

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT  
From  
**Hesti piaraq tappiitsoq**  
("Blind Colt")

Rounds, G. 1941. *The Blind Colt*.

Rounds, G. 1988, *Hesti piaraq tappiitsuaq*, pp. 35–7, Atuakkiorfik, Nuuk. (transl. by M. Petersen)  
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, 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*.

**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* *if, fb*  
*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]<sup>T</sup> had whirled around to face them
- piaqqilu tunuminut pisillugu* *ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*pi-araq-ni=lu tunu-mi-nut pi-tit-llu-gu pi-tit-llu-gu*  
 n-tiny-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG=and behind-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-DAT v-cause-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG  
 keeping her colt behind her
- angutit taakku akiliralugit qiqqilluni.* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*angut-t taakku akiliq-gi-llu-git qiqqit-llu-ni*  
 man-PL these on.opposite.side-have.as-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub> take.stand-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 and taking a stand confronting these men.
- (2) *Irsassimagami* *if*  
*irsag-sima-ga-mi*  
 show.teeth-prf-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 With her teeth bared
- siutinilu tunummut pisikkamigit* *ib*  
*siut-ni=lu tunuk-mut pi-tit-ga-migit*  
 ear-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL=and back-SG.DAT v-cause-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3PL  
 and her ears laid back
- amaqqumut iqqaanarsilluinnarpuq.*  
*amaruq-mut iqqaa-nar-si-lluinnar-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?”* *fb, ff*  
*ima-innar-u-nngit-tuq-kasik-u-ga-mi ilaa*  
 so-just-be-not-iv\cn-silly-be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> not?  
 “This silly old creature is extraordinary, isn’t she?”

Whitey *uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
 Whitey *uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey said

- *piaraa misissurniarlugu* *ff*  
*pi-araq-a misissur-niar-llu-gu*  
 n-little-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG examine-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>

*mianirsurlutik kaajallakkiartuutigalugu.*  
*mianirsur-llu-tik kaajallag-kiartur-utigi-llu-gu*  
 take.care-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> go.around-gradually-prg-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 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*  
*illumut tassa=mi=una amaruq arnaviaq-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*  
 Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Torwal said.

- (3) *Mianirsunnigkkuit* *if*  
 | *mianirsur-nngit-gu-vit*  
 take.care -not-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG  
 If you’re not careful,

- issiaattannit ajassavaatit* *ib, fb*  
 l.vd *issia-ut-taq-t-nit ajat-ssa-pa-atit*  
 sit-v\ins-of-2SG.SG-ABL push-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.2SG

*nakkartillutit.* *ff*  
*nakkar-tit-llu-tit*  
 fall.down-cause-ELA<sub>T</sub>-2SG  
 she’ll knock you out of the saddle

- (4) *Qanillivallaarnagu.*” *fb*  
*qanig-li-pallaar-na-gu*  
 be.close-get-too.much-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 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<sub>T</sub>.PL-LOC sit-IND.IV-3PL  
They sat on their horses
- hisi arnaviaq isigiitigalugu* *ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*histi arnaviaq isigi-utigi-llu-gu*  
horse female look.at-prog-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
while looking at the mare<sup>↓</sup> and
- piaraa nuannaarutigalugu.* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*pi-araq-a nuannaari-utigi-llu-gu*  
n-little-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.SG like-prog-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
admiring her<sub>↓</sub> colt.
- (2) “*Kusanarmat, akkaa Thorvald,*” *fb, ff*  
*kusanar-mm-at akkaa Thorvald*  
be.beautiful-FCT<sub>↓</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub> uncle Thorwal  
“He’s beautiful, Uncle Torwal”
- (3) *Whitey uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
said Whitey.
- (4) “*Amaqunit pisariniqartinnagu angirlaakkutsigu* *if*  
| *amaruq-nit pisari-niqar-tit-na-gu angirlar-ut-gu-tsigu*  
wolf-PL.ABL catch-passive-state-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub> go.home-iv\TV-HYP<sub>T</sub>-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*  
*isuma-qar-pu-nga*  
belief-have-IND.IV-3SG  
I think

- *sumulluunniit nassassanngikkipput,*” *ff*  
• *su-mut=luunniit nassar-ssa-nngit-gi-pput*  
what-SG.DAT=ALT take.along-prospect-not-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.TV-1PL.3SG  
we’re not going to take him anywhere.
- (2) *Thorvald uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
*Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
said Torwal.
- (3) “*Allaallugu tuquttariaqarunarpara.*” *if, fb*  
•• *allaa-llu-gu tuqu-t-tariaqar-gunar-pa-ra*  
shoot-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub> 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?*” *fb*  
*allaa-llu-gu suuq*  
shoot-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub> why  
“Shoot him! Why?”
- (2) *Whitey qiaasaannaq uqarpuq* *if, mf, fb*  
*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* *if, ib*  
*nuna-ut-tsit-ni histi-t pi-araq-t*  
land-of-1PL.PL-LOC horse-PL.ERG n-little-PL.ERG
- kusanarnirsaraat!*” *ff*  
*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) “*Umaak, misissurlualaaruk,*” *if, fb*  
• *uumaak misissur-lluar-laar-gi-aruk*  
bub examine-well-a.bit-IMP-2SG.3SG  
“Look him over closely, Bub,”

