

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT
Selected from
Qillarsuakkunik oqalualaaq (*Qillarsuaq's Saga*)
Passage 2: Piuaatsuq's nearly fatal adventure (pp. 16–20)

QILLARSUAQ & CO: Migration, led by a mighty sorcerer Qillarsuaq, from Canada to Greenland, described by a Thule descendant who had heard the saga directly from one of the participants. Selected passages from:

Ulloriaq, I. 1976. *Qillarsuakkunik oqalualaaq*. Kalaallit-nunaanni naqiterisitsisarfik, Nuuk.

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

• *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, $a \setminus b$ = 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. 16)

(1) *Qillarsuakkut ikiq ikaaramikku* *if*
Qillarsuaq-kku-t ikiq-q ikaar-ga-mikku
 Qillarsuaq-&co-PL strait-SG cross-FCT_T-3PL_T-3SG_↓
 When Qillarsuaq and his people had crossed the strait,

nuna Devon Islandip ilaa siningaatsiaqalugu *ib*
nuna Devon Island-p ila-a sini-r-ngaatsiar-qi-llu-gu
 land Devon Island-SG.ERG part-3SG_↓.SG side-do-fair.bit-very-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 they went quite a bit along the coast of Devon Island

kiisami ilimasuirlutik
kiisami ilimasu-ir-llu-tik
 finally dread-cease-ELA_T-3PL_T
 [until] at last they ceased to fear [pursuit] and

uningalirsimapput. *fb*
uni-nga-lir-sima-pu-t.
 stop-result-begin-prf-IND.IV-3PL
 made a stop for a while.

(2) *Tassaluguuq upirnantursuanngulirsuq* *if*
Tassa=lu=guuq upirnar-tuq-:suaq-nngur-lir-tu-q
 that=and=RPT be.spring-iv\cn-big-become-begin-ELA_↓.IV-3SG_↓
 By then, I'm told, it[↑] was getting to be advanced spring, when

uningaalussinnarlutik *ib*
unig-nga-alug-sinnar-llu-tik
 stop-result-a.bit-post.state-ELA_T-3PL_T
 after making some short stops

tassunga unikkallarput aallaqqissamaarlutik. *fb, ff*
tass-unga unig-kallar-pu-t aallar-qqig-ssamaar-llu-tik
 there-DAT stop-for.a.while-IND.IV-3PL set.off-again-plan-ELA_T-3PL_T
 they paused there for a while, [still] planning to go on.

§2 (p. 16)

(1) *Qillarsuakkunnguug ningaaqarmiut* *if, fb*
Qillarsuaq-kku-t=guuq ningaa-qar-mi-pu-t
 Qillarsuaq-&co-PL=RPT son.in.law-have-excl-IND.IV-3PL
 Now, among Qillarsuaq's people, they say, there was a son in law

piniartursuarmik uninngaviqanngitsumik *ff*
piniartuq-:suaq-mik unig-nga-vik-qar-nngit-tuq-mik
 hunter-big-SG.MOD stop-result-loc.of-have-not-iv\cn-SG.MOD
 a great hunter, never still (i.e. always on a hunting trip),

Piuaatsumik atilimmik.
Piuaatsug-mik atiq-lik-mik.
 Piuaatsug-SG.MOD name-with-SG.MOD
 named Piuaatsug.

- (2) *Kisimiilluni* *piniatsiaannarluni* *if, ib*
kisi-mi=it-llu-ni *pi-niar-tsiar-innar-llu-ni*
 alone-SG_T=be-ELA_T-3SG_T kind-hunt-a.bit-just-ELA_T-3SG_T
 [One day], all alone, just to do a little hunting
- ungasiartumut* *aallarpuq* *mf, fb*
ungasiar-tuq-mut *aallar-pu-q*
 be.very.far-iv\cn-SG.DAT set.off-IND.IV-3SG
 he set out for a far-off place
- naajanik* *pinialulluni.* *ff*
naaja-nik *pi-niar-alug-llu-ni.*
 sea.gull-PL.MOD kind-hunt-a.bit-ELA_T-3SG_T
 to do a bit of seagull hunting.
- (3) *Aallatsiaannarluninnguq* *if*
aallar-tsiar-innar-llu-ni=guuq
 set.out-a.bit-just-ELA_T-3SG_T=RPT
 Just after he left, I'm told,
- saavitaaqinirsuq.* *fb*
saavit-taa-qi-nir-su-q. *fb*
 [breaking.ice]carry.off-passive-emph-x.wonder-ELA_L-3SG_L
 he must've got carried off by breaking ice.
- (4) *Taamaasinirani* *if*
taama=i-si-niq-a-ni
 thus=be-become-v\N-3SG_T.SG-LOC
 By that time,
- nutaamik* *sikussaarsimavuq* *mf, fb*
nutaa-mik *siku-ssaar-sima-vu-q*
 new-SG.MOD get.frozen-stop.habit-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 new ice had [already] stopped forming,
- sikuartaraluarluni* *ff*
siku-aq-r-tar-galuar-llu-ni
 ice-young-do-habit-...but-ELA_T-3SG_T
 thin new ice might still form
- kisianni aturniq ajurnartumik.*
kisianni atur-niq-q ajurnar-tuq-mik.
 but use-v\N-SG be.impossible-iv\cn-SG.MOD
 but [only] of the useless kind [i.e. too weak for travel].
- (5) *Nunap* *tungaanit* *anurlimat* *if*
nuna-p *tungi-a-nit* *anur-lir-mm-at*
 land-SG.ERG direction-3SG_L.SG-ABL wind-begin-FCT_L-3S_L
 When it began to blow away from land,

- samungarsuaq saavitaavuuq.* *mf, fb*
sam-unga-rsuaq saavit-taa-pu-q.
 west-DAT=big (breaking.ice)carry.off-passive-IND.IV-3SG
 he was carried off [by breaking ice] far out to the west
- (6) *Sikursuunnguug aallaruttursuugaani* *if*
siku-:suaq-p=nguuq aallar-ruttur-:suaq-u-gi-ani
 ice-big.bad-SG.ERG=RPT set.off-in.full.swing-big.bad-with-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
 When the wretched ice_⊥, [he_⊥] said, was in full drift off with him_⊥
- misiginngissannguaqiniraa!* *fb*
misigi-nngit-ssa-nnguar-qi-nir-gi-a
 sense-not-prospect-little-emph-x.wonder-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG_⊥.3SG
 he must've had not the least inkling of it!
- §3 (p. 16)
- (1) *Taamanikkut* *if*
taamani-kku-t
 then-&co-PL
 In those days
- ima naajanniartarsimapput:* *mf, fb*
ima naaja-niar-tar-sima-pu-t
 so sea.gull-hunt-habit-prf-IND.IV-3PL
 they used to hunt seagulls like this:
- (2) *Naammagisaminnik illuigaliurtarput* *mf, fb*
naammagi-saq-mik-nik illuigaq-liur-tar-pu-t
 fit.into-tv\|n-3PL_⊥.SG-MOD igloo-make-habit-IND.IV-3PL
 They would build an igloo [just] big enough for themselves
- kassira kisiat ammanilirlugu* *ff₁*
kassir-a kisi-at amma-niq-lir-llu-gu
 top-3SG_⊥.SG alone-SG_⊥ open-v\|n-provide-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 leaving an opening only at the top,
- naajap naammagisannguanik,*
naaja-p naammagi-saq-nnguaq-a-nik
 sea.gull-SG.ERG fit.into-tv\|n-little-3SG_⊥.SG-MOD
 [just] big enough for a seagull,
- allakkullu ammanilirnagu;* *ff₂*
alla-kkul=lu amma-ni-lir-na-gu
 other-PL.VIA=and open-v\|n-provide-NON_⊥-3SG_⊥
 and leaving no opening anywhere else;
- paava milillugu.* *ff₃*
paa-a milig-llu-gu.
 entrance-3SG_⊥.SG plug.up-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 plugging up the entrance.

- (3) *Naajat illuikkap killinganut nirlusirtarpaat* *if, ib, fb*
naaja-t illuigaq-p killingi-a-nut nirlir-ut-lir-tar-pa-it
seagull-PL igloo-SG.ERG border-3SG_↓.SG-DAT feed-means-provide-habit-INDTV-3PL.3PL
They_↑ would put out bait for seagulls_↓ right next to the igloo

puisimilluunniit ilivit-su-mik. *ff*
puisi-mik=luunniit ilivit-tuq-mik
seal-SG.MOD=ALT whole-iv\cn-SG.MOD
even a whole seal.

