

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Piniartup uqaluttuaa

"A hunter's story"

AUTOBIOGRAPHY:

D. Sommer et al, eds, 1972, *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit* 1, pp. 62–64, Ministeriet for Grønland.

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by M. Bittner (11/23/2005): Transcription and glosses as in Bittner (2005) 'Future Discourse in a Tenseless Language' *Journal of Semantics* 22(4). Paragraphs (§) as in the original.

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 (\top);

ib: elaborate \top and/or:

(i) set up a secondary topical referent (\top'), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (\perp);

mf: background information about main verbal comment;

fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (*if*- \top & *ib*- \top' if present; otherwise \top from last S)

ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (\perp') 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) Ila-an-ni ullaa-kkut iliqqu-t-tut *if, ib*
part-3p₁.sg-LOC morning-sg.VIA habit-1s.sg-EQU
One morning as usual...
- qajar-tur-lu-nga aallar-pu-nga *mf, fb*
kayak-use-ELA₊-1s set.off-IND.IV-1s
...I set out in my kayak
- angu-niar-lu-nga *ff*
catch.sth-intend- ELA₊-1s
...to catch something.
- (2) Ukia-u-vu-q. *fb*
fall-be-IND.IV-3s
It was fall.
- (3) Qatsu-nga-mm-at aarliri-na-nga *if, ib*
(wind)calm.down-result-FCT₊-3s₊ be.anxious-NON₊-1s
It was calm, so I wasn't anxious, and...
- kangi-mut unga-var-tir-pu-nga. *mf, fb*
east-sg.DAT far.side-move.toward-bit.by.bit-IND.IV-1s
...kept going farther and farther out east.

- (4) Siku-*alu-qar-pu-q* *ice-a.few-have-IND.IV-3s* *fb*
 There was a bit of ice...
- nalu-nar-a-ni kangirluk Sirmi-lik *ff*
not.know-inducing-NON_T-3s_T fiord.sg glacier-with.sg
 ...undoubtedly, the Glacier Fiord...
- siku-nik ani-sit-si-sima-su-q.
ice-pl.MOD go.out-cause-apass-prf-ELA_L.IV-3s_L
 ...had [*calved and*] pushed out some ice.
- (5) Siama-su-nik anniru-su-nik ilulia-qar-pu-q. *mf, fb*
scattered-iv\cn-pl.MOD major-iv\cn-pl.MOD iceberg-have-IND.IV-3s
 There were some scattered giant icebergs.
- (6) Sivi-su-laa-mik qama-riir-lu-nga *if*
duration-long-a.bit-sg.MOD lie.in.wait-final.result-ELA_T-1s
 After lying in wait for a fairly long time...
- natsir-mik pi-sa-qar-pu-nga. *mf, fb*
saddleback-sg.MOD get-tv\rn-have-IND.IV-1s
 ...I got a saddleback seal [*phoca hispida*].
- (7) Sanarvi-riar-lu-gu *if*
make.ready.to.tow-stage- ELA_T-3s_L
 In preparation for towing...
- kalu-si-up-pa-ra. *fb*
tow.line-get-iv\TV-IND.TV-1s.3s
 ...I attached a towline.
- (8) Taava qama-qqi-lir-pu-nga *fb*
then lie.in.wait-again-begin-IND.IV-1s
 Then I got back to lying in wait...
- niriul-lu-nga pi-sa-ra aapp-(l)ir-umaar-lu-gu. *fb*
hope-ELA_T-1s get-tv\rn-1s.sg another-add.to-x.hope- ELA_T-3s_L
 ...hoping to add another one to my catch.

