

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT  
Selected from  
**Qillarsuakkunik oqalualaaq** (*Qillarsuaq's Saga*)  
Passage 1: Flight from Canada (pp. 13–14)

QILLARSUAQ & CO: Migration, led by a mighty sorcerer Qillarsuaq, from Canada to Greenland, described by a Thule descendant who had heard the saga directly from one of the participants. Selected passages from:

Ulloriaq, I. 1976. *Qillarsuakkunik oqalualaaq*. Kalaallit-nunaanni naqiterisitsisarfik, Nuuk.

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/2007): 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*:

prf = perfect aspect, iv = intransitive 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’)

RPT = reportative evidential

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 (⊤);

*ib*: elaborate ⊤ and/or:

(i) set up a secondary topical referent (⊤′), or (ii) 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*.

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. (p. 13)

- (1) *Qillarsuakut nunarsuarminniikkallaramik* *if, ib*  
*Qillarsua-kku-t nuna-rsuaq-mik-ni=it-kallar-ga-mik*  
 Qillarsuaq-&co-PL homeland-big-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC=be-for.now-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 When Qillarsuaq and his people were still in their native land,

*iqqissisimasimangillat,* *fb*  
*iqqissi-sima-sima-nngit-la-t,*  
 calm.down-prf-prf-not-NEG-3PL  
 they never had a moment of peace

*akiralissuugaminnguuq.* *ff*  
*akiraq-lissuu-ga-mik=guuq.*  
 enemy-have.many-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=RPT  
 for, I'm told, they had many enemies.

- (2) *Iliqqurli taanna Qillarsuup* *if, ib*  
*iliqqu-q=li taanna Qillarsuaq-p*  
 habit-SG=but this Qillarsuaq-SG.ERG  
 This custom [*i.e.* bloodfeud], Qillarsuaq

*nuannarinngilaa* *fb*  
*nuannari-nngit-la-a*  
 like-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 did not like (at all).

## §2. (p. 13)

- (1) *Ilaanni Qillarsuakut angalaartillutik* *if, ib*  
*Ilaanni Qillarsuaq-kku-t angalaar-tit-llu-tik*  
 once Qillarsuaq-&co-PL travel.around-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 Once, when Qillarsuaq and some others were on a hunting trip

*akiqqaminnit saassunniqarput* *mf, fb*  
*akiraq-mik-nit saassut-niqar-pu-t*  
 enemy-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL-ABL attack-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 they were attacked by their enemies

*piqqamillu annaqqarsimallutik.* *ff*  
*pi-qqar-mik=lu annag-qqar-sima-llu-tik.*  
 do-barely.manage-SG.MOD=and survive-barely.manage-prf-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 and barely managed to come out alive.

- (2) *Akiqqaminnit ikinnirugigamik* *if*  
*akiraq-mik-nit ikig-niru-qi-ga-mik*  
 enemy-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL-ABL be.few-more-emph-IND.TV-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 Being a much smaller group than their enemies,

