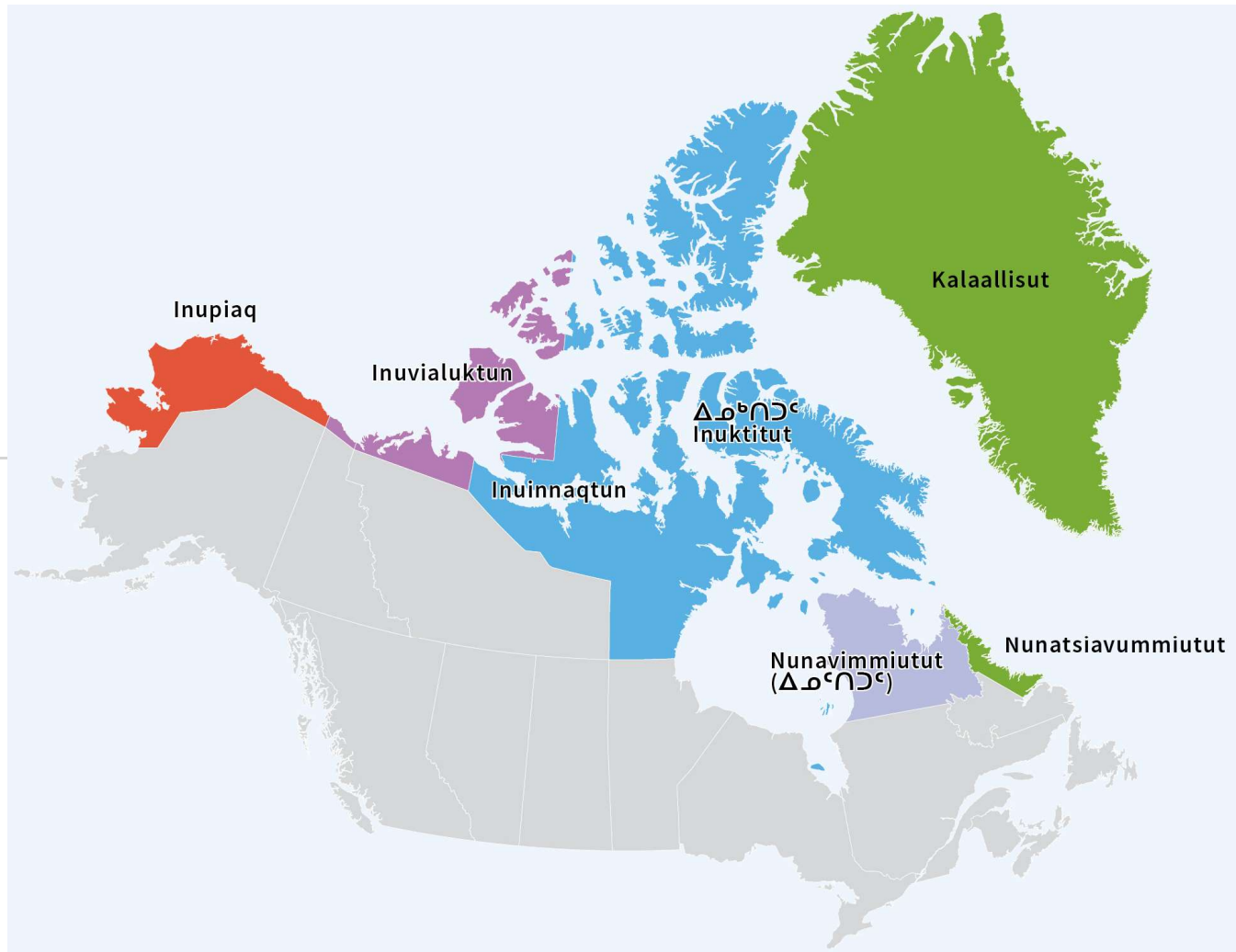
6. Some thoughts on Derivation vs. Inflection

1. Languages

Formerly: Eskimo-Aleut
Eskaleut

Now:
Inuit-Yup'ik-Unangax

Data is from fieldwork with speakers from Baffin Island and Kugaaruk. My thanks go the speakers who had the patience to bear with my questions.



<https://tusaalanga.ca/index.php/about-Inuktut>

2. Marked and unmarked Antipassives

2. a. Ergative

anguti-**up** arnaq kunik-**taa**
man-ERG woman.ABS kiss-PART.3SG/3SG
'The man kissed the woman'

b. Intransitive

anguti niri-**vuq**
man.ABS eat-IND.3SG
'The man is eating.'

