KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Paakujuk
(Sooty)


TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/23/2007): 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, opp = opposite,
  - v\agt = agent-nominalizer, v\ins = instrument nominalizer, v\loc = location-nominalizer, v\thm = theme-nominalizer, prf = perfect aspect, rcp = reciprocal, res = result state,
  - iv = intransitive verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rn = relational noun,
  - a\b = suffix that attaches to category a to form category b
- **clitics:**
  - ALT = alternative-sensitive operator (‘or’, ‘even’, ‘any’)
  - FOC = focus
  - RPT = reportative evidential

Paragraphs ($) as in the original.

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. 11)

(1) Qimmiaraq  Paakujuumnik  atilik  
qimmiq-araq  paaq-kujug-k-mik  atiq-lik  
dog-little  soot-be.like-v

[The pup named Sooty]^T

inunnurpuq  
inunnngur-pu-q  
get.born-IND.IV-3SG

was born

nappartami  aamarsuarnik  siqqunnikunik  imalimmi.  
nappartaq-mi  aamarsuar-nik  siqqug-niq-ku-nik  imaq-lik-mi  
barrel-SG.LOC  coal-PL.MOD  crush-v\n-residue-PL.MOD  content-with-SG.LOC

in a coal barrel (lit. barrel with what’s left of coal after it’s pulverized)

(2) Arnaa  irniqqajaalirmat  inuisa  
arn-a  irni-qqajaa-lir-mm-at  inuk-isa  
mother-3SG.SG  give.birth-be.about.to-begin-FCT-3SG.SG  person

When his^T mother^T was just about to give birth, her^T owners^T

illuaqqami  sanaaminni  inissiuukkaluarpaat.  
illu-araq-mi  sana-aq-mik-ni  ini-liur-ut-galuar-pa-at  
house-little-SG.LOC  build-v/thm-3PL.SG  place-make-IV\tv-\…but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG

built a little kennel for her^T (but…).

(3) Kisianni  inissani  aturnagu  
kisianni  ini-ssaq-ni  atur-na-gu  
but  place-prospective-3SG.SG  use-NON-3SG.SG

But instead of using the place she^T was meant to use

nappartami  aamarsuit  siqqunnirinik  imalimmi  
nappartaq-mi  aamarsuaq-t  siqqug-niq-t-nik  imaq-lik-mi  
barrel-SG.LOC  coal-PL  crush-v\n\v-PL.MOD  content-with-SG.LOC

apummi  nuisalaartumi  
aput-mi  nui-sa-laar-tuq-mi  
snow-SG.LOC  stick.head.up-res-a.little-IV\cn-SG.LOC

irnisimavuq.  
irni-sima-pu-q  
give.birth-prf-IND.IV-3SG

she^T gave birth in a coal barrel that was sticking up a little out of the snow.

§2

(1) Piarai  miiqqat  nassaaraat.  
piaraq-i  miiraq-t  nassaari-pa-it  
(animal)baby-3SG.PL  child-PL.ERG  find-IND.TV-3PL.3PL

It was the children who found the pups.
(2) Niaqqumigut qaqurtunik milalik if
niaqqus-mi-kut qaqur-tuq-nik milak-lik
head-3SG.VIA be.white-IV\text{n}-PL.MOD spot-with.SG
[One (pup) with white spots on his head]_

paakujungaarmat
paaq-kujug-ngaar-mm-at
soot-look.like-very-FCT\textsuperscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{L}
was black like soot (MB: rare color for a husky) so

inuata irniinnaq atsirpa
inuk-ata irniinnaq atiq-lir-pa-a
person-3SG\textsubscript{L}.SG immediately name-provide-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
his\textsubscript{L} owner\textsuperscript{T} immediately named him\textsubscript{L}

Paakujuk
paaq-kujug-k
soot-be.like-\text{n}
Sooty.

(3) Qimmiaqqat
qimmiq-araq-t
dog-little-PL
The pups\textsuperscript{T}

illuaqqamut inissiamut nuunniqarput,
illu-araq-mut ini-ssit-aq-mut nuug-niqaar-pu-t
house-little-SG.DAT place-assign-\text{n}-SG.DAT move-passive-IND.IV-3PL
were moved to the prepared kennel

(4) tassanilu

tassa-ni=lu
there-LOC=and
and that was where

Paakujuk qatanngutinilu piruriarturput.
paaq-kujug-k qatanngut-ni=lu piru-riartur-pu-t
soot-be.like-\text{n} sibling-3SG\textsubscript{T}.SG=and grow.up-process-IND.IV-3PL
[Sooty and his siblings\textsuperscript{T}] lived while growing up.

(5) Suli uinngikkallaramilli
suli uig-nngit-gallar-ga-mik=li
still open.eyes-not-for.now-FCT\textsuperscript{T}-3PL\textsubscript{T}=since
Ever since the time when their\textsubscript{r} eyes were still shut

anaanartik iniminmut isiinnarturlu
anaana-rtik ini-mik-nut isiir-innar-tuq=lu
mother-3PL\textsubscript{T}.SG place-3PL\textsubscript{T}.SG.DAT enter-just-IV\text{n}=and
the moment their\textsubscript{r} mother\textsuperscript{r} entered their kennel
milunniarlutik pilirnguttarput.  mf, fb
milug-niar-llu-tik pi-lirngut-tar-pu-t
suck-intend-ELA\_3PL\_T V-compete.to.be.first-habit-IND.IV-3PL
they\_T would scramble over each other to be the first one to suck.

(6) Paakujuk kinguliruttaannarmat
paaq-kujug-k kingu-liiq-rut-ruttur-tuaannar-mm-at
soot-be.like-v\_n rear-most-go-to.full.extent-always-FCT\_3SG\_⊥
Sooty\_T always came at the very end, so
ilaanni arnaata kiillugu inissittarpaa ib, mf, fb
ilaanni arna-ata kii-lu-gu ini-ssit-tar-pa-a
sometimes mother-3SG\_⊥.SG take.w.teeth-ELA\_3SG\_⊥ place-assign-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
sometimes his\_1 mother\_T would take him\_1 in her teeth and put him\_1 in his place
miluvvissaanut.  ff
milug-vik-ssaq-a-nut
suck-loc.of-prospective-3SG\_⊥.SG-DAT
at the (nipple) he\_⊥ was supposed to suck from.

§3
(1) Qimmiaqqat pirulirmata
qimmiq-araq-t pirur-lir-mm-ata
dog-little-PL grow.up-begin-FCT\_3PL\_⊥
When the pups\_T got bigger
inuusa nirisittalirpaat. ib, fb
inuk-isa niri-tit-tar-lir-pa-it
person-3PL\_⊥.PL eat-cause-habit-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
their\_1 owners\_T started feeding them\_1.

(2) Niqiliuraangamik
niqi-liu-gaanga-mik
meat-make-HAB\_3PL\_T
Whenever they\_T cooked meat
qajuq qimmiaqqanut pissiarisarpaat ib, mf, fb
qajuq qimmiq-araq-nut pi-ssit-aq-gi-tar-pa-at
soup dog-little-PL.DAT that-assign-v\_n-have.as-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
they\_T would leave the soup for the pups,

(3) kingurnalu
kingurna=lu
afterward=and
and later
niqimirngit aggurlugit nirliuttalirpaat. ib, fb
niqi-miniq-t aggur-lu-git nirli-ut-tar-lir-pa-it
meat-stuff-PL divide.into.pieces-ELA\_3PL\_⊥ feed-to-habit-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they began to feed them cut up chunks of meat.
§4

(1) Paakujuk qatanngutaalu aalassarissivipput. if, fb
paaq-kujug-k qatanngut-i=lu aalassarig-si-vig-pu-t
soot-be.like-v\n\n sibling-3SG,PL=and lively-get-really-IND,IV-3PL
[Sooty and his siblings]^T became really lively.

(2) Imminnut paasalirput. mf, fb
immi-t-nut paa-tar-lir-pu-t
self-PL-DAT wrestle-habit-begin-IND,IV-3PL
They^T started wrestling with each other.

(3) Paakujuk inuuqqaaramili nukangasuugami if
paaq-kujug-k inuu-qqaar-ga-mi=li nuka-nga-tuq-u-ga-mi
soot-be.like-v\n\n live-first-FCT_{SG,T}-since little.bro-resemble-iv\cn-be- FCT_{SG,T}-3SG_{T}
Ever since he^T was born, Sooty^T was the runt of the litter, so
ilani artugarisarpai. ib, fb
ila-ni artur-gaq-gi-tar-pa-i
part-3SG,PL unusable.to.handle-tv\rn-have.as-habit-IND,TV-3SG,3PL
he^T was unable to stand up to the other pups^L.

