KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Silliarnamik uqaluttuaq
(The tale of Silliarnaq)

MYTH3: D. Sommer et al, eds, 1976, Kalaallisut Ilinniutit 2, pp. 54–60, Ministeriet for Grønland. TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/24/2007): 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, excl = exclamatory, emph = emphatic, loc.of = location of, opp = opposite, 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’)
  - FOC = focus
  - 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. 54)

(1) Qatanngutigiinnuq pingasut sikukkut piniariarlutik
qatanngut-gii-t=guuq pingasut siku-kkut pi-niar-riar<llu-tik
sibling-group-PL=RPT three.PL ice-SG.VIA kind-hunt-…and-ELA<3PL.<
Once, 'tis said, there were three brothers< whose, while hunting on the ice,

\[\text{kiisa samungarsuaq pippput.} \quad \text{ib, mf, fb}\]
\[\text{kiisa sam-unga=:suaq pi-pu-t} \]
finally west-DAT=big get-IND.IV<3PL
ended up far out west [i.e. far out on ice-covered sea].

(2) Angajullirsaannuq
angaju-lliq-taq=guuq
older.brother-most-of=RPT
The oldest one< of the brothers
Silliarnamik atiqarluni, \text{mf, fb}
Silliarnaq-mik ati-qar-llu-ni
Silliarnaq-SG.MOD name-have-ELA<SG.<
was called Silliarnaq

\[\text{ataatsimillu allamik sisamaqarlutik.} \quad \text{ff}\]
\[\text{ataasiq-mik=lu alla-mik sisama-qar-llu-tik} \]
one-SG.MOD=and other-SG.MOD fourth-have-ELA<3PL.<
and there was one other man as the fourth member of the party.

(3) Sikumiitillugit nunasarnirup
siku-mi=it-tit-llu-git nuna-sar-niq-p
ice-SG.LOC=be-state-ELA<3PL.< land-blow.from-v\-SG.ERG
While they< were out on the ice, a wind< blowing from land

\[\text{siku nallulirpaa.} \quad \text{mf, fb}\]
\[\text{siku nallur-lir-pa-a} \]
\[\text{ice break.to.pieces-begin-IND.TV<3SG.3SG} \]
\[\text{started breaking up the ice.} \quad \text{ib}\]

(4) Taamaalimmat
\[\text{taama=ili-mm-at} \quad \text{ib}\]
thus=become-FCT<3SG.<
When this< started

\[\text{iluliarsup qaanut qagillutik} \quad \text{ib}\]
\[\text{iluliaq=:suaq-p qaa-a-nut qaqi-llu-tik} \]
\[\text{iceberg-big-SG.ERG top-3SG.<SG-DAT climb-ELA<3PL.<} \]
\[\text{they< climbed up on top of an iceberg and} \quad \text{ib}\]
\[\text{imaannarsuakkut tissukalirput} \quad \text{mf, fb}\]
\[\text{imaq-innar=:suaq-kkut tissukar-lir-pu-t} \]
\[\text{sea-just-big-SG.VIA drift-begin-IND.IV<3PL} \]
began to drift (with the wind) out where there was nothing but sea.
(5) **Sivisuumik** tissukaramik
**sivi-tuuq-mik** tissukar-ga-mik
duration-with.big-SG.MOD drift-FCT→3PL.Τ
After drifting for a long time,

_kiisa pirlirirput._ ib, fb
_kiisa pirlir-lir-pu-t_
finally starve.to.death-begin-IND. IV→3PL.
they_Τ finally began to starve.

(6) **Taamaallutik** irsiriallaraat
**taama=it-lu-tik** irsir-riallar-pa-at
thus=be-ELA→3PL.Τ spot-suddenly-IND.TV→3PL.3SG
Then they_Τ suddenly spotted

_nuna ilisarinngisartik._ ff
_nuna ilisari-ngaar-saq-rtik_
land recognize-not-TV\‘n-3PL.Τ,SG
land that they_Τ did not recognize.

§2

(1) **Nunamut** tipigamik
**nuna-mut** tipi-ga-mik
land-SG.DAT drift.ashore-FCT→3PL.Τ
Drifting ashore,

_inunnik naapitassarsiurlutik ingirlalirput._ mf, fb
_inuk-nik naapit-taq-ssaq-siur-llu-tik ingirla-lir-pu-t_
person-PL.MOD meet-TV\‘n-prospective.seek-ELA→3PL.Τ
go.on-begin-IND. IV→3PL.
they_Τ set out in search of people.

(2) **Nuunnguaq** tikikkamikku takuliriallaraat
**nuuk-nguaq** tikit-ga-mikku taku-lir-riallar-pa-at
headland-little.SG come.to-FCT→3PL.Τ,3SG.Σ see-begin-suddenly-IND.TV→3PL.3SG
Coming to a little headland, they_Τ suddenly saw

_illunnguaq ataatsimik igalaalik._ ff
_illa-nguaq ataasiq-mik igalaaq-lik_
house-little.SG one-SG.MOD window-with.SG
a little house with a single window.