3. a. Marked Antipassive

anguti kunik-**si-vuq** arna-mik
man.ABS kiss-ANTIP-IND.3SG woman-mik
'the man is kissing a woman'

b. Unmarked Antipassive

anguti niri-**vuq** niqi-mik
man.ABS eat-IND.3SG meat-mik
'the man is eating meat'

2.1 Antipassive marker *-si*

Languages and dialects differ in the number of attested antipassive markers

Regardless, *-si* is significantly the most productive across the languages

Greenland	<i>-si</i>	Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic)
	<i>-hi</i>	Inuktun (Northern Greenland)
Eastern Canadian Inuktut		
	<i>-si-</i>	Nunavik, Labrador, Baffin Island, Kivalliq region
Western(ish) Canadian Inuktut		
	<i>-hi</i>	Utkuhiqsalingmiut, Natsilingmiut, Arviligjuaq, Inuinnaqtun
Iñupiaq (Alaska):	<i>-si</i>	
Yup'ik:	<i>-yi</i>	Central Alaskan Yup'ik
	<i>-i</i>	Siberian Yup'ik

2.1 Inceptive marker –*si*

Kalaallisut (Greenland)	<i>'become, make become, begin to'</i> <i>'become, begin to'</i> <i>'become, get, have got into the state'</i>	(Fortescue et al. 1994:405) (Fortescue 1983:44) (Bergsland 1955:117)
Baffin Island	<i>'readiness, commencement of action or motion'</i> <i>'now'</i> <i>'now, begins to'</i>	(Harper 1979:69) (Spalding 1993:151) (Dorais 1978:45)
Labrador	<i>'now', 'in the process of', 'starting to'</i>	(Beaudoin-Lietz 1982:75)
Nunavik	<i>'begins to'</i> <i>'about to'</i>	(Dorais 1977:45) (Weinroth 1981:49)
Utku	<i>'has become X'</i>	(Briggs et al. 2015:94)
Inuinnaqtun	<i>'become'</i>	(Kudlak & Compton 2018:222)
Iñupiaq	<i>'start V-ing (aqsi)'</i>	(Nagai 2006:107)

2.2 Aims

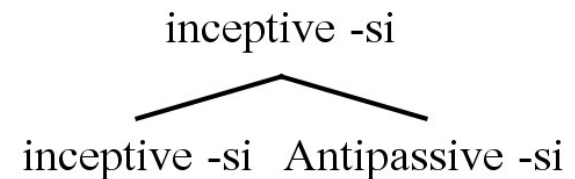
Explanation for the distribution of marked and unmarked antipassives.

Explanation for this wide-spread homonymy.

Proposal:

Antipassive *-si* and inceptive *-si* are not homonyms.

They are allomorphs of
the same inceptive morpheme.



3. Distribution of the Antipassive marker

Punctual verbs are interpreted as perfective by default.

4a. tikit-tuq
arrive-PART.3sg
'He just arrived'

4b. *tikit-tuq **ippaksaq**
arrive-PART.3SG yesterday
'He arrived yesterday'

4c. tiki-lauq-tuq **ippaksaq**
arrive-PAST-PART.3SG yesterday
'He arrived yesterday'

(Hayashi and Spreng 2005:5)

5. anguti-up nanuq quqir-taa
man-ERG polar bear.ABS shoot-PART.3SG/3SG
'The man shot the polar bear.'

6. anguti-up uqalimaq-taa
the man-ERG read-PART.3sg/3sg
'the man read it (just now)'

All types of verbs are interpreted as perfective in the ergative construction.

3. Distribution of the Antipassive marker

Punctual verbs require the antipassive marker

7a. anguti-up nanuq quqir-taa
man-ERG polar bear.ABS shoot-PART.3SG/3SG
'The man **shot** the polar bear.'

7b. Piita quqiq-*si*-juq (tuktu-mit)
Peter.ABS shoot-ANTIP-PART.3SG caribou-*MIK*
'Peter **is shooting** a caribou/something.'

6c. *Piita quqiq-juq (tuktu-mit)
Peter.ABS shoot-ANTIP-PART.3SG caribou-
MIK
'Peter **is shooting** a caribou/something.'