(4) Saassutiraraanganni if
saassut-riar-gaang-anni
attack-stage.one-HAB_{3PL,3SG_{T}}
When they^T turned on him^T
maalasukasiulluni nunamut nallaannaaraaq. ib, mf, fb
maala-tuq-kasik-u-llu-ni nuna-mut nallar-innar-tar-pu-q
whine-iv\cn-wretch-be-ELA_{T}-3SG_{T} ground-SG.DAT lie.down-just-habit-IND,IV-3SG
he^T would just lie down whining wretchedly on the ground.

(5) Arni iqqaminiitillugu if
arna-ni iqqaq-mi-ni=it-tit-llu-gu
mother-3SG_{T},SG vicinity-3SG_{T},SG-LOC=be-state-ELA_{T}-3SG_{T}
When his^T mother^T was nearby,
qimarnguigisarpaa. fb
qimarngu-vik-gi-tar-pa-a
seek.refuge-iv\loc-rn\tv-habit-IND,TV-3SG,3SG
he^T would seek refuge with her^T.

(6) Aamma inummi nukappiaqqap illirsurtalirmani if, ib
aamma inuk-mi nukappiaraq-p illirsur-tar-lir-mm-ani
also person-3SG_{T},SG.ERG boy-SG.ERG defend-habit-begin-FCT_{\perp}-3SG_{L},3SG_{T}
And because his^T owner, the boy, had begun to defend him
nanisiaraa. fb
nanisi-tar-pa-a
go.to-habit-IND,TV-3SG,3SG
he^T (also) kept running (away) to him.
While they were being fed,

\[ \text{Nirisilirsillutik} \]
\[ \text{niri-tit-lir-titllu-tik} \]
\[ \text{eat-cause-begin-state-ELA}^{T}_{T}-3\text{PL}_{T} \]

because the other (pup)s would try to get ahead of him

\[ \text{Ilami} \]
\[ \text{ingiarniaa} \text{rtarmanni} \]
\[ \text{ib} \]
\[ \text{Ila-mi} \]
\[ \text{ingiar-niarti-mmanni} \]
\[ \text{PL}_{T} \]
\[ \text{ERG} \]

while looking furtively at the other (pup)s.

Sometimes his owner would give him food separately

\[ \text{Ilanni} \]
\[ \text{inuata} \]
\[ \text{if}, \text{ib} \]

\[ \text{Ilanni} \]
\[ \text{inuk-ata} \]

Sometimes his owner

\[ \text{Immikkut} \]
\[ \text{nirisassittarpaa} \]
\[ \text{mf}, \text{fb} \]
\[ \text{Immi-kkut} \]
\[ \text{niri-gaatssit-tar-pa-a} \]

would give him food separately

\[ \text{Qatanngutaalu} \]
\[ \text{saassussinialuit} \]
\[ \text{ff} \]
\[ \text{Qatannguti=lu} \]
\[ \text{saassut-(ss)i-niar-galu} \text{ar-k-t} \]

keeping his siblings, who were trying to attack, at bay.
§5 (p. 12)

(1) Qimmiaqqat allinirugamik
    qimmig-araq-t angi-li-niru-ga-mik
    dog-little-PL big-get-more-FCT—3PL—
When the pups got bigger

    iniirtik qimallugu
    ini-rtik qima-llu-gu
    place-3PL—SG leave-ELA—3SG⊥
they⊥ left their⊥ dog house (lit. place)

    silaannarmi sinittalirput
    sila-innaq-mi sing-tar-lir-pu-t
outdoors-just-SG.LOC asleep-habit-begin-IND.IV—3PL
and started sleeping outdoors

    inummik anisariaat ungullugu.
    inuk-mik anisariaq-at ugu-llu-gu
person—3PL—PL.ERG exit—3PL⊥.SG surround—ELA⊥—3SG⊥
around the exit door of their⊥ owners’ (house).

(2) Paakujuk matumut qaniirnirpaasarpug.
    paaq-kujug-k matu-mut qanig-nirpaa-tar-pu-q
soot-be.like—v
    door-SG.DAT be.near-most-habit-IND.IV—3SG
Sooty would be nearest the door.

(3) Ilaanni inutsik malittalirpaat.
    ilaanni inuk-tik malig-tar-lir-pa-it
sometimes person—3PL—PL follow-habit-begin-IND.TV—3PL—3PL.
They⊥ began sometimes to follow their owners⊥.

(4) Kiisianni illu qimaqqunagu utirtittarpai
    kiisianni illu qimag-qqu-na-gu utir-tit-tar-pa-it
but house leave-want—NON—3SG⊥ return-cause-habit-IND.TV—3PL—3PL
But they⊥, not wanting them⊥ to leave the house, would make them⊥ go back,

    qimmit nit allanit saassunniqaqqungit.
    qimmi-nit alla-nit saassut-niqar-qqu-na-git
dog—PL.ABL other—PL.ABL attack-passive-want—NON⊥—3PL⊥
so that they⊥ wouldn’t be attacked by other dogs
(lit. not wanting them⊥ to be attacked by other dogs)

§6 (p. 12)

(1) Paakujuk utirtikkuminaattarpug.
    paaq-kujug-k utir-tit-juminar-it-tar-pu-q
soot-be.like—v return-cause-be.easy-opp-habit-IND—I—3SG
It was always difficult to make Sooty⊥ go back,
(lit. Sooty⊥ was always difficult (when one tried) to make (him) go back)
(2) allatullu ajurnaraangat
    alla-tut=lu ajurnar-gaang-at
    other=EQU=and be.impossible-HAB_{3SG}_{1}
and when it was impossible to do anything else

unguurlugu quusahaanarlugulu aatsaat ib
unguur-lu-gu quunu-ar-lu-gu=lu aatsaat
drive.away-ELA_{3SG}_{1} be.intimidated-try.to.cause-ELA_{3SG}_{1} first.then
utirtittarpaa. fb
utir-tit-tar-pa-a
return-cause-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
it was only \textit{(lit. first)} by chasing him\textsuperscript{↓} away and threatening him\textsuperscript{↓}
that he\textsuperscript{T} would make him\textsuperscript{↓} go back.

(3) Paakujuup
    paaq-kujug-k
soot-be.like-v\nSooty\textsuperscript{T},
unilluni naakkisaartutut illuni ib
unig-lu-ni naakigi-saar-tuq-tut it-lu-ni
stop-ELA_{3SG}_{1} be.sorry.for-try.to.cause-iv\cn\EQU be-ELA_{3SG}_{1}
stopping and looking woebegone,
isigisarpaa suurlu uqarusukkaluarluni: fb, ff
isigi-tar-pa-a suurlu uqar-rusug-galuar-lu-ni
look-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG as.if say-desire-…but-ELA_{3SG}_{1}
would look at him\textsuperscript{↓} as if he\textsuperscript{T} wanted to say:

(4) Ilaginnga, sussa kisima. fb, ff
ila-gi-ngla sussa kisi-ma
part-have.as-IMP.2SG.1SG never.mind alone-1SG
“Take me with you, never mind (if) only me,

(5) Uku \textit{ilakka ilaannngikkaluarunik}
uku ila-kka ila-u-ngit-galuar-gu-nik
these part-1SG.PL part-be-not-…but-HYP_{3PL}\textsuperscript{T}
If these other pups don’t come along,
suqutaamngilaq. ff
suqut-u-ngit-la-q
issue-be-not-NEG-3SG
it doesn’t matter.

§7
(1) Ilaanni qimmiaqqat pisarnirmisut
ila-at-ni qimmig-arraq pi-tar-nir-mik-tut
part-3PL\textsubscript{1},SG-LOC dog.little v-habit-v\cn-3PL_{3SG}\EQU
Once when the pups as usual
imminnut paarujutsillugit
immi-t-nut paa-rujug-it-tu-llu-git
self-PL-DAT wrestle-a.bit-state-ELA-3PL⊥
were play wrestling with each other

Paakujuk innaarsukkut ammut nakkarpuaq. ib, mf, fb
paaq-kujug-k innaq-arsuk-kut at-mut nakkarpuaq⊥
soot-look-like-v\n cliff-minor-SG.VIA bottom-SG.DAT fall-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty⊥ fell down to the bottom of a small cliff.

(2) Nimaarpalunnira tusaallugu if,
nimaar-palug-nir-a tusaa-llu-gu
whimper-sound-v\n-3SG⊥ hear-ELA-3SG⊥
Hearing him⊥ whimper,
inua anipallappuq, ib, fb
inuk-a ani-pallag-pu-q
person-3SG⊥ go.out-quickly-IND.IV-3SG
his⊥ owner⊥ rushed out

(3) takuaalu sanilikmik qimmiata fb, ff
taku-pa-a=lu sanilik-mik qimmiq-ata
see-IND.TV-3SG.3SG=and neighbour-3SG.T.G.ERG dog-3SG.T.G.ERG
and he∩ saw the neighbour’s dog∩
kiillugu aallarukkaa. ff ctd
kii-llu-gu aallar-ut-gi-∩a
take.in.teeth-ELA-3SG⊥ set.out-iv\tv-ELA⊥.TV-3SG⊥.3SG
run off with him⊥ in his⊥ teeth.