(3) **Silliarnap** ilani uqarvigai:
**Silliarnaq-p ila-ni uqar-vigi-pa-i**
Silliarnaq-SG.ERG part-3SG.Τ,PL say-to-IND.TV→3SG.3PL
Silliarnaq_Τ said to his_Τ companions↓:

(4) “**Uanga uuqattaarlara,”**
**uanga uuqataar-la-ra**
me try-OPT→1SG.3SG
“Let me check it out.”
(5) taamalu
  taama=lu
  thus=and
  and with these words
  siulliulluni illumut isirluni.
  siu-liq-u-llu-ni illu-mut isir-llu-ni
  front-most-be-ELA$_{\tau}$-3SG$_{\tau}$ house-SG.DAT enter-ELA$_{\tau}$-3SG$_{\tau}$
  he$_{\tau}$ went into the house first.

§3

(1) Illup inui
    illu-p inuk-i
  house-SG.ERG person-3SG$_{\tau}$.PL
  [The inhabitants of the house]$_{\uparrow}$
  aappariiupput utuqqaat.
  aappaq-gii-u-pu-t utuqqaaq-t
  spouse-group-be-IND.IV-3PL old-PL
  were an old couple.

(2) Angutit taakku sisamat isiramik
    angut-t taakku sisama-t isir-ga-mik
  man-PL these four-PL enter-FCT$_{\tau}$-3PL$_{\tau}$
  When the four men$_{\tau}$ came in,
  illirmut ingipput.
  illiq-mut ingig-pu-t
  sleeping.platform-SG.DAT sit.down-IND.IV-3PL
  they$_{\tau}$ sat down on the sleeping platform.

(3a) Uqaasiqanngimmata
    uqaasiq-qar-ngit-mm-ata
  word-have-not-FCT$_{\downarrow}$-3PL$_{\downarrow}$
  When they$_{\downarrow}$. didn’t say anything,
  angutip utuqqaat isigilirpai,
  angut-p utuqqaaq-p isigi-lir-pa-i
  man-SG.ERG old-SG.ERG look-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
  the old man$_{\tau}$ glanced at them

(3b) superiarlugillu apirai:
    supi-ria-r-llu-git=lu apiri-pa-i
  blow.at-stage.one-ELA$_{\tau}$-3PL$_{\downarrow}$=and ask-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
  and taking one sniff at them, asked:

(4) “Suminngaaniit aggirpisi?”
    “su-minngaaniit aggir-pi-si
  what-from approach-QUE-2PL
  “Where are you coming from?”
(5) Silliarnap akivaa: if, fb
Silliarnaq-p aki-pa-a
Silliarnaq-SG.ERG answer-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Silliarnaq' answered him:

(6) “Nunamit immap illuaniittumit if
nuna-mit imaq-p illu-a-mi=it-tuq-mit
land-SG.ABL sea-SG.ERG pair.mate-3SG.LG-LOC=be-iv\cn-SG.ABL
aggirpugut
aggir-pu-gut
coming-IND.IV-1PL
“We" have come from land on the other side of the sea
piniararluta
pi-niar-riar-lлу-ta
kind-hunt-stage.one-ELA-1PL
nunasarnimit siku nallurmat
nuna-sar-niq-mit siku nallur-mm-at
land-blow.from-v\n-SG.ABL ice break.to.pieces-FCT-3SG.3SG
maanga tissukaratta.
ma-unga tissukar-ga-tta
here-DAT drift-FCT-1PL
having drifted here
after the ice got broken up by wind blowing away from land
while we were out hunting.

(7a) Pingasuulluta qatanngutigiippugut, if, fb
pingasut-u-lлу-ta qatanngut-gii-g-pu-gut
three-be-ELA-1PL sibling-group-n\IV-IND.IV-1PL
Three of us are brothers

(7b) unalu sisamarput ilagiinnarpapput.” if, fb
una=lu sisama-rput ila-gi-innar-pa-rput
this=and fourth-1PL.SG part-have.as-just-IND.TV-1PL.3SG
and this one, the fourth member of our party, is just a friend.

§4

(1) Taava utuqqarsuaq if
taava utuqqaq-:suaq
then old-big.SG
Then the old man
nuliaminut uqarpuq: mf, fb
nuliaoq-mi-nut uqar-pu-q
wife-3SG.SG-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG
said to his wife:
“Angalaarlni kaannartarpuq.”
Travelling far makes one hungry.

“Also this word means ‘angala-arluni kaang-nartarpuq,’”

Travel-long be.hungry-make one-habit

If, also they didn’t understand some other words, but

He also uttered some other words, but

Paasinnngilaat.
Paasi-ngit-la-it
Understand-not other-pl.

If, other-pl.

They didn’t understand them.

Nuliata iga ursuminirmik immiriarlugu
wife-3sg pot fill.with-fat

Filling up a pot with fat, his wife

Igalirpuq
Cook-begin

Started cooking,

Qalakkamilu puuguttamut niusivai.
Get.food.cooked plate-get.out

And when she had the food ready, she poured it out for them onto a plate.

Uvva ilamik kajumiginagu
In.fact properly feel like

Without really feeling like it

Uuqattaarpaat.
Try

They tasted it.

Kinguningua nirisassavinnik nirlirpai,
Rear-little eat-prospective-real

A little later they fed them some real food,

Uialu uqalulirpuq.
Husband talk-begin

And her husband began to talk.
(9) “Piniartituarput aallarami
pi-niar-ti-taq-rput aallar-ga-mi
kind-hunt-agt-sole-1PL.SG set.out-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
Our only hunter$^T$ has set out [to hunt] and
takkuniq ajulirpuq.

(10) Aallaarniranit qaammat missiliulirpuq kiisa.
aallar-niq-a-nit qaammat missiliu-lir-pu-q kiisa
set.out-v\n never.do-begin-IND.IV-3SG
has already been gone a long time.