3. Distribution of the Antipassive marker

Durative and stative verbs do not require the antipassive marker

8a. arnaq miqsuq-tuq (qarling-nit)
woman.ABS sew-PART.3SG pant-*mik*.DL
'the woman is sewing (a pair of pants)/something'

8c. arnaq miqsu-*si*-tuq (**qarling-nit**)
woman.ABS SEW-INCPT-PART.3sg pant-*mik*.DL
'the woman **is about to** sew (a pair of pants)/something'

8b. Piita taku-juq (nanur-mik)
Peter.ABS see-PART.3SG polar bear-*mik*
'Peter sees a polar bear/something'

8d. Piita taku-*si*-juq (nanur-mik)
Peter.ABS see-INCPT-PART.3sg polar bear-*mik*
'Peter **is starting** to see (a polar bear)/something'
"he just realizes that there is a polar bear"

→ Imperfective/stative reading without *-si* → Inceptive reading with an inceptive marker

3. Distribution of the antipassive marker

Summary: Punctual verbs require the antipassive marker.

Durative or stative verb roots do not.

This distribution pattern is attested across the language family (with some questions about Yup'ik and Unangam).

Proposal: The reason for this distribution is semantic.

Antipassives are imperfective.

→ Verbs that are by default interpreted as perfective require a morpheme that enables imperfective readings.

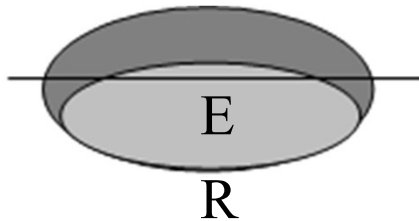
4. Function of the Antipassive marker: viewpoint aspect

Punctual:

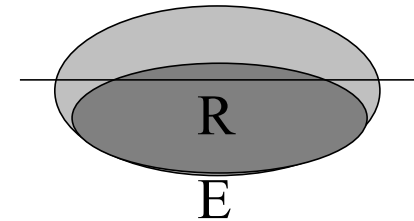
- a. A verb is punctual iff $E \subseteq R$
- b. A verb is durative iff $R \subseteq E$

Viewpoint aspect:

$E \subseteq R$: Perfective

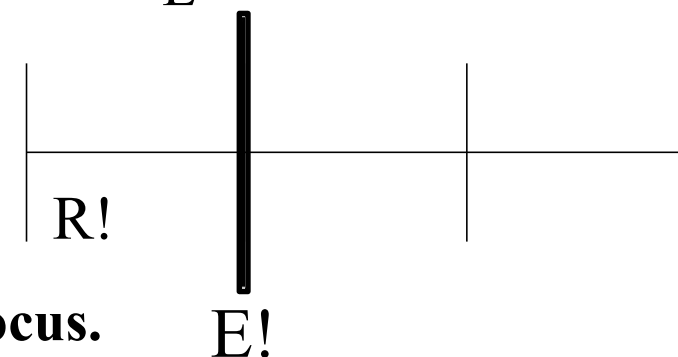


$R \subseteq E$: Imperfective



→ If E is punctual, R cannot be a subset of E.

→ Imperfective viewpoint R needs to stretch or refocus.



4.1 The function of the Antipassive inceptive marker

11a. makpiq-tuq
open-PART.3SG
'It's opened.'

REGULAR INTRANSITIVE: PERFECTIVE

11b. Piita makpiq-si-juq
Piita.ABS open-ANTIP-PART.3SG
'Peter is opening something.'

ANTIPASSIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, -SI

11c. makpi-si-juq
open-INCPT-PART.3SG
'It is opening.'/It's about to open.'

REGULAR INTRANSITIVE, IMPERFECTIVE -SI

11d. Piita-up makpiq-taa
Piita.ERG open-PART.3SG.3SG
'Peter opened it.'

ERGATIVE TRANSITIVE, PERFECTIVE

11e. Piita makpi-si-jaa
Piita.ABS open-INCPT-PART.3SG.3SG
'Peter is about to open it.'

ERGATIVE TRANSITIVE, PERFECTIVE,
INCEPTIVE -SI

4.2 Summary

The distribution of the antipassive marker supports the idea that the inceptive marker and the antipassive marker are the same inceptive morpheme.

The analysis accounts for the semantics of the antipassive construction and the distribution of the antipassive marker.

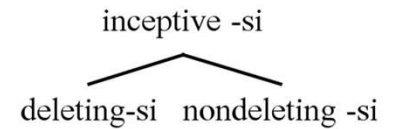
It also accounts for the accidental homonymy between antipassive *-si* and inceptive *-si* across a large part of the language family

→ It is not homonymy.

5. Problems for the allomorphy analysis

Phonology: Inceptive *-si* deletes preceding consonants in some Eastern Inuit variants.

