KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Aataarsuup irnikasia
"Aataarsuaq’s kid son"

ESKIMO MYTH:
D. Sommer et al, eds, 1972, Kalaallisut Ilimmuit 1, pp. 27–32, Ministeriet for Grønland.
TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by M. Bittner (9/20/2005): 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 (T);
ib: elaborate T and/or:
   (i) set up a secondary topical referent (T′), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);
mf: background information about main verbal comment;
fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (if-T & ib-T′ if present; otherwise T
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).

I. Once upon a time…

§1.

(1) Qangaa-nguug
   long.ago=hearsay
   Once upon a time, ‘tis said,…
   anguti-qar-pu-q Aataarsuar-mik ati-lim-mik.
   man-have-IND.IV-3s Aataarsuaq-MOD name-with-MOD
   …there was a man named Aataarsuaq.

(2) Taama-ni inu-it
   then/there-LOC person-pl
   Back then people,…
   inu-qati-min-nik tuqut-si-sar-pu-t.
   person-fellow-3ppl.PL-MOD kill-apass-habit-IND.IV-3p
   …used to kill their fellow men.

(3a) Aataarsuaq aamma
    Aataarsuaq also
    Aataarsuaq also…
    akira-qar-pu-q
    enemy-have-IND.IV-3s
    …had enemies,
(3b) akiqqa-ni=li tuqun-niq sapir-pa-i.
\[\text{enemy-3s}, \text{pl}=\text{but kill-v\text{n be.unable-IND.TV}-3s.3p}\]
\[\ldots\text{but he}_3\text{ was unable to kill them}_1.\]

(4) Aamma
also
[He\text{ }\text{\textsubscript{1}}\text{ also}]

nulia-qar-pu-q.
\[\text{wife-have-IND.IV-3s}\]
\[\ldots\text{had a wife}.\]

(5a) Sivisuu-mik aappa-ri-ik-kaluar-pu-t,
\[\text{long.time-MOD mate-have.as-rcp-\ldots but-IND.IV-3p}\]
\[\text{They}_3\text{ had been married a long time [in vain]…}\]

(5b) kisianni suli qiturna-qa-ngil-la-t.
\[\text{but still offspring-have-not-IRR-3p}\]
\[\ldots\text{but they}_3\text{ still had no offspring}.\]

(6) Ullu-l=li ila-an-ni Aataarsuu-p
\[\text{day-pl.ERG}=\text{but one.of-3p}_1\text{.sg-LOC Aataarsuaq-ERG}\]
But one day Aataarsuaq\text{ }_1

malugi-lir-pa-a nuli-i naartu-su-q.
\[\text{sense-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s wife-3s}, \text{sg be.pregnant-ELA}_1\text{.IV-3s}_1\]
\[\ldots\text{noticed that his}_3\text{ wife}_1\text{ was pregnant}.\]

(7) Naav-i
\[\text{belly[pl]-3s}_3\text{.pl}\]

Her\text{ }_1\text{ belly}_3\ldots

al-li-artu-qa-u-t.
\[\text{be.big.get.more-progress-very-IND.IV-3p}\]
\[\ldots\text{grew a lot}.\]

(8) Aarimmi ullu-t ila-an-ni
\[\text{sure.enough day-pl.ERG one.of-3p}_1\text{.sg-LOC}\]
And sure enough, one day…

nukappiaqqa-mik irni-vu-q.
\[\text{boy-MOD give.birth-IND.IV-3s}\]
\[\ldots\text{she}_3\text{ gave birth to a boy}.\]

§2.

(1) Irmir-taa-ni inu-u-sima-tsiar-tu-q
\[\text{son-new-3s}, \text{sg person-be-prf-moment-ELA}_1\text{.IV-3s}_1\]
The moment his\text{ }_3\text{ baby son}_1\text{ was born…}

angut-a-ata annil-lu-gu
\[\text{father-3s}_1\text{.sg-ERG take.out-ELA}_1\text{-3s}_1\]
\[\ldots\text{the father}_3\text{ took him}_1\text{ out and…}\]
sissa-mut arpaliup-pa-a.

shore-DAT run.with-IND.TV-3s.3s
...ran with him \textunderscore see (2) to the shore.

