

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Aataarsuup irnikasia
"Aataarsuaq's kid son"

ESKIMO MYTH:

D. Sommer et al, eds, 1972, *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit* 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 (\top);

ib: elaborate \top and/or:

(i) set up a secondary topical referent (\top'), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (\perp);

mf: background information about main verbal comment;

fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (*if*- \top & *ib*- \top' if present; otherwise \top from last S)

ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (\perp') 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) Qanga=nnguuq *if*
long.ago=hearsay
Once upon a time, 'tis said,...
- anguti-qar-pu-q Aataarsuar-mik ati-lim-mik. *fb, ff*
man-have-IND.IV-3s Aataarsuaq-MOD name-with- MOD
...there was a man named Aataarsuaq.
- (2) Taama-ni inu-it *if, ib*
then/there-LOC person-pl
Back then people \top ...
- inu-qati-min-nik tuqut-si-sar-pu-t. *mf, fb*
person-fellow-3p \top .pl-MOD kill-apass-habit- IND.IV-3p
...used to kill their \top fellow men.
- (3a) Aataarsuaq aamma *if*
Aataarsuaq also
Aataarsuaq \top also...
- akira-qar-pu-q *fb*
enemy-have-IND.IV-3s
...had enemies,

- (3b) akiqqa-ni=li tuqun-niq sapir-pa-i. *ff: if, fb*
enemy-3s_T.pl=but kill-v\ñ be.unable-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...but he_T was unable to kill them_⊥.
- (4) Aamma *if*
also
 [He_T]_{fb} also...
 nulia-qar-pu-q. *fb*
wife-have-IND.IV-3s
 ...had a wife.
- (5a) Sivisuu-mik aappa-ri-ik-kaluar-pu-t, *mf, fb*
long.time-MOD mate-have.as-rcp-...but-IND.IV-3p
 They_T had been married a long time [in vain]...
- (5b) kisianni suli qiturna-qa-nngil-la-t. *ff: if, fb*
but still offspring-have-not-IRR-3p
 ...but they_T still had no offspring.
- (6) Ullu-l=li ila-an-ni Aataarsuu-p *if, ib*
day-pl.ERG=but one.of-3p_⊥.sg-LOC Aataarsuaq-ERG
 But one day Aataarsuaq_T
 malugi-lir-pa-a nuli-i naartu-su-q. *fb, ff*
sense-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s wife-3s_T.sg be.pregnant-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...noticed that his_T wife_⊥ was pregnant.
- (7) Naav-i *if*
 belly[pl]-3s_⊥.pl
 Her_⊥ belly_T...
 al-li-artu-qa-u-t. *fb*
be.big-get.more-progress-very-IND.IV-3p
 ...grew a lot.
- (8) Aarimmi ullu-t ila-an-ni *if, ib*
sure.enough day-pl.ERG one.of-3p_⊥.sg-LOC
 And sure enough, one day...
 nukappiaqqa-mik irni-vu-q. *mf, fb*
boy-MOD give.birth-IND.IV-3s
 ...she_T gave birth to a boy.
- §2.**
- (1) Irnir-taa-ni inu-u-sima-tsiar-tu-q *if*
son-new-3s_T.sg person-be-prf-moment-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 The moment his_T baby son_⊥ was born...
 angut-a-ata annil-lu-gu *ib*
father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG take.out-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 ...the father_T took him_⊥ out and...

