KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

From
Hesti piaraq tappitsoq
("Blind Colt")


**TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION** by Maria Bittner (10/17/2007): Kalaallisut has a great deal of fusion. For clarity, line 1 is in the modern Kalaallisut orthography minus allophonic variants (e, o, f of i, u, v); line 2 is the morphological analysis; line 3 are the glosses; line 4 is a free English translation. Derivational morphemes are glossed in lower case (e.g. "prf" for perfect aspect), inflectional and other functional morphemes, in small caps (e.g. IND, RPT). Glosses for:

- **matrix moods:**
  - IND = indicative, IMP = imperative, NEG = negative, OPT = optative, QUE = interrogative

- **dependent moods:**
  - ELA = elaborating, FCT = factual, HAB = habitual, HYP = hypothetical, NON = non-factual

- **case:**
  - ABL = ablative, DAT = dative, EQU = equalis (‘like, as’), ERG = ergative, LOC = locative, MOD = modalis (modifier), VIA = vialis (path)

- **centering:**
  - ▼ = topic, ⊥ = background, IV = property of topic; TV = relation of topic to background

- **derivation:**
  - antip = antipassive, con = consequent state, dist = distributive, dur = durative, emph = emphatic, loc.of = location of, opp = opposite, prf = perfect aspect (consequent state), prg = progress state, rcp = reciprocal, iv = intrans. verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rm = relational noun, a\b = suffix that attaches to category a to form b

- **clitics:**
  - ALT = alternative-sensitive operator (‘or’, ‘even’, ‘any’); FOC = focus
  - RPT = reportative evidential

**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 (▼);
- **ib:** elaborate ▼ and/or set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);
- **mf:** background information about main verbal comment;
- **fb:** main verbal comment about current topic(s) (if-▼ & ib-⊥’ if present; otherwise ▼ from last S)
- **ff:** elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (⊥’) to be picked up by the upcoming if.

**HIGHLIGHTING:**

- ***xxx*** ‘prospective mood (HYP, IMP, NEG, IMP, OPT)’
- ***xxx*** ‘prospective stative (e.g. -niar ‘intend’, -qqu ‘want ⊥ to’, etc; see Bittner 2005)
- ***xxx*** ‘prospective non-stative (e.g. - niar ‘try’, -qqu ‘tell ⊥ to’, etc; -ssaq ‘prospective’, etc)
- -galuar ‘…but’ (unrealized expectation, desire, or the like)

- conditional prospect:
  - rl = real:
  - vd = vivid:
  - rm = remote
Imm. 1 Narsarsuarmi
(Ch. 1 The Bad Lands)

§1. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) The little [wild mustang] mare had whirled to face them [two cowboys: Uncle Torwal and 10-year old Whitey], keeping the colt behind her. (2) With her teeth bared and her ears laid back, she looked half wolf for sure.

§1. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) Histip arnavissap saatipallassimavai
histi-p arnaviaq-p saag-tit-pallag-sima-pa-i
horse-SG.ERG female-SG.ERG face-cause.se.to-quickly-prf-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
[The mare] had whirled around to face them
piaqqiulu tunuminut pisillugu
pi-arraq-ni=lu tunu-mi-nut pi-tit-llu-gu pi-tit-llu-gu
n-tiny-3SG.T,SG=and behind-3SG.T,SG-DAT v-cause-ELA-3SG
keeping her colt behind her
angutit taakku akiliralugit qiqqilluni.
angut-t taakku akiliq-gi-llu-git qiqqit-llu-ni
man-PL these on.opposite.side-have.as-ELA-3PL⊥ take.stand-ELA-3SG⊥
and taking a stand confronting these men.
(2) Irsassimagami
irsag-sima-ga-mi
show.teeth-prf-FCT-3PL⊥
With her teeth bared
siutini.lu tunummut pisikkamigit
siut-ni=lu tunuk-mut pi-tit-ga-migit
ear-3SG.T,PL=and back-SG.DAT v-cause-FCT-3SG.T,3PL
and her ears laid back
amaqqumut iqqaanarsilliuinnarpuq.
amaruq-mut iqqaan-si-luinnar-pu-q
wolf-SG.DAT recall.make.one-get.absolutely-IND.IV-3SG
she looked just like a wolf.

§2. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Spunky crittur, ain’t she?” (2) Whitey remarked as they rode carefully around, trying to get a good look at the colt.

§2. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Imaannaanngitsukasiugami, ilaa?”
ima-innar-u-nungit-tuq-kasik-u-ga-mi ilaa
so-just-be-not-iv\cn-silly-be-FCT-3SG.T not?
“This silly old creature is extraordinary, isn’t she?”
Whitey uqarpuq
Whitey uqar-pu-q
Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG
Whitey said
piaraa misissurniarlugu ff

pi-araq-a misissur-niar-llu-gu
n-little-3SG,SG examine-intend-ELA₁₋₃SG₁
mianirsurlutik kaajallakiartuatigalugu.
mianirsur-llu-tik kaajallag-kiartur-utigi-llu-gu
take.care-ELA₁₋₃PL₁ go.around-gradually-prg-ELA₁₋₃SG₁
as they rode carefully around, trying to get a good look at the colt.

§3. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “She’s a wolf all right,” (2) Torwal agreed. “(3) An’ if you ain’t careful she’s agoni’ to paste you plumb outta your saddle. (4) Better not crowd her.”

§3. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Ilumut, tassamiuna amaruq arnaviavissuaq” if, ib, fb
ilumut tassa=mi=una amaruq arnavia-vik-suaq
indeed that=FOC=this wolf female-real-big
“Indeed this one’s a real wolf.”

(2) Thorvald uqarpuq if, fb
Thorvald uqar-pu-q
Torval said.

(3) Mianirsunngikkuit if
mianirsur-nngit-gu-vit
take.care -not-HYP₁₋₂SG
If you’re not careful,
issiaattannit ajassavaatit ib, fb
issia-ut-taq-t-nit ajat-ssa-pa-atit
sit-vins-of-2SG,SG-ABL push-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.2SG
nakkartillutit. ff
nakkar-tit-llu-tit
fall.down-cause-ELA₁₋₂SG
she’ll knock you out of the saddle

(4) Qanillivallaarnagu.” fb
qanig-li-pallaar-na-gu be.close-get-too.much-NON₁₋₃SG₁
Better not get too close to her.
§4. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

(1) They sat on their horses and watched awhile and admired the colt. (2) “Purty as a picture, ain’t he, Uncle Torwal?” (3) said Whitey. (4) “Reckon we better take him home so the wolves won’t get him?”