(4) Qulariunnaarpaa qaqqurtitusanngurtuq. fb, ff
qulari-junnaar-pa-a qaqqur-ituq-ssaq-ngur-tu-q
doubt-no.more-IND.TV-3SG.3SG crack-get.v.ed-iv\cn-prospective-become-ELA⊥.IV-3SG⊥
He⊥ was now certain that he∩ would get bitten to death.

(5) Ipiraattani tigummigamiuk if
ipiraataq-ni tigummi-ga-miuk
whip-3SG.T.G. hold-FCT⊥-3SG.T.3SG⊥
Holding his⊥ whip⊥
tuaviinnaq qimmiq malippaa, ib, mf, fb
tuavi-innaq qimmiq malig-pa-a
hastily-just dog follow-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he∩ ran after the dog⊥.

(6) qimmiillu malirsurniqalirami if
qimmiq-p=lu malirsur-niqar-lir-ga-mi
dog-SG.ERG=and pursue-passive-begin-FCT⊥-3SG⊥
and the dog⊥, when he∩ began to be pursued,
Paakujuq aqqusiniinnarmut qimallugu
paaq-kujug-k aqqusiniq-innaq-mut qimat-llu-gu
soot-be.like-v\n road-just-SG.DAT leave-ELA\n-3SG

just left Sooty\n on the road, and

pangalillumi qimaavuq. mf, fb
pangalig-llu-ni qimaa-pu-q
run(4-legged)-ELA\n-3SG\n flee-IND.IV-3SG
ran away.

(7) Inua isumaqaraluarpug if, fb
inuk-a isuma-qar-galuar-pu-q
person-3SG\n.SG belief-have-...but-IND.IV-3SG
His\n owner\n thought (but was wrong) that

Paakujuq qaqqurtissimasuq ff\n
paaq-kujug-k qaqqur-tit-sima-tu-q
soot-be.like-v\n crack-get.v.ed-prf-ELA\n-3SG\n Sooty\n had got fatally bitten

iniminit nikissanani nimaaqimmat. ff\nini-mi-nit nikig-ssa-na-ni nimaar-qi-mm-at
place-3SG\n.SG-ABL move-prospect-NON\n-3SG\n whimper-emph-FCT\n-3SG\n because he\n was just whimpering without seeming able to move.

(8) Tiguriarlugu ungalusamukaappaa if, fb
tigu-riar-llu-gu ungalu-gaq-mut=kar-ut-pa-a
take-...and-ELA\n-3SG\n fence.in-tv\n\n-SG.DAT=go-iv\n\n-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He\n picked him\n up and took him to a fenced in area,

turirsumik inissillugu, ff
turir-tuq-mik ini-ssit-llu-gu
be.proper-iv\n/EN-SG.MOD place-give-ELA\n-3SG\n
making a comfortable place for him\n,

(9) ullullu ingirlanirani if
ullu-t=lu ingirla-niq-a-ni
day-PL.ERG=and travel-v\n\n-3SG\n.SG-LOC

and over the next (several) days

akulikitsumik takusartarpaa ib, fb
aku-lik-kit-tuq-mik takusar-tar-pa-a
interval-with-have.small-iv\n/EN-SG.MOD come.to.see-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he\n came to see him\n frequently (lit. with small intervals)

nirisassaanik tunisarlugu. ff
niri-gaq-ssaq-a-nik tuni-tar-llu-gu
eat-tv\n/EN-prospective-3SG\n.SG.MOD give-habit-ELA\n-3SG\n
with food for him\n.
§8

(1) *Paakujuk* uulluq qassiit

*paaq-kujug-k* uulluq-t qassi-t

soot-be.like-v\n


For several days, Sooty

*kisimiilluni* ungalusami iniqartitaavuq,

*kisi-mi=it-llu-ni* ungalu-gaq-mi ini-qar-tit-gaq-u-pu-q

alone-sg\=be-ELA\_3SG\_f fence.in-tv\=thm-be-IND.IV-3SG

was kept alone in the fenced-in area

nalunanngilarlu nakurtikkiarturutuq.

nalunar-ngit-la-q=lu nakurtit-kiartur-tu-q

be.unclear-not-NEG-3s=and get.well-more&more-ELA\_1.IV-3SG\_u

and it was clear that he\_\_ was getting increasing better.

(2) *Arnaa* kisimi

*arna-a* kisi-mi

mother-3SG\_f alone-sg\_\_1

Only his\_\_ mother

ungalusamut ilaanni isirtinniqartarpuaq.

ungalu-gaq-mut ilaanni isir-ti-it-niqar-tar-pu-q

fence.in-tv\=thm-SG.DAT sometimes go.in-let-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG

was sometimes permitted to go into the fenced-in area.

(3) *Arnaata*

*arna-ata*

mother-3SG\_f,SG.ERG

His\_\_ mother

kiitinnimirni ikii

kii-tit-nir-mi-ni ikiq-i

bite-get.v.ed-v\=n-3SG\_\_3SG\_f,SG-LOC wound-3SG\_\_f,PL

alutturlugit sammisarapa,

alug-tur-llu-git sammi-tar-pa-a

lick-process-ELA\_3SG\_f\_PL attend.to-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

would attend to his bites by licking them.

(4) *Paakujullu* angisuukasiugaluarluni

*paaq-kujug-k=lu* angiq-tuuq-kasik-u-galuar-llu-ni

soot-be.like-v\n


and although Sooty\_\_ was (already) big

milunniartarpuaq.

milug-niar-tar-pu-q

suck-try-habit-IND.IV-3SG

he\_\_ would try to suck.
(5) *Isumannarunnaarmat*

\[ \text{isumagi-nar-junnaar-mm-at} \]

worry about make one no more FCT 3SG

When there was no longer reason to worry about him†

\[ \text{inuata anisippaa.} \]

\[ \text{inuk-ata ani-tit-pa-a} \]

\[ \text{person 3SG SG.ERG go out let IND TV 3SG 3SG} \]

\[ \text{his owner let him out.} \]

(6) *Aasiillimi qatanngutaasa takummavaat*

\[ \text{aasiilli=mi qatanngur-isa takumma-pa-at} \]

sure FOC sibling 3SG PL.ERG be glad to see IND TV 3PL 3SG

His siblings† were sure glad to see him,

\[ \text{kuniurtarlugu ikasarlutillu paarujutterlugu} \]

[kuniur-tar-llu-gu ikasar-llu-tik=lu paa-rujug-tar-llu-gu]

sniff at habit ELA 3SG v.for fun ELA 3PL and wrestle a bit habit ELA 3SG

they kept sniffing him and play wrestling with him a bit.

(7) “*Qujanaq ajurunnaartutit*,

\[ \text{qujanaq ajur-junnaar-tu-tit} \]

thanks be bad no more ELA 3SG -2 SG

“Thank [God] you’ve recovered”

\[ \text{taama uqarusunnguatsiarput.} \]

\[ \text{taama uqar-rusug-nguatsiar-pu-t} \]

thus say desire probably IND IV 3PL

that’s what they probably wanted to say.

§9 (p. 13)

(1) *Paakujuk*

\[ \text{paaq-kujug-k} \]

soot be like v\n
Sooty T,

\[ \text{ungalusami iniqarnirmi nirilluarnirmit} \]

\[ \text{ungali-gaq-mi ini-qar-nir-mi-ni niri-luar-nir-mit} \]

fence in TV thm SG LOC place have v\n\n3SG\n\nSG LOC eat well v\n\nSG ABL

had eaten so well while he was in the fenced in area that

\[ \text{suannngarsimavuq ilani assigilirlugit.} \]

\[ \text{suanngar-sima-pu-q ila-ni assik-gi-lir-llu-git} \]

put on weight prf IND IV 3SG part 3SG\n\nSG copy from TV begin ELA 3PL\n\nhe had put on weight, beginning to look like the other (pup)\n\n(2) *Suurlumi aamma ilaasa*

\[ \text{suurlu=mi aamma ila-isa} \]

as if FOC also part 3SG PL.ERG

It was as if the other (pup) also
tamanna paasisimagaat. mf, fb
tamanna paasi-sima-gi-at
that understand-prf-ELA₁.TV-3PL₃SG
had understood that.

(3) Naligisamittut isigilripaat. mf, fb
naligi-gaq-mik-tut isigi-lir-pa-at
consider.equal-tv\n\n\n-3 PL \n\n-3 SG-EQU look-beging-IND.TV-3PL₃SG
They\textsuperscript{T} began to consider him\textsubscript{T} as an equal.