- sissa-mut arpaliup-pa-a. *mf, fb*
shore-DAT run.with-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...ran with him_⊥ [down]_{see (2)} to the shore.
- (2) Tasama-ni *if*
down.there-LOC
 There...
- niaqu-a tasiqqa-mut *if*
head-3s_⊥.sg hole.in.ice-DAT
 ...[he_τ dipped]_{fb} his_⊥ head in a hole in the ice
- sivisuu-mik mursut-tis-sima-va-a. *mf, fb*
long.time-MOD disappear.under.wtr-cause-prf-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...for a long time.
- (3) Tauva tuavi=innaq *if, ib*
then hurry=✓
 Then, hurrying all the way,
- illu-min-nut maju-up-pa-a. *mf, fb*
home-3p_τ.sg-DAT go.up-with-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_τ carried him_⊥ [back] up home.
- II. Son's childhood**
- §1.**
- (1) Taama-iliur-tuar-pa-a. *fb*
thus-do.to-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 He_τ kept on doing that to him_⊥.
- (2) Ullaak-kut itir-lu-ni=lu *if*
morning-VIA wake.up-ELA_τ-3s_τ=and
 Every morning when he_τ woke up,...
- irn-i suli sinit-tu-q *ib*
son-3s_τ.sg still sleep-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...while his_τ son_⊥ was still asleep...
- annit-tar-pa-a, sissa-mu=innaq. *fb, ff*
take.out-habit-IND.TV-3s.3s, shore-DAT=✓
 ...he_τ would take him_⊥ out, always [down] to the shore.
- (3) Kiisa irnir-a pisut-ta-lir-a-mi *if, ib*
in.the.end son-3s_⊥.sg walk-habit-begin-FCT_τ-3s_τ
 In the end when the son_τ began to walk...
- mitir-tut sivi-su-tigi-su-mik *mf*
elder-EQU duration-have.big-as...as-iv\cn-sg.MOD
- aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q. *fb*
dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_τ began to dive and stay underwater as long as an eider.

§2.

- (1a) Anguta-a-ta if
father-3s.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
- taama-tut sungiu-sar-tuar-pa-a, mf, fb
thus-EQU get.used.to-act.to.cause-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...kept on training him_L like this,
- (1b) kiisa angi-niru-lir-a-mi ff: if
in.the.end be.big-...er-begin-FCT_T-3s_T
 In the end when he_T got bigger...
- sivisu-rsuar-mik aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q. mf, fb
long.time-big-MOD dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T began to dive and stay underwater for a very long time.

III. *Father's seal catch*

§1.

- (1) Ila-an-ni if
one.of-3p_L.sg-LOC
 One [day]...
- anguta-a qajar-tur-lu-ni ib
father-3s_L.sg kayak-use-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...when the father_T was out [hunting] in his kayak...
- qasigissa-mik pi-sa-qar-pu-q. mf, fb
harbour.seal-MOD get-tv_{rn}-have-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T caught a harbour seal.
- (2) Tikik-ka-mi if
come-FCT_T-3s_T
 When he_T came back,...
- nuli-i uqar-vig-a-a:
wife-3s_T.sg say-to-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T said to his_T wife_L:
- (3) “Ami-a ib
 “*skin-3s_L.sg*
 “The skin_{Lβ}, ...
- avata-ssa-tut suliari-ssa-va-t. mf, fb
hunting.bladder-expected-EQU process-be.expected-IND.TV-2s.3s
 ...you will process as for a hunting bladder
 [used to keep harpooned animals afloat] ...
- taliru-i siqqu-i=lu ff
hind.flipper-3s_L.pl front.flipper-3s_L.pl=and
 ata-til-lu-git!”
attached-cause-ELA_T-3p_L
 ...leaving the hind flippers and the front flippers attached!”

§2.

- (1) Nuli-a-ta *if*
wife-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 His_⊥ wife_τ...
 taama suliar-a-a. *mf, fb*
thus process-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...processed it_{⊥β} in that way.
- (2) Inir-m-at uvi-a-ta *if, ib*
finish-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥ husband-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 When she_⊥ finished, the husband_τ...
 ulikkaar-lu-gu im-mir-pa-a *mf, fb*
fill.up-ELA_τ-3s_⊥ content-link.to-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...filled it_{⊥β} up with stuffing...
 panir-sir-vi-ssa-a-nul=lu qullar-lu-gu *ff*
dry-gradually-loc.of-expected-3s_⊥.sg-DAT=and put.up-ELA_τ-3s_⊥
 ...and hung it_{⊥β} up in a suitable place to dry.
- (3) Panir-sir-nir-a-ni *if*
dry-gradually-v\η-3s_⊥.sg-LOC
 While it_{⊥β} was drying...
 irn-i *ib*
son-3s_τ.sg
 ullaa-t tamaa-sa sissa-mu-ka-ut-tar-pa-a. *mf fb*
morning-pl all-pl_⊥ shore-DAT-go-iv\η-habit-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_τ kept taking his_τ son_⊥ [down] to the shore every morning.
- (4) Ila-an-ni *if*
one.of-3p.sg-LOC
 One [day]...
 anguta-a iti-riallar-a-mi *ib*
father-3s_⊥.sg wake.up-quick.prep-FCT_τ-3s_τ
 ...as soon as the father_τ woke up...
 qasigissa-p ami-a panir-sima-su-q. *ff*
harbour.seal-ERG skin-3s_⊥.sg dry-prf-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...[he saw] that the seal skin_{⊥β} was dry.
- (5) Irn-i itir-sar-pa-a: *if, fb*
son-3s_τ.sg wake.up-act.to.cause-IND.TV-3s.3s
 He_τ shook his_τ son_⊥ awake:
- (6a) “Maki-niar-i-t *fb*
 “*get.up-please-IMP-2s*
 “Get up, please,
- (6b) atisar-taa-t ati-nia-ssa-va-t!” *ff: if, fb*
garment-new-2s.sg put.on-try-be.expected-IND.TV-2s.3s
 you’re going to try on your new suit!”