- (4) *Illuikkap qaavanut mikkaangata* *if*
illuigaq-p qaa-a-nut mig-kaang-ata
igloo-SG.ERG top-3SG_↓.SG-DAT land-HAB_↓-3PL_↓
[Then] when they_↓ landed on top of the igloo

ataaninnaanniit isigaasigut tigusarpaat. *mf, fb*
at-a-ninnaanniit isigaq-isigut tigu-sar-pa-at
below-3SG_↓.SG-ABL foot-3PL_↓.PL.VIA take-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they_↑ would grab them_↓ by their_↓ feet from below.

- (5) *Taamaasiurlutik* *if*
taama=iliur-llu-tik
thus=do-ELA_↑-3PL_↑
In this way

arlariissuarnik pisaqartarsimapput. *mf, fb*
arlag-giit-:suaq-nik pi-saq-qar-tar-sima-pu-t
one.of.several-group-big-PL.MOD get-tv\rn-have-habit-prf-IND.IV-3PL
they used to catch large numbers [of seagulls].

§4 (p. 16)

- (1) *Tassa Piuaatsuq* *if, ib*
tassa Piuaatsuq
thus Piuaatsuq
So Piuaatsuq

saavitaavuuq *ff*
saavit-taa-pu-q
[breaking.ice]carry.off-passive-IND.IV-3SG
got carried off (by breaking ice)

sunaqarani
suna-qar-na-ni
thing-have-NON_↑-3SG_↑
without anything,

ataatsimilluunniit qimmiqarani
ataasiq-mik=luunniit qimmi-qar-na-ni
one-SG.MOD=ALT dog-have-NON_↑-3SG_↑
without even one dog,

savillu kisiat sakkutuaralugu.
savik=lu kisi-at sakku-tuaq-gi-llu-gu
 knife=and alone-SG_⊥ weapon-sole-have.as-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 and with only a knife as his sole weapon.

§5 (p. 16)

- (1) *Siullirmik suurunami* *if, ib*
siu-lliq-mik suurunami
 front-most-SG.MOD of.course
 First of all, of course,
- imminut naviiqqaaraluarpuq* *mf, fb*
immi-nut naviir-qqaar-galuar-pu-q
 self-DAT scold-first-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 he reproached himself
- mianirsunngippallaaqigami.* *ff*
mianirsur-nngit-pallaar-qi-ga-mi
 take.care-not-too-emph-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 that he had been much too careless.
- (2) *Imminullu niriursurpuq* *mf, fb*
immi-nut=lu niriursur-pu-q
 self-DAT=and promise-IND.IV-3SG
 And he promised himself
- sapinngisani tamaat annanniarniarumalluni* *ff₁*
sapir-nngit-saq-ni tama-at annag-niar-niar-uma-llu-ni
 can't.do-not-tv\|rn-3SG_⊥.SG all-SG_⊥ survive-try-intend-want-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 that he would do all he could to try to survive
- nuliaqarami qiturna qarlutillu.* *ff₂*
nulia-qar-ga-mi qiturna-qar-llu-tik=lu
 wife-have-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ offspring-have-ELA_⊥-3PL_⊥=and
 because he had a wife and they had children.
- (3) *Kiisa nuna ilaqarvia* *if, ib*
kiisa nuna ila-qar-vik-a
 finally land part-have-loc.of-3SG_⊥.SG
 Finally the land^T where his[⊥] family was
- ima ungasitsigilirpuq* *mf, fb*
ima ungasig-tigi-lir-pu-q
 so far-to.that.degree-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 became so distant
- tungujuaartuinnanngurluni.* *ff*
tungujur-ar-tuq-innar-nngur-llu-ni
 blue-ish-iv\|cn-just-become-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 that it_⊥ became just a bluish [outline on the horizon].

§6 (p. 16)

- (1) *Ikirsuup Lancaster Sound-ip qiqqani if*
iki-:suaq-p Lancaster Sound-p qiqqa-a-ni
 strait-big-SG.ERG Lancaster Sound-SG.ERG middle-3SG₁.SG-LOC
 In the middle of that great strait. the Lancaster Sound,
sarfamit angallanniqaqalirpuq mf, fb
sarfaq-mit angallag-niqar-lir-pu-q
 current-SG.ABL transport-passive-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 he began to be carried along by the current
sikursuit piqatigalugit. ff
siku-:suaq-t pi-qat-gi-llu-git
 ice-big-PL thing-mate-have.as-ELA_T-3PL₁
 together with the ice pack (PL).
- (2) *Nunarsuit illugit if, ib*
nuna-:suaq-t illuk-gii-t
 land-big-PL pairmate-group-PL
 The lands on both sides
takussaatsiaraluarput fb
taku-ssaq-u-tsiar-galuar-pu-t
 see(n)-prospective-be-a.bit-...but-IND.IV-3PL
 were [still] a bit visible
imarsuarmilli tamarmik tungimiutaqarlutik. ff
imaq-:suaq-mik=li tamar-mik tungi-miu-taq-qar-llu-tik
 sea-big-SG.MOD=but all-PL_T direction-inhabitant-of-have-ELA_T-3PL_T
 but both were separated from him by open sea
 [lit. had open sea occupying part of the space in his direction]
- (3) *Sikuliarli isumalluutaajunnaarpuq. if, fb*
siku-liaq=li isuma-lluar-ut-u-junnaar-pu-q
 ice-[just]formed=but think-well-reason-be-no.longer-IND.IV-3SG
 But the newly formed ice was no longer to be relied on. [lit. reason to be hopeful]
- (4) *Qularinngilara fb*
qulari-nngit-la-ra
 doubt-not-NEG-1SG.3SG
 I have no doubt
qaammat maaji naanngitsuq Piuaatsuk saavitaasimassasuq, ff₁
qaammat maaji naa-nngit-su-q Piuaatsuk saavit-taa-sima-tu-q
 month.SG May end-not-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁ Piuaatsuk [ice]carry.off-passive-prf-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 that Piuaatsuk must have been carried off by breaking ice before the end of May
nalunnginnakku ff₂
nalu-nngit-ga-kku
 not.know-not-FCT_T-1SG.3SG
 for I know

sikursuit ilaannikkut nunamut qanillisaraluarmata. ff
siku-:suaq-t ilaanni-kkut nuna-mut qanig-lli-tar-galuar-mm-ata
 ice-big-PL sometimes-PL.VIA land-SG.DAT close-get.more-habit-...but-FCT₁-3PL₁
 for the ice pack sometimes did get closer to land.

- (6) *Sapinngisani tamaat if*
sapir-nngit-saq-ni tama(r)-at
 can't.do-not-tv\|rn-3SG_T.SG all-SG₁
 With all his might

nuna ilaqarvini, tassa Devon Island-ip ilaa, ib
nuna ila-qar-vik-ni tassa Devon Island-p ila-a
 land part-have-loc.of-3SG_T.SG that.is Devon Island-SG.ERG part-3SG₁.SG

qaninniarsariuaraluarpaa fb
qanig-niar-saar-juar-galuar-pu-q
 close-try-repeatedly-constantly-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 he constantly kept trying to get close to the land where his family was,
 that is, part of Devon Island

- (7) *Nalunngilaa fb*
nalu-nngit-la-a
 not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
 He knew that

nunatuqarsuarmi ilaanut, Ulussat ilaanut, ff₁
nuna-tuqaq-:suaq-mi ila-a-nut Ulussat ila-a-nut
 land-old-big-3SG_T.SG.ERG part-3SG_T.SG-DAT Ulussat-SG.ERG part-3SG₁.SG-DAT

pigaluaruni
pi-galuar-gu-ni
 get-...but-HYP_T-3SG_T
 if he were to get to somewhere within his old land, part of Ulussat,

ilaquuttani takunaviirluinnassallugit
ilaqutaq-ni taku-naviir-lluinnar-ssa-llu-git
 family.member-3SG_T.PL see-expect.no.more-absolutely-prospect-ELA_T-3PL₁
 then he would definitely never see his family again,

ikirsuaq imaannaq ikaagassaanngimmat. ff₂
iki-:suaq-q ima=innaq ikaar-gaq-ssaq-u-nngit-mm-at
 strait-big-SG so=just cross-tv\|rn-prospective-be-not-FCT₁-3SG₁
 for that great strait was not to be crossed just like that.

§8 (p. 17)

- (1) *Kiisa tassa taarsiarsaartalirpuq if, ib, fb*
kiisa tassa taar-si-ar-saar-tar-lir-pu-q
 finally that dark-get.a.bit-repeatedly-habit-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 In the end, it started getting a bit dark now and then [i.e. no more 24 hrs of daylight]

— *immaqa augusti naalirami* —
 — *immaqa augusti naa-lir-ga-mi* —
 — maybe August end-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T —
 — maybe it was toward the end of August —

sikuliarlu mattuttinniartalirluni. *ff*
siku-liaq=lu mattu-tig-niar-tar-lir-llu-ni
 ice-[just]formed=and tough-get.more-prestate-habit-begin-ELA_T-3SG_T
 just as the new ice was about to start getting tougher.