§4. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)

(1) Histiminni issiapput if, fb
histi-mik-ni issiag-pu-t
horse-3PL.PL-LOC sit-IND.IV-3PL
They sat on their horses

hisi arnaviaq isigiitigalugu ff1
histi arnaviaq isigi-utigi-llu-gu
horse female look.at-prog-ELA-3SG⊥
while looking at the mare↑ and

piaraa nuannaarutigalugu. ff2
pi-araq-a nuannaari-utigi-llu-gu
n-little-3SG⊥.SG like-prog-ELA-3SG⊥
admiring her↑ colt.

(2) “Kusanarmat, akkaa Thorvald,” fb, ff
kusanar-mm-at akkaa Thorvald
be.beautiful-FCT-3SG⊥ uncle Torwal
“He’s beautiful, Uncle Torwal”

(3) Whitey uqarpug if, fb
Whitey uqarp-pu-q
Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG
said Whitey.

(4) “Amaqqunit pisarinigartinnagu angirlaakkutsigu if
| amaruq-nit pisari-niqar-tit-na-gu angirlar-ut-gu-tsigu
wolf-PL.ABL catch-passive-state-NON-3SG⊥ go.home-IV\tv-HYP-1PL.3SG

| pitsaanirunngila?” fb
| pitsak-u-niru-nngit-li-a
excellent-be-more-not-QUE-3SG
“Isn’t it better to take him home with us before the wolves get him?”

§5. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

(1) “Don’t reckon we’ll take him anywheres,”. (2) Torwal told him (3) “Looks like I’m a-goin’ to have to shoot him!”

§5. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)

(1) “Isumaqarpunga fb
isma-qar-pu-nga
belief-have-IND.IV-3SG
I think
sumulluunniit nassassangikkipput,”

- su-mut=luunniit nassar-ssa-ngit-gi-pput
what-SG.DAT=ALT take.along-prospect-not-ELA TV-1PL.3SG
we’re not going to take him anywhere.

(2) Thorvald uqarpuq
Thorvald uqar-pu-q
Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG
said Torwal.

(3) “Allaallugu tuquttariaqarunarpara.”
- alla-llu-gu tuqu-t-tariaqar-gunar-pa-ra
shoot-ELA TV-3SG die-cause-have.to-be.likely-IND TV-1SG.3SG
“It looks like I’m going to have to shoot him.”

§6. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Shoot him! Why?” (2) squalled Whitey (3) “Why he’s the purtiest colt on the ranch!”

§6. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Allaallugu! Suuq?”
alla-llu-gu suuq
shoot-ELA TV-3SG why
“Shoot him! Why?”

(2) Whitey qiaasaannaq uqarpuq
Whitey qia-usar-innaq uqar-pu-q
Whitey cry-halfway-just say-IND.IV-3SG
cried out Whitey almost in tears.

(3) Nunaatitsinni histit piaqqat
nuna-ut-tsit-ni histi-t pi-araq-t
land-of-1PL PL-LOC horse-PL.ERG n-little-PL.ERG
kusanarnirsaraat!”
kusanar-nirsaq-gi-pa-at
be.beautiful-most-have.as-IND TV-3PL.3SG
“He’s the prettiest colt on our lands!”

§7. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Better look him over closer, Bub,” (2) said Torwal. (3) “See if you notice anything outta the way about him.”

§7. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Uumaak, misissurlalaariaruk,”
- uumaak misissur-lluar-laar-gi-aruk
bub examine-well-a.bit-IMP-2SG.3SG
“Look him over closely, Bub,”
(2) Thorvald uqarpuq
Thorvald uqar-pu-q
Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG
said Torwal.

(3) “Arlaannik iqqumiqutiqannginnirsuq
arlaq-at-nik iqqumiig-qutar-nngit-nir-tu-q
one.of-3PL.SG-MOD be.strange-v\cause-have-not-x.wonder-ELA.IV-3SG
misissurlualaariaruk.”

• misissur-lluar-laar-qq-aruk
examine-well-a.bit-IMP-2SG.3SG
“Look him over closely to see if there is anything strange about him.”

§8. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “I don’t see anything wrong, myself,” (2) Whitey told him, after he’d walked Spot in a circle around the mare and colt again. (3) “He looks to me just like the kind of crittur I’d like to have for a ‘Sunday’ horse.”

§8. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Ajuqutiqarnirsuq takusinnaanngilara,”
• ajur-qut-qar-nir-tu-q taku-sinnaa-nngit-la-ra
be.bad-v\cause-have-x.wonder-ELA.IV-3SG see-be.able-not-IND.TV-1SG.3SG
“I can’t see if there is anything wrong with him,”

(2) Whitey uqarpuq
Whitey uqar-pu-q
Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG
said Whitey,

suli ataastarluni
suli ataasig-riar-llu-ni
still one-v.cn.times-ELA.T-3SG

histi arnaviaq piaraalu kaajallariarlugit.

hisi arnaviaq pi-araq-a=lu kaajallag-riar-llu-git
horse female n-little-3SG._SG=and circle…and-ELA.T-3PL
after circling the mare and her colt one more time.

(3) “Histitut sapaatiutigirusutattluriinnaq
• histi-tut sapaat-siur-ut-gi-rusug-taq-tut=luinnaq
horse-SG.EQU Sunday-experience-v\ins-have.as-want-v\thm-SG.EQU=just

isikkuqarpqur.”

• isikkuq-qar-pu-q
appearance-have-IND.IV-3SG
“He looks just like the sort of horse I’d like to have to ride on Sundays.”

§9. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
“(1) Look at his eyes; (2) they’re white.” (3) Torwal growled. (4) “That colt’s blind as a bat!”
§9. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Isai takuriassagitit
• isi-i taku-riar-ssa-gi-tit
  eye-3SG.PL see-stage.one-prospect-IMP-2SG.3PL
  “Take a look at his eyes”

(2) – qaqrtuinnapput.”
  qaqur-tuq-innar-u-pu-t
  be.white-IV\cn-just-be-IND.IV-3PL
  they’re all white.”

(3) Thorvald qatimaluppuq
    Thorvald qatimalug-pu-q
    Torwal growl-IND.IV-3SG
    Torwal growled.

(4) “Histi piaraq una
    histi pi-araq una
    horse n-little this
    “This colt
    imangirtatulli tappiitsigaq!”
    bat-SG.EQU=but see.well-opp-to.that.degree-IND.IV-3SG
    is as blind as a bat!”