- (9) Kigaat-su-mik paar-iar-tar-lu-nga *if*
move.slowly-iv\cn-sg.MOD paddle.kayak-stage-habit- ELA_T-1s
 Paddling along with slow paddle strokes...
- ingirla-rusaar-lu-nga *ib*
travel-without.haste- ELA_T-1s
 ...without haste
- malugi-lir-pa-ra *fb*
sense-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
 ...I began to feel
- suurlu uppati-kka nillir-tit-tu-t. *ff*
as.if thigh-1s.pl be.cold-get-ELA_L.IV-3p_L
 ...as if my thighs had gotten cold.
- (10) Paasi-lir-pa-ra *fb*
understand-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
 I realized
- qaja-ra imma-lir-su-q. *ff*
kayak-1s.sg take.on.water-begin-ELA_L.IV-3s_L
 ...that my kayak had started taking on water.
- (11) Irniinnaq *ff*
immediately
 Immediately,
- nuna-p tunga-a-nut aallar-pu-nga *mf, fb*
land-sg.ERG direction-3s_L.sg-DAT set.off-IND.IV-1s
 ...I set off for land...
- niriul-lu-nga qaina-ma ussi-in-nir-a *ff*
hope-ELA_T-1s kayak-1s.sg.ERG be.tight-contrary-v\cn-3s_L.sg
 ...hoping that the leak in my kayak
- immat-tar-vi-a —
 — *take.on.water-habit-loc.of-3s_L.sg* —
 — the place where it was taking on water —
- annikit-su-inna-u-su-q.
be.small-iv\cn-just-be-ELA_L.IV-3s_L
 was just a small [cut].
- (12) Qanuq i-li-llu-ni *if*
how be-get-ELA_T-3s_T
 How did it happen that
- tassanggaannaq immat-ta-lir-sima-nir-pu-q. *mf, fb*
suddenly take.on.water-habit-begin-prf-x.wonder-IND.IV-3s
 ...it suddenly started taking on water, [I] wondered.

- (13) Qajar-tur-til-lu-nga taama=i-li-sima-ssa-u-q. *if, fb*
kayak-use-DUR-ELA_T-1s thus=be-get-prf-x.expect-IND.IV-3s
 It must have happened while I was paddling around.
- (14) Immaqa *if*
maybe
 Maybe...
- siku-a-lui-t arla-at *ib*
ice-young-bad-pl.ERG one.of.several-3p_L.sg
- qaninng-uur-sima-ga-kku. *fb*
be.too.close-happen-prf-FCT_T-1s.3s_L
 ...I had inadvertently got too close to one of the [sheet]s of bad new ice.
- §2.**
- (1) Tuavi=innaq tim-mut ingirila-til-lu-nga *if*
hurry=V shore-sg.DAT travel-DUR-ELA_T-1s
 While I was racing for the shore...
- annilaar-pu-nga *fb*
be.terrified-IND.IV-1s
 ...I was terrified
- paasi-ga-kku *ff*
understand-FCT_T-1s.3s
 ...when I realized
- qaja-ra pukki-li-su-q
kayak-1s.sg be.low-get.more-ELA_L-3s_L
 ...that my kayak had gotten lower
- uppati-kka=lu imma-mi=i-lir-su-t.
thigh-1s.pl=and sea-sg.LOC=be-begin-ELA_L.IV-3p_L
 ...and my thighs were now in sea water.
- (2) Kali-ta-ra ipirar-pa-ra *if, fb*
tow-tv\`rn-1s.sg let.go-IND.TV-1s.3s
 I let go of the [seal] I was towing,
- kaluta-a savim-mik kipi-innar-lu-gu. *ff*
tow.line-3s_L.sg knife-sg.MOD cut-just-ELA_T-3s_L
 ... just cut the tow line with a knife.

- (3a) Suka-niru-lir-aluar-pu-nga, *fb*
be.fast-more-begin-...but-IND.IV-1s
I did become faster
- (3b) kisianni *if*
but
...but
- ajurna-qa-u-q *fb*
be.impossible-very-IND.IV-3s
...it was quite impossible...
- (3c) nuna angu-na-gu *if*
land.sg reach-NON_T-3s_↓
- kivi-su-ssa-nngur-pu-nga. *fb*
sink-iv\cn-prospective-become-IND.IV-1s
... — I was going to sink before reaching land.
(*lit.* had become one expected to sink,
while reaching land was [still] a non-fact)
- (4) Sani-mut qiviar-lu-nga *if*
side-sg.DAT look.toward-ELA_T-1s
Looking to one side...
- taku-lir-pa-ra *fb*
see-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
...I spotted
- iluliar-sua-q purtusuu-q *ff*
ice.berg-big-sg high -sg
...a giant iceberg, high ...
- kisianni illu-a tungi-mi-gut
but one.side-3s_↓.sg direction-3s_T.sg-VIA
- pukkit-su-mik illirna-lik.
low-iv\cn-sg.MOD ledge-with.sg
...but with a low ledge along one side.