- |                    |  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|--------------------|--|--|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
|                    | <i>iluliaq</i>   | <i>purtuvallaanngitsuq</i>   | <i>sinaa</i>  | <i>tamarmi</i>      | <i>innaasuq</i>     | <i>ib</i>     |
|                    | <i>ilulia-q</i>  | <i>purtu-pallaar-nngit-tuq-q</i>                                     | <i>sini-a</i>   | <i>tama-rmi</i>     | <i>inna-u-suq-q</i> |               |
|                    | iceberg-SG   | high-too-not-iv\cn-SG  | side-3SG <sub>1</sub> .SG   | all-SG <sub>T</sub> | cliff-be-iv\cn-SG   |               |
|                    | <i>qimarravigaat</i>   |  |   |                     |                     | <i>fb</i>     |
|                    | <i>qimaa-rrat-vik-gi-pa-at</i>   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | flee-together-loc.of-rn\tv-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | they fled together onto an iceberg, not too high [and] with a sheer drop all around,                   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>tassanngaanniillu</i>   | <i>akiqqatik</i>   | <i>akiurlugit.</i>  |                     |                     | <i>ff</i>     |
|                    | <i>tassa-nngaanniit=lu</i>   | <i>akiraq-tik</i>  | <i>akiur-lu-git.</i>  |                     |                     |               |
|                    | there-ABL=and  | enemy-3PL <sub>T</sub> .PL   | fight.back-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3PL <sub>T</sub>                       |                     |                     |               |
|                    | and from there they fought their enemies.  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
| (3)                | <i>Tamarmik</i>  |  |   |                     |                     | <i>if</i>     |
|                    | <i>tama-rmik</i>   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | all-PL <sub>T</sub>  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | They [were] all  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>pisissimik</i>  | <i>sakkuqarput.</i>  |   |                     |                     | <i>mf, fb</i> |
|                    | <i>pisissiq-mik</i>  | <i>sakku-qar-pu-t.</i>   |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | bow-SG.MOD   | weapon-have-IND.IV-3PL   |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | armed with a bow.  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
| (4)                | <i>Qillarsuakkut</i>   | <i>ajugaasimapput</i>  |   |                     |                     | <i>if, fb</i> |
|                    | <i>Qillarsuaq-kku-t</i>  | <i>ajugaa-sima-pu-t</i>  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | Qillarsuaq-&co-PL  | win-prf-IND.IV-3PL   |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | [Qillarsuaq and his men] <sup>T</sup>  | won  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>akiqqatik</i>   | <i>qarsuiruttuurmata</i>   | <i>ajugaavvigamikkik</i>  |                     |                     | <i>ff</i>     |
|                    | <i>akiraq-tik</i>  | <i>qarsuq-irut-tuur-mm-ata</i>                                       | <i>ajugaa-vik-gi-ga-mikkik</i>                                      |                     |                     |               |
|                    | enemy-3PL <sub>T</sub> .PL   | arrow-run.out.of-happen-FCT <sub>1</sub> -3PL <sub>1</sub>           | win-loc.of-rn\tv-FCT <sub>T</sub> -3p <sub>T</sub> .3p <sub>1</sub> |                     |                     |               |
|                    | defeating their <sub>T</sub> enemies <sup>1</sup> when they <sub>1</sub> happened to run out of arrows |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>massa</i>   | <i>tuqusurtaqaraluaqalutik.</i>                                      |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>massa</i>   | <i>tuqu-tuq-taq-qar-galuar-qi-llu-tik.</i>                           |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | although   | die-iv\cn-member-have-...but-emph-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3PL <sub>T</sub> |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | although they <sub>T</sub> [too] had many dead in their ranks.   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
| <b>§3. (p. 13)</b> |  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
| (1)                | <i>Tamatuma</i>  | <i>kinguninnguagut</i>   | <i>Qillarsuaq</i>   |                     |                     | <i>if, ib</i> |
|                    | <i>tamatuma</i>  | <i>kinguni-nnguag-a-kut</i>  | <i>Qillarsua-q</i>  |                     |                     |               |
|                    | that.ERG   | after/behind-little-3SG <sub>1</sub> .SG-VIA                         | Qillarsuaq-SG   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | Shortly afterwards, Qillarsuaq   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | <i>piariirsalirpuq</i>   |  |   |                     |                     | <i>fb</i>     |
|                    | <i>piariir-sar-lir-pu-q</i>  |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | be.ready-try.to.cause-begin-IND.IV-3SG   |  |   |                     |                     |               |
|                    | began to make preparations   |  |   |                     |                     |               |

*qimaaniarluni* *ff*  
*qimaa-niar-lu-ni*  
 flee-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 to flee (*lit.* intending to flee)

*iqqissiviqarani* *inuuniq* *qatsukkamiuk*  
*iqqissi-vik-qar-na-ni* *inuk-u-ni-q* *qatsug-ga-miuk*  
 calm.down-loc.of-have-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> person-be-v\N-SG tire.of-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 because he had got tired of living without a moment of peace.

- (2) *Taama uqaluttalirmat* *nunaqqassuisa* *if, ib*  
*taama uqalut-tar-lir-mm-at* *nuna-qar-qat-rsuaq-isa*  
 thus talk-habit-begin-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub> homeland-have-fellow-big-3SG<sub>L</sub>.PL.ERG  
 When he started talking that way, his countrymen

*sujullirmik* *isumaqatiginngiqqaaralarpaat* *mf, fb*  
*suju-lliq-mik* *isuma-qatigi-nngit-qqaar-galuar-pa-at*  
 front-most-MOD belief-have.same-not-first-...but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
 at first disagreed with him

*unissartarlugulu.* *ff*  
*unig-sar-tar-llu-gu=lu.*  
 stop-try.to.cause-habit-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 and repeatedly tried to persuade him to stay.

