# Tokenization on Trial: The Case of Kalaallisut–Danish Legal Machine Translation

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### Abstract

The strengths of subword tokenization have been widely demonstrated when applied to higher-resourced, morphologically simple languages. However, it is not self-evident that these results transfer to lower-resourced, morphologically complex languages. In this work, we investigate the influence of different subword segmentation techniques on machine translation between Danish and Kalaallisut, the official language of Greenland. We present the first semi-manually aligned parallel corpus for this language pair<sup>1</sup>, and use it to compare subwords from unsupervised tokenizers and morphological segmenters. We find that Unigram-based segmentation both preserves morphological boundaries and handles out-of-vocabulary words adequately, but that this does not directly correspond to superior translation quality. We hope that our findings lay further groundwork for future efforts in neural machine translation for Kalaallisut.

# 1 Introduction

In contrast to many of the world's indigenous languages facing challenges in revitalization as a result of colonialism (Meakins and O'Shannessy, 2016), Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic) has a vibrant linguistic ecosystem. Spoken as a first language by people of all ages (Grenoble and Whaley, 2021), Kalaallisut is used in all aspects of daily life by most of the population (Nielsen, 2021), from teenagers texting (Grenoble, 2011) to everyday communication (Ravn-Højgaard et al., 2018). It is also supported by language policies

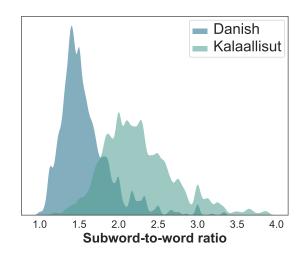


Figure 1: When applying BPE to our test dataset, Kalaallisut generally has higher subword-to-word ratios than Danish; *KDE plot, capped at 4*.

that prioritize its use in education and administration (Møller, 1988; Valijärvi and Kahn, 2020), and boasts a wide range of linguistic resources (*e.g.*, word lists and dictionaries) and existing language technologies (*e.g.*, a spell-checker and a grapheme-to-phoneme converter) from Oqaasileriffik, the Language Secretariat of Greenland.

Despite the vitality of the language, however, Kalaallisut – like most of the world's languages – does not have sufficient resources for the dataintensive methods of contemporary NLP (Joshi et al., 2020). Specifically in the context of neural machine translation (NMT), Kalaallisut lacks the large-scale aligned parallel corpora required for contemporary machine learning methodologies, and is thus considered a low-resource language. Consequently, Kalaallisut trails behind higher-resourced languages in terms of NMT.

Beyond the limited availability of high-quality parallel corpora, Kalaallisut's high degree of morphological inflection poses additional challenges for NMT. Commonplace tokenization methods often lead to large, sparse vocabularies for morpho-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>https://github.com/esther2000/ tokenization-on-trial

logically rich languages (Vylomova et al., 2017; Gerz et al., 2018; Akın Özcift and Söylemez, 2021). To illustrate the difference with a morphologically simple language: Figure 1 shows that BPE tokenization yields many more subwords per word for Kalaallisut than for Danish. It is likely more difficult for models to learn systematic patterns in structure between source and target languages for morphologically rich languages than for morphologically-poor ones (Gutierrez-Vasques et al., 2023). While previous work has compared subword tokenization and segmentation strategies for polysynthetic languages of the Americas (Mager et al., 2022), this work found no single best solution across languages. Thus, NMT for Kalaallisut stands to benefit from a dedicated investigation.

Despite the desire for machine translation by speakers of Kalaallisut (Oqaasileriffik, 2023), however, there is a marked scarcity in research attention (Kristensen-Mclachlan and Nedergård, 2024). As a result, adequate benchmarking datasets for Kalaallisut NMT are extremely scarce.<sup>2</sup> This work aims to provide practical insights for improved NMT for Kalaallisut, by comparing the efficacy of different segmentation strategies. To this end, we provide the following contributions:

- We present the first semi-automatically aligned Danish–Kalaallisut parallel dataset, in the legal domain;
- We present the first open-science initiative to benchmark NMT from Danish *into* Kalaal-lisut;
- We compare subwords from four segmentation models and relate the insights to downstream NMT performance;
- We provide discussion and recommendations for future research on Kalaallisut NMT.

Ultimately, we hope that this work can be helpful for the development of open-science NMT systems for Kalaallisut going forward.

