

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

**Aapakaaq kuukkuuriarlu**  
"The monkey and the crocodile"

In D. Sommer et al, eds, 1972, *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit* 1, pp. 38–42, Ministeriet for Grønland.

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/19/2007): 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  
POL = polite (‘please’)

• *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, opp = opposite,  
v\agt = agent-nominalizer, v\ins = instrument nominalizer, v\loc = location-nominalizer,  
v\thm = theme-nominalizer, prf = perfect aspect, rcp = reciprocal, res = result state,  
iv = intransitive verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rn = relational noun,  
a**b** = suffix that attaches to category *a* to form category *b*

• *clitics*:

ALT = alternative-sensitive operator (‘or’, ‘even’, ‘any’)

FOC = focus

RPT = reportative evidential

Paragraphs (§) as in the original.

§1.

(1a) *Itsaq Indiami kuussuup sinaani*  
*itsaq India-mi kuuk-:suaq-p sina-a-ni*  
long.ago India-LOC stream-big-SG.ERG side-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>-SG-LOC  
Long ago on the bank of a river in India

*aapakaavaluit najugaqarput,*  
*aapaka-paa-luk-t najur-gaq-qar-pu-t*  
monkey-group-medium-PL live.in-tv\rn-have-IND.IV-3PL  
there lived a few monkeys

- (1b) *kuussuarmilu kuukkuuriarsuit ingasavipput*  
*kuuk-:suaq-mi=lu kuukkuuriaq-:suaq-t ingasag-vig-pu-t*  
 stream-big-LOC=and crocodile-big-PL be.excessive-really-IND.IV-3PL  
 and the river swarmed with big bad crocodiles.
- (2) *Ullut ilaanni kuukkuuriarsuit ilaata*  
*ulluq-t ila-at-ni kuukkuuriaq-:suaq-t ila-ata*  
 day-PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>1</sub>.SG-LOC crocodile-big-PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>1</sub>.SG.ERG  
 One day one of the crocodiles,  
*aapakaat isiginnaarlugit isumaliulirpuq*  
*aapakaat-t isiginnaar-llu-git isuma-liur-lir-pu-q*  
 monkey-PL look-ELA<sub>1</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub> belief-make-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 while gazing at the monkeys, suddenly had an idea:
- (3) “*Immaqami aapakaamik sujatarturaanni.*”  
*immaq=mi aapakaamik sujag-taq-tur-gaanni*  
 maybe=FOC monkey-SG.MOD fry-tv\cn-use.as.customary-GAANNI  
 “Maybe one could taste fried monkey.”
- (4) *Taava irnirminut uqarpuq:*  
*taava irniq-mi-nut uqar-pu-q*  
 then son-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG  
 So she said to her son:
- (5) “*Umaak=a aapakaamik piniutinnga.*”  
*uumak=a aapakaamik pi-niar-ut-gi-nnga*  
 “you.there=hey monkey-SG.MOD get-try-for-IMP-2SG.1SG  
 “Hey, you there, get me a monkey!”

## §2

- (1) “*Qanuq ilillunga pisariniassavara*  
*qanuq iliur-llu-nga pi-saq-gi-niar-ssa-pi-ra*  
 how do-ELA<sub>1</sub>-1SG get-tv\rn-have-try-prospect-QUE-1SG.3SG  
 “How am I to get it,  
*urpinnut majuarsinnaananga*  
*urpik-nut majuar-sinnaa-na-nga*  
 tree-PL.DAT go.up-be.able-NON<sub>1</sub>-1SG  
 with me unable to climb trees  
*aapakaarlu nalussinnaangitsug*  
*aapakaar-q=lu nalug-sinnaa-nngit-tu-q*  
 monkey-SG=and swim-be.able-not-ELA<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 and the monkey unable to swim?”  
*kuukkuuriaq apirivug.*  
*kuukkuuria-q apiri-pu-q*  
 crocodile-SG ask-IND.IV-3SG  
 asked the crocodile [junior].

- (2) “*Silatusaaruit*  
*silatu-saar-gu-t*  
smart-act-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG  
“If you’re smart,  
*qanuq iliurnissat*                      *nalussanngilat.*  
*qanuq iliur-niq-ssaq-t*                  *nalu-ssa-nngit-la-t*  
how do-v\|n-prospective-2SG.SG not.know-prospect-not-NEG-2SG  
you’ll figure out what to do.”  
*arnaa*                      *akivuuq.*  
*arna-a*                      *aki-pu-q*  
mother-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG answer-IND.IV-3SG  
answered his mother.