- (2) *Thorvald uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
*Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
 Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said Torwal.
- (3) “*Arlaannik iqqumiiqutiqanninnirsuq* *if*  
*arlaq-at-nik iqqumiiq-qut-qar-nngit-nir-tu-q*  
 one.of-3PL.SG-MOD be.strange-v\cause-have-not-x.wonder-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>
- misissurlualaaariaruk.*” *fb*
- *misissur-lluar-laar-gi-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,*” *if, fb*  
 • *ajur-qut-qar-nir-tu-q* *taku-sinnaa-nngit-la-ra*  
 be.bad-v\cause-have-x.wonder-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub> see-be.able-not-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
 “I can’t see if there is anything wrong with him,”
- (2) *Whitey uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said Whitey,
- suli ataasiarluni* *ff*  
*suli ataasiq-riar-llu-ni*  
 still one-v.cn.times-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>
- histi arnaviaq piaraalu kaajallariarlugit.*  
*hisi arnaviaq pi-araq-a=lu kaajallag-riar-llu-git*  
 horse female n-little-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG=and circle-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub>  
 after circling the mare and her colt one more time.
- (3) “*Histitut sapaatisiutigirusutatturluinnaq* *if*  
 • *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  
*isikkuqarpuq.*” *fb*  
*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* if, fb  
 • *isi-i taku-riar-ssa-gi-tit*  
 eye-3SG<sub>1</sub>.PL see-stage.one-prospect-IMP-2SG.3PL  
 “Take a look at his eyes”

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

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

(4) “*Histi piaraq una* if  
*histi pi-araq una*  
 horse n-little this  
 “This colt

*imangirtatulli tappiitsigaaq!* mf, fb  
*imangirtaq-tut=li tappig-it-tigi-pu-q*  
 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,* if, fb  
*aa su-u-ga-mi*  
 aw what-be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 “Aw, it’s nothing,

(2) *isai isitut marriatut iinnarput, akkaa Thorvald.”* if, mf,  
*isi-i isi-tut marriaq-tut it-innar-pu-t, akkaa Thorvald* fb, ff  
 eye-3SG<sub>1</sub>.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* if, fb  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey said.

(4) “*Histirpassuit marriatut ittumik isiqartarput.* if, mf, fb  
*histi-paa-:suaq-t marriaq-tut it-tuq-nik isi-qar-tar-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.

- (5) *Spot'ituqqamut allaat taamaattumik isiqarpuq.* *if, mf, fb*  
*Spot-tuqaq-mut allaat taama=it-tuq-mik isi-qar-pu-q*  
 Spot-old-SG.DAT even thus=be-iv\cn-SG.MOD eye-have-IND.IV-3SG  
 Even old Spot has one.”

§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* *if, ib*  
*uuma isi-i*  
 hey.you eye-3SG.PL  
 “Fool boy, his eyes  
*isitut marriatut ittuunnigivipput, naamirluinnaq mf, fb, ff*  
*isi-tut marriaq-tut it-tuq-u-nngit-vig-pu-t naamik=:luinnaq*  
 eye-PL.EQU china-PL.EQU be-iv\cn-be-not-really-IND.IV-3PL no=absolutely  
 are not at all like china eyes, not by a long shot.”
- (2) *Thorvald uqarpuq* *if, fb*  
*Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
 Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said Torwal.
- (3) “*Misissurluarukkit* *if*  
 | *misissur-lluar-gu-kkit*  
 examin-well-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3PL  
 “If you examine them closely  
*takussavat qaqurtuinnaviusut fb, ff*  
 |.vd *taku-ssa-pa-t qaqur-tuq-innar-vik-u-tu-t*  
 see-prospect-IND.TV-2SG.3SG be.white-iv\cn-just-real-be-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3PL  
*tappiutitaqaratik.* *ff ctd*  
*tappig-ut-taq-qar-na-tik*  
 see.well-v\ins-of-have-NON<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 without any pupil.
- (4) *Tappiitsuuvuq* *fb*  
*tappig-it-tuq-u-pu-q*  
 see.well-opp-iv\cn-be-IND.IV-3SG  
 He’s blind
- (5) *aallaallugulu tuquttariaqarparput.* *mf, fb*  
 • *allaa-llu-gu=lu tuqu-t-tariaqar-pa-rput*  
 shoot-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>=and die-cause-have.to-IND.TV-1PL.3SG  
 and we’ve got to shoot him.

