

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) *Qatannugitiinnuuq pingasut sikukkut piniariarlutik* *if*
qatannugut-gii-t=guuq pingasut siku-kkut pi-niar-riar-llu-tik
 sibling-group-PL=RPT three.PL ice-SG.VIA kind-hunt-...and-ELA_T-3PL_T
 Once, 'tis said, there were three brothers^T who, while hunting on the ice,
- kiisa samungarsuaq pipput.* *ib, mf, fb*
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) *Angajullirsaannguuq* *if*
angaju-lliq-taq=guuq
 older.brother-most-of=RPT
 The oldest one^T of the brothers
- Silliarnamik atiqarluni,* *mf, fb*
Silliarnaq-mik ati-qar-llu-ni
 Silliarnaq-SG.MOD name-have-ELA_T-3SG_T
 was called Silliarnaq
- ataatsimillu allamik sisamaqarlutik.* *ff*
ataasiq-mik=lu alla-mik sisama-qar-llu-tik
 one-SG.MOD=and other-SG.MOD fourth-have-ELA_T-3PL_T
 and there was one other man as the fourth member of the party.
- (3) *Sikumiiitllugit nunasarnirup* *if, ib*
siku-mi=it-tit-llu-git nuna-sar-niq-p
 ice-SG.LOC=be-state-ELA_T-3PL_L land-blow.from-v\N-SG.ERG
 While they_T^L were out on the ice, a wind^T blowing from land
- siku nallulirpaa.* *mf, fb*
siku nallur-lir-pa-a
 ice break.to.pieces-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 started breaking up the ice.
- (4) *Taamaalimmat* *if*
taama=ili-mm-at
 thus=become-FCT_L-3SG_L
 When this_T^L started
- iluliarsup qaanut qaqillutik* *ib*
iluliaq=:suaq-p qaa-a-nut qaqi-llu-tik
 iceberg-big-SG.ERG top-3SG_L.SG-DAT climb-ELA_T-3PL_T
 they^T climbed up on top of an iceberg and
- imaannarsuakkut tissukalirput* *mf, fb*
imaq-innar=:suaq-kkut tissukar-lir-pu-t
 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* *if*
sivi-tuuq-mik *tissukar-ga-mik*
duration-with.big-SG.MOD drift-FCT_T-3PL_T
After drifting for a long time,
kiisa pirlilirput. *ib, fb*
kiisa pirlir-lir-pu-t
finally starve.to.death-begin-IND.IV-3PL
they_T finally began to starve.
- (6) *Taamaallutik* *irsiriallaraat* *if, fb*
taama=it-llu-tik *irsir-riallar-pa-at*
thus=be-ELA_T-3PL_T spot-suddenly-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Then they_T suddenly spotted
nuna ilisarinngisartik. *ff*
nuna ilisari-nngit-saq-rtik
land recognize-not-tv\|rn-3PL_T.SG
land that they_T did not recognize.
- §2**
- (1) *Nunamut* *tipigamik* *if*
nuna-mut *tipi-ga-mik*
land-SG.DAT drift.ashore-FCT_T-3PL_T
Drifting ashore,
inunnik naapitassarsiurlutik *ingirlalirput.* *mf, fb*
inuk-nik naapit-taq-ssaq-siur-llu-tik *ingirla-lir-pu-t*
person-PL.MOD meet-tv\|rn-prospective-see-ELA_T-3PL_T go.on-begin-IND.IV-3PL
they_T set out in search of people.
- (2) *Nuunnguaq* *tikikkamikku* *takuliriallaraat* *if, fb*
nuuk-nnguaq *tikit-ga-mikku* *taku-lir-riallar-pa-at*
headland-little.SG come.to-FCT_T-3PL_T.3SG_↓ see-begin-suddenly-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Coming to a little headland, they_T suddenly saw
illunnguaq ataatsimik igalaalik. *ff*
illu-nnguaq ataasiq-mik igalaaq-lik
house-little.SG one-SG.MOD window-with.SG
a little house with a single window.
- (3) *Silliarnap* *ilani* *uqarvigai:* *if, ib, fb*
Silliarnaq-p *ila-ni* *uqar-vigi-pa-i*
Silliarnaq-SG.ERG part-3SG_T.PL say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
Silliarnaq^T said to his_T companions[±]:
- (4) “*Uanga uuqattaarlara,*” *if, fb*
uanga uuqataar-la-ra
me try-OPT-1SG.3SG
“Let me check it out.”

- (5) *taamalu* *ff*
taama=lu
 thus=and
 and with these words
- siulliulluni* *illumut* *isirluni.*
siu-lliq-u-llu-ni *illu-mut* *isir-llu-ni*
 front-most-be-ELA_T-3SG_T house-SG.DAT enter-ELA_T-3SG_T
 he_T went into the house first.
- §3
- (1) *Illup* *inui* *if*
illu-p *inuk-i*
 house-SG.ERG person-3SG₁.PL
 [The inhabitants of the house]^T
- aappariupput* *utuqqaat.* *fb, fb*
aappaq-gii-u-pu-t *utuqqaat-t*
 spouse-group-be-IND.IV-3PL old-PL
 were an old couple.
- (2) *Angutit taakku sisamat isiramik* *if*
angut-t taakku sisama-t isir-ga-mik
 man-PL these four-PL enter-FCT_T-3PL_T
 When the four men^T came in,
- illirmut* *ingipput.* *mf, fb*
illiq-mut *ingig-pu-t*
 sleeping.platform-SG.DAT sit.down-IND.IV-3PL
 they_T sat down on the sleeping platform.
- (3a) *Uqaasiqanngimmata* *if*
uqaasiq-qar-nngit-mm-ata
 word-have-not-FCT₁-3PL₁
 When they_T¹ didn't say anything,
- angutip* *utuqqaap* *isigilirpai,* *ib, fb*
angut-p *utuqqaat-p* *isigi-lir-pa-i*
 man-SG.ERG old-SG.ERG look-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 the old man^T glanced at them
- (3b) *supiriarlugillu* *apirai:* *ff*
supi-riar-llu-git=lu *apiri-pa-i*
 blow.at-stage.one-ELA_T-3PL₁=and ask-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 and taking one sniff at them, asked:
- (4) “*Suminngaaniit aggirpisi?*” *if, fb*
 “*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^T answered him^{T+}:

(6) “*Nunamit immap illuaniittumit* *if*
nuna-mit imaq-p illu-a-ni=it-tuq-mit
 land-SG.ABL sea-SG.ERG pair.mate-3SG_L.SG-LOC=be-iv\cn-SG.ABL

aggirpugut *fb*
aggir-pu-gut
 coming-IND.IV-1PL
 “We^T have come from land on the other side of the sea

piniariarluta *ff*
pi-niar-riar-llu-ta
 kind-hunt-stage.one-ELA_T-1PL

nunasarnirmit siku nallurmat
nuna-sar-niq-mit siku nallur-mm-at
 land-blow.from-\n-SG.ABL ice break.to.pieces-FCT_L-3SG_L

maanga tissukaratta.
ma-unga tissukar-ga-tta
 here-DAT drift-FCT_T-1PL
 having drifted here
 after the ice^L got broken up by wind blowing away from land
 while we_T were out hunting.

(7a) *Pingasuulluta qatanngutigippugut,* *if, fb*
pingasut-u-llu-ta qatanngut-gii-g-pu-gut
 three-be-ELA_T-1PL sibling-group-n\V-IND.IV-1PL
 Three of us_T are brothers

(7b) *unalu sisamarput ilagiinnarparput.”* *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^L, the_L 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^T

nuliaminut uqarpuq: *mf, fb*
nuliaq-mi-nut uqar-pu-q
 wife-3SG_T.SG-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG
 said to his_T wife:

- (2) “*Angalaarluni kaannartarpuq.*” *if, fb*
angala-ar-llu-ni kaag-nar-tar-pu-q
 travel-long-ELA_T-3SG_T be.hungry-make.one-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 “Travelling far makes one hungry.”
- (3) *uqaatsinillu allanik uqaraluarimat if*
uqaasiq-nik=lu alla-nik uqar-galuar-mm-at
 word-PL.MOD=and other-PL.MOD say-...but-FCT₁-3SG₁
 he_T¹ also uttered some other words, but
- paasinngilaat. fb*
paasi-nngit-la-it
 understand-not-NEG-3PL.3PL
 they₁^T didn’t understand them¹.
- (4) *Nuliata iga ursuminirmik immiriarlugu if, ib*
nuliaq-ata iga ursuq-miniq-mik immir-riar-llu-gu
 wife-3SG₁.SG.ERG pot fat-material-SG.MOD fill.with-...and-ELA_T-3SG₁
 Filling up a pot with fat, his₁ wife^T
- igalirpuq fb*
iga-lir-pu-q
 cook-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 started cooking,
- (5) *qalakkamilu puuguttamut niusivai. ff*
qalag-ga-mi=lu puuguttaq-mut niu-si-pa-i
 get.food.cooked-FCT_T-3SG_T=and plate-SG.DAT get.out-for-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 and when she_T had the food ready, she_T poured it out for them¹ onto a plate.
- (6) *Uvva iluamik kajumiginagu if*
uvva iluamik kajumigi-na-gu
 in.fact properly feel.like-NON-3SG₁
 Without really feeling like it¹
- uuqattaarpaat. fb*
uuqattaar-pa-at
 try-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 they^T tasted it₁.
- (7) *Kinguninngua nirisassavinnik nirlirpai, if, mf, fb*
kingurna-nnguaq-a niri-gaq-ssaq-vik-nik nirlir-pa-i
 rear-little-3SG₁.SG eat-TV\rm-prospective-real-PL.MOD feed-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 A little later she^T fed them¹ some real food,
- (8) *uialu uqalulirpuq. if, fb*
ui-a=lu uqalu-lir-pu-q
 husband-3SG₁.SG=and talk-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 and her₁ husband^T began to talk.

- (9) “*Piniartituarput aallarami* *if*
pi-niar-ti-tuaq-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.* *fb*
takkug-niq ajur-lir-pu-q
 show.up-v\ n never.do-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 has already been gone a long time.
- (10) *Aallaarniranit qaammat missiliulirpuq kiisa.* *if, ib, fb, ff*
aallar-niq-a-nit qaammat missiliu-lir-pu-q kiisa
 set.out-v\ n-3SG_L.SG-ABL month be.about-begin-IND.IV-3SG finally
 By now, it’s already about a month since his^L departure.
- (11) *Immaqa inunnik ajurtunik naapitsigami.”* *if, mf, fb*
immaqa inuk-nik ajur-tuq-nik naapit-si-ga-mi
 maybe person-PL.MOD be.bad-iv\cn-PL.MOD meet-antip-FCT_T-3SG_T
 Maybe it’s because he^T’s met some bad people.”
- §5**
- (1) *Taama uqalulirmat* *if*
taama uqalu-lir-mm-at
 thus talk-begin-FCT_L-3SG_L
 When he^L started talking like that,
- tikiraartui isumaliulirput:* *ib, fb*
tikiraar-ti-i isuma-liur-lir-pu-t
 visit-agt-3SG_L.PL idea-make-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 his_L visitors^T began to wonder:
- (2) “*Inuit tikitavut suummitaava?”* *if, fb*
inuk-t tikit-taq-vut su-t=mi=taava
 person-PL come.to-tv\ n-1PL.PL what-PL=FOC=then?
 “What on earth are these people we’ve come to?”
- (3) *Sunaavvaguug nannut inurruurtut.* *if, ib, fb*
sunavva=guug nanuq-t inuk-rruur-tuq-t
 turn.out=RPT (polar)bear-PL person-be.in.form-iv\cn-PL
 As it turned out, ‘tis said, they were (polar) bears in human form.
- (4) *Taamaalillutik* *if*
taama=ili-llu-tik
 thus=become-ELA_T-3PL_T
 And so it came to pass that
- angut utuqqarsuaq angutisiartaaraat.* *ib, fb*
angut utuqqaaq-:suaq angut-siaq-taari-pa-at
 man old-big father-made-get.new-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 the old man^L became their^T foster father.