§9 (p. 17)

(1) *Kiisami ullut ilaanni* *if*
kiisa=mi ullu-t ila-at-ni
 finally=FOC day-PL.ERG part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC
 Finally, one day, the land

nuna ima qanitsigilirpaa *ib, mf, fb*
nuna ima qanig-tigi-lir-pa-a
 land so close-to.that.degree-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he came so close to land

sikursuarminiq najugaa *ff*
siku-:suaq-miniq-q najur-gaq-a
 ice-big-material-SG live.on-tv\|rn-3SG_⊥.SG
 [that] the bit of the ice pack he was living on

nunamut attuunnialinnguatsiarluni!
nuna-mut attuug-niar-lir-nnguatsiar-llu-ni
 land-SG.DAT bump-prestate-begin-be.sure.to-ELA_T-3SG_T
 was sure to come close to bumping into land!

(2) *Aarimmi nuna qanillingaarmat* *if, ib*
aarit=mi nuna qanig-lli-ngaar-mm-at
 sure.enough=FOC land.SG close-get.more-very-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 And sure enough, when the land came very close,

pissivvigaa. *fb*
pissig-vik-gi-pa-a
 jump-loc.of-rn\|tv-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he jumped onto it.

§10 (p. 17)

(1) *Kiisami nunamut pigaluarpuq.* *if, mf, fb*
kiisa=mi nuna-mut pi-galuar-pu-q
 finally=FOC land-SG.DAT get-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 So at last, he had reached land.

(2) *Kamiili ataqqarluinnalirput.* *if, fb*
kamik-it=li ata-qqar-lluinnar-lir-pu-t
 kamik-3SG_⊥.PL=but hang.together-barely-absolutely-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 But his kamiks had reached the point of just barely hanging together.

- (3) *Nuna nalunngikkaluarpa*, *ib, fb*
nuna nalu-nngit-galuar-pa-a
 land.SG not.know-not-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He did know [*lit.* was not ignorant about] the land, though,
- ilaquttamilu najugaat* *ff*
ilaqutaq-mi=lu najur-gaq-at
 family.member-3SG_T.PL=and live.in-tv\rm-3PL_L.SG
- sumiittuq nalunagu.*
su-mi=it-tu-q nalu-na-gu
 what-LOC=be-ELA_L.IV-3SG_L not.know-NON_T-3SG_L
 and he also knew where his family (PL) was.
 [*lit.* and, the residence^L of his_T family members, also not being ignorant of where that_L was]

§11 (p. 17)

- (1) *Qanippianngilaali* *fb*
qanig-piar-nngit-la-a=li
 close.to-exactly-not-NEG-3SG.3SG=but
 But he wasn't exactly close to it
- nunarsuup Devon Island-ip* *ff*
nuna-:suaq-p Devon Island-p
 land-big-SG.ERG Devon Island-SG.ERG
- siniriaaniimmata ilurpasissumi.*
siniriaq-a-ni=it-mm-ata iluq-pasig-tuq-mi
 coast-3SG_L.SG-LOC=be-FCT_L-3PL_L interior-far.toward-iv\cn-SG.LOC
 for they were far on the inner [landward?] coast of that great big land, Devon Island.
- (2) *Paasisakka malillugit* *if*
paasi-saq-kka malig-llu-git
 find.out-tv\rm-1SG.PL follow-ELA_T-3PL_L
 According to what I have found out,
- Piuaatsuq nunalissimagunarpuq* *ib, fb*
Piuaatsuq nuna-lit-sima-gunar-pu-q
 Piuaatsuq land-reach-prf-be.likely-IND.IV-3SG
 Piuaatsuq probably landed
- nunarsuup taassuma nuussuata iqqaatigut* *fb*
nuna-:suaq-p taassuma nuuk-:suaq-ata iqqaq-atigut
 land-big-SG.ERG that.ERG tip-big-3SG_L.SG.ERG vicinity-3SG_L.SG.VIA
 somewhere near the fat end of that great big land
- ilaqarvimmi kitirujussuatigut*
ila-qar-vik-mi kiti-rujussuaq-atigut
 part-have-loc.of-3SG_T.SG.ERG west-huge-3SG_L.SG.VIA
 way to the west of where his family was.

§12 (p. 17)

- (1) *Taamaattussaagami* *Piuaatsug* *if, ib*
taama=it-tuq-ssaq-u-ga-mi *Piuaatsug*
 thus=be-iv\cn-prospective-be-FCT_T-3SG_T *Piuaatsug*
 Since that was what he had to do, Piuaatsug
- kangimuinnarsuaq* *aallarpuq* *mf, fb*
kangi-mut=innaq=rsuaq *aallar-pu-q*
 east-DAT=only=big set.out-IND.IV-3SG
 set out on the long journey to the east
- nunakkuurluni* *imaq* *sinirlugu.* *ff*
nuna-kut=Vr-llu-ni *imaq* *sini-r-llu-gu*
 land-VIA=n\iv-ELA_T-3SG_T sea.SG side-do-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 overland, along the sea shore.
- (2) *Uirnarluinnaliraangami* *if*
uirnar-:luinnar-lir-gaanga-mi
 sleepy-absolutely-begin-HAB_T-3SG_T
 When he got so sleepy he absolutely had to sleep
- aputiqannginnirsamut* *nallaannartarpuq* *mf, fb*
aput-qar-nngit-niq-taq-mut *nallar-innar-tar-pu-q*
 snow-have-not-v\ n-bit-SG.DAT lie.down-just-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 he would just lie down on a bit of snow-free [land]
- sinilaarniassagami.* *ff*
sinig-laar-niar-ssa-ga-mi
 asleep-a.little-try-prospect-FCT_T-3SG_T
 in order [*lit.* wanting] to try to get a little sleep.
- (3) *Qiiarlirunilu* *aallarararaaq.* *if, fb*
qiiarlir-llu-ni=lu *aallar-rar-tar-pu-q*
 get.cold-ELA_T-3SG_T=and set.off-again-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 And when he got cold, he would set off again.

§13 (p. 17)

- (1) *Kiisa ilaanni* *if, ib*
kiisa ila-at-ni
 finally part-3PL_↓.SG-LOC
 Finally one day
- sapirluinnangajalirsimavuq* *fb*
sapir-:luinnar-ngajag-lir-sima-pu-q
 can't.do-absolutely-almost-begin-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 he had almost got to the point of being absolutely unable to [go on]
- iluamik nirissaarami* *ffi*
iluaq-mik niri-ssaar-ga-mi
 proper-MOD eat-stop.habit-FCT_T-3SG_T
 since he had stopped eating properly [once on land]

- kamikasinilu* *ajurluinnalirmata* *ff*₂
kami-kasik-ni=lu *ajur-:luinnar-lir-mm-ata*
kamik-wretched-3SG_T.PL=and bad-absolutely-begin-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
and because his wretched kamiks had got really bad.
- (2) *Nuna aputiqaliriirpuq* *if, fb*
nuna aput-qar-lir-riir-pu-q
land snow-have-begin-already-IND.IV-3SG
The ground was already covered with snow
- unnukkullu* *taarsisalirluni.* *ff*
unnuk-kut=lu *taar-si-tar-li-llu-ni*
evening-SG.VIA=and dark-get-habit-begin-ELA_T-3SG_T
and it had started getting dark in the evenings.
- §14** (p. 17)
- (1) *Aasiinnguug uunnulirsuq* *if, ib*
aasiit=guug unnug-lir-tu-q
as.usual=RPT become.evening-begin-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
One day as usual, I'm told, toward the evening,
- uquqvissarsulirpuq* *fb*
uquq-lit-vik-ssaq-siur-lir-pu-q
shelter-reach-loc.of-prospective-see-begin-IND.IV-3SG
he started looking for some shelter
- sinilaarniassagami.* *ff*
sinig-laar-niar-ssa-ga-mi
asleep-a.little-try-prospect-FCT_T-3SG_T
in order [*lit.* wanting] to try to get a little sleep.
- (2) *Amirlanirtigut* *if*
amirlaniq-tigut
most-PL.VIA
Mostly
- ujarasussuit qangatsirnini sinittarpuq.* *mf, fb*
ujarassuk-:suaq-t qangatsirniq-ni sinig-tar-pu-q
rock-big-PL.ERG rock.cave-PL.LOC asleep-habit-IND.IV-3SG
he slept in rock caves.
- (3) *Taama ujarlirluni* *takuliriallaraa* *if, fb*
taama ujar-lir-llu-ni *taku-lir-riallar-pa-a*
thus seek-antip-ELA_T-3SG_T see-begin-sudden.surprise-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Looking around for one, he suddenly saw to his surprise
- suurlu una ujaraanani.* *ff*
suurlu una ujarak-u-na-ni
as.if this stone-be-NON_T-3SG_T
something that didn't seem to be a rock.