By now, it’s already about a month since his$^T$ departure.

(11) Immaqa inunnik ajurtunik naapitsigami.”
immaqa inuk-nik ajur-tuq-nik naapit-si-ga-mi
mayby person-PL.MOD be.bad-iv\nPL.MOD meet-antip-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
Maybe it’s because he$^T$’s met some bad people.”

§5

(1) Taama ugalulirmat

taama uqalu-lir-mm-at
thus talk-begin-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
When he$^T$ started talking like that,
tikiraartui isumaliulirput:
tikiraar-ti-i isuma-liur-lir-pu-t
visit-agt-3SG$_T$.PL idea-make-begin-IND.IV-3PL
his$_T$ visitors$^T$ began to wonder:

(2) “Inuit tikitavut suummitaava?”
inuk-t tikit-taq-vut su-t=mi=taava
person-PL come.to-tv\n1PL.PL what-PL=FOC=then?
“What on earth are these people we’ve come to?”

(3) Sunavvaguuq nannut inurruurtut.
sunavva=guuq naku-t inuk-ruur-tuq-t
turn.out=RPT (polar)bear-PL person-be.in.form-iv\nPL.
As it turned out, ‘tis said, they were (polar) bears in human form.

(4) Taamaalillutik

taama=ili-lu-tik
thus=become-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$
And so it came to pass that
angut utuqqarsuaq angutisiartaaraat.
angut utuqqaq=::suq angut-siaq-taari-pa-at
man old-big father-made-get.new-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
the old man$^T$ became their$^T$ foster father.
§6

(1) **Unnuit ilaanni** if
unnuk-t ila-at-ni part-3PLs.SG-LOC
evening-PL.ERG part-3PLs.SG-LOC

One evening
tamarmik iqqissimaarlutik ib
i i i
i i i

while they were all sitting peacefully indoors

(2) “Isirlanga.” fb
isir-la-nga enter-OPT-1SG
“Let me come in.”

(3) **Utuqqarsuaq tuavinnaq anivuq** if, mf, fb
utuqqaaq:-suq tuavi=innaq ani-pu-q
old-big.SG hurry=just go.out-IND.IV-3SG
The grand old man hastily went out

(4) **Irnilu tasiurlugu iqqullugu.** ff
irniq-ni=lu tasiurlu=gu iqqul=gu
son-3SGs.SG=and lead.by.hand-ELA-3SGs.SG bring.in-ELA-3SGs.SG
and led his son inside by the hand.

(5) **Nirillatsiaannaq ippammut innarpuq** if, mf, fb
niri-latsiar-innar-q ippaq-mut innar-pu-q
eat-briefly-just-vn plank.bed-SG.DAT lie.down-IND.IV-3SG
After just a quick meal, he lay down on the bed

ullulu arlallit sinilluni. ff
ulluq-t=lu arlaq-liq-t sinig-llu-ni
day-PL=and pl.others-with-PL asleep-ELA-3SGT
and slept for several days.

(6) **Ullaat ilaanni makiaarpuq** if, fb
ullaaq-t ila-at-ni makig-jaar-pu-q
morning-PL.ERG part-3PLs.SG-LOC get.up-early-IND.IV-3SG
One morning he got up early
(7) Sunaavva irlavii
sunaaavva irlavi-i
As it turned out, his intestines had unfolded after being filled.

(8) Niririarluni piniussalisirpuq.
niri-riar-llu-ni pi-niar-ut-si-tar-lir-pu-q
After a meal, he started regularly going hunting for [the family].

§7
(1) Ullaannguaq aallartarpug
ullaq-nguaq aallar-tar-pu-q
He would set out early in the morning

natsirpassuarnillu  tikiussisarluni.
natsiq-paat::suaq-nik=lu tikit-ut-si-tar-llu-ni
and come back with many seals.

(2) Kisianni sakkuqarnani angalasarpuq.
kisianni sakkuq-qar-na-ni angala-tar-pu-q
But he always went around (hunting) without any weapons.

§8
(1) Ukiut qassiit tassaniiriirmata
ukiuq-t qassi-t tassa-ni=it=riir-mm-ata
When they had already been there several years,

unnuit ilaanni utuqqartaat
unnuk-t ila-at-ni utuqqaaq-taq-at
one evening, their elder

qatanngutigiit angajullirsaannut uqarpuq;
qatanngut-gii-t angaju-lliq-taq-at-nut uqar-pu-q
sibling-group big.brother-most-of say-IND.4V-3SG
said to the oldest of the [three] brothers:
“Inuugavit sumik aarnualirpaatsit?”

“When you were born, what did they give you for an amulet?

Silliarnaq akivuq:
Silliarnaq aki-pu-q
Silliarnaq answer-IND.IV.3SG
Silliarnaq answered:

“When I was born, my parents gave me a seagull for an amulet.

The grand old man responded:

“The next younger brother added:

“All three of us [brothers] have a seagull for an amulet.”

The fourth member of their party reported having a raven for an amulet.
(11) “Illit nunassinnut apuunniq sapissaatit.”

you land-2PL.SG-DAT reach-V|n unable-prospect-IND.IV-2SG

“You won’t be able to reach you all’s land.”

§9

(1) Ukiup ingirlaniri ullaakkut itiraangata

year-SG.ERG go.on-V|n-3SG|SG-LOC morning-SG.VIA wake.up-HAB.|-3PL|

In the course of the year, whenever they woke up in the morning,

utuqqarsuaq piqarniq ajurpuq.

old-big.SG be.there-V never.do-IND.IV-3SG

the old man was never there.

