

English and Kalaallisut in CCG+UC<sub>2</sub>

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

- SYN-SEM TRAITS: ENGLISH vs. KALAALLISUT

**T1:** *Argument type:* What are the nominal arg's saturating the verbal pred.?

Eng. SA: syntactic argument phrases only (NP subject, NP object, ...)

Kal. BA: morphologically bound arguments only (pn clitic|affix, n-root, ...)

**T2** *Prominence type:* What is the most prominent nominal relation?

Eng. SU: subject prominent (salient gram. contrast: Subject vs. Direct Object)

Kal. TO: topic prominent (salient gram. contrast: T (topic) vs. L (bckgrmd))

**T3** *Word order type:* What determines the word order?

Eng. S: syntactic rules (e.g. S → NP VP, etc., ∴ 'rigid' word order)

Kal. L: lexical operations (H-lift, pre-H lift, post-H lift, ∴ 'free' order)

- SCOPE COROLLARY

In a SA-language the scope of SA may be ambiguous

In a BA-language the scope of BA is unambiguous

(Last month Ole<sup>T</sup> ordered three books<sup>L</sup>.)

tv<sub>E</sub>. He<sub>T</sub> hasn't received **one<sub>L</sub> book** yet. SA-1g.: English

∃<sup>-</sup>. one book is still missing

¬∃. hasn't received any

iv<sub>E</sub>. **One book** hasn't been received yet.

∃<sup>-</sup>. one book is still missing

tv<sub>K</sub>. Suli atuagaq ataasiq tigu-nngi(t)-la-a. BA-1g.: Kalaallisut

still book one get-not-DEC-3S<sub>(T)</sub>-3S<sub>(L)</sub>

∃<sup>-</sup>. one book is still missing

<sup>p</sup>iv<sub>K</sub>. Suli atuagaq ataasiq tigu-niqa(r)-nngi(t)-la-q. (P = passive)

still book one get-pssv-not-DEC-3S<sub>(T)</sub>

∃<sup>-</sup>. one book is still missing

<sup>a</sup>iv<sub>K</sub>. Suli atuakkamik ataatsimik tigu-si-nngi(t)-la-q. (A = antipassive)

still book-MOD one-MOD get-antip-not-DEC-3S<sub>(T)</sub>

¬∃. hasn't received any

2. UC<sub>1</sub> WITH EVENTS (UC<sub>2</sub>)

DEFINITION 1 (Lists & infotention states) Let  $D$  be a non-empty set.

- $\langle D \rangle^{n,m} = D^n \times D^m$  is the set of  $\top$ -lists of  $n$  topical  $D$ -objects (the  $\top$ -list) and  $m$  background  $D$ -objects (the  $\perp$ -list).
- For any  $\top$ -list  $i = \langle i_1, i_2 \rangle \in \langle D \rangle^{n,m}$ ,  $\top i = i_1$  and  $\perp i = i_2$ . Thus,  $i = \langle \top i, \perp i \rangle$ .
- An  $n,m$ -infotention state is any subset of  $\langle D \rangle^{n,m}$ .  $\emptyset$  is the *absurd state*.

DEFINITION 2 (UC<sub>2</sub> types) The set of UC<sub>2</sub> types is the smallest set  $\Theta$  such that

- (i)  $\{t, \delta, \varepsilon\} \subseteq \Theta$ , (ii) if  $a, b \in \Theta$ , then  $(ab) \in \Theta$ , and (iii)  $s \in \Theta$ .

DEFINITION 3 (UC<sub>2</sub> frames) A UC<sub>2</sub> frame is a set  $\{D_a \mid a \in \Theta\}$  of non-empty pairwise disjoint sets  $D_a$  s.t. (i)  $D_t = \{1, 0\}$ , (ii)  $D_{ab} = \{f \mid \emptyset \subset \text{Dom } f \subseteq D_a \wedge \text{Ran } f \subseteq D_b\}$ , and (iii)  $D_s = \bigcup_{n,m \geq 0} \langle D_\delta \cup D_\varepsilon \rangle^{n,m}$ .