(2) Tasama-ni
down.there-LOC

There...

niaqu-a tasiqqqa-mut
head-3s.\textsubscript{sg} hole.in.ice-DAT
...[he\textsubscript{\_\_} dipped]\textsubscript{\_\_} his\textsubscript{\_\_} head in a hole in the ice

sivisuu-mik mursut-tis-sima-va-a.
long.time-MOD disappear.under.wtr-cause-prf-IND.TV-3s.3s
...for a long time.

(3) Tauva tuavi=innaq

then hurry=\textforall

Then, hurrying all the way,

illu-min-nut maju-up-pa-a.
home-3p\textsubscript{\textsg} DAT go.up-with-IND.TV-3s.3s
...he\textsubscript{\_\_} carried him \textunderscore back up home.

II. Son's childhood

§1.

(1) Taama-iliur-tuar-pa-a.
thus-do.to-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
He\textsubscript{\_\_} kept on doing that to him\textsubscript{\_\_}.

(2) Ullaak-kut itir-lu-ni=lu
morning-VIA wake.up-ELA\textsubscript{\_\_} 3s.3s=and
Every morning when he\textsubscript{\_\_} woke up,...

irn-i suli sinit-tu-q
son-3s.\textsubscript{\textsg} still sleep-ELA\textsubscript{\_\_} \textiv-3s.3s
...while his\textsubscript{\_\_} son\textsubscript{\_\_} was still asleep...

annit-tar-pa-a, sissa-mu=innaq.

\textbf{fb, ff}
take.out-habit-IND.TV-3s.3s, shore-DAT=\textforall
...he\textsubscript{\_\_} would take him\textsubscript{\_\_} out, always [down] to the shore.

(3) Kiisa irnir-a pisut-ta-lir-a-mi
in.the.end son-3s.\textsubscript{\textsg} walk-habit-begin-FCT\textsubscript{\_\_} 3s.3s
In the end when the son\textsubscript{\_\_} began to walk...

mitir-tut sivi-su-tigi-su-mik
eider-EQU duration-have.big-as...as-iv\textsubscript{\textsg} MOD

aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q.

\textbf{fb}
dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s
...he\textsubscript{\_\_} began to dive and stay underwater as long as an eider.
§2.

(1a) Anguta-a-ta

*father-3s.sg-ERG*

The fatherTa…

taama-tut sungiu-sar-tuar-pa-a,

*thus-EQU get.used.to-act.to.cause-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s*

…kept on training himT like this,

(1b) kiisa angi-niru-lir-a-mi

*in.the.end be.big-…er-begin-FCTTa-3sTa*

In the end when heTa got bigger…

sivisu-rsuar-mik aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q.

*long.time-big-MOD dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s*

…heTa began to dive and stay underwater for a very long time.

III. *Father’s seal catch*

§1.

(1) Ila-an-ni

*one.of-3pTa-sg-LOC*

One [day]…

anguta-a qajar-tur-lu-ni

*father-3sTa.sg kayak-use-ELATa-3sTa*

…when the fatherTa was out [hunting] in his kayak…

qasigissa-mik pi-sa-qar-pu-q.

*harbour.seal-MOD get-TV∂n-have-IND.IV-3s*

…heTa caught a harbour seal.

(2) Tikik-ka-mi

*come-FCTTa-3sTa*

When heTa came back,…

nuli-i uqar-vig-a-a:

*wife-3sTa.sg say-to-IND.TV-3s.3s*

…heTa said to hisTa wifeTa:

(3) “Ami-a

*“skin-3sTa.sg*

“The skinTa,…

avata-ssa-tut suliari-ssa-va-t.

*hunting.bladder-expected-EQU process-be.expected-IND.TV-2sTa.3s*

…you will process as for a hunting bladder
[used to keep harpooned animals afloat] …

taliru-i siququ-i=lu

*hind.flipper-3sTa.pl front.flipper-3sTa.pl=and*

ata-til-lu-git!”