§6

- (1) *Unnuit ilaanni* *if*
unnuk-t ila-at-ni
 evening-PL.ERG part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC
 One evening
- tamarmik* *iqqissisimaarlutik* *isirsimaartillugit* *ib*
tamaq-mik *iqqissi-sima-ar-llu-tik* *isir-sima-ar-tit-llu-tik*
 all-PL_⊥ calm.down-prf-long-ELA_⊥-3PL_⊥ enter-prf-long-state-ELA_⊥-3PL_⊥
 while they_⊥ were all sitting peacefully indoors
- silataannit* *uqarpallappuq:* *mf, fb*
sila-taq-at-nit *uqar-pallag-pu-q*
 outdoors-of-3PL_⊥.SG-ABL say-heard-IND.IV-3SG
 there was a sound of somebody outside saying:
- (2) *“Isirlanga.”* *fb*
isir-la-nga
 enter-OPT-1SG
 “Let me come in.”
- (3) *Utqqarsuaq tuaviinnaq anivug* *if, mf, fb*
utuqqaaq-:suaq tuavi=innaq ani-pu-q
 old-big.SG hurry=just go.out-IND.IV-3SG
 The grand old man hastily went out
- irnilu* *tasiurlugu* *iqqullugu.* *ff*
irniq-ni=lu *tasiur-llu-gu* *iqqut-llu-gu*
 son-3SG_⊥.SG=and lead.by.hand-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ bring.in-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 and led his_⊥ son inside by the hand.
- (4) *Irnira qarsungaqaq saluqahunilu.* *if, fb, ff*
irniq-a qarsur-nga-qi-pu-q salu-qi-llu-ni=lu
 son-3SG_⊥.SG go.pale-result-emph-IND.IV-3SG thin-emph-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥=and
 His_⊥ son_⊥ was very pale and very thin.
- (5) *Nirillatsiaannaq ippammut innarpuq* *if, mf, fb*
niri-llatsiar-innar-q ippaq-mut innar-pu-q
 eat-briefly-just-v\ n plank.bed-SG.DAT lie.down-IND.IV-3SG
 After just a quick meal, he_⊥ lay down on the bed
- ullullu arlallit sinilhuni.* *ff*
ulluq-t=lu arlaq-lik-t sinig-llu-ni
 day-PL=and pl.others-with-PL asleep-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 and slept for several days.
- (6) *Ullaat ilaanni makiaarpuq* *if, fb*
ullaq-t ila-at-ni makig-jaar-pu-q
 morning-PL.ERG part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC get.up-early-IND.IV-3SG
 One morning he_⊥ got up early

- puallarsimaqalunilu.* *ff*
puallar-sima-qi-llu-ni=lu
 get.fatter-prf-emph-ELA_T-3SG_T=and
 looking much fatter.
- (7) *Sunaavva irlavii* *if, ib*
sunaavva irlavi-i
 turn.out intestine-3SG₁.PL
 As it turned out, his¹ intestines^T
- immirsimariaramik* *siaarsimasut.* *mf, fb*
immir-sima-riar-ga-mik *siaar-sima-tu-t*
 fill.up-prf-...and-FCT_T-3PL_T unfold-prf-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
 had unfolded after being filled.
- (8) *Niririarluni* *piniussisalirpuq.* *if, fb*
niri-riar-llu-ni *pi-niar-ut-si-tar-lir-pu-q*
 eat-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T kind-hunt-iv\|tv-antip-habit-began-IND.IV-3SG
 After a meal, he^T started regularly going hunting for [the family].
- §7
- (1) *Ullaannguaq aallartarpuq* *if, fb*
ullaq-nnguaq aallar-tar-pu-q
 morning-little.SG set.out-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 He_T would set out early in the morning
- natsirpassuarnillu* *tikiussisarluni.* *ff*
natsiq-paat-:suaq-nik=lu *tikit-ut-si-tar-llu-ni*
 (ringed)seal-lot-big-PL.MOD=and come-iv\|tv-antip-habit-ELA_T-3SG_T
 and come back with many seals.
- (2) *Kisianni sakkuqarnani* *angalasarpuq.* *if, mf, fb*
kisianni sakkuq-qar-na-ni *angala-tar-pu-q*
 but weapon-have-NON_T-3SG_T travel-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 But he_T always went around (hunting) without any weapons.
- §8
- (1) *Ukiut qassiit tassaniiriirmata* *if₁*
ukiuq-t qassi-t *tassa-ni=it=riir-mm-ata*
 year-PL several-PL there-LOC=be-already-FCT₁-3PL₁
 When they¹ had already been there several years,
- unnuit* *ilaanni* *utuqqartaat* *if₂, ib*
unnuk-t *ila-at-ni* *utuqqaq-taq-at*
 evening-PL.ERG part-3PL₁.SG-LOC old-of-3PL₁.SG
 one evening, their₁ elder^T
- qatanngutigii* *angajullirsaannut* *uqarpuq;* *mf, fb*
qatanngut-gii-t *angaju-lliq-taq-at-nut* *uqar-pu-q*
 sibling-group-PL.ERG big.brother-most-of-3PL₁.SG-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG
 said to the oldest of the [three] brothers:

- (2) *Inuugavit sumik aarnualirpaatsit?* *if, mf, fb*
inuu-ga-pit su-mik aarnuaq-lir-pi-atsit
 be.born-FCT_T-2SG what-SG.MOD amulet-provide-QUE-3PL.2SG
 “When you were born, what did they give you for an amulet?”
- (3) *Silliarnaq akivuq:* *if, fb*
Silliarnaq aki-pu-q
 Silliarnaq answer-IND.IV-3SG
 Silliarnaq answered:
- (4) *Inuugama angajuqqaama* *if, ib*
inuu-ga-ma angajuqqaama
 be.born-FCT_T-1SG parent-1SG.PL
 When I was born, my parents^T
- naajamik aarnualirpaannga.”* *mf, fb*
naaja-mik aarnuaq-lir-pa-annga
 seagull-SG.MOD amulet-provide-IND.TV-3PL.1SG
 gave me a seagull for an amulet.
- (5) *Utqqarsuup akivaa:* *if, fb*
utuqqaaq-:suaq aki-pa-a
 old-big.SG answer-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 The grand old man responded:
- (6) *Nunannut utiqqissinnaassaait.”* *if, fb*
nuna-t-nut utir-qqig-sinnaa-ssa-pu-tit
 land-2SG.SG-DAT return-again-be.able-prospect-IND.IV-2SG
 “You will be able to return back to your land.”
- (7) *Angajulliup tullia aamma uqarpuq.* *if, ib, fb*
angaju-lliq-p tulliq-a aamma uqar-pu-q
 big.brother-most-SG.ERG next-3SG_L.SG also say-IND.IV-3SG
 The next younger brother added:
- (8) *Pingasuulluta naajamik aarnuaqarpugut.”* *if, mf, fb*
pingasu-u-llu-ta naaja-mik aarnua-qar-pu-gut
 three-be-ELA_T-1PL seagull-SG.MOD amulet-have-IND.IV-1PL
 “All three of us [brothers] have a seagull for an amulet.”
- (9) *Sisamaat tulukkamik aarnuaqarnirarpuq.* *if, mf, fb*
sisama-at tulugaq-mik aarnua-qar-nirar-pu-q
 fourth-3PL_L.SG raven-SG.MOD amulet-have-say-IND.IV-3SG
 The fourth member of their party reported having a raven for an amulet.
- (10) *Taava utuqqarsuup uqarvigaa:* *if, ib, fb*
taava utuqqaaq-:suaq-p uqar-vigi-pa-a
 then old-big-SG.ERG say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Then the old man told him:

- (11) “*Illit nunassinnut apuunniq sapissaatit.*” *if, ib, fb*
illit nuna-rsi-nut apuug-niq sapir-ssa-pu-tit
 you land-2PL.SG-DAT reach-v\ñ unable-prospect-IND.IV-2SG
 “You won’t be able to reach you all’s land.”

§9

- (1) *Ukiup ingirlanirani ullaakkut itiraangata* *if*
ukiuq-p ingirla-niq-a-ni ullaag-kkut itir-gaang-ata
 year-SG.ERG go.on-v\ñ-3SG₁.SG-LOC morning-SG.VIA wake.up-HAB₁-3PL₁
 In the course of the year, whenever they₁ woke up in the morning,
- utuqqarsuaq piqarniq ajurpuq.* *ib, fb*
utuqqaaq-:suaq piqar-niq ajur-pu-q
 old-big.SG be.there-v\ñ never.do-IND.IV-3SG
 the old man was never there.
- (2) *Takuliraraat* *fb*
taku-lir-tar-pa-at
 see-begin-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 They would catch sight of him
- qaqqap qaaniittuq* *ff*
qaqqaq-p qaa-a-ni=it-tu-q
 mountain-SG.ERG top-3SG₁.SG-LOC=be-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 standing on top of the mountain
- silamik umirurluni.*
sila-mik umirur-llu-ni
 weather-SG.MOD look.carefully-ELA_T-3SG_T
 studying the weather.
- (3) *Ullut ilaanni atirami* *if*
ulluq-t ila-at-ni atir-ga-mi
 day-PL.ERG part-3PL₁.SG-LOC go.down-FCT_T-3SG_T
 One day, when he^T came down
- uqarpuq:* *fb*
uqar-pu-q
 say-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T said:
- (4) “*Silagiriapat angirlaakkuumaarpassi.*” *if, fb*
sila-gig-riar-pp-at angirlar-ut-jumaar-pa-ssi
 weather-be.fine-...and-HYP₁-3SG₁ go.home-iv\TV-be.promised-IND.TV-1SG.2PL
 “As soon as the weather clears, I’ll take you home.”
- (5) *Qatannutigiiit iqqarsalirput.* *if, fb*
qatannut-gii-t iqqarsar-lir-pu-t
 brother-group-PL think-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 The brothers began to wonder:

- (6) “*Qanuq ililluni* if
qanuq iliur-llu-ni
 how do-ELA_T-3SG_T
 In what way [*lit.* how acting]
- sikuqanngitsuq ikaarutissagamisigut,* ib, fb
siku-qar-nngit-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 qajaqaraniluunniit,* ff₁
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?”* ff₂
su-mut=lu angirlar-niq-ssaq-rput nalu-llu-gu
 what-SG.DAT go.home-v\|n-prospective-1PL.SG not.know-ELA_T-3SG_I
 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* if, ib
ullaaq-t ila-at-ni suli sinig-niar-tu-t
 morning-PL.ERG part-3PL_I.SG-LOC still asleep-intend-ELA_I.IV-3PL_I
 One morning, while they^I 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_I=and
 he_T called to them_I to wake them_I up:
- (2) “*Qanuq sivisutigisumik sinissagassi?* mf, fb
qanuq sivi-tuuq-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!* fb
makig-niar-tsi
 get.up-POL.IMP-2PL
 Get up, please!
- (4) *angirlarsirussi ikaarutissavassi.”* if, fb
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 anipput,* if, fb
taama uqar-riar-mm-at ani-pu-t
 thus say-...and-FCT_I-3SG_I go.out-IND.IV-3PL
 As soon as he^I said that, they^T came out [to him_I]