(2) Takuliraraat

taku-lir-tar-pa-at

see-begin-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

They would catch sight of him

qaaqap qaaniittuq

mountain-SG.ERG top-3SG.|SG-LOC=be-ELA.|IV.-3SG

standing on top of the mountain

silamik umirurluni.

weather-SG.MOD look.carefully-ELA.|-3SG

studying the weather.

(3) Ullut ilaanni atirami

ulluq-t ila-at-ni atir-ga-mi

day-PL.ERG part-3PL.|SG-LOC go.down-FCT.|-3SG

One day, when he came down

uqarpuq:

he= said:

(4) “Silagiriarpat angirlaakkuumaarpassi.”

weather-be.fine-…and-HYP.|-3SG go.home-IV|TV-be.promised-IND.TV-1SG.2PL

“As soon as the weather clears, I’ll take you home.

(5) Qatanngutigiit iqqarsalirput.

qatanngut-gii-t iqqarsar-lir-pu-t

brother-group-PL think-begin-IND.IV-3PL

The brothers began to wonder:
(6) “Qanuq ililluni
qanuq iliur-llu-ni
how do-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$

In what way [lit. how acting]
sikuqangitsuq ikaarutissagamisigut,
siku-qar-ngit-tu-q ikaar-ut-ssa-pi-misigut
ice-have-not-ELA$_I$-IV-3SG$_I$ cross-iv\tv-prospect-QUE-3SG$_T$.1PL

is he$_T$ going to ferry us over, while there is no ice

namminirlu umiaqarani qajaqaranilunniit,
namminiq=lu umiaq-qar-na-ni qajaq-qar-na-ni=luunniit
self=and boat-have-NON$_T$-3SG$_T$ kayak-have-NON$_T$-3SG$_T$=ALT

and he$_T$ himself has neither a boat nor a kayak

sumullu angirlarnissarput nalullugu?”

and doesn’t know where our home is?”

[lit. and doesn’t know the goal of our prospective home coming?]”

§10

(1) Ullaat ilaanni suli sininniartut
ullaaq-t ila-at-ni suli sinig-niar-tu-t
morning-PL.ERG part-3PL$_L$.SG-LOC still asleep-intend-ELA$_I$.IV-3PL$_L$

One morning, while they$_{-}^L$ were still sleeping,

itirsarpai uqarvigalugillu:
itir-sar-pa-i uqar-vigi-llu-git=lu
wake.up-cause.process-IND.TV-3SG.3PL say-to-ELA$_T$-3PL$_L$=and
he$_T$ called to them$_{-}^L$ to wake them$_{-}^L$ up:

(2) “Qanuq sivisutigisumik sinissagassi?
qanuq sivi-tuq-tigi-tuq-mik sinig-ssa-pi-ssi
how duration-with.big-to.that.deg-iv\cn-SG.MOD asleep-prospect-QUE-2PL

“How long are you going to sleep?

(3) Makinniaritsi!
makig-niar-tsi
get.up-POL.IMP-2PL
Get up, please!

(4) angirlarsirussi ikaarutissavassi.”
angirlar-sir-gu-ssi ikaar-ut-ssa-pa-ssi
go.home-long.to-HYP$_T$-2PL cross-iv\tv-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.2PL

If you long to go home, I will ferry you over.”

(5) Taama uqariarmat anippput,
taama uqar-riar-mm-at anti-pu-t
thus say….and-FCT$_T$-3SG$_L$ go.out-IND.IV-3PL
As soon as he$_T$ said that, they$_T$ came out [to him$_{-}^L$]
and proceeded [with him] to the place where they had drifted a shore, which was a sheer cliff.

(6) Tassunga pigamik
    tassa-unga pi-ga-mik
    there-DAT get-FCT-T-3PL-T
When they all got there

utuqqarsuaq uqarpuq:
    utuqqaaq-suq uqar-pu-q
old-big.SG say-IND.IV-3SG
the grand old man said:

(7) “Isiginiarsinga,”
    isigi-niar-singa
look-POL.IMP-2PL.1SG
“Look at me, please!”

(8) taama uqariarluni arpalirsuq,
    taama uqar-rial-llu-ni arpag-lir-tur-pu-q
thus say-…-and-ELA-T-3SG-T run-begin-process-IND.IV-3SG
and as soon as he-T said that, he-T ran up [to the edge of the cliff]

(9) immamullu tingilluni mursuppuq.
    imaq-mut=lu tingi-llu-ni mursug-pu-q
sea-SG.DAT=and fly-ELA-T-3SG-T go.under-IND.IV-3SG
and leaping into the sea, he-T disappeared under the water.

§11

(1) Nuiriallartuq tassa nanursuaq
    nui-rial-lar-tu-q tassa nanuq-suq
appear-suddenly-ELA-1T-3SG-PL that.is bear-big.SG
When he-1 emerged, suddenly, it was a bear

niaqua siutini tikillugit miqquirniq.
    niaqu-q-a siut-ni tikit-llu-git miqquq-ir-niq
head-3SG-1SG ear-3SG-PL come.to-ELA-T-3PL-PL hear-lose-√n
with his-1 head-T bald [lit. grown bald] up to the-T ears.