- (3) *Qillarsuarli* *killissaanngilaq* *if, fb*  
*Qillarsuaq=li* *killig-ssaq-u-nngit-la-q*  
 Qillarsuaq.SG=but persuaded-prospective-be-not-NEG-3SG  
 But Qillarsuaq was not to be persuaded

*pimmiurluni* *angakkursuugami* *ff*  
*pimmak-liur-lu-ni* *angakkuq-rsuaq-u-ga-mi*  
 experience-make-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> shaman-big-be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 [and] being a great shaman with much experience

*imaannaq* *pisassaasimannginnami.*  
*ima=innaq* *pi-saq-ssaq-u-sima-nngit-na-mi.*  
 so=just get-tv\N-prospective-be-prf-not-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 he could not to be killed [*lit.* gotten] just like that.

§4 (p. 14)

- (1) *Imaminnguug* *agakkuutigaaq:* *if, fb*  
*ima-mi=guug* *agakkuq-u-tigi-pu-q:*  
 thus=FOC=RPT shaman-be-so.much-IND.IV-3SG  
 This is how great he was as shaman, I'm told:

- (2) *iliarsunnguaq piqatigalugu* *if*  
*iliarsuk-nnguaq-q pi-qatigi-llu-gu*  
orphan-little-SG do-with-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>
- piniarniarnirit ila-an-ni* *ib*  
*pi-niar-niar-niq-t ila-at-ni*  
kind-hunt-intend- $\sqrt{n}$ -PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>↓</sub>.SG-LOC  
Once when he was on a hunting trip, with a little orphan,
- sikumi saavitausimapput.* *mf, fb*  
*siku-mi saavit-taq-u-sima-pu-t.*  
ice-LOC [breaking.ice]carry.off-tv $\sqrt{n}$ -be-prf-IND.IV-3PL  
they were carried off by breaking ice.
- (2) *Allatut sapirami* *if*  
*alla-tut sapir-ga-mi*  
other-EQU unable.to.do-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
Unable to do anything else,
- immaq sikutut ilirsillugu* *ib*  
*imma-q siku-tut it-lir-tit-llu-gu*  
sea-SG ice-EQU` be-begin-cause-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
he turned sea into ice,
- nanunngurluni qimmiminut malittilluni*  
*nanu-nngur-llu-ni qimmiq-mi-nut malig-tit-llu-ni*  
bear-become-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> dog-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL-DAT follow-cause-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
[and] himself, into a bear, making the dogs follow him, [and thus]
- annassimapput.* *fb*  
*annag-sima-pu-t.*  
survive-prf-IND.IV-3PL  
they survived.
- (3) *Qillarsuaq taamaakkami* *if*  
*Qillarsua-q taama=it-ga-mi*  
Qillarsuaq.SG thus=be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
Because Qillarsuaq was such [a shaman],
- nunaqqassuarminit tatiginiqarsimavuq.* *ib, fb*  
*nuna-qar-qat-rsuaq-mi-nit tatigi-niqar-sima-pu-q.*  
homeland-have-fellow-big-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL-ABL trust-passive-prf-IND.IV-3SG  
he had become trusted by his countrymen.
- §5 (p. 14)
- (1) *Kiisa tamarsuarmik* *if, ib*  
*kiisa tama-rsuaq-mik*  
at.last all-big-PL<sub>T</sub>  
In the end, the whole lot of them

- piariirsalirsimapput* *qimaaniarlutik.* *fb, ff*  
*piariir-sar-lir-sima-pu-t* *qimaa-niar-llu-tik*  
 be.ready-try.to.cause-begin-prf-IND.IV-3PL flee-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 began to make preparations to flee [*lit.* intending to flee].
- (2) *Ikirsuaq taanna* *if*  
*ikiq-rsuaq-q taanna*  
 strait-big-SG *that*  
 That great strait
- unippiarniq ajurtumik sikusartuq*  
*unig-piar-niq-q ajur-tuq-mik siku-tar-tuq-q*  
 stop-exactly-v\cn-SG never.do-iv\cn-MOD get.frozen-habit-iv\cn-SG  
 where the ice never gets quite stable,
- ikaassamaaginnaliqaat* *fb*  
*ikaar-ssamaar-innar-lir-qi-pa-at*  
 cross-plan-just-begin-emph-IND.IV-3PL  
 they had just formed a plan to cross it
- sikuullu uniiminissaa utaqqiinnalirlugu* *ff*  
*siku-p=lu unig-imi-niq-ssaq-a utaqqi-innar-lir-llu-gu*  
 ice-ERG=and stop-partly-v\cn-prospective-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG await-just-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 and were now only waiting for the ice to get half-way stable.
- (3) *Qularnanngilaq* *fb*  
*qulari-nar-nngit-la-q*  
 doubt-make.one-not-NEG-3SG  
 No doubt
- apriili qaammataagaa.* *ff*  
*apriili qaammat-u-ga-a.*  
 April month-be-ELA<sub>1</sub>.TV-3SG<sub>1</sub>.3SG  
 the month was April.
- (4) *Qammammimi tassani sumiluunniit* *if, ib*  
*qammat-mi=mi tassa-ni su-mi=luunniit*  
 month-sg.LOC=for that-LOC what-LOC=or  
 For during that month anywhere
- imaq sikuumisarpuq* *mf, fb*  
*ima-q siku-u-imi-tar-pu-q*  
 sea-sg ice-be-partly-habit-IND.IV-3SG  
 the sea is [at least] partly frozen
- angalaniartunut iluartaqaluni.* *ff*  
*angala-niar-tuq-nut iluar-tar-qi-llu-ni.*  
 travel-intend-iv\cn-PL.DAT be.good-habit-emph-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 which is very good for those who intend to travel.