- (5) Navia-nar-tu-a puiur-lu-gu *if*
fear-inducing-iv\cn-3s_⊥.sg forget-ELA_τ-3s_⊥
 Ignoring the danger (*lit.* forgetting its fearsome-ness)...
 [*giant icebergs are notoriously unstable, prone to avalanche-type behavior*]
- tunga-a-nut aallar-pu-nga *mf, fb*
direction-3s_⊥.sg-DAT set.off-IND.IV-1s
 ...I set off towards it
- illirna-a-nut niu-llu-nga *ff*
ledge-3s_⊥.sg-DAT get.out.of.kayak-ELA_τ-1s
 ...and got out onto the ledge...
- qaja-ra kivi-li-vis-su-q.
kayak-1s.sg sink-begin-really-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...just as my kayak was really beginning to sink.
- §3.**
- (1) Niu-ga-ma *if*
get.out.of.kayak-FCT_τ-1s
 When I got out...
- qaja-ra majurat-ti-riar-lu-gu *ib*
kayak-1s.sg kayak.go.ashore-cause-stage-ELA_τ-3s_⊥
 ...I pulled up my kayak behind me and...
- ima-ir-pa-ra. *fb*
content-remove-IND.TV-1s.3s
 ...poured out the [water].
- (2) Iqqis-si-llu-ni unin-nga-ni-ssa-mut *if*
be.calm-get-ELA_τ-3s_τ stop-result-v\~n-prospective-sg.DAT
- pi-vvi-ssa-qa-nngi-la-q. *fb*
do.sth-loc.of-prospective-have-not-IRR-3s
 There was no time (*lit.* no location to do sth)
 to calm down and rest.
- (3) Qajar-tur-til-lu-nga tama-tigut *if, ib*
kayak-use-DUR-ELA_τ-1s all-pl.VIA
 When I am out in a kayak, I always...
- miqquti-nik, ujallu-nik ilaa-ssa-mil=lu *mf*
needle-pl.MOD thread-pl.MOD patch-prospective-sg.MOD=and
- nassar-tar-pu-nga *fb*
carry-habit-IND.IV-1s
 ...carry needles, thread, and something to patch it.

- (4) Taakku tigu-riar-lu-git tuavi=innaq *if, ib*
those take-stage-ELA_T-3p_⊥ hurry=V
I grabbed those ¹ and, hurrying as much as I could,
alin-nir-a ilaa-lir-pa-ra. *mf, fb*
tear-v\N-3s_⊥.sg patch-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
...began to patch up the tear.
- (5) Taki-laar-tu-mik alin-ni-qar-pu-q *mf, fb*
be.long-a.bit-iv\cn-sg.MOD tear-v\N-have-IND.IV-3s
There was a fairly long tear
nalunar-a-ni *ff*
be.uncertain-NON_T-3s_T
...clearly,
siku-mut immaqa=luunniit siku-ssa-mut
ice-sg.DAT maybe=or ice-prospective-sg.DAT
kallun-nir-mi-gut taama=i-li-sima-su-q.
bump-v\N-3s.sg-VIA thus=be-get-prf-ELA_L.IV-3s_⊥
...acquired by bumping into some ice or maybe semi-formed ice.
- (6) Ilulia-q *if*
iceberg-sg
An iceberg...
qajar-tur-lu-ni qaning-uur-lu-gu *ib*
kayak-use-ELA_T-3s_T be.too.close-happen-ELA_T-3s_⊥
uluria-nar-ta-qi-su-q,
dread-inducing-habit-very-iv\cn-sg
..., which is normally very terrifying if one happens to get too close in a kayak,
qujamasul-lu-nga annav-vi-t-tut *mf*
thankful- ELA_T-1s be.saved-loc.of-1s.sg-EQU
isigi-lir-pa-ra. *fb*
look.at-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
...I [now] thankfully began to regard it as my saving ground.