(2) Saarioarlugit suaarpai:
    saag-rial-llu-git suaar-pa-i
turn.toward-…-and-ELA-T-3PL-PL shout-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
Turning toward them-T, he-T called to them-1:
“Silliarnaq naajamik aarnuaqarpat if
Silliarnaq naaja-mik aarnua-qar-pp-at
Silliarnaq sea.gull-SG.MOD amulet-have-HYP₃-SG₃
“If Silliarnaq has a seagull for an amulet,

aarnua takkutissaaq. ib, fb
aarnua-a takkut-ssa-pu-q
amulet-3SG₃,SG show.up-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
then his₃ amulet [guardian spirit] will show up.

Malillunga immamut pissiqiit. if, ib, fb
malig-llu-nga imaq-mut pissig-qi-gi-t
follow-ELA₁-1SG sea-SG.DAT jump-emph-IMP-2SG
Jump into the sea after me.”

§12

(1) Annilaangamik ilallugu nangaaliriarmat if
annilaar-nga-q-mik ila-llu-gu nangaa-lir-riar-mm-at
get.frightened-result-vn-SG.MOD add.to-ELA₁-3SG₃ hesitate-begin-…-and-FCT₁-3SG₃
When he₃ hesitated with fear,
nanuq suaarpuaq: ib, fb
nanuq suaar-pu-q
bear.SG shout-IND.IV-3SG
the bear¹ shouted:

(2) “Imamut malinngikkumma if
imaq-mut malig-ngit-gu-mma
sea-SG.DAT follow-not-HYP₁-2SG.₁SG
“If you don’t follow me into the sea
nunassinnut apuunnavianngilatit.” mf, fb
nuna-rsi-nut apuut-navianngit-la-tit
land-2PL.SG.DAT reach-be.certain.not.to-NEG-2SG
you certainly won’t reach you all’s land.”

(3) Taama uqariarmat if
taama uqar-riar-mm-at
thus say-…-and-FCT₁-3SG₃
As soon as he¹ said that,
Silliarnaq arpalirsuriarluni ib
Silliarnaq arpag-lir-tur-riar-llu-ni
Silliarnaq run-begin-process-…-and-ELA₁-3SG₃
Silliarnaq¹ ran up [to the cliff] and

immamut pissiqaaq. mf, fb
imaq-mut pissig-qi-pu-q
sea-SG.DAT jump-emph-IND.IV-3SG
leapt way out into the sea.
(4) *Imarlu isikkaminik atturniariarlugu*  
    *imaq=lu isigaq-mi-nik attur-niariarlugu*  
    *sea=and foot-3SG₃.PL-MOD touch-…and.immed-ELA₃-3SG₃*  
    The moment he₃ touched the sea with his₃ feet  
    
    *suurlu sikumut tuinnartuq,*  
    *suurlu siku-mut tug-innar-tu-q*  
    as.if ice-SG.DAT hit-just-ELA₄-IV-3SG₃  
    it₃ was as if he had hit ice,

(5) *taamaalilluni naajangurpuq.*  
    *taama=ili-llu-ni naaja-ngur-pu-q*  
    thus=become-ELA₃-3SG₃ seagull-become-IND.IV-3SG  
    and thus he₃ turned a seagull.

§13

(1) *Naajangurami*  
    *naaja-ngur-ga-mi*  
    seagull-become-FCT₃-3SG₃  
    Then  
    
    *siunirmini sikuminiq takulirpaa,*  
    *siurna-mi-ni siku-miniq taku-lir-pa-a*  
    ahead-3SG₃.SG-LOC ice-material see-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
    he₃ spotted a piece of ice [floating] ahead

(2) *tassungalu qaqivuq.*  
    *tassa-unga=lu qaqi-pu-q*  
    there-DAT=and climb-IND.IV-3SG  
    and he₃ climbed up onto it.

(3) *Qatanngutaasa aamma ilaarpaat.*  
    *qatanngut-isa aamma ilaar-pa-at*  
    sibling-3SG₃.PL.ERG also do.like-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
    His₇ brothers’₇ too did likewise.

(4) *Taava nanuq sisamaanmut suaarpuq:*  
    *taava nanuq sisama-at-nut suaar-pu-q*  
    then bear.SG fourth-3PL₃.SG-DAT shout-IND.IV-3SG  
    Then the bear₃ shouted to the fourth member of their party.

(5) “*Illit aamma angirlarumaguit*  
    *illit aamma angirlar-juma-gu-vit*  
    you also go.home-want-HYP₄-2SG  
    “If you too want to go home  
    
    *timmiriaraluqit.*”  
    *timmi-riar-galuar-qit-gi-t*  
    fly-stage.one-…but-emph-IMP-2SG  
    have a go at flying [but it won’t work].”
(6) **Uqarvigisaa** arpalirsuriarluni

say-to-tv rn-3SG,SG run-begin-process...and-ELA-3SG

The man [lit. his addressee] ran up (to the cliff) and

*imimmamut pissippuq.*  
*imaq-mut pissig-pu-q*

jumped into the sea.

(7) **Kisianni imammum tukkami mursuppuq.**  

but sea-IND.JV-3SG

But when he hit the water, he went under.

(8) **Ipiliraluartuq nannup**

drown-begin...but-ELA,JV-3SG,SG

He was almost drowned when the bear

*nuunamukaappaa uqarlunilu:*  
*nuna-mut=kar-ut-pa-a uqar-lu-ni=lu*

land-3SG,TV go.to-IV tv-3SG,3SG

and towed him ashore and said:

(9) “**Tulukkamik aarnuaqaravit**

raven-3SG,MOD amulet-have-FCT

“Having a raven for an amulet,

*nuunassinnut utirsinnaanngilatit,*
*nuna-rsi-nut utir-sinnaa-ngit-la-tit*

land-2PL,SG,TV return-be.able-not-NEG

you can’t return to you all’s land.