§3

- (1) *Kuukkuuriaq taannaqa iqqarsalirpuq*                      –  
*kuukkuuria-q taannaqa iqqarsar-lir-pu-q*                      –  
crocodile-SG emph think-begin-IND.IV-3SG                      –  
So the crocodile [junior] started thinking with all his might –  
*qanga niaqua*                      *niiqquluunnguarsi.*  
*qanga niaqu-a*                      *niiqqur-lug-nnguarsi*  
EXCL head-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG creak-badly-EXCL  
his head was fit to burst!
- (2) *Taamaalluni imminut pilirpuq:*  
*taama=it-llu-ni immi-nut pilir-pu-q*  
thus=be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> self-SG.DAT say-IND.IV-3SG  
Finally he said to himself:
- (3) “*Aapakaaq urpissuarmi*  
*aapakaa-q urpik-:suaq-mi*  
monkey-SG tree-big-SG.LOC  
*kuussuup*                      *sininnguani*                      *najugaqartuq*  
*kuug-:suaq-p*                      *sina-nnguaq-a-ni*                      *najur-gaq-qar-tuq*  
stream-big-SG.ERG side-small-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC live.in-tv\|rn-have-iv\|cn  
*pisariniassavara.*  
*pi-saq-gi-niar-ssa-pa-ra*  
get-tv\|rn-have-try-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
“I’ll try to catch the monkey that lives in the great tree, right by the river.
- (4) *Qiqirtaq ikaniittuq*  
*qiqarta-q ika-ni=it-tu-q*  
island-SG there.nearby-LOC=be-iv\|cn-SG  
*inirissimasunik*                      *paarnaqarpuq.*  
*inirig-sima-tuq-nik*                      *paarna-qar-pu-q*  
get.ripe-prf-iv\|cn-PL.MOD fruit-have-IND.IV-3SG  
On the island right nearby there is ripe fruit.

- (5) *Tassunnartiriarlugu tuqussavara.*  
*tass-unga=kar-tit-riar-llu-gu tuqut-ssa-pa-ra*  
 there-DAT=go-cause-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub> kill-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
 I'll take it there and kill it."

## §4

- (1) *Taava kuukkuurissap*  
*taava kuukkuuriaq-p*  
 then crocodile-SG.ERG  
 So the crocodile

*nalulluni urpik aapakaap najugarisaa*  
*nalug-llu-ni urpik-q aapakaaq-p najur-gaq-gi-gaq-a*  
 swim-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> tree-SG monkey-SG.ERG live.in-tv\m-have-tv\m-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG

*urnippaa.*  
*urnig-pa-a*  
 approach-IND.TV-3SG.3S  
 swam up to the tree where the monkey lived.

- (2) “*Haluu aapakaaq!*” *suaarpuq,*  
*haluu aapakaa-q suaar-pu-q*  
 hello monkey-SG” shout-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Hello, Monkey!” he shouted

“*Qiqirtamut ikunga ilagiumaatsuvarma,*  
*qiqirta-mut ika-unga ilagi-uma-it-u-pa-rma*  
 island-SG.DAT there.nearby-DAT accompany-want-non-be-IND.TV-2SG.1SG  
 “You’ve never consented to go with me to that island just over there,

- (3) *taaka paarnat inirititat ingasavipput.*  
*ta-ika paarnaq-t inirig-tit-gaq-t ingasag-vig-pu-t*  
 dem-there.nearby fruit-PL get.ripe-cause-tv\cn-PL be.excessive-really-IND.IV-3PL  
 it’s full of ripe fruit.”

- (4) “*Qanuq ilillunga qiqirtamukassaanga?*  
*qanuq iliur-llu-nga qiqirta-mut=kar-ssa-pi-nga*  
 how do-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1SG island-SG.DAT=go-prospect-QUE-1SG  
 “How am I to go to the island?”

- (5) *Nalussinnaanngilanga.*” *aapakaaq uqarpuq.*  
*nalug-sinnaa-nngit-la-nga aapakaa-q uqar-pu-q*  
 swim-be.able-not-NEG-1SG monkey-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
 I can’t swim.”, said the monkey.

- (6) “*Suqutaammam,*” *kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq,*  
*suqut-u-it-mm-at kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q*  
 thing-be-non-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
 “It doesn’t matter,” said the crocodile

- (7) “*uanga nalussinnaavunga*  
*uanga nalug-sinnaa-pu-nga*  
me swim-be.able-IND.IV-3SG  
“I can swim
- (8) *qatiggannut ingitillutit ikaatissavagit.*  
*qatigaq-v-nut ingig-tit-llu-tit ikaar-tit-ssa-pa-git*  
back-1SG.SG-DAT sit-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-2SG cross-cause-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.2SG  
I’ll carry you over on my back.”