*attached-cause-ELATa-3pTa*

…leaving the hind flippers and the front flippers attached!”
§2.

(1) Nuli-a-ta
wife-3s$_r$.sg-ERG
His$_r$ wife$_r$…

\textit{taama suliar-a-a.}
\textit{his$_r$ process-IND.TV-3s$_r$.3s}
…processed it$_r$ in that way.

(2) Inir-m-at uvi-a-ta
finish-FCT$_r$.-3s$_r$ husband-3s$_r$.sg-ERG
When she$_r$ finished, the husband$_r$…

\textit{ulikkaar-lu-gu im-mir-pa-a}
\textit{fill.up-ELA$_r$.-3s$_r$.content-link.to-IND.TV-3s$_r$.3s}
…filled it$_r$ up with stuffing…

\textit{panir-sir-ssa-a-nul=lu qullar-lu-gu}
\textit{dry-gradually-loc.of-expected-3s$_r$.sg-DAT=and put.up-ELA$_r$.-3s$_r$.3s}
…and hung it$_r$ in a suitable place to dry.

(3) Panir-sir-nir-a-ni
\textit{dry-gradually-v
-3s$_r$.sg-LOC}
While it$_r$ was drying…

\textit{irn-i}
\textit{son-3s$_r$.sg}

\textit{ullaa-t tamaa-sa sissa-mu-ka-ut-tar-pa-a.
morning-pl all-pl$_r$. shore-DAT-go-iv TV-habit-IND.TV-3s$_r$.3s}
…he$_r$ kept taking his$_r$ son$_r$ [down] to the shore every morning.

(4) Ila-an-ni
\textit{one.of-3p.sg-LOC}
One [day]…

\textit{anguta-a iti-riallar-a-mi}
\textit{father-3s$_r$.sg wake.up-quick.prep-FCT$_r$.-3s$_r$.}
…as soon as the father$_r$ woke up…

\textit{qasigissa-p ami-a panir-sima-su-q.}
\textit{harbour.seal-ERG skin-3s$_r$.sg dry-prf-ELA$_r$.-IV-3s$_r$.3s}
…[he saw] that the seal skin$_r$ was dry.

(5) Irn-i itir-sar-pa-a:
son-3s$_r$.sg wake.up-act.to.cause-IND.TV-3s$_r$.3s
He$_r$ shook his$_r$ son$_r$ awake:

(6a) “Maki-niar-i-t
get.up-please-IMP-2s
“Get up, please,

(6b) atisar-taa-t ati-nia-ssa-va-t!”
garment-new-2s.sg put.on-try-be.expected-IND.TV-2s$_r$.3s
you’re going to try on your new suit!”
IV. **Dress rehearsal**

§1. (1) Asutaampa pi-sa-q
and.so thus tell-tv\rn-sg
And so, having been told that,…
qasigissa-p ami-a ati-va-a.
*harbour.seal-ERG skin-3s\_sg put.on-IND.TV-3s.3s*
he\_ put on the seal skin [suit].

(2) Ani-artur-a-mi tuma-i
*go.out-progress.toward-FCT-3s\_
track-3s,pl*
As he\_ headed for the door, his tracks\_…
akilir-iip-pu-t,
*be.parallel.to-rcp-IND.IV-3p*
…were parallel,
tassa=li allur-ni-ki-ngaar-a-mi.
*that.is=but take.step(s)-\nhave.small-very-FCT-3s\_
—that was because he\_ was taking very small steps.

(3) Ani-mm-at anguta-a-ta
*go.out-FCT-3s\_ father-3s,sg-ERG*
When he\_ went out, the father\_…
malip-pa-a.
*followed-IND.TV-3s.3s*
…followed him\_.

(4) Imir-a
*son-3s,sg*
The son\_…
sissa-mut tuavi=innaq atir-pu-q.
*shore-DAT hurry=∀ go.down-IND.IV-3s*
…rushed down to the shore.