(4) Paakujuk qunujonnaarpuq, if, fb
paaq-kujug-k qunu-junnaar-pu-q
soot-be.like-v\n\n\n be.intimidated-no.more-IND.IV-3SG
Paakujuk\textsuperscript{T} was no longer intimidated,

(5) nimaarunnaarpuq, fb
nimaar-junnaar-pu-q
whimper-no.more-IND.IV-3SG
he\textsubscript{T} didn’t whimper any more,

(6) paaniqaliraangami if
paa-niqaar-lir-gaanga-mi
wrestle-passive-begin-HAB₃SG\textsubscript{T}
when he\textsubscript{T} was attacked
tamaviat akiuunniartarpuq. mf, fb
tamaviat akiuut-niar-tar-pu-q
with.all.might fight.back-try-habit-IND.IV-3SG
he\textsubscript{T} would try to fight back with all his might.

(7) Qatanngutaasa qajasuuunniq ajurpaat. if, fb
qatanngut-isa qajasuar-ut-niq ajur-pa-at
sibling-3SG₃PL.ERG be.gentle-IV\n\n\n TV-v\n\n\n never.do-IND.TV-3PL₃SG
His\textsubscript{₃} siblings\textsuperscript{T} didn’t spare him\textsubscript{₃} any more.

(8) Nukappiaraq inuni nimaarluni urnittarpaa. if, mf, fb
nukappiaraq inu-ni nimaar-llu-ni urnig-tar-pa-a
boy person-3SG₃.TG whimpler-ELA₃SG₃T approach-habit-IND.TV-3SG₃SG
He\textsuperscript{T} would (still) run to the boy, his\textsubscript{T} owner, whimpering.

(9) Kisianni taassuma illaatiiginnartarpaa if, ib, fb
kisianni taassuma illar-utigi-innar-tar-pa-a
but that.ERG laugh-at-just-habit-IND.TV-3SG₃SG
But that one\textsuperscript{T} would (now) just laugh at him\textsuperscript{T}
taama piniqarnini suksaatiginiassamagu. ff
taama pi-niqaar-ni-ni sukasar-ut-gi-niar-ssa-mm-agu
thus v-passive-v\n\n\n-3 SG₃.TG train.to.be.strong-v\n\n\nins-have.as-try-prospect-FCT₃-3SG₃.3SG
for he\textsubscript{₃} was supposed to try to treat such treatment as a way to train to get strong.
§10 (p. 14)

(1) *Ukiurpuq.*

*ukiuq-r-pu-q*  
winter-n\text{v-ind}.IV-3SG  
Winter came.

(2) *Qimussit* *piniar* *aalltarilrput.*  

*qimussiq-t* *piniar-riar-agt-t* *aallar-tar-lir-pu-t*  
dog.sled-PL hunt-go.to-\text{v-agt}-PL set.out-habit-begin-IND.IV-3PL  
Dog sleds started leaving for hunting trips.

(3) *Ilaanni* *nunaqarviit* *qaninnirit* *arlaannut*  

*ilaanni* *nunaqarvik-t* *qanig-niq-t* *arlaq-at-nut*  
sometimes village-PL.ERG be.near-v\text{v-n}-PL.ERG one.of(several)-3PL.\text{v-Dat}  

unnuiarturtarput.  
unnuk-i-tar-tar-pu-t  
night-spend-go.to-process-habit-IND.IV-3PL  
Sometimes they would go to spend the night in one of the nearby villages.

(4) *Paakujuk* *qatanngutalu* *angisuukasinnngurput.*  

*paaq-kujug-k* *qatanngut-i=lu* *angiq-tuuq-kasik-ngur-pu-t*  
soot-be.like-v\text{v-n} sibling-3SG.\text{v-and} size-with.big-silly-become-IND.IV-3PL  
Sooty and his siblings, the silly (pups), had grown big (by now).

(5) *Qimussit* *aallalirsut*  

*qimussiq-t* *aallar-lir-tu-t*  
dog.sled-PL set.out-begin-ELA.IV-3PL.\text{v}  
When dog sleds were setting out,

*qiivalallutik* *malinniartarpaat,*  
*qiivala-llu-tik* *malig-niar-tar-pa-it*  
be.cheerful-ELA.\text{v-three} follow-try-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
they,\text{v} would cheerfully try to follow them,  

(6) *kisianni* *utimut* *unguurniqartarput.*  

*kisianni* *uti-mut* *unguur-niqar-pu-t*  
but back-SG.DAT drive.away-passive-habit-IND.IV-3PL  
but they,\text{v} would be driven (away from the departing sled to go) back (home)

(7) *Ullut* *ilaanni* *Paakujuk*  

*ulluq-t* *ila-at-ni* *paaq-kujug-k*  
day-PL.ERG part-3PL.\text{v-Loc} soot-be.like-v\text{v-n}  
One day Sooty\text{v}
inummi     angutaa  
inuk-mi     angut-a  
father-3SG.SG
d Pedigree

aallassalluni  pituttuiriirsuq
set.out-prospect-ELA-T-3SG

qimnit    akurnannut    pulavuq.,  
qimmiq-t    akurna-at-nut    pula-pu-q  
dog-PL.ERG  among-3PL.SG.DAT  go.in-IND.SG
mingled with the dogs, when his owner’s father had already harnessed up to leave.

(8)  qimussillu  aallarmata
qimussiq-t=lu  aallar-mm-ata
dog.sled=PL=and  set.out-\textit{FCT}-3PL
and when the dog sled set out

qimuttuisa    akurnannut    pilluni
qimug-tuq-isa    akurna-at-nut    pi-llu-ni
pull.sled-IV\textit{CN}-3PL.SG.ERG  between-3PL.SG.DAT  get-ELA-T-3SG
he got in among the sled dogs

malinnaavuq.
malinnaa-pu-q  
realized-IND.\textit{IV}-3SG
and came along.

(9)  Tarrajummat  maluginiqanngilaq.
tarrajug-mm-at  malugi-niqar-nngit-la-q
darkish-\textit{FCT}-3SG  notice-passive-not-\textit{NEG}-3SG
Because it was (still) darkish (early winter morning), he wasn’t noticed.

(10)  Aatsaat  nunaqarvitsik  qimangaatsiarlugu
aatsaat  nunaqarvik-tik  qima-ngaatsiar-llu-gu
first  village-3PL.SG  leave-\textit{CN}-3SG.DAT

sikumut    avalariirlutik
siku-mut    avalag-riir-llu-tik
ice-SG.DAT  come.forward-have.\textit{ELA}-T-3PL
First when they had driven quite far from the village out onto the ice

piniaartup  qimmini  amirlagirirlugit
piniar-tuq-p  qimmiq-ni  amirlagi-\textit{LLU}-git
hunt-IV\textit{CN}-SG.ERG  dog-3SG.SG  consider.(too).\textit{many}-begin-\textit{ELA}-T-3PL
it occurred to the hunter that he had too many dogs and

kisilirpai  quliusut.
kisit-lir-pa-i  quli-u-tu-t
count-begin-\textit{IND.\textit{TV}}-3SG.3PL  ten-be-\textit{\textit{ELA}}-T-4\textit{\textit{IV}}-3PL
he began to count them—there were ten. (\textit{lit.} they were ten).
There should've been nine. (lit. they should've been nine.)

§11

(1) Taava takulirpaa

Then he noticed

paakujusuq.

Paaq-kujug-k-u-tu-q

(2) Milaasigut qaqurtutigut paasivaa

By his white spots he figured out

Paakujusuq.

Paaq-kujug-k-u-tu-q

(3) Qimmit unitsinniaraluarpai

He tried to stop the dogs

Paakujuk utirtinniarlugu.

Paaq-kujug-k utir-tit-niar-llu-gu

(4) Kisiani nunaqarvitsik ungasilliriiramikku

But they had already come far from the village so

ilaginnarpaa.

ila-gi-innar-pa-a
(5) “Anusinngurniaassaaq.”

anusinngur-niar-ssa-pu-q
learn.hard.way-intend-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
“That will learn him,”

(6) imminut uqarvigaa.
immi-nut uqar-vigi-pa-a
self-SG.DAT say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he$_r$ said to himself.

(7) “Qasuliruni kingugurumaaruq.”

qasu-lir-gu-ni kingu-ar-jumaaru-pu-q
tired-begin-HYP$_r$-3SG$_r$ rear-move.to-be.sure-IND.IV-3SG
“When he$_r$ gets tired, he$_r$’s sure to get left behind.”