#### §4

- (1) *Aapakaaq kaakkami*  
*aapakaa-q kaag-ga-mi*  
monkey-SG be.hungry-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
The monkey was hungry, so
- paarnanik inirissimasunik illiguppuq.*  
*paarnaq-nik inirig-sima-tuq-nik illigug-pu-q*  
fruit-PL.MOD get.ripe-prf-iv\cn-PL.MOD T’s.mouth.water-IND.IV-3SG  
his mouth watered at the mention of ripe fruit.
- (2) *Taamaattumik kuukkuurissap qatigaanut pissiinnarpuq.*  
*taamaattumik kuukkuuriaq-p qatigaq-a-nut pissig-innar-pu-q*  
therefore crocodile-SG.ERG back-3SG<sub>I</sub>.SG-DAT jump-just-IND.IV-3SG  
Therefore, he readily hopped onto the crocodile’s back.
- (3) “*Qaa, aallarta*” *kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq.*  
*qaa.Ø aallar-li-ta kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q*  
come.IMP.2SG leave-OPT-1PL crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
“Come on, let’s go!” said the crocodile.
- (4) “*Aa, nuanniq,*” *aapakaaq uqarpuq.*  
*aa nuannir-Ø aapakaa-q uqar-pu-q*  
oh be.fun-EXCL monkey-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
“Oh, what fun!” said the monkey.
- (5) “*Ilumut nuannirpa?*” *kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq*  
“*ilumut nuannir-pi-a kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q*  
really be.fun-QUE-3SG crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
“Is it really fun?” said the crocodile.
- (6) “*Unami qanuq igaiuk?*”  
*una=mi qanuq igi-pi-uk*  
this=FOC how regard-QUE-2SG.3SG  
“And what do you think about this?”
- (7) *taama uqariarluni imaanut mursuppuq*  
*taama uqar-riar-llu-ni imaq-nut mursug-pu-q*  
thus say-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> water-DAT go.under-IND.IV-3SG  
and with these words he went down underwater.

- (8) “*Taamaaliuqinak, taassa taama*” *apakaaq maalavuuq*  
*taama=iliur-qina-k tassa taama apakaa-q maala-pu-q*  
 thus=do-NEG.IMP-2SG that enough monkey-SG whimper-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Don’t do that, that’s enough!” whimpered the monkey

*imaanut mursulluni.*  
*imaq-nut mursug-llu-ni*  
 water-DAT go.under-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 going under.

- (9a) *Irsiqaaq,*  
*irsi-qi-pu-q*  
 be.afraid-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
 He was very frightened

- (9b) *imirmillu najursivuuq, minnaarnagu.*  
*imiq-mik=lu najur-si-vu-q miki-naar-na-gu*  
 fresh.water-SG.MOD=and swallow-antip-IND.IV-3SG small-consider.too-NON-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 and he had swallowed a lot of water.

- (10) *Kuukkuurissap nuvvimmani*  
*kuukkuuriaq-p nuvvit-mm-ani*  
 crocodile-SG.ERG come.forth.with-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 When the crocodile<sub>L</sub> came [back] up with him<sub>T</sub>

*quirsurpuq qitsirarllunilu.*  
*quirsur-pu-q qitsirar-llu-ni=lu*  
 cough-IND.IV-3SG sputter-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and  
 he<sub>T</sub> coughed and sputtered.

## §5

- (1) “*Suuruna taamaaliurtutit, kuukkuuriaq?*” *aapakaaq apirivuuq.*  
*suuq=una taama=iliur-tu-tit kuukkuuria-q aapakaa-q apiri-pu-q*  
 why=this thus=do-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-2SG crocodile-SG monkey-SG ask-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Why is it that you’re doing this, Crocodile?” asked the monkey.

- (2) “*Immap iluaniitillutit tuqussinnaavagit.*  
*imaq-p ilu-a-ni=it-tit-llu-tit tuqut-sinnaa-pa-git*  
 water-SG.ERG inside-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC=be-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-2SG kill-be.able-IND.TV-1SG.2SG  
 “While you’re underwater, I can kill you.

- (3) *Tuqussavagit*  
*tuqut-ssa-pa-git*  
 kill-prospect-IND.IV-1SG.2SG  
 I am going to kill you

*anaanaga aapakaap uummatiturusummat.*  
*anaana-ga aapakaa-p uummat-tur-rusug-mm-at*  
 mother-1SG.SG monkey-SG.ERG heart-use.as.customary-desire-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 because my mother wants to taste a monkey’s heart.

- (4) *Illit uummatit anaanama pissavaa.*”  
*illit-p uummat-t anaana-ma pi-ssa-pa-a*”  
you-SG.ERG heart-2SG.SG mother-1SG.SG.ERG get-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
It’s your heart my mother is going to get.”

*kuukkuuriaq akivuq.*  
*kuukkuuria-q aki-pu-q*  
crocodile answer-IND.IV-3SG  
answered the crocodile.

§6

- (1) “*Aallartinnata uqarsimassagalaravit,*”  
*aallar-tit-na-ta uqar-sima-ssa-galar-ga-vit*  
leave-state-NON-1PL say-prf-prospect-...but-FCT<sub>T</sub>-2SG  
“You should’ve said so before we left (*lit.* while our leaving was a non-fact),”

*aapakaaq uqarpuq.*  
*aapakaa-q uqar-pu-q*  
monkey say-IND.IV-3SG  
said the monkey.