- (6) *Taamaaliunnngikkutta* *if*  
 | *taama=iliur-nngit-gu-tta*  
 thus=do-not-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1PL  
 If we don't
- itirsaliat* *arlaannut* *nakkanngikkuni* *ib*  
 | *itirsaq-liur-aq-t* *arlaq-at-nut* *nakkar-nngit-gu-ni*  
 depression-make-v\thm-PL one.of-3PL.SG-DAT fall.down-not-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 then if he doesn't fall into a hole somewhere
- 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."

§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) "*Tappiitsuugaluarpalluunniit* *if*  
 ll.rm *tappig-it-tuu-galuar-pp-at=luunniit*  
 see.well-opp-remote.modality-...but-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>=ALT  
 "Even if he is blind
- ilumut* *tuquttariaqaratsigu?"* *mf, fb*  
 | *ilumut* *tuqu-t-tariaqar-ga-tsigu*  
 really die-cause-have.to-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1PL.3SG  
 do we really *have to* kill him?"
- (2) *Whitey* *uqarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey* *uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey said.
- (3) "*Angirlaallugu* *if*  
*angirlar-ut-llu-gu*  
 go.home-iv\TV-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>
- nunaatitsinni* *histiutigisinnaanngilara?"* *ib, fb*  
 • *nuna-ut-tsin-ni* *hisit-ut-gi-sinnaa-nngit-la-ra*  
 land-of-1PL.PL-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* *if*  
 | *angirlar-ut-ssa-gu-kku*  
 go.home-iv\|tv-prospect-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 “If you take him home  
  
*asuli akurnutigiinnassavat,* *mf, fb*  
 l.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* *fb*  
*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<sub>T</sub> home-SG.DAT arrive-v\|n-prospective-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG  
 that he’d get home without something happening to him.”
- (3) *Thorvald uqarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
 Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Torwal said.
- (4) “*Aamma sumulluunniit iluaqutaanaviannqilaq.”* *if, ib, fb*  
*amma=mi su-mut=luunniit iluaqut-u-naviannqit-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 tuquttariaqaratsigu?*” *if, ib, fb*  
*kisianni=mi ilumut tuqu-t-tariaqar-ga-tsigu*  
 but=FOC really die-cause-have.to-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1PL.3SG  
 “Well anyway, do we *really* have to kill him?”
- (2) *Whitey uqarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey said.
- (3) “*Ilaginnaannarsinnaanninnatsigu?*” *fb*  
 • *ilaginnar-innar-sinnaa-nngit-ga-tsigu*  
 let.go-just-be.possible-not-FCT<sub>T</sub>-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) “*Utiriisirunnaarniarit*,” *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*  
 Torwal calm.down-prf-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> say-IND.IV-3SG  
 Torwal told him, patiently.
- (3) “*tuqunnissaa* *ilittulli* *ib, mf*  
 • *tuqu-t-niq-ssa-q-a* *illit-tut=li*  
 die-cause-v\’n-prospective-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG you-EQU=FOC  
  
*nuannarinngitsigaara* *fb*  
*nuannari-nngit-tigi-gi-ra*  
 like-not-to.that.degree-ELA<sub>L</sub>.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-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1PL.3SG<sub>T</sub>=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-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
  
*pirlirluni tuqunngikkuni*  
 | *pirlir-llu-ni tuqu-nngit-gu-ni*  
 starve-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> die-not-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 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-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG.ERG track-3SG.PL look-stage.one-prospect-IMP-2SG.3PL  
 Take a look at his mother’s tracks,

- (6) *takuuk unnuarsuaq kaajalukaartuarsimanira.* *fb, ff*  
 • *taku-gi-t unnuaq-:suaq kaajalukaar-tuar-sima-niq-a*  
 see-IMP-2SG night-big go.around.busily-constantly-prf-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG  
 see how she circled round and round all night long.
- (7) *Qularinngilluinnarpara* *fb*  
*qulari-nngit-:luinnar-pa-ra*  
 doubt-not-absolutely-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
 I have absolutely no doubt
- unnuarsuaq amaqqunik piaqqaminiit* *ff*  
*unnuaq-:suaq amaruq-nik pi-araq-mi-niit*  
 night-:big wolf-PL.MOD n-little-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-ABL
- qimagusimatitsiniarsimassasuq.*  
 •• *qimagut-sima-tit-si-ni-ar-sima-ssa-tu-q*  
 go.away-prf-cause-antip-try-prf-prospect-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 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.* *if, fb*  
*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* *if, mf, fb*  
 • *Thorvald=lu sukuluuq-ssaq-mi-nik* *uqummir-si-pu-q*  
 Torwal=and chewed.tobacco-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-MOD put.in.mouth-antip-IND.IV-3SG  
 And Torwal took a chew from his plug
- allaasinilu issiaattami puuqattaaniit* *ff*  
*alla-ut-ni=lu issia-ut-taq-mi puuqattaq-a-niit*  
 shoot-iv\ins-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG=and sit-iv\ins-of-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG.ERG bag-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-ABL
- tigullugu.*  
*tigu-llu-gu*  
 take-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 and took his rifle out of his saddle scabbard.