(5) Sukka-tsik-kaluttuin-nar-m-at anguta-a-ta
*move.fast…er-keep.increasing-FCT-3s\_ father-3s,sg-ERG*
He\_ kept going faster and faster, while the father\_…
qain-i urnip-pa-a,
*kayak-3s,sg approach-IND.TV-3s.3s*
…headed for his\_ kayak,…
irn-i=lu ala-ssa-na-gu
*son-3s,sg=and take.eyes.off-be.expected-NON-3s\_
…determined not to take his eyes off his\_ son\_.
(6) Ala-tsiar-lu-gu
   take.eyes.off-briefly-ELA₁-3s₁
He₇ did take his eyes off him₁ briefly, and when…
   qivia-qqip-pa-a,
   look.toward-again-IND.TV-3s.3s
he₇ looked toward him₁ again…
   taava=una imma-mut pissit-tu-q.
   then=that₁ sea-DAT leap-ELA₁.İV-3s₁
there he₁ was, leaping into the sea.

(7) Issi-kasi-qi-mm-at
   fall.into.water-silly-very-FCT₁-3s₁
When he₁ hit the water, the silly kid₁, with a big splash, …
   anguta-a-ta qaan-ni imma-mut pissuk-ka-mi-uk
   father-3s₁.sg-ERG kayak-3s₁ sea-DAT get.with-FCT₁-3s₁-3s₁
…the father₇ got his₇ kayak into the sea and…
   iki-vu-q.
   get.into.kayak-IND.İV-3s
…got in.

(8) Issi-vvi-a-ta
   fall.into.water-loc.of-3s₁.sg-ERG vicinity-3s₁.sg
[All] around the place where he₁ (the boy) had hit the water, …
   itsuar-tur-pa-a.
   look.through-activity-IND.TV-3s.3s
…he₇ (the father) looked down toward the bottom.

(9) Taamak
   gone
Gone, …
   pi-qa-nginx-la-q.
   that.kind-be.there-not-IRR-3s
…he wasn’t there.

(10) Kiisa
    in.the.end
In the end…
   naqq-a issigi-niq sapi-lir-pa-a.
   bottom-3s₁.sg watch-v°n be.unable-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
…he₇ was unable to see the bottom any more.

(11) Irn-i
    ipi-ssa-sura-lu-gu
   son-3s₁.sg drown-be.expected-believe-ELA₁-3s₁
Dreading his₇ son₁’s death by drowning,
   anguta-a
   father-3s₁.sg get.terrified-result-begin-IND.İV-3s
…the father₇ began to feel terrified…
immi-nul=lu navii-lir-ru-ni. 
self-DAT=and scold-begin-ELA-T-3s_T 
…and began to reproach himself_T.

§2.

(1) Suli uqualun-niar-ru-ni, 
if
He_T was still at it, when...

suaar-pallak tusar-pa-a. 
mf, fb 
shout-sound.iv\cn hear-IND.TV-3s.3s 
…and he_T heard a shout.

(2) Avam-mut qiviar-ru-mi 
looking out toward the open sea,
taku-va-a 
fb 
see-IND.TV-3s.3s 
he_T saw...

im-i imma-mit nui-im-misaar-tu-q. 
ff 
son-T-3s.sg sea-ABL stick.head.up-a.bit-intermittently-ELA.TIV-3s.s 
…his_T son_T stick his head up from the sea a bit, now and then.

(3) Tamaviat 
with.all.might
With all his_T might,

paar-lu-gu aallar-vig-a-a 
mf.fb 
paddle.toward-ELA-T-3s_T set.off-to-IND.TV-3s.3s 
he_T set off paddling toward him_T.

(4) Irmir-a-ta 
son-T-3s.s sg-ERG
The son_T...

unil-lu-ni isig-a-a 
mf, fb 
stop-ELA-T-3s_T watch-IND.TV-3s.3s 
stopped [bobbing up and down] and watched him_T.