¹ The anaphor *taakku* refers to a particular group, in contrast to *tamakku*, which refers to a kind:

- (i) *A group of hunters in kayaks are startled by a strange cry. One older man says:*
A nasty walrus which has lost its baby is about to attack us.
Aavir-suu-p piara-arsir-sima-su-p saassun-nia-lir-pa-atigut.
walrus-big.bad-sg.ERG baby-lose-prf-iv\cn-sg.ERG attack-intend-begin-IND.TV-3s.1p

They are extremely dangerous.

Tamakku uluria-nar-tu-rujussu-u-ppu-t.

those_{kind} fear-inducing-iv\cn-extremely-be-IND.IV-3p

[Brandt, O. 1971. *Qooqa*, p. 30]

- (7) Kisianni *if*
but
 But
- iqqarsar-ni-ssa-mut pi-vvi-ssa-qa-nngi-la-q. *mf, fb*
think-v\l-n-prospective-sg.DAT do.sth-loc.of-prospective-have-not-IRR-3s
 ...there was no time to think
- tuavi=innaq sulia-ra inir-niar-tariaqar-a-kku. *ff*
hurry=only job-1s.sg finish-try-need-FCT_T-1s.3s
 ...for I had to try to finish up the job in a hurry.
- §4.
- (1) Mirsu-ga-ra ini-li-vil-lu-gu *if*
sew-tv\l-rn-1s.sg finish-begin-really-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 Just as I was beginning to finish up my sewing...
- pi-lir-pa-ra *fb*
do.sth-begin-IND.TV-1s.3s
 ...I got a (sense)...
- suurlu=una *ff*
as.if=that
 ...as if
- ilulia-q niu-qq-a-vi-ga uvi-lir-su-q.
iceberg-sg get.out.of.kayak-result-loc.of-1s.sg lean-begin-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...the iceberg I was on was beginning to lean.
- (2) Tassa immaqa *if, ib*
that.is maybe
 This meant, [it] might
- asirur-nia-lir-pu-q. *fb*
break-be.about.to-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...be just about to break up.
- (3) Alla-tut ajurna-qi-mm-at *if*
other-sg.EQU be.impossible-very-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥
 Since it was absolutely impossible to do anything else, ...
- tuavi=innaq qaja-ra singi-riar-lu-gu *ib*
hurry=∇ kayak-1s.sg slide.into.water-stage-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 ...I slid my kayak down into the water as fast as I could,
- pi-rsua-vil-lu-nga iki-vu-nga *mf, fb*
do.sth-barely.manage-really-ELA_T-1s get.into.kayak-IND.IV-1s
 ...just barely managed to get in

- avalal-lu-nga=lu *ff*
set.off.from.land-ELA_T-1s=and
...and pushed off.
- (4) Kingu-mut qiviar-na-nga *if*
rear-sg.DAT look.toward-NON_T-1s
Without looking back...
- tamaviat *ib*
with.all.might
...with all my might
- qimaa-llu-nga paar-pu-nga. *mf, fb*
flee-ELA_T-1s paddle.kayak-IND.IV-1s
...I paddled to get away.
- (5) Pisur-paluu-p tusaa-sa-ma malli-l=lu *if*
event-sound-sg.ERG hear-TV\ʁn-1s.sg.ERG wave-pl.ERG=and
The sound I heard [*like a rifle shot*] and the waves [*huge & turbulent*]
- uqaluttuup-pa-annga *fb*
tell-IND.TV-3p.1s
told me...
- ilulia-q asirur-tu-q. *ff*
iceberg-sg break-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
...that the iceberg had broken up.
- (6a) Aatsaat malli-t inu-riar-tu-tut i-lir-m-ata *if*
first wave-pl fall.short-stage-iv\cn-EQU be-begin-FCT_⊥-3p_⊥
[But] it was not until [I] had [put] the waves farther behind me that...
- kingu-mut qiviar-pu-nga, *mf, fb*
rear-sg.DAT look.toward-IND.IV-1s
...I looked back
- (6b) taku-va-ra=lu *fb*
see-IND.TV-1s.3s=and
...and saw that...
- iluliar-sua-q niu-qqa-vi-ga *ff*
iceberg-big-sg get.out.of.kayak-result-loc.of-1s.sg
...the giant iceberg where I had gotten out of [my] kayak...
- marlu-nngur-lu-ni avis-sima-su-q.
two-become-ELA_T-3s_T split-prf-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
...had split up in two.

