KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Selected from

Naya Nuki: Niviarsiaraq qimaasuq
(Naya Nuki: Shoshoni Girl Who Ran)

BASExED ON A TRUE STORY:
Thomasma, K. 1988, Naya Nuki, Wilkens Forlag, Denmark. [Danish transl. of Thomasma 1983]
Thomasma, K. 1993, Naya Nuki, Atuakkiorfik, Nuuk. [Kalaallisut transl. of Thomasma 1988]

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (10/5/2007):
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:
  T = topic, ⊥ = background, IV = property of topic; TV = relation of topic to background

• derivation:
  antip = antipassive, dist = distributive, dur = durative, emph = emphatic, loc.of = location of,
  opp = opposite, prf = perfect aspect, rcp = reciprocal, iv = intrans. 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 (T);
ib: elaborate T and/or:
  (i) set up a secondary topical referent (T′), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);
mf: background information about main verbal comment;
fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (if-T & ib-T′ if present; otherwise T from last S)
ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (⊥′) to be picked up by the upcoming if.

HIGHLIGHTING:

• XXX ‘prospective mood (HYP, IMP, NEG,IMP, OPT)’
• XXX ‘prospective stative (e.g. -niar ‘intend’, -qqu ‘want ⊥ to’, etc; see Bittner 2005)
• XXX ‘prospective non-stative (e.g. -niar ‘try’, -qqu ‘tell ⊥ to’, etc; -ssaq ‘prospective’, etc)
• -galuar ‘…but’ (unrealized expectation, desire, or the like)
  conditional prospect (rl = real, vd = vivid, rm = remote)
Imm. 3. Kangimuinnarsuaq ingirlaarluq
(Ch. 3. The long march east)

[Naya Nuki and her best friend Sacajawea, two 11-year old Shoshoni girls, have just been captured in a raid on a Shoshoni camp by a war party of a hostile Minnetarees tribe.]

§1 (p. 22)
(1) Naya Nuki iqqarsartuarpuq
Naya Nuki think-constantly-INDIV-3SG
Naya Nuki kept wondering
sumummita ingirlannieqarlutik.
su-mut=mita ingirla-t-niqar-luul-tik
what-DAT=x wonder travel-cause-passive-ELA-T-3PL-T
where they-T were being taken.

(2) Ingirlaarnirritik nuanniiqisuoq naappat
| ingirla-ar-niq-rtik nuannir-it-tiq naa-pp-at
| travel-long-v\n\n-3PL-T be.fun-opp-emph-iv\nend-HYP-T-3SG

qanurmita piniqassava? ib, fb

| vd qanuq=mita pi-niqar-ssa-vi-a
| how=FOC do.to-passive-prospect-QUE-3SG
What would happen to her-T at the end of their-T awful journey?

(3) Qimaaniarnissani iqqarsaatigiqissaarpaa.
| qimaa-niar-niq-ssaag-ni iqqarsar-utigi-qqissaar-pa-a
| escape-try-v\n\n-prospective-3SG.T.SG think-about-carefully-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
She thought carefully about escape.

(4) Pivvissaq nallirpat
| pi-vik-ssaq nallir-pp-at
| do-loc.of-prospective arrive-HYP-T-3SG
When the time was right,
pinnigitsuurani aniguiumaarpuq.
mf, fb

| vd pi-ngit-tuor-na-ni anigur-jumaar-pu-q
| do-not-happen.to-NON-T-3SG.T escape-x hope-IND.IV-3SG
she would regain her freedom without fail.

§2
(1) Unnuaq taanna tigusat
| unnuaq taanna tigu-gaq-t
night that take-tv\rn-PL
That night the prisoners
amirnit allunaasiianik qilirsunniqarput,
amiq-nit allunaaq-liaq-nik qilir-tur-niqar-pu-t
hide-PL.ABL rope-made-PL.MOD tie-process-passive-IND.IV-3PL
were tied with leather thongs,
unnuarlu naavillugu nakkutigiqissaarniqarlutik. 

unnuaq=lu naa-vig-llu-gu nakkutigi-qissaaar-niqar-llu-tik night=and v.until.end-really-ELA$_T$-3SG$_L$ watch-carefully-passive-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$

and were watched closely all night.

(2) Naya Nuki sinissinnaaangilaq.

• Naya Nuki sinig-sinnaa-ngit-la-q

Naya Nuki asleep-be.able-not-NEG-3SG
Naya Nuki could not sleep.

(3) Uqaluttuariniqarturtut iqqamavai, 

uqaluttuari-niqar-tar-tuq-t iqqaa-ma-pa-i
tell.as.story-passive-habit-iv\cn-PL recall-res-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
She$_T$ remembered the stories that were told (among her$_T$ people):

(4) tassamiguuq

tassa=mi=guuq
that.is=FOC=RPT

tigusat ungasisssursuarmut ingirlanniqaariarlutik ib
tigu-tv\rm-PL be.far-iv\cn-big-SG.DAT travel-cause-passive-…and-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$
inussiatut tuniniqartarput. mf, fb

inuk-si-aq-tut tuni-niqar-tar-pu-t
person-get-iv\thm-EQU sell-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG
Prisoners, they said, would be taken far away and sold as slaves.

(5) Unnuaq siulliq aalajangirpuq

unnuaq siu-lliq aalajangir-pu-q
night front-most decide-IND.IV-3SG
She$_T$ decided that very first night that,

qanurluunniit ungasitsigismumut pissunnigraluaruni. ff

||.rm qanuq=luunniit ungasig-tigi-tuq-mut pissut-niqar-galuar$_L$-gu-ni
how=ALT be.far-to.that.deg-iv\cn-SG.DAT take-passive-…but-HYP$_T$-3SG$_T$
no matter how far she$_T$ was taken

qanurlunniit paarsisuminmut pinigraluaruni,

||.rm qanuq=luunniit paari-si-tuq-mik-nit pi-niqar-galuar$_L$-gu-ni
how=ALT guard-antip-iv\vrn-3SG$_T$.PL-ABL do.to-passive-…but-HYP$_T$-3SG$_T$
and no matter what her$_T$ captors did to her$_T$,

ullut ilaanni qimaajumaarluni,

ulluq-t ila-at-ni qimaaj-juumaarl-llu-ni
day-PL.ERG part-3PL$_L$.SG-LOC escape-x.hope-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$

qaqqanilu najukkaminmut utirumaarluni.

qaqqaq-ni=lu najur-gaq-mik-nut utir-juumaar-llu-ni
mountain-PL.LOC=and live.at-tv\rm-3SG$_T$.PL-DAT return-x.hope-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$
some day she$_T$ would escape and return to her home in the mountains.
§3

(1) Naya Nuki unnuaq taanna itiqattaartuarpuq. if, ib, fb
Naya Nuki night that wake.up-keep-constantly-IND. IV-3SG
Naya Nuki kept waking up throughout the night.

(2) Pavvii singirnirilu
pavvik-i singirniq-i=lu
wrist-3SG.PL ankle-3SG.PL=and
[Her wrists and ankles]

Naya Nuki unnuaq taanna itir-qattaar-tuar-pu-q
Naya Nuki night that wake.up-keep-constantly-IND. IV-3SG
Naya Nuki kept waking up throughout the night.

(2) Pavvii singirnirilu
pavvik-i singirniq-i=lu
wrist-3SG.PL ankle-3SG.PL=and

[Her wrists and ankles]

sukallugit qilirniqarsimamik annirqaat.
sukagllu-git qilir-niqar-sima-ga-mik annir-nar-qi-pu-t
v.tightly-ELA=3PL tie-passive-prf-FCT=3PL hurt-make.one-emph-IND. IV-3PL
were so tightly tied that they hurt badly.

(3) Unnuaq sivisuqsuq kiisami naammat if
unnuaq sivi-tuqq-qi-tuq kiisami naa-mm-at
night duration-with.big-emph-IV\cn finally end-FCT=3SG

When the long night finally ended

ullaanngurmallu
ullaaq-ngur-mm-at=lu
morning-become-FCT=3SG &&=and
and morning came

tigusat qilirussaajarniqarput. ib, fb
tigu-gaq-t qilir-ut-ssaar-rar-niqar-pu-t
take-tv\n=PL tie-v\ins-remove.from-dist-passive-IND. IV-3PL
the prisoners were all untied.

(4) Nikuiqqaaramik
nikuiq-qqaar-ga-mik
stand.up-first-FCT=3PL

When they first stood up

nikurvanirluunniit sapiringajapput. fb
nikurva-ni=luunniit sapir-ngajag-pu-t
stand=n\n=ALT be.unable-almost-INF. IV-3PL
they were barely able [lit. almost unable] even to stand.

(5) Niui ilismannqillat,
niu-it ilisima-nglit-la-t
leg-3PL.PL have.feeling-not-NEG-3PL
Their legs were numb,

sannirsiqmaitutik issurarsmallutillu, ff
sannir-sima-qi-llu-tik issurar-sima-llu-tik=lu
get.sore-prf-emph-ELA=3PL get.stiff-prf-ELA=3PL &&=and
very sore and stiff,
But soon they became somewhat more limber.

Soon but be.limber-get.more-partly

§4

Ussippaarsuup nitaak camasillu surlaannik
ussippaarsuaq-p niqr-a-nik camasi-t=lu surlaq-it-nik
buffalo-SG.ERG meat-3SG\_SG-MOD camas-PL.ERG=and root-3PL\_PL-MOD

ullaakkursiatissaminik tuniqqininnarput.
ulaakkursiur-ut-ssaq-mik-nik tuniq-qig-niqar-pu-t
have.breakfast-means-prospective-3PL\_PL-MOD give.again-passive-IND.IV-3PL

They\_3 were again given buffalo meat and camas roots for breakfast.