- (2) “*taava uummatiga nassarsimassagalarpara.*”  
*taava uummat-ga nassar-sima-ssa-galar-pa-ra*  
then heart-1SG.SG bring.along-prf-prospect-...but-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
“Then I would’ve brought my heart along.”

- (3) “*Ila iqqumiissagalararmigami,*”  
*ila iqqumiig-ssa-galar-mi-ga-mi*”  
EXCL strange-prospect-...but-excl-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>”  
“Wow, that would be weird!”

*kuukkuuriaq sianiitsuq uqarpuq*  
*kuukkuuria-q sianiit-tuq-q uqar-pu-q*  
crocodile-SG foolish-iv\cn-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
said the foolish crocodile.

- (4) “*Tassa ilumut uummaatit urpimmut najugarisannut*  
*tassa ilumut uummat-t urpik-mut najur-gaq-gi-saq-t-mut*  
that really heart-2SG.SG tree-SG.DAT live.in-tv\tn-have.as-tv\tn-2SG.SG-DAT  
*qimappiuk?*”  
*qimag-pi-uk*  
leave-QUE-2SG.3SG  
“Have you really left your heart at the tree where you live?”

- (5) “*Massami,*” *aapakaaq uqarpuq,* “*allatut ajurnaqaq,*  
*massami aapakaa-q uqar-pu-q* “*alla-tut ajurnar-qi-pu-q,*  
yup monkey-SG say-IND.IV-3SG “other-EQU impossible-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
“Yup”, said the monkey, “There is nothing else for it,

- (6) *Uummatiga piomagukku*  
*uummat-ga pi-uma-gu-kku*  
 heart-1SG.SG get-want-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 If you want to get my heart
- urpimmut utirluta aasariaqarparput.*  
*urpik-mut utir-llu-ta aa-tariaqar-pa-rput*  
 tree-SG.DAT return-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1PL fetch-have.to-IND.TV-1PL.3SG  
 we have to go back to the tree and fetch it.
- (7) *Kisianni qiqirtaq mamartunik paarnalik qanilliriiqigatsigu*  
*kisianni qiqirta-q mamar-tu-nik paarnaq-lik-q qanig-lir-riir-qi-ga-tsigu*  
 but island-SG tasty-iv\cn-PL.MOD fruit-with-SG near-begin-already-emph-FCT<sub>T</sub>-1PL.3SG  
 But since we have already come very close to the island with the tasty fruit
- tassunga pissutiqqaarallannga.*  
*tass-unga pissut-qqaar-gallaar-gi-nnga*  
 there-DAT go.with-first-for.a.while-IMP-2SG.1SG  
 take me there first for a while.”
- §7
- (1) “*Naagga, irniinnaq urpimmut uqutissavagit,*”  
*nagga irniinnaq urpik-mut uqut-ssa-pa-git*  
 no immediately tree-SG.DAT return.with-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.2SG  
 “No, I will take you back to the tree immediately,”
- kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq*  
*kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q*  
 crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
 said the crocodile.
- (2) “*Kingurna paarnaturumaarputit,*  
*kingurna paarnaq-tur-umaar-pu-tit*  
 afterwards fruit-use.as.customary-be.promised-IND.IV-2SG  
 “You may have some fruit afterwards.
- (3) *Uummatit aariirukku*  
*uummat-t aa-riir-gu-kku*  
 heart-2SG fetch-already-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG  
 Once you’ve fetched your heart,
- qiqirtamut utirnissaq uqaluusiriumaarparput.*  
*qiqirta-mut utir-niq-ssaq uqalu-usiri-umaar-pa-rput*  
 island-SG.DAT return-v\N-prospective talk-about-be.promised-IND.TV-1PL.3SG  
 we’ll talk about the return to the island.”
- (4) “*Qaami,*” *aapakaaq akivuq.*  
 “*qaa-Q=mi aapakaa-q aki-pu-q*  
 come-IMP.2SG=FOC monkey-SG answer-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Come on, then”, answered the monkey.

- (5a) *Nunamut piniariarami*  
*nuna-mut pi-riar-ga-mi*  
 land-SG.DAT get-...and-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 The instant he got to land,

*qangali urpimmut qaqiriirpuq,*  
*qangali urpik-mut qaqi-riir-pu-q*  
 long.ago tree-SG.DAT climb-already-IND.IV-3SG  
 he was off up into the tree,

- (5b) *urpiullu avaliqutaasa qullirsaanniit*  
*urpik-p=lu avaliqut-isa qula-llirsaaq-it-nit*  
 tree-SG.ERG=and branch-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.PL.ERG top-most-3PL<sub>↓</sub>.SG-ABL  
 and from the top branch in the tree

*ammut kuukkuuriaq kuummiissaqqaartuq suaarpaa:*  
*at-mut kuukkuuria-q kuug-mi=it-ssaqqaar-tuq-q suaar-pa-a*  
 bottom-DAT crocodile-SG river-SG.LOC=be-be.hopeful-iv\cn-SG shout-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 he shouted down to the crocodile, who was [swimming] hopefully in the river.