- (4) *Illuummiuq=una!* *fb*
illu-u-mi-pu-q
house-be-excl-IND.IV-3SG
Wow, it was a house!
- (5a) *Sumik innarlirsimannngilaq* *mf, fb*
su-mik innarlir-sima-nngit-la-q
what-SG.MOD get.damaged-prf-not-NEG-3SG
It was undamaged,
- (5b) *taamaallaat igalaaqarviagut sullalaarsimavuq.* *if, mf, fb*
taamaallaat igalaaq-qar-via-a-kut sullag-laar-sima-pu-q
only window-have-loc.of-3SG_⊥.SG-VIA have.snow.blown.in-little-prf-IND.IV-3SG
there was only a little snow blown in through the window frame.
- (6) *Isirluni misissulirpaa.* *if, fb*
isir-llu-ni misissur-lir-pa-a
enter-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ examine-begin-IND.IV-3SG.3SG
He went in and began to examine it.
- (7a) *Paasivaa pisuqarsuunngitsuq,* *fb, ff*
paasi-pa-a pi-tuqaq-:suaq-u-nngit-tu-q
find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG kind-old-big-be-not-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
He found out it hadn't been [empty] like this very long
- (7b) *sulimi tipiqarpuq.* *if, fb*
suli=mi tipi-qar-pu-q
still=for smell-have-IND.IV-3SG
for it still smelled.
- (8) *Assut iluaallagaa* *mf, fb*
assut ilaallagi-pa-a
very be.relieved.by-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He was very relieved
- kiisami uququulluartumi sinivvissaqalirami.* *ff*
kiisa=mi uququq-u-lluar-tuq-mi sinig-vik-ssaq-qar-lir-ga-mi
finally=FOC shelter-be-well-iv\cn-SG.LOC asleep-loc.of-prospective-have-begin-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
that at last he had found somewhere to sleep in a well-sheltered place.
- (9) *Satsilluni* *if*
satsit-llu-ni
feel.around.by.touch-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
Feeling around by touch
- illira misissulirpaa.* *ib, fb*
illiq-a misissur-lir-pa-a
sleeping.platform-3SG_⊥.SG examine-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he began to examine the [*lit.* its, i.e. of the house] sleeping platform.

- (10) *Paasilirpaa* *if*
paasi-lir-pa-a
understand-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He found out that
- uqurutit* *iluini* *ff*
uqur-ut-t *iluq-it-ni*
warm-means-PL.ERG interior-3PL₁.PL-LOC
among the skin bedding
- inunnik* *arlariinnik* *tuqungasuqartuq*
inuk-nik *arlaq-giit-nik* *tuqu-nga-tuq-qar-tu-q*
person-PL.MOD one.of.several-group-PL.MOD die-result-iv\cn-have-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
there were several human corpses.
- (11) *Qularnanngilaq* *pirlirnikuussasut.* *fb, ff*
qulari-nar-nngit-la-q *pirlir-niq-ku-u-ssa-tu-t*
doubt-make.one-not-NEG-3SG starve.to.death-v\n-rest-be-prospect-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
No doubt these must have been the remains of some who had starved to death.
- (12) *Illirup* *ilaani* *inissaqarami* *if*
illiq-p *ila-a-ni* *ini-ssaq-qar-ga-mi*
sleeping.platform-SG.ERG part-3SG₁.SG-LOC place-prospective-have-FCT_T-3SG_T
Since there was room to [sleep] on part of the sleeping platform
- tassunga* *nallarpuq* *mf, fb*
tass-unga *nallar-pu-q*
there-DAT lie.down-IND.IV-3SG
he just lay down there,
- qasulluinnarami* *iluamillu* *nukiqarnani* *ff₁*
qasu:luinnar-ga-mi *iluaq-mik=lu* *nuki-qar-na-ni*
tired-absolutely-FCT_T-3SG_T proper-MOD=and strength-have-NON_T-3SG_T
since he was tired out and had no real strength [left],
- aqagu* *qaappat* *misissurluaqqissamaarlugu.* *ff₂*
aqagu *qaa-pp-at* *misissur-lluar-qqig-ssamaar-llu-gu*
next.day become.day-HYP₁-3SG₁ examine-well-again-plan-ELA_T-3SG₁
planning to examine it properly again the next day when it got light.
- §15 (p. 18)**
- (1) *Illu* *taanna* *sissamut* *qanippiannngilaq.* *if, mf, fb*
illu *taanna* *sissaq-mut* *qanig-piar-nngit-la-q*
house.SG that shore-SG.DAT close-exactly-not-NEG-3SG
That house was not exactly close to the shore.
- ilimanyluni* *inuttai* *qimaasuusimasut.* *ff*
ilimagi-nar-llu-ni *inuk-taq-i* *qimaa-tuq-u-sima-tu-t*
expect-make.one-ELA_T-3SG_T person-of-3SG₁.PL flee-iv\cn-be-prf-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
suggesting that its inhabitants had been fleeing [from danger].

- (2) *Ikiq taanna ikaarsimagaanni* *if*
ikiq taanna ikaar-sima-gaanni
 strait that cross-prf-IMPRS
 If one had crossed that strait

qimaasuunani
qimaa-tuq-u-na-ni
 flee-iv\cn-be-NON_T-3SG_T
 and were not fleeing [from danger]

sissarpasinnirusumi *illuliurtariaqaraluarmat.*
sissaq-pasig-niru-tuq-mi *illu-liur-tariaqa-galuar-mm-at*
 shore-be.toward-more-iv\cn-SG.LOC house-make-be.necessary-...but-FCT₁-3SG₁
 then one would've built a house closer to the shore.

§16 (p. 18)

- (1) *Qaamaammani* *missuilirpuq.* *if, fb*
qaa-ma-ut-mm-ani *misissur-i-lir-pu-q*
 become.day-result-for-FCT₁-3SG₁.3SG_T examine-antip-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 When the new day₁ dawned [on him_T], he_T began his examination.

- (2) *Paasivaa* *fb*
paasi-pa-a
 find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He found out

ilumut pirlirsimasuussasut. *ff*
ilumut pirlir-sima-tuq-u-ssa-tu-t
 really starve.to.death-prf-iv\cn-be-prospect-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
 that they really must've starved to death.

- (3) *Illup ilua aputaialiramiuk* *if*
illu-p ilu-a aput-iar-lir-ga-miuk
 house-SG.ERG interior-3SG₁.SG snow-remove.from-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG₁
 When he began to clear the inside of the house of snow

pigisaat nassaariurtulirpai. *ib, fb*
pigi-saq-it nassaari-jur-tur-lir-pa-i
 own-tv\rn-3PL₁.PL discover-pl.obj-process-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he began to gradually uncover their possessions.

§17 (p. 18)

- (1) *Ujalut miqqutillu aturvissaqartilluakkani* *if*
ujaluq-t miqqut-t=lu atur-vik-ssaq-qar-tit-lluar-gaq-ni
 gut.thread-PL needle-PL=and use-loc.of-prospective-have-believe-well-tv\rn-3SG_T.PL

nassaarai. *fb*
nassaari-pa-i
 discover-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 He uncovered threads of gut and needles which he thought he could well use.

- (2) *Kamini* *ajurtilluinnarsimmamata* *if*
kamik-ni *ajur-tit-:luinnar-sima-mm-ata*
 kamik-3SG_T.PL bad-get-absolutely-prf-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
 Because his_T kamiks[⊥] had become completely useless
- tuttut* *amikuinik* *alirsiliurnialirpuq.* *mf, fb*
tuttu-t *amiq-ku-it-nik* *alirsiq-liur-niar-lir-pu-q*
 [caribou-PL.ERG skin-rest-3PL_⊥.PL-MOD] sock-make-intend-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T decided to make inner socks out of scraps of caribou skins
- kamikut* *ilaat* *pitsaammata* *ff*
kamik-ku-t *ila-it* *pitsaq-u-mm-ata*
 kamik-rest-PL some-3PL_⊥.PL excellent-be-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
- alirsitalirniarlugit.*
alirsiq-taq-lir-niar-llu-git
 sock-of-provide-intend-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
 intending to use them inside some of the discarded kamiks, which were [still] fine.