Naya Nuki

imirmik nillarmiik iggisirluni nirivuq.
imiq-mik nillarig-mik iggisir-fu-ni niri-pu-q
water-SG.MOD ice.cold-SG.MOD drink.with.food-ELA\_3SG\_ bib.ELA

Before the sun rose over the eastern mountains,

Before the sun rose over the eastern mountains,

While the sun rise was still a non-fact

aallaqqipput.
aallar-qqig-pu-t
set.out-again-IND.IV-3PL
they\_3 were again on the move.

The prisoners\_3 were again reminded

that if they tried to escape, they\_3 would be killed,
tassalumiaasiit avissaartininniqarlutik.
tassa=lu=mi=aasiit avissaar-tit-niqar-llu-tik
that=and=FOC=yet.again separate-cause-passive-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}
and then, as before, they\textsubscript{T} were separated.

(5) Ataasiakkaarlutik
ataasig-q-kaar-llu-tik
one-v.in.units.of-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}
They\textsubscript{T} were each

histirsut sanianni ingirlagamik
histi-r-tuq-t sani-at-ni ingirla-ga-mik
horse-do-iv\textsubscript{CN-PL.ERG} side-3PL\textsubscript{SG-LOC} travel-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}
walking next to a rider, so

imminnut uqaluussinnaангиллат.

• immi-t-nut uqalug-ut-sinja-a-ngit-la-t
self-PL-DAT talk-rcp-be.able-not-NEG-3PL
they\textsubscript{T} couldn’t talk to each other.

§5 (p. 23)
(1) Isigaat ippassaammallii sannirsiqaat, if, ib, fb
isigaq-it ippassaa-u-mm-at=li saniir-sina-qi-pu-t
foot-3PL\textsubscript{PL} day.before-be-FCT\textsubscript{3SG}=since get.sore-prf-emph-IND.IV-3PL
Their\textsubscript{3} feet\textsubscript{T} were (still) very sore from the day before,

(2) tassaluaasiit if
tassa=lu=aasiit
that=and=yet.again
and now again

naasut kapinartullit aqqutigiqilirpaat.
naa-tuq-t kapi-nar-tuq-lik-t aqqut-gi-lir-pa-it
grow-iv\textsubscript{CN-PL} pierce-prone.to-iv\textsubscript{CN-WITH-PL} path-have.as-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they\textsubscript{3} were walking over thorny plants (= cactus).

(3) Ippassarniilli arriinnirusumik ingirlagamik if
ippiissaq-nit=li arri-it-niru-tuq-mik ingirla-ga-mik
day.before-ABL=but fast-opp-more-iv\textsubscript{CN-MOD} travel-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}
But they\textsubscript{T} were traveling more slowly than the previous day, so

naasut kapinartullit ilaat ib
naa-tuq-t kapi-nar-tuq-lik-t ila-it
grow-iv\textsubscript{CN-PL.ERG} pierce-prone.to-iv\textsubscript{CN-WITH-PL.ERG} part-3PL\textsubscript{T}-3PL

tutinaviirsaarsinnaavaat.

•• tuti-nayij-r-qaar-sinja-a-pa-it
step.on-avoid-strive-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they\textsubscript{T} could try to avoid stepping on some of the thorny plants.
§6

(1) Naya Nuki ingirlamirmini
Naya Nuki ingirl-niq-mi-ni
Naya Nuki travel-\n-3SG,SG-LOC
While she was walking, Naya Nuki

\begin{align*}
    \text{sunut} & \quad \text{tamanut} \quad \text{qiniqqissaaruq}, \\
    \text{su-nut} & \quad \text{tamaq-nut} \quad \text{qinir-qissaaru-pu-q}
\end{align*}

what-PL,DAT all-PL,DAT search-carefully-IND,IV-3SG
searched carefully in every direction

\begin{align*}
    \text{suut} & \quad \text{naliraasinnuasut} \quad \text{tuquvririusinnuasullunniit} \\
    \text{su-t} & \quad \text{naliraq-u-sinnaa-tuq-t} \quad \text{tuquvrir-u-sinnaa-tuq=luunniit}
\end{align*}

what-PL landmark-be-be.possible-iv\cn-PL hide-loc.of-be-be.possible-iv\cn=ALT
misissurlugit.
misissur-llu-git
examining-ELA-3PL

studying all the possible landmarks and possible places to hide.

(2) Nalunngilaami
nalu-ngit-la-a=mi
not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG=for
For she knew that

\begin{align*}
    \text{qimaaguni} & \quad \text{tamaanaqukkumaarluni}. \\
    \text{qimaa-gu-ni} & \quad \text{tama-una-qqut-jumaar-llu-ni}
\end{align*}

escape-HYP-3SG that-VIA-go.by-x bound.to-ELA-3SG
if/when she escaped then she’d be bound to pass this way (again).

§7

(1) Maannali suli qimaariarsinnaanngilaq
\begin{align*}
    \text{maanna-li} & \quad \text{suli} \quad \text{qimaar-riar-sinnaq-ngjir-la-a-q} \\
    \text{now}=\text{but} & \quad \text{still} \quad \text{escape-stage.one-be.able-not-NEG-3SG}
\end{align*}
But for now, she could not yet make any move to escape

nakkutigiqissaraarniqartuaramik.
nakkutigi-qissaar-niqar-tuar-ga-mik
watch-carefully-passive-constantly-FCT-3PL
for they were watched closely all the time.

(2) Malugaa
malugi-pa-a
note-IND,TV-3SG.3SG
She noted

\begin{align*}
    \text{kuussuup} & \quad \text{ingirlarvia} \quad \text{qutiruritsik}. \\
    \text{kuuk-suaq-p} & \quad \text{ingirla-ar-vik-a} \quad \text{qutirur-gi-tsik}
\end{align*}

river-big.SG.ERG travel-long-loc.of-3SG.SG follow(moving obj)-ELA-3PL.SG
that they were following the course of a great river.
But since the river twisted and turned,

\[ \text{misissussaartariaqaruq,} \]

examine-carefully-have.to-IND.IV-3SG
she had to study it carefully

\[ \text{kuunnirami maliqqissaassagaluaraanii} \]

flow-vN-3SG,SG=for follow-carefully-prospect…but-HYP.3
for if one followed the river’s edge

\[ \text{uiartirujussuarluni ingirlasariaqarmat.} \]

it would be necessary to travel great distances around each turn.

\[ \text{Naya Nukip paasivaa} \]

Naya Nuki-p paasi-pa-a
Naya Nuki-3SG.ERG find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Naya Nuki saw that

\[ \text{ilaaniiriariarlutik} \]

ilaanni-Vriar-llu-tik
sometimes-v.that.frequently-ELA\_3PL\_T
sometimes they

\[ \text{kuussuarmit kilumirimik ataatsimik} \]
kuuk:-suaq-miit kilumirii-mik ataasig-mik
river-big-SG.ABL kilometer-SG.MOD one-SG.MOD

\[ \text{ungasitisigisukkuurtarlutik.} \]
\[ \text{ungasig-tiqi-tuq-kkut=Vr-tar-llu-tik} \]
be.far.to.that.deggress.iv\vNcn-SG.VIA=go-habit-ELA\_3PL\_T
they\_T were walking a whole kilometer away from the river.

\[ \text{Aqaguani aamma taamak ingirlapput.} \]
aqagu-a-ni aamma taamak ingirla-pu-t
next.day-3SG,SG-LOC also thus travel-IND.IV-3PL
The next day again they\_T traveled like this.

\[ \text{Suli qaammanqitsuq tigusat makititaapput.} \]
suli qaammar-ngit-tu-q tigu-gaq-t makig-tit-gaq-u-pu-t
get.light-not-ELA\_IV-3SG\_T take-TV\vNc-PL get.up-cause-TV\vNc-be-IND.IV-3PL
The prisoners\_T were forced to get up before it got light.
[lit. while getting light was still a non-fact]
(3) Nakkutigqissaarniqarlutik sulisinniqarpuy.
\( nakkutigi-q\text{-}qissaar-niqar-llu-t \) \( suli-t-niqar-pu-t \)
watch-carefully-passive-ELA\( _{\text{T}} \)-3PL\( _{\text{T}} \) work-cause-passive-IND.IV-3PL
They\( _{\text{T}} \) were set to work while they were watched closely.

(4) Qisussanik katarsuisitaappuy.

• qisuk-\( ssaq \)-nik katarsur-(ss)i-t\( tit\)-\( gaq \)-u-pu-t
wood-prospective-PL.MOD gather-antip-cause-tv\( rn \)-be.IND.IV-3PL
They\( _{\text{T}} \) were set to gather fire wood,

imirtartinniqarlutik
\( imiq-tar-tit-niqar-llu-t \)
water-fetch-cause-passive-ELA\( _{\text{T}} \)-3PL\( _{\text{T}} \)
haul water,

\( \text{camasi} \text{-}lu \text{surlaannik} \text{ivviaq-liur-tit-niqar-llu-t} \)
camas-PL.ERG=and root-3PL.\( _{\text{L}} \).PL-MOD bread-make-cause-passive-ELA\( _{\text{T}} \)-3PL\( _{\text{T}} \)

and bake bread out of camas roots.