IV. *Dress rehearsal*

§1.

- (1) Asu taama pi-sa-q *if, ib*
and.so thus tell-TV\RN-SG
 And so, having been told that,...
- qasigissa-p ami-a ati-va-a. *mf, fb*
harbour.seal-ERG skin-3S_⊥.sg put.on-IND.TV-3S.3S
 he_τ put on the seal skin [suit].
- (2) Ani-artur-a-mi tuma-i *if, ib*
go.out-progress.toward-FCT_τ-3S_τ track-3S_⊥.pl
 As he_τ headed for the door, his tracks_τ...
- akilir-iip-pu-t, *fb*
be.parallel.to-rcp-IND.IV-3p
 ...were parallel,
- tassa=li allur-ni-ki-ngaar-a-mi. *ff*
that.is=but take.step(s)-V\N-have.small-very-FCT_τ-3S_τ
 —that was because he_τ was taking very small steps.
- (3) Ani-mm-at anguta-a-ta *if, ib*
go.out-FCT_⊥-3S_⊥ father-3S_⊥.sg-ERG
 When he_⊥ went out, the father_τ...
- malip-pa-a. *fb*
followed-IND.TV-3S.3S
 ...followed him_⊥.
- (4) Irmir-a *if*
son-3S_⊥.sg
 The son_τ...
- sisso-mut tuavi=innaq atir-pu-q. *mf, fb*
shore-DAT hurry=V go.down-IND.IV-3S
 ...rushed down to the shore.
- (5) Sukka-tsik-kaluttuinnar-m-at anguta-a-ta *if, ib*
move.fast-...er-keep.increasing-FCT_⊥-3S_⊥ father-3S_⊥.sg-ERG
 He_⊥ kept going faster and faster, while the father_τ...
- qain-i urnip-pa-a, *mf, fb*
kayak-3S_τ.sg approach-IND.TV-3S.3S
 ...headed for his_τ kayak,...
- irn-i=lu ala-ssa-na-gu *ff*
son-3S_τ.sg=and take.eyes.off-be.expected-NON_τ-3S_⊥
 ...determined not to take his eyes off his_τ son_⊥.

- (6) Ala-tsiar-lu-gu *if*
take.eyes.off-briefly-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 He_T did take his eyes off him_⊥ briefly, and when...
- qivia-qqip-pa-a, *fb*
look.toward-again-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_T looked toward him_⊥ again...
- taava=una imma-mut pissit-tu-q. *ff*
then=that_⊥ sea-DAT leap-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 there he_⊥ was, leaping into the sea.
- (7) Issi-kasi-qi-mm-at *if*
fall.into.water-silly-very-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥
 When he_⊥ hit the water, the silly kid_⊥, with a big splash, ...
- anguta-a-ta qaan-ni imma-mut pissuk-ka-mi-uk *ib*
father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG kayak-3s_T sea-DAT get.with-FCT_T-3s_T-3s_⊥
 ...the father_T got his_T kayak into the sea and...
- iki-vu-q. *fb*
get.into.kayak-IND.IV-3s
 ...got in.
- (8) Issi-vvi-a-ta nala-a *if*
fall.into.water-loc.of-3s_⊥.sg-ERG vicinity-3s_⊥.sg
 [All] around the place where he_⊥ (the boy) had hit the water, ...
- itsuar-tur-pa-a. *fb*
look.through-activity-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T (the father) looked down toward the bottom.
- (9) Taamak *if*
gone
 Gone, ...
- pi-qa-nngi-la-q. *fb*
that.kind-be.there-not-IRR-3s
 ...he wasn't there.
- (10) Kiisa *if*
in.the.end
 In the end...
- naqq-a issigi-niq sapi-lir-pa-a. *mf, fb*
bottom-3s_⊥.sg watch-v\ñ be.unable-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T was unable to see the bottom any more.
- (11) Irn-i ipi-ssa-sura-lu-gu *if*
son-3s_T.sg drown-be.expected-believe-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 Dreading his_T son_⊥'s death by drowning,
- anguta-a annilaa-nga-lir-pu-q *mf, fb*
father-3s_⊥.sg get.terrified-result-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...the father_T began to feel terrified...

