Kalaallisut: Eskimo-Aleut
From
Kalaaq miiraqataalu
("Kalaaq and his friends")

Text:

Transcription, Glosses & Translation by Maria Bittner (11/19/2007): Kalaallisut has a great deal of fusion. For clarity, line 1 is in the modern Kalaallisut orthography minus allophonic variants (e, o, j 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**:
  - ⊥ = background, 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, rn = 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.
§1. (p. 19)

(1) “HILIKUPTIRI!! HILIKUPTIRI!!”
“HELICOPTER!! HELICOPTER!!”

Miiqqat ataatsikkut suaartalirput
miiraq-t ataasiq-kkut suaar-tar-lir-pu-t
child-PL one-VIA shout-habit-begin-IND.IV-3PL
The children began to shout all together.

(2) Tassamiuna kiisami tikilirsuq,
tassami=una kiisami tikit-lir-tu-q
indeed=this at.last arrive-begin-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
And indeed, it was coming at last,

nalunaaqquttap akunniranik kingusinaarluni.
nalunaaqqutaq-p akunniq-a-nik kingusinaar-llu-ni
clock-SG.ERG interval-3SG₁.SG-MOD v.late-ELA₁-3SG₁
an hour late.

(3) Aanip tusarnaaqqaarpaa.
Aani-p tusarnaar-qqaar-pa-a
Aani-SG.ERG hear-first-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Aani had heard it first.

(4) “Hilikuptiri!!”
“Helicopter!!”

Miiqqat ataatsikkut suaartaqqilirput
miiraq-t ataasiq-kkut suaar-tar-qqig-lir-pu-t
child-PL one-VIA shout-habit-again-begin-IND.IV-3PL
The children again shouted all together.

(5) Sulili nuinani avanngaannarsuarlu
sulil=li nuin-na-ni ava-nnga-innaq=:suaq=lu
still=but appear-NON₁-3SGΤ north-from-just-big=and
Before it even appeared, far away from the north,
nipaa irsirpuq.
nipi-a irsir-pu-q
sound-3SG₁.SG become.perceptible-IND.IV-3SG
one could hear the sound of it.

(6) Innaangarnup qaqqaata qulaatigut
Innaanganiq-p qaqqaq-ata qula-a-tigut
Innaanganiq-SG.ERG mountain-3SG₁.SG.ERG above-3SG₁.SG-via

ikittaqattaartuq nuivuq
ikit-tar-qattaar-tu-q nuivuq
light.up-habit-rhythmic.process-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁ appear-IND.IV-3SG
Then it appeared above the Innaanganiq mountain, with its lights flashing;
aappalaartumik  qursummillu
aappalaar-tuq-mik  qursuk-mik=lu
be.red-iv\cn-SG.MOD  green-SG.MOD=and

ikittaqattaartuqarluni
ikit-tar-qattaar-tuq-llu-nilu
light.up-habit-rhythmic.process-iv\cn-have-ELA_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}

(7)  Miqqat  inirsimasullu  pisiniarvik  saniuqqullu
miiraq-t  inirsima-tuq=lu  pisiniarvik  saniuqqu-lu-gu
child-PL  be.adult-iv\cn=and  store  pass.by-ELA_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}

The children and the grown-ups went past the store and

mittarviup  qanittuanut.
mit-tar-vik-p  qanig-tuq-a-nut
land-habit-iv\loc-SG.ERG  be.near-iv\rn-3SG_{\tau}.SG-DAT

quirsuup  iqqaanut,  ingirlaarput.
quirsaq-p  iqqa-a-nut  ingirla-ar-pu-t
warehouse-SG.ERG  vicinity-3SG_{\tau}.SG-DAT  go.on-en.masse-IND.IV-3PL

went on together toward a spot right by the landing area, near the warehouse,

tassanilu  iqimattannngurlutik  katirsullutik.
tassa-ni=lu  iqimat-taq-llu-t-
that-LOC=and  gather-tv\n-become-ELA_{\tau}-3PL_{\tau}
and gathered there into a group.

(8)  Qulimiguulik  milirami  irsigunnaavippuq.
qulimiguulik  mit-lir-ga-mi  irsig-gunnaar-vig-pu-q
helicopter  land-begin-FCT_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}  be.perceptible-cease-really-IND.IV-3SG

When the helicopter came down for the landing, it became completely invisible.