(5) Angut-a-ta 
father-T-3s.s sg-ERG
The father_T, …
imir-mi qanil-li-nir-a 
ib 
son-T-3s.s sg-ERG be.close-get-v\n-3s.s sg

naammagi-lir-a-mi-uk 
judge.enough-begin-FCT-T-3s-T-3s_s 
when he_T judged he_T had got close enough to his_T son_T, …

naak-kiar-pa-a. 
fb 
harpoon-make.move-IND.TV-3s.3s 
…cast his harpoon at him_T.
(6) Irmir-a
  son-3s.sg  
  The son...
  imma-mut  mursup-pu-q.  
  sea-DAT disappear.under.wtr-IND.IV-3s  
  …dove down into the sea.

(7) Qangami  imar-pallak!
  excl. sea-sound.iv\cn  
  What a splash!

(8) Anguta-a-ta
  father-3s\_sg-ERG  
  The father...
  ini-ku-a  kisi-at  iqqu-qa-a.  
  place-former-3s\_sg  alone-sg\_ hit-IND.TV-3s.3s  
  …hit only his former location.

§3.
(1a) Mursu-mm-at  anguta-a-ta
  disappear.under.wtr-FCT\_3s\_ father-3s\_sg-ERG  
  When he dove down, the father...
  arri-it-su-mik  avam-mut  aallar-pu-q.  
  in.haste-contrary-iv\cn-MOD seaward-DAT set.off-IND.IV-3s  
  …set off without haste [farther] out toward the open sea,

(1b) sivisuu-mik  utaqqi-va-a.  
  long.time-MOD wait.for-IND.TV-3s.3s  
  …he waited for him a long time.

(2) Kiisa
  in.the.end  
  In the end…
  annilaa-nga-lir-pu-q  
  get.terrified-result-begin-IND.IV-3s  
  …he [again] began to feel terrified.

(3) Suaar-palla-mm-at
  shout-sound-FCT\_3s\_  
  At the sound of a shout…
  nipi-p  tunga-a  qiviar-pa-a  
  voice-ERG direction-3s\_sg  look.toward-IND.TV-3s.3s  
  …he looked in the direction of the voice.
(4) Tasama tasama
out.west out.west
[It was] way out west [i.e. out toward open sea in West Greenland],…
qani-nngi-la-q.
be.close-not-IRR-3s
…far away.

(5a) Tamaviat
with.all.might
With all his might,…
urni-lir-pa-a,
approach-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
…he set off toward him,…

(5b) maanna-kkut naak-kiar-nia-ngi-la-a.
here/now-VIA harpoon-make.move-intend-not-IRR-3s.3s
…this time he didn’t intend to cast his harpoon at him.

(6) Tikik-ka-mi-uk
come.to-FCT-3s.3s⊥
When he got to him,…
niaqu-a-gut patip-pa-a
head-3s⊥sg-VIA pat-IND.TV-3s.3s
…he patted him on the head…
uqar-viga-lu=lu:
say-to-ELA-3s=and:
…and said to him:

(7) “Aqqa-amma-rtuu-ngua-q
“dive-result-with.big-nice.little-sg
Nice little long-time diver,
tim-mut tamaviat
shoreward-DAT with.all.might
nuug-it.
move-IMP.2s
Swim with all your might toward the shore.
Mali-ssa-va-kkit!”
follow-be.expected-IND.TV-1s.2s
I will pursue you!”

§4.
(1) Angun-ni taama uqar-m-at irmir-a
father-3s⊥sg thus say-FCT⊥-3s⊥ son-3s⊥sg
When the father said that, the son,…
mursup-pu-q.
disappear_under.wtr-IND.IV-3s
…dove down.
(2) Angun-ni suli apuuti-nngi-tsu-q
father-3s.sg still arrive-not-ELA_IV-3s
Before his father had arrived,…

imiri-a-ta
son-3s.sg-ERG
…the son…

sissa-q angu-va-a.
shore-sg reach-IND.TV-3s.3s
…[already] reached the shore.

(3) Anguta-a-ta
father-3s.sg-ERG
The father…

irn-i
son-3s.sg

akiqqa-mi-nut sakku-gi-nia-lir-pa-a.
enemy-3s.pl-DAT weapon(s)-use.as-intend-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
…now felt ready to use his son as a weapon against his enemies.