DEFINITION 4 (UC<sub>2</sub> syntax) Define for all  $a \in \Theta$  the set of  $a$ -terms as follows

- $\text{Con}_a \cup {}^T\text{Var}_a \cup {}^\perp\text{Var}_a \subseteq \text{Term}_a$
- $\lambda u_a(B) \in \text{Term}_{ab}$ , if  $u_a \in {}^T\text{Var}_a \cup {}^\perp\text{Var}_a$  and  $B \in \text{Term}_b$
- $BA \in \text{Term}_{bs}$ , if  $B \in \text{Term}_{ab}$  and  $A \in \text{Term}_a$
- $\neg A, (A \rightarrow B), (A \wedge B), (A \vee B) \in \text{Term}_t$ , if  $A, B \in \text{Term}_t$
- $\forall u_a B, \exists u_a B \in \text{Term}_t$ , if  $u_a \in {}^T\text{Var}_a \cup {}^\perp\text{Var}_a$  and  $B \in \text{Term}_t$
- $(A = B) \in \text{Term}_t$ , if  $A, B \in \text{Term}_a$
- $(u_a \cdot B) \in \text{Term}_s$ , if  $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}$ ,  $u \in {}^T\text{Var}_a \cup {}^\perp\text{Var}_a$  and  $B \in \text{Term}_s$
- $\tau a_n, \perp a_n \in \text{Term}_{sa}$ , if  $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}$  and  $n \geq 1$ .
- $A\{B\} \in \text{Term}_{at}$ , if  $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}$ ,  $A \in \text{Term}_{sa}$  and  $B \in \text{Term}_{st}$
- $\downarrow A, (A; B), (A^T; B), (A^\perp; B) \in \text{Term}_{(st)st}$ , if  $A, B \in \text{Term}_{(st)st}$
- $(A \subseteq B) \in \text{Term}_t$ , if  $A, B \in \text{Term}_\varepsilon$
- $BA \in \text{Term}_{\delta\delta}$ , if  $B \in \{\text{CTR}, \text{BCK}, \text{DAT}\}$  and  $A \in \text{Term}_\varepsilon$

ABBREVIATIONS 1 For  $f \in D_{a_1 \dots a_n}$ ,  $\langle a_1, \dots, a_n \rangle \in D_{a_1} \times \dots \times D_{a_n}$ ,  $A \subseteq D_{a_1} \times \dots \times D_{a_n}$ :

- (i)  $f(a_1, \dots, a_n) := f(a_1) \dots (a_n)$ , (ii)  $\uparrow f := \{\langle a_1, \dots, a_n \rangle \mid f(a_1, \dots, a_n) = 1\}$   
 (iii)  $\%A = \uparrow f \in D_{a_1 \dots a_n} (A = \uparrow f)$

DEFINITION 5 (UC<sub>2</sub>-models) A UC<sub>2</sub>-model is a structure  $M = \langle \{D_a \mid a \in \Theta\}, \subseteq_{\varepsilon}, \mathbf{e}_0, \llbracket \cdot \rrbracket \rangle$ , where (i)  $\{D_a \mid a \in \Theta\}$  is a UC<sub>2</sub> frame, (ii)  $\subseteq_{\varepsilon}$  ( $\varepsilon$ -part of) is a weak partial order on  $D_\varepsilon$ , (iii)  $\mathbf{e}_0 \in D_\varepsilon$  and (iv)  $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket$  assigns to each  $A \in \text{Con}_a$  a value  $\llbracket A \rrbracket \in D_a$ , and to  $B \in \{\text{CTR}, \text{BCK}, \text{DAT}\}$  a value  $\llbracket B \rrbracket \in D_{\varepsilon\delta}$  such that:

- $\langle e, d, \dots \rangle \in \llbracket A \rrbracket \rightarrow \llbracket \text{CTR} \rrbracket(\mathbf{e}) = d$  if  $A \in \text{Con}_{\varepsilon\delta \dots t}$
- $\langle e, d, d', \dots \rangle \in \llbracket A \rrbracket \rightarrow \llbracket \text{BCK} \rrbracket(\mathbf{e}) = d'$  if  $A \in \text{Con}_{\varepsilon\delta\delta \dots t}$
- $\exists d, d' \in D_\delta: \langle \mathbf{e}_0, d \rangle \in \uparrow \llbracket \text{spk} \rrbracket \wedge \llbracket \text{DAT} \rrbracket(\mathbf{e}_0) = d'$

ABBREVIATIONS 2 (Projections & dot-extensions). For any non-empty set  $D$ ,

- $(x)_n$  = the  $n$ th coordinate,  $x_n$  for  $x \in D^{n+m}$
- $(x)_a$  = the subsequence of  $x$  consisting of  $x_i \in D_a$  for  $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}$
- $(d \cdot x) = \langle d, x_1, \dots, x_n \rangle$  for  $d \in D, x \in D^n$
- $y \rightarrow x$  iff  $y = (y_1 \cdot \dots \cdot (y_m \cdot x))$  for  $y \in D^{m+n}, x \in D^n$

DEFINITION 6 (UC<sub>2</sub> semantics). The value  $\llbracket A \rrbracket^g$  of a term  $A$  given  $\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket$  and an assignment  $g$  is defined as follows (we write (i) ' $X \doteq Y$ ' for ' $X$  is  $Y$ , if  $Y$  is defined, else  $X$  is undefined', (ii) ' $c\llbracket X \rrbracket$ ' for ' $\llbracket X \rrbracket(c)$ ', for any  $c \in D_{st}$  (iii) ' $X\llbracket Y/Z \rrbracket$ ' for the result of replacing every occurrence of  $Y$  in  $X$  with  $Z$ , and (iv) use the Von Neumann definition, so  $0 = \emptyset$  and  $1 = \{\emptyset\}$ ):