# 2 Background

**Greenlandic Language** Kalaallisut is the largest member of the Inuit-Yupik-Unangan family. Among the world's languages, it is one of the more morphologically rich, described

as "typologically extreme" in the number and variety of suffixing morphemes available for marking nominal and verbal stems (Fortescue and Olsen, 2022). While effectively segmenting languages with greater morphological complexity is notoriously difficult in NLP (Klavans, 2018b), additional linguistic characteristics of Greenlandic may further complicate subword tokenization. Specifically, De Mol et al. (2020) point to three salient features of Greenlandic morphology: 1) some morphemes are polysemous (e.g., no distinction between present and past tense); 2) unbound morphemes can sometimes be incorporated, resulting in ambiguous morpheme boundaries; and 3) some morphemes undergo phonological changes depending on the subsequent context, in order to avoid illegal morphophonemic sequences. The combination of these factors underscore the utility of a targeted investigation into optimal tokenization strategies for Kalaallisut NMT.

**Polysynthesis in NLP** In linguistic typology, polysynthesis is a high-level categorization for languages relying heavily on morphological inflection to convey meaning.<sup>3</sup> As a result, individual utterances in polysynthetic languages tend to be relatively longer than their non-polysynthetic counterparts. In other words, where non-polysynthetic languages might add a pronoun or preposition, polysynthetic languages incorporate additional morphemes. This results in a kind of *holophrasis*, with a single word encoding both predicate and arguments of a clause within the verb itself (Mithun, 2017).

While polysynthetic languages can be found across the globe (*e.g.*, Quechua in South America and Ainu in Asia), many of them are endangered (Klavans, 2018a), and thus lack representation in NLP (Joshi et al., 2020). Indeed, the fact that most polysynthetic languages are low-resource has meant that the development of language technology for these languages continues to lag behind (Klavans, 2018b). At the same time, polysynthesis brings with it unique challenges for NLP (Eskander et al., 2019). For example, in the context of NMT, Mager et al. (2018) observe marked information loss between polysynthetic and fusional languages, as a consequence of alignment. Specifically, the NMT systems omit the parts of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The OPUS collection (Tiedemann, 2009) contains 291 parallel Danish  $\leftrightarrow$  Kalaallisut samples, most of which consist of a single word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>It should be noted that, although widely-used across typology, polysynthesis as a proper typological categorization is contested by some linguists (Zúñiga, 2019).

the polysynthetic languages, where morpheme-tomorpheme alignment yielded no equivalent counterpart in the fusional language.

As MT has moved towards neural approaches, subword segmentation has become standard for leveraging large datasets. However, subword tokenizers like BPE have been met with skepticism for polysynthetic languages, as they do not accurately capture morpheme boundaries (Vylomova et al., 2017; Gerz et al., 2018; Kann et al., 2018; Akın Özçift and Söylemez, 2021; Saleva and Lignos, 2021). In their study on tokenization for polysynthetic languages, Mager et al. (2022) compare BPE versus morphological segmentation across four polysynthetic languages (*i.e.*, Nahuatl, Raramuri, Shipibo-Konibo, and Wixarika). For three languages, morphological segmenters outperform BPE, except for Nahuatl, where BPE yields better results.

MT for Kalaallisut The rich media ecosystem surrounding Kalaallisut means that there exists a reasonable volume of data for the language, compared to many other indigenous languages. Nevertheless, much of this data is not immediately suitable for tasks such as training NMT systems. Taken along with the perceived challenges of working with the language outlined above, this means that MT systems for Kalaallisut have historically relied on rule-based (Ogaasileriffik, 2017) and hybrid approaches (Ogaasileriffik, 2023). Early works for NMT of Kalaallisut were developed in relation to Inuktitut, in attempts to benefit from cross-lingual transfer. Le and Sadat (2020) demonstrate that the use of (bi)character-based and word-based pretrained embeddings can improve NMT performance for Inuktitut (an indigenous language of eastern Canada), suggesting similar possibilities for other Inuit languages. Nonetheless, the addition of Kalaallisut shows limited usefulness in transfer learning for Inuktitut-English MT thus far (Roest et al., 2020).