- immi-nul=lu navii-lir-lu-ni. *fb*
*self*_{T-DAT}=*and* *scold-begin*-ELA_{T-3S_T}
 ...and began to reproach himself_T.
- §2.
- (1) Suli uqalun-niar-lu-ni, *if*
still tell.off-intend-ELA_{T-3S_T}
 He_T was still at it, when...
- suaar-pallak tusar-pa-a. *mf,fb*
shout-sound.iv\cn *hear*-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T heard a shout.
- (2) Avam-mut qiviar-a-mi *if*
seaward-DAT look.toward-FCT_{T-3S_T}
 Looking out toward the open sea,
- taku-va-a *fb*
see-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_T saw...
- irn-i imma-mit nui-im-misaar-tu-q. *ff*
son-3s_T.sg *sea*-ABL *stick.head.up-a.bit-intermittently*-ELA₁.IV-3s₁
 ...his_T son₁ stick his head up from the sea a bit, now and then.
- (3) Tamaviat *if*
with.all.might
 With all his_T might,
- paar-lu-gu aallar-vig-a-a *mf,fb*
paddle.toward-ELA_{T-3S₁} *set.off-to*-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_T set off paddling toward him₁.
- (4) Irnir-a-ta *if*
son-3s₁.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 him₁.
- (5) Angut-a-ta *if*
father-3s₁.sg-ERG
 The father_T,...
- irnir-mi qanil-li-nir-a *ib*
son-3s_T.sg-ERG *be.close-get*-v\N-3s₁.sg
 naammagi-lir-a-mi-uk
judge.enough-begin-FCT_{T-3S_T-3S₁}
 when he_T judged he_T had got close enough to his_T son₁,...
- naak-kiar-pa-a. *fb*
harpoon-make.move-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...cast his harpoon at him₁.

- (6) Irnir-a *if*
son-3s.sg
 The son_T...
 imma-mut mursup-pu-q. *mf, fb*
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 *if*
father-3s₁.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
 ini-ku-a kisi-at iqgur-pa-a. *mf, fb*
place-former-3s₁.sg alone-sg₁ hit-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...hit only his₁ former location.
- §3.**
- (1a) Mursu-mm-at *if, ib*
disappear.under.wtr-FCT₁-3s₁ anguta-a-ta
 When he₁ dove down, the father_T...
 arri-it-su-mik avam-mut aallar-pu-q, *mf, fb*
in.haste-contrary-iv\cn-MOD seaward-DAT set.off-IND.IV-3s
 ...set off without haste [farther] out toward the open sea,
- (1b) sivirusu-mik utaqqi-va-a. *if, fb*
long.time-MOD wait.for-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T waited for him₁ a long time.
- (2) Kiisa *if*
in.the.end
 In the end...
 annilaa-nga-lir-pu-q *fb*
get.terrified-result-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T [again] began to feel terrified.
- (3) Suaar-palla-mm-at *if*
shout-sound-FCT₁-3s₁
 At the sound of a shout,...
 nipi-p tunga-a qiviar-pa-a *mf, fb*
voice-ERG direction-3s₁.sg look.toward-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T looked in the direction of the voice.