Order: In elicited data, they can occur twice.



non-deleting -si → deleting -si

12a. anguti kuni^{si}-**si**-vuq arna-mik
man kiss-ANTIP-INCEPT-3SG woman-MIK
'The man is starting to kiss the woman'

12b. *anguti kuni^{si}-**si**-vuq arna-mik
man kiss-ANTIP-INCEPT-3SG woman-MIK
'The man is starting to kiss the woman'

More common is -liq as second inceptive marker

13a. anguti kuni^{si}-**liq**-puq arna-mik
man kiss-ANTIP-INCEPT-3SG woman-MIK
'The man is starting to kiss the woman'

13b. *anguti kuni^{liq}-**si**-vuq arna-mik
man kiss-ANTIP-INCEPT-3SG woman-MIK
'The man is starting to kiss the woman'

How can two allomorphs occur twice in one word?

5.1 Difference between deleting and non-deleting *-si*

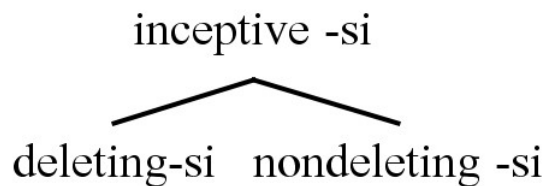
The two *-si* allomorphs have different properties depending on their structural position.

The first non-deleting *-si* affects case and agreement

→ functional

The deleting *-si* does not affect case and agreement

→ derivational

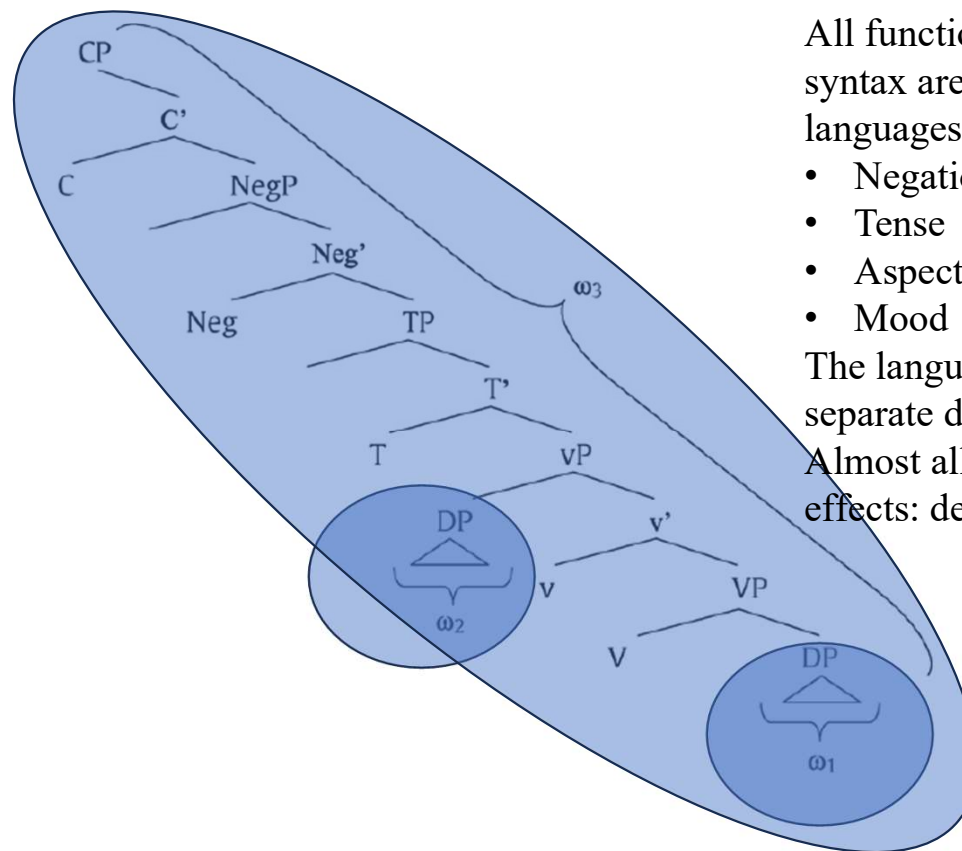


Elsewhere

Phonological
condition: adjacent to V
Semantic condition: a punctual
feature

5.2 Phases in Inuktitut (Compton&Pittman 2010)

Every phase is a phonological word



All functional elements we find in the syntax are part of the verb complex in Inuit languages.