- (3) *Aamma* *if*
aamma
 also
 Also,
- pisissiq* *qarsullu* *nanivai* *ib, fb*
pisissiq *qarsuq-t=lu* *nani-pa-i*
 bow.SG arrow-PL=and find-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he found a bow and some arrows
- aaqqissulaarlugit* *atuqqissinnaalluartut.* *ff*
aaqqig-tur-laar-llu-git *atur-qqig-sinnaa-lluar-tuq-t*
 repair-process-a.bit-ELA_T-3PL_⊥ used-again-be.possible-well-iv\cn-PL
 that could well be used again after a few repairs.

- (4) *Kiisami* *tassa* *ajursaataaruppuq* *if, fb*
kiisa=mi *tassa* *ajursaat-irut-pu-q*
 finally=FOC that lack-run.out.of-IND.IV-3SG
 So at last he no longer suffered any lack of anything
- niqi* *kisiat* *ajursaatigilirlugu.* *ff*
niqi *kisi-at* *ajursaat-gi-lir-llu-gu*
 meat alone-SG_⊥ lack-have.as-begin-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 except for meat [*lit.* beginning to lack only meat].

§18 (p. 18)

- (1) *Tassani* *sivisulaartumik* *uningasinnaannginjami* *if*
tassani *sivi-su-laar-tuq-mik* *unig-nga-sinnaa-nngit-ga-mi*
 there.LOC duration-with.big-a.bit-iv\cn-SG.MOD stop-result-able-not-FCT_T-3SG_T
 Since he couldn't stay there for any length of time

- ulluunirani kamini ib*
ulluq-u-niq-a-ni kamik-ni
 [day-be-v\n-3SG_↓.SG-LOC kamik-3SG_↑.PL]
- inirniarsarissallugit*
inir-niar-saar-ssa-llu-git
 get.done-prestate-try.to.cause-prospect-ELA_↑-3PL_↓]
- suliarilirpai fb*
suliari-lir-pa-i
 work.on-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he set to work on his kamiks,
 in order [*lit.* wanting] to try to get them as good as done by daylight.
- aqagu aallaqqinniassagami. ff*
aqagu aallar-qqig-niar-ssa-ga-mi
 next.day set.off-again-intend-prospect-FCT_↑-3SG_↑
 for he wanted and intended to leave again the following day.
- (2) *Taarsilirsurlu kiisami inirpai if, ib, fb*
taa-q-si-lir-tu-q=lu kiisa=mi inir-pa-i
 dark-get-begin-ELA_↓.IV-3SG_↓=and finally=FOC get.done-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 And just when it began to get dark, he finally did get them done.
- (3) *Sinitsinnani if*
sinig-tit-na-ni
 asleep-state-NON_↑-3SG_↑
 Before sleep [*lit.* while his asleep state was (still) a non-fact]
- pisissiq qarsullu suliarai ib, fb*
pisissiq qarsuq-t=lu suliari-pa-i
 [bow.SG arrow-PL=and] work.on-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he worked on the bow and the arrows
- atursinnaanngurtillugit. ff*
atur-sinnaa-nngur-tit-llu-git
 used-able-become-cause-ELA_↑-3PL_↓
 making them usable (again).
- (4) *Uuqattaaramigit paasivaa if, fb*
uuqatttaar-ga-migit paasi-pa-a
 try.out-FCT_↑-3SG_↑.3PL_↓ find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 When he tried them out, he found out that
- assut pitsaasuusut. ff*
assut pitsak-u-tuq-u-tu-t
 very excellent-be-iv\cn-be-ELA_↓.IV-3PL_↓
 they now were really excellent.

§19 (p. 18)

- (1) *Sininnialirami* if
sinig-niar-lir-ga-mi
 asleep-prestate-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T
 When he began to get ready for bed
- igalaaqarvik* *apummik* *matuvaa.* ib, mf, fb
igalaaq-qar-vik *aput-mik* *matu-pa-a*
 window-have-loc.of snow-SG.MOD cover-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he covered up the window frame with snow.
- (2) *Tikikkamili* if
tikit-ga-mi=li
 come-FCT_T-3SG_T=since
 Since he had come here
- kataap* *matua* *ujarak* *nikisinnigilaa.* ib, fb
katak-p *matu-a* *ujarak* *nikit-tit-nngit-la-a*
 entrance cover-3SG_L.SG stone shift-cause-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
 he hadn't shifted the stone covering the entrance.
- (3) *Sininngaliraluarlunilu* if, fb
sinig-niar-lir-galuar-llu-ni=lu *tusaasaqalirpuq.*
tusaa-saq-qar-lir-pu-q
 asleep-prestate-begin-...but-ELA_T-3SG_T=and hear-tv\rn-have-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 He was about to fall asleep when he suddenly heard something.
- (4) *Aarimmi* *taqqama* *qiraarpalulirpuq* if, ib, fb
aarit=mi *taqqama* *qiraar-palug-lir-pu-q*
 sure.enough=FOC across.wall [snow]crunch-x.hear-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 Sure enough, crunching [footsteps in the] snow began to be heard from the outside
- nalunarani* *nanusuq.* ff
nalu-nar-na-ni *nanuq-u-tu-q*
 not.know-make.one-NON_T-3SG_T bear-be-ELA_L.IV-3SG_L
 clearly it was a bear.
- (5) *Pilirtuqaluni* if, ib, fb
pi-lirtur-qi-llu-ni *pisissiq* *piariirpaa.*
pisissiq *piariir-pa-a*
 do-quickly-emph-ELA_T-3SG_L bow get.ready-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Instantly, he got his bow ready.
- (6) *Aarimmi* *igalaaqarviup* *matua* *aput* if, ib
aarit=mi *igalaaq-qar-vik-p* *matu-a* *aput*
 sure.enough=FOC window-have-loc.of-SG.ERG cover-3SG_L.SG snow
 And sure enough, the snow covering the window frame,
- silataanit* *sakappaa.* mf, fb
sila-taq-a-nit *sakag-pa-a*
 outdoors-of-3SG_L.SG-ABL push-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he (the bear) pushed in from the outside.

- (7) *Nannup niaqursua ilummut puttuppuq.* *if, mf, fb*
nanuq-p niaquq-:suaq-a iluq-mut puttug-pu-q
 bear-SG.ERG head-big-3SG_⊥.SG inside-SG.DAT stick.head.in-IND.IV-3SG
 The huge head of a bear poked its nose inside.
- (8) *Pisiriarnialissallugu* *if*
pisig-riar-niar-lir-ssa-llu-gu
 hit.with.arrow-stage.one-prestate-begin-prospect-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 He was about to get ready to loose an arrow at it but
- pisirianngitsuuginnarpaa* *fb*
pisig-riar-nngitsuur-innar-pa-a
 hit.with.arrow-stage.one-refrain-just-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 just held his hand
- nannup niaqquni silaanit nusummagu;* *ff₁*
nanuq-p niaquq-ni sila-taq-a-nit nusug-mm-agu
 bear-SG.ERG head-3SG_⊥.SG outside-of-3SG_⊥.SG-ABL pull-FCT_⊥-3SG[⊥].3SG_⊥
 because the bear pulled his head back from the outside.
- aammalumi niaquagut pisikkaluaruniuk* *ff₂*
aamma=lu=mi niaquq-a-kut pisig-galuar-gu-niuk
 also=and=FOC [head-3SG_⊥.SG-VIA hit.with.arrow-...but-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
suallannaviarnagu nalunnginamiuk.
suallag-naviar-na-gu nalu-nngit-ga-miuk.
 do.sth.to-be.sure.to-NON_⊥-3SG_⊥] not.know-not-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
 and also because he_⊥ knew that [if he_⊥ hit him_⊥ in the head with an arrow,
 he_⊥ certainly wouldn't hurt him_⊥ any].
- (9) *Nanursuaq utiriarturlu naalaarnialiriarlugu* *if*
nanuq-:suaq utir-riar-tuq=lu naalaar-niar-lir-riar-llu-gu
 bear-big return-stage.one-iv\cn=and listen.for-try-begin-stage.one-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 Just as he_⊥ started trying to listen for the bear[⊥] coming back,
- tusaalirpaa illu kaajallakkiaturpahuliraa.* *fb, ff*
tusaa-lir-pa-a illu kaajallag-iartur-palug-lir-gi-a
 hear-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG [house circle-go.to-x.hear-begin-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥]
 he_⊥ caught the first sound of it_⊥ coming [back] to circle round the house.
- (10) *Nirisusuqigami igalaaqarvik tikisirlugu* *if, ib*
niri-rusuk-qi-ga-mi igalaaq-qar-vik tikit-lir-llu-gu
 eat-want-emph-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ window-have-loc.of come.to-begin-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 Being very hungry, he_⊥ went toward the window frame and
- qamalirpaa pisissiq qiluriirlugu.* *fb, ff*
qama-lir-pa-a pisissiq qilug-riir-llu-gu
 lie.in.wait.for-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG bow draw-have.already-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 he_⊥ began to lie in wait for it_⊥, which his_⊥ bow already drawn.