More recently, Kristensen-Mclachlan and Nedergård (2024) introduced the first benchmark for Kalaallisut-Danish NMT, containing over 1.2 million words of Kalaallisut and 2.1 million words of parallel Danish translations. However, the authors note limitations related to "crude" sentence level alignment, noting that future data collection efforts are still necessary. In experiments, they use a BiLSTM encoder-decoder architecture with BPE tokenization (5k, 10k, 30k, and 50k vocabulary size), finding best results with 5k BPE. While the authors discuss potential concerns about subword tokenization for the morphologically rich Kalaallisut, their results demonstrate that BPE is reasonably amenable to the language. Still, they do not experiment with other tokenization strategies.

# **3** A Reliably Parallel Dataset

Aligning parallel datasets is non-trivial in the case of highly inflectional, low-resource languages. Popular alignment methods require pre-trained language embeddings (Thompson and Koehn, 2019), pre-suppose tokenized text (Varga et al., 2007), or assume that sequence lengths correspond directly across languages (Gale and Church, 1993). Kelly (2020) conducted extensive experiments on alignment of polysynthetic languages, but found that their result for Danish-Kalaallisut was too noisy and thus not useful downstream. Their data was sourced from magazines, however. We hypothesize that choosing a more structured domain (*e.g.*, legal) may make alignment more feasible.

**Data Collection** Oqaasileriffik referred us to the collection of parallel legal texts, hosted by the Greenlandic Government.<sup>4</sup> Although Kalaallisut is the most widely spoken language (United Nations, 2023), Greenland's legal system is bilingual, and laws and legal documents are often drafted in Danish. In this work, we use the *Law Collections*, which is an archive of the legislation of Greenland's Self-Government, Danish legislation applicable to Greenland, and international regulations that are relevant to Greenland.<sup>5</sup> In total, it consists of 2,545 publicly available documents in HTML format, originally written between 1908 and 2024, many of which are manually translated.

Alignment and Filtering Through scraping, we retrieve parallel documents, filtering out any non-translated documents. However, to obtain parallel *sentences*, we need to align the text. As mentioned, this assumes data or experimental consensus which is not available for Kalaallisut (*i.e.*, language embeddings and tokenized text). Fortunately, legal text is highly structured: our scraped data contains strict paragraph markers (*e.g.*, § 2)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Available at https://nalunaarutit.gl <sup>5</sup>https://nalunaarutit.gl/ om-nalunaarutit

and clause enumerations (e.g., a)), equally across source and target. We leverage this structure by aligning through enumeration: for each document, we retrieve all enumerated text segments and align accordingly in case of 1:1 correspondence with enumeration markers. As an additional advantage, alignment on enumerated clauses furthermore serves as a filtering step. For example, lessstructured introductory texts and sensitive information such as email addresses and full names are automatically filtered out. We strip the enumeration token from each line, apply deduplication and subsequently extract 1,000 lines for the validation set, and 1,000 other lines for the test set. We use the remaining lines as the training set. Importantly, we make the design choice to not remove near-duplicates. Legal texts can be highly formulaic, and since we perform an in-domain evaluation which cannot be expected to be widely generalizable regardless (see: Limitations), we decide to leave them in.

**Dataset Size** In Table 1, we show the size of the resulting corpus. The dataset consists of more than 40,000 parallel phrases. Unsurprisingly, due to Kalaallisut's inflections, the number of separate words (whitespace delimited strings of characters, obtained with the wc -1 command) is much higher for Danish than for Kalaallisut.

|            | # Lines |        | # Words |         |
|------------|---------|--------|---------|---------|
| Split      | GL      | DA     | GL      | DA      |
| Training   | 39,936  | 39,936 | 663,734 | 929,904 |
| Validation | 1,000   | 1,000  | 16,594  | 23,021  |
| Testing    | 1,000   | 1,000  | 16,665  | 23,846  |
| Total      | 41,936  | 41,936 | 696,993 | 976,771 |

Table 1: Size of parallel legal text dataset.

While small compared to what is available for high-resource languages, the size of the dataset is larger than that used in a comparable low-resource neural MT study (Mager et al., 2022). It is smaller than the other open, parallel Danish-Kalaallisut dataset (Kristensen-Mclachlan and Nedergård, 2024), but as ours is aligned based on human alignments, we expect that ours includes considerably less noise. This leaves us with a small, but high-quality in-domain dataset for legal translation.