- (3) *Histilli piaraa qanilligaalu* *if*  
*histi-p=li pi-araq-a qanig-li-gi-a=lu*  
horse-SG.ERG n-little-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG be.close-get.more-ELA<sub>1</sub>.TV-3SG<sub>1</sub>.3SG=and  
But whenever he got close to the colt
- *arnaata unguriissavaa* *ib, fb*  
*arna-ata ungu-riir-ssa-pa-a*  
mother-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG.ERG parry-have.already-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
his mother would already be there,
- isimmiriartarlunilu irsalluni,* *ff*  
*isimmig-riar-tar-llu-ni=lu irsag-llu-ni*  
kick-stage.one-habit-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and show.teeth-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
lashing out with her hoofs and showing her teeth
- angut histiluunniit piaqqaminut qanillisuq*  
*angut histi=luunniit pi-araq-mi-nut qanig-li-tuq*  
man horse=ALT n-little-3SG.SG-DAT be.close-get-iv\cn
- *kiiriaannaallugu.*  
*kii-riaannaq-llu-gu*  
bite-be.ready.to-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
ready to bite either man or horse that got (too) close to her baby.
- (4) *Kiammit ippuppaa* *if, fb*  
*kiaq-mit ippug-pa-a*  
heat-SG.ABL get.stifled-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
She got covered with lather
- isinilu kamannirmit* *ff*  
*isi-ni=lu kamag-niq-mit*  
eye-3SG.PL=and be.angry-v\cn-SG.ABL
- qaqurtitaartuinnangurlugit;*  
*qaqur-titaar-tuq-innar-nngur-llu-git*  
be.white-get.bit.by.bit-iv\cn-just-become-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub>  
and her eyes became all white with anger;
- (5) *ivikkat iqqaaniittut* *if*  
*ivigaq-t iqqaq-a-ni=it-tuq-t*  
grass-PL vicinity-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-LOC=be-iv\cn-PL  
the grass in that area
- ammalurtunngurlutik kiisa nungullavipput.* *mf, fb*  
*ammalur-tuq-nngur-llu-tik kiisa nungullar-vig-pu-t*  
be.round-iv\cn-become-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> finally get.worn.down-really-IND.IV-3PL  
got trampled to the ground all around.

- (6) *Histi piaraq suli navianartursiurtitaanngilaq.* *if, ib, fb*  
*histi pi-araq suli naviagi-nar-tuq-siur-tit-taq-u-nngit-la-q*  
 horse n-little still dread-make.one-iv\cn-experience-cause-v\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’ll shoot him myself!”

§17. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 13)

- (1) *Whitey utiriisirtuarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey utiriisir-tuar-pu-q*  
 Whitey keep.insisting-continue-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey continued his insistent pleading.
- (2) “*Akkaa Thorvald,*” *uqarpuq* *if (fb)*  
 “*akkaa Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
 uncle Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Uncle Torwal,” he said,
- “*takusinnaaviuk* *fb*  
 • *taku-sinnaa-pi-uk*  
 see-be.able-QUE-2SG.3SG  
 can you see
- piaqqani qanuq paarilluartigigaa?* *ff*  
*pi-araq-ni qanuq paari-lluar-tigi-gi-a*  
 n-little-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG how look.after-well-to.that.degree-ELA<sub>L</sub>.TV-3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG  
 how well she’s looking after her baby?
- (3) *Kukivvamminik taamak isimmisaaniartigisug* *if*  
 •• *kukivvaq-minik taamak isimmig-saar-niar-tigi-tuq*  
 hoof-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL.MOD thus kick-strive-try-to.that.degree-iv\cn  
 The way she’s lashing out with her hooves,
- amaqqumilluunniit pallinniqarsinnaanngilaq.* *mf, fb*  
*amaruq-mit=luunniit pallig-niqar-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*  
 ll *uuma-tit-innar-uma-gu-kku*  
 be.alive-let-just-want-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 If you'd let him go
- ullut tamaasa histirlunga* *ib*  
*ulluq-t tamaq-isa histi-r-llu-nga*  
 day-PL all-PL<sub>L</sub> horse-do-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1SG
- takuniartassagaluarpara.* *fb*  
 ll.rm *taku-niar-tar-ssa-galuar-pa-ra*  
 see-try-habit-prospect-...but-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
 I'd ride out every day to look for him.
- (5) *Nakkarluniluunniit urlugaluarpat* *if*  
 ll.rm *nakkar-llu-ni=luunniit urlu-galuar-pp-at*  
 fall.down-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=ALT trip&fall-...but-HYP<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 And if he does fall in
- *taava – taava – namminniirlunga aallaajumaarpara!* *ib, mf, fb*  
 | – *taava – taava – nammini-q-Vr-llu-nga aallaa-jumaar-pa-ra*  
 – then – then – self-n\|v-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1SG shoot-be.sure.to-IND.TV-1SG.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.TV-3SG.3SG  
 Uncle Torwal thought about it for a while.
- (2) “*Kakkaak histi piaraq pilirigigakku,*” *if, ib, fb*  
*kakkaak histi pi-araq pilirigi-ga-kku*  
 wow horse n-little desire-FCT<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 “It's really something how you want that colt”
- (3) *naggataatigut uqarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*naggata-atigut uqar-pu-q*  
 end-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG.VIA say-IND.IV-3SG  
 he said in the end.