§10. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Aw, them’s just china eyes, Uncle Torwal,” (2) Whitey said. “(3) Lotsa horses has china eyes.
(4) Even ol’ Spot has one.”

§10. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 12)
(1) “Aa, suugami,
  aa su-u-ga-mi
  aw what-be-FCT\T-3SG\T
  “Aw, it’s nothing,

(2) isai isitut marriatut itinnarput, akkaa Thorvald.”
  isi-i isi-tut marriaq-tut it-innar-pu-t, akkaa Thorvald
  eye-3SG.PL eye-PL.EQU china-PL.EQU be-just-IND.IV-3PL uncle Torwal
  his eyes are just china eyes, Uncle Torwal,

(3) Whitey uqarpuq
    Whitey uqar-pu-q
    Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG
    Whitey said.

(4) “Histirpassuit marriatut ittumik isiqartarput.
    histi-paa-suaq-t marriaq-tut it-tuq-nik isi-qar-pu-t
    horse-lot-big-PL china-PL.EQU be-IV\cn-PL.MOD eye-have-habit-IND.IV-3PL
    “Lots of horses of have china eyes.
§11. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Them ain’t no china eyes, not by a long shot,” (2) said Torwal. “(3) If you look close you’ll see that they’re pure white without no center. (4) He’s blind, and we gotta shoot him. (5) Otherwise he’ll fall in a hole somewheres or get wolf et.”

§11. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)

(1) “Uuma isai
  uuma isi-i
eyou eye-3SG.PL
  hey.you eye-3SG.PL
  “Fool boy, his eyes
  isitut marriatut ittunngivipput,
  naamirluinnaq mf, fb, ff
  eye-PL.EQU china-PL.EQU be-i\cn-be-not-really-IND.IV-3PL no=absolutely
  are not at all like china eyes, not by a long shot.”

(2) Thorvald uqarpuq
  Thorvald uqar-pu-q
  Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG
  said Torwal.

(3) “Misissurluarukkit
  misissur-lluar-gu-\-kkit
  examin-well-HYP\-2SG.3PL
  “If you examine them closely
  takussavat qaqrtuinnaviusut
  \.\vd taku-\-ssa-pa-t qaqur-tuq-innar-vik-u-tu-t
  see-prospect-IND.TV-2SG.3SG be-white-i\cn-just-real-be-ELA.inv-3PL
  tappiutitaqaratik.
  tappig-ut-taq-qar-na-tik
  see.well-\ins-of-have-NON\-3PL.T
  without any pupil.

(4) Tappiitsuuvuq
  tappig-it-tuq-u-pu-q
  see.well-opp-i\cn-be-IND.IV-3SG
  He’s blind

(5) aallaallugulu tuquttariaqarpapput.
  allaa-llu-gu=lu tuqu-t-tariaqar-pa-rput
  shoot-ELA.inv-3SG.i\=and die-cause-have.to-IND.TV-1PL.3SG
  and we’ve got to shoot him.
(6) **Taamaalianngikkutta**

| **if** | **taama=iliur-nggir-gu-tta** |
| | thus=do-not-HYP₁-1PL |
If we don’t

| **itirsaliat** | **arlaannut** | **nakkanngikkuni** |
| | | |
| **itirsaq-liur-aq-t** | **arlaq-at-nut** | **nakkar-nggir-gu-ni** |
| depression-make-.Exceptions-PL | one.of-3PL,SG-DAT | fall.down-not-HYP₁-3SG |
then if he doesn’t fall into a hole somewhere

| **amaqqunit** | **nirisaassaaq**. |
| | |
| **vd amaruq-nit** | **niri-gaa-ssa-pu-q** |
| wolf-PL.ABL | eat-passive-prospect-IND.IV-3SG |
he’ll get eaten by wolves.”

§12. **ENGLISH ORIGINAL**

(1) “Well, even if he is blind do we hafta shoot him?” (2) Whitey asked. “(3) Couldn’t I take him home an’ keep him at the ranch?”

§12. **KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)**

(1) “**Tappitsuugaluarpalluunniit**”

| **if** | **tappig-it-tuu-galuar-pa-at=luunniit** |
| | see.well-opponent-remote.modality…but-HYP₁-3SG₁=ALT |
“Even if he is blind

| **ilumut** | **tuquttariaqratsigu?** |
| | |
| **ilumut** | **tuqu-t-tariaqar-ga-tsigu** |
| really | die-cause-have.to-FCT₁-1PL.3SG |
do we really have to kill him?”

(2) **Whitey uqarpuq.**

Whitey said.

(3) **“Angirlaallugu**”

| **if** | **angirlar-ut-llu-gu** |
| | go.home-ivTV-ELA₁-3SG₁ |
| **nunaatitsinni** | **histituqisinnaangnigilara?”** |
| | ib, fb |
| **nuna-ut-tsin-ni** | **hiitut-qi-sinna-nga-ngir-la-ra** |
| land.of-1PL.1PL-LOC | horse.of-have.as.be.possible-not-NEG-1SG.3SG |
Can’t I take him home and keep him at the ranch?”

§13. **ENGLISH ORIGINAL**

(1) “All he’d be is a mess of trouble even if you got him home, (2) and I doubt that he’d go that far without somethin’ happening to him anyways,” (3) Torwal told him. “(4) An’ besides, he wouldn’t be good for nothing.”
§13. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)

1. “Angirlaatissagukku  
   angirlar-ut-ssa-yy-kku  
   go.home-iv\tv-prospect-HYP,2SG.3SG  
   “If you take him home

   asuli  akurnuigiinnassavat,  
   mf, fb

   vd asuli  akurnut-gi-innar-ssa-pa-t  
   in.vain  impediment-have.as-just-prospect-IND.TV-2SG.3SG  
   you’ll just have a lot of needless trouble with him,

2. qularaaralu  
   qulari-pa-ra=lu  
   doubt-IND.TV-1SG.3SG=and  
   and I doubt

   akurnutissarsinani  angirlamut  apuunnissaa,”  
   ff

   • akurnut-ssaq-si-na-ni  angirla-mut  apuut-niq-ssaq-a  
   harm-prospective-come.to-NON-3SG  
   home-SG.DAT  arrive-v\n-prospective-3SG  
   that he’d get home without something happening to him.”

3. Thorvald  uqarpuq.  
   Thorvald  uqar-pu-q  
   Torwal  say-IND.IV-3SG  
   Torwal said.

4. “Aammani  sumulluunniit  iluaqutaanaviannngilaq.”  
   amma=mi  su-mut=luunniit  iluaqut-u-naviannngit-la-q  
   also=FOC  what-SG.DAT=ALT  benefit-be-be.certain.not.to-NEG-3SG  
   “And besides, he certainly wouldn’t be good for anything.”