§12 (p. 15)

(1) Paakujuup paasigamiuk inuluuginiqarani,
paaq-kujug-k paasi-ga-miuk inuluugi-niqa-ni-na
soot-be.like-V find.out-FCT$_r$-3SG$_r$.3SG discriminate.against-passive-NON$_r$-3SG$_r$
When Sooty$_r$ realized he$_r$ was not discriminated against (for being a mere pup)
qimmit qimuttut akurnanmit piirluni
qimmi-t qimug-tuq-t akurna-at-nit piir-llu-ni
dog-PL.ERG pull.sled-IV\^cn-PL.ERG among-3PL$_r$.3G-ABL go.away-ELA$_r$-3SG$_r$
pangaliqattaalirpuq.
pangalig-qattaar-lir-pu-q
run(4-legged)-cyclic.process-begin-IND.IV-3SG
he$_r$ began to run in and out from among the sled dogs.

(2) Ilaanni kingulirulluni uninngalaararluni
ilaanni kingu-liiq-rut-llu-ni uninig-nga-laar-riar-llu-ni
sometimes rear-most-go-ELA$_r$-3SG$_r$ stop-prf-briefly-…and-ELA$_r$-3SG$_r$
Sometimes he$_r$’d briefly stop behind but then
tamaviat pangalilluni
tamaviat pangalig-llu-ni
with.all.might run-ELA$_r$-3SG$_r$
qimussit angusartarpai.
qimussiq-t angu-sar-tar-pa-i
sled.w.dogs-PL reach-process-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he’$d$ catch up with the dog sled by running with all his might.

(3) Ilaanni saninnguannut pilluni
ilaanni sani-nguaq-at-nu pi-llu-ni
sometimes side-little-3PL$_r$.3G-DAT get-ELA$_r$3SG$_r$
Sometimes, running up right next to them$_r$.,
qimmiqatini ilassiulirairai, ib, fb
qimmi-qat-ni ilassi-ur-lir-tar-pa-i
dog-other-3SG.PL greet-dist, begin-habit-IND.TV-3SG.PL
he’d start saying hello, here and there, to other dogs,

(4) akurnusirsuiliraangallu piniartup if, ib
akurnut-lir-tur-(ss)i-lir-gaang-at=lu piniar-tuq-p
imperdiment-provide-process-antip-begin-HAB-3SG.=and hunt-IV\cn-SG.ERG
and whenever he started creating a disturbance, the hunter

ipiraattaminik qunusaarlugu mf
ipiraataq-mi-nik qunu-saar-llu-gu
whip-3SG.TG-SG.MOD be.intimidated-try.to.cause-ELA-3SG.T
piirsittarpaa. fb
piir-tit-tar-pa-a
go.away-cause-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
would chase him away by threatening him with his whip.

(5) Arlanni ipiraattaminik iqqutsiarmani if
arlaq-at-ni ipiraataq-mi-nik iqqur-tsiar-mm-ani
one.of-3PL.TG-LOC whip-3SG.TG-SG.MOD hit-a.bit-FCT-3SG.SG.3SG.T
When on one of these (occasions) he hit him a bit with the whip

assiqannngitsumik maalavuq. mf, fb
assik-qar-ngit-tuq-mik maala-pu-q
copy-have-not-IV\cn-SG.MOD whimper-IND.IV-3SG
he whimpered more than any other dog. (lit. without an equal)

(6) “Tassa pisassat, ” if, fb
tassa pi-gaq-ssaq-t
that get-TV\m-prospective-2SG.SG
“You’ve got this coming.”

(7) piniartup suaarpaa. if, fb
piniar-tuq-p suaar-pa-a
hunt-IV\cn-SG.ERG shout.at-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
the hunter shouted at him.

(8) Taama piniqarnirmi kingurna if
taama pi-niqar-niq-mi kingurna-a
thus TV-passive-V\n-3SG.TG.SG.ERG after-3SG.SG.SG
After being (punish)ed like this

Paakujuk nigursimanirulluni ingirlalirpuq. ib, mf, fb
paaq-kujug-k nigur-sima-niru-llu-ni ingirla-lir-pu-q
soot-be.like-V\n stay.away-prf-more-ELA-3SG.TG travel-begin-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty began to run along farther away.
§13

(1) Piniartup piniarvissani
    piniar-tuq-p piniar-vik-ssaq-ni
    hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG hunt-v\loc-prospective-3SG.rt.3G

    sikup sinaava tikikkamiuk
    siku-p sini-a tikit-ga-miuk
    ice-SG.ERG side-3SG.rl.SG come.to-FCT.r-3SG.3G

When the hunter reached the area where he was going to hunt, on the edge of the ice

    qimmini aqupisippai. ib, fb
    qimmi-ni aqupi-tit-pa-i
    dog-3SG.rl.PL sit-cause-IND.TV-3G.3PL

he.T made hisr dogs sit (and stay put).

(2) Qamutini killurmut saatillugit
    qamut-ni killuq-mut saat-tit-llu-git
    sled-3SG.rl.PL wrong.way-SG.DAT face-cause-ELA.r-3PL.3G

He.T turned the sled (PL) to face the wrong way round (away from the dogs) and

    apummut magguppai mf, fb
    aput-mut maggot-pa-i
    snow-SG.DAT press.in-IND.TV-3G.3PL

he.T pressed it (PL) it into the snow

    aallarnaviirstillugit. if
    aallar-naviir-tit-llu-git set.off-become.unable-cause-ELA.r-3PL.3G

so that they couldn’t move (lit. causing them to become unable to take off).

(3) Taava sikup sinaanukarpuq
    taava siku-p sini-a-nut=kar-pu-q
    then ice-SG.ERG side-3SG.rl.SG-DAT=go-IND.IV-3SG

Then he.T went to the edge of the ice

    qamaniarluni. ff
    qama-niar-llu-ni
    lie.in.wait-intend-ELA.r-3SG.rl

in order (lit. intending) to do some hunting.

(4) Puisit ungasartiumiittut takusaraluarpai,
    puisi-t ungasig-ar-tuq-mi=it=tuq=t taku-tar-galuar-pa-i
    seal-PL be.far-very-iv\cn-SG.LOC=be-iv\cn-PL see-habit-…but-IND.TV-3G.3PL

He.T did see some seals† very far away

(5) siqqurnirli ajurpuq.
    siqqur-niq=li ajur-pu-q
    shoot-v\n=but never.do-IND.IV-3SG

but never (close enough) to shoot.
(6) Taamaalluni puisi
\[\text{taama}=\text{it-llu-ni}\] puisi
thus=be-\text{ELA}_{T}-3\text{SG}_{T} seal
Then a seal
\[\text{ungasigani puiviq}.\]
\[\text{ungasig-na-ni puipi-pu-q}\]
be.far-\text{NON}_{T}-3\text{SG}_{T} stick.head.up-\text{IND}.\text{IV}-3\text{SG}
stuck its head up nearby.

(7) Ummiuppaa.
\[\text{umir-ut-pa-a}\]
take.aim-\text{IV}\text{TV}-\text{IND}.\text{TV}-3\text{SG}.3\text{SG}
He took aim at it.

(8) Tassalu nusuttakkani nusuliraa
\[\text{tassa}=\text{lu}\] nusug-tar-gaq-ni nusug-lir-pa-a
that=and pull-habit-\text{TV}r\text{N}-3\text{SG}_{T}.3\text{SG} pull-begin-\text{IND}.\text{TV}-3\text{SG}.3\text{SG}
And he was just beginning to pull the trigger, when
\[\text{tunuani tassanngaannaq}\]
\[\text{tunu-a-ni tassanngaannaq}\]
back-3\text{SG}_{L}.3\text{SG}-\text{LOC} suddenly
suddenly behind him
\[\text{qimmiq qilulirpuq}.\]
\[\text{qimmiq qilug-lir-pu-q}\]
dog bark-begin-\text{IND}.\text{IV}-3\text{SG}
a dog started barking.

(9) Suurunami puisi kalirriluni
\[\text{suurunami puisi kalirrig-llu-ni}\]
of course, seal get.scared-\text{ELA}_{T}-3\text{SG}_{T}
Of course, the seal got scared and
\[\text{aqqarpuq}.\]
\[\text{aqqar-pu-q}\]
go.down-\text{IND}.\text{IV}-3\text{SG}
went down.