- (5a) *Ikiq ikaagassaat* *if*  
*ikiq-q ikaar-gaq-ssaq-at*  
strait-SG cross-tv\|n-prospective-3PL<sub>1</sub>.SG

The strait they were going to cross,

*tuluttut Barrow Straitimik atilik*  
*tuluk-tut Barrow Strait-mik atiq-lik-q*  
Englishman-EQU Barrow Strait-MOD name-with-SG  
— called the Barrow Strait in English —

*sukkurpiaq ikaarsimassaniraat* *ib*  
*su-kkut=rpiaq ikaar-sima-ssa-nir-ga-at*  
what-sg.VIA=exactly cross-prf-prospect-x.wonder-ELA<sub>1</sub>.TV-3PL<sub>1</sub>.3SG

*naluara,* *fb*  
*nalu-pa-ra,*  
not.know-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
I don't know where exactly they would have crossed it.

- (5b) *ilurpasissukkulli ikaarsimanissaat* *if*  
*iluq-pasig-tuq-kut=li ikaar-sima-niq-ssaq-at*  
interior-be.far.toward-iv\|cn-VIA=but cross-prf-v\|n-prospective-3PL<sub>1</sub>.SG

*ilimanarniruvuq.* *fb*  
*ilimagi-nar-niru-pu-q.*  
expect-make.one-more-IND.IV-3SG  
but it is most likely that they would've crossed it on the inner (landward?) side.

§6 (p. 14)

- (1a) *Sila naatsursurlugu naammagiliramikku* *if*  
*silu naatsursur-llu-gu naammagi-lir-ga-mikku*  
weather.SG calculate-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub> judge.adequate-begin-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>.3SG<sub>1</sub>

When they decided, based on their calculations, that the weather was adequate,

*kiisami aallarput* *ib, fb*  
*kiisami aallar-pu-t*  
finally set.out-IND.IV-3PL  
they finally set out,

*qimussirpassuullutik,* *ff*  
*qimussiq-paa-rsuaq-u-llu-tik,*  
driven.sled-group-big-be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
a big group of sleds travelling together,

*Qillarsuaq sujulirsurtiliullugu;*  
*Qillarsua-q suju-lirsur-ti-liut-llu-gu;*  
Qillarsuaq-sg lead-provide-agt-make-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
with Qillarsuaq as their leader.

- (1b) *sunavvami*  
*sunaavva=mi* *if*  
 turn.out=FOC  
 As it turned out,
- angalaniq taama sivistutigisuaq* *ib*  
*angala-niq-q taama sivi-su-tigi-tuq-q*  
 travel-v\n-SG so duration-have.big-to.that.degree-iv\cn-SG  
 throughout that long trip
- aqqullu taama isurartutigisuaq*  
*aqqu=lu taama isurartur-tigi-tur-q*  
 route.SG=and so long.distance-to.that.degree-iv\cn-SG  
 that whole distance
- sujulirsurtaaajualissasuaq.* *fb*  
*suju-lirsur-ti-u-juar-lir-ssa-su-q.*  
 lead-provide-agt-be-constantly-begin-prospect-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 he was to be their constant leader.
- (2) *Tamannaminnguug* *if*  
*tamanna=mi=guug*  
 that=FOC=RPT  
 For that, I am told,
- Qillarsuup namminiq piumasarigamiuk.* *ib, fb*  
*Qillarsuaq-p namminiq pi-uma-saq-gi-ga-mi-uk.*  
 Qillarsuaq-SG.ERG self do-want-tv\n-have.as-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 was Qillarsuaq's own wish.