(9)  Aput  tiqqarmat
aput  tiqqar-mm-at
snow  fly.up-FCT_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}

With the snow blowing up and flying around,

nipaanna  kisimi  irsippuq.
nipi-innaq-a  kisi-mi  irsig-pu-q
sound-just-3SG_{\tau}.SG  alone-3SG_{\tau}  be.perceptible-IND.IV-3SG

only the noise was perceptible.

§2 (p. 19)

(1)  Maskiina  unimmat  inuit  qanillivaat.
maskiina  unig-mm-at  inuk-t  qanig-li-pa-at
engine  stop-FCT_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}  person-PL  be.close.get.more-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

When the engine stopped, people went up closer.
(2) Pisiniarvimmi sulisut
    pisiniarvik-mi suli-tuq-t
store-SG.LOC work-iv\cn-PL
Store employees

    qamutit amirnik nassiussassanik
    qamut-t amiq-nik nassiut-gaq-ssaq-nik
sledPL skin-PL.MOD send.to-tv\rn-prospective-PL.MOD

allakanillu puunik usisut
allagaq-nik=lu puuq-mik usi-tuq-t
letter-PL.MOD=and bag-SG.MOD be.loaded-iv\cn-PL.

    kaamisarlugit aqquppaat.
    kaamisar-llu-git aqqu-pa-at
push.in.front-ELA$_3$-PL$_1$ bring.down-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
brought down a sled, loaded with skins to be sent out and the letter bag,
pushing the sled in front of them.

(3) Tassa allaaqqiliruni usissai.
tassa allaar-qqig-lir-gu-ni usi-ssaq-i
that leave-again-begin-HYP$_3$-SG$_T$ load-prospective-3SG$_T$.PL
These were [things] to be loaded onto the helicopter when it was about to go back.

§3 (p. 19)
(1) Ilaasut niusut sisamaannaapput:
ila-u-tuq-t niu-tuq-t sisamat-innaq-u-pu-t
part-be-iv\cn-PL get.out.of.vehicle-iv\cn-PL four-just-be-IND.IV-3PL
Only four people came out of the helicopter:

    aquttuq, maskiinalirisuq, Angutaaluk,
aqut-tuq maskiina-liri-tuq Angutaaluk
steer-iv\cn engine-work.with-iv\cn Angutaaluk
the pilot, the mechanic, Angutaaluk

allalu tilivuniminnguq iluarsaajarturtuq.
alla=lu telephone-mik=guuq iluarsar-(ss)i-jartut-tuq
other=and telephone-SG.MOD=RPT repair-antip-come.to-iv\cn
and one other [man], who was said to have come to repair the telephone.

(2) Irniinnaq miiqqat Angutaaluk unnguppaat.
irniinnaq miiraq-t Angutaaluk unngut-pa-at
immediately child-PL.ERG Angutaaluk surround-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Immediately, the children surrounded Angutaaluk [local older man, childless
but fond of children and treated like a grandfather by all the children in the village].

(3) Qangalilimi takugamikku takummaapput.
qangali=li=mi tuku-ga-mikku takummaa-pu-t
long.ago=since=FOC see-FCT$_3$-3PL$_T$.3SG$_T$ rejoice.to.see.again-IND.IV-3PL
It was so long since they’d seen him that they rejoiced to see him again.
§4 (p. 19)

(1) *Pisiniarviup* niuqutissai
    *pisiniarvik-p* niuqut-ssaq-i
    store-SG.ERG merchandise-prospective-3SG₁.PL
    Merchandise for the store,
    
    *puurtukkat* allaakkallu
    *puur-tur-gaq-t* allagar-t=lu
    wrap.up-process-tv\rm=PL letter-PL=and
    parcels and letters,
    
    *qamutinut* ikiurarniqarput,
    *qamut-nut* iki-ur-ar-niqar-pu-t
    sled-PL.DAT go.onboard-dist₁-dist₁-passive-IND.IV-3PL
    were loaded, bit by bit, onto the sled
    
    *qulimiguuliullu* aallassalluni
    *qulimiguulik-p=lu* aallar-ssa-lu-ni
    helicopter-SG.ERG=and leave-prospect-ELA₁-3SG₁
    and when the helicopter was leaving and
    
    *maskiina* aallartimmagu
    *maskiina* aallar-tit-mm-agu
    engine set.out-cause-FCT₁-3SG₁.3SG
    turned on the engine
    
    *inuit* atirviurtut majuaappput.
    *inuk-t* atirviur-tuq-t majuar-at-pu-t
    person-PL come.down.to.meet-iv\m=PL go.up-simultaneously-IND.IV-3PL
    the people who had come down to meet it all went back up.