(10) Pilirpaa
\[\text{pi-lir-pa-a}\]
v-begin-\text{IND}.\text{TV}-3\text{SG}.3\text{SG}
He saw that
\[\text{Paakujuk qimussit qimallugit pangaliqattaartuq,}\]
\[\text{paag-kujug-k qimussiq-t qimag-llu-git pangalig-qattaar-tu-q}\]
soot-be.like-v\text{N} dog.sled-pl leave-\text{ELA}_{T}-3\text{PL}_{L} run-cyclic.process-\text{ELA}_{L}.\text{IV}-3\text{SG}_{L}
Sooty had left the sled and was running back and forth
and then, when he saw the seal,

§14

(1) Piniartup Paakujuuk uumitsaappaa
piniar-tuq-p paaq-kujug-k uumigi-tsag-ut-pa-a
hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG soot-be.like-v\n hate-suddenly-iv\tv-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

The hunter₁ felt a sudden spurt of annoyance with Sooty₂

qilurianngippat puisi pisarissagaluaramiuk.
quilug-riar-ngit-pp-at puisi pi-gaq-gi-ssa-galuar-ga-miuk
bark-stage.one-not-HYP-3SG,3SG seal get-tv\nrn-rn tv-prospect-…but-FCT₃-3SG₃,3SG

for if he₂ hadn’t given that woof, he₃ would’ve got the seal₄.

(2) Imminut aamma uumitsaappuq
immi-nut aamma uumigi-tsag-(ss)i-pu-q
self-DAT also hate-suddenly-antip-IND.IV-3SG

He₅ was also annoyed with himselfᵢ,

Paakujuuk pitaunginnamiuk.
paaq-kujug-k pitaug-ngit-ga-miuk
soot-be.like-v\n tie-not-FCT₃-5SG₃,3SG

because he₅ hadn’t tied Sooty₄ (to the sled).

(3) Tiguriarlugu navirpaa.
tigu-riar-llu-gu navir-pa-a
take-…and-ELA₃-3SG₃ scold-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

He₇ caught him₄ and scolded him₄.

(4) Paakujuup
paaq-kujug-k-p
soot-be.like-v\n-SG.ERG

Sooty₁

suna pillugu ipiraattap ipuanik annirsiinniqarnini ib
suna pi-llu-gu ipiraataq-p ipu-a-nik anniri-tit-niqar-niq-ni
what tv-ELA₃-3SG₃ whip-SG.ERG handle-3SG₃,SG-MOD hurt-cause-passive-v\n-SG₃,3SG

paasigunarpaa.

paasi-gunar-pa-a
understand-be.probable-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
probably understood why he got a beating with the whip handle.
(5) *Piniartup*  
*piniar-tuq-* \(\text{if}\)  
hunt-iv\(^{\text{cn-SG}}\)ERG  
The hunter\(^{\text{t}}\)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anut} & \quad \text{nassatani} & \quad \text{aturniqanngitsut} & \quad \text{ib} \\
\text{anu}-t & \quad \text{nassar-gaq-ni} & \quad \text{atur-niqar-ngit-tuq-t} & \\
\text{harness-PL} & \quad \text{bring.along-\text{tv} \text{\text{n}3SG_2,SG}} & \quad \text{use-passive-not-iv\(^{\text{cn-PL}}\)}
\end{align*}
\]

*attitiarlugit*  
*ati-tit-riar-llu-git*  
\(\text{put.on-cause-…and-ELA}_{\text{t-3PL}}\)  
put on him\(_{\text{t}}\) a harness (\text{PL}) he\(_{\text{t}}\) had brought along that was not being used and

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qamutiminut} & \quad \text{pituppaa.} & \quad \text{mf, fb} \\
\text{qamut-mi-nut} & \quad \text{pitug-pa-a} & \\
\text{sled-3SG,PL-DAT} & \quad \text{tie-IND.TV-3SG.3SG} & \\
\text{tied him\(_{\text{t}}\) to his\(_{\text{t}}\) sled.}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\S 15\) (p. 16)  
(1) *Paakujuk*  
*paaq-kujug-k*  
soot-be.like-v\(^{\text{\text{n}}}\)  
\(\text{bark-stage.one-again-not-NEG-3SG}\)  
Sooty\(^{\text{t}}\) didn’t give another woof.  

(2) *Piniarturlu*  
*piniar-tuq=lu*  
hunt-iv\(^{\text{cn=and}}\) one-SG.MOD  
\(\text{seal-get-IND.IV-3SG}\)  
And the hunter got one seal.  

(3) *Puisitani*  
*puisi-taq-ni*  
\(\text{qamut-i-mut}\)  
\(\text{qilir-tur-ut-pa-a}\)  
\(\text{seal-of-3SG,SG}\)  
\(\text{sled-3SG,PL-DAT}\)  
\(\text{tie-process-tv'\text{\text{\text{tv}}'-IND.IV-3SG.3SG}}\)  
He\(_{\text{t}}\) tied his\(_{\text{t}}\) seal to his\(_{\text{t}}\) sled  

(4) *nunaminillu*  
\(\text{ungasissumiiikkami}\)  
\(\text{land-3SG,SG-ABL=and be.far-iv\text{\text{\text{cn}}-SG.LOC=be-FCT}_{\text{t-3SG}}}\)  
and being far from his\(_{\text{t}}\) own home area, he\(_{\text{t}}\)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nunaqarvimmut} & \quad \text{qaninnirusumut} & \quad \text{ib} \\
\text{nunaaqarvik-mut} & \quad \text{qanig-niru-tuq-mut} & \\
\text{village-SG.DAT} & \quad \text{be.near-more-iv\text{\text{\text{cn}}-SG.DAT}}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{unniaarturnalirpuq.}\)  
\(\text{unnuaq-i-jartur-riar-lir-pu-q}\)  
\(\text{night-spend-go.to-intend-begin-IND.IV-3SG}\)  
he\(_{\text{t}}\) decided to go spend the night in a village that was closer.
(5) *Timmut aallalirami puiurpaa* if, fb  
*timi-mut aalalir-ga-mi puiur-pa-a*  
land.side-DAT set.of-begin-FCT-3SG$_T$ forget-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
When he$_T$ started preparing to head for land, he$_T$ forgot  

*Paakujuk pituussaassallugu.* ff  
*paaq-kujug-κ pitiug-ut-ssaq-ir-ssa-llu-gu*  
soot-be.like-v\u2014 tie-v\u2014 ins-prospective-take.off-prospect-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$  
to untie Sooty$^+$ (lit. take off him$_L$ the trace he$_L$ would’ve used)  

(6) *Aatsaat qimuqataasuq takuliramiuk* if  
*aatsaat qimuq-qat-u-tu-q taku-lir-ga-miuk*  
first pull.sled-mate-be-ELA$_I$-IV-3SG$_L$ see-begin-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$.3SG  
First when he$_T$ noticed him$_L$ pulling the sled with the other (dog)s  

*iqqaavaa.* fb  
*iqqa-a-pa-a*  
remember-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
did he$_T$ remembered him$_L$.  

(7) “*Isumaminik, isuma-mi-nik* mind-3SG$_T$.SG-MOD  
“(Let him$_I$) suit himself.”  

(8) *qimunniq imaannaanngitsuq paasiniassavaa,”* if, fb  
*qimuq-niq ima-innar-ngit-tu-q paasi-niar-ssa-pa-a*  
pull.sled-v\u2014 thus-just-not-ELA$_I$.IV-3SG$_L$ find.out-x.intend-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
He’ll find out (intended prospect) that pulling a sled is not so easy.”  

(9) *piniartuq imminut uqarvigaaq.* if, fb  
*piniar-tuq immi-nut uqar-vigi-pa-a*  
hunt-IV\u2014 say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
said the hunter$^+$ to himself.  

§16  
(1) *Sikukkut aqquataat manissuugami* if  
*siku-kkut aqqu-at manig-tuq-u-ga-mi*  
ice-SG.VIA way-3PL$_L$.SG be.level-IV\u2014 cn-be-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$  
Their way over ice was level so  

*Paakujummut nuanniinarpuaq.* ib, fb  
*paaq-kujug-k-mut nuannir-innar-pu-q*  
soot-be.like-v\u2014-SG.DAT be.fun-just-IND.IV-3SG  
it was just fun for Sooty.  

(2) *Nunakkuuliramik* if  
*nuna-kkut=Vr-lir-ga-mik*  
land-SG.VIA=η iv-begin-FCT$_T$-3PL$_T$  
When they$^+$ started driving overland
qummukajaakkut nukkiurnarsivuq.  
quili-mut=kar-jaag-k-kkut nukkiur-nar-sti-pu-q  
up-SG.DAT=go-tend.to-V\n-SG.VIA strain-make.one-get-IND.IV-3SG  
it got strenuous on the upgrade.

(3)  
Piniartup takusarpaa  
piniar-tuq-p taku-tar-pa-a  
hunt-IV\cn-SG.ERG see-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
The hunter systematically saw that

\textit{Paakujuk ilamisut tukirnirtartuq}  
paaq-kujug-k ila-mik-tut tukirnir-tar-tu-q  
soot-be.like-V\n part-3SG_{\tau},PL-EQU pull.hard-habit-ELA_{\tau}.IV-3SG_{\perp}
Sooty^+ was pulling hard like the other (dog)s

tamaviaartukasiulluni.  
tamaviat=Vr-tuq-kasik-u-llu-ni  
with.all.might=n\iv-iv\cn-silly-be-ELA_{\tau}-3SG_{\tau}
straining with all his might.