V. The father is killed.

§1.
(1) Ullu-t ila-an-ni anguta-a-ta
day-pl.ERG one.of-3p.sg-LOC father-3s.sg-ERG
One day the father,…

qajar-tur-lu-ni akiqqma-mi ila-at
kayak-use-ELA-3s.3s enemy-3s.pl-DAT one.of-3p.sg


(2) Mali-lir-pa-a.
follow-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
He began to follow him.

(3) Mali-ta-a-ta
follow-TV\vn-3s.sg-ERG
[The man] he was following…

taku-va-a.
see-IND.TV-3s.3s
saw him.
(4) Aataarsuaq
Aataarsuaq if

tuqu-taa-vu-q. fb
kill-pass-IND.IV-3s
…was killed.

(5) Tuqut-si-su-q angirlar-a-mi if
kill-apass-IV\cn-sg come.home-fct-3s[\t]
When the killer got home,…

uqaluttuar-pu-q. fb
tell.story-IND.IV-3s
he told the story.

VI. The boy's revenge

§1. (1a) Aqagu-a-ni qajar-pa-ssui-t if, ib
next.day-3s[\t]sg-LOC kayak-group-big-pl.ERG
The next day a big mob of kayakmen…

Aataarsuu-p ilaquta-i nunguk-kiartur-pa-it, mf, fb
Aataarsuaq-ERG family-3s.pl finish.off-go.to-IND-TV-3p.3p
…set out to finish off Aataarsuaq’s family, pl,

(1b) unnu-a-ni=li iqqarli-a-ta if, ib
night.of-3s[\t]sg-LOC=but cousin-3s[\t]sg-ERG
…but during the night a cousin…

tamatu-minnga kalirris-sima-va-i. mf, fb
that-MOD warn.about-prf-IND-TV-3s.3p
…had warned them about it.

§2. (1) Nukappiara-q suli sinit-tu-q qayar-pa-ssui-t if, ib
boy-sg still sleep-ELA.IV-3s[\t] kayak-group-big-pl
While the boy was still asleep, the kayak.men,…
nui-a-lir-pu-t. fb
stick.head.up-bit.by.bit-begin-IND.IV-3p
…began to appear one by one on the horizon.

(2) Arna-a-ta ib
mother-3s[\t]sg-ERG
His mother,…

itir-sar-pa-a. ib
wake.up-act.to.cause-IND-TV-3s.3s
…woke him up.
(3) Itir-a-mi
  `wake up-FCT-3s`  
  When he woke up…

  atisa-ni
  `garment-3s.sg`

  tuavi-or-lu-ni  `ati-va-a,`
  `hurry-activity-ELA-3s`  `put.on-IND.TV-3s.3s`
  …he hastily put on his [diving] suit…

  ani-lu-ni=lu.
  `go.out-ELA-3s`
  …and went out.

§3.
(1) Ani-innar-tu-q  `akira-i-sa`
  `go.out-just-ELA, IV-3s`
  `enemy-3s.pl-ERG`
  As soon as he went out, his enemies…

  taku-va-at.
  `see-IND.TV-3p.3s`
  …saw him.

(2) Nukappiaqqa-p
  `boy-ERG`
  The boy…

  atirviur-pa-i.
  `go.down.toward-IND.TV-3s.3p`
  …went down toward them.

(3) Suli qaanna-t  `sissa-mut`  `pi-nngi-tsu-t`
  `still`  `kayak-pl`  `shore-DAT`  `get-not-ELA, IV-3p`
  Before the kayakmen got to the shore,…

  imma-mut  `tingi-vu-q.`
  `sea-DAT`  `fly-IND.IV-3s`
  …he leapt [lit. flew] into the sea.

(4a) “Issi-kasi-qa-u-q!”
  `fall.into.water-silly-very-IND.IV-3s`
  “The stupid kid has fallen into the water with a big splash!”