- (11) *Aarimmi* *piariirluarutturturlu* *if, fb*
aaarit=mi *piariir-lluar-ruttur-tu-q=lu*
sure.enough=FOC get.ready-well-in.full.swing-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
And sure enough, when he_τ[⊥] was good and ready,
- qaniqaluni* *sarsutiliqaaq.* *mf, fb*
qanig-qi-llu-ni *sarsut-lir-qi-pu-q*
close-emph-ELA_τ-3SG_τ pass.before-begin-emph-IND.IV-3SG
it^τ began to pass by very near.
- (12) *Sanirarsuani* *manirutturmagu* *if*
saniraq-:suaq-ni *manig-ruttur-mm-agu*
side-big-3SG_τ.SG expose-in.full.swing-FCT_⊥-3SG[⊥].3SG_⊥
When it_τ[⊥] had fully exposed its whole side
- pisinnaanini* *tamaat* *pisiqaa.* *mf, fb*
pi-sinnaa-niq-ni *tamaq-at* *pisig-qi-pa-a*
do-be.able-√n-3SG_τ.SG all-SG_⊥ hit.with.arrow-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he^τ shot his arrow into it with all his might.
- (13) *Nipirsuani* *illugalugu* *qimagukkami* *if*
nipi-:suaq-ni *illugi-llu-gu* *qimagug-ga-mi*
voice-big-3SG_τ.SG v.with-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥ turn.to.flee-FCT_τ-3SG_τ
Turning^τ to flee with a mighty roar
- taamak* *tutsiutiqqinnigilaq.* *ib, fb*
taamak *tutsiut-qqig-nngit-la-q*
gone give.sound-again-not-NEG-3SG
it_τ was gone, one couldn't hear it_τ any more.
- (14) *Kisianni* *pisarissallugu* *qularaa* *if, mf, fb*
kisianni *pi-saq-gi-ssa-llu-gu* *qulari-pa-a*
but get-tv√rn-have.as-prospect-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥ doubt-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
But he^τ had doubts whether he_τ would get it[⊥]
- suli* *takutinnagu* *ff*
suli *taku-tit-na-gu*
still see-state-NON_τ-3SG_⊥
- immamut* *avalattuuratarsinnaagamiuk.*
imaq-mut *avalag-tuur-ratar-sinnaa-ga-miuk*
sea-SG.DAT come.forth-happen.to-surprisingly-be.possible-FCT_τ-3SG_τ.3SG_⊥
for before he_τ saw it_⊥ [*lit.* while his seeing it was still a non-fact],
he_τ might lose it_⊥ [if] it unexpectedly swam away to open sea.
- (15) *Takuniarusukkaluarpaa.* *fb*
taku-niar-rusuk-galuar-pa-a
see-try-desire-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He wanted to go and look for it.

- (16) *Sulili taartursuummat* *if*
suli=li taaq-tursuu-mm-at
 still=but dark-have.lots-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 But since it was still very dark,
quilirtagigallarpaa. *fb*
quilirtagi-gallar-pa-a
 fear.hurt.from-for.now-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_τ didn't dare to go after it_⊥ yet.
- (17) *Qaammalirpat aallaatigalugu* *if*
qaa-mmar-lir-pp-at aallaat-gi-llu-gu
 [light-get-begin-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥ start-have.as-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥]
asuliinnaq tussassallugu aalajangirpuq. mf, fb
asuli=innaq tussar-ssa-llu-gu aalajangir-pu-q
 for.fun=just follow.tracks-prospect-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥] decide-IND.IV-3SG
 He_τ decided that at the first light, just for the heck of it, he_τ would follow its_⊥ tracks.
- (18) *Tassani irinigusuqaluni qaatsiilirpaa. if, mf, fb*
tassani irinigi-sug-qi-llu-ni qaa-tsii-lir-pa-a
 there.LOC long.for-feel-emph-ELA_τ-3SG_τ light-wait.for-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He_τ began to wait there longingly for daylight.
- (19) *Niriukkualarpuq nanuq pisisinnaallugu fb, ff₁*
niriug-galuar-pu-q nanuq pi-saq-gi-sinnaa-llu-gu
 hope-...but-IND.IV-3SG bear get-tv\ʁn-have.as-be.able-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥
 He_τ hoped he_τ might be able to get the bear
ikiliriiramiuummi. ff₂
iki-lir-riir-ga-miuk=mi
 wound-provide-have.already-FCT_τ-3SG_τ.3SG_⊥=for
 for he_τ had already wounded it_⊥.
- (20) *Aammami taanna pisinngikkuniuk if*
aamma=mi taanna pi-saq-gi-nngit-gu-niuk
 also=for that get-tv\ʁn-have.as-not-HYP_τ-3SG_τ.3SG_⊥
 Also because, if he_τ didn't get it_⊥
qaqugu nirisassarsissanirluni ib, mf
qaqugu niri-saq-ssaq-si-ssa-nir-llu-ni
 when_{fut} eat-tv\ʁn-prospective-get-prospect-x.wonder-ELA_τ-3SG_τ
nalugamiuk
nalu-ga-miuk
 not.know-FCT_τ-3SG_τ.3SG_⊥
 he_τ didn't know when he_τ would anything to eat.

- (21) *Nirsassarsisariaqarpumi* *fb*
niri-saq-ssaq-si-tariaqar-pu-q=mi
eat-tv\|rn-prospective-get-have.to-IND.IV-3SG=for
For he_T had to find something to eat
- ilani suli ungasikkamigit* *ff₁*
ila-ni suli ungasig-ga-migit
part-3SG_T.PL still far.from-FCT_T-3SG_T.3PL_⊥
since being still far from his_T family,
- sivisuumik pisuttariaqarami*
sivi-tuuq-mik pisug-tariaqar-ga-mi
duration-with.big-SG.MOD walk-have.to-FCT_T-3SG_T
he_T had to walk for a long time,
- nirisassarsinngikkunilu* *ff₂*
niri-saq-ssaq-si-nngit-gu-ni=lu
eat-tv\|rn-prospective-get-not-HYP_T-3SG_T=and
and if he_T didn't get anything to eat
- naammattumik nukissaarutissagami.*
naammag-tuq-mik nukik-ssaq-irut-ssa-ga-mi
sufficient-iv\|cn-SG.MOD strength-prospective-run.out.of-prospect-FCT_T-3SG_T
he_T would run out of adequate strength.
- §20** (p. 19)
- (1) *Kiisami taamaalluni qaalirpuq.* *if, ib, fb*
kiisa=mi taama=it-llu-ni qaa-lir-pu-q
finally=FOC thus=be-ELA_T-3SG_T light-begin-IND.IV-3SG
At last, while he was [waiting] like this, it grew light.
- (2) *Qaammarnira naammagiliramiuk* *if*
qaa-mmar-niq-a naammagi-lir-ga-miuk
light-get-v\|n-3SG_⊥.SG consider.sufficient-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG_⊥
When he decided there was enough light,
- pigisaalunnguani tiguriarlugit anivuuq, ib, fb*
pigi-saq-aluk-nnguaq-ni tigu-riar-llu-git ani-pu-q
own-tv\|rn-bunch-small-3SG_T.PL take-stage.one-ELA_T-3PL_⊥ go.out-IND.IV-3SG
he took his few possessions and went out,
- assut mianirsurluni* *ff₁*
assut mianirsur-llu-ni
very take.care-ELA_T-3SG_T
taking great care
- nanursuarmi quilirtagigamiuk.* *ff₂*
nanuq-:suaq=mi quilirtagi-ga-miuk
bear-big=for fear.hurt.from-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG_⊥
for he_T was (still) afraid of the great bear.