§14. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Well anyway, do we hafta shoot him?” (2) Whitey said. (3) “Couldn’t we just let him go loose?”

§14. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)

1. “Kisinnimi  ilumut  tuquttariaqaratstigu?”  
   kisianni=mi  ilumut  tuqu-t-taritaga-tsigu  
   but=FOC  really  die-cause-have.to-FCT,1PL.3SG  
   “Well anyway, do we really have to kill him?”

2. Whitey  uqarpuq.  
   Whitey  uqar-pu-q  
   Whitey said.

3. “Ilaginnaannarsinnaannginnatsigu?”  
   ilaginnar-innar-sinnaa-ngit-ga-tsigu  
   let.go-just-be.possible-not-FCT,1PL.3SG  
   “Can’t we just let him go?”
§15. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Now quit your squallin’,” (2) Torwal told him, patiently. “(3) I don’t like it any more than you do, (4) but if we leave him he’ll either fall in a hole and starve or else he’ll get wolf et. (5) Lookit her tracks where she circled during the night. (6) Fighting off an ol’ ‘gray,’ I bet she was.”

§15. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)
(1) “Utiriisirunnaariarit,” if
   • utiriisir-junnaa-niar-gi-t
     keep.insisting-stop-POL-IMP-2SG
     “Quit your squalling,”

(2) Thorvald iqqissisimalluni uqarpuq if, mf, fb
Thorvald iqqissi-sima-llu-ni uqar-pu-q
Torval told him, patiently.

(3) “tuqunnissaa ilittulli ib, mf
   • tuqu-t-niq-ssaq-a illit-tut=li
die-cause-V‘n-prospective-3SG1.SG you-EQU=FOC

nuannerinngitsigaara
nuannari-ngit-tigi-gi-ra
like-not-to.that.degree-ELA1.TV-1SG.3SG
“I don’t want to kill him any more than you do,

(4) ummatiinnarutsinnili if
   | umma-tit-innar-gu-tsinni=li
   be.alive-let-just-HYP1.PL.3SG=but
   but if we just let him live,

   itirsaliat arlaannut nakkarluni ib
   itirsaq-liur-aq-t arlaq-at-nut nakkar-llu-ni
depression-make-V‘thm-PL one.of-3PL.SG-DAT fall.down-ELA1-3SG

   pirlirluni tuqunngikkuni
   pirlir-llu-ni tuqu-nngit-gu-ni
   starve-ELA1-3SG die-not-HYP1-3SG
   then if he doesn’t fall into a hole somewhere and starve to death

   amaqqunit nirisaassaaq. mf, fb
   |.vd amaruq-nit niri-gaa-ssa-pu-q
   wolf-PL.ABL eat-passive-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
   he’ll get eaten by wolves.

(5) Arnaata tumai isigiriassagitit, ib, fb
   • arna-ata tumi-i isigi-riar-ssa-gi-tit
   mother-3SG1.SG.ERG track-3SG.PL look-stage.one-prospect-IMP-2SG.3PL
   Take a look at his mother’s tracks,
(6) * takuuk unnuarsuaq kaajalukaartuarsimanira.  

(takugi-t unnuaq:suaq kaajalukaar-tuar-sima-niq-a)  
see-IMP-2SG night-big go.around.busily-constantly-prf-v\n-n-3SG1,SG  
see how she circled round and round all night long.

(7) Qularinngilluinnarpara  

(qulari-ngit:luinnar-pa-ra)  
doubt-not-absolutely-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
I have absolutely no doubt

unnuarsuaq amaqqunik piaqqaminiit  
unnuaq:-suaq amaruq-nik pi-araq-mi-nit  
night-:big wolf-PL.MOD n-little-3SG1,SG-ABL

qimagusimatitsiniarsimassasuq.  

(qimagut-sima-tit-si-niar-sima-ssa-tu-q)  
go.away-prf-cause-antip-try-prf-prospect-ELA1,IV-3SG1  
she must have spent the whole night chasing wolves away from her baby.”

§16. ENGLISH ORIGINAL  
(1) While Whitey sat with his lip hanging down almost to his collar, Torwal took another chew from his plug and got his rifle out of his saddle scabbard. (2) But whenever he tried to get near the colt the little mare was there, lashing out with her hoofs and showing her teeth to bite either man or horse that got too near. (3) Before long she was covered with lather and her eyes showed white, and the ground was plowed and trampled in a circle. (4) But still the colt was safe.

§16. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)  
(1) Whitey nikallurturujussuuvuq.  

(Whitey nikallur-tuq-rujug:suaq-u-pu-q)  
Whitey be.depressed-iv\cn-huge-big-be-IND.IV-3SG  
Whitey felt terribly depressed.

(2) Thorvald'ilu sukuluussaminik uqummirsivuq  

(Thorvald=lu sukuuluq:ssaq-mi-nik uqummir-si-pu-q)  
Torval=and chewed.tobaco-prospective-3SG1,SG-MOD put.in.mouth-antip-IND.IV-3SG  
And Torval took a chew from his plug

allaasinilu issiaattami puuqattaaniit  
alla-ut-ni=lu issia-ut-taq-mi puuqattaq-a-niit  
shoot-v\ins-3SG1,SG=and sit-v\ins-of-3SG1,SG.ERG bag-3SG1,SG-ABL

tigullugu.  
tigu-llu-gu  
and took his rifle out of his saddle scabbard.
But whenever he got close to the colt

\[ \text{arnaaata unguriissavaa} \]

\[ \text{mother-3SG.SG.ERG} \text{ parry-have.already-IND.TV-3SG.3SG} \]

his mother would already be there,

\[ \text{isimmiriartarlunilu} \text{ irsalluni,} \]

\[ \text{kick-stage.one-habot-ELA}_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}=\text{and show.teeth-ELA}_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau} \]

lashing out with her hoofs and showing her teeth

\[ \text{angut histiluunniit piaqqaminut qanillisuq} \]

\[ \text{man horse=ALT n-little-3SG.SG-DAT be.close.get-iv\cn} \]

\[ \text{kiiriaannaallugu.} \]

\[ \text{bite-be.ready.to-ELA}_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau} \]

ready to bite either man or horse that got (too) close to her baby.

\[ \text{Kiammit ippuppaa} \]

\[ \text{heat-SG.ABL get.stifled-IND.TV-3SG.3SG} \]