- (6) “*Kuukkuuriaq=a aana uummatiga*  
*kuukkuuria-q=a aana uummat-ga*  
 crocodile-SG=hey here.it.is heart-1SG.SG  
 “Hey Crocodile, here’s my heart.”

- (7) *Piumagukku majuarlutit aaniaruk.”*  
*pi-uma-gu-kku majuar-llu-tit aa-niar-uk*  
 get-want-HYP<sub>T</sub>-2SG.3SG go.up-ELA<sub>T</sub>-2SG fetch-POL.IMP-2SG.3SG  
 If you want it, come up and get it.”

## §8

- (1) *Aqaguani aapakaap*  
*aqagu-a-ni aapakaa-p*  
 next.day-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.SG-LOC monkey-SG.ERG  
 The next day the monkey

*urpik najukkani qimappaa*  
*urpik-q najur-gaq-ni qimag-pa-a*  
 tree-SG live.in-tv\rn-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.SG leave-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 left his home tree,

*kuukkuuriaq qimallugu iqqissilluni inuuniassagami.*  
*kuukkuuria-q qimag-llu-gu iqqissi-llu-ni inuu-niar-ssa-ga-mi*  
 crocodile-SG leave-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub> be.calm -ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> live-intend-prospect-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 in order (*lit.* because he intended) to live in peace, away from the crocodile.

- (2) *Kisianni kuukkuurissap aapakaaq nanivaa*  
*kisianni kuukkuuria-p aapakaa-q nani-pa-a*  
 but crocodile-SG.ERG monkey-SG find-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 But the crocodile<sub>T</sub> found the monkey<sub>↓</sub>

*uvva urpimmit najugarisaminit nigurluni*  
*uvva urpik-mit najur-gaq-gi-saq-mi-nit nigur-llu-ni*  
 although tree-SG.ABL live.in-tv\|rn-have-tv\|rn-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-ABL avoid-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>

*inississimasuq.*

*ini-ssit-sima-tuq-q*

place-acquire-prf-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>

even though he<sub>L</sub>'d moved to a new place, away from the tree where he used to live.

## §9

- (1) *Kuussuup qiqqaniippuq qiqirtaq*  
*kuug-:suaq-p qiqqa-a-ni=it-pu-q qiqirta-q*  
 river-big-SG.ERG middle-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC=be-IND.IV-3SG island-SG  
 In the middle of the river there was an island

*mamarunartunik paarnalinnik urpilik.*  
*mamar-gunar-tuq-nik paarnaq-lik-nik urpik-lik-q*  
 tasty-be.likely-iv\|cn-PL.MOD fruit-with-PL.MOD tree-with-SG  
 with a tree [loaded] with tasty-looking fruit.

- (2) *Qiqirtap urpiullu akurnanni*  
*qiqirta-p urpik-p=lu akurna-at-ni*  
 island-SG.ERG tree-SG.ERG=and between-3PL<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC  
 Between the island and the tree

*kuummit nuisavuq ujarassuaq.*  
*kuuk-mit nui-sa-pu-q ujarak-:suaq-q*  
 river-SG.ABL stick.up-state-IND.IV-3SG stone-big-SG  
 there was a great stone sticking up from the river.

- (3) *Aapakaaq kuup sinaaniit qaarsurtamut pissiriarluni*  
*aapakaa-q kuuk-p sina-a-niit qaarsurtaq-mut pissig-riar-llu-ni*  
 monkey-SG.ERG river-SG.ERG bank-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-ABL rock-SG.DAT jump-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 By jumping from the river bank onto the rock, the monkey

*qiqirtamut ikaarsinnaavuq.*  
*qiqirta-mut ikaar-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 island-SG.DAT cross-be.able-IND.IV-3SG  
 could cross over to the island.

## §10

- (1) *Ullut ilaanni kuukkuurissap immamiitilluni*  
*ullu-t ila-at-ni kuukkuuria-p imaq-mi=it-tit-llu-ni*  
 day-PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC crocodile-SG.ERG water-SG.LOC=be-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 One day, while the crocodile<sup>T</sup> was [floating] in the river,

*takuaa aapakaaq taamaalilluni qiqirtamut ikaartuq.*  
*taku-pa-a aapakaa-q taama=ili(ur)-llu-ni qiqirta-mut ikaar-tu-q*  
 see-IND.TV-3SG.3SG monkey-SG thus=do-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> island-SG.DAT cross-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 he<sub>T</sub> saw the monkey<sup>L</sup> cross over to the island in this way.