(5) Ullaakkursiutigiuarpuy.
\( ullaakkorsiur-ut\text{-}gi-juar-pa-at \)
have.breakfast-means-have.as-always-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
Their\( _{\text{T}} \) breakfast was always

ussippaarsuup niqaa panirtuq
\( \text{ussippaarsuaq-p niqi-a panir-tuq} \)
buffalo-SG.ERG meat-3SG.3SG be.dry-\( iv \)\( cn \).SG
dried buffalo meat

\( \text{camasi} \text{-}t=lu \text{surlaaq-i-nik} \text{ivviaq-liur-tit-niqar-llu-t} \)
camas-PL.ERG=and root-3PL.\( _{\text{L}} \).PL-MOD bread-make-cause-passive-ELA\( _{\text{T}} \)-3PL\( _{\text{T}} \)

and bake bread out of camas roots.

\( \text{§9} \)

(1) Qaqqat ungasillartiurtillugit
\( qaqqaq-t \text{ungasig-li-iartur-tit-llu-git} \)
mountain-PL be.far.get.more-get.more\&more-state-ELA\( _{\text{T}} \)-3PL\( _{\text{L}} \)
As they\( _{\text{T}} \) moved farther and farther away from the mountains,

Naya Nuki nikallooraluttuinnarpuq.
\( \text{Naya Nuki nikallur-galuttoinnar-pu-q} \)
Naya Nuki be.depressed-get.ever.more-IND.IV-3SG
Naya Nuki\( ^{\text{T}} \) got ever more depressed.
Ilami qaqaarsuit ungasillivallaartinnagit if
ila=mi qaqaq:-suq-t ungasig-li-pallaar-iti-na-git
oh yes=FOC mountain-big-PL be.far-get.more-too.much-state-NON-3PL⊥
qimaarusukkaluaqaaq. fb

qimaa-rusug-galuar-qi-pu-q
escape-desire...but-emph.IND.IV-3SG
She, so wanted to escape before they got too far from the great mountains.
[lit. while getting too far from the great mountains was still a non-fact]

Piriarvissaqangilarli
• pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-ngit-la-q=li
v-stage.one-loc.of-prospective-have-not-NEG-3SG=but
But there was no chance to do anything,
aalariarninguuatik tamarmik nakkutigiqqissaarniqarmata
aala-riar-niq-nguaq-tik tamaq-mik nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-mm-ata
move-stage.one-vn-little-3PL⊥.PL all-PL⊥ watch-carefully-passive-FCT⊥-3PL⊥
for their every move was closely watched.

§10
(1) Irininarsinngitsiq if
Soon
ussippaarsuit ataatsimuurtursuakkuutaaat . ib
ussippaarsuaq-t ataasiq-mut=Vr:-suq-kkuutaar-q-it
buffalo-PL.ERG one-SG.DAT=go-vn-big-v.in.units.of-vn-3PL⊥.PL
takusalirpaat. fb
taku-tar-lir-pa-at
see-habit-begin.IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they, began to see great herds of buffalo.

(2) Naammattursuarnik mf
naammag-tuq:-suq-nik
be.enough-iv\cn-big-PL.MOD
nutaartugassaqalirput. fb

• nutaaq-tur-gaq-ssaq-qar-lir-pu-t
fresh-use.as.customary-tv\rn-prospective-have-begin.IND.IV-3PL
They, had plenty of fresh meat to eat.

(3) Ussippaarsuarnik taamak amirlatigisunik if
ussippaarsuaq-nik taamak amirla-tigi-tuq-nik
buffalo-PL.MOD thus many-to.that.degree-iv\cn-PL.MOD
aatsaat takulirput. ib, fb
aatsaat taku-lir-pu-t
only.then see-begin.IND.IV-3PL
They, had never seen so many buffalo.
[lit. Only then did they, see so many buffalo.]
(4) Nirisassanik taamak amirlatigisunik if
• nirī-gaq-ssaq-nik taamak amirla-tig-tuq-nik
eat-tv\rn-prospective-PL.MOD thus many-to.that.degree-iv\cn-PL.MOD

aatsaat takulirput. ib, fb
aatsaat taku-lir-pu-t
only.then see-begin-IND.IV-3PL
[And] never before had they seen so much food [lit. things to eat]

(5) Ussippaarsuit aminik if
ussippaarsuaq-t amiq-it-nik
buffalo-PL.ERG hide-3PL.1-PL.MOD
From buffalo hides

atiraasanik pitaanirpaanik qajannaannirpaanillu mf
atiraasaq-nik pitsaaq-nirpaq-nik qajannar-it-nirpaq-nik=lu
moccasin-PL.MOD excellent-most-PL.MOD be.fragile-opp-most-PL.MOD=and

mirsurtuqarsinnaavuq. fb
• mirsur-tuq-qar-sinna-pu-q
sew-iv\cn-have-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG
one could make the very best and strongest moccasins.

(6) Ussippaarsuit amiinit if
ussippaarsuaq-t amiq-it-nit
buffalo-PL.ERG hide-3PL.1-PL-ABL

tæppilat atisialiallu

tæppi-liaq-t ati-gaq-liaq-t=lu

[Blankets and clothes]° made out of buffalo hide

pitsaqaqatissaqangillat fb
• pitsaq-qat-ssaq-qar-nngir-la-t
be.excellent-mate-prospective-have-not-NEG-3PL
were the best of all. [lit. had nothing to match them in excellence]

(7) Tuttursuit amiinit uqurnirullutillu if
tuttu:suaq-t ami-it-nit uqur-niru-llu-tik=lu
caribou-big-PL.ERG hide-3PL.1-PL-ABL be.warm-more-ELA.1-3PL.1=and
They were warmer than deerhide and

qitunnirullutillu ib
qitug-niru-llu-tik=lu
be.soft-more-ELA.1-3PL.1=and
softer and

pingasuriaammik sivisunirusumik atasarput. mf, fb
pingasut-riar-q-mik sivi-tuq-niru-tuq-mik ata-tar-pu-t
three-v.cn.times-v\n-MOD duration-with.big-more-iv\cn-MOD last-habit-IND.IV-3PL
and lasted three times as long.
§11 (p. 24)

(1) *Qaqqarsuit kiisa aanngarpaat.*  
*qaqqaq:-suaq-t kiisa aanngar-pa-it*  
mountain-big-PL finally lose.sight.of-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
In the end they could no longer see the mountains.

(2) *Narsarsuaq suurlumi*  
*narsaq:-suaq suurlu=mi*  
plain-big.SG as.if=FOC  
It was as if the great prairie could no longer see the mountains.

(3) *Naya Nuki qimaarusuqaap.*  
• *Naya Nuki qimaa-rusuq=qi-pu-q*  
Naya Nuki escape-desire-empth-IND.IV-3SG  
Naya Nuki could no longer see the mountains.

(4) *Ungasissursarmut allaat takusinnaavaat.*  
• *ungasig-tuq:-suaq-mut allaat taku-sinnaapa-it*  
be.far-IV\cn-big-SG.DAT even see-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
They could see for miles.

(5) *Kuussuulli kuuvvia malittarisinnaavaat,*  
• *kuuk:-suaq-p=li kuug-vik-a malittari-sinnaa-pa-at*  
river-big-SG.ERG=but flow.loc.of-3SG.SG DAT follow-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
But they could (still) follow the course of the river

(6) *Kuussuup sinaa tamatigut tamaana*  
• *kuug:-suaq-p sini-a tamaq-tigut tama-una*  
river-big-SG.ERG side-3SG.SG.ERG all-VIA that-VIA  
All along the bank of the great river.

*kipissuaqartitirpuq.*  
• *kipiks-p=tuq=nik clif-be-i\cn-PL.MOD*  
steep.cliff-big-have-dist-IND.IV-3SG  
there were high steep cliffs here and there.
§12

(1) Sivisuursuarmik ingirlaarnirminni if
sivi-tuuq-:.suaq-mik ingirla-ar-niq-mik-ni
duration-with.big-big-SG.ERG travel-dur-\n\n3PL.T.SG-LOC
On the interminable journey
tigusaagamillii
*tigu-gaq-u-ga-mik=li
take-tv\thm-be-FCT\+3PL.T=since
since they\’\' were captured
ullut ilaat ataasiq ib
ulluq-t ila-at ataasiq one
one day
day-PL.ERG part-3PL.L.SG
ullut nuannirnirsaaattut iqqaamavaa. mf, fb
ullu-t nuannir-nirsa-at-tut iqqaa-ma-pa-a
be.fun-most-3PL.T.SG-EQU recall-result.state-IND-TV-3SG.3SG
stood out as the happiest day in her\’ memory.

(2) Tassa ulluq tigusat ataatsimuurtinniqarvitsik, if, fb
tassa ulluq tigu-gaq-t ataasiq-mut=Vr-tit-niqar-vik-tik
That that take-tv\thm-PL.ERG one-SG.DAT=\n\n-cause-passive-loc.of-3PL.T.SG
It was the day that all the prisoners\’ were allowed to come together
imminnut uqaluqtiigisinaalirlutik. ff
* immi-n-nut uqalu-qat-gii-g-sinnaa-lir-llu-tik
self-PL-DAT talk-mate-set-cniv-be.able-begin-ELA\+3PL.T
and were permitted to talk to each other.

(3) Allaammi qilirsurniqaratik sinissinaapput. if, mf, fb
* allaat=mi qilir-tur-niqar-na-tik sinig-sinnaa-pu-t
even=FOC tie-process-passive-NON\+3PL.T be.asleep-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG
They\’\' were even allowed to sleep without being tied up.