- (4) Tasama tasama *if*
out.west out.west
 [It was] way out west [i.e. *out toward open sea in West Greenland*],...
- qani-nngi-la-q. *fb*
be.close-not-IRR-3s
 ...far away.
- (5a) Tamaviat *if*
with.all.might
 With all his_T might,...
- urni-lir-pa-a, *fb*
approach-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T set off toward him_L,...
- (5b) maanna-kkut naak-kiar-nia-nngi-la-a. *ff: if, fb*
here/now-VIA harpoon-make.move-intend-not-IRR-3s.3s
 ...this time he_T didn't intend to cast his harpoon at him_L.
- (6) Tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
come.to-FCT_T-3s_T-3s_L
 When he_T got to him_L,...
- niaqu-a-gut patip-pa-a *mf, fb*
head-3s_L.sg-VIA pat-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T patted him_L on the head...
- uqar-viga-lu-gu=lu: *ff*
say-to-ELA_T-3s_L=and:
 ...and said to him_L:
- (7) “Aqqa-amma-rtuu-nngua-q *if*
 “*dive-result-with.big-nice.little-sg*
 Nice little long-time diver,
- tim-mut tamaviat *ib*
shoreward-DAT with.all.might
- nuug-it. *mf, fb*
move-IMP.2s
 Swim with all your might toward the shore.
- Mali-ssa-va-kkit!” *fb*
follow-be.expected-IND.TV-1s.2s
 I will pursue you!”
- §4.**
- (1) Angun-ni taama uqar-m-at irnir-a *if, ib*
father-3s_T.sg thus say-FCT_L-3s_L son-3s_L.sg
 When the father_L said that, the son_T...
- mursup-pu-q. *fb*
disappear.under.wtr-IND.IV-3s
 ...dove down.

- (2) Angun-ni sulì apuuti-nngi-tsu-q *if*
father-3s_T.sg still arrive-not-ELA_I.IV-3s_I
 Before his_T father had arrived,...
- irnir-a-ta *ib*
son-3s_I.sg-ERG
 ...the son_T...
- sissa-q angu-va-a. *mf, fb*
shore-sg reach-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...[already] reached the shore.
- (3) Anguta-a-ta
father-3s_I.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
- irn-i *ib*
son-3s_T.sg
- akiqqa-mi-nut sakku-gi-nia-lir-pa-a. *mf, fb*
enemy-3s_T.pl-DAT weapon(s)-use.as-intend-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...now felt ready to use his_T son as a weapon against his_T enemies.

V. *The father is killed.*

§1.

- (1) Ullu-t ila-an-ni anguta-a-ta *if, ib*
day-pl.ERG one.of-3p_I.sg-LOC father-3s_I.sg-ERG
 One day the father_T, ...
- qajar-tur-lu-ni akiqqa-mi ila-at *mf*
kayak-use-ELA_T-3s_T enemy-3s_T.pl.ERG one.of-3p_I.sg
- taku-va-a *fb*
see-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...while out in his kayak, saw one of his_T enemies_I.
- (2) Mali-lir-pa-a. *fb*
follow-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 He_T began to follow him_I.
- (3) Mali-ta-a-ta *if*
follow-tv\vrn-3s_I.sg-ERG
 [The man]_T he_I was following...
- taku-va-a. *fb*
see-IND.TV-3s.3s
 saw him_I.

- (4) Aataarsuaq if
 Aataarsuaq_T...
 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_T-3s_T
 When the killer_T got home,...
- uqaluttuar-pu-q. fb
tell.story-IND.IV-3s
 he_T told the story.
- VI. *The boy's revenge***
- §1.**
- (1a) Aqagu-a-ni qajar-pa-ssui-t if, ib
next.day-3s₁.sg-LOC kayak-group-big-pl.ERG
 The next day a big mob_{pl} of kayakmen...
- Aataarsuu-p ilaquata-i nunguk-kiartur-pa-it, mf, fb
Aataarsuaq-ERG family-3s₁.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-3s₁.sg-LOC=but cousin-3s₁.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-ELA₁.IV-3s₁ kayak-group-big-pl
 While the boy₁ was still asleep, the kayak.men_T...
- 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 if
mother-3s₁.sg-ERG
 His₁ mother_T...
- itir-sar-pa-a. ib
wake.up-act.to.cause-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...woke him₁ up.