- (3) “*Silliarnaq naajamik aarnuaqarpat* *if*
Silliarnaq naaja-mik aarnua-qar-pp-at
 Silliarnaq sea.gull-SG.MOD amulet-have-HYP_T-3SG_T
 “If Silliarnaq⁺ has a seagull for an amulet,

aarnua takkutissaaq. *ib, fb*
aarnua-a takkut-ssa-pu-q
 amulet-3SG₁.SG show.up-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
 then his₁ amulet [guardian spirit] will show up.
- (4) *Malillunga immamut pissiqiit.* *if, ib, fb*
malig-llu-nga imaq-mut pissig-qi-gi-t
 follow-ELA_T-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-v\N-SG.MOD add.to-ELA_T-3SG₁ hesitate-begin-...and-FCT₁-3SG₁
 When he₁ hesitated with fear,

nanuq suaarpuq: *ib, fb*
nanuq suaar-pu-q
 bear.SG shout-IND.IV-3SG
 the bear^T shouted:
- (2) “*Immamut malinngikkumma* *if*
imaq-mut malig-nngit-gu-mma
 sea-SG.DAT follow-not-HYP_T-2SG.1SG
 “If you don’t follow me into the sea

nunassinut 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-FCT₁-3SG₁
 As soon as he⁺ said that,

Silliarnaq arpalirsuriarluni *ib*
Silliarnaq arpag-lir-tur-riar-llu-ni
 Silliarnaq run-begin-process-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Silliarnaq^T 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 atturniararlugu* *if*
imaq=lu isigaq-mi-nik attur-niariar-llu-gu
 sea=and foot-3SG_T.PL-MOD touch-...and.immed-ELA_T-3SG_L
 The moment he_T touched the sea with his_T feet
- suurlu sikumut tuinnartuq,* *ib, mf, fb*
suurlu siku-mut tug-innar-tu-q
 as.if ice-SG.DAT hit-just-ELA_L.IV-3SG_L
 it⁺ was as if he had hit ice,
- (5) *taamaalilluni naajanngurpuq.* *if, fb*
taama=ili-llu-ni naaja-nngur-pu-q
 thus=become-ELA_T-3SG_T seagull-become-IND.IV-3SG
 and thus he_T turned a seagull.
- §13**
- (1) *Naajanngurami* *if*
naaja-nngur-ga-mi
 seagull-become-FCT_T-3SG_T
 Then
- siunirmini sikuminiq takulirpaa,* *ib, mf, fb*
siurna-mi-ni siku-miniq taku-lir-pa-a
 ahead-3SG_T.SG-LOC ice-material see-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T spotted a piece of ice [floating] ahead
- (2) *tassungalu qaqivuuq.* *if, fb*
tassa-unga=lu qaqi-pu-q
 there-DAT=and climb-IND.IV-3SG
 and he_T climbed up onto it.
- (3) *Qatanngutaasa aamma ilaarpaat.* *if, ib, fb*
qatanngut-isa aamma ilaar-pa-at
 sibling-3SG_L.PL.ERG also do.like-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 His⁺ brothers^T too did likewise.
- (4) *Taava nanuq sisamaannut suaarpuq:* *if, ib, mf, fb*
taava nanuq sisama-at-nut suaar-pu-q
 then bear.SG fourth-3PL_L.SG-DAT shout-IND.IV-3SG
 Then the bear^T shouted to the fourth member of their party.
- (5) *“Illit aamma angirlarumaguit* *if*
illit aamma angirlar-juma-gu-vit
 you also go.home-want-HYP_T-2SG
 “If you too want to go home
- timmiriaraluaqiit.”* *fb*
timmi-riar-galuar-qi-gi-t
 fly-stage.one-...but-emph-IMP-2SG
 have a go at flying [but it won’t work].”

- (6) *Uqarvigisaa arpalirsuriarluni* *if*
uqar-vigi-gaq-a arpag-lir-tur-riar-llu-ni
 say-to-TV\RN-3SG₁.SG run-begin-process-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T
 The man^T [*lit.* his¹ addressee^T] ran up (to the cliff) and
- immamut pissippuq.* *mf, fb*
imaq-mut pissig-pu-q
 sea-SG.DAT jump-IND.IV-3SG
 jumped into the sea.
- (7) *Kisianni immamut tukkami mursuppuq.* *if, fb*
kisianni imaq-mut tug-ga-mi mursug-pu-q
 but sea-SG.DAT hit-FCT_T-3SG_T go.under-IND.IV-3SG
 But when he_T hit the water, he_T went under.
- (8) *Ipiliraluartuq nannup* *if, ib*
ipig-lir-galuar-tu-q nanuq-p
 drown-begin-...but-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁ bear-SG.ERG
 He¹ was almost drowned when the bear^T
- nunamukaappaa uqarlunilu:* *fb, ff*
nuna-mut=kar-ut-pa-a uqar-llu-ni=lu
 land-SG.DAT=go.to-iv\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG say-ELA_T-3SG_T=and
 towed him ashore and said:
- (9) “*Tulukkamik aarnuaqaravit* *if*
tulugaq-mik aarnua-qar-ga-vit
 raven-SG.MOD amulet-have-FCT_T-2SG
 “Having a raven for an amulet,
- nunassinut utirsinnaanngilatit,* *ib, fb*
nuna-rsi-nut utir-sinnaa-nngit-la-tit
 land-2PL.SG-DAT return-be.able-not-NEG-2SG
 you can’t return to you all’s land.
- (10) *illutsinnut angirlaannarniarit.* *ib, fb*
illu-tsi-nut angirlar-innar-niar-gi-t
 house-1PL.SG-DAT go.home-just-POL-IMP-2SG
 You just go on home [back] to our house.”
- §14**
- (1) *Taava nanursuaq* *if, ib*
taava nanuq-:suaq
 then bear-big
 Then the grand old bear^T
- qatanngutigiinnut uqarpuq:* *mf, fb*
qatanngut-gii-t-nut uqar-pu-q
 sibling-group-PL-DAT say-IND.IV-3SG
 said to the [three] brothers.

