

minutes total). They contained 297 orthographic words and 164 stretches of speech delimited by pauses, which we here identify as intonational phrases (IPs). IPs contained between one and six words (median: 2). The data further included 64 instances of noun incorporation.

Almost all words in our data carried a pitch fall (99%, with 4 deviating words), which we analyse as HL tones (see Figure 1 and ex. 3). While the L tone was always realized close to the end of the word, the location of the H was more variable. It sometimes appeared close to the end of the word and sometimes closer to its beginning (e.g., *Ivvilli* ‘and you’ versus other words in the figure). In IP-final position, 68% of the words were realized with an earlier fall followed by a low plateau, while the fall continued to the end of the word in 21% and was followed by a rise in 11% (111, 35 and 18 words, respectively). We interpret the low plateau as due to an additional low boundary tone associated with the IP (labelled Li in the figure) and the rise as due to a high boundary tone.

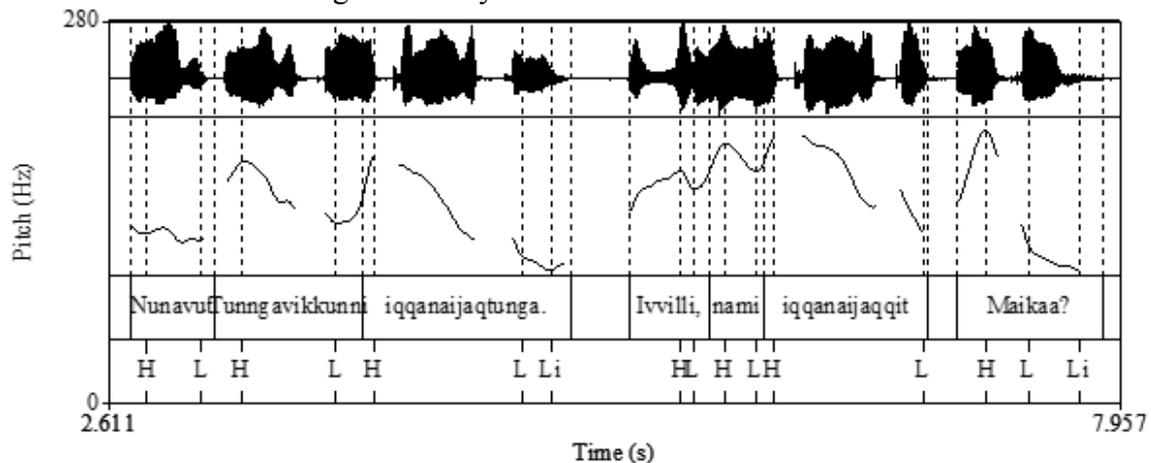


Figure 1. Pitch track of the utterance in example (3) (male speaker).

- (3) Nunavut Tunngavik-kkut-ni iqqanaijaqtunga.
 Nunavut Tunngavik-group-LOC.SG work-DEC.1SG
 Ivvit=li, nami iqqanaijaqqit Maikaa?
 2SG=and where work-INTER.2SG Maika.INTER

‘I work at Nunavut Tunngavik. And where do you work Maika?’

We propose that our intonational analysis shows evidence for two prosodic units: a smaller one corresponding to prosodic words and a larger one delimited by pauses. These two prosodic units exhibit remarkable regularity with respect to their tonal marking, with words regularly being marked by HL tones and IPs mostly being demarcated by an additional L tone. This finding suggests that there is a robust prosodic correlate for the notion of “wordhood” in Inuktitut: words behave uniformly with respect to their prosodic demarcation.

4. Conclusion: Evidence that the domains examined herein are syntactically XPs and yet are the smallest identifiable prosodic domain goes counter to common assumptions about the mapping between syntactic and prosodic units. Evidence from Inuit suggests that constituents larger than syntactic heads may spell out at PF as prosodic words.

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