(2) *Pisiniarvimmiullu*
    *pisiniarvik-miu-t=lu*
    store-inhabitant=PL.ERG=and
    And the store employees
    
    *qamutit* pisiniarviup tungaanut
    *qamut-t* pisiniarvik-p tungi-a-nut
    sled-PL store-SG.ERG direction-3SG₁.SG-DAT push.in.front-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
    pushed the sled in front of them toward the store.

§5 (p. 19)

(1) *Miiqqat* Angutaaluk majuussiqatigaat.
    *miraq-t* Angutaaluk majuar-ut-(ss)i-qatigi-pa-at
    child-PL.ERG Angutaaluk go.up-iv\tv=antip-with-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
    The children helped Angutaaluk to carry up [his luggage].
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(2) Niuvviqataasut allakanik takuniaallutik if,
niuvviir-qat-u-tuq-t allagaq-nik taku-niar-atllu-tik
go.to.meet-fellow-be-iv\cn-PL letter-PL.MOD see-try-simult-ELA\-3PL\[t
pisiniarvimmut ingilaarput. mf, fb
pisiniarvik-mut ingila-ar-pu-t
store-SG.DAT go.on-en.masseIND.IV-3PL
Some people who had come to meet the helicopter went to the store to see
if there were any letters.

(3) Qulimiguullip nipaa aanngariarturpuq. if, fb
qulimiguulik-p nip-i-a aanngar-riartur-pu-q
helicopter-SG.ERG sound-3SG,SG disappear-graduallyIND.IV-3SG
The sound of the helicopter gradually faded [into the distance].

(4) Miqqat
miiraq-t
child-PL
The children
nutaarsiassarujussuarmik Angutaalummut unnirsirput mf, fb
nutaaq-si-aq-ssaq-rujussuaq-mik Angutaaluk-mut unnirsiur-pu-t
new-get-IV\theme-prospective-hugeSG.MOD Angutaaluk-DAT tell-IND.IV-3PL
told Angutaaluk the great news,
nanussimasut uqaluttuaralugit. ff
nanuq-si-sima-tuq-t uqaluttuari-llu-git
bear-get-prf-IV\cn-PL tell.about-ELA\-3PL,PL
talking about the [two hunter]s who had [each] caught a bear.
[one of the hunters was the father of Bertil, the other, of Kaalaq—see §6–7 below]

§6 (p. 19)
(1) “Nanurturiartussaatinnnguuq”,
nanuq-tur-riartur-ssa-pu-tiit=guuq
bear-use.as.customary-go.to-prospect-IND.IV-2SG=RPT
“You are to come and eat some bear meat, [my dad] said”

(2) Birtiliip taama uqarvigissamaartigalugu if,
Birtiliit-p taama uqar-vigi-ssamaar-tigi-llu-gu
Birtil-SG.ERG thus say-to-plan-TV-\TV'-ELA\-3SG,S
Birtil, who had been planning to say this
puiguraluarsimallugu uqarvigaa. ib, fb
puigur-galuar-sima-llu-gu uqar-vigi-pa-a
forget…-but-prf-ELA\-3SG say-to-IND-TV-3SG,3SG
but had forgotten [until now], told him.
§7 (p. 20)
(1) “Qaarsilajunnaaruinnguu uugatsinnut aamma”, if, ib, fb
    “qaarsila-junmaar-gu-vit=guuq uagut-nut aamma”
    “feel.full-no.longer-HYP\_2SG=RPT we-DAT also
    “And when you no longer feel full, [you’re to come] to us too, [my dad] said”

(2) Kalaap nangippaa. if, fb
    Kalaaq-p nangit-pa-a
    Kalaaq-SG.ERG continue-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
    continued Kalaaq.

§8 (p. 20)
(1) “Qujanaruuq, fb
    qujanaq=guuq
    thanks=RPT
    “Please say thank you [to your fathers],

    immaqa aatsaat aqagu, ff
    immaqa aatsaat aqagu
    maybe first next.day
    maybe first tomorrow,

    tassami aatsaat aqagu kaalissagunarama.
    tassa=mi aatsaat aqagu kaalir-ssa-gunar-ga-ma
    that=for first next.day get.hungry-prospect-be.likely-FCT\_1SG
    for I will probably first feel hungry tomorrow.