(4) Sulili nakkutigiqissaarniqartuarput. if, fb
suli=li nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-tuar-pu-t
still=but watch-carefully-passive-constantly-IND.IV-3PL
But they\’\' were still watched closely all the time.

(5) Ullut tamaviisa ilisimatiniqartarput. if, fb
ullu-t tamaq-vik-isa ilisima-tit-niqar-tar-pu-t
day-PL all-really-PL know-cause-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG
Every single day they\’\' were warned
qimaaniartut tuqutaassasut. ff
* qimaa-niar-tuq-t tuqur-gaq-u-saa-tu-t
escape-try-IV\cn-PL kill-tv\thm-be-prospect-ELA\+IV-3PL
that those\' who tried to escape would be killed.
§13

(1) Naya Nuki Sacajawealu
Naja Nuki Sacajawea=lu
Naya Nuki Sacajawea=and

piriarvissaqaqlirlutillu
• pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-lir-tik=lu
  v-stage.one-iv\loc-prospective-have-begin-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$=and
imminnut uqualuuttarpur;
imm-i-n-nut uqalug=ut-tar-pu-t
self-PL-DAT talk-rcp-habit-IND,IV-3PL
Whenever [Naya Nuki and Sacajawea]$^T$ got a chance they$_T$ talked;

(2) imminnut tikillutillu nuannaartaqaat.
imm-i-n-nut tikit-llu-tik=lu nuannaar-tar-qi-pu-t
self-PL-DAT come-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$=and be.happy-habit-emph-IND,IV-3PL
they$_T$ were very happy to be together again (lit. to have come to each other).

(3) Paarsisuminnit tusaaniqarsinnaajunnaarlutillu
• paari-si-tuq-mik-nit tusaa-niqar-sinnaajunnaar-llu-tik=lu
  guard-antip-iv\n-3PL$_T$.PL-ABL hear-passive-be.possible-no.longer-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$=and
When the guards$^+$ were not near enough to hear,
qimaanissani Naya Nuki iqqartuqarpaa. ib, mf, fb
• qimaa-niq-ssaq-ni Naya Nuki-p iqqartuqar-pa-a
  escape-v\n-prospective-3SG$_T$.SG Naya Nuki-SG.ERG talk.about-always-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Naya Nuki$^T$ always talked about her$_T$ plans to escape.

(4) Qimaaniarluni uqaqqarmat
• qimaa-niar-llu-ni uqar-qqaar-mm-at
  escape-intend-ELA$_T$-3PL$_T$ say-first-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
The first time she$_T$ said she was going to escape
Sacajaweap uqarvigaa
Sacajaweap-p uqar-vigi-pa-a
Sacajaweap-SG.ERG say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Sacajaweap$^T$ told her
qimaanissaminut
• qimaa-niq-ssaq-mi-nu
  escape-v\n-prospective-3SG$_T$.SG-DAT
piriarvissaqaannigivissuq.
• pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-ngit-vig-tu-q
  v-stage.one-iv\loc-prospective-have-not-really-ELA$_T$.IV-3SG
that there was absolutely no chance to escape.
(5) Aappani uqarvigisarpaa if, fb
aappa-ni uqar-vigi-tar-pa-a
mate-3SG.T.SG say-to-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Over and over she would tell her friend.

qaaqqarsuarnut najukkaminnut ff
qaaqqaq-.suaq-nut najur-gaq-mik-nut
mountain-big-PL.DAT live.in-tv\n-3PL.T.PL.DAT

qanuq ungasitsigilirsimallutik,
qanuq ungasig-tigi-lir-sima-llu-tik
how be.far.to.that.degree-begin-prf-ELA-3PL.T
how far they had come from their home in the mountains,

isumqarlunilu ff
isuma-qar-llu-ni=lu
belief-have-ELA-3SG.T=and
and that she (Sacajawea) thought

nagguigatiitik nassaarinaivianngikkai
nagguikut-tit nassaari-naviangit-gi-i
tribe-mate-3PL.T.PL find-be.certain.not.to-ELA.TV-3SG.3PL
that she still (the friend) would definitely never find their people (again)

qaaqqarsuarnut angukkaluaruniluunniit.

||.rm qaaqqaq-.suaq-nut angu-galuar-gu-ni=luunniit
mountain-big-PL.DAT reach-...but-HYP-3SG=ALT
even if she (the friend) did reach the high mountains.

(6) Taamaasilluni Naya Nukip paasivaa if, ib, fb
taama=ili-llu-ni Naya Nuki paasi-pa-a
thus=become-ELA-3SG.T Naya Nuki understand-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
In this way Naya Nuki finally understood that

Sacajawea qimaaniarluni
Sacajawea qimaa-niar-llu-ni
Sacajawea escape-try-ELA-3SG.T

immaqa misiliirusungngitsurluunniit.

• immaqa misilig-(ss)i-rusug-nngit-tuq=luunniit
perhaps attempt-antip-desire-not-iv\cn=ALT
Sacajawea perhaps did not even want to make any attempt to escape.

§14
(1) Naya Nukilli isummani allanngurinngilaa. if, ib, fb
Naya Nuki-p=li isuma-ni alla-ngur-tit-nggiti-lla-a
Naya Nuki-SG.ERG=but mind-3SG.T.SG other-become-let-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
But Naya Nuki herself didn’t change her mind.
(2) Kisimiissagaluaruniluunniit
   if
   \|.rm kisi-mi=it-ssa\underline{galuar}-gu-ni=luunniit
   alone-sg_{\ddagger}=be-prospect-\ldots but-HYP_{3SG_{\ddagger}}=ALT
   Even if she_{\ddagger} were to go alone,
   \begin{align*}
   \text{pinngitsuurani} & \quad \text{qimaaniarpuq.} \\
   \text{pi-ngitsuur-na-ni} & \quad \text{qimaa-niar-pu-q}
   \end{align*}
   v-fail-NON-3SG_{\ddagger} escape-intend-IND.IV-3SG
   she_{\ddagger} was absolutely determined to escape.
   (lit. she intended to escape without fail)

(3) Tamanna iqqarsaatigaangagu
    if
    tamanna iqqarsar-utigi-gaang-agu
    that think-about-HAB_{\ddagger}-3SG_{\ddagger}3SG
    Whenever she_{\ddagger} thought about it,
    \begin{align*}
    uqaasiq & \quad \text{“kisimiilluni”} \\
    uqaasiq & \quad \text{“kisi-mi=it-llu-ni”}
    \end{align*}
    word “alone-sg_{\ddagger}=be-ELA_{3SG_{\ddagger}}”
    \begin{align*}
    \text{isummaani} & \quad \text{suurlumi} \quad \text{akisuasartuq.} \\
    \text{isuma-a-ni} & \quad \text{suurlu-mi} \quad \text{akisua-tar-tu-q.}
    \end{align*}
    mind-3SG_{\ddagger}.3SG-LOC as.if=FOC echo-habit-ELA_{3SG_{\ddagger}}3SG
    it was as if the word “alone” would echo in her_{\ddagger} mind.

(4) Siullirmik annilaangaqqaaraluarpuq,
    \begin{itemize}
    \item siu-liiq-mik annilaar-ngu-qaar-\underline{galuar}-pu-q
        front-most-SG.MOD become.terrified-res-first-\ldots but-IND.IV-3SG
    \end{itemize}
    At first she_{\ddagger} felt terrified,
    \begin{align*}
    \text{kisimiilluni} & \quad \text{qimaanissani} \\
    \text{kisi-mi=it-llu-ni=li} & \quad \text{qimaa-niq-ssag-ni}
    \end{align*}
    alone-sg_{\ddagger}=be-ELA_{3SG_{\ddagger}}=but escape-v\ldots prospective-3SG.SG
    iqqarsaatigillualiramiuk
    iqqarsar-utigi-luar-lir-ga-miuk
    think-about-well-begin-FCT_{3SG_{\ddagger}}3SG
    but when she_{\ddagger} began to think carefully about [the prospect of escaping alone]
    \begin{align*}
    \text{sungiukkiartulirpa}. \\
    \text{sungiut-jartur-lir-pa-a}
    \end{align*}
    get.used.to-more&more-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
    she_{\ddagger} started getting used to the idea_{\ddagger}.

(5) Taava iqqarsalirpuq
    if, fb
    taava iqqarsar-lir-pu-q
    then think-begin-IND.IV-3SG
    Then it occurred to her_{\ddagger} that
immaqa  tigusaqatiminik    allanik      ff₁
immaqa  tigu-gaq-qat-mi-nik  alla-nik     
perhaps take-tv\rn-mate-3SGₗ,PL-MOD    other-PL-MOD

aamma  qimaaajumasaqassasuq
• aamma  qimaa-\textit{juma-tuq-qar-ssa-tu-q}
   also escape-want-iv\cn-have-prospect-ELA₄,IV-3SG₁
perhaps there would be other captives who would also want to escape,
taavatu  Sacajawea  qimaaqataajumanngippat      ff₂

|  \textit{\textbf{taava=lu}}  Sacajawea  qimaa-qat-\textit{u-juma-ngit-pp-at} 
then=and Sacajawea escape-mate-be-want-not-HYPₘₗ-3SGₗ

and then, if Sacajawea\textsuperscript{T} didn’t want escape with them,

\textit{allat  immaqa  qimaaqatigungammaarlugit.}
\textit{alla-t  immaqa  qimaa-qat-gi-jumar-llu-git}
other-PL perhaps escape-mate-rn\tv-x.hope-ELAₗₗ-3PLₗ
then perhaps she\textsubscript{T} herself would escape with these other prisoners.