She got covered with lather

\[ \text{isinilu kamannirmit} \]

\[ \text{eye-3SG.PL=and be.angry-v\n-3SG.ABL} \]

\[ \text{qaqurtitaartuinnaangurglugit;} \]

\[ \text{be.white.get.bit.by.bit-iv\cn-just-become-ELA}_{\tau}-3PL_{\tau} \]

and her eyes became all white with anger;

\[ \text{ivikkat iqqaaniittut} \]

\[ \text{grass-PL vicinity-3SG.SG-LOC=be-iv\cn-PL} \]

the grass in that area

\[ \text{ammalurtuungurglutik kiisa nungullavipput.} \]

\[ \text{be.round-iv\cn-become-ELA}_{\tau}-3PL_{\tau} \text{ finally get.worn.down-really-IND.IV-3PL} \]

got trampled to the ground all around.
(6) Histí pi-araq su-lí navia-nar-tuq-siur-tit-taq-u-nngit-la-q. if, ib, fb
histí pi-araq su-lí naviag-nar-tuq-siur-tit-taq-u-nngit-la-q
horse n-little still dread-make.one-experience-cause-thm-be-not-NEG-3SG
But still the colt was safe.
[lit. was not made to experience any danger that would make one feel dread]

§17. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) Then Whitey spoke up again. (2) “Lissen, Uncle Torwal,” he said. “(3) Lookit the way she fights. (4) I don’t believe any wolf could get to that colt, the way she uses them heels. (5) If you’ll let him go I’ll watch mighty close to see if he falls in anything. (6) I’ll ride out every day to see that he’s all right. (7) An’ if he does fall in I–I–I’ll shoot him myself!”

§17. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)
(1) Whitey utiriisirtuarpuq. if, fb
Whitey utiriisir-tuar-pu-q
Whitey keep.insistent-continue-IND.IV-3SG
Whitey continued his insistent pleading.

(2) “Akkaa Thorvald,” uqarpuuq
“akkaa Thorvald uqar-pu-q
uncle Torval say-IND.IV-3SG
“Uncle Torwal,” he said,
“takusinnaaviuk
• tuku-sinnaa-pi-uk
see-be.able-QUE-2SG.3SG
can you see
piaqqani qanuq paariilluartigigaa? ff
pi-araq-ni qanuq paari-iluarr-ti-gi-a
n-little-3SG.T SG how look.after-well-to.that.degree-ELA.TV-3SG.T SG
how well she’s looking after her baby?

(3) Kukivvamminik taamak isimmissaaniartigisuq
•• kukivvaaq-minik taamak isimmig-saar-niar-tigi-tuq
hoof-3SG.T PL.MOD thus kick-try-to.that.degree-IV\cn
The way she’s lashing out with her hooves,
amaaqqumilluunniit pallinniqarsintaanngilaq. mf, fb
amaruq-mit=luunniit pallig-niqaar-sinnaa-nngit-la-q
wolf-SG.ABL=ALT get.close.to-passive-be.able-not-NEG-3SG
she can’t be approached by any wolf.
(4) *Uumatiinnarumagukku* if

```
| uuma-tit-innar-uma-gu-kku |
```

be.alive-let-just-want-HYP₂SG.3SG

If you’d let him go

```
| ullut   tamaasa  histirlunga  |
```

ib

```
| ulluq-t  tamaq-isa  histi-r-llu-nga |
```

day-PL all-PL₃ horse-do-ELA₁SG

```
| takuniartassagaluarpara. |
```

fb

(5) *Nakkarluniluunniit* urlugaluarpat if

```
| nakkar-llu-ni=luunniit  urlu-galar-pp-at |
```

fall.down-ELA₁₃SG₃ALT trip&fall-…but-HYP₂₃SG₃

And if he does fall in

```
| – taava – taava – namminniirlunga  aallaajumaarpara! |
```

ib, mf, fb

```
| – taava – taava – namminiq-Vr-llu-nga  aallaa-jumaar-pa-ra |
```

– then – then – self-n-V-ELA₁₁SG shoot-be.sure.to-IND.TV₁SG.3SG

– then – then – I’ll shoot him myself.”

§18. **ENGLISH ORIGINAL**

(1) Uncle Torwal thought the matter over for a while. (2) “You want that colt mighty bad, don’t yuh?” (3) he said at last.

§18. **KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION** (p. 14)

(1) *Akkaa Thorvald’ip tamanna iqqarsaatigitsiarpa.* if, ib, fb

```
| akkaa Thorvald-p tamanna iqqarsar-utigi-tsiar-pa-a |
```

uncle Torwal-SG.ERG that think-about-a.bit-IND.TV₁SG.3SG

Uncle Torwal thought about it for a while.

(2) “*Kakkaak histi piaraq pilirigikaku,*” if, ib, fb

```
| kakkaak histi pi-ar-aq pilirigi-ga-kku |
```

wow horse n-little desire-FCT₂₂SG.3SG

“It’s really something how you want that colt”

(3) *naggataatigut uqarpun.* if, fb

```
| naggata-atigut uqar-pu-q |
```

day-3SG₂₁SG.VIA say-IND.IV₁₃SG

he said in the end.

§19. **ENGLISH ORIGINAL**

“(1) “Yeah, I sure do! (2) He’s the pruiciest thing I’ve ever seen!” (3) said Whitey. (4) “I don’t think anything will happen to him, really, Uncle Torwal! (5) He’s too smart lookin’!”
§19. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 14)

(1) “Ilaana.
ilaana
sure
Sure.

(2) “Aatsaat histimik piaggamik taama iniqunartigisumik
aatsaat histi-mik pi-ar-aq-mik taama iniqunar-tigi-tuq-mik
first.now horse-SG.MOD n-little-SG.MOD so cute-to.that.degree-iv\cn-SG.MOD
takugama!”
taku-ga-ma
see-FCT-1SG
“I’ve never seen such a cute horse before.”

(3) Whitey uqarpug.
Whitey uqar-pu-q
Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG
said Whitey.

(4) “Isumaqarpunga ajuguuttissarnaviangntsigaq,
isuma-qar-pu-nga ajuguut-ssaq-si-navianngit-tuq
belief-have-IND.IV-1SG harm-prospective-come.to.be.certain.not.to-ELA_1.IV-3SG
“I am sure he won’t come to any harm,

akkaa Thorvald
akkaa Thorvald
uncle Torwal
Uncle Torwal.