- (2) “*Siqunngiritsi immissinnullu qanillillusi.* *fb, ff*
siqunngir-gi-tsi immi-ssi-t-nut qanig-li-llu-ssi
 shut.eyes-IMP-2PL self-2PL.PL-DAT close-get.more-ELA_T-2PL
 “Shut your eyes and form a tight group.”
- (3) *Uikkaluarussi* *if*
uig-galuar-gu-ssi
 open.eyes-...but-HYP_T-2PL
 If you opened your eyes
- nunassinut apuussinnaangilasi.* *ib, fb*
nuna-rsi-nut apuug-sinnaa-nngit-la-si
 land-2PL.SG-DAT reach-be.able-not-NEG-2PL
 you would not be able to reach you all’s land.
- (4) *Tallura sikumut turrullugu* *ib*
talluq-ga siku-mut turrug-llu-gu
 chin-1SG.SG ice-SG.DAT push.against-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 By pushing [with] my chin against the ice
- ajattarlusi ingirlatissavassi.”* *mf, fb*
ajat-tar-llu-si ingirla-tit-ssa-pa-ssi
 push.forward-habit-ELA_T-2PL go.on-cause-prospect-IND.TV-1SG.2PL
 I will keep pushing you forward.”
- (5) *Taamaaliriarmat* *if*
taama=iliur-riar-mm-at
 thus=do-and-FCT_↓-3SG_↓
 As soon as he[↑] began to do that
- siku uninngavigisaat* *ib, fb*
siku unig-nga-vik-gi-gaq-at *sajuppilulirpuq.*
sajug-pilug-lir-pu-q
 ice stop-result-loc.of-have.as-tv\|n-3PL_↓.SG shake-violently-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 the piece of ice^T they[↑] had [scramble]d onto began to shake violently.
- §15**
- (1) *Kinguningaatsiaagut suli siqunngirsimallutik* *if, ib*
kingurna-ngaatsiar-a-kut suli siqunngir-sima-llu-tik
 after-fair.bit-3SG_↓.SG-VIA still shut.eyes-prf-ELA_T-3PL_T
 Some time later, while they^T were still (sitting) with their eyes shut
- tusaqaqarput* *fb*
tusar-gaq-qar-pu-t
 hear-tv\|n-have-IND.IV-3PL
 they heard
- siquallatumik* *ff₁*
siqqur-allag-tuq-mik
 bang-suddenly-iv\|cn-SG.MOD
 a sudden bang

- suurlumi sumut attuuppallallutik.*
suurlu=mi su-mut attuur-ut-pallag-llu-tik *ff*₂
 as.if=FOC what-DAT touch-iv\|tv-quickly-ELA_T-3PL_T
 as if they had suddenly ran into something.
- (2) *Taamaalimmat nannup uiqquai.* *if, ib, fb*
taama=ili-mm-at nanuq-p uig-qqu-pa-i
 thus=become-FCT₁-3SG₁ bear-SG.ERG open.eyes-tell-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 At that point, the bear^T told them¹ to open their eyes.
- (3) *Uiriaramik* *if*
uig-riar-ga-mik
 open.eyes-...and-FCT_T-3PL_T
 As soon as they^T opened their eyes
- nunartik ilisarilluinnarpaat,* *ib, fb*
nuna-rtik ilisari-:luinnar-pa-at
 land-3PL_T.SG recognize-absolutely-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 they_T instantly knew their_T own land
- illumik kujataatigut tulassimallutik.* *ff*
illu-mik kujata-at-kut tulag-sima-llu-tik
 house-3PL_T.SG.ERG south.of-3SG₁.SG-VIA land-prf-ELA_T-3PL_T
 having landed (just) south of their_T own house.
- (4) *Nanuq ilagiqqullutik utiriisirvigigaluarpaat* *if, mf, fb*
nanuq ila-gi-qqu-llu-tik utiriit-lir-vik-gi-galuar-pa-at
 bear.SG part-have.as-tell-ELA_T-3PL_T insist-begin-loc.of-have.as-...but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 They_T tried (in vain) to insist that the bear come (home) with them_T
- akilirniassagamikku,* *ff*
aki-lir-niar-ssa-ga-mikku
 payment-provide-intend-prospect-FCT_T-3PL_T.3SG₁
 intending to reward him₁.
- (5) *taannali uqaannarpuq:* *if, fb*
taanna=li uqar-innar-pu-q
 that=but say-just-IND.IV-3SG
 but he^T just said:
- (6) “*Akissarsiassamik* *mf*
aki-ssaq-siaq-ssaq-mik
 payment-prospective-received-prospective-SG.MOD
iqqarsaatqanngilanga, *if*
iqqarsaat-qar-nngit-la-nga
 thought-have-not-NEG-1SG
 I have no wish to get paid.