(6) \textit{Ikinngutiginirpaasamili  qimannissaa}
\textit{ikinngut-gi-nirpaa-gaq-mi=li  qimat-niq-ssaq-a}
friend-have.as-most-tv\vrn-3SG.SG.ERG\textsubscript{but} leave-v\n-prospective-3SGₗ.SG

\textit{artungajavippaa.}
\textit{artur-ngajag-vig-pa-a}
be.unable.to.bear-almost-really-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

But she\textsubscript{T} almost couldn’t bear the prospect of leaving her\textsubscript{T} best friend.

(7) \textit{Qimakkunimmi}
\textit{qimat-gu-nik=mi}
part-HYPₗₗ-3PLₗ=for
For if they\textsubscript{T} parted

\textit{imminnut  takuqqinnaviangnilaat.}
\textit{immi-t-nut  taku-qqig-navianngit-la-t}
self-PL-DAT see-again-be.certain.not.to-NEG-3PL
they\textsubscript{T} would certainly never see each other again.

§15 (p. 26)
(1) \textit{Naya Nuki  nalirassariurtuarpq},    if, fb

• \textit{Naya Nuki  naliraq-ssaq-siur-tuar-pu-q}
Naya Nuki landmark-prospective-look.for-constantly-IND.IV-3SG
Naya Nuki\textsubscript{T} was constantly on the lookout for landmarks
and constantly visualized them, along with the others they had already passed.

(2) Kuussuarmi qiqirtat, innat purtusuut, qurlurtut, if
kuug-.suaq-mi qiqirtaq-t innaq-t purtusuutq-t qurlur-tuq-t
river-big-SG.LOC island-PL cliff-PL high-PL gush-iv\cn-PL
Islands in the mighty river, high bluffs, waterfalls,

kuunniri silittut allallu,
kuug-niq-i silig-tuq-t alla-t=lu
flow-\vn-PL be.wide-iv\cn-PL other-PL=and
large streams, and other [landmark]s,
puiguikkiursurniar-sarai
puiguikkiut-ur-niar-pa-i
fix.in.memory.for.ever-dist, -try.with.all.might-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
she\(\_\_\) tried with all her mind to fix each and every one in her memory for ever

suut aqqutiminni iqqumitsursiani tamaasa. ff
suk-t aqqut-mik-ni iqqumit-tuq-si-aq-ni tamaq-isa
suk-PL way-3PL.T.SG-LOC be.strange-iv\cn-get-iv\thm-3SG.T.SG all-PL\(\_\_\)
and anything that struck her\(\_\_\) as remarkable along the way.

§16
1) Qimaalluni iluatsitsissaguni if
| qimaa-llu-ni iluatsit-si-suaa-gu-ni
| escape-ELA=3SG.T succeed.in-antip-prospect-HYP-T-3PL.T
If she\(\_\_\) were to make a successful escape

ilisisariaqarpai fb
ilisima-tariaqar-pa-i
know-have.to-INDIV-3SG.3PL
she\(\_\_\) would have to know

nuna, tuqquvissat pitsaanirpaat, ff
• nuna tuqquvik-suaq-t pitsaa-nirpaaq-t
land hide-iv\loc-prospective-PL excellent-most-PL
the land, the best places to hide,

qaqqarsuarnilu najukkamik tungaanut
qaqqaq-.suaq-ni=lu najur-gaq-mik tungi-a-nut
mountain-big-PL.LOC=and live.in-tv\rn-3PL.T.SG.ERG toward-3SG.T.SG.DAT
aqqutaa isumannaanirpaaq.

aqut-a isumagi-nar-it-nirpaq

way-3SG.SG worry.about-make.one-opp-most

and the safest way back to her home in the high mountains.

(2) Qimaanirmini kuussuaq if, ib
qimaa-niq-mi-ni kuug-suaq

escape-\'n-3SG.TV,SG-LOC river-big

nalunaaqutarisussaavaa, fb

nalunaaqutaq-gi-tur-ssa-pa-a

guideline-TV-process-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

During her escape she would use the mighty river as a general guideline

(3) ilisasarqarpalii sumiinnirlunii, fb, ff

ilisima-tariagarp-a-li su-mi=it-nir-llu-ni

know-have.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG=but what-3SG.LOC=be-\'x.wonder-ELA-3SG.3SG

but she would have to know where she was

qanurlu qaqqarsuaniiit ff;
quaq=lu qaqqaq:-suaq-niit

how=and mountain-big-PL.ABL

ungasitsigisumiinnirlunii.

ungasig-tigi-tuq-mi=it-nir-llu-ni

be.far-to.that.degree-IV\'cn-3SG.LOC=be-\'x.wonder-ELA-3SG.3SG

and how far she was from the mountains.

§17

(1) Unnuat ilaanni taarsuup ataani if
unnuaq-t ila-at-ni taaq:-suaq-p at-a-ni

night-3PL.ERG part-3PL.3SG-LOC dark-big-3SG.ERG under-3SG.3SG-LOC

One evening under the cover of darkness

Sacajawealu imminnut isussuullutik ugaluupput, ib, mf, fb
Sacajawealuu immi-t-nut isussug-ut-llu-tik uqalug-ut-pu-t

Sacajawe-and self-3PL-DAT whisper-rcp-ELA-3PL.TV talk-rcp-IND.IV-3PL

[Naya Nuki and Sacajawea]7 had a whispered conversation

paarsisurtik ungasilliimiriamart. ff
paari-situq-rtik ungasig-li-imi-riar-mm-at

guard-antip-\'cn-3PL.3SG be.far-get.more.a.bit-\'and-FCT-3SG.3SG

while the guard was far from them for a while.
§18
(1) “Ingirlaarnitsinni nuna ingirlavigisarput
    ingirla-ar-niq-tsinni nuna ingirla-vik-gi-gaq-rput
travel-dur-v\n\-1PL.PL.LOC land travel-iv\loc-have.as-tv\rn\-1PL.SG
misissuqqissaaarsimavara ib, fb
misissur-qqissaar-sima-pa-ra
examine-carefully-prf-IND.TV-1SG.3SG
“During our (daily) marches, I’ve been carefully watching the land around us.

(2) Tuaqrvissaaqaqaq, fb
  tuaqur-vik-ssaq-qar-qi-pu-q
hide-iv\loc-prospective-have-emph-IND.IV-3SG
There are many places to hide,

(3) ivigarsuarnik tuaqrvissanik ulikkaarpuq. mf, fb
ivigaq-:suaq-nik tuaqur-vik-ssaq-nik ulikkaar-pu-q
grass-big-PL.MOD hide-iv\loc-prospective-PL.MOD full.of-IND.IV-3SG
it’s full of tall grass to conceal us.

(4) Nalunngilara fb
nalu-ngit-la-ra
not.know-not-NEG-1SG.3SG
I know that

marluugutta qimaasinnaalluta, Sacajawea. ff
marluk-u-gu-tta qimaa-sinnaa-llu-ta Sacajawea
\.vd\ two-be-HYP\-1PL escape-be.able-ELA\-1PL Sacajawea
we can escape if there are two of us, Sacajawea.

(5) Kialluunniit, suulluunniit uanga if, ib
kia-p-luunniit su-t=luunniit uanga
who-SG.ERG=ALT what-PL=ALT me

akurnusirsinnaanngilaanga fb
akurnat-lir-sinnaa-ngit-la-anga
impediment-provide-be.able-not-NEG-3SG.1SG
Nobody and nothing can stop me

qimaallunga qaqqarsuarnut najukkatsinnut utirniaruma. ff
\.vd\ qimaa-llu-nga qaqqaq-:suaq-nut najur-gaq-tsinnut utir-nigar-\gu\-ma
escape-ELA\-1SG mountain-big-PL.DAT live.in-tv\rn\-1PL.DAT return-try-HYP\-1SG
when I escape and try to go back to our mountains.

(6) Pivvissaq nallirpat qimaassaagut. if, fb
\.vd\ pi-vik-ssaq nallir-\pp\-at qimaa:ssa-pu-gut
v-iv\loc-prospective come-HYP\-3SG\-T escape-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
When the right time comes, we shall escape.
§ 19

1. Nalunngilara qimaasinnaasugut, fb, ff
   • nalu-ngit-la-ra qimaas-sinnaa-tu-gut
     notKnow-not-NEG-1SG.3SG escape-able-ELA_IV-1PL
     I know we can escape,

2. qimaasariaqarpugummi, illit uangalu,” fb, ff
   qimaa-tariaqar-pu-gut=mi illit uanga=lu
   escape-have.to-IND.IV-1PL=FOC you me=and
   we MUST do it, you and I.”

3. Naya Nuki isussuppuq. if, fb
   Naya Nuki isussug-pu-q
   Naya Nuki whisper-IND.IV-3SG
   whispered Naya Nuki.

§ 20

1. “Maannakkut qimaasinnaanngilagut if, fb
   maanna-kkut qimaa-sinnaa-nngit-la-gut
   now-SG.VIA escape-able-not-NEG-1PL
   We cannot escape now,
   nakkutigiqqissaarniqartuartilluta. ff
   nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-tuar-tit-llu-ta
   watch-carefully-passive-constantly-state-ELA_T-1PL
   while we are constantly being closely watched.