(4)  
\textit{Paakujummumt ajurnirusarpuq}  
paaq-kujug-k-mut ajur-niru-tar-pu-q  
soot-be.like-V\n-SG.DAT be.bad-more-habit-IND.IV-3SG
It was worse for Sooty

\textit{qamutit ammukajaakkut sisusarnirat.}  
\textit{qamut-t at-mut=kar-jaag-k-kkut sisu-tar-niq-at}  
sled-PL.ERG down-SG.DAT=go-tend.to-V\n-SG.VIA slide.down-habit-V\n-3PL_{\perp},SG
when the sled (PL) was sliding down on the downgrad.

(5)  
\textit{Qamutinut nanirtinissaaq}  
\textit{qamut-nut nanir-tit-niq-ssaq}  
sled-PL.DAT run.over-get.v.ed-V\n-prospective
Getting run over by the sled

\textit{aarlirinartaqaaq.}  
aarliri-nar-tar qi-pu-q  
fear.danger-make-one-habit-emph-IND.IV-3SG
was a fearful and constant danger.

(6)  
\textit{Nunakkuurnirminni} tamaviaarnirmiit  
nuna-kkut=Vr-niq-mik-ni tamaviat=Vr-niq-mit  
land-SG.VIA=\n\iv-V\n\n-3PL_{\tau},SG-LOC with.all.might=n\iv-V\n-SG-ABL
From straining with all his_{\tau} might on their_{\tau} (= his_{\tau} + co) overland journey

\textit{Paakujuk qasuippuq}  
paaq-kujug-k gasu-vig-pu-q  
soot-be.like-V\n be.tired-really-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty^+ was really tired
kinguliruttalirluni. 
kingu-lliq-rut-tar-lir-llu-ni
rear-most-go-habit-begin-ELA₃SG₃
and became unable to keep up.

§17 (p. 17)

(1) Piniartup naakkigilirlugu
piniar-tuq-p naakkigi-lir-llu-gu
hunt-IV\cn-SG.ERG be.sorry.for-begin-ELA₃SG₃
The hunter\footnote{3} took pity on him\footnote{1}.

qamutiminut qaquitppaa.
qamut-mi-nut qaqi-tit-pa-a
sled-3SG₃,SG-DAT climb-let-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
and let him\footnote{1} climb up onto the sled.

(2) Iluaallak! iluar-allag-Ø
be.good-get.more-EXCL!
Much better!

(3) Paakujuk anirtikkunnaalluni
paaq-kujug-k anitikkar-tuq-innar-u-llu-ni
soot-be.like-V\n gasp-IV\cn-just-be-ELA₃SG₃
Gasping (for breath), Sooty\footnote{7}.

puisip usiata qaanut nallarpuq. mf, fb
puii-p usi-ata qaa-a-nut nallar-pu-q
seal-SG.ERG load-3SG₁.SG.ERG surface-3SG₁.SG-DAT lie.down-IND.IV-3SG
lay down on top of the loaded seal.

(4) Qasuilirami qasu-vik-lir-ga-mi
be.tired-really-begin-FCT₃-3SG₃
Because he\footnote{3}’d got really tired,

misigilirpuq pirlilivilluni, fb, ff₁
misigi-lir-pu-q pirlilir-vig-llu-ni
feel-begin-IND.IV-3SG be.hungry-really-ELA₃SG₃
he\footnote{3} started feeling really hungry,

unalu nallavini pilirinaraluartuq, ff₂
una=lu nallar-vik-ni piliri-nar-galuar-tu-q
this=and lie.down-V\loc-3SG₃.SG desire.make.one-...but-ELA₃.IV-3SG₁
and here was this desirable thingy\footnote{4} he\footnote{3} was lying on

— niqisunni — ursursunni! ff₃
— niqi-sunni — ursuq-sunni
— meat-smell — fat-smell
— smell of meat — smell of fat!
(5) Puisi amiata qaavatigut alutturtalirpaa, if, mf, fb
puisi amiq-ata qaa-atigut alug-tur-tar-lir-pa-a
seal skin-3SG,SG.ERG surface-3SG,SG.VIA lick-process-habit-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He$_{\tau}$ started licking the seal on the surface;

(6) immaqami mikissiinnaraanni. if, fb
immaqa=mi mikit-ssi-innar-raanni
maybe=FOC bite.off.a.piece-antip-just-IMPRS
maybe one could just bite off a piece.

(7) Puisi siqqusa mannguatigut kiiiraalu if
puisi siqquq-isa mannguq-atigut kii-lir-gi-a=lu
seal hind.flipper-3SG,PL.ERG root-3SG,SG.VIA bite-begin-ELA,IV-3SG.3SG
Just as he$_{\uparrow}$ started biting into the seal’s hind flipper at the root,
piniartup paasitipaa ib, fb
piniar-tuq-p paasi-tit-pa-a
hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG understand-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
the hunter$_{\tau}$ let him$_{\downarrow}$ understand that
taamaaliurniq ajurnartuq. ff
taama=iliur-niq ajurnar-tu-q
thus=do\cn be.impossible-ELA,IV-3SG
doing that was not allowed.

(8) Ipiraattap ipua ajurtukasiuvuq. if, fb
ipiraataq-p ipu-a ajur-tuq-kasik-u-pu-q
whip-SG.ERG handle-3SG,SG. be.bad-iv\cn silly-be-IND.IV-3SG
That silly old whip handle was bad.

(9) Paakujuk mikitsiriaqqinngilaq. if, fb
paag-kujug-k mikit-si-riar-qqig-ngit-la-q
soot-be.like-\cn bite.of.a.piece-antip-stage.one-again-not-NEG-3SG
Sooty$_{\tau}$ did not take another bite.

§18
(1) Taarsigaa if
taar-si-gi-a
be.dark-get-ELA,TV-3SG,3SG
When it$_{\uparrow}$ got dark
nunaqarvik urnigartik tikippaat. ib, fb
nunaqarvik urnig-ga-rtik tikit-pa-at
village approach-tv\rn-3PL$_{\tau}$.SG come.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
they$_{\tau}$ reached the village they$_{\tau}$ were going to.

(2) Qimmit pituussaarniqaqput. if, fb
qimmiq-t pitug-ut-ssaq-ir-niqar-pu-t
dog-PL tie-\cn ins-prospective-remove.from-passive-IND.IV-3PL
The dogs were untied.
(3) Kisianni irniinaq nirsinniqanngillat. if, ib, fb
kisianni irniinaq niri-tit-niقار-ngenit-la-t
but immediately eat-cause-passive-not-NEG-3PL
But they were not fed immediately.

(4) Piniartuq nirisassanik agguilirmat
piniar-tuq niri-gaq-ssaq-nik aggur-(ss)i-lir-mm-at
hunt-IV\CN eat-TV\TM-prospective-PL.MOD divide.into.pieces-antip-begin-FCT_1-3SG
When the hunter started cutting up food for them, nirisitsivissaq qaninnialirpaat. ib, fb
niri-tit-si-vik-ssaq ganig-niar-lir-pa-at
eat-cause-antip-\LOC-prospective be.near-try-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
they_3 started trying to get close to the place where they were to be fed.

(5) Paakujuk ilaqquppuq. if, fb
paaq-kujug-k ilaqqut-pu-q soot-be.like-\VN do.like.others-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty did like the other (dog)s, nirisassanillu agguisuq if
niri-gaq-ssaq-nik=lu aggur-(ss)i-tuq
eat-TV\TM-prospective-PL.MOD=and divide.into.pieces-antip-IV\CN
qanillivallaaramiuk qanig-li-pallaar-ga-miuk
be.near-get-too.much-FCT_3SG,3SG
and when he got too close to the [man] who was cutting up the food
qimmit ittuqutaannit saalirsuunniqarpuq. ib, fb
qimmiq-t ittuqut-taq-at-nit saalirsuut-niقار-pu-q
dog-PL.ERG boss-of-3PL.ABL attack-passive-IND.IV-3SG
he_3 got attacked by the lead dog.

(6) Taamaattumik tunuarpug. if, fb
taamaattumik tunu-ar-pu-q therefore rear-move.to-IND.IV-3SG
So he retreated.

§19
(1) Piniartuq nirisassat agguiriqlugit if
piniar-tuq niri-gaq-ssaq-t aggur-riri-llu-git
hunt-IV\CN eat-TV\TM-prospective-PL divide.into.pieces-have.already-ELA_3PL
When the hunter had cut up the food and
nirukkaalirmat akuliutirirarluarpug ib, fb
nirukkar-(ss)i-lir-mm-at akuliut-riar-galuarpu-q
feed-antip-begin-FCT_1-3SG mingle-stage.one--but-IND.IV-3SG
started feeding, he_3 tried to mingle (in vain)
In order (lit. intending) to run off with some food.