# **4** Experiments

Since we are interested in isolating the effects of subword segmentation on NMT performance, we train dedicated bilingual MT models from scratch. Our experimental set-up consists of three steps: subword segmentation, machine translation, and evaluation, each described in more detail below.

# 4.1 Subword Segmentation

We experiment with two types of unsupervised segmentation for Kalaallisut: traditional MT subword tokenizers, and morphological segmenters. Following Mager et al. (2022), we keep the Danish side of the parallel corpus consistent across experiments, as this allows us to isolate the effects of Kalaallisut segmentation. We apply BPE to the Danish text, trained on the Danish training set of our corpus. We use a vocabulary size of 5k, as this was found to be optimal in the three most similar research initiatives (Saleva and Lignos, 2021; Mager et al., 2022; Kristensen-Mclachlan and Nedergård, 2024).<sup>6</sup>

Tokenization Following Traditional MT Mager et al. (2022), we train and apply Byte-Pair Encoding (BPE; Sennrich et al., 2016). Originally introduced as a data compression algorithm (Gage, 1994), the segmenter is trained bottom-up by merging frequently co-occurring vocabulary items. In addition, we experiment with Unigram language modeling (Kudo, 2018). Rather than constructing the vocabulary bottom-up, it starts from the largest vocabulary, which is subsequently pruned. This method has been shown to preserve morphological segmentation better than BPE (Bostrom and Durrett, 2020), making it especially relevant for our study. We use both algorithms as implemented in SentencePiece (Kudo and Richardson, 2018).

**Morphological Segmentation** Segmenting text according to (predicted) morpheme boundaries may be particularly beneficial for low-resource MT, as a means to counter the data scarcity of co-occurring characters that inflections may introduce. As we do not have a large-scale in-domain annotated dataset of morphological segmentations for Kalaallisut, we are constrained to unsupervised segmenters. Specifically, we follow Saleva and Lignos (2021) in using Morfessor 2.0 (Smit et al.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>For Kalaallisut, we also experimented with vocabulary sizes 1k, 3k, 7k, 9k and 11k, but found no improvement.

|           | Kalaallisut Segmentation |         | <i>Machine Translation</i><br>Danish→Kalaallisut Kalaallisut→Danish |      |       |      |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------|---|------|-------|------|
| Method    | Fertility                | % Cont. | chrF2   | BLEU | chrF2 | BLEU |
| None      | 1.000                    | 0.00    | 44.6  | 3.4  | 61.5  | 15.4 |
| BPE       | 2.294                    | 66.10   | 56.4  | 8.7  | 64.2  | 21.5 |
| Unigram   | 2.290                    | 66.27   | 61.4  | 10.1 | 58.9  | 17.1 |
| Morfessor | 1.925                    | 70.72   | 56.7  | 7.9  | 58.3  | 17.2 |
| FlatCat   | <u>1.870</u>             | 69.30   | <u>63.2</u>   | 9.6  | 57.0  | 15.1 |

Table 2: Comparison of segmentation and translation quality metrics on the Kalaallisut test set.

2014), henceforth simply *Morfessor*. In addition, we use FlatCat (Grönroos et al., 2014), which is an extension over Morfessor that uses a Hidden Markov model. After applying morphological segmentation, we post-process the data such that the SentencePiece output format is replicated (words separated by the underscore symbol, and subwords separated by spaces).

Each of the segmentation methods is trained on the training set and applied to all sets (training, validation, and test set) of the Kalaallisut part of the parallel corpus data only. As a baseline, we add the case of applying no segmentation whatsoever to the Kalaallisut side.

# 4.2 Machine Translation

We train bilingual NMT models for both translation directions separately, with the Transformer architecture (Vaswani et al., 2017). We use the Fairseq toolkit (Ott et al., 2019). Because of the limited data availability in our scenario, we tailor the hyperparameters to those typically found to be effective in low-resource translation, such as using a higher dropout rate (Sennrich and Zhang, 2019; Araabi et al., 2022). We use a learning rate of 0.0001, cross entropy as a criterion with label smoothing (0.2), and apply a dropout rate of 0.3. Each model is trained for a maximum of 100 epochs, with a patience setting of 5 epochs monitoring the validation loss. For generation we use the best checkpoint.

#### 4.3 Evaluation

**Subword Metrics** To compare segmentation methods, we use two metrics proposed by Rust et al. (2021): *subword fertility* and *continued word proportion*. Subword fertility is the average number of subwords per word. This metric provides insight into "*how aggressively a tokenizer splits*".