§19. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

“(1) “Yeah, I sure do! (2) He's the purtiest 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.* *if*  
*ilaana*  
 sure  
 Sure.
- (2) *Aatsaat histimik piaqqamik taama iniqunartigisumik* *if, mf*  
*aatsaat histi-mik pi-araq-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!* *fb*  
*taku-ga-ma*  
 see-FCT<sub>7</sub>-1SG  
 “I’ve never seen such a cute horse before.”
- (3) *Whitey uqarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
 Whitey say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said Whitey.
- (4) *Isumaqarpunga ajuqutissarsinavianngitsuq,* *fb, ff<sub>1</sub>*  
 •• *isuma-qar-pu-nga ajuqut-ssaq-si-navianngit-tu-q*  
 belief-have-IND.IV-1SG harm-prospective-come.to-be.certain.not.to-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 “I am sure he won’t come to any harm,  
*akkaa Thorvald* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*akkaa Thorvald*  
 uncle Torwal  
 Uncle Torwal.
- (5) *Taama silassurippasitsigisug* *if*  
*taama silassurig-pasig-tigi-tu-q*  
 so be.smart-look.like-to.that.degree-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 As smart as he looks,  
*ajuqutissarsinavianngilaq.* *fb*  
 •• *ajuqut-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) *Tusaariassasutit,* *fb*  
*tusaa-riar-ssa-tu-tit*  
 listen-stage.one-prospect-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-2SG  
 “Now, listen up.”

- (2) *Thorvald uqarpuq, sulī qularpasilluni.* *if, fb, ff*  
*Thorvald uqar-pu-q sulī qular-pasig-llu-ni*  
 Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG still doubt-sound.like-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 said Torwal, still sounding doubtful.
- (3) *Taama nuannaritigigukku* *if*  
 | *taama nuannari-tigi-gu-kku*  
 so like-to.that.degree-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 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 maanngartartussaagatta* *if*  
*ulluq-t tamaq-isa ma-unnga-r-tar-tuq-ssaq-u-ga-tta*  
 day-PL all-PL<sub>⊥</sub> here-DAT-n\iv-habit-iv\cn-prospective-be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1PL  
 We'll be heading this way every day, so
- ||| *pisariaqalissappaat*  
 ||| *pi-tariaqar-lir-ssa-pp-at* *ib*  
 v-be.necessary-begin-prospect-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 if it becomes necessary
- aallaajumaarparput.*  
 |.vd *aallaa-jumaar-pa-rput.* *fb*  
 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<sub>T</sub>.PL add.to-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 he added.
- (3) “*Sapaatilluunniit akunnira anigurunanngilaa.* *if, fb*  
 • *sapat-p=luunniit akunniq-a anigur-gunar-nngit-la-a*  
 Sunday-SG.ERG=ALT interval-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG survive-be.probable-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 “He probably won’t last even a week.

- (4) *Uumangaatsissagaluaruni* *if*  
 |.rm *uumangaatsiar-ssa-galuar-gu-ni*  
 be.alive-fairly.long-prospect-but...-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 (And) should he remain alive for some time
- ivigaatitsiarsuatsinnik asuli nirisuuginnassaaq* *mf, fb*  
 | *ivigaq-ut-tsiar-:suaq-tsinnik asuli niri-tuq-u-innar-ssa-pu-q*  
 grass-of-nice-big-1PL.PL.MOD for.nothing eat-iv\cn-be-just-prospect-IND.IV-3SG  
 he'd just eat a lot of our good grass to no purpose
- ajurnartursiutissiuinnassallutalu.* *ff*  
 | *ajurnar-tuq-siur-ut-ssiut-innar-ssa-llu-ta=lu*  
 be.difficult-iv\cn-experience-iv\cause-give-just-prospect-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1PL=and  
 and just give us nothing but trouble.”

§22. ENGLISH ORIGINAL

- (1) “Nothing is going to happen to him,” (2) Whitey exclaimed. (3) “You’ll see.”