- Negation
- Tense
- Aspect
- Mood

The languages have no prepositions, or separate determiners.

Almost all affixes have some phonological effects: deletion, weakening, assimilation

5.3 Phases: Phonological vs. Semantic

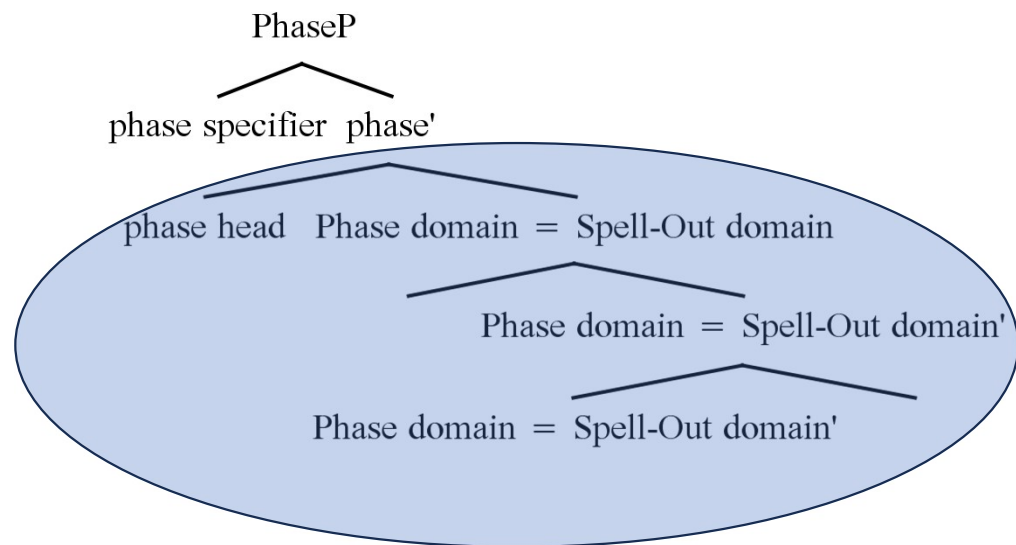
Phases have been defined as Spell-Out Domains, originally assumed to be the same for both PF senso-motoric interface and LF conceptual-intentional interface.

However, there are mismatches. (Grohmann 2009, Zeijlstra 2009)

Phonological Phases: domains for stress assignment and other phonological processes. Also treated as domains for linearization in Distributed Morphology.

Semantic Phases: functional boundary that is not accessible for further syntactic processes (Chomsky 2000, et seq.)

→ “chunks” to be interpreted, linearized, pronounced



5.4 Semantic Spell-Out vs Phonological Spell-Out

si- will only form a semantic phase when it has a syntactic function

→ It creates a boundary for a semantic word.

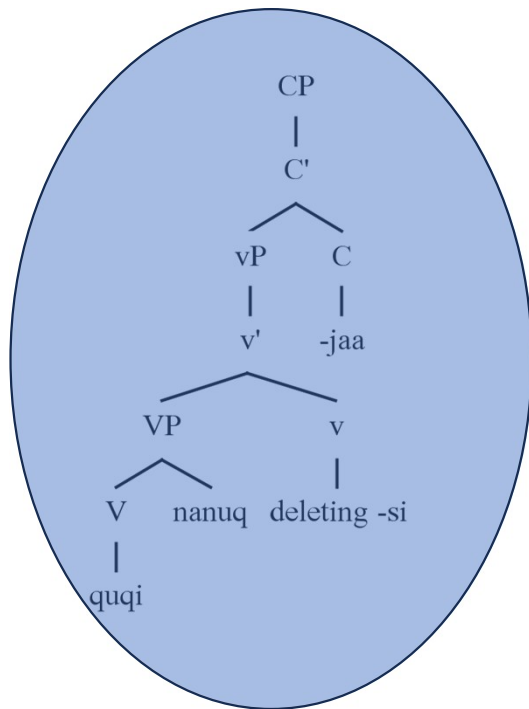
→ but not for a phonological word.

