KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Mitinniguaq
"Little Eider"


TOPOLOGY: if initial field, ib initial boundary, mf middle field, fb final boundary, ff final field. Kalaallisut uses these fields roughly as follows:

- if: anaphoric link to prior discourse and/or set up the primary topical referent (T);
- ib: elaborate T and/or:
  - (i) set up a secondary topical referent (T'), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);
- mf: background information about main verbal comment;
- fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (if- T & ib- T' if present; otherwise T from last S)
- ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (⊥') to be picked up by the upcoming if. Only fb must be instantiated (by the main verb or complex predicate NV); all other topological fields are optional and, if instantiated, may be multiply instantiated (unlike syntactic nodes).

§1.

(1) Qanga=guuq
long.ago=x.say
Long ago, they say,…

kujataa-miu-t Ikkamiu-nut avannar-par-m-ata
south-inhabitant-pl Ikkamiut pl-DAT north-go-FCT-3p
…when some southerners moved up north to Ikkamiut

Appamiu-ni anguti-qar-pu-q
Appamiut_pl-LOC man-have-IND.IV-3s
…there was a man in Appamiut

qajaq-qis-su-rsuar-mik.
kayak(man)-be.good-iv\cn-great-sg.MOD
…who was very good with a kayak.

(2) Taanna
that
He…

Miti-nngua-mik ati-qar-pu-q
eider-little-sg.MOD name-have-IND.IV-3s
…was called Little Eider.
(3a) Ukiu-mi
winter-sg.LOC
In winter time...
kpi-ssa-na-ni avanna-mik anur-li-lir-aang-at
stop-x.expect-NON\textsubscript{T}3s\textsubscript{\text{T}} north-sg.MOD wind-weather.with-begin- HAB\textsubscript{\text{T}}3s\textsubscript{\text{T}}
...when the north wind would start blowing non-stop
nui-ni qimal-lu-gu
bird.spear-3s\textsubscript{T} sg leave- ELA\textsubscript{T}3s\textsubscript{\text{T}}
...he would leave his bird spear [behind] and...
qajar-tur-lu-ni appa-nniar-tar-pu-q
kayak-use-ELA\textsubscript{T}3s\textsubscript{\text{T}} auk-hunt-habit-IND.\textsc{IV}3s
...go auk hunting in his kayak.

(3b) tikit-tar-u-q
come-habit-IND.\textsc{IV}3s
...and he would come back...
qaan-ni ulikkaa-vis-sima-llu-gu.
kayak-3s\textsubscript{T} sg fill-really-prf- ELA\textsubscript{T}3s\textsubscript{\text{T}}
...with his kayak absolutely full.

(4) Nuna-q-qata-isa
homeland-have-fellow-3s\textsubscript{\text{T}pl.\textsc{ERG}}
His countrymen...
paasi\textsuperscript{1}-niq sapir-tar-pa-at
figure.out-tv \textbackslash n be.unable-habit-IND.\textsc{TV}3p.3s
...could never figure out [how it was]
paata-annar-nik sakuq-qar-lu-ni
paddle\textsuperscript{\textsc{pl.}} just-pl.MOD weapon-have-ELA-3s
...[that]next.line with just a paddle for a weapon
taama pi-sa-qar-tigi-sar-m-at.
thus get-tv \textbackslash m-have-to.that.deg-habit-FCT\textsubscript{\text{T}} 3s\textsubscript{\text{T}}
...he always got so many.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item paa-si-va-a
\textit{entrance-find-IND.TV3s.3s}
(lit. ‘he found an entrance to it.’)
‘he figured it out.’
\item ilu-muur-pu-q
\textit{interior-head.for-IND.IV3s}
(lit. ‘this/he is heading for the interior.’)
‘this/he is correct, right.’
\item nassu-iar-pa-a
\textit{fog-clear-IND.TV3s.3s}
(lit. ‘he defogged it.’)
‘he explained it.’
\end{itemize}
§2.

(1) Ilaanni

*once*

One [day]…

**kujataa-miu-t ila-ata Ikkarmiur-miu-p**

*ib*

south-inhabitant-pl.ERG part-3p↓.sg.ERG Ikkamiutₙ.₁-inhabitant-sg.ERG

…one of the southerners [now] living in Ikkamiut

**qaanna-kkut unami-rusu-lir-pa-a.**

*mf, fb*

kayak-sg.VIA compete.against-desire-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s

…took a fancy to challenge him to a kayak race.

(2) Appamiu-nut pi-vu-q

*if, fb*

Appamiut-pl.DAT get-IND.IV-3s

He came to Appamiut…

**sunavva Miti-ngua-q suli tikis-sima-ngit-su-q.**

*ib*

aha! eider-little-sg still come-prf-not-ELAₙ-3s⊥

…but Little Eider hadn’t come back yet.

(3) Aasiit

*if*

yet.again

As usual…

**avanna-mik anuri-rsua-r-pu-q**

*mf, fb*

north-sg.MOD wind-great-char.activity-ELAₙ-3s⊥

…the north wind was blowing up a gale.