- (3) Itir-a-mi *if*
wake.up-FCT_T-3s_T
 When he_T woke up...
- atisa-ni *ib*
garment-3s_T.sg
- tuavi-or-lu-ni ati-va-a, *mf, fb*
hurry-activity-ELA_T-3s_T *put.on-IND.TV-3s.3s*
 ...he_T hastily put on his_T [diving] suit...
- ani-llu-ni=lu. *ff*
go.out-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and went out.
- §3.**
- (1) Ani-innar-tu-q akira-i-sa *if, ib*
go.out-just-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥ *enemy-3s_⊥.pl-ERG*
 As soon as he_⊥ went out, his_⊥ enemies_T...
- taku-va-at. *fb*
see-IND.TV-3p.3s
 ...saw him_⊥.
- (2) Nukappiaqqa-p *if*
 boy-ERG
 The boy_T...
- atirviur-pa-i. *fb*
go.down.toward-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...went down toward them_⊥.
- (3) Suli qaanna-t sissa-mut pi-nngi-tsu-t *if*
still kayak-pl shore-DAT get-not-ELA_⊥.IV-3p_⊥
 Before the kayakmen_⊥ got to the shore,...
- imma-mut tingi-vu-q. *mf, fb*
sea-DAT fly-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T leapt [*lit.* flew] into the sea.
- (4a) “Issi-kasi-qa-u-q!” *ib*
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. *if, ib*
kayak-pl shout-IND.IV-3p
 the kayakmen_T shouted.

§4.

- (1) Qini-lir-m-an-ni if
look.around.for-begin-FCT_⊥-3p_⊥-3s_⊥
 When they_⊥ started looking around for him_⊥, ...
- qiqqussa-t akurn-an-nut pula-tir-pu-q, mf, fb
sea.weed-pl gap.between-3p_⊥.sg go.into.sth-gradually-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_⊥ worked his way into a gap between some sea weeds, ...
- issi-mi illu-a kisi-at ff
eye-3s_⊥.pl.ERG on.one.side-3s_⊥.sg alone-sg_⊥
- nui-sil-lu-gu
stick.head.up-cause-ELA_⊥-3s_⊥
 ...keeping just one eye above the surface.
- (2) Anguti-t marluk sakku-qa-nngit-su-t taku-va-i if, fb
man-pl two weapon(s)-have-not-iv\cn-pl see-IND.TV-3s.3p
 He_⊥ saw two unarmed men, ...
- tama-rmik isa-it ajur-tu-t ff
all-pl_⊥ eye-3p_⊥.pl be.bad-ELA_⊥.IV-3p_⊥
 ...both with bad eyes.
- (3) Aappa-a nakunga-vu-q, if, fb
pair.mate-3s_⊥.sg squint-IND.IV-3s
 One was squint-eyed, ...
- aappa-a=lu siqunngir-tuar-lu-ni. ff
mate-3s_⊥.sg=and shut.eyes-continue-ELA_⊥-3s_⊥
 ...and his mate kept his eyes shut.
- (4) Sakku-tua-r-a-at fb
weapon(s)-sole-have.as-IND.TV-3p.3s
 Their_⊥ sole weapon was ...
- avaartaat. ff
club
 a club [*for finishing off fish*].
- (5) Sani-ati-gut pui-vu-q. if, fb
side-3p_⊥.sg-VIA come.up.to.surface-IND.IV-3s
 He came up to the surface [*like a seal*] beside them.
- (6) Aappa-a-ta if
mate-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 One_⊥ of them ...
- avaartaa-mik anaa-riar-pa-a, mf, fb
club-MOD hit.with.club-make.move-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...struck at him_⊥ with the club ...

- uniur-lu-gu=li. *ff*
miss-ELA_T-3s_⊥=but
 ...but missed him_⊥.
- (7a) Aamma pui-qqip-pu-q. *if, fb*
also come.up.to.surface-again-IND.IV-3s
 Once again, he_T came up, ...
- (7b) kisianni iqqu-nngi-la-at. *if, fb*
but hit-not-IRR-3p.3s
 ...but [again] they_T failed to hit him_⊥.
- (8a) Nakunga-su-q ila-i-sa *if, ib*
squint-iv\cn-sg part-3s_⊥.pl-ERG
 urnip-pa-at *fb*
approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
 The rest_T of the mob came toward the squint-eyed [fellow]_⊥,
- (8b) nukappiara-r=li *if*
boy-sg=but
 ...but the boy_T
- nukappiara-r=li ava-si-inna-kkut pui-vu-q. *mf, fb*
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 *if*
kayak-pl
 The kayakmen_T...
- tuavi=innaq urnip-pa-at. *mf, fb*
hurry=∇ approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
 ...rushed toward him_⊥.
- (10a) Suli tiki-nngik-ka-an-ni *if*
still come.to-not-ELA_⊥.TV-3p_⊥-3s_T
 Before they_⊥ got to him_T...
- aqqa-qqip-pu-q. *fb*
dive-again-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T dove again...
- (10b) taama=lu iliur-lu-ni *if*
thus=and do-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and by doing that...
- akiqqa-ni avam-mu-ka-up-pa-i. *mf, fb*
enemy-3s_T.pl seaward-DAT-go-iv\tv-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_T drew his_T enemies_⊥ out toward the open sea.
- (11) Ilulia-q tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
iceberg-sg come.to-FCT_T-3s_T-3s
 Coming to an iceberg, ...