The proportion of continued words measures the percentage of words that are divided into more than one subword, indicating how *often* words are split. For "words", we use the whitespace delimited character strings. Intuitively, lower scores are preferred, as high values signal weak compression efficacy, which could lead to oversegmentation.

**Translation Quality** For assessing the quality of the output translations, we report the  $chrF2^7$ (Popović, 2015) and BLEU<sup>8</sup> (Papineni et al., 2002) scores, as implemented in SacreBLEU (Post, 2018). The ChrF2 metric is especially suitable to our scenario, as it is based on character n-grams. It has been previously been used in the context of low-resource NMT on diverse languages (e.g. Tiedemann, 2020). Due to the lowresourcedness, we do not include evaluation based on language embeddings, such as COMET (Rei et al., 2020), as there are indications that they are not reliable in low-resource scenarios (Falcão et al., 2024). While human evaluation would likely provide a better insight into the usefulness for speakers, the absolute number of native translation professionals is much lower than for many, higherresourced, language pairs. At the same time, this highlights the need for research into reliable MT systems for Kalaallisut.

#### 4.4 Main Results

Table 2 lists the subwords metrics and downstream MT performance for each of the segmentation methods. It should be noted that the results for Danish $\rightarrow$ Kalaallisut and Kalaallisut $\rightarrow$ Danish cannot be compared directly, because of the un-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Signature: nrefs:1|case:mixed|eff:yes| nc:2|nw:0|space:no|version:2.4.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Signature: nrefs:1|case:mixed|eff:no|

tok:13a|smooth:exp|version:2.4.3

even number of character and word n-grams. Instead, systems should be compared column-wise.

First, we observe that not using any segmentation method leads to suboptimal downstream MT results. Especially in the case of Danish $\rightarrow$ Kalaallisut, performance trails considerably behind that obtained with segmenters. BPE obtains the highest scores for translation into Danish, but this is not the case for translation into Kalaallisut, where both the Unigram and FlatCat approaches obtain higher chrF2 scores.

We do not observe clear patterns as to the subword metrics and MT performance. While the morphological segmenters, Morfessor and Flat-Cat, obtain the lowest fertility scores, this does seem to correspond directly to higher MT quality. While this corroborates earlier findings (Saleva and Lignos, 2021; Mager et al., 2018), more data points are needed to draw robust conclusions.

### 5 Analysis

To add more context to our findings, we perform additional analyses.

# 5.1 Subwords vs. Morphological Boundaries

To what extent do the subword segmenters preserve morphological boundaries? To analyze this, we apply each segmenter to a list of words, for which we have gold-standard annotations. We use the data from De Mol et al. (2020), who compiled a set of Kalaallisut words and phrases, and their morphological segmentations. These annotations originate from courses on Kalaallisut, and were corrected by a native speaker. Their data contains both short (e.g. "he drinks") and long (e.g. "it can be expected to have been eating jellyfish") general-domain examples. Since this is outof-domain for the trained segmenters, it requires a degree of generalization. In total, we use 499 of these examples for our evaluation. We apply the segmenters to each of these examples, and evaluate the resulting subwords using precision (Eq. 1) and recall Eq. 2).<sup>9</sup> The F1-score is then calculated as the harmonic mean between the average precision and recall.

$$P = \frac{|\{\text{gold morphemes}\} \cap \{\text{subwords}\}|}{|\{\text{subwords}\}|} \quad (1)$$

$$R = \frac{|\{gold \ morphemes\} \cap \{subwords\}|}{|\{gold \ morphemes\}|}$$
(2)

Table 3 contains our results. For all segmenters, we find that morphological boundaries are only preserved modestly, with F1 scores all under 35 percent. The lowest score is found with BPE, with precision, recall and F1 only slightly above 10%. Relating this to the downstream results in Table 2, where best results for translation to Danish were obtained with BPE, it seems that preserving morphemes does not directly lead to optimal downstream NMT performance. This is in line with previous findings (Saleva and Lignos, 2021).