(4) Taama=il-lu-ni Miti-ngua-q

*if, ib*

thus=be-ELAₙ-3sₜ eider-little-sg

In that [storm], Little Eider…

**irsir-pu-q**

*fb*

appear-IND.IV-3s

…came into view

**puisi-ta-ni**

*ff*

seal-attached-3sₜ.sg

…with his seal catch

**alir-mi-nik qaanna-mi-nut nirmus-sima-llu-gu.**

rope-3sₜ.sg-MOD kayak-3sₜ.sg-DAT wind.around-prf-ELAₙ-3s⊥

…securely tied down to his kayak with his kayak rope.
(5) Tiki-lir-m-at kujataa-miu-p
    come-begin-FCT,-3s south-inhabitant-sg.ERG
When he came close, the southerner…

    niuvviur-pa-a.
    go.down.to.meet-IND.TV-3s.3s
…came down [to the shore] to meet him.

(6) Niuvviur-tu-t alla-t
    go.down.to.meet.y-iv\cn-pl.ERG other-pl.ERG
Other people who had also come down

    uqaluttuup-pa-at
    tell-IND.TV-3p.3s
…told him

    kujataa-miu-p unammi-artur-a-a
    south-inhabitant-sg.ERG compete.against-go.to-ELA,-3s.3s
…that the southerner had come to challenge him

    sukka-niuti-qati-gi-niar-lu-gu.
    move.fast-compete-fellow-have.as-intend-ELA,-3s
…to a race.

(7) Taama tusar-a-mi
    thus hear-FCT,-3s
Upon hearing that…

    avam-mut saa-tir-pu-q
    seaward-sg.DAT face-gradually-IND.IV-3s
…he worked his way around to face out toward the sea
[so that he would have the wind in his face]

    kinngu-sa-qattaar-lu-ni=lu
    capsize-habit-rhythmic.process-ELA,-3s=and
…and then, while practicing capsizing over and over,

    pusí-ta-ni nirmus-sa-ajar-lu-gu pi-ir-lu-gu.
    seal-attached-3s.sg wind.around-tv\rn-clear-ELA,-3s such.get.off-ELA,-3s
…he untied his seal catch and took it off.
§3

(1) Kujataa-miu-p tamanna taku-galuar-lu-gu if south-inhabitant-sg.ERG that see-\textellipsis but-ELA_{3s} 
When the southerner saw that…

unammi-ni-ssa-mut pi-rusu-ir-pu-q mf, fb compete-\textbackslash n-prospective-DAT do.so-desire-no.more-IND.IV-3s 
…he lost the desire to compete

angirla-annar-lu-ni=lu. ff go.home-just-ELA_{3s}=and 
…and just went home.

(2) Ikkamiu-nut=li utir-m-at if Ikkamiut-pl.DAT=but return-FCT_{3s} 
But when he returned to Ikkamiut…

nuna-q-qata-isa ib homeland-have-fellow-3s_{pl}.ERG 
…his countrymen

kanngu-saar-pa-at fb be.ashamed.of-try.to.cause-IND.TV-3s.3s 
…made fun of him

unammi-artu-qqu-llu-gu=lu. ff compete-go.to-tell-ELA_{3s}=and 
…and told him to go and compete \textit{[as he had bragged he would]}.

(3) Unammi-artur-tu-q Appamiu-nut tiki-qqim-m-at if compete-go.to-\textbackslash n-cn-sg Appamiut-pl.DAT come-again-FCT_{3s} 
When the challenger again came to Appamiut,…

Miti-nngu-up ib eider-little-sg.ERG
Little Eider…

qaja-vis-suar-mut alla-mut mf kayak(man)-real-great-sg.DAT other-sg.DAT 
…[told]{last.line} another champion kayakman,

Tiggam-mik ati-lim-mut alpha.seal-sg.MOD name-with-sg.DAT 
…named Alpha (lit. dominant male seal),

sukka-niul-lu-tik unammi-qqu-a-a. fb move.fast-compete-ELA_{3p} compete.against-tell-IND.TV-3s.3s 
…to race him.
(4) Aatsaa=nnguuq sapir-p-a-gu
first=x.say lose.against-HYP₁-3s₂-3s
First if he lost the race, he said,

Mitinngu-up namminiq
eider-little-sg.ERG self
...[would]next.line Little Eider himself

unammi-umaar-pa-a.
compete.against-be.promised-IND.IV-3s.3s
...compete against him.
[This, of course, is an insult, showing utter contempt for the challenger.]

(5) Taama=il-lu-ni=mi
thus=be-ELA₁-3s₇=so
So with that [understanding],
kujataa-miu-r=lu aalla-qa-u-t
south-inhabitant-sg=and set.off-very-IND.IV-3p
...[Alpha] took off with the southerner like a shot.