- tass-unga qaqi-vu-q. *mf, fb*
that-DAT climb-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T climbed up onto it.
- (12) Anguti-t ilulissa-mut majuar-m-ata *if*
man-pl iceberg-DAT go.up-FCT₁-3p₁
 When the men₁ scrambled up onto the iceberg,...
- ilulia-mini-q nakkar-tip-pa-a. *mf, fb*
iceberg-chunk-sg fall-cause-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T dropped a chunk of ice.
- (13) Anguti-t nakka-ap-pu-t. *if, fb*
man-pl fall-en.masse-IND.IV-3p
 The men_T fell off en masse.
- (14) Anguti-rpai-t annilaa-nga-lir-a-mik *if*
man-group-pl get.terrified-result-begin-FCT_T-3p_T
 The mobsters_T got terrified, so they_T...
- qaanna-min-nut iki-llu-tik qimaa-ppu-t. *mf, fb*
kayak-3p_T.pl-DAT get.into.kayak-ELA-3p flee-IND.IV-3p
 ...got into their_T kayaks and fled.
- (15) Nukappiara-q *if*
boy-sg
 The boy_T...
- ilulissa-p sanira-a-tigut imma-mut pissip-pu-q. *mf, fb*
iceberg-ERG side-3s₁.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-3p₁.sg-VIA travel-IND.IV-3s
 He_T swam along underneath the kayaks₁.
- (17a) Siulli-q tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
first-sg come.to-FCT_T-3s_T-3s₁
 When he_T got to the first one₁,...
- paata-i-sigut nusup-pa-a
paddle[pl]-3s₁.pl-VIA pull-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T pulled him₁ by his₁ paddle_{pl}, ...
- kinngu-til-lu-gu,
capsize-cause-ELA_T-3s₁
 ...causing him₁ to capsize, ...
- (17b) tama-isa=lu *if*
all-pl₁=and
- taama iliur-lu-git nungup-pa-i. *mf, fb*
thus do-ELA_T-3p₁ finish.off-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...and [so] he_T finished them₁ all off in that way.

- (18) Nakunga-su-kku-t kisi-isa *if*
squint-iv\cn-&co-pl alone-pl_⊥
 Only the squint-eyed fellow and_⊥ his mate...
 pi-nngi-la-i. *fb*
do.that-not-IRR-3s.3p
 ...did he_τ spare.
- (19) Taakkua *if*
those
 Those_⊥...
 ataasi-ar-na-ni tupat-tit-tar-pa-i, *mf, fb*
one-do.n.times-NON_τ-3s_τ get.startled-cause-habit-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_τ startled more than once,
 tassa paata-i-sa isu-i-sigut *ff*
that.is paddle-3p_⊥.pl-ERG end-3p_⊥.pl-VIA
 asuli nusu-laar-tar-lu-git.
for.fun pull-a.bit-habit-ELA_τ-3p_⊥
 ...that is, by repeatedly pulling them_⊥ a bit, just for fun,
 by the tips of their_⊥ paddles.
- (20) Taama pi-riar-lu-git *if*
thus do.that-stage-ELA_τ-3p_⊥
 After teasing them_⊥ like that
 qimap-pa-i. *fb*
leave-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_τ left them_⊥.
- §5.
 (1) Taama *if*
thus
 In this way...
 Aataarsuaq irmir-a-ta akiniup-pa-a. *mf, fb*
Aataarsuaq son-3s_⊥.sg-ERG avenge-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...Aataarsuaq_⊥ was avenged by his_⊥ son_τ.