- (2) *Taava imminut pilirpuq:*  
*taava immi-nut pilir-pu-q*  
then self-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG  
He<sub>T</sub> said to himself:

- (3) “*Qularnanngilaq*  
*qulari-nar-nngit-la-q*  
doubt-make.one-not-NEG-3SG  
No doubt

*aapakaaq ulluq tamaat qiqirtamiissaaq.*  
*aapakaa-q ullu-q tama-at qiqirta-mi=it-ssa-pu-q*  
monkey-SG day-SG all-SG<sub>⊥</sub> island-SG.LOC=be-prospect-IND.IV-3SG  
the monkey will spend the whole day on the island.

- (4) *Unnugu angirlamut utirluni pissippat*  
*unnu-gu angirla-mut utir-llu-ni pissig-pp-at*  
evening-coming home-DAT return-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> jump-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
In the evening when he jumps on his way back

*pisariumaarpara.*  
*pi-saq-gi-umaar-pa-ra*  
get-tv\|rn-have-be.hoped-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
I’ll catch him.”

## §11

- (1) *Aapakaaq qiqirtami ulluq tamaat nuannisaarpuq*  
*aapakaa-q qiqirta-mi ullu-q tama-at nuannir-saar-pu-q*  
monkey-SG island-SG.LOC day-SG all-SG<sub>⊥</sub> be.fun-act-IND.IV-3SG  
The monkey had fun all day on the island

*naammttunillu paarnarturluni.*  
*naammag-tuq-nik=lu paarnaq-tur-llu-ni*  
be.enough-iv\|cn-PL.MOD=and fruit-use.as.customary-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
and ate his fill of the fruit.

- (2) *Kuukkuuriaq ulluq tamaat qiqirtaq kaavillugu nalurusaarpuq*  
*kuukkuuria-q ullu-q tama-at qiqirta-q kaavig-llu-gu nalug-rusaar-pu-q*  
crocodile-SG day-SG all-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG island-SG circle-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub> swim-slowly-IND.IV-3SG  
The crocodile swam all day slowly circling around the island

*aapakaaq alaatsinaallugu.*  
*aapakaa-q alaatsinaat-llu-gu*  
monkey-SG keep.an.eye.on-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
and keeping an eye on the monkey.

## §12

- (1) *Unnummat kuukkuuriaq qaarsurtamut qaqivug*  
*unnug-mm-at kuukkuuria-q qaarsurtaq-mut qaqi-pu-q*  
become.evening-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub> crocodile-SG rock-SG.DAT climb-IND.IV-3SG  
In the evening the crocodile climbed up onto the rock

*uniqqissaavilluni*                      *utaqqilirluni.*  
*unig-qqissaar-vig-llu-ni*              *utaqqi-lir-llu-ni*  
 stop-carefully-really-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>    wait-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 and set himself to wait, keeping very still.

- (2) *Taggarissimmat*                      *paarnat*    *nanissajunnaarlutik*  
*taar-gig-si-mm-at*                      *paarnaq-t*    *nani-ssaq-u-junnaar-llu-tik*  
 be.dark-well-become-FCT<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>    fruit-PL    find-prospective-be-no.longer-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 When it got completely dark and fruit was no longer to be found

*aapakaaq*    *angirlarnialirpuq.*  
*aapakaa-q*    *angirlar-niar-lir-pu-q*  
 monkey-SG    go.home-intend-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 the monkey started to think about going home.

- (3) *Kuummut*    *atirpuq,*                      *sinaanut*                      *unilluni.*  
*kuuk-mut*    *atir-llu-ni*                      *sina-a-mut*                      *unig-llu-ni*  
 river-SG.DAT    go.down-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>    side-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-DAT    stop-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 He went down to the river, and stopped on the bank.

### §13

- (1) “*Ujarassuaq*    *qanuruna*                      *ilisimasuq?*  
*ujarak-:suaq-q*    *qanuuq=una*                      *ili-sima-tu-q*  
 stone-big-SG    how=this                      become-prf-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 “What is it that’s happened to that great stone.”
- (2) *Sujurnatigut*                      *taama*    *nuisatigitillugu*                      *takusimanngilara.*  
*sujurna-a-tigut*                      *taama*    *nui-sa-tigi-tit-llu-gu*                      *taku-sima-nngit-la-ra*  
 before-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-VIA    thus    stick.up-state-so.much-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>    see-prf-not-NEG-1SG.3SG  
 I’ve never seen it stick up so much before.
- (3) *Immaqaana*    *kuukkuuriaq*    *qaqisimasuq,”*  
*immaqa=una*    *kuukkuuria-q*    *qaqi-sima-tu-q*  
 maybe=this    crocodile-SG    climb-prf-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 Maybe it’s because the crocodile has climbed up [onto it].”
- (4) *Taava*    *suaarpuq:*                      “*Ujarassuaraa.*”  
*taava*    *suaar-pu-q:*                      “*ujarak-:suaq-q=aa*”  
 then    shout-IND.IV-3SG    “stone-big-SG=hey”  
 Then he called: “Hey you, Great Stone!”
- (5) *Akisuaqanngilaq.*  
*aki-tuq-qar-nngit-la-q*  
 answer-iv\cn-have-not-NEG-3SG  
 There was no answer.
- (6) *Taava*    *suaaqqippuq:*                      “*Ujarassuaq=aa*”  
*taava*    *suaar-qqig-pu-q:*                      “*ujarak-:suaq-q=aa*”  
 then    shout-again-IND.IV-3SG    “stone-big-SG=hey”  
 Then he called again: “Hey you, Great Stone!”