(10) **Illutsinnut angirlaanniarit.**

house-1PL,SG,TV go.home-just-POL,IMP

You just go on home [back] to our house.”

§14

(1) **Taava nanursuaq**  

then bear-big

Then the grand old bear

*qatanngutigiinnut uqarpuaq:*  
*qatanngut-gii-t-nut uqar-pu-q*

sibling-group-PL,DAT say-IND.JV-3SG

said to the [three] brothers.
“Siqunngiritsi immissinnullu qanillillusi.

Shut your eyes and form a tight group.

If you opened your eyes

you would not be able to reach you all’s land.

By pushing [with] my chin against the ice

I will keep pushing you forward.”

As soon as he began to do that

the piece of ice they had [scramble]d onto began to shake violently.

Some time later, while they were still (sitting) with their eyes shut

they heard

a sudden bang
suurlumi sumut attuuppallutik.
suurlu=mi su-mut attuur-ut-pallag-llu-tik
as.if=FOC what-DAT touch-iv tv-quickly-ELA₃PL₃T
as if they had suddenly ran into something.

(2) Taamaalimmat nannup uiqqquai.
if, ib, fb
Taama=ili-mm-at nanuq-p uig-qqu-pa-i
thus=become-FCT₃SG bear-SG.ERG open.eyes-tell.IND.TV-3SG.3PL
At that point, the bearᵀ told themᵀ to open their eyes.

(3) Uiriaramik
uig-riar-ga-mik
open.eyes-…and-FCT₃-3PL₃T
As soon as theyᵀ opened their eyes
nunartik ilisarilluinnarpaat, ib, fb
nuna-rtik ilisari:-luinnar-pa-at
land-3PL₃T.SG recognize-absolutely-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
theyᵀ instantly knew theirᵀ own land
illumik kujataatigut tulassimallutik. ff
illu-mik kujata-at-kut tulag-sima-llu-tik
house-3PL₃T.SG.ERG south.of-3SG₁.SG-VIA land-prf-ELA₃PL₃T
having landed (just) south of theirᵀ own house.

(4) Nanuq ilagiqqullutik utiriisirvigigaluarpaat
if, mf, fb
namuq ila-gi-qqu-llu-tik utiriit-lir-vik-gi-galuar-pa-at
bear.SG part-have.as-tell.ELA₃PL₃T insist-begin-loc.of-have.as-…but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Theyᵀ tried (in vain) to insist that the bear come (home) with themᵀ
akilirniassagamikku, ff
aki-lir-niar-ssa-ga-mikku
payment-provide-intend-prospect-FCT₃-3PL₃T.3SG₁
intending to reward him₁.

(5) taannali uqaannarpuq: if, fb
taanna=li uqar-innar-pu-q
that=but say-just-IND.IV-3SG
but heᵀ just said:

(6) “Akissarsiaassamik
aki-ssaq-siaq-ssaq-mik
payment-prospective-received-prospective-SG.MOD
iqqarsaatiqannngilanga, if
iqqarsaat-qar-nggit-la-nqa
thought-have-not-NEG-1SG
I have no wish to get paid.
(7)  ukiuruli  
    ukiuq-gu=li  
    year-next=but  
    But next year  
    nannumik  niaqqumigut  miqquqanngitsumik  
    bear-SG.MOD  head-3SG.T.SG-VIA  hair-have-not-iv\cn-SG.MOD  
    ib₁

takkutuqaraluarpat  
    takkut-tuq-qar-galuar-pp-at  
    show.up-iv\cn-have-.but-HYP₃-3SG₄  
    if any bald-headed bear should show up  
    nunaqqatissilu  pisariniialirpassuk  
    nuna-qar-qat-ssi=lu  pi-saq-gi-niar-lir-pp-assuk  
    land-have-mate-2PL.PL.ERG=and  get-tv
rn-have.as-intend-begin-HYP₃-3PL.3SG₄  
    and your countrymen decide to go after him  
    ugarviginnarumaarpasi  pisariqqunagu,  
    ugar-vigi-innar-jumaar-pa-si  pi-saq-gi-qqu-na-gu  
    say-to-just-be.hoped-IND.TV-2PL.3PL  get-tv
rn-have.as-tell-NON₃-3SG₄  
    you’ll just tell them, [I] hope, not to go after him  
    nirisassaanilli  tuminnaqqullugu.  
    nir-i-saq-ssaq-i-nik=li  tuminnar-qqu-llu-gu  
    eat-tv\rn-prospective-3SG₁.PL-MOD=but  give-just-tell-ELA₃-3SG₄  
    but (instead) tell them to just give him some food.  
    fb, ff₁

(8)  Taama  ugariarluni  
    taama  ugar-riar-llu-ni  
    thus  say-.and-ELA₃-3SG₄  
    After saying that  
    sissamit  avalappuq  
    sissaq-mit  avalag-pu-q  
    shore-SG.ABL  come.out.into.open-IND.IV-3SG  
    he₄ swam away from the shore out to the open sea  
    irniinnarlu  aamngarluni.  
    irniinnaq=lu  aamngar-llu-ni  
    soon=and  disappear-ELA₃-3SG₄  
    and soon disappeared (behind the horizon).  
    ff

§16  (1)  Qatanngutigiit  illurtik  qanilligamikku  
    qatanngut-gii-t  illu-rtik  qanig-li-ga-mikku  
    sibling-group-PL  house-3PL.3SG  close-get.more-FCT₃-3PL.3SG₄  
    When the brothersᵥ approached theirᵥ houseᵅ
inuqartuq paasivaat.  
Meaning: person have find out

they found out that it was (still) inhabited.