A second observation is that Unigram is (at least) on par with FlatCat and Morfessor when it comes to preserving morphological boundaries. This may be somewhat surprising, as Unigram is not a dedicated morphological segmenter. Yet, given its top-down pruning approach, morphemes are better preserved than with BPE's bottom-up approach. This is in line with findings from Bostrom and Durrett (2020).

| Method    | <b>Prec.</b> (%) | <b>Rec.</b> (%) | F1 (%)       |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| BPE       | 10.81            | 12.42           | 11.56        |
| Unigram   | 30.88            | <u>37.68</u>    | <u>33.94</u> |
| Morfessor | <u>31.08</u>     | 31.61           | 31.34        |
| FlatCat   | 29.58            | 29.40           | 29.49        |

Table 3: Comparison of morphological boundaries and subword segmentation.

#### 5.2 Out-of-Vocabulary Words

One of the core motivations for subword segmentation, is that it enables better representations of out-of-vocabulary (OOV) words. This has been argued to improve downstream performance, for instance in the case of MT (Sennrich et al., 2016). We explore how prominent OOV words are, when processed with varying segmentation techniques. We report the percentage of unknown items (UNKs) in the test portion of our parallel corpus, as shown in the logs of fairseq-preprocess. The results are listed in Table 4.

First, we observe that applying subword segmentation drastically reduces the number of UNKs. When not applying any segmentation, more than 14% of the words are OOV. This high number reflects Kalaallisut's highly inflectional characteristics. Moreover, this observation may provide an explanation for why down-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Equations adapted from Nouri and Yangarber (2016).

| Method    | % UNK    |
|-----------|----------|
| None      | 14.30000 |
| BPE       | 0.005080 |
| Unigram   | 0.005050 |
| Morfessor | 0.196000 |
| FlatCat   | 0.295000 |

Table 4: Proportion of OOV words in the Kalaallisut test set.

stream MT performance, specifically *into* Kalaallisut, lags when not applying any segmentation (Table 2). Secondly, we observe a difference between the morphological segmenters (Morfessor, FlatCat) and the traditional MT tokenizers (BPE, Unigram): using the latter results in fewer UNKs than the former. Notably, it is interesting that Unigram segmentation somewhat preserves morpheme boundaries (Table 3), while also resulting in relatively few UNKs.

### 6 Discussion and Recommendations

Given the lack of research for Kalaallisut NMT, we posit that collaboration between NLP researchers, Greenlandic language experts, and nonspecialist native speakers of the language is crucial. In addition to a parallel dataset and experimental documentation, we aim to contribute to NMT for Kalaallisut by providing some high-level recommendations below.

Explore Additional Resources Beyond the legal domain, Kalaallisut boasts a wealth of traditional linguistic resources, like dictionaries (Berthelsen, 1997) and formal grammars (Fortescue, 1984; Sadock, 2003; Berge, 2011; Kahn and Valijärvi, 2021; Nielsen, 2022). Due to Greenland's relationship with Denmark, national newspapers and official government resources are often available in both Kalaallisut and Danish, which allows "pseudoparallel" corpora to be compiled through webcrawling (Jones, 2022). Similar efforts could be applied to other domains. Additional digital resources for Kalaallisut include a spell-checker, text-to-speech system, and grapheme-to-phoneme converter (Oqaasileriffik), a hand tagged corpus (Per Langgård and VISL Team), and recent NMT benchmark dataset (Kristensen-Mclachlan and Nedergård, 2024). With the exception of the latter, no previous works make use of this wealth of resources, and thus

practitioners may benefit from their inclusion going forward.

Consider Other Dialects Even among lowresource languages, the majority of research attention is paid to standard language varieties, with the risk that non-standard dialects are left behind (Faisal et al., 2024). This holds true for Greenlandic, where works on non-standard dialects are far outnumbered by those for Kalaallisut. The Greenlandic language contains three main dialects: Kalaallisut (the western dialect, and the standard form), Tunumiisut (spoken in eastern Greenland), and Inuktun (used in the northern region).<sup>10</sup> While Kalaallisut is predominant, all dialects are vital to understanding Greenland's linguistic diversity. Only a few grammar books are available for Tunumiisut (Robbe and Dorais, 1986; Mennecier, 1995; Tersis, 2008) and Inuktun (Fortescue, 1986), however. No NLP datasets have as yet been published, despite their apparent presence on social media. This suggests that the language's integration into advanced language technologies is still limited (Siminyu et al., 2020), and future works for Greenlandic NLP could thus benefit from curation of resources and experimentation across dialects.