- i.  $\llbracket u \rrbracket^g = g(u)$  if  $u \in {}^TVar_a \cup {}^{\perp}Var_a$   
 $\llbracket A \rrbracket^g = \llbracket A \rrbracket$  if  $A \in Con_a$
- ii.  $\llbracket \lambda u_a(B) \rrbracket^g(d) \doteq \llbracket B \rrbracket^{g[u/d]}$  if  $d \in D_a$
- iii.  $\llbracket BA \rrbracket^g \doteq \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \llbracket A \rrbracket^g$
- iv.  $\llbracket \neg A \rrbracket^g \doteq 1 \setminus \llbracket A \rrbracket^g$   
 $\llbracket A \rightarrow B \rrbracket^g \doteq 1 \setminus (\llbracket A \rrbracket^g \setminus \llbracket B \rrbracket^g)$   
 $\llbracket A \wedge B \rrbracket^g \doteq \llbracket A \rrbracket^g \cap \llbracket B \rrbracket^g$   
 $\llbracket A \vee B \rrbracket^g \doteq \llbracket A \rrbracket^g \cup \llbracket B \rrbracket^g$
- v.  $\llbracket \forall u_a A \rrbracket^g \doteq \bigcap_{d \in D_a} \llbracket A \rrbracket^{g[u/d]}$   
 $\llbracket \exists u_a A \rrbracket^g \doteq \bigcup_{d \in D_a} \llbracket A \rrbracket^{g[u/d]}$
- vi.  $\llbracket A = B \rrbracket^g = |\{(d, d') \in D_a^2 \mid d = \llbracket A \rrbracket^g \wedge d' = \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \wedge d = d'\}|$
- vii.  $\llbracket u_a \cdot B_s \rrbracket^g \doteq \langle (g(u_a) \cdot \tau \llbracket B \rrbracket^g), \perp \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \rangle$  if  $u_a \in {}^TVar_a$   
 $\doteq \langle \tau \llbracket B \rrbracket^g, (g(u_a) \cdot \perp \llbracket B \rrbracket^g) \rangle$  if  $u_a \in {}^{\perp}Var_a$
- viii.  $\llbracket \tau a_n \rrbracket^g(i) \doteq ((\tau i)_a)_n$  if  $i \in D_s$   
 $\llbracket \perp a_n \rrbracket^g(i) \doteq ((\perp i)_a)_n$
- ix.  $\llbracket A \{B\} \rrbracket^g \doteq \times \{ \llbracket A \rrbracket^g(i) \mid i \in {}^{\perp} \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \}$
- x.  $c\llbracket \downarrow A \rrbracket^g \doteq \times \{ i \in {}^{\perp} c \mid \exists j: \tau j \geq \tau i \wedge \perp j \cdot \geq \perp i \wedge j \in {}^{\perp} (c\llbracket A \rrbracket^g) \}$   
 $c\llbracket A; B \rrbracket^g \doteq c\llbracket A \rrbracket^g \llbracket B \rrbracket^g$   
 $c\llbracket A \tau; B \rrbracket^g \doteq \{ i \in c\llbracket A; B \rrbracket^g \mid \forall k \in c\llbracket A; B \rrbracket^g \exists j \in c\llbracket A \rrbracket^g \exists i \in c\exists d \in D_c: \tau k \cdot \geq \tau j \cdot \rightarrow \tau i \wedge (\tau j)_1 = d \wedge \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \neq \llbracket B[\tau i / \perp i] \rrbracket^g \wedge (\tau j)_1 = d \}$   
 $c\llbracket A \perp; B \rrbracket^g \doteq \{ i \in c\llbracket A; B \rrbracket^g \mid \forall k \in c\llbracket A; B \rrbracket^g \exists j \in c\llbracket A \rrbracket^g \exists i \in c\exists d \in D_c: \perp k \cdot \geq \perp j \cdot \rightarrow \perp i \wedge (\perp j)_1 = d \wedge \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \neq \llbracket B[\perp i / \tau i] \rrbracket^g \wedge (\perp j)_1 = d \}$
- xi.  $\llbracket A \subseteq B \rrbracket^g \doteq |\{(e, e') \in D_e^2 \mid e = \llbracket A \rrbracket^g \wedge e' = \llbracket B \rrbracket^g \wedge e \subseteq e'\}|$
- xii.  $\llbracket BA \rrbracket^g \doteq \llbracket B \rrbracket(\llbracket A \rrbracket^g)$

DEFINITION 7 (UC<sub>2</sub> defaults). For any UC<sub>2</sub> model  $\langle \{D_a \mid a \in \Theta\}, \subseteq, \mathbf{e}_0, \llbracket \cdot \rrbracket \rangle$ , the *speech event*,  $\mathbf{e}_0$ , induces the *default infotention state*  $\mathbf{c}_0 = \times \{ \langle \mathbf{e}_0, \langle \cdot \rangle \rangle \}$ .

DEFINITION 8 (Truth) An  $(st)st$  term  $K$  is *true* in  $M$  iff  $\forall g: \mathbf{c}_0 \llbracket K \rrbracket^g \neq \emptyset$

Table 1 (UC <sub>2</sub> variables)				
$a \in \Theta$	Abbrev.	${}^TVar_a$	${}^{\perp}Var_a$	Name of objects
i. $\delta$		$\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y}$	$x, y, z$	individuals
$\varepsilon$		$\mathbf{e}$	$e$	eventualities
ii. $s$			$i, j$	$\tau \perp$ -lists
$st$			$I, J$	infotention states
$(st)st$	$\square$		$K$	updates
iii. $s\delta$	$D$		$\underline{x}, \underline{y}, \underline{z}$	$\delta$ -projections
$s\varepsilon$	$E$		$\underline{e}$	$\varepsilon$ -projections
$\square \square$	$\square^2$		$\underline{J}$	dynamic $\square$ -operators