§22. KALAALLISUT TRANSLATION (p. 14)

- (1) “*Ajutuurnaviannqilaq,*” *fb*  
 • *ajutuurn-naviannqit-la-q*  
 come.to.harm-be.certain.not.to-IND.IV-3SG  
 “He definitely won’t come to harm.”
- (2) *Whitey nilliummirpuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey nillir-jummir-pu-q*  
 Whitey exclaim-suddenly-IND.IV-3SG  
 Whitey exclaimed.
- (3) “*Takussaqaarpat!*” *fb*  
 • *taku-ssaqaar-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.*” *fb*  
 • *taama=it-ratar-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 thus=be-unexpectedly-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG  
 “It might happen,”
- (2) *akkaa Thorvald uqarpuq,* *if, fb*  
*akkaa Thorvald uqar-pu-q*  
 uncle Torwal say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said Uncle Torwal,

- (3) *Whitey'illi takusinnaavaa if, fb*  
 • *Whitey-p=li taku-sinnaa-pa-a*  
 Whitey-SG.ERG=but see-be.possible-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 but Whitey<sup>T</sup> could see that
- histip piaqqap aallaasariaqannginnira ff*  
 • *histi-p pi-araq-p aallaa-tariaqar-nngit-niq-a*  
 horse-SG.ERG n-little-SG.ERG shoot-be.necessary-not-v\|n-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG
- ilumigut nuannaarutigalugu*  
*ilu-mi-gut nuannaar-utigi-llu-gu*  
 interior-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-VIA be.happy-about-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 in his heart he<sub>⊥</sub> was happy not to have to shoot the colt and
- uqaasissarsiuinnartuq.*  
 • *uqaasiq-ssaq-siur-innar-tu-q*  
 word-prospective-look-just-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 was just looking for something to say.
- (4) *Akkaa Thorvald'ip if*  
*akkaa Thorvald-p*  
 uncle Torwal-SG.ERG  
 Uncle Torwal
- quururtuuni issiaattami puuanut manguqqippaa, ib, mf, fb*  
*quururtuuq-ni issia-ut-taq-mi puuq-a-nut manguq-qqig-pa-a*  
 rifle-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG sit-v\|ins-of-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG.ERG bag-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-DAT put.in.again-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 put his rifle back in his scabbard
- (5) *minutsillu marlussuit histi piaraq isiginnaariarlugu if*  
*minuti-t=lu marlussuit histi pi-araq isiginnaar-riar-llu-gu*  
 minute-PL=and a.few horse n-little look.at-and...-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 and after looking for a few minutes at the colt
- suliasatik allat urnillugit ib*  
 • *suliaq-ssaq-tik alla-t urnig-llu-git*  
 work-prospective-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL other-PL approach-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>
- histirlutik qimagupput. mf, fb*  
*histi-r-llu-tik qimagug-pu-t*  
 horse-do-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> leave-IND.IV-3PL  
 they rode off to attend to their other tasks.

**Imm. 5 Issirsuaq**  
(Ch. 5 The Great Cold)

§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* *if*  
*Whitey Spot'i-tuqaq=lu*  
 Whitey Spot-old=and  
 [Whitey and old Spot]<sup>T</sup>,  
*narsarsuarmukakulavallaarunnaarput.* *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) *Ivikkanik nirsutaatimik nirukkaatissaannik* *if, ib*  
 • *ivigaq-nik nirsut-ut-mik nirukkar-ut-s̄saq-at-nik*  
 grass-PL.MOD animal-owned-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL.ERG feed-v\ins-prospective-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL-MOD  
*assartuisarput* *fb*  
*assartur-(ss)i-tar-pu-t*  
 transport-antip-habit-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>T</sub> were regularly hauling hay fodder for the livestock
- (2b) *tatsini siku asirurtirtariaqartarpaat* *if, ib, fb*  
 • *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* *if*  
*Whitey'i-p=lu=mi*  
 Whitey-SG.ERG=and=FOC  
 and in addition Whitey<sup>T</sup>  
*aamma atuarnini nakkutigisariaqarpaa* *ib, fb*  
 • *aamma atuar-niq-ni nakkutigi-tariaqar-pa-a*  
 also study-v\ñ-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG attend.to-have.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 also had to attend to his<sub>T</sub> schoolwork.