- (7) *ukiuruli* *if*
ukiuq-gu=li
year-next=but
But next year
- nannumik niaqqumigut miqquqanngitsumik* *ib₁*
nanuq-mik niaqqoq-mi-kut miqquq-qar-nngit-tuq-mik
bear-SG.MOD head-3SG_T.SG-VIA hair-have-not-iv\cn-SG.MOD
- takkuttuqaraluarpat*
takkut-tuq-qar-galuar-pp-at
show.up-iv\cn-have-...but-HYP_T-3SG_L
if any bald-headed bear should show up
- nunaqqatissilu pisarinialirpassuk* *ib₂*
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-HYP_L-3PL_L.3SG_L
and your countrymen decide to go after him
- uqarvigiinnarumaarpasi pisariqqunagu,* *fb, ff₁*
uqar-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-NON_T-3SG_L
you'll just tell them, [I] hope, not to go after him
- nirisassaanilli tuniinnaqqullugu.* *ff₂*
niri-saq-ssaq-i-nik=li tuni-innar-qqu-llu-gu
eat-tv\rn-prospective-3SG_L.PL-MOD=but give-just-tell-ELA_T-3SG_L
but (instead) tell them to just give him some food.
- (8) *Taama uqariarluni* *if*
taama uqar-riar-llu-ni
thus say-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T
After saying that
- sissamit avalappuq* *ib, fb*
sissaq-mit avalag-pu-q
shore-SG.ABL come.out.into.open-IND.IV-3SG
he_T swam away from the shore out to the open sea
- irniinnarlu aanngarluni.* *ff*
irniinnaq=lu aanngar-llu-ni
soon=and disappear-ELA_T-3SG_T
and soon disappeared (behind the horizon).
- §16**
- (1) *Qatannutigiiit illurtik qanilligamikku* *if*
qatannut-gii-t illu-rtik qanig-li-ga-mikku
sibling-group-PL house-3PL_T.SG close-get.more-FCT_T-3PL_T.3SG_L
When the brothers^T approached their_T house^L

- inuqartuq* *paasivaat.* *mf, fb*
inuq-qar-tu-q *paasi-pa-at*
 person-have-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥ find.out-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 they_τ found out that it_⊥ was (still) inhabited.
- (2) — *Ilaasa* *tikinngitsuurmata* *if*
 — *ila-isa* *tikit-nngit-tuur-mm-ata*
 — part-3PL_⊥.PL.ERG come-not-unexpectedly-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
 — Their^τ countrymen^τ, after they_⊥ had failed to come back,
- nukappiaqqat* *inuusut* *ilaat* *ib*
nukappiaraq-t *inuu-tuq-t* *ila-it*
 boy-PL be.born-iv\cn-PL part-3PL_⊥.PL
- taakkunatut* *atsirsimavaat.* — *mf, fb*
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) *Illuata* *iqqaani* *if*
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.* *if, ib, fb*
nukappiaraq-t *taakku* *sunavva* *atir-tik*
 boy-PL these turn.out name-3PL_τ.PL
 As [they_τ] found out later, these boys [were] their_τ namesakes.
- (5) *Angutit* *nuliaat* *uiniqqissimapput* *if, fb*
angut-t *nuliaq-at* *ui-nig-qqig-sima-pu-t*
 man-PL.ERG wife-3PL_⊥.PL husband-get-again-prf-IND.IV-3PL
 The men⁺'s wives^τ had got married again
- isumaqaramik* *ff*
isuma-qar-ga-mik
 belief-have-FCT_τ-3PL_τ
 thinking
- uitik* *kingurna* *takuqqissanagit.*
ui-tik *kingurna-a* *taku-qqig-ssa-na-git*
 husband-3PL_τ.PL after-3SG_τ.SG see-again-prospect-NON_τ-3PL_⊥
 that they_τ would never see their_τ husbands_⊥ again after [their_⊥ non-return].

- (6) *Sisamaat sumut pisimanirsuq if*
sisama-at su-mut pi-sima-nir-tu-q
 fourth-3PL_⊥.SG what-DAT get-prf-x.wonder-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
apiqqutigimmassuk
apiqqutigi-mm-assuk
 ask.about-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥.3SG_⊥
 When they [their_⊥ wives/countrymen] asked where the fourth member
 of their_⊥ party had gone to
- Akilinirmut qimassimanirarpaat. mf, fb*
Akiliniq-mut qimat-sima-nirar-pa-at
 Akiliniq-SG.DAT leave-prf-say-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 they_⊥[↑] said they_↑ (“we”) had left him in Akiliniq (Other Side).
- (7) *Angutit nuliamik uii annilaangalirmata if, ib*
angut-t nuliaq-mik ui-i annilaar-nga-lir-mm-ata
 man-PL.ERG [wife-3PL_↑.PL.ERG husband-3PL_⊥.PL get.scared-result-begin-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥]
 When the (new) husbands[⊥] of their_↑ wives began to feel frightened, the men_↑
- uqarvigaat: fb*
uqar-vigi-pa-it
 say-to-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 said to them:
- (8) “*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
- qimatannguavut isumagisimagassigit.” ff*
qimat-gaq-nnguar-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.”
- (9) *Taava nuliaat if, ib*
taava nuliaq-it
 then wife-3PL_⊥.PL
 Then the wives_↑
- uiminnut utirtinniqarput. mf, fb*
ui-mik-nut utir-tit-niqar-pu-t
 husband-3PL_↑.PL-DAT return-cause-passive-IND.IV-3PL
 were returned to their_↑ (first) husbands.
- §17**
- (1) *Ukiurmat nanuq puiguraluarpaat. if, ib, fb*
ukiur-mm-at nanuq puigur-galuar-pa-at
 be.winter-FCT_↑-3SG_⊥ bear.SG forget-...but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 That winter they forgot the bear for a while.