- (7) *Aapakaaq pingasuriarluni suaarpuq*  
*aapakaa-q pingsu-riar-llu-ni suaar-pu-q*  
monkey-SG three-do.n.times-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> shout-IND.IV-3SG  
The monkey called three times

*naggataatigullu ima uqarluni:*  
*naggat-a-tigut=lu ima uqar-llu-ni*  
end-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-VIA=and this say-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
and finally said:

- (8) “*Ujarassuaq=aa, suuq unnuk=manna akiumanngilatit?*”  
*ujarak-rsuaq=aa, suuq unnuk=manna aki-uma-nngit-la-tit*  
stone-big=hey why evening=this answer-want-not-NEG-2SG  
“Hey you, Great Stone, why won’t you answer tonight?”

#### §14

- (1) “*Ujarassuup suurunami*  
*ujarak-.suaq-p suurunami*  
stone-big-SG.ERG of.course  
“Of course, the great stone

*aapakaaq unnukkut suaaraangat akisarsimavaa.”*  
*aapakaa-q unnuk-kkut suaar-gaang-at aki-tar-sima-pa-a*  
monkey-SG evening-VIA shout-HAB<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub> answer-habit-prf-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
must have been answering the monkey when he called in the evenings,”

*kuukkuuriaq sianiitsuq imminut pilirpuq.*  
*kuukkuuria-q sianiit-tuq-q immi-nut pilir-pu-q*  
crocodile-SG foolish-iv\cn-SG self-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG  
said the foolish crocodile to himself.

- (2) “*Ujaraasaarlunga akissavara.”*  
*ujarak-u-usaar-llu-nga aki-ssa-pa-ra*  
stone-be-pretend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1SG answer-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
“I will answer him as if I were the stone (*lit.* pretending to be the stone).”

- (3) *Taava kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq:*  
*taava kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q*  
then crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
Then the crocodile said:

- (4) “*Sunaana aapakaaq?*”  
*suna=una aapakaa-q*  
what=this monkey-SG  
“What is it, Monkey?”

#### §15

- (1) *Aapakaaq illarpuq uqarlunilu:*  
*aapakaa-q illar-pu-q uqar-llu-ni=lu*  
monkey-SG laugh-IND.IV-3SG say-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and  
The monkey laughed and said:

- (2) “*Sunavvaana illit kuukkuuriaq.*”  
*sunavva=una illit kuukkuuria-q*  
 aha=this you crocodile-SG  
 “Aha, so it’s you, Crocodile.”
- (3) “*Aap, uangaana,*  
*aap uanga=una*  
 yes me=this  
 “Yes, it is me,  
*nirissallutit utaqqiinnarpagit.*”  
*niri-ssa-llu-tit utaqqi-innar-pa-git*  
 eat-prospect-ELA<sub>T</sub>-2SG wait-just-IND.TV-1SG.2SG  
 I am just waiting for you in order to eat you (*lit.* expecting/desiring to eat you),”  
*kuukkuuriaq uqarpuq paasillugulu salluqittartissimalluni.*  
*kuukkuuria-q uqar-pu-q paasi-llu-gu=lu salluqittar-tit-sima-llu-ni*  
 crocodile-SG say-IND.IV-3SG understand-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>=and trick-get...ed-prf-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 said the crocodile, realizing he had been tricked.

## §16

- (1) “*Kiisami tassa pisaraarma,*” *aapakaaq uqarpuq*  
*kiisami tassa pi-saq-gi-pa-rma aapakaa-q uqar-pu-q*  
 finally that get-TV\RN-have-IND.TV-2SG.1SG monkey-SG say-IND.IV-3SG  
 “So you have caught me at last,” said the monkey
- (2) “*Angirlamummi allamik aqutissaqanngilanga.*  
*angirla-mut=mi alla-mik aqut-ssaq-qar-nngit-la-nga*  
 home-DAT=for other-SG.MOD way-prospective-have-not-NEG-1SG  
 “For I have no other way home.
- (3) *Aatsarluaannarit,*  
*aatsar-lluar-innar-gi-t*  
 open.mouth-well-just-IMP-2SG  
 Just open your mouth wide,
- (4) *Pitsaaniruvuq*  
*pitsaq-u-niru-pu-q*  
 excellent-be-more-IND.IV-3SG  
 It’s best  
*irniinnaq qanirpit iluanut pissikkuma.*”  
*irniinnaq qaniq-t ilu-a-nut pissig-gu-ma*  
 immediately mouth-2SG.SG inside-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-DAT jump-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1SG  
 if I jump into your mouth right away.”