- (3) *Aarimmi aamakku tumirsui aattalissuupput if, ib, fb*
aarit=mi aamakku tumi-:suaq-i aak-taq-lissuu-pu-t
 sure.enough=FOC these.here track-big-3SG_⊥.PL blood-of-have.lots-IND.IV-3PL
 And sure enough, there were his great big tracks, full of blood,
nalunarani ikilirluavissimagaa. ff
nalu-nar-na-ni iki-lir-lluar-vig-sima-gi-a
 not.know-cause.one-NON_⊥-3SG_⊥ wound-provide-well-really-prf-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG[⊥].3SG_⊥
 it was clear that he[⊥] had really hit it_⊥ properly.
- (4) *Imaq ungasinngikkaluaqisuq nanursuaq if, ib*
imaq ungasig-nngit-galuar-qi-tu-q nanuq-:suaq
 sea far-not-...but-emph-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥ bear-big
 The sea[⊥] was actually very near, and the bear[⊥]
ammuinnaq aallarsimavuq. mf, fb
at-mut=innaq aallar-sima-pu-q
 bottom-SG.DAT=just set.off-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 had set off straight down.
- (5) *Sissarli tikissimariaramiuk if*
sissaq=li tikit-sima-riar-ga-miuk
 shore=but come.to-prf-stage.one-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥.3SG
 But as soon as it_⊥ reached the shore[⊥]
silirangalluni aallarsimavuq mf, fb
silirag-nga-llu-ni aallar-sima-pu-q
 go.across-result-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ set.off-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 it_⊥ started off across [its old tracks, i.e. along the shore]
assut aanaarsimalluni, ff
assut aanaar-sima-llu-ni
 very bleed-prf-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 bleeding heavily,
sunavvami uummatirursimagaa.
sunavva=mi uummat-rur-sima-gi-a
 turn.out=for heart-hit-prf-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG_⊥.3SG[⊥]
 for, as it turned out, he_⊥ had hit it[⊥] in the heart.
- (6) *Pissangaqaluni tussalirpaa. mf, fb*
pissanga-qi-llu-ni tussar-lir-pa-a
 be.excited-emph-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ follow.tracks-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Very excited he[⊥] began to follow its_⊥ tracks.
- (7) *Suli qaamavinninnami tarrajuppuq. if, fb*
suli qaa-ma-vig-nngit-ga-mi tarrajug-pu-q
 still light-state-really-not-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ half.dark-IND.IV-3SG
 Since it still wasn't fully light, it was half dark.

- (8) *Taamaalluni allagisaqalirpuq* *if, fb*
taama=it-llu-ni allagi-saq-qar-li-pu-q
 thus=be-ELA_T-3SG_T find.strange-tv\|rn-have-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 Then suddenly he_T found something strange
- kajuartursuarmik ff₁*
kajuar-tuq-:suaq-mik
 yellowish-iv\|cn-big-SG.MOD
 a big yellowish object
- tumirsuisa turaarlunnagaasa isuanni. ff₂*
tumi-:suaq-isa turaar-:luinnar-gaq-isa isu-at-ni
 track-big-3SG_⊥.PL head.for-absolutely-tv\|rn-3SG_⊥.PL endpoint-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC
 at the end of its_⊥ trail of tracks.
- (9) *Mianirsuqaluni pallittulirpaa* *if, fb*
mianirsur-qi-llu-ni pallig-tur-lir-pa-a
 take.care-emph-ELA_T-3SG_T come.closer-process-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 With great care, he_T began to move toward it.
- taannarsuuguni suli uumasinnaammatt. ff*
taanna-:suaq-u-gu-ni suli uuma-sinnaa-mm-at
 that-big-be-HYP_T-3SG_T still alive-be.possible-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 for if it were that one, then it⁺ might still have been alive.
- (10) *Arriitsuararsuarmik pallitturpaa* *if, fb*
arrig-it-tuq-araq-:suaq-mik pallig-tur-pa-a
 hurry-opp-iv\|cn-tiny-big-SG.MOD come.closer-process-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Extremely slowly, step by step he came closer
- pisissini piariiviriirlugu. ff*
pisissiq-ni piariir-vig-riir-llu-gu
 bow-3SG_T.SG get.ready-really-have.already-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 with his_T bow already drawn and ready.
- (11) *Qanillilluinnarlugu* *if*
qanig-lli-:luinnar-llu-gu
 close-get.more-absolutely-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 When he_T got very close to it_⊥
- paasiliriiallarpaa fb*
paasi-lir-riar-llar-pa-a
 understand-begin-stage.one-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T suddenly realized
- tassarsuarmiuna! ff*
tassa-:suaq=mi=una
 that-big=FOC=this
 that it indeed was that one!

- (12) *Nanursuaq tuqusimaaqaaq!* *if, fb*
nanuq-:suaq tuqu-sima-ar-qi-pu-q
 bear-big die-prf (result state)-long-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 The great big bear was quite dead!

§21 (p. 19)

- (1) *Kiisami sinnilissuarmik inuussutissarsivug.* *if, ib, fb*
kiisa=mi sinniq-lik-:suaq-mik inuu-ssut-ssaq-si-pu-q
 finally=FOC residue-with-big-SG.MOD live-means-prospective-get-IND.IV-3SG
 At last, he_T acquired more than enough to keep himself alive.

- (2) *Allat iqqaanngilai* *if, fb*
alla-t iqqaa-nngit-la-i
 other-PL remember-not-NEG-3SG.3PL
 He only remembered [*lit.* didn't remember anything other than]

taakku timit pirlirnikut illuqatigisani. *ff*
taakku timi-t pirlir-niq-ku-t illu-qat-gi-saq-ni
 those body-PL starve.to.death-v\|n-rest-PL house-mate-have.as-tv\|rn-3SG₁.PL
 those bodies, the remains of people who had starved to death, his current house mates.

- (3) *Artursaqaluni iqqarsaatigigaluarpai* *if, fb*
artursar-qi-llu-ni iqqarsaar-utigi-galuar-pa-i
 grieve-emph-ELA_T-3SG_T think-about-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 With deep sorrow he_T thought about them₁

qanurli iliursinnaanani, *ff₁*
qanuq=li iliur-sinnaa-na-ni
 how=but do-be.able-NON_T-3SG_T
 — but unable to do anything —

taakkunatigummi namminiq annakkami. *ff₂*
taakku-natigut=mi namminiq annag-ga-mi
 these-VIA=for self survive-FCT_T-3SG_T
 for through them, he_T himself was saved.

§22 (p. 19)

- (1) *Naammagisaminik taqussiinnarluni* *if, ib*
naammagi-saq-mi-nik taquaq-si-innar-llu-ni
 consider.adequate-tv\|rn-3SG_T.SG-MOD food.for.travel-get-just-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Taking just enough food for the journey

aallarpuq *fb*
aallar-pu-q
 set.off-IND.IV-3SG
 he set off.

- (2) *Nirilluarami nukittuallassimaqaaq.* *if, fb*
niri-lluar-ga-mi nukik-tur-allag-sima-qi-pu-q
 eat-well-FCT_T-3SG_T strength-get.more-suddenly-prf-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 Having eaten well, he_T now suddenly felt much stronger.

- (3) *Ingirlavuuq, ingirlavuuq fb*
ingirla-pu-q ingirla-pu-q
 go.on-IND.IV-3SG go.on-IND.IV-3SG
 He_T went on and on
- sissaq sinirtuarlugu. ff*
sissaq sini-r-tuar-llu-gu
 shore edge-do-constantly-ELA_T-3SG_L
 following the shore all the way.
- (4) *Taamaallunimi ilarsuani tikiqai! if, ib, fb*
taama=it-llu-ni=mi ila-:suaq-ni tikit-qi-pa-i
 thus=be-ELA_T-3SG_T=FOC part-big-3SG_T.PL come.to-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 And that was how he_T really did reach his companions!
- (5) *Taamaasinirani if*
taama=ili-niq-a-ni
 thus=become-v\|n-3SG_L.SG-LOC
 Around then
- silarsuaq issittursuanngurpuq ib, fb*
sila-:suaq issig-tuq-:suaq-nngur-pu-q
 weather-big be.frost-iv\|cn-big-become-IND.IV-3SG
 heavy frosts set in
- kapirlammi ungasikkunnaarmat. ff*
kapirlak=mi ungasig-kunnar-mm-at
 winter.darkness=for far-no.longer-FCT_L-3SG_L
 for the winter darkness was no longer far off.
- §23 (p. 19)
- (1b) *Qillaarsuaq imaasiursimavuuq: if, fb*
Qillarsuaq ima=iliur-sima-pu-q
 Qillarsuaq so=do-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 As for Qillarsuaq^T, this is what he_T had done:
- (1b) *ilartik saavitaammat if*
ila-rtik saavit-taq-u-mm-at
 part-3PL_T.SG [breaking.ice]carry.off-tv\|rn-be-FCT_T-3SG_L
 When one¹ of their_T party was carried off by breaking ice
- uningaarvimminni tassani ib*
unig-nga-ar-vik-mik-ni tassa-ni
 stop-result-long-loc.of-3PL_T.SG-LOC that-LOC
- ukiigallarniarluni aalajangirpuq mf, fb*
ukiuq-i-gallar-niar-llu-ni aalajangir-pu-q
 winter-spend-for.now-intend-ELA_T-3SG_T decide-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T decided to stay for now for the winter at that camp where they_T had stopped.