2. Qimaagaluarutta if
   qimaa-galuar-gu-tta
   escape…but-HYP_T-1PL
   If we did escape,
   histirlutik malissavaatigut mf, fb
   | histi-r-llu-tik malig-ssa-pa-atigut
   horse-do-ELA_T-3PL_T follow-prospect-IND.TV-3PL.1PL
   they would follow us on horses
   irngirlutalu tuqussalluta. ff
   | irngir-llu-ta=lu tuqut-ssa-llu-ta
   v.soon-ELA_T-3PL_T=and kill-prospect-IND.TV-3PL.1PL
   and would soon kill us.

3. Qaqqat najukkavut suli angunagit if
   qaqqaq-t najur-gaq-vut suli angu-na-git
   mountain-PL live.in-TV\RN-1PL.SG still reach-NON_T-3PL
   Before we got to our mountains,
   (lit. with our reaching our mountains still a non-fact)
we would be killed by bears, wolves, or other enemy warriors.

(4) Maani naammattursuarnik nirisassaarpugut, if, mf, fb
• maa-ni naammag-tuq-suaq-nik niri-gaq-saq-qar-pu-gut
Here we have plenty to eat
ajurtumillu piniqassanata.
• ajur-tuq-mik pi-niqaar-sa-na-ta
and are safe from harm.

(5) Ulluq alla qimaanissarput iqqarturmaarparput, if, ib, fb
ulluq alla qimaa-niq-ssaq-put iqqartur-jumaar-pu-rput
day other escape-v\n-prospective-1PL SG discuss-be.promised-IND.TV-1PL.3SG
We will talk about escape another day,

(6) maannakkut iqqarturaluarutsigu if
Ilrm maannakkut iqqartur-galuar-gu-tsigu
now discuss…but-HYP-1PL.3SG
iluaqutaannngilaq,” fb
Ilr iluar-gut-u-ngit-la-q
be.good-v\ns-be-not-NEG-3SG
it’s no good to talk about it now.”

(7) Sacajawea sallaatsumik akipvq. if, mf, fb
Sacajawea sallat-tuq-mik aki-pu-q
Sacajawea be.soft-v\n-cn-SG.MOD answer-IND.IV-3SG
answered\t softly.

§21
(1) Sacajaweap uqaasiisa if
Sacajaweap-p uqaasiq-isa
Sacajaweap-SG.ERG word-3SG.PL.ERG
Sacajaweap’s words\t
Naya Nuki aliatsatsiqaat. ib, fb
Naya Nuki aliagi-tsag-tit-qi-pa-at
Naya Nuki be.sad.about-v*v-cause-emph-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
made Naya Nuki\t feel very sad.
She felt all alone.

She talked to Sacajawea about other things and then lay motionless looking up at the bright stars on this clear night.

She thought about Sacajawea’s words for a long time.
(6) Kisimiikkuni
kisi-mi=it-gu-ni
alone-sg_{r}=be-HYP_{r}-3SG_{r}
If she_{r} were alone,
ingirlalirtunirusinnaavuq.

(7) Navianartursiulirnirmini
naviagi-nar-tuq-siur-lir-niq-mi-ni
fear.danger-make.one-iv\cn-experience-begin-v\n-3SG_{r},SG-LOC
tuqqvissarsiullaqgissuuvuq.
• tuqqu-vik-ssaq-siur-llaqqig-tuq-u-pu-q
hide-v\loc-prospective-look.for-be.good.at-iv\cn-be-IND.IV-3SG
She_{r} was good at hiding in time of danger.

(8) Uumasunut nujuartanut qimaalluni
uumasuq-nut nujuartaq-nut qimaa-llu-ni
animal-PL.DAT wild-PL.DAT escape-ELA_{r}-3SG_{r}
urpinnut majuarsinnaavuq.
• urpik-nut majuar-sinnaa-pu-q
tree-PL.DAT go.up-be.able-IND.IV-3SG
She_{r} could climb trees to escape wild animals.

(9) Nirissassaminik
niri-gaq-ssaq-mi-nik
eat-tv\rn-prospective-3SG.PL.MOD n-prospective-look.for-be.able-IND.IV-3SG
She_{r} could look for her own food.

(10) Allanik qimaajumasuqangippat
alla-nik qimaa-juma-tuq-qar-ngir-pp-at
other-PL.MOD escape-want-iv\cn-have-not-HYP_{r}-3SG_{r}
If there wasn’t anyone else who wanted to escape
kisimiilluni qimaassaaq!

(11) Nalunaaquttap akunnirpassui iqqumalluni
nalunaaqutaq-p akunnig-paa:-ssaq-t iqquma-llu-ni
clock-SG.ERG interval-set-big-PL be.awake-ELA_{r}-3SG_{r}
She_{r} lay awake for many hours
Imm. 5. Unnuaanarsuarmi qimaaniq

(Ch. 5. A night to run)

[Throughout her few months in slavery, Naja Nuki has been planning and making preparations to run away, all the while pretending to be a model slave. At long last here’s her chance.]

§1 (p. 36)
(1) Uktubir qaammataagaa ualikkuuvuq
uktubir qaammat-u-gi-a ualiq-kkut-u-pu-q
October month-be-ELA.TV-3SG.3SG afternoon-time-be-IND.IV-3SG
It was an October afternoon

(2) unnukkursiutissallu
unnuk-kkut-siur-ut-ssaq-t=lu
evening-time-experience-v\ins-prospective-PL=and and the evening meal (PL)
iniriirsimapput.
inir-riir-sima-pu-t
get.done-have.already-prf-IND.IV-3PL
was ready.

(3) Sila suli kiarujuppuq.
sila suli kiaq-rujug-pu-q
weather still be.warm.extremely-IND.IV-3SG
It was still extremely hot.

(4) Suurlumi silaannaq uninngasuq
suurlu=mi silaannaq unig-nga-tu-q
as.if=FOC air stop-res-ELA.TV-3SG
It was as if the air stood still
(5) tassanngaannaruujussuarli anurlilirpuq
that-from-just-extremely-big-but wind.blow-begin-IND.IV-3SG
but all of a sudden the wind came up
pujuralak tamaat tingillugu.
dust all-SG fly-cause-ELA-1-3SG raising the dust.

(6) Sila nillirtikkiartulirpuq;
winds all-SG become-gradually-begin-IND.IV-3SG
The temperature began to fall;

(7) kitaani qilak taartippuq
west-3SG LOC sky be.dark-become-IND.IV-3SG
The western sky grew dark
siqiniq taarrimmat.
as the sun went down.

(8) Silarlirnialiqaaq.
weather-bad-begin-be-about.to-begin-emph-IND.IV-3SG
It was the beginning of a big storm building up.

§2

(1) Naya Nukip ummaataa kassutturujussuanngurpuq.
Naya Nuki-p ummaat-a kassug-tuq-rujugg-suq-ngur-puq-a
Naya Nuki’s heart began to race.

(2) Unnuururpat
night-grow.complete-HYP-3SG
When the night fell,

(3) Nirisani iiinirluunniit sapingajappai.
eswallow vna ALT be.unable.to.almost-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
She was hardly able to swallow her food.
Kallilirpuq innaalutuinnangurluni.  
kallir-lir-pu-q innaa-lug-tuq-innar-ntag-llu-ni  
thunder-begin-IND.IV-3SG lightning.strike-badly-iv\cn-just-become-ELA\_TV-3SG_3  
Thunder and lightning filled the air.

Siqiniq tarritturlu siallilirpuq,  
siqiniq tarrig-tu-q=lu siallir-lir-pu-q  
sun go.down-ELA\_TV-3SG=and rain-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
At sunset the rain started

arnallu  
arna-t=lu  
woman-PL=and  
and the women

ikumatitamik aamaat matuuppallappaat.  
ib, fb  
ikuma-tit-gaq-mik aamaaq-t matuur-pallag-pa-it  
burn-cause-tv\_\_TV-3PL\_PL.ERG hot.coals-PL cover.up-quickly-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
rushed to bury the red-hot coals of their fires.

Kikkut tamarmik  
kikkut tamaq-mik  
who.PL all-PL\_T  
Everyone

illurujussuarnut isaapallapput.  
ib, fb  
illu-rujug-:suaq-nut isir-at-pallag-pu-t  
house-huge-big-PL.DAT enter-simultaneously-quickly-IND.IV-3PL  
all at once, quickly ran into the long houses.

Illurujussuit qaliaasa ammarngisigut  
illu-rujug-:suaq-t qaliq-isa ammarnga-isigut  
house-huge-big-PL.ERG roof-3PL\_PL.ERG opening-3PL\_PL.VIA  
Through the openings in the roofs of the long houses

\* takuniqarsinnaavuq  
\* taku-niqar-sinnaa-pu-q  
see-passive-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG  
one could see

illut iluini ikumatitanik  
if  
illu-t ilu-i-ni ikuma-tit-gaq-nik  
house-PL.ERG inside-3PL\_PL.LOC burn-cause-tv\_\_CN-PL.MOD  

ikitisisuqartuq,  
iki-t-si-tuq-qar-tar-tu-q  
light-cause.antip-iv\_\_CN-have-habit-ELA\_TV-3SG  
that fires were repeatedly lit inside the houses,
(9) ikumatitalli pujui
   ikuma-tit-gaq-t=li pujuq-i
burn-cause-tv\cn-PL.ERG=but smoke-3PL.PL
but the smoke (PL) from the fires
illut iluinnaviinut anurimit
illu-t ilu-innaq-vik-i-nut anuri-mit
house-PL.ERG inside-just-real-3PL.PL-DAT wind-SG.ABL
tingitaasarmata tingi-t-taa-tar-mm-ata
fly-cause-passive-habit-FCT.3PL
got constantly blown by the wind right (back) inside the houses so
kiisa ikumatitaliaagaluit qamirarniqarput.
• kiisa ikuma-tit-gaq-liaq-galuaq-t qamig-rar-niqar-pu-t
finally burn-cause-tv\cn-made-…but-PL put.out-dist-passive-IND.IV.3PL
eventually the would-be fires were all put out.