(2) Miiqqat, iipilisissukkassi, if
    miiraq-t iipili-si-ssut-ga-ssi
    child-PL apple-get-iv\_TV-FCT\_1PL.2PL
    Children, I have got apples for you,

    isirussi tuniumaarpassi” ib, fb
    isir-gu-ssi tuni-umaar-pa-ssi
    enter-HYP\_2PL give-be.promised-IND.TV-1SG.2PL
    when you come in, I’ll give [them] to you.”,

(3) Angutaaluup Nukannguaq tasiurlugu if
    Angutaaluuk-p Nukannguaq tasiur-llu-gu
    Angutaaluuk-SG.ERG Nukannguaq lead.by.hand-ELA\_3SG
    Angutaaluuk, leading Nukannguaq by the hand,

    qungujulalluni uqarvigai. mf, fb
    qungufula-llu-ni uqar-vigi-pa-i
    smile-ELA\_3SG\_T say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
    told them with a smile.
Because Nukannguaq was named after one of his dead relatives,

qujagisurujussuugaa.

Because Nukannguaq was named after one of his dead relatives,

qujagi-gaq-rujussuaq-u-gi-a
favor-tv\rn\n-huge-be-ELAₜ-TV-3SG.3SG

sheₜ was his favorite child.

Nukannguaq was
tassaa

Nukannguaq was

Birtiliip nukaa sisamanik ukiulik.
Birtiliip-SG.ERG nuka-3SG,SG four-PL.MOD year-with
Birtil’s younger sister and she was four years old.

When the children heard about the apples,

imminnut qiviarlutik qungujuruupput,
self-PL-DAT turn.to.look.at-ELAₜ-3PLₜ smile-a.little-rcp-IND.IV-3PL

they turned to look at each other and smile a little;

tassamiuna
indeed=this
indeed,

taamannak Angutaaluup uqarnissaq ilimagigaat.

thus Angutaaluuk-SG.ERG say-v\n\n-prospective-3SG,SG expect-ELAₜ-TV-3PL.3SG

they had expected Angutaaluuk to say something like that.

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¹ nuka ‘younger {sister, brother} of a big {sister, brother}’
(2) Isiramik

isir-ga-mik
enter-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}

When they entered [Angutaaluk’s home]

Angutaaluup pisattani inissiriiramagit

Angutaaluk-p pi-gaq-taq-ni ini-ssit-riir-ga-migit

Angutaaluk-SG.ERG own-tv\textsubscript{\textsc{m}}-of-3SG\textsubscript{T,PL} place-assign-have.already-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T,3PL}

and after Angutaaluk had put his things away in their places

Nukannguaq piqquaa

nuka-nunguaq pi-qqu-pa-a

nuka-little v-tell.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

he told Nukannguaq

miqqat iipilinik agguaqqullugit.

miiraq-t iipili-nik agguar-qqu-llu-git

child-PL apple-PL.MOD share.out-tell.to-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3PL⊥

to divide the apples among the children.

(3) Tassani iluarusungaarlutik

tassa-ni iluarusug-ngaar-llu-tik

that-LOC enjoy-very.much-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}

iipilituuttuatsianngurput

iipili-tur-ut-tuatsianngur-pu-t

apple-use.as.customary-together-get.very.absorbed.in-IND.IV-3PL

So there they sat, enjoying themselves greatly and eating apples,

pisimasunillu,

pi-sima-tuq-nik=lu

v-prf-iv\textsubscript{\textsc{m}}\backslash cn-PL.MOD=and

Angutaaluup aallaqqanirmini tusarsimangisaanik,

Angutaaluk-p aallar-qqa-niq-mi-ni tusar-sima-ngit-gaq-a-nik

Angutaaluk-SG.ERG leave-state-v\textsc{m}in-3SG\textsubscript{T,SG.LOC hear-prf-not-tv\textsc{m}rn-3SG\textsubscript{⊥,SG.MOD}

uqaluttuullugu.

uqaluttuar-ut-llu-gu
tell.stories-IV\textsc{tv}-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}

and telling Angutaaluk about everything that had happened during his absence.