Mind the Historical Context The colonization of Greenland involved Denmark's efforts to "civilize" the Inuit population, primarily through educational programs aimed at reshaping their culture (Rud, 2009) and "modernization" efforts in the 1950s also prioritized the Danish language (Gad, 2017). These initiatives reflected broader colonial views that objectified Greenlanders based on race, gender, and class (Thisted, 2021). Even after World War II when decolonization began, they were often framed within medical and social research as "controllable subjects" (Rud, 2021). In spite of these pressures, the Greenlandic language remains widely spoken and serves as a symbol of national identity. In 2009, Greenlandic was declared the sole official language, but Danish remains prevalent in the public administration and essential for higher education (Faingold, 2023), and language policy is a recurring debate in Greenlandic politics (Gad, 2017). Despite this progress for the Greenlandic language, the legacy of colonialism still has consequences for indigenous lan-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Greenlandic\_language.

guages in NLP, which researchers must face. For in-depth conversations on this topic, we refer readers to Bird (2020) and Mager et al. (2023).

**Avoid Extractivism** Indigenous people have often been treated as research subjects rather than active participants in decision-making processes, particularly under colonial rule (Guillemin et al., 2016). While Greenland has made strides towards self-government (Kuokkanen, 2017), colonial legacies persist in imaginaries<sup>11</sup> of an "empty" Arctic whose resources can be readily exploited and its people trivialized (Hanrahan, 2017). In terms of research, this dynamic is enacted through the extraction of knowledge from marginalized communities for academic or bureaucratic consumption (Gaudry, 2011).

This historical context of exploitation raises ethical concerns about modern data collection practices in NLP. As in previous extractive practices, the potential misuse of data, along with issues surrounding privacy, consent, and bias, mirrors ongoing debates in the field of NLP regarding the ethical implications of data mining (Žliobaitė, 2017; Hassani et al., 2020; Watson and Payne, 2020; Singh, 2020; Rogers et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2023). For an in-depth conversation on extractivism in NLP, we refer readers to Bird (2024).

### 7 Conclusion

In this paper, we build upon the current state of Danish $\leftrightarrow$ Kalaallisut NMT research, noting a sparsity of benchmarks and open-science experimental groundwork. We then introduce a new semimanually aligned corpus of parallel legal texts for this language pair. Leveraging this, we conduct systematic experiments on subword segmentation, analyzing the impact of both traditional subword tokenizers (BPE, Unigram), and morphological segmentation (Morfessor 2.0, FlatCat) on downstream NMT performance. While segmentation techniques generally improve translation, we do not find one segmenter that beats the others in all aspects. Ideally, more data and evidence are needed to draw more robust conclusions.

# Limitations

In this study, we do not examine any (massively) multilingual MT models. As a result, it is possi-

ble our work misses out on some of the benefits of transfer learning. However, the goal of this work not to create a new state-of-the-art, but rather investigate the isolated effects of subword solutions, relating to Kalaallisut. Accordingly, the findings in this paper can still serve as a starting point for those who continue this work in the future. Moreover, our work investigates isolated subword segmentation techniques, while segmentation methods are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, future work could look into applying BPE after morphological segmentation.

Another limitation of this work is its highlyspecific legal domain. On the one hand, leveraging legal texts allows us to avoid extractivism, as these data are not taken from Greenlandic writings with deep cultural significance. On the other hand, the use of legal data can also be criticized as reinforcing colonial systems of authority. To avoid the latter, our work is exploratory in nature, and does not seek to create deployable, culturally-appropriate NMT systems for Greenlandic speakers. Instead, we aim to provide a methodology and results pertaining to segmentation, which can still transferable to works in NMT for Greenlandic, outside of the legal domain.

This work focuses solely on the dominant Kalaallisut dialect of Greenlandic. While the inclusion of more dialects is the subject of increasing awareness in NLP, text for other Greenlandic dialects is not supported by the platform through which we sourced our methodology.

Finally, future work in Kalaallisut MT would hugely benefit from human quality assessment. While we assume that automatic, reference-based metrics can give a decent basic estimate of translation quality, human annotations of translation errors would for example enable more fine-grained analysis.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>The concept of "imaginaries" refers to the collective symbols, ideas, and images that shape a society's understanding (Taylor, 2004).

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