§4

(1) Sukka-qi-ga-mik
move.fast-very-FCT₇-3p₇
They went so fast that...
kujataa-miu-p qaja-a
south-inhabitant-sg.ERG kayak-3s.sg
...the southerner's kayak

nappar-sima-vu-q
stand.up-prf-IND.IV-3s
...stood up,

niu-isa nala-at tiki-vil-lu-gu
leg-3s₉.pl.ERG vicinity-3p₉.sg come.to-really-ELA₁-3s₁

imma-mut tun-nga-na-ni.
sea-sg.DAT touch-result-NON₁-3s₇
...not [even] touching the sea right up to his legs.
§5

(1) Tiggak

\[ \text{alpha.seal} \]
\[ \text{if} \]

\[ \text{Alpha}, \]
\[ \text{paati-mi-nik imaq qaput-tu-inna-nngur-lu-gu} \]
\[ \text{ib} \]

\[ \text{paddle-3s\textsubscript{\_\_}.pl-MOD sea.sg foam-iv\textbackslash cn-just-turn\textunderscore into-ELA\textsubscript{\_\_}-3s} \]
\[ \ldots \text{churning up the sea into pure foam with his paddle,} \]
\[ \text{kussar-lu-ni aallar-sima-vu-q.} \]
\[ \text{mf, fb} \]

\[ \text{with.head.down-ELA\textsubscript{\_\_}-3s} \]
\[ \text{set-off-prf-IND.IV-3s} \]
\[ \ldots \text{had taken off with his head down.} \]

(2) Isigginnaar-tu-t suaar-tar-pu-t:

\[ \text{look-iv\textbackslash cn-pl shout\textunderscore habit-IND.IV-3p} \]

The spectators kept shouting:

(3) “Suli Tiggaa-p paata-i

\[ \text{still alpha.seal-sg paddle\textsubscript{\_\_}.pl-3s\_pl} \]

“As yet, Alpha’s paddle

\[ \text{irsig-unnaa-nngi-lla-t,} \]
\[ \text{be.visible\textunderscore cease\textunderscore not\textunderscore IRR-3p} \]

hasn’t become invisible,

\[ \text{aallar-luar-aanga-mi taama=it\textunderscore tar\textunderscore aluar\textunderscore mi\textunderscore ga\textunderscore mi.} \]
\[ \text{ff} \]

\[ \text{set\textunderscore off\textunderscore well\textunderscore HAB\textsubscript{\_\_}-3s} \]
\[ \text{thus=be\textunderscore habit\ldots but\textunderscore watch\textunderscore out\textunderscore !-FCT\textsubscript{\_\_}-3s} \]

\[ \ldots \text{watch out for that when he really gets going.”} \]

(4a) Aallaq-qaar-a-mik

\[ \text{set\textunderscore out\textunderscore first\textunderscore stage\textunderscore FCT\textsubscript{\_\_}-3p} \]

When they first set out,

\[ \text{ingirla-qati-giig\textunderscore inaar\textunderscore aluar\textunderscore pu\textunderscore t} \]
\[ \text{travel\textunderscore fellow\textunderscore rcp\textunderscore just\ldots but\textunderscore IND.IV-3p} \]

\[ \ldots \text{they just kept even, going head to head,} \]

(4b) nuna-l=lu tunga-a-nut uti\textunderscore liir\textunderscore iar\textunderscore m\textunderscore ata

\[ \text{land\textsubscript{\_\_}.sg\_ERG\textunderscore and direction\textunderscore 3s\_3.sg\_DAT return\textunderscore begin\textunderscore quick\textunderscore stage\textunderscore FCT\textsubscript{\_\_}-3p} \]

\[ \ldots \text{but when they began to head back toward land} \]

\[ \text{isiginnaar-tu-t} \]
\[ \text{ib} \]

\[ \text{look-iv\textbackslash cn-pl} \]

\[ \ldots \text{the spectators} \]

\[ \text{suaar-ta-lir-pu-t:} \]
\[ \text{fb} \]

\[ \text{shout\textunderscore habit\textunderscore begin\textunderscore IND.IV-3p} \]

\[ \ldots \text{started shouting:} \]
“Aarit, Tiggaa-p paata-i
sure.enough alpha.seal.sg paddle3s.pl
“There it is! Alpha’s paddle
irsig-unnaar-pu-t.”
be.visible-cease IND. IV-3p
…has [now] become invisible,”

Taava Tiggak
then alpha.seal.sg
Then Alpha
sukka-qa-lu-ni siu-ar-pu-q
move.fast-very front-move.to IND. IV-3s
…shot up to the front
aapp-i=lu kaajallal-lu-gu.
mate-3s.sg=and keep.circling ELA®-3s⊥
…and started circling around his competitor.

Suli taama=iliur-tu-q
still thus=do ELA⊥-3s⊥
He was still doing that when
uti-mut apuup-pu-t.
back.to.start sg.DAT arrive IND. IV-3p
…they got back to the starting point.

Uti-mut apuuti-tsi=innaq
back.to.start point sg.DAT arrive have.just=just
The moment they got back
kujataa-miu-q
south-inhabitant sg
…the southerner
angirlar-lu-ni taama aallar-pu-q.
go.home ELA®-3s⊥ enough! set.off IND. IV-3s
…had had enough and just headed back home.