(4b) qaanna-t  `suaar-pu-t.`
  `kayak-pl`  `shout-IND.IV-3p`
  the kayakmen shouted.
§4.  
(1)  Qini-lir-m-an-ni
look.around.for-begin-FCT₃-3p₃-3s₃
When they₃ started looking around for him₃,…
qiqqussat akurn-an-nut pula-tir-pu-q,
sea.weed-pl gap.between-3p₅.sg go.into.sth.gradually-IND.IV-3s
…he₃ worked his way into a gap between some sea weeds,…
issi-mi illu-a kisi-at
eye-3s₃.pl.ERG on.one.side-3s₃.sg alone-sg₃
nui-sil-lu-gu
stick.head.up-cause-ELA₃-3s₃
…keeping just one eye above the surface.

(2)  Anguti-t marluk sakku-qa-ngnit-su-t taku-va-i
man-pl two weapon(s)-have-not-IV\cn-3p
He₃ saw two unarmed men,…
tama-rmik isa-it ajur-tu-t
all-pl₃ eye-3p₃.pl be.bad-ELA₃.IV-3p₃
…both with bad eyes.

(3)  Aappa-a nakunga-vu-q,
pair.mate-3s₃.sg squint-IND.IV-3s
One was squint-eyed,…
aappa-a=lu siqunngir-tuar-lu-ni.
mate-3s₃.sg=and shut.eyes-continue-ELA₃-3s₃
…and his mate kept his eyes shut.

(4)  Sakku-tua-r-a-at
weapon(s)-sole-have.as-IND.TV-3s.3p
Their₃ sole weapon was…
avaartaat.
club
a club [for finishing off fish].

(5)  Sani-ati-gut pui-vu-q.
side-3p₃.sg-VIA come.up.to.surface-IND.IV-3s
He came up to the surface [like a seal] beside them.

(6)  Aappa-a-ta
mate-3s₃.sg-ERG
One₃ of them,…
avaartaamik anaa-riar-pa-a,
club-MOD hit.with.club-make.move-IND.TV-3s.3s
…struck at him₃ with the club…
uniur-lu-gu=li.
miss-ELA,3s,=but
…but missed him.

(7a) Aamma pui-qqip-pu-q.
also come.up.to.surface-again-IND.IV-3s
Once again, he came up, …

(7b) kisianni iqqu-ngi-la-at.
but hit-not-IRR-3p.3s
…but [again] they failed to hit him.

(8a) Nakunga-su q ila-i-sa
squint-iv\cn-part-3s,pl-ERG
urnip-pa-at
approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
The rest of the mob came toward the squint-eyed [fellow],

(8b) nukappiara-r=li
boy-sg=but
…but the boy

nukappiara-r=li ava-si-inna-kkut pui-vu-q.
boy-sg=but seaward-far-∀-VIA come.up.to.surface-IND.IV-3s
…first came up far out toward the open sea.

(9) Qaanna-t
kayak-pl
The kayakmen…
tuavi=innaq urnip-pa-at.
hurry-∀ approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
…rushed toward him.

(10a) Suli tiki-nngik-ka-an-ni
still come.to-not-ELA,TV-3p,-3s
Before they got to him…
aqqa-qqip-pu-q,
dive-again-IND.IV-3s
…he dove again…

(10b) taama=lu iliur-lu-ni
thus=and do-ELA,-3s
…and by doing that…
akiqqa-ni avam-mu-ka-up-pa-i.
enemy-3s,pl seaward-DAT-go-∀\∀-IND.TV-3s,3p
…he drew his enemies out toward the open sea.

(11) Ilulia-q tikik-ka-mi-uk
iceberg-sg come.to-fC\CT-3s,-3s
Coming to an iceberg, …
tass-unga qaqi-vu-q. \(mf, fb\)

\(that\)-DAT \(climb\)-IND.IV-3s

…he\(_\tau\) climbed up onto it.

(12) Anguti-t ilulissa-mut majuar-m-ata

\(man\)-pl \(iceberg\)-DAT \(go.up\)-FCT\(_{-3p}\)

When the men\(_1\) scrambled up onto the iceberg,…

ilulia-mini-q nakkar-tip-pa-a. \(mf, fb\)

\(iceberg\)-chunk-sg \(fall\)-cause-IND.TV-3s.3s

…he\(_\tau\) dropped a chunk of ice.