- (7) Iqqa-a-ni=lu if
vicinity-3s.sg-LOC=and
 And all around it
- siku-mirngi-t asiqqu-ku-t amirla-ssusi-i. fb
ice-stuff-pl.ERG broken.up-remnant-pl.ERG be.many-iv\ʁn-3p_⊥.sg
 ...what a mess of residual broken up bits of ice!
- (8) Amiila-ummir-pu-nga. fb
be.horrified-suddenly-IND.IV-1s
 I felt a sudden shudder of horror.
- (9) Kisianni kigaa-llan-na-nga if, ib
but be.slow-get.more-NON_τ-1s
 But without slowing down...
- tim-mut nuna-p tunga-a-nut paar-pu-nga mf, fb
shore-sg.DAT land-sg.ERG direction-3s_⊥.sg-DAT paddle-IND.IV-1s
 ...I [kept on] paddling shorewards, toward the land,
- suli qaja-ra immat-tar-m-at ff
still kayak-1s.sg take.on.water-habit-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥
 ...for my kayak was still taking on water
- mirsur-ni-ra inaar-tariaqar-a-kku.
sew-v\ʁn-1s.sg finish.up-need-FCT_τ-1s.3s
 ...so I needed to finish up my sewing.
- (10) Suli immap-pallaar-na-nga if
still take.on.water-too.much-NON_τ-1s
- nuna angu-va-ra mf, fb
land.sg reach-IND.TV-1s.3s
 I reached the shore
 before I had taken on too much water
 (*lit.* while my taking on too much water was still a non-fact)
- tassa-ni=lu iqqis-si-llu-nga ff
there-LOC=and be.calm-get-ELA_τ-1s
 ...and there I [finally] calmed down and...
- mirsu-ga-ra inaar-pa-ra.
sew-tv\ʁn-1s.sg finish.up-IND.TV-1s.3s
 ...finished up my sewing.

§5.

- (1) Inir-a-ma *if*
finish-FCT_T-1s
When I finished it,

angirla-mut aallar-pu-nga. *mf, fb*
home-sg.DAT set.off-IND.IV-1s
I set off for home.
- (2) Puisi-ta-ra *if*
seal-caught-1sg.sg
The seal I had caught,

anna-i-va-ra. *fb*
lose-suffer-IND.TV-1s.3s
...I had unfortunately lost.
- (3) Kisianni uvanga *if*
but me
But I myself

annap-pu-nga. *fb*
survive-IND.IV-1s
...had survived.
- (4a) Iluliar-suu-p *if*
iceberg-big-sg.ERG
The giant iceberg...

annat-tip-pa-anga, *fb*
survive-cause-IND.TV-3s.1s
...had saved me
- (4b) aamma *if*
also
...and [had] also

assut navia-nar-tur-siur-tip-pa-anga. *mf, fb*
very fear-inducing-iv\cn-experience-cause-IND.TV-3s.1s
...put me in great danger.
- (5) Pingaar-niru-vu-q *fb*
be.important-more-IND.IV-3s
It was more important

annak-ka-ma. *ff*
survive-FCT_T-1s
...that I was saved.

- (6a) Ila-kka uqaluttuuk-ka-kkit *if*
part-1s.pl tell-FCT_T-1s.3p
 When I told my folks,
- amiilaar-pu-t, *fb*
be.horrified-IND.IV-3p
 they were horrified
- (6b) qujamasup-pu-l=li *fb*
be.thankful-IND.IV-3p=but
 but they were thankful
- ajur-na-nga tikik-ka-ma. *ff*
be.harmed-NON_T-1s come-FCT_T-1s
 that I had come back unharmed.