## §17

- (1a) *Aapakaap nalunngilaa*  
*aapakaa-p nalu-nngit-la-a*  
 monkey-SG.ERG not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 The monkey knew

*kuukkuuriaq aatsaraangami siqunngirtartuq,*  
*kuukkuuria-q aatsar-gaana-mi siqunngir-tar-tu-q*  
 crocodile-SG open.mouth-HAB<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> shut.eyes-habit-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 that whenever the crocodile opened its mouth he shut his eyes,

- (1b) *kuukkuuriarlu aatsarluni siqunngirlunilu*  
*kuukkuuria-q=lu aatsar-llu-ni siqunngir-llu-ni=lu*  
 crocodile-SG=and open.mouth-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> shut.eyes-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and

*ujaqqami uninngatillugu*  
*ujarak-mi unig-nga-tit-llu-gu*  
 stone-SG.LOC stop-result-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 and while the crocodile sat still on the stone with his mouth open and his eyes shut

*aapakaaq pissippuq.*  
*aapakaa-q pissig-pu-q*  
 monkey-SG jump-IND.IV-3SG  
 the monkey jumped.

- (2) *Kisianni kuukkuurissap qarnanut pissinngilaq.*  
*kisianni kuukkuuria-p qarna-a-nut pissig-nngit-la-q*  
 but crocodile-SG.ERG mouth-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-DAT jump-not-NEG-3SG  
 But he didn't jump into the crocodile's mouth.

- (3) *Taamaallaat kuukkuurissap niaquanut tuppuq,*  
*taamaallaat kuukkuuria-p niaqu-a-nut tug-pu-q*  
 only crocodile-SG.ERG head-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-DAT step.on-IND.IV-3SG  
 He only stepped onto the crocodile's head

*tassanngaanniillu tuaviinnaq nunamut pissiriarluni*  
*tass-anngaanniit=lu tuavi=innaq nuna-mut pissig-riar-llu-ni*  
 there-from=and hurry=only land-SG.DAT jump-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 and hurriedly jumping from there onto land

*qangali urpimmi iniminiiriirpuq.*  
*qangali urpik-mi ini-mi-ni=it-riir-pu-q*  
 long.ago tree-SG.LOC room-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC=be-already-IND.IV-3SG  
 he was already back up in his tree.

§18

- (1) *Kuukkuurissap paasigamiuk*  
*kuukkuuria-p paasi-ga-miuk*  
 crocodile-SG.ERG realize-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 When the crocodile<sup>T</sup> realized

*aapakaap kingumut salluqittaraani*  
*aapakaa-p kingu-mut salluqitar-gi-ani*  
 crocodile-SG.ERG rear-DAT trick-ELA<sub>L</sub>.TV-3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 that the monkey<sup>L</sup> had again tricked him<sub>T</sub>

*uqarpuq:*  
*uqar-pu-q*  
 say-IND.IV-3SG  
 he<sub>T</sub> said:

- (2a) “*Aapakaaq, silatuqaatit,*  
*aapakaa-q silatu-qi-pu-tit*  
 monkey-SG smart-emph-IND.IV-2SG  
 “Monkey, you are very smart

*aamma irsisuiqaatit,*  
*aamma irsi-juit-qi-pu-tit*  
 also be.afraid-never-emph-IND.IV-2SG  
 and also very brave,

- (2b) *matuma kingurna qanuq pissanngilagit.*”  
*mat-uma kingurna-a qanuq pi-ssa-nngit-la-git*  
 that-SG.ERG after-3SG<sub>L</sub>-SG how do-prospect-not-NEG-1SG.2SG  
 after this I won’t harm you in any way [*lit.* do anything to you].”

- (3) “*Qujanaq, kuukkuuriaq,*” *aapakaaq akivuq*  
*qujanaq kuukkuuria-q aapakaa-q aki-pu-q*  
 thank.you crocodile-SG monkey-SG answer-IND.IV-3SG  
 “Thank you, Crocodile,” answered the monkey.

- (4) “*Kisianni isumaqarpunga*  
*kisianni isuma-qar-pu-nga*  
 but belief-have-IND.IV-1SG  
 “But I think

*pitsaanirusuq suli mianirsuruma.*”  
*pitsaq-u-niru-tu-q suli mianirsur-gu-ma*  
 excellent-be-more-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub> still take.care-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1SG  
 it’s best if I still continue to take care.”