- *vP* is not a semantic phase for ergative transitive constructions to allow raising of the internal argument to get absolutive case
- *vP* is a phase if there is no raising of lower arguments in the clause.
 - *vP* is a semantic phase with Antipassives only

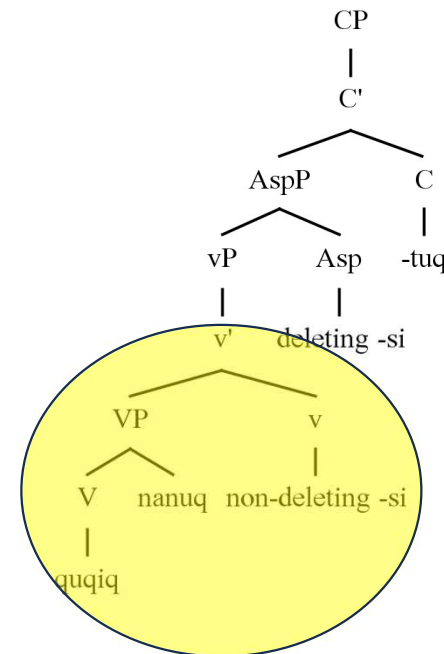
(Bittner & Hale 1996, Spreng 2006, 2012, Yuan 2018).

5.5 Deleting vs. non-deleting *-si*

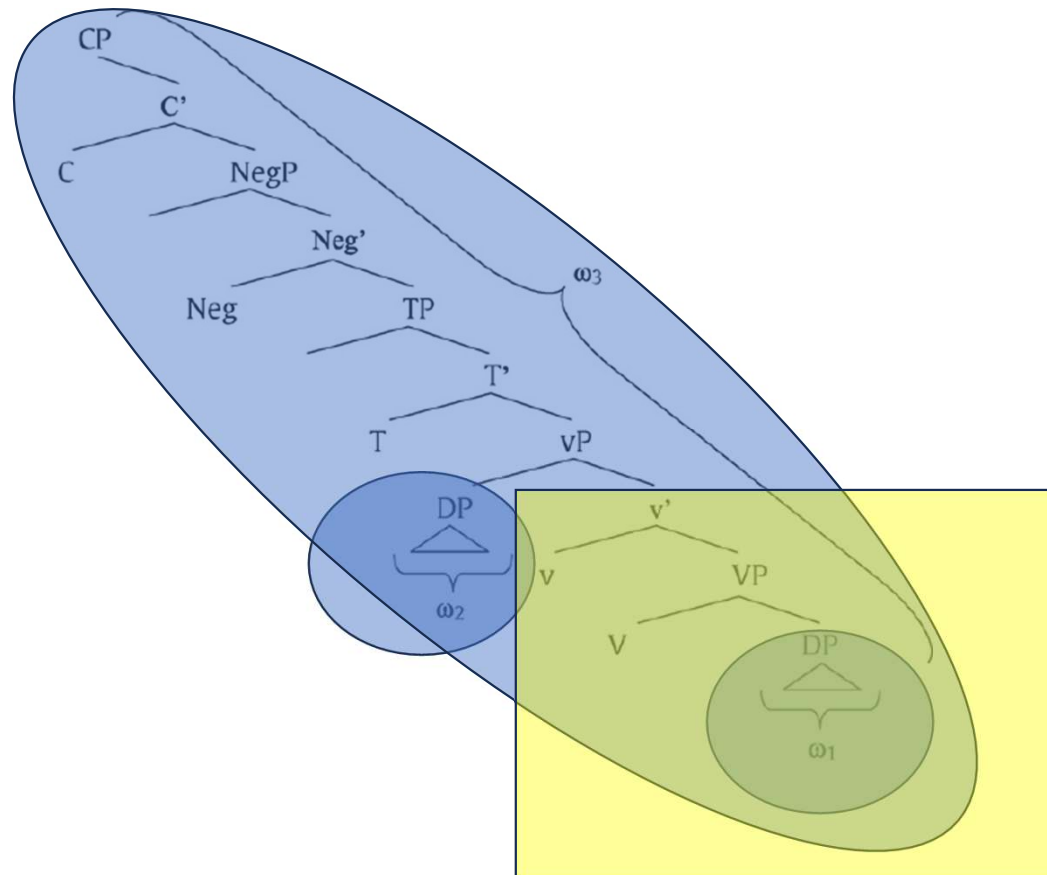
Phonological and Semantic Spell-Out:
quqi-si-jaa



Semantic Spell-Out: quqir-si-si-juq



5.6 Semantic and phonological Spell-Out domains are not identical



6. Some thoughts on the ordering of functional and derivational material

Traditionally, all suffixes except for the agreement marker at the end in Inuit languages have been considered derivational.

Functional elements such as non-deleting *-si* affect case and agreement but are very close to the verb root.

Farthest from the root = a phase boundary

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THANK YOU!

NAKURMIK!

MA'NA!