Table 2 (drt notation)				
Abbrev.	UC term			Example
i. Static relations				
$A_a \neq B_a$	for $\neg(A = B)$			$\tau i_1 \neq x$
$A_a \in B_a$	for $BA$			$\perp_2 j \in \perp_1 \{ \}$
ii. Local projections ( $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}, \mathbf{R} \in \{=, \neq, \subseteq\}$ )				
$\tau a, \perp a$	for $\tau a_1, \perp a_1$			$\tau \varepsilon, \perp \delta$
$A_a^\circ$	for $\lambda i. A$			$\mathbf{x}^\circ, \mathbf{x}^\circ$
$A_{sa}^\circ$	for $\lambda i. Ai$			$\tau \varepsilon^\circ, \perp \delta^\circ$
$(B_{ab} A_{sa})^\circ$	for $\lambda i. B A^\circ i$			$(CTR \tau \varepsilon)^\circ$
$A \mathbf{R} B$	for $\lambda i. A^\circ i \mathbf{R} B^\circ i$			$(e \subseteq_i \perp \varepsilon)$
$B \langle A_1, \dots, A_n \rangle$	for $\lambda i. B A_1^\circ i \dots A_n^\circ i$			$see \langle y, \perp \delta \rangle$
$\sim K$	for $\lambda i. \neg \exists j (j \in \downarrow K \wedge k(k = i))$			$\sim [y \mid man \langle y \rangle]$
$(C_1, C_2)$	for $\lambda i. C_1 i \wedge C_2 i$			
iii. Local drt-boxes				
$[u]$	for $\lambda j. \exists u \exists i (j = (u \cdot i) \wedge Ii)$			$[x]$
$[C]$	for $\lambda j. Ij \wedge Cj$			$[man \perp \delta]$
$[u \mid C]$	for $\lambda j. \exists u \exists i (j = (u \cdot i) \wedge Ii \wedge Ci)$			$[y \mid man \langle y \rangle]$
$[u u \uparrow C]$	for $\lambda j. \exists u \exists u' \exists i (j = (u \cdot (u' \cdot i)) \wedge Ii \wedge Ci)$			
iv. Global drt-boxes ( $a \in \{\delta, \varepsilon\}$ )				
$[A \in B]$	for $\lambda j. Ij \wedge Aj \in B \{ I \}$			$[\perp \delta_2 \in \perp \delta]$
$[B \{A, A \} \{ I \}]$	for $\lambda j. B Aj A \{ I \}$			$[big \{ \perp \delta, \perp \delta \}]$

3. ENGLISH AND KALAALLISUT IN CCG+UC<sub>2</sub>

CCG-RULES (universal):

• application

$$X/Y: B_{ab} \quad Y: A_a \quad \Rightarrow_{>} \quad X: BA$$

$$Y: A_a \quad X/Y: B_{ab} \quad \Rightarrow_{<} \quad X: BA$$

• composition

$$X/Y: B_{bc} \quad Y/Z: A_{ab} \quad \Rightarrow_{>B} \quad X/Z: \lambda u_a. B(Au)$$

$$Y/Z: A_{ab} \quad X/Y: B_{bc} \quad \Rightarrow_{<B} \quad X/Z: \lambda u_a. B(Au)$$

$$Y/Z: A_{ab} \quad X/Y: B_{bc} \quad \Rightarrow_{<B\star} \quad X/Z: \lambda u_a. B(Au)$$

$$Y/Z: A_{aab} \quad X/Y: B_{bc} \quad \Rightarrow_{<<B} \quad X/Z: \lambda u_a \lambda u_{a'}. B(Auu')$$

TYPE ABBREVIATIONS:

$$abc = a(bc), [a_1 \dots a_n] = a_1 \dots a_n[]$$

English fragment:

E1 (English categories)

i. s, PN, IV, AP, NP, CN are English categories;

ii. If  $X$  and  $Y$  are English categories, then so are  $X/Y$  and  $X\backslash Y$

CAT ABBREVIATIONS: TV = IV/PN', VP = s\PN, QP = s/VP, QP' = IV\TV, PP = VP\VP

E2 (English category-to-type rule)

i.  $\mathbf{tp}(s) = [], \mathbf{tp}(PN) = D, \mathbf{tp}(IV) = [], \mathbf{tp}(AP) = [E], \mathbf{tp}(NP) = [D], \mathbf{tp}(CN) = \delta t$

ii.  $\mathbf{tp}(X/Y) = \mathbf{tp}(X\backslash Y) = \mathbf{tp}(Y)\mathbf{tp}(X)$