(10) Qialirumanatik
gialir-uma-na-tik
freeze-want-NONT.3PL
To keep warm [lit. not wanting to get cold]
ussippaarsuit amiinik qipittturput, mf, fb
ussippaarsuaq-t amiq-i-nik qipik-g-tur-pu-t
buffalo-PL.ERG skin-3PL.PL-MOD blanket-n\v-process-IND.IV.3PL
they\T wrapped themselves in buffalo skins,
ilarpassuitulu sininniaannalirlutik.
• ila-paa::suaq-i=lu sinig-niar-innar-lir-llu-tik
part-set-big-PL=and be.asleep-intend-just-begin-ELAT.3PL
and many (people) decided to just go to sleep.

§3
(1) Naya Nuki
Naya Nuki\T
tiqiqumi inigisartakkamini ib
tiqiqquq-mi ini-gi-gaq-r-tar-gaq-mi-ni
corner-SG.LOC place-have.as-tv\rm-n\v-habit-tv\rn-3SG\T,SG-LOC
piquliasimavuq
piquiliag-sima-pu-q
curl.up-prf-IND.IV.3SG
lay curled up in her corner.
She listened carefully to every sound around her.

Her heart beat so hard that

she even thought

the others would hear it.

Outside the wind was howling,

and the thunder was deafening.

And whenever the lightning struck

the interior of the long house

would become so light—wow!
Anirsaarsuaq ila kamassimassaqaaq!

spirits-big surely be.angry-prf-prospect-emph-IND.IV-3SG

The Great Spirit surely must be very angry!

Suurlumi qilak qatimaattursuaq.
as.if=FOC sky roar-IV\cn-big

It was as if the heavens were roaring.

Naya Nuki-p iqqaavai

Naya Nuki-SG.ERG remember-IND.TV-3SG.3PL

Naya Nuki remembered

nunaqarvimmimni silarlussiurtarnitik

village-3PL,T.PL-LOC weather-bad-experience-habit-v

the storms they, had experienced back home

Maannali silarluk irisisigakkani

now=but weather-bad fear-tv\rn-3SG,T.PL

But now the stormy weather that she, had (once) feared,

qimaanissaminut

sibling-3SG,T.PL=and mother-3PL,T.PL-DAT escape-en.masse-habit-v\n
and how she, and her, brothers and sisters had run together to their, mother for comfort.

Maannali silarluk irisisigakkani

now=but weather-bad fear-tv\rn-3SG,T.PL

But now the stormy weather that she, had (once) feared,

qimaanissaminut

iikiurtisussanangurpaa.

help-v\agt-have.as-v\n-prospective-become

she, was going to use as an aid to make her, escape.

Anuri sialullu kipiviqanggillat,

wind rain=and get.cut.off-v\loc-have-not-NEG-3PL

The wind and rain continued non-stop [lit. had no cut-off time]

kalliq innaalussuarlu paarlagaapput.

thunder lightning-big=and replace-tv\rn-rcp-IND.IV-3PL

the thunder and the lightning came and went.  [lit. took turns to replace each other]
Illu takisuursuaq nipaaruppuq
illu taki-tuaq::suaq nipi-irut-\textit{pu-}\textit{q}
thouse be.long-\textit{iv\textbackslash{}cn}-big sound-become.without-\textit{IND.IV-3SG}
The long house grew quiet
taaqa\textit{lu}\textit{n}\textit{u}\textit{il}u.                      \textit{ff}
taar-qi-\textit{lu}-ni=lu
be.dark-emph-\textit{ELA}_{T}-3SG=and
and very dark.

Taannaqa Naya Nuki utaqqilirpuq.                     \textit{if, ib, fb}
taan\textit{na}\textit{qa} Naya Nuki utaqqi-lir-\textit{pu-}\textit{q}
Naya Nuki wait-begin-\textit{IND.IV-3SG}
Naya Nuki\textsuperscript{t} began to wait!

\textbf{§7}

(1) Ikumatitat qamimmata                             \textit{if}
ikuma-tit-gaq-\textit{t} qamig-mm-\textit{ata}
burn-cause-\textit{tv\textbackslash{}rn}-\textit{PL} \textit{(fire)}go.out-\textit{FCT}_{T}-3\textit{PL}\textsubscript{L}
With the fires out

takuniqarani angalaarsinnalirpuq                   \textit{mf, fb}
\begin{itemize}
  \item taku-ni\textit{qr-na}-ni angala-ar-sinnaq-lir-\textit{pu-}\textit{q}
    see-passive-\textit{NON}_{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T} move-dur-be.able-begin-\textit{IND.IV-3SG}
she could now move unseen.
\end{itemize}

(2) Imami taartigaaq                               \textit{fb}
ima=\textit{mi} taar-tigi-pu-\textit{q}
so=FOC be.dark-to.that.degree-\textit{IND.IV-3SG}
It was so dark that

takuniqaralu\textit{arun}l\textit{u}lu\textit{uni}\textit{it}                     \textit{ff}
\begin{itemize}
  \item taku-ni\textit{qr-galuar-gu}-ni=lu\textit{un}ni\textit{it}
    see-passive-\ldots\textit{but-HYP}_{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}=\textit{ALT}
even if she were seen
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item ilisarin\textit{iqarnaviarani.}
  \item ilisari-ni\textit{q-ar-\textit{navi}}ar-na-ni\textit{ni}
    recognize-passive-be.certain.that.not-\textit{NON}_{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}
    it was certain she wouldn’t be recognized.
\end{itemize}

(3) Tassa pivvissaq nallirpuq.                     \textit{if, ib, fb}
\begin{itemize}
  \item tassa pi-vik-\textit{ssaq} nallir-\textit{pu-}\textit{q}
    that v-\textit{vloc-prospective} \textit{(time)}come-\textit{IND.IV-3SG}
    Now (at last) the time for her\textsubscript{T} planned (escape) had come.
\end{itemize}

(4) nalunaqputtap akunnirpassuit utaqqiniq          \textit{if}
nalunaqpu\textit{taq-p} akunniq-paa-::suaq-\textit{t} utaqqi-ni\textit{q}
clock-\textit{SG.ERG} interval-set-big-\textit{PL} wait-\textit{v\textbackslash{}n}
the many hours of waiting
\textit{[lit. the wait for many hours]}

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qaangituppuq. fb
qaangitut-pu-q
pass-IND.IV-3SG
were over.

(5) Qimaalluni aallarvissanngurpuq.
• qimaa-llu-ni aallar-vik-ssaq-ngur-pu-q if, fb
escape-ELA_{T}-3SG \_T set.out-v\oc-prospective-become-IND.IV-3SG
The time had come to make a run for it.

§7
(1) Naya Nuki mianirsuqqissaarluni if
Naya Nuki mianirsur-qqisaar-llu-ni
Naya Nuki be.cautious-carefully-ELA_{T}-3SG \_T
Very cautiously and carefully, Naya Nuki\textsuperscript{T}
matup tungaanukarpuq, fb
matu-p tungi-a-nut=kar-pu-t
door-SG.ERG direction-3SG,SG-DAT=go-IND.IV-3SG
moved toward the door,
ilani sinittut itirtinnaviirsaaqqissaarlugit. ff
• ila-ni sinig-tuq-t itir-tit-naviir-saar-qqissaar-llu-git
part-3SG,PL be.asleep-iv\cn-PL wake.up-cause-avoid-strive-carefully-ELA_{T}-3PL \_T
taking care not to wake up the others, who were asleep.

(2) Nalunngilaa fb
nalu-ngit-la-a
not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
She\textsubscript{r} knew
kina sumi sinittuq ff\textsubscript{i}
kina su-mi sinig-tu-q
who,SG what-SG.LOC be.asleep-ELA_{T}.IV-3SG \_T
who slept where
akurnutissarsinanilu matu tikitllu-gu. ff\textsubscript{2}
• akurnut-ssaq-si-na-ni=lu matu tikit-llu-gu
obstacle-prospective-get-NON-3SG=and door come.to-ELA_{T}-3SG \_T
and she\textsubscript{r} reached the door without running into any (potential) obstacles.
(3) **Anigami**

*ani-ga-mi*

go.out-FCT,3SG,T

Outside [lit. when she came out]

*qatturngup* urpillip

*qatturniq-p* urpik-lik-p

hull-SG.ERG tree-with-SG.ERG

*ussippaarsuup* amianik tuqqursivimmi tungaanut

*ussippaarsuaq-p* ami-a-nik tuqqur-si-vik-mi tungi-a-nut

buffalo-SG.ERG skin-3SG₁,SG-MOD hide-antip-v\loc-3SG,T,SG.ERG direction-3SG₁,SG-DAT

*aallarpq.*

*aallar-pu-q*

set.out-IND,IV-3SG

shé set of for the tree-covered hill, where shé had hidden the buffalo skin.