- (5) *Aput assanniqarsimasuq takugaangamiuk if*  
*aput assag-niqar-sima-tuq taku-gaanga-miuk*  
 snow dig.in-passive-prf-iv\cn see-HAB<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3SG  
 Whenever he<sub>T</sub> saw pawed up snow<sup>+</sup>,
- nalunngilaa fb*  
*nalu-nngit-la-a*  
 not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 he<sub>T</sub> knew
- sumi ivigarturtartut. ff*  
*su-mi ivigaq-tur-tar-tu-t.*  
 what-SG.LOC grass-use.as.customary-habit-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 where they<sup>+</sup> were (currently) grazing.
- (6) *Ilaanni narsartannguami urpiqannginnirsami if*  
*ilaanni narsaq-taq-nnguaq-mi urpik-qar-nngit-nirsaq-mi*  
 once plain-attached-little-SG.LOC tree-have-not-most-SG.LOC  
 One [day] in a little clearing among some trees
- takuuaa fb*  
*taku-pa-a*  
 see-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 he<sub>T</sub> saw [that]
- apisursuunirani ivigartursinnaannginnamik ff*  
 • *api-tuq-:suaq-u-niq-a-ni ivigaq-tur-sinnaa-nngit-ga-mik*  
 snow-iv\cn-big-be-v\cn-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC grass-use.as.cust-be.able-not-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 because they were unable to graze in the deep snow cover
- urpiit avaliqutaasa qalipaannik*  
*urpik-t avaliqut-isa qalipak-at-nik*  
 tree-PL.ERG branch-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL.ERG bark-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL-MOD
- mangiarsimasut.*  
*mangiar-sima-tu-t.*  
 gnaw.off-prf-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 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* if  
*histi pi-araq*  
horse n-little
- akkaa Thorvald'imut iqqarturumasaqaa* mf, fb  
• *akkaa Thorvald'i-mut iqqartur-juma-tar-qi-pa-a*  
uncle Torwal-SG.DAT talk.about-want-habit-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
He often tried to speak about the colt to Uncle Torwal.
- (2a) “*Ajuqaarmi aallaasimanninnakku.*” fb, ff  
*ajur-qi-pu-q=mi aallaa-sima-nngit-ga-kku.*”  
be.bad-emph-IND.IV-3SG=FOC shoot-prf-not-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1SG.3SG  
“It’s too bad I haven’t shot him.”
- (2b) *akkaa Thorvald qatimaluttarpuq.* if, fb  
*akkaa Thorvald qatimalug-tar-pu-q.*  
uncle Torwal growl-habit-IND.IV-3s  
Uncle Torwal would growl.
- (3) “*Aallaasimasuugukku* if  
ll *aallaa-sima-suu-gu-kku*  
shoot-prf-remote.mod-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1SG.3SG  
If I had shot him<sup>T</sup>,
- taamarsuaq naalliutiqasimassanngikkaluarpuq.*” mf, fb  
ll.rm *taama-:suaq naalliut-qar-sima-ssa-nngit-galuar-pu-q.*”  
thus=big suffering-have-prf-be.expected-not-...but-IND.IV-3SG  
he<sub>T</sub> wouldn’t have suffered so much.
- (4a) “*Kisianni sumik ajutuurani* if, ib  
*kisianni su-mik ajutuur-na-ni*  
but what-SG.MOD have.accident-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>
- aasaq naavaa, ilaa?* mb, fb  
*aasa-q naa-pa-a, ilaa?*  
summer finish-IND.TV-3SG.3SG, right?  
But he<sub>T</sub> did live through the summer without an accident, didn’t he?”
- (4b) *Whitey’ip tamatigut akisarpaa* if, ib, fb  
*Whitey’i-p tama-tigut aki-tar-pa-a*  
Whitey-SG.ERG all-PL.VIA answer-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
Whitey<sup>T</sup> would always answer.
- (5a) “*Taamaakkaluarpurmi.*” fb  
• *taama=it-galuar-pu-q=mi.*”  
thus=be-...but-IND.IV-3SG=FOC  
“That’s true enough.”

- (5b) *akkaa Thorvald nassuirtarpuq.* *if, fb*  
*akkaa Thorvald nassuir-tar-pu-q.*  
 uncle Torwal explain-habit-IND.IV-3SG  
 Uncle Torwal<sup>T</sup> would explain [*lit. nassu-ir* ‘fog-remove’, cf. *de-fog*].
- (6) “*Iqqaama-sariaqar-pa-t=li* *fb*  
 • *iqqaa-ama-tariaqar-pa-t=li*  
 recall-con-have.to-IND.TV-2SG.3SG=but  
 “But you must remember that
- narsarsuarmi aasaq* *ff*  
*narsaq-:suaq-mi aasaq*  
 plain-big-SG.LOC summer  
 out on the range, the summer
- ukiuuniratut inngilluinnarmat.*  
*ukiuq-u-niq-a-tut it-nngit-:luinnar-mm-at.*  
 winter-be-v\N-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-EQU be-not-absolutely-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 is not at all like the winter.
- (7) *Nirsutiiranguakkuluk taanna appussaalluni* *if*  
*nirsut-araq-nnguaq-kuluk taanna appug-gaa-llu-ni*  
 animal-tiny-little-poor that (snow).trap-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 That poor little fellow<sup>T</sup>, that trapped by the snow,
- qiusimanngikkuni* *mf*  
 | *qiu-sima-nngit-gu-ni*  
 freeze.to.death-prf-not-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 if he<sub>T</sub> hasn’t frozen to death [yet],
- amaqqunit niriniqariirsimassaaq* *fb*  
 l.vd *amaruq-nit niri-niqar-riir-sima-ssa-pu-q*  
 wolf-PL.ABL eat-passive-have.already-prf-prospect-IND.IV-3SG  
 he<sub>T</sub> 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 Torwal 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* *if*  
*suuq=mi=una angirlar-ut-llu-gu*  
 why=FOC=this go.home-iv\TV-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
 “Why, then, [don’t we try to]<sub>limw3</sub> bring him home,
- histinut qimussirvigisakkatsinnut ilanngullugu* *ib*  
*histi-nut qimussir-vigi-tar-gaq-tsin-nut ilanngut-llu-gu*  
 horse-PL.DAT ride-on-habit-TV\RN-1PL.PL-DAT add-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
 add him to the horses we ride on
- maani ivigarturtitarinianngikkipput?* *mf, fb*  
 • *maa-ni ivigaq-tur-tit-gaq-gi-ni̇ar-nngit-gi-pput?*  
 here-LOC grass-use.as.cust-let-TV\RN-have.as.try-not-ELA<sub>↓</sub>.TV-1PL.3SG  
 and have him as [one more horse] we let graze here?”
- (1b) *Whitey apirivuuq.* *if, fb*  
*Whitey apiri-pu-q.*  
*Whitey ask-IND.IV-3SG*  
 Whitey asked.
- (2a) “*Taamaaliurtuugutta* *if*  
 llrm *taama=iliur-tuu-gu-tta*  
 thus=do-remote.modality-HYP<sub>T</sub>--1PL  
 “If we were to do that,
- sumik ajuqusirnavianngikkaluarpuq,* *mf, fb*  
 ll *su-mik ajuqut-lir-navianngit-galuar-pu-q,*  
 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
- & *sunngivigalu tamaat aturlugu* *mf*  
*su-nngit-vik-ga=lu tamaq-at atur-llu-gu*  
 do.sth-not-v\loc-1SG.sg=and all-SG<sub>↓</sub> use-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>
- nujuillisassagaluarpara.”* *fb*  
 ll *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.