(5) Taama silassurippisitsisigaq
taama silassurig-pasig-tigi-tuq
so be.smart-look.like-to.that.degree-ELA_1.IV-3SG
As smart as he looks,

ajuquuttissarnaviangntilaq.
ajuquut-ssaq-si-navianngit-la-q.
harm-prospective-come.to.be.certain.not.to-NEG-3SG
he certainly won’t come to any harm.”

§20. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

(1) “Well, I tell yuh,” (2) Torwal said, doubtfully. (3) “Since you feel like that about it we’ll let him go awhile. (4) We’ll be a-ridin’ over here every day for a while, anyways, so we can always shoot him later.”

§20. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 14)

(1) “Tusaariassasasutit.”
tusaa-riar-ssa-tu-tit
listen-stage.one-prospect-ELA_1.IV-2SG
“Now, listen up.”
(2) Thorvald uqarpug, suli qularpasilluni. if, fb, ff
Thorvald uqar-pu-q suli qular-pasig-llu-ni
Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG still doubt-sound.like-ELA\_3SG\_\_3
said Torwal, still sounding doubtful.

(3) Taama nuanaritigukku if
| taama nuannari-ti-gu-kku
so like-to.that.degree-HYP\_2SG.3
If you like him so much
ilagiinnarallassavarput. fb
| vd ilagiinnar-gallar-ssa-pa-rput
let.go-for.now-prospect-IND.TV-1PL.3SG
we’ll let him go for now.

(4) Ullut tamaasa maanngartussaagatta if
ulluq-t tamq-isa ma-ungaq-tar-tuq-ssaq-u-tta
day-PL.all-PL.\_here-DAT-n\_iv-habit-iv\_cn-prospective-be-FCT\_1PL.
We’ll be heading this way every day, so
pisariaqalissappaat
|| pi-tariaqar-lir-ssa-pp-at
v-be.necessary-begin-prospect-HYP\_3SG\_1
if it becomes necessary
aallaajumaarparput.
| vd aallaajumaar-pa-rput.
shoot-be.sure.to-IND.IV-1PL.3SG
we’ll shoot him later.

§21. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “But don’t go gettin’ your hopes up,” (2) he added. (3) “The chances are he won’t last a week. (4) An’ if he does he ain’t good for nothing except to eat up good grass an’ be a gunny sack full of trouble.”

(1) Isumalluarpallaallariaanalli,” fb
* isumalluar-pallaar-llariaana-k=li
be.hopeful-too.much-NEG.IMP.2SG=but
But don’t get your hopes up too much,”

(2) uqaatsini ilaavai. ib, fb
uqaasiq-ni ilaa-pa-i
word-3SG.PL add.to-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he added.

(3) “Sapaatilluunniit akunnira anigurunanggilaa. if, fb
* sapat-p=luunniit akunniq-a anigur-gunar-ngit-la-a
Sunday-SG.ERG=ALT interval-3SG\_\_3SG.3
“He probably won’t last even a week.
§22. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Nothing is going to happen to him,” (2) Whitey exclaimed. (3) “You’ll see.”

§22. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 14)
(1) “Ajuturnaviangilaq,”  
• ajutuur-naviangit-la-q
  come.to.harm-be.certain.not.to-IND.IV-3SG
  “He definitely won’t come to harm.”

(2) Whitey  nilliummirpuq.  
Whitey  nillir-jummir-pu-q
Whitey exclaimed.

(3) “Takussaqqaarpat!”  
• taku-ssaqqaar-pa-t
  see-be.sure.to-IND.IV-1SG.3SG
  “You’ll see!”

§23. ENGLISH ORIGINAL
(1) “Maybe,” (2) said Uncle Torwal, but Whitey could see that he was glad to have an excuse for   
not shooting the colt. (3) Uncle Torwal put his rifle back in the scabbard, and they sat for a minute   
watching the colt, and the rode off to attend to their other affairs.

§23. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 14)
(1) “Taamaaratarsinnaavuq.”  
• taama=it-ratar-sinna-pu-q
  thus=be-unexpectedly-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG
  “It might happen,”

(2) akkaa  Thorvald  uqarpuq,  
akkaa  Thorval  uqar-pu-q
uncle  Torval  say-IND.IV-3SG
said Uncle Torwal,
Whitey’illi takusinnaavaa
- Whitey-p=li taku-sinna-pa-a
  Whitey-SG.ERG=but see-be.possible-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
  but Whitey’illi could see that

  histi-p pi-arag-p aallaa-tariaar-ngit-niq-a
  horse-SG.ERG n-little-SG.ERG shoot-be.necessary-not-v

  hilumigut nuannaarutigalugu
  interior-3SG.σ-VIA be.happy-about-ELA.3SG.3SG
  in his heart he was happy not to have to shoot the colt and

  uqaasissarsiuinnartuq.

  uqaasiq-ssaq-siur-innar-tu-q
  word-prospective.seek-just-ELA.σ.3SG.3SG
  was just looking for something to say.

(4) Akkaa Thorvald’ip
  akkaa Thorvald-p
uncle Torval-SG.ERG
Uncle Torwal
quururtuuni issiaattami puuanut manguqqippaa, ib, mf, fb
quururtuuq-ni issia-ut-taq-mi puuq-a-nut mangut-qqig-pa-a
rifle-3SG.σ.SG sit-verbs-of-3SG.σ.SG.ERG bag-3SG.σ.SG-DAT put.in-again-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
put his rifle back in his scabbard

(5) minutsillu marlussuit histi piaraq isiginnaariaarlugu
    minuti-t=lu marlussuit histi pi-arag isiginnaar-riar-llu-gu
minute-PL=and a.few horse n-little look.at-and…-ELA.σ.3SG.3SG
and after looking for a few minutes at the colt
suliaassatik allat urnillugit ib
- suliaq-ssaq-tik alla-t urnig-llu-git
work-prospective-3PL.σ.PL other-PL approach-ELA.σ.3PL.σ
histirlutik qimaguppput. mf, fb
histi-r-llu-tik qimagug-pu-t
horse-do-ELA.σ.3PL.σ leave-IND.σ.3PL.σ
they rode off to attend to their other tasks.
§1. **ENGLISH ORIGINAL**

(1) Whitey and old Spot didn’t get out on the range so often now. (2) For there was hay to haul and ice to chop at the water holes, to say nothing of the business of going to school. (3) A needless waste of time, Whitey thought, but a fixed idea with Uncle Torwal. (4) Now and again on a Saturday Whitey would ride out, and although he seldom saw the blind colt he often saw traces of the bunch of mustangs. (5) Places where the snow was pawed up marked their grazing grounds. (6) Once he saw where they had stayed in a cottonwood grove during a blizzard, gnawing the bark off the twigs because the grass was covered up.