(2) — Iläasa tikiŋŋit-suurmata  
— ila-isa tikiit-ngit-tuur-mm-ata  
— part-PL-PL.ERG come-not-unexpectedly-FCT-PL
— Their countrymen, after they had failed to come back,

nukappiaqqat inuusut ilaat  
nukappiaraq-t inuu-tuq-t ila-it  
boy-PL be.born-IV\cn-PL part-3PL-PL

taakkunatut atisirsimavaat.  
taakku-natut atiq-lir-sima-pa-it  
these-EQU name-provide-prf-IND.TV-3PL.3PL

had named some of the boys who were born (later) after them
[lit. like them—to make the child like the previous bearer of the name]

(3) Ilhuata iqqaani  
illu-ata iqqa-a-ni  
house-3PL.SG.ERG vicinity-3SG.SG-LOC

Near the house

nukappiaqqat pinnguarput.  
nukappiaraq-t pinnguar-pu-t  
boy-PL play-IND.IV-3PL

some boys were playing.

(4) Nukappiaqqat taakku sunaavva atitik.  
nukappiaraq-t taakku sunaavva atir-tik  
boy-PL these turn.out name-3PL.T.PL

As [they] found out later, these boys [were] their namesakes.

(5) Angutit nuliaat uiniqqissimapput  
angut-t nuliaq-at ui-niq-qiq-sima-pu-t  
man-PL.ERG wife-3PL.3PL husband-get-again-prf-IND.IV-3PL

The men’s wives had got married again

isumaqaramik  
isuma-qar-ga-mik  
belief-have-FCT-3PL

thinking

uittik kingurna takuqqissanagit.  
uiti-tik kingurna-a taku-qiq-sqa-na-git  
husband-3PL.T.PL after-3SG.T.SG see-again-prospect-NON-3PL

that they would never see their husbands again after [their non-return].
Sisamaat sumut pisimanirsuq
sisama-at su-mut pi-sima-nir-tu-q
fourth-3PL.SG what-DAT get-prf-x.wonder-ELA.1IV-3SG

apiqqutigimmassuk
apiqqutigi-mm-assuk
ask.about-FCT.3PL.3SG

When they [theirwives/countrymen] asked where the fourth member
of their party had gone to

Akilinirmut qimassimanirarpaat. mf, fb
Akiliniq-mut qimat-sima-nir-para-at
Akiliniq-SG.DAT leave-prf-say-IND.TV-3PL.SG
theyPL.3SG said theyTV.3SG (“we”) had left him in Akiliniq (Other Side).

Angutit nuliamik uii annilaangalirmata if, ib
angut-t nuliam-k uii-i annilaar-nga-lir-mm-ata
man-PL.ERG [wife-3PL.T.PL.ERG husband-3PL.PL get.scared-result-begin-FCT.3PL]
When the (new) husbandsPL.3 of theirPL wives began to feel frightened, the menTV.3

uqarvigaat: fb
uqar-vig-pa-it
say-to-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
said to them:

“Ajurtumiirnavianngilassi, fb
ajur-tuq-mik=Vr-navianngit-la-ssi
bad-iv\cn-SG.MOD=do-be.certain.not.to-NEG-1PL.2PL
“We certainly won’t do anything bad to you

qimatanguavut isumagisimagassigit.” ff
qimat-gaq-nguar-vut isumagi-sima-ga-ssigit
leave-TV\rn-little-1PL.PL look.after-prf-FCT.2PL.3PL
since you have looked after our poor little ones we’d left behind.”

Taava nuliaat if, ib
taava nuliaq-it
then wife-3PL.PL
Then the wivesTV.3

uiminnut utirtinniqarpuit. mf, fb
ui-mik-nut utir-tit-niqar-pu-t
husband-3PL.T.PL.DAT return-cause-passive-IND.IV-3PL
were returned to theirTV.3 (first) husbands.

§17

Ukiurmat nanuq puiguraluarpaat. if, ib, fb
ukiur-mm-at nanuq puigur-galuar-para-at
be.winter-FCT.3SG bear.SG forget-…but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
That winter they forgot the bear for a while.
(2) \textit{Ilaannili} \\
\textit{ila-at-ni=li} \\
part-3PL\_\_SG-LOC=but \\
But on one occasion \\
\textit{iqqaallugu} \hspace{1cm} \textit{iqqartuliriarmassuk} \\
\textit{iqqaa-llu-gu} \hspace{1cm} \textit{iqqar-tur-liar-riar-mm-assuk} \\
remember-ELA\_\_3SG\_ \hspace{1cm} talk.about-process-begin-...and-FCT\_\_3PL\_\_3SG\_ \\
just when they\_\_ started reminiscing about him\_\_ \\
\textit{uqartuqaruq:} \\
\textit{uqar-tuq-qar-pu-q} \\
say-IV\_\_cn-have-IND\_\_IV\_\_3SG \\
somebody said:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{"Nanursuaq sissamut pivuq."} \hspace{1cm} \textit{if, mf, fb} \\
  \textit{nanaq-::suaq sissaq-mut pi-pu-q} \\
bear-big\_\_ SG \hspace{1cm} shore-DAT \hspace{1cm} get-IND\_\_IV\_\_3SG \\
  \textit{"A great big bear has just come ashore."}
\end{itemize}