- (3b) “*Histi piaraq maani nunaatitsinni* if  
*histi pi-araq maa-ni nuna-ut-tsin-ni*  
horse n-little here-LOC land-of-1PL.SG-LOC  
*ivigaatitsiarsuatsinnik nirisuq*  
*ivigaq-ut-tsiarsuaq-tsin-nik niri-tu-q*  
grass-of-very.nice-1PL.PL-MOD eat-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
*naammattuuraluarukku*  
llrm *naammag-tuur-galuar-gu-kku*  
come.across-happen-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1SG.3SG  
“If I were to come across the colt here on our own land, eating our fine hay,  
*3-mut kisitsinngitsutilluunniit* ib  
*3-mut kisitsi-nngit-tu-tit=luunniit*  
3-SG.DAT count-not-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-2SG=ALT  
[then] before you could even count to three  
*amaqqunut nirisassiaralugu* mf  
*amaruq-nut niri-gaq-ssaq-liari-llu-gu*  
wolf-PL.DAT eat-TV\RN-prospective-make.into-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
*sikutallugu aggussagaluarpara* fb  
ll *sikutir-llu-gu aggur-ssa-galuar-pa-ra*  
mince-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub> divide-be.expected-...but-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
I would make mincemeat out of him to feed to the wolves”  
(3b) *akka Thorvald qatimaluppuq.* if, fb  
*akka Thorvald qatimalug-pu-q.*  
uncle Torwal growl-IND.IV-3SG  
growled Uncle Torwal.  
(4a) “*Tuquqqunagu utiriisiravit* if  
• *tuqut-qqu-na-gu utiriisir-ga-vit*  
kill-ask-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub> keep.insisting -FCT<sub>T</sub>-2SG  
“Because you pestered me begging me not to kill him  
*nakkaanaarvigisimagakkit* ib  
*nakkar-inaar-vigi-sima-ga-kkit*  
give.in-just-iv\TV-prf-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1SG.2SG  
I just gave in to you,  
*taamak piqqissimisartigisunga,* mf, fb  
*taamak piqqissimi-tar-tigi-tu-nga,*  
thus regret-habit-to.that.degree-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-1SG  
which I now constantly regret.  
(4b) *nangippuq* fb  
*nangit-pu-q*  
continue-IND.IV-3SG  
he went on.

- (4c) “*aammami qularilluinnarpara* *if, fb*  
*aamma=mi qulari-lluinnar-pa-ra*  
*also=emph doubt-absolutely-IND.TV-1SG.3SG*  
and anyway, I really doubt  
  
*suli uumanirsuq.*” *ff*  
*suli uuma-nir-tu-q*  
still alive-x.wonder-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
that he’s still alive.”
- (5a) “*Qangali takuara* *if, fb*  
*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* *if, fb, ff*  
*kisianni isuma-qar-nngit-la-nga tuqu-sima-tu-q*  
but belief-have-not-NEG-1SG die-prf-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
but I don’t think he’s dead.
- (5c) *tuqussallunimi silatuallaqaaq,*” *if, fb*  
*tuqu-ssa-llu-ni=mi sila-tuuq-pallaar-qi-pu-q*  
die-prospect-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=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,* *if, fb*  
*Whitey uqar-pu-q*  
Whitey say-IND.IV-3s  
said Whitey,  
  
*qarluni sajutsilaanngitsuurnagit.* *ff*  
*qarluq-ni sajut-tit-laar-nngitsuur-na-git*  
lip-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL tremble-let-a.bit-fail-NON<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub>  
...unsuccessfully trying to keep a slight tremor from his lips.