§1. **KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION** (p. 35)

(1) **Whitey Spot’ituqarlu**

Whitey Spot’-i-tuaq=lu

Whitey Spot-old=and

[Whitey and old Spot]T,

narsarsuarmakulavalallurunnaarput. fb

narsaq:-suaq-mut=kar-kula-pallaar-junnaar-pu-t. plain-great-sg.DAT=go-often-so.much-stop-IND.IV-3PL

didn’t go out on the range so often any more.

(2a) **Ivikkaniq nirsutaatimik nirukkaatissaannik**

- *ivigaq-nik nirsut-ut-mik nirukkaar-ssag-at-nik*

grass-PL.MOD animal-owned-3PL.T.PL.MOD feed-\text{\`{i}}ns-prospective-3PL.T.PL-MOD

assartuisarput fb

assartur-(ss)i-tar-pu-t transport-antip-habit-IND.IV-3PL

TheyT were regularly hauling hay fodder for the livestock

(2b) **tatsini siku asirurtirtariaqartarpaat**

- *tasiq-ni siku asirur-tir-tariaqar-tar-pa-at*

lake-PL.LOC ice break-gradually-have.to-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

routinely had to chop ice on the lakes

(2c) **Whitey’illumi**

Whitey’-p=lu=mi

Whitey-SG.ERG=and=FOC

and in addition WhiteyT

aamma atuarnini nakkutigisariaqarpaa ib, fb

aamma atuar-qiq-ni nakkuti-	ext{\`{i}}riaqar-pa-a also study-\text{\`{i}}ns-3SG.T.SG attend.to-have.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

also also had to attend to his3SG schoolwork.
(3a) *Atuarnini* Whitey’ip
*atuar-niq-ni* Whitey’i-p
study-\-n-\-3SG.T,SG Whitey-SG.ERG
His\(\uparrow\) schoolwork, Whitey\(\uparrow\)

- *asuli pi-vissaaiaataananaasuraa* mf, fb
  - useless v-\-loc-prospective-deprive.of-v\-ins-just-be-believe-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
  considered just a useless waste of time
  [lit. useless means of depriving him\(\uparrow\) of a location to do better things]

(3b) *akkaa Thorval’diilli killittassaanani* if, mf
- *akkaa Thorval’di-p=li killit-gaq-ssaq-u-na-ni*
  - uncle Torwal-ERG=but move-tv\-m-prospective-be-NON\(\uparrow\)-3SG\(\uparrow\)
  but Uncle Thorwal\(\uparrow\) was not to be persuaded

- *atuartariaqarnirartarpaa* fb
- *atuar-tariaaq-nirar-tar-pa-a*
  - study-have.to-say-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
  he\(\uparrow\) always said he\(\uparrow\) had to do his\(\uparrow\) schoolwork.
  [lit. declared him\(\uparrow\) obliged to study]

(4a) *Whitey arvininggurnikkut* if, ib
*Whitey arvininggurniq-kkut*
Whitey Saturday-SG.VIA
On Saturdays Whitey\(\uparrow\)

- *ilaannikkut histirtarpuq.* mf, fb
  - *ilaanni-kkut histi-r-tar-pu-q.*
  sometimes-SG.VIA horse-do-habit-IND.IV-3SG
  would sometimes go horse riding.

(4b) *histilu piaraq tappitsuq* if
*histi=lu piaraq tappig-it-tuq*
horse=and baby see.well-opp-iv\cn

- *qaqutiguinnaq takusaraluartlugu*
  - *qaqutigut=innaq taku-tar-galuar-llu-gu*
  occasionally=just see-habit-…but-ELA\(\uparrow\)-3SG\(\uparrow\)
  and although he\(\uparrow\) saw the blind colt\(\uparrow\) only occasionally,

- *nasarsuarmi ib*
  - *nasaq-:suaq-mi*
  plain-big-\-SG.\-LOC
  out on the range

- *histit nujuartat tumaat takugajuttarpai* mf, fb
  - *histi-t nujuartaq-t tumi-it taku-gajut-pa-i*
  horse-PL.ERG wild-PL.ERG track-3PL.\-PL see-often-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
  he\(\uparrow\) often saw tracks\(\uparrow\) of the bunch of mustangs.
Whenever he saw pawed up snow, he knew

he knew

where they were (currently) grazing.

One [day] in a little clearing among some trees

he saw [that]

because they were unable to graze in the deep snow cover

they had gnawed bark off some tree branches.

§2. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

(1) He often spoke to Uncle Torwal about the colt.
(2) “Too bad I didn’t shoot him when I had the chance,” Uncle Torwal would growl.
(3) “Prob’ly save him a heap of misery that way.”
(4) “He lived all summer without anything happening to him, didn’t he?” Whitey would always argue.
(5) “Yeah, sure,” Uncle Torwal would admit. (6) “But you gotta remember that summer ain’t winter out on the range. (7) ‘That little feller probably has fell in a snowdrift an’ either froze to death or got wolf et by now.”
§2. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 36)

(1) Histi piaraq
    histi pi-araq
    horse n-little

• akkaa Thorvald’imut iqqarturumasaqaa
  uncle Torval-SG.DAT talk.about-want-habit-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
  He often tried to speak about the colt to Uncle Torval.

(2a) “Ajuqaarmi aallaasimannginnakku.”
    ajur-qi-pu-q=mi aallaa-sima-ngit-ga-kku.”
    be.bad-emph-IND-IV-3SG=FOC shoot-prf-not-FCT-T-1SG.3SG
    “It’s too bad I haven’t shot him.”

(2b) akkaa Thorvald qatimaluttarpuq.
    akkaa Thorvald qatimalug-tar-pu-q.
    uncle Torwal growl-habit-IND.IV-3s
    Uncle Torwal would growl.

(3) “Aallaasimasuugukku
|| aallaa-sima-suu-gu-kku
    shoot-prf-remote.mod-HYP-T-1SG.3SG
    If I had shot him”,

    taamarsuaq naalliutqasimassanngikkaluarpuq.”
    thus=big suffering-have-prf-be.expected-not…but-IND.IV-3SG
    he_T wouldn’t have suffered so much.

(4a) “Kisianni sumik ajutuurani
    kisianni su-mik ajutuur-na-ni
    but what-SG.MOD have.accident-NON-T-3SG_T

    aasaq naavaa, ilaa?
    aasa-q naa-pa-a, ilaa?
    summer finish-IND.TV-3SG.3SG, right?
    But he_T did live through the summer without an accident, didn’t he?”