(3) \textit{Taava sakkulirsuatilirmassuk} \\
\textit{taava sakku-lir-tur-ut-lir-mm-assuk} \\
\textit{then weapon-get-process-IV\_\_TV-begin-FCT\_\_3PL\_\_3SG\_} \\
Then, when they\_\_ (the countrymen) started arming themselves to get him\_\_ \\
\textit{qatanngutigiit uqarput:} \\
\textit{qatanngut-gii-t uqar-pu-t} \\
sibling-group\_\_PL \hspace{1cm} say-IND\_\_IV\_\_3PL \\
the brothers\_\_ said:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{"Takuqqaarallartigu!"} \hspace{1cm} \textit{fb} \\
  \textit{taku-qqaar-gallar-la-tigu} \\
see-first-for.now-OPT\_\_1PL\_\_3SG \\
  \textit{"Let us take a look at him first!"}
\end{itemize}

(4) \textit{Atiramik ilisarilirpaat} \\
\textit{atir-ga-mik ilisari-lir-pa-at} \\
go.down-FCT\_\_3PL\_\_ \hspace{1cm} recognize-begin-IND\_\_TV\_\_3PL\_\_3SG \\
Coming down (to the shore), they\_\_ at once recognized him\_\_ \\
\textit{tassamiuna taannarsuaq.} \\
\textit{tassa=mi=una taanna-::suaq} \\
that=FOC=\_\_this that-big\_\_SG \\
\textit{it was him, that grand old one.}

(5) \textit{"Taama, sakkulirsuutiqinasiuk,} \\
\textit{taama sakku-lir-tur-ut-qina-siuk} \\
\textit{enough weapon-get-process-IV\_\_TV-NEG\_\_IMP\_\_2PL\_\_3SG} \\
"That’s enough, don’t arm yourselves to get him,"
(8) taannaqangippat
  taanna-qar-ngit-pp-at
that-have-not-HYP↓-3SG↓
if it hadn’t been for him [lit. if there had been no him]
angirlamut tikissimanaviangikkaluarpu
angirla-mut tikit-sima-navianguit-galar-pu-gut
home-DAT come-prf-be.certain.not.to-…but-IND.IV-1PL
we certainly wouldn’t have come (back) home.

(9) Taassumaana
  tassuma=una
that.ERG=this
It was him that
maanga angirlaakkaatigut.
ma-unga angirlar-ut-gi-atigut
here-DAT go.home-i\tv-ELA↓.TV-3SG↓.1PL
brought us (back) home here.

(10) Nirisassaanik
    tuinnarsiuq!”
niri-gaq-saq-i-nik
tuni-niar-siuk
eat-i\tv\rm-prospective-3SG↓.PL-MOD
give-POL.IMP-2PL.3SG
Give him something to eat!

§18
(1) Taama ugaluriamata
    taama uqalug-riar-mm-ata
thus talk-…and-FCT↓-3PL↓
Because they↓ said that,
nanuq suniqanggilaq.
nanuq su-niqar-ngigital-a
bear do.sth.to-passive-not-NEG-3SG
no [harm] was done to the bear.

(2) Nanuq majuarami
    nanuq majuar-ga-mi
bear go.up-FCT↓^3SG↓
The bear↓ came up (from the shore) and
illuata tursuuata isaariaanut
illu-ata tursuk-ata isaariaq-a-nut
house-3PL↓.SG.ERG entrance.tunnel-3SG↓.SG.ERG entrance-3SG↓.SG-DAT
niqqi pisippaa.
niqqoq-nil pi-tit-pa-a
head-3SG↓.SG get-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
put his↓ head into the opening of the entrance tunnel of the house.
And sure enough

puisi-nik iluitsunik nirlirlirpaat. mf, fb

seal-PL.MOD be.whole-iv\cn-PL.MOD feed-process-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

they started bringing out whole seals for him to eat.

When their\T visitor began to eat, the men\T,

ungullugu isiginnaarpaat. mf, fb

ungu-llu-gu isiginnaar-pa-at

surround-ELA-T-3SG\I look-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

gathering around him\I, (just) looked at him\I.

After he\T’d eaten his fill of seal meat

sinilaarallarpuq, fb

sinig-laar-gallar-pu-q

asleep.a.little.for.now-IND.IV-3SG

he\T took a little nap.

with children playing nearby.

After his\T nap, he\T had another feed.

he\T went down along his own tracks, swam out to the open sea,
kingurnalu takuniqaqiqani. ff
kingurna-a taku-niqar-qiq-na-ni
after-3SG.SG see-passive-again-NON$_T$-3SG$_T$
and afterwards was never seen again.

§19
(1) Silliarnannguuq kinguaavi if
Silliarnaq-p=guuq kinguaaq-i
Silliarnaq-SG.ERG=RPT descendant-3SG$_L$.PL
Silliarnaq’s descendants, ‘tis said,

miirarpassuaqalirlutik inuupput. mf, fb
miiraq-paat:-suaq-qar-lir-llu-tik inuk-u-pu-t
child-lot-big-have-begin-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$ person-be-IND.IV-3PL
lived to have many children.