- ilaanni qanuq-ililluni tikiratarsinnaammat. ff*
ila-at-ni qanuq=iliur-llu-ni tikit-ratar-sinnaa-mm-at
 part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC how=do-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ come-nonetheless-be.possible-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 for at some point, somehow, he_⊥ might nonetheless come back.
- (2) *Qillarsuaq silatuursuugami nalunngilaa if, fb*
Qillarsuaq sila-tuuq-:suaq-u-ga-mi nalu-nngit-la-a
 Qillarsuaq sense-with.big-big-be-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
 Being very wise, Qillarsuaq_⊥ knew that
- ningaani Piuaatsug ff₁*
ningaaq-ni Piuaatsug
 son.in.law-3SG_⊥.SG Piuaatsug
 [his_⊥ son-in-law, Piuaatsug][⊥]
- sapinngisaminik annanniarumaartug*
sapir-nngit-saq-mi-nik annag-niar-umaar-tu-q
 can't.do-not-tv\|rn-3SG_⊥.SG-MOD survive-try-be.hoped-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
 would do everything he_⊥⁺ could to try to survive
- ingirlaniarniarumaarturlu. ff₂*
ingirla-niar-niar-umaar-tu-q=lu
 go.on-try-intend-be.hoped-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG=and
 would be determined to try to go.
- (3) *Ilimagisaalumi tamanna iquuppuq. if, fb*
ilimagi-saq-a=lu=mi tamanna iquug-pu-q
 expect-tv\|rn-3SG_⊥.SG=and-FOC that prove.right-IND.IV-3SG
 And this expectation of his_⊥⁺ proved to be right.
- §24 (p. 19)
- (1) *Ilimagiunnaaraanni if*
ilimagi-junnar-gi-anni
 expect-no.longer-ELA_⊥.TV-3PL_⊥.3SG_⊥
 When they_⊥ were no longer expecting him_⊥[⊥]
- Piuaatsug tikippuq. ib, fb*
Piuaatsug tikit-pu-q
 Piuaatsug come-IND.IV-3SG
 Piuaatsug_⊥ came back.
- (2) *Tikippuq fb*
tikit-pu-q
 come-IND.IV-3SG
 He_⊥ came back
- nuliani Avuurtungiaq ff*
nuliaq-ni Avurtungiaq
 wife-3SG_⊥.SG Avurtungiaq
 [when] his_⊥ wife Avurtungiaq⁺

Qillarsuakkut avvarlirisaasa ilaannit
Qillarsua-kku-t avvarliq-gi-saq-isa ila-at-nit
 Qillarsuaq-&co-PL neighbour-have.as-tv\rn-3PL_⊥.PL part-3PL_⊥.SG-ABL

nuliartaariniqarluni aaniqariirsimasuq.
nuliaq-taari-niqar-llu-ni aa-niqar-riir-sima-tu-q
 wife-get.as.new-passive-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥ fetch-passive-have.already-prf-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 had already been fetched away as a new wife
 by one of the Qillarsuaq family's neighbours.

- (3) *Piuaatsuq angirlamut tikikkami if*
Piuaatsuq angirla-mut tikit-ga-mi
 Piuaatsuq home-SG.DAT come-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 When Piuaatsuq_⊥ came home

suurunami nuannaaraluarpuq. ib, fb
suurunami nuannaar-galuar-pu-q
 of.couse happy-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 he_⊥ was happy, of course.

- (4) *Nulianili allamik uiniriirsimasuq if*
nuliaq-ni=li alla-mik ui-nig-riir-sima-tu-q
 wife-3SG_⊥.SG=but other-SG.DAT husband-get-have.already-prf-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥

paasigamiuk
paasi-ga-miuk
 find.out-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
 But when he_⊥ found out that his_⊥ wife had already got another husband, then

suurunami aamma nuannaarpiangiqaq. ib, fb
suurunami aamma nuannaar-piar-nngit-qi-pu-q
 of.course also happy-exactly-not-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 of course, he_⊥ also wasn't exactly happy.

- (5) *Piuaatsummi Qillarsuaq asaqaq if, ib, fb*
Piuaatsuq-p=mi Qillarsuaq asa-qi-pa-a
 Piuaatsuq-SG.ERG Qillarsuaq love-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 For Piuaatsuq_⊥ loved Qillarsuaq_⊥ very much

tatigiqalugulu, ff₁
tatigi-qi-llu-gu=lu
 trust-emph-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥=and
 and had great trust in him.

pingaartumimmi nuliami Qillarsuaq qatanngutigimmagu ff₂
pingaartumik=mi nuliaq-mi Qillarsuaq qatanngut-gi-mm-agu
 especially=for wife-3SG_⊥.SG.ERG Qillarsuaq sibling-have.as-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
 especially because his_⊥ wife^T was Qillarsuaq_⊥'s sister

pingaartitaralugulu *asaqigamiuk.*
pingaar-tit-taq-gi-llu-gu=lu *asa-qi-ga-miuk*
 important-consider-TV\RN-have.as-ELA_T-3SG_⊥=and love-emph-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG_⊥
 and she_T valued him_⊥ and loved him_⊥ very much.

- (6) *Qillarsuup* *if*
Qillarsuaq-p
 Qillarsuaq-SG.ERG
 Qillarsuaq_T
- ningaarsuani* *ilalirsulirpaa* *ib, fb*
ninqaaq-:suaq-ni *ilalir-tur-lir-pa-a*
 son.in.law-big-3SG_T.SG encourage-process-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 began to encourage his_T great son-in-law[⊥]
- piumappat* *nulia* *aaniaqqullugu* *ff*
pi-uma-pp-at *nuliaq-a* *aa-niar-qqu-llu-gu*
 do-want-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥ wife-3SG_⊥.SG fetch-try-tell-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 telling him_⊥ to fetch his_⊥ wife[⊥] back if he_⊥ wanted to,
- uisaavanit* *nukiqarniruppat.*
ui-taaq-a-nit *nukik-qar-niur-pp-at*
 husband-new-3SG_⊥.SG-ABL strength-have-more-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥
 if he_⊥ were stronger than her_⊥ new husband.

§25 (p. 20)

- (1) *Aarimmi* *ullut* *ilaanni* *if, ib*
aarit=mi *ulluq-t* *ila-at-ni*
 sure.enough=FOC day-PL.ERG part-3PL_⊥.SG-LOC
 And sure enough, one day
- unammisussanngurput* *fb*
unammig-tuq-ssaq-nngur-pu-t
 compete-iv\cn-prospective-become-IND.IV-3SG
 they came to have a song competition
- arnaq* *taanna* *pissutigalugu;* *ff₁*
arnaq *taanna* *pissut-gi-llu-gu*
 woman this reason-have.as-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 because of that woman,
- kamaatinngikkaluarlutik,* *ff₂*
kamaat-nngit-galuar-llu-tik
 angry.with.e.o-not-...but-ELA_T-3PL_T
 not that they_T were angry with each other
- takuniarluguli* *kina arlaat* *ajugaajumaarnirsuq.*
taku-niar-llu-gu=li *kina arlaq-at* *ajugaa-umaar-nir-tu-q*
 see-intend-ELA_T-3SG_⊥=but who one.of-3PL_⊥.SG win-destined-x.wonder-ELA_⊥-3SG_⊥
 but to see [*lit.* intending to see] which one of them would win.

ajugaasup arnaq taanna pissammagu.
ajugaa-tuq-p arnaq taanna pi-ssa-mm-agu
win-iv\cn-SG.ERG woman this get-prospect-FCT_T-3SG_⊥.3SG_⊥
for the winner was going to get that woman.

- (2) *Aarimmi Piuaatsug if, ib*
aarit=mi Piuaatsug
sure.enough=FOC Piuaatsug
And sure enough, it[⊥] was Piuaatsug^T

ajugaarujussuaqisuq fb
ajugaa-rujussuaq-qi-tu-q
win-hugely-emph-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
that_⊥ won a huge victory

pirsuarsitiginiqaqalunilu ff
pi-:suaq-siur-ut-gi-niqar-qi-llu-ni=lu
kind-great-celebrate-cause-have.as-passive-emph-ELA_T-3SG_T=and
and was celebrated as a great hero

nuliani utirtimmagu.
nuliaq-ni utir-tit-mm-agu
wife-3SG_T.SG return-cause-FCT_⊥-3SG.3SG
when he_⊥ brought his_T wife back home.