- (2) *Ilaannili* *if*
ila-at-ni=li
part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC=but
But on one occasion
- iqqaallugu* *iqqartuliriarmassuk* *ib*
iqqaa-llu-gu *iqqar-tur-lir-riar-mm-assuk*
remember-ELA_↑-3SG_⊥ talk.about-process-begin-...and-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥.3SG_⊥
just when they[⊥] started reminiscing about him[⊥]
- uqartuqarpuq:* *fb*
uqar-tuq-qar-pu-q
say-iv\cn-have-IND.IV-3SG
somebody said:
- (3) “*Nanursuaq sissamut pivuq.*” *if, mf, fb*
nanuq-:suaq sissaq-mut pi-pu-q
bear-big.SG shore-DAT get-IND.IV-3SG
“A great big bear has just come ashore.”
- (4) *Taava sakkulirsuutilirmassuk* *if*
taava saku-lir-tur-ut-lir-mm-assuk
then weapon-get-process-iv\tv-begin-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥.3SG_⊥
Then, when they[⊥] (the countrymen) started arming themselves to get him[⊥]
- qatanngutigiit uqarput:* *ib, fb*
qatanngut-gii-t uqar-pu-t
sibling-group-PL say-IND.IV-3PL
the brothers[↑] said:
- (5) “*Takuqqaarallartigu!*” *fb*
taku-qqaar-gallar-la-tigu
see-first-for.now-OPT-1PL.3SG
“Let us take a look at him first!”
- (6) *Atiramik* *ilisarilirpaat* *if, fb*
atir-ga-mik *ilisari-lir-pa-at*
go.down-FCT_↑-3PL_↑ recognize-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Coming down (to the shore), they_↑ at once recognized him_⊥,
- tassamiuna taannarsuaq.* *ff*
tassa=mi=una taanna-:suaq
that=FOC=this that-big.SG
it was him, that grand old one.
- (7) “*Taama, sakkulirsuutiqinasiuk,*” *if, fb*
taama saku-lir-tur-ut-qina-siuk
enough weapon-get-process-iv\tv-NEG.IMP-2PL.3SG
“That’s enough, don’t arm yourselves to get him,

- (8) *taannaqanngippat* *if*
taanna-qar-nngit-pp-at
that-have-not-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥
if it hadn't been for him [*lit.* if there had been no him]
- angirlamut tikissimanavianngikkaluarpugut.* *mf, fb*
angirla-mut tikit-sima-navianngit-galuar-pu-gut
home-DAT come-prf-be.certain.not.to...but-IND.IV-1PL
we certainly wouldn't have come (back) home.
- (9) *Taassumaana* *if*
tassuma=una
that.ERG=this
It was him that
- maanga angirlaakkaatigut.* *mf, fb*
ma-unga angirlar-ut-gi-atigut
here-DAT go.home-iv\|tv-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG_⊥.1PL
brought us (back) home here.
- (10) *Nirisassaanic* *mf, fb*
niri-gaq-ssaq-i-nik *tuniinnarsiuk!"*
eat-tv\|rn-prospective-3SG_⊥.PL-MOD give-POL.IMP-2PL.3SG
Give him something to eat!
- §18**
- (1) *Taama uqaluriarmata* *if*
taama uqalug-riar-mm-ata
thus talk-...and-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
Because they[⊥] said that,
- nanuq suniqanngilaq.* *ib, fb*
nanuq su-niqar-nngit-la-q
bear do.sth.to-passive-not-NEG-3SG
no [harm] was done to the bear.
- (2) *Nanuq majuarami* *if*
nanuq majuar-ga-mi
bear go.up-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
The bear[⊥] came up (from the shore) and
- illuata tursuuata isaariaanut* *ib*
illu-ata tursuk-ata isaariaq-a-nut
house-3PL_⊥.SG.ERG entrance.tunnel-3SG_⊥.SG.ERG entrance-3SG_⊥.SG-DAT
- niaqqi pisippaa.* *mf, fb*
niqqoq-ni 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.

- (3) *Taannaqami* *if*
taannaqa=mi
 sure.enough=FOC
 And sure enough
- puisinik iluitsunik nirlirsulirpaat.* *mf, fb*
puisi-nik iluit-tuq-nik nirlir-tur-lir-pa-at
 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.
- (4) *Angutit tikiraartirtik nirilirmat* *if, ib*
angut-t tikiraar-ti-rtik niri-lir-mm-at
 man-PL.ERG [visit-agt-3PL_T.SG eat-begin-FCT₁-3SG_T]
 When their^T visitor began to eat, the men_T,
- ungullugu isiginnaarpaat.* *mf, fb*
ungu-llu-gu isiginnaar-pa-at
 surround-ELA_T-3SG₁ look-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 gathering around him₁, (just) looked at him₁.
- (5a) *Puisituriirluni* *qaarsillarluni* *if*
puisi-tur-riir-llu-ni *qaarsillar-llu-ni*
 seal-use.as.customary-have.already-ELA_T-3SG_T eat.one's.fill-ELA_T-3SG_T
 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.
- (5b) *miiqqallu iqqaani pinnguarput.* *ff*
miiraq-t=lu iqqa-a-ni pinnguar-pu-t
 child-PL=and vicinity-3SG₁.SG-LOC play-IND.IV-3PL
 with children playing nearby.
- (6) *Sinilaariirami* *niriqqikkallarpuq.* *if, fb*
sinig-laar-riir-ga-mi *niri-qqig-gallar-pu-q*
 asleep-a.little-have.already-FCT_T-3SG_T eat-again-for.now-IND.IV-3SG
 After his_T nap, he_T had another feed.
- (7) *Taamaatikkami* *if*
taamaatit-ga-mi
 stop-FCT_T-3SG_T
 When he_T was done
- tumini atuarlugit immamut avalappuq* *ib, mf, fb*
tumi-ni atuar-llu-git imaq-mut avalag-pu-q
 track-3SG_T.PL follow-ELA_T-3PL₁ sea-SG.DAT come.out.into.open-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T went down along his own tracks, swam out to the open sea,

kingurnalu takuniqaqqigani. *ff*
kingurna-a taku-niqar-qqig-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_↓.PL
Silliarnaq's descendants, 'tis said,

miirarpassuaqalirlutik inuuppput. *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.