Table 3

English item	Category	UC <sub>2</sub> type $\alpha$	Notes
<i>busy, ...</i>	AP	[E]	$\underline{A} \in {}^+Var_{[E]}$
<i>see-, get-, give-, ...</i>	TV	[D]	$\underline{P} \in {}^+Var_{[D]}$
<i>have-</i>	IV/IV <sub>pf</sub>	[] []	$K \in {}^+Var_{[]}$
<i>be-</i>	IV/XP	$\mathbf{tp}(XP)[]$	$XP \in \{AP, NP, IV_{ps}\}$
<i>Ole, Ann, ...</i>	NP	[D]	$\underline{x}, \underline{y}, \underline{z} \in {}^+Var_D$
<i>bear, book, ...</i>	CN	$\delta t$	$\underline{e} \in {}^+Var_E$
<i>one, A, THE, ...</i>	NP/CN	$(\delta t)[D]$	$P \in {}^+Var_{\delta t}$
<i>?-</i>	QP <sup>?</sup> /NP	[D][[D]]	$?' \in \{-, ', -''\}$
<i>BY, TO</i>	PP/NP	[D][[D]D]	
<i>I, U, HE, ...</i>	PN	D	
<i>ME, U, HM, ...</i>	PN'	D	
<i>-PS (passive prt)</i>	IV <sub>ps</sub> \TV	[D] []	
<i>-PF (perfect prt)</i>	IV <sub>pf</sub> \IV	[] []	
<i>-TNS</i>	VP\IV	[] [D]	
<i>=N'T</i>	VP\VP	[D][D]	

ENGLISH LEXICON (sample):

• lexical categories (TV = IV/PN')

$$\textit{busy} \quad \text{AP: } \lambda \underline{e}[ \textit{busy} \langle \underline{e}, \text{CTR } \underline{e} \rangle ]$$

$$\textit{see-} \quad \text{TV: } \lambda \underline{y}([ \underline{e} ]^+; [ \textit{see} \langle \perp \varepsilon, \text{CTR } \perp \varepsilon, \underline{y} \rangle ])$$

$$\textit{give-} \quad \text{TV: } \lambda \underline{y}([ \underline{e} ]^+; [ \textit{give} \langle \perp \varepsilon, \text{CTR } \perp \varepsilon, \underline{y} \rangle ])$$

$$\textit{have-} \quad \text{IV/IV}_{pf}: \lambda K. K$$

$$\textit{be-} \quad \text{IV/AP: } \lambda \underline{A}([ \underline{e} ]^+; \underline{A} \perp \varepsilon)$$

$$\text{IV/NP: } \lambda \underline{P}([ \underline{e} ]^+; \underline{P} \text{CTR} \langle \perp \varepsilon \rangle)$$

$$\text{IV/IV}_{ps}: \lambda K(K^+; [ \underline{e} ] \underline{e} \subseteq_i \perp \varepsilon, \text{CTR } \underline{e} =_i \text{BCK } \perp \varepsilon)$$

$$\textit{Ole} \quad \text{NP: } \lambda \underline{x}[ \underline{x} =_i \textit{ole} ]$$

$$\textit{bear} \quad \text{CN: } \lambda x. \textit{bear } x$$

$$\textit{one} \quad \text{NP/CN: } \lambda P \lambda \underline{x}([ P \langle ? \delta \rangle ]; [ \underline{x} \in ? \delta ])$$