(13) Anguti-t nakka-ap-pu-t.

\(man\)-pl \(fall\)-en.masse-IND.IV-3p

The men\(_\tau\) fell off en masse.

(14) Anguti-rpai-t annilaa-nga-lir-a-mik

\(man\)-group-pl \(get.terrified\)-result-begin-FCT\(_{-3p}\)

The mobsters\(_\tau\) got terrified, so they\(_\tau\)…

qaanna-min-nut iki-lu-tik qimaa-ppu-t. \(mf, fb\)

kayak-3p\(_\tau\)-pl-DAT \(get\).\(into\).\(kayak\)-ELA-3p \(flee\)-IND.IV-3p

…got into their\(_\tau\) kayaks and fled.

(15) Nukappiara-q

\(boy\)-sg

The boy\(_\tau\)…

ilulissa-p sanira-a-tigut imma-mut pissip-pu-q. \(mf, fb\)

\(iceberg\)-ERG \(side\)-3s\(_\tau\).sg-\(VIA\) \(sea\)-DAT \(leap\)-IND.IV-3s

…leapt down the side of the iceberg into the sea.

(16) Qaanna-t ata-ati-gut ingirla-vu-q. \(if, fb\)

kayak-pl.ERG \(space.under\)-3p\(_\tau\).sg-\(VIA\) \(travel\)-IND.IV-3s

He\(_\tau\) swam along underneath the kayaks\(_\tau\).

(17a) Siulli-q tikik-ka-mi-uk

\(first\)-sg \(come.to\)-FCT\(_{-3s}_{\tau}\)-3s\(_\tau\)

When he\(_\tau\) got to the first one\(_\tau\)…

paata-i-sigut nusup-pa-a

\(paddle\)[pl]-3s\(_\tau\).pl-\(VIA\) \(pull\)-IND.TV-3s.3s

…he\(_\tau\) pulled him\(_\tau\) by his\(_\tau\) paddle\(_\tau\), …

kinngu-til-lu-gu,

\(capsize\)-cause-ELA\(_{-3s}_{\tau}\)

…causing him\(_\tau\) to capsize, …

(17b) tama-isa=lu

\(all\)-pl\(_\tau\)=\(and\)

taama iliur-lu-git nungup-pa-i. \(mf, fb\)

\(thus\) \(do\)-ELA\(_{-3p}\) \(finish\).\(off\)-IND.TV-3s.3p

…and [so] he\(_\tau\) finished them\(_\tau\) all off in that way.
(18) Nakunga-su-kku-t kisi-isa
  *squint-i\cn-co-pl alone-pl₈*
  Only the squint-eyed fellow and₈ his mate…
  pi-nngi-la-i.
  *do.that-not-IRR-3s.3p*
  …did he₈ spare.

(19) Taakkua
  *those*
  Those₈…
  ataasi-ar-na-ni tupat-tit-tar-pa-i,
  *one-do.n.times-NON₈-3s₈ get.startled-cause-habit-IND.TV-3s.3p*
  …he₈ startled more than once,
  tassa paata-i-sa isu-i-sigut
  *that.is paddle-3p₈.pl-ERG end-3p₈.pl-VIA*
  asuli nusu-laar-tar-lu-git.
  *for.fun pull-a.bit-habit-ELA₈-3p₈*
  …that is, by repeatedly pulling them₈ a bit, just for fun,
  by the tips of their₈ paddles.

(20) Taama pi-riar-lu-git
  *thus do.that-stage-ELA₈-3p₈*
  After teasing them₈ like that
  qimap-pa-i.
  *leave-IND.TV-3s.3p*
  …he₈ left them₈.

§5.
(1) Taama
  *thus*
  In this way…
  Aataarsuaq irmir-a-ta akiniup-pa-a.
  *Aataarsuaq son-3s₈.sg-ERG avenge-IND.TV-3s.3s*
  …Aataarsuaq₈ was avenged by his₈ son₈.