(4) **Ullut** marluk qaangiupput  

ullu-t marluk qaangiut-pu-t

day-PL two pass-IND,IV-3PL

It was two days ago  

[lit. Two days had passed since]

*suli* siqiniq nuinngitsuq

*suli* siqiniq nui-ngit-tu-q

still sun stick.head.out-not-ELA₁,IV-3SG₁

*savik* tassunga tuqqurmagu.

*savik* tass-unga tuqqur-mm-agu

knife that-DAT hide-FCT₁,3SG₁,3SG

that shé had hidden the knife there (too) before dawn  

[lit. while sunrise was still a non-fact].

(5) **Aamma** tuqqurtarai  

*aamma* tuqqur-taq-gi-pa-i

also hide-tv\rn-have.as-IND,TV-3SG,3PL

Also hidden there was

*niqit* panirtualuit

*niqi-t* panir-tuq-aluk-t

meat-PL be.dry-IV\cn-bunch-PL

some dried meat

*atiraasallut* illugiit pingasut.

*atiraasaq-t=lu* illuk-gii-t pingasut

moccasin-PL=and pair.mate-set-PL three

and three pairs of moccasins.
As she left the village in the pouring rain

arpalirpuq.               fb
arpag-lir-pu-q
she began to run.

Whenever (the lightning after) thunder lit up the sky

• iqqaq-mi-ni=it-tuq-t   takusinnaalirsarpai.       ib, fb
  vicinity-3SG,SG-LOC=be-iv\cn-PL see-be.able-begin-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
she was just be able to make out her surroundings.

she reached her hiding place in the pile of brush and

[her hard-won treasures that she could not do without if she were to survive].
§9

(1) Nassatassani

nassar-taq-ssaq-ni

take.along.tv′mn-prospective-3SG.T.PL

ussippaarsuap amianut puurtuutipallappai

ib, fb

ussippaarsuap-p amiq-a-nut puur-tur-ut-pallag-pa-i

buffalo-SG.ERG skin-3SG.L.SG-DAT wrap.up-process-tv′tv′-quickly-IND.TV-3SG.3PL

She quickly wrapped up the items she was going to take along inside the buffalo skin.

(2) Savik qitiqiminut qilirutiriarlugu

savik qitirut-mi-nut qilir-ut-riar-llu-gu

knife belt-3SG.T.SG-DAT tie-tv′tv′-…and-ELA.T-3SG.L

She tied the knife to her belt and

ilummun anirsaaarjussuarialluni

iluq-mut anrisaar-ryjug-suqaq-riar-llu-ni

interior-SG.DAT breathe-hugely-greatly-…and-ELA.T-3SG.L

taking a deep breath

arpalluni aallarpuq

arpag-llu-ni aalar-pu-q

run-ELA.T-3SG.T set.off-IND.IV-3SG

she set off at a run

nunaqarvik tunullugu avannamut kimmut.

nunaqarvik tunug-llu-gu avannaq-mut kit-mut

village v.away.from-ELA.T-3SG.L north-SG.DAT west-SG.DAT

heading north and west away from the village.

(3) Nunaqarviup iqqannguani qattunirmiit

nunaqarvi-p iqqaq-nguaq-a-ni qattuniq-miit

village-SG.ERG vicinity-little-3SG.L.SG-LOC hill-SG.ABL

From the hill near the village

aqqutissani isiginnaartuartaarsimavaa

ib, fb

aqqut-ssaq-ni isiginnaar-uar-tar-sima-pa-a

route-prospective-3SG.T.SG look.at-always-habit-prf-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

she had looked at her planned route whenever she was there

(4) maannali taarlunilu siallirmat

maanna=li taar-llu-ni=lu siallir-mm-at

now=but be.dark-ELA.T-3SG.T=and rain-FCT.T-3SG.L

but now in the dark and the rain

suurlumi suut tamarmik allangursimasut.

suurlu=mi su-t tamaq-mik allaq-ngur-sima-tu-t

as.if=FOC what-PL all-PL.T other-become-prf-ELA.L.IV-3PL.T

it was as if everything had become different.
The sky was overcast, so there were no stars.

She ran as fast as she could, taking care to avoid slipping and falling.

then everything (all her plans) would fall apart.

She was alone and there was nobody to help her.

To make a mistake (now) meant death.
§11 (p. 38)

(1) *Arpelluni ilungirsurnirmit* [if]

\[
\text{arpag-llu-ni ilungirsur-niq-mit}
\]

run-\text{ELAT}-3SGr make.\text{effort-v\text{\`n}-nSG.ABL}

She was so preoccupied with her running,

*irsunnaarpurluunniit*, [fb]

*irsi-junnaar-pu-q=luunniit*
fear-stop-\text{IND.IV}-3SG=\text{ALT}

that she even forgot her fears,

(2) *tiimirpassuillu arpakkaluarami* [if]

\[
\text{tiimi-paa-:suaq-t=lu arpag-\text{galuar}-ga-mi}
\]

hour-set-big-\text{PL}=and \text{run-\ldots}-\text{but-FCTr}-3SGr

and although she had run for many hours

*gasuniniluunniit* maluginngilaa. [ib, fb]

*gasu-niq-ni=luunniit* malugi-\text{ngit-la-a}

be.\text{tired-v-}\text{n-3SGr,.SG}=\text{ALT} notice-not-\text{NEG}-3SG.3SG

she didn’t even feel tired. [lit. her tiredness]

(3) *Aatsaat nalunaaquttap akunniri tallimat* [if]

\[
\text{aatsaat nalunaaqqutaq-p akunniq-i tallimat}
\]

first clock-\text{SG.ERG} interval-3SG.PL five

*qaangtutiriirsut*

*qaangtut-riir-tu-t*
pass-have.already-\text{ELAT,.IV-3PL}\text{.,}

It was more the five hours before

[lit. first when five hours had already passed]

\[
\text{anirsaarturluarniarluni qasuirslaarniarlunilu}
\]

*anirsaartur-lluar-niar-llu-ni qasu-irsi-laar-niar-llu-ni*
breathe-well-intend-\text{ELAT}-3SGr be.\text{tired-\text{cease-a}.little-intend-ELAT}_{-}3SGr

*arpagunnaarpuq.* [fb]

*arpag-junnaar-pu-q*

run-stop-\text{IND.IV}-3SG

she stopped running to catch her breath and to rest a little.

[lit. intending to catch her breath and to rest a little]

(4) *Suli sialliraluartuq siunirmini samanirsuaq* [if, ib]

\[
\text{suli siallir-\text{galuar}-tu-q siuniq-mi-ni samaniq-.:suaq}
\]

still \text{rain-\ldots}-\text{but-ELAT,.IV-3SG} ahead-3SGr,.SG-\text{LOC westward-big}

It was still raining, but far ahead toward the west

*ulluriaq ataasiq takuuaa.* [mf, fb]

*ulluriaq ataasiq taku-pa-a*

star one see-\text{IND.TV}-3SG.3SG

she saw a single star.
The storm was ending.

...but she had hoped that it would’ve continued to rain a bit longer.

For she knew that in the morning [lit. when it became morning] men on horses would start looking for her.

Knowing that she wouldn’t have a chance if her tracks were found she dearly wished that the rain would continue.

After a brief stop to rest
arpalluni aallaqqippuq. mf, fb
arpag-llu-ni allaar-qqig-pu-q
run-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$ set.off-again-IND.IV-3SG
she set off again at a run.

(2) Arlaliriarluni urlusarpuq, if, fb
arlallit-riar-llu-ni urlu-tar-pu-q
several-v.cn.times-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$ trip&fall-habit-IND.IV-3SG
She tripped and fell several times

annissananili. ff

• annir-ssa-na-ni=li
get.hurt-prospect-NON$_T$-3SG$_T$=but
but without any danger of getting hurt.

§13

(1) Nuissiqqiriarmat if
nuiaq-si-qqig-riar-mm-at
cloud-get-again-stage.one-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
The clouds moved in again so

ullurissat aanngaqqipput ib, fb
ulluriaq-t aannga-qqig-pu-t
star-PL fade.out-again-IND.IV-3PL
the stars faded out again.

(2) Kalliqqilirpuq innaallattartursuulluni. fb, ff
kalliq-qqig-lir-pu-q innaallag-tar-tuq-suaq-u-llu-ni
thunder-again-begin-IND.IV-3SG lightning.strike-habit-IV\cn-big-be-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$
Thunder and lightning again filled the night.

(3) Naya Nuki inuuliramili if
Naya Nuki inuu-lir-ga-mi=li
Naya Nuki live-begin-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$=since
For the first time in her life, Naya Nuki

silarlummik aatsaat nuannarisaqalirpuq. mf, fb
sila-rhuk-mik aatsaat nuannari-gaq-qar-lir-pu-q
weather-bad-SG.MOD first like-tv\rn-have-begin-IND.IV-3SG
felt suddenly happy in a storm.

(4) Sialuup kiinaanut turartup if
sialuk-p kiina-a-nut tug-rar-tuq-p
rain-SG.ERG face-3SG$_T$.SG-DAT touch-bit.by.bit-iv\cn-SG.ERG
The rain beating down on her face

nukissaanik tuniurarpaalusuuq. mf, fb
• nuki-ssaq-a-nik tuni-ur-rar-pa-a=lusuq
strength-prospective-3SG$_T$.SG-MOD give-dist$_T$-bit.by.bit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG=seem
seemed to give her new strength.
Forgetting her tired, aching muscles,

she ran with all her might into the stormy night.