• grammatical categories (VP = s\PN, QP = s/VP, QP' = IV\TV, PP = VP\VP)

$$A \quad \text{NP/CN: } \lambda P \lambda \underline{x}[ P \langle \underline{x} \rangle ]$$

$$\textit{THE} \quad \text{NP/CN: } \lambda P \lambda \underline{x}[ P \langle ? \delta \rangle, \underline{x} =_i ? \delta ]$$

$$\textit{su-} \quad \text{QP/NP: } \lambda \underline{P}' \lambda \underline{P}([ [\underline{x}]^+; \underline{P}' \tau \delta ]^+; \underline{P} \tau \delta)$$

$$\textit{do-} \quad \text{QP'/NP: } \lambda \underline{P}' \lambda \underline{P}([ [\underline{y}]^+; \underline{P}' \perp \delta ]^+; \underline{P} \perp \delta)$$

$$\textit{BY} \quad \text{PP/NP: } \lambda \underline{P}' \lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{x}( \underline{P} \underline{x}^+; \underline{P}' \text{CTR} \langle \perp \varepsilon \rangle )$$

$$\textit{TO} \quad \text{PP/NP: } \lambda \underline{P}' \lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{x}( \underline{P} \underline{x}^+; \underline{P}' \text{DAT} \langle \perp \varepsilon \rangle )$$

$$I, U, HE, \dots \quad \text{PN: CTR} \langle \tau \varepsilon \rangle, \text{DAT} \langle \tau \varepsilon \rangle, ? \delta \quad (? \delta \in \{ \tau \delta, \perp \delta, \tau \delta_2 \})$$

$$ME, U, HM, \dots \quad \text{PN': CTR} \langle \tau \varepsilon \rangle, \text{DAT} \langle \tau \varepsilon \rangle, ? \delta, \tau \delta \quad (? \delta \in \{ \perp \delta, \tau \delta_2 \})$$

$$\textit{-PS} \quad \text{IV}_{ps} \backslash \text{TV: } \lambda \underline{P}. \underline{P} \text{BCK} \langle \perp \varepsilon \rangle$$

$$\textit{-PF} \quad \text{IV}_{pf} \backslash \text{IV: } \lambda K. K$$

$$\textit{-TNS} \quad \text{VP} \backslash \text{IV: } \lambda K \lambda \underline{x}( K^+; [ \text{CTR } \perp \varepsilon =_i \underline{x} ] )$$

$$\textit{=N'T} \quad \text{VP} \backslash \text{VP: } \lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{x}[ \sim ( \underline{P} \underline{x} ) ]$$

Kalaallisut fragment:

K1 (Kalaallisut categories)

i. s, pn, cn, are Kalaallisut categories;

ii. If  $X$  and  $Y$  are Kalaallisut categories, then so are  $X/Y$  and  $X\backslash Y$

ABBREVIATIONS: iv = s\pn, tv = iv\pn, s<sup>+</sup> = s/s

K2 (Kalaallisut category-to-type rule)

i.  $\mathbf{tp}(s) = [], \mathbf{tp}(pn) = D, \mathbf{tp}(cn) = [D]$

ii.  $\mathbf{tp}(X/Y) = \mathbf{tp}(X\backslash Y) = \mathbf{tp}(Y)\mathbf{tp}(X)$

Table 4

<u>Kalaallisut item (gloss)</u>	<u>Category</u>	<u>UC<sub>2</sub> type <i>a</i></u>	<u>Notes</u>
busy-, ...	iv	[D]	$\underline{x}, \underline{y}, \underline{z} \in {}^{\perp}Var_D$
see-, get-, give-...	tv	[DD]	$\underline{R} \in {}^{\perp}Var_{[DD]}$
Ole-, bear-, one-...	cn	[D]	$\underline{P} \in {}^{\perp}Var_{[D]}$
-pssv, -antip	iv\ tv	[DD][D]	
-not	iv\ iv	[D][D]	
-DEC, ...	s\ pn\ iv	[D](D[])	$K \in {}^{\perp}Var_{[]}$
-(ERG) <sup>T</sup> , -(·) <sup>±</sup> , -MOD	s <sup>+</sup> \ cn	[D][][] <sup>2</sup>	
-1S, -2S, -3S <sub>(T)</sub> , -3S <sub>(L)</sub> , ...	x\ (x\ pn)	(D...)	$x \in \{s, s^+, cn, \dots\}$
-\(\cdot) (head x lift)	x\ s <sup>+</sup> \ x	[D][][] <sup>2</sup> [D]	$x \in \{iv, cn\}$
-\(\cdot) (pre-head lift)	s <sup>+</sup> \ s <sup>+</sup> \ s <sup>+</sup>	[][] <sup>2</sup> [][] <sup>2</sup>	$\underline{J} \in {}^{\perp}Var_{[][]}$