(4b) Whitey’ip tamatigut aksarpaa
    Whitey’i-p tama-tigut aki-tar-pa-a
    Whitey-SG.ERG all-PL.VIA answer-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
    WhiteyT would always answer.

(5a) “Taamaakkaluarpurmi.”
    • taama=it-galuar-pu-q=mi.”
    thus=be….but-IND.IV-3SG=FOC
    “That’s true enough.”
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(5b) 

\[ \text{akkaa Thorvald nassuirtarpq.} \]

if, fb

\[ \text{akkaa Thorvald nassuirtarpq.} \]

\[ \text{uncle Torvald explain-habit-IND.IV-3SG} \]

Uncle Torvald would explain [lit. nassu-ir ‘fog-remove’, cf. de-fog].

(6) 

\[ \text{“Iqqaama-sariaq-pa-t=li} \]

\[ \text{iqqaama-sariaq-pa-t=li} \]

recall-con-have.to-IND.TV-2SG.3SG\text{=but} \]

“But you must remember that

\[ \text{narsarsuarmi aasaq} \]

\[ \text{narsaq:suaq-mi aasaq} \]

plain-big-SG.LOC summer \]

out on the range, the summer

\[ \text{ukiuuniratut inngilluinnarmat.} \]

\[ \text{ukiuq-u-niq-a-tut it-ngit:-luinnar-mm-at.} \]

winter-be-V\text{\_3SG\_SG-EQU} be\text{-not-absolutely-FCT\_3SG\_} \]

is not at all like the winter.

(7) 

\[ \text{Nirsutirrannguakkuluk taanna appussaalluni} \]

\[ \text{nirsutaraq-nguaq-kuluk taanna appug-gaa-llu-ni} \]

animal-tiny\text{-little-poor} that (snow).trap-passive-ELA\text{\_3SG}\text{\_} \]

That poor little fellow, that trapped by the snow,

\[ \text{qiusimannngikkuni} \]

\[ \text{qiu-sima-ngit-gu-ni} \]

freeze.to.death-prf-not-HYP\text{\_3SG}\text{\_} \]

if he\text{\_} hasn’t frozen to death [yet],

\[ \text{amaqquini} \text{ niriniqariirsimassaaq} \]

\[ \text{amaqqu-nit nir-niqariir-simassaaq} \]

wolf-PL.ABL eat-passive-have.already-prf-prospect-IND.IV-3SG

he\text{\_} must’ve already got eaten by wolves.

§3. English Original

(1) “Why couldn’t we bring him to the ranch and put him in with the saddle horses here in pasture?” Whitey asked. (2) “Then nothing at all could happen, and I could put in my spare time taming him.”

(3) “If I ketch that colt on the ranch eatin’ good feed I’ll make wolf bait of him so quick it’ll make your head swim,” Uncle Torvald growled. (4) “It was bad enough that I let you talk me into lettin’ him stay out in the brakes,” he went on. (5) “Anyways, I doubt that he’s alive, by now.”

(6) “I haven’t seen him for quite a spell, but I don’t think he’s dead; he’s too smart,” White said, but his lip was kind of sagging and he was feeling pretty bad.
§3. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 36)

(1a) Suurmiuna angirlaallugu

why=FOC=this go.home-iv\tv-ELA₁-3SG₁

“So, let’s try to bring him home,”

histinut qimussirvigisakkatsinnut ilanngullugu
horse-PL.DAT ride-on-habit-tv

histi-nut qimussir-vigi-tar-gaq-tsin-nut ilanngut-llu-gu
add him to the horses we ride on

maani ivigarturittinarinngikkipput?

• maa-ni ivigaq-tur-tit-gaq-gi-niar-nngit-gi-pput?

here-LOC grass-use.as.cust-let-tv\rn-have.as-try-not-ELA₁.TV-1PL.3SG

and have him as [one more horse] we let graze here?”

(1b) Whitey apirivuq.
Whitey apiri-pu-q.
Whitey ask-IND.IV-3SG
Whitey asked.

(2a) "Taamaaliurtuugutta

thus=do-remote.modality-HYP₁-1PL

“If we were to do that,

sumik ajuqusirnaviannngikaluarpuq.
what-SG.MOD harm-come.to.be.sure.not.to-…but-IND.IV-3SG
then he’d be sure not to come to any harm

& su-ngit-vik-ga=lu tamaq-at atur-llu-gu
do.sth.not-\loc-1SG.sg=and all-SG₁ use-ELA₁-3SG₁

nujuallisassagaluarpara.”

& nuju-it-li-sar-ssa-galuar-pa-ra.”
be.wild-opp-become-try.to.cause-prospect-…but-IND.TV-1SG.3SG
and I would spend all my spare time trying to tame him.
“If I were to come across the colt here on our own land, eating our fine hay, 

[then] before you could even count to three 

I would make mincemeat out of him to feed to the wolves”

I just gave in to you,

which I now constantly regret.

he went on.

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(4c) “aammami qularilluinnarpara
  aamma=mi qulari-lluinnar-pa-ra
  also=emph doubt-absolutely-IND.TV-1SG.3SG
and anyway, I really doubt
  suli uumanirsuq.”
  suli uuma-nir-tu-q
still alive-x.wonder-ELA_{1}.IV-3SG_{⊥}
that he’s still alive.”

(5a) “Qangali takuara
  qanga=li taku-pa-ra
long.ago=since see-IND.TV-1SG.3SG
“It’s been a long time since I saw him

(5b) kisianni isumaqanngilanga tuqusimasuq
  kisianni isuma-qar-nngit-la-nga tuqu-sima-tu-q
but belief-have-not-NEG-1SG die-prf-ELA_{⊥}.IV-3SG_{⊥}
but I don’t think he’s dead.

(5c) tuquussallunimi silatuallaaqaaq,”
  tuqu-ssa-lu-ni=mi sila-tuuq-pallaar-qi-pu-q
die-prospect-ELA_{T-3SG_{T}}=for sense-have.much-too-very-IND.IV-3s
“For he’s much too smart to die (lit. to be expected to die),”

(5d) Whitey uqarpuq.
Whitey uqar-pu-q
Whitey say-IND.IV-3s
said Whitey,
qarluni sajutsilaanngitsuurnagit.
qarlunq-ni sajut-tit-laar-ngitsuur-na-git
lip-3SG_{T}.PL tremble-let-a.bit-fail-NON_{T-3PL_{⊥}}
…unsuccessfully trying to keep a slight tremor from his lips.