KALAAALLISUT LEXICON (sample):

• lexical categories

busy-	iv: $\lambda \underline{x}([e]^{\perp}; [busy(\perp \varepsilon, \underline{x})])$	<i>ulapig-</i>
see-	tv: $\lambda \underline{y} \lambda \underline{x}([e]^{\perp}; [see(\perp \varepsilon, \underline{x}, \underline{y})])$	<i>taku-</i>
give-	tv: $\lambda \underline{y} \lambda \underline{x}([e]^{\perp}; [give(\perp \varepsilon, \underline{x}, \underline{y})])$	<i>tuniut-</i>
Ole-	cn: $\lambda \underline{x}[\underline{x} = i \text{ ole}]$	<i>Ole-</i>
bear-	cn: $\lambda \underline{x}[bear(\underline{x})]$	<i>nanu(q)-</i>
one-	cn: $\lambda \underline{x}([? \delta \in \underline{x}]); [\underline{x} \in ? \delta]]$	<i>ataas(q)-</i>
-pssv	iv\ tv: $\lambda \underline{R} \lambda \underline{z}. \underline{R} \underline{z} \text{ CTR}(\perp \varepsilon)$	<i>-niqar[...]</i>
-antip	iv\ tv: $\lambda \underline{R} \lambda \underline{z}. \underline{R} \text{ BCK}(\perp \varepsilon) \underline{z}$	<i>-sil[...]</i>
-not	iv\ iv: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{x}. [\sim(\underline{P} \underline{x})]$	<i>-nngit</i>

• grammatical categories

-DEC	s\ pn\ iv: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{x}. \underline{P} \underline{x}$	<i>-pulpalla</i>
-(ERG) <sup>T</sup>	s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. ([\underline{x}]^{\perp}; \underline{P} \tau \delta)^{\perp}; K$ s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. (\underline{P} \tau \delta; K)$	<i>-Ø p ... ...(-3<sub>T</sub>)</i>
-(ERG) <sup>±</sup>	s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. ([\underline{y}]^{\perp}; \underline{P} \perp \delta)^{\perp}; K$ s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. (\underline{P} \perp \delta^{\perp}; K)$	<i>-Ø p ... ...(-3<sub>L</sub>)</i>
-MOD	s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. (K^{\perp}; \underline{P} \text{ BCK}(\perp \varepsilon))$	<i>-mik</i>
-ABL	s <sup>+</sup> \ cn: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda K. (K^{\perp}; \underline{P} \text{ CTR}(\perp \varepsilon))$	<i>-mit</i>
-1S	s\ (s\ pn): $\lambda \underline{P}. \underline{P} \text{ CTR}(\tau \varepsilon)$	<i>-ngal[...]</i>
-2S	s\ (s\ pn): $\lambda \underline{P}. \underline{P} \text{ DAT}(\tau \varepsilon)$	<i>-tit[...]</i>
-3S <sub>(T)</sub>	s\ (s\ pn): $\lambda \underline{P}. \underline{P} \tau \delta$	<i>-q a[...]</i>
-3S <sub>(L)</sub>	s\ (s\ pn): $\lambda \underline{P}. \underline{P} \perp \delta$	<i>-Ø[...]</i>

• lexical operators

-\(\cdot)	iv\ s <sup>+</sup> \ iv: $\lambda \underline{P} \lambda \underline{J} \lambda \underline{x}. \underline{J}(\underline{P} \underline{x})$	head lift
-\(\cdot)	s <sup>+</sup> \ s <sup>+</sup> \ s <sup>+</sup> : $\lambda \underline{J} \lambda \underline{J} \lambda K. \underline{J}(\underline{J}K)$	pre-head lift