Ataasiarluni iluatsitsivuq.

Once he succeeded.

When he started eating,

When the hunter saw that he almost never got anything

Sooty T was very grateful for that.
§20 (p. 18)

(1) Qimmirsuit takurnartat
    qimmiq-:suaq-t takurnartaq-t
dog-big-PL strange-PL
Strange dogs

    iqqaani qaninniarput ib, fb
    iqqa-a-ni qanig-niar-pu-t
vicinity-3SG,SG-LOC be.near-try-IND.IV-3PL
tried to approach all around them.

(2) Qanillivallaaraangata
    ganig-li-pallaar-gaang-ata
be.near-get.more-too.much-HAB,-3PL⊥
When they came too near

    Paakujukkut ittuqutaata ib
    paaq-kujug-k-ku-t ittuqt-ata
soot-be.like-v\n&co-PL.ERG boss-3PL.SG.ERG
[the lead dog of Sooty’s team]

    qatimaavvigisarpai fb
    qatimaag-vik-gi-tar-pa-i
growl-v\loc-m\tv-habit.IND.TV-3SG.3PL
growled at them⊥.

(3) Irsattaliriannguarlutik aarimmi if, ib
    irsag-tar-lir-riar-nnguar-llu-tik aarimmi
show.teeth-habit-begin-…and-brief-ELA⊥
As soon as they⊥ started baring their teeth at each other, sure enough,

    imminnut saassutiinnaaat. mf, fb
    immi-t-nut saassut-innar-qi-pu-t self-PL-DAT attack-just-emph-IND.IV-3PL
they⊥ just attacked each other.

(4) Paggutilirput. fb
    paa-ut-lir-pu-t
fight-rep-begin-IND.IV-3PL
They⊥ started fighting.

(5) Paakujuup tikinnisaat qunugigamiuk if
    paaq-kujug-k-p tikit-niq-ssaq-at qunugi-ga-miuk
soot-be.like-v\n&co-PL.ERG come.to-v\n-prospective-3PL⊥.SG⊥ be.afraid.of-FCT⊥-3SG⊥.3SG
Sooty⊥ was afraid of their⊥ coming so

    ungataaami tamaviat qiluppuq. ib, mf, fb
    ungat-at-ni tamaviat qilug-pu-q
periphery-3PL.SG-LOC with.all.might bark-IND.IV-3SG
he⊥ barked with all his might on the periphery of the⊥ fight (lit. on their⊥ periphery)
When they came out to them and separated them.

§21
(1) *Paakujuq* *qimuqataauq.*

§22
(1) *Paakujuq* *inuata* *nukappiaqqap* *tammaagamiuk* if

(2) *Su-mi=it-niq-a=li* *naluliramiuk* if

(3) *Taamaattumik* *angunni* *tikilirmat* if

(4) *Paakujuullu* *qimuqataasuq* takugamiuk if

And when he saw Sooty pulling together with the other (dog)s
tulluutiqaaq.  
be.proud-emph-IND.IV-3SG
he\text{\textsubscript{r}} was very proud.

(5)  
Qimussit  unimmata  
qimussiq-t  unig-mm-ata  
sled.w.dogs-PL  stop-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-3PL\textsubscript{⊥}
When the sled (PL)\textsubscript{⊥} stopped

Paakujuk  anuinit  piirsippaa  
paaq-kujug-k  anu-i-nit  piir-tit-pa-a  
soot-be.like-v\textbackslash n  harness-3SG.PL-ABL  get.out.of-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he\text{\textsubscript{r}} took the harness off of Sooty\textsubscript{⊥}

pattalaarlugulu.  
pattag-laar-llu-gu=lu  
pat-a.little-ELA\textsubscript{⊥}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}=	ext{and}
and patted him\textsubscript{⊥}.

§23

(1)  
Paakujuk  maniguutiqaaq  
paaq-kujug-k  maniguut-qi-pu-q  
soot-be.like-v\textbackslash n  humble-emph-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty\textsuperscript{⊥} was very humble

suurlu  uqarniartuq:  
suurlu  uqar-niar-tu-q  
as.if  say-intend-ELA\textsubscript{⊥}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}
as if he wanted to say:

(2)  
“Naalanngisaarama  pillarniaqinanga,  
naalagnngisaar-ga-ma  pillar-niar-qina-nga  
disobedient-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}  punish-POL-NEG.IMP-2SG.1SG
“Please don’t punish me for my disobedience

(3)  
pillaatisiara  naammariirpuq.”  
pillar-ut-si-aq-ga  naammag-riir-pu-q  
punish-v\textbackslash ins-get-v\textbackslash thm-1SG.1SG  sufficient-be.already-IND.IV-3SG
I have already got enough punishment.”

(4)  
Qatanngutaasa  urnillugu  kuniurpaat:  
qatanngut-isa  urnig-llu-gu  kuniur-pa-at  
sibling-3SG.PL.ERG  approach-ELA\textsubscript{⊥}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}  sniff.at-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
His\textsubscript{⊥} siblings\textsuperscript{⊥} came up to him\textsubscript{⊥} and sniffed at him\textsubscript{⊥}:

(5)  
“Sumiikkavinuna,  
su-mi=it-ga-vit=una  
what-SG.LOC=be-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-2SG=this
“Where is it you’ve been,
(6) gujanaq tikittuit,  
gujanaq tikit-tu-tit  
thanks  

come-ELA₁.IV-2SG  
thank God, you’ve come back

(7) maqaasiliruarpatsigit,”  
maqaasi-l-galuar-pa-tsigit  
miss-begin…but-IND.TV-1PL.2SG  
we’ve (already) begun to miss you (but that is now over).”

(8) taama uqarniarunarput.  

if, fb  
taama uqar-niar-gun-ru-pu-t  
thus say-intend-be.probable-IND.IV-3PL  
that’s what theyĐT probably wanted to say.

(9) Paakujuup  
paaq-kujug-k-p  
soot-be.like-Vn-SG.ERG  
SootyĐT

qataatsumik  
qarlu-luvvigai  

mf, fb  
qataag-tuq-mik  
qarlu-lv-vig-i-pa-i  
(tone)be.high-IV\n-CN-SG.MOD  
make.sounds-a.bit-\loc-rn\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
was making soft high noises at them₁,

immaqa naalliupiraarnini paasitinniarlugu.  
immaqa naalliug-piraar-niq-ni paasi-tit-niar-llu-gu  
perhaps suffer-a.bit-Vn-3SG.T.SG  
understand-cause-try-ELA₁-3SG₁  
perhaps trying to explain his₁ suffering.

§24

(1) Paakujuup piaarinaatsuurtumik angalanirata  
paaq-kujug-k-p piaarinaatsuur-tuq-mik angala-niq-ata  
soot-be.like-Vn-SG.ERG v.accidentally-IV\n-CN-SG.MOD go.on.trip-Vn-3SG₁.SG.ERG  
kingunira  
kinguniq-gi-pa-a  
consequence-\nTV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
A consequence of Sooty’s accidental tripĐT was

qatanngumminit qummug isiginiqalirnira.  
qatanngut-mik-nit quli-mut isigi-niqar-lir-niq-a  
sibling-3PL.T.SG-ABL up-SG.DAT look-passive-begin-Vn-3SG₁.SG  
that his₁ siblings began to look up to him₁.

(2) Qimuttut inirsimasut  
gimug-tuq-t inir-sima-tuq-t  
(dog)pull.sled-IV\cn-PL grow.to.maturity-prf-IV\cn-PL  
Adult sled dogsĐT
qimmiq-araq-\text{-}t \text{nutaq-araq-}t \text{saassut-qqajaar-pa-}t
\text{dog-little-PL} \text{new-little-PL} \text{attack-be.about.to-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL}
generally snarl at newbeginner pups\text{\textsuperscript{3}}.

(3) \text{kisianni Paakujuk taama piniq ajurpaat.} \text{if, ib,}
\text{kisianni paaq-kjuug-k taama pi-niq ajur-pa-it} \text{mf, fb}
but \text{soot-be.like-v\text{\textsuperscript{n}} the v-v\text{\textsuperscript{n}}} \text{never.do-IND.TV-3PL.3PL}
but they\text{\textsuperscript{r}} never did that to Sooty\text{\textsuperscript{4}}.

(4) \text{Taamaattumik Paakujuk} \text{if}
\text{Taamaattumik paaq-kjuug-k}
\text{Therefore soot-be.like-v\text{\textsuperscript{n}}}
\text{Therefore Sooty\text{\textsuperscript{4}}}
\text{qatanngutaasa naalagarisutut ilirpaat.} \text{ib, mf, fb}
\text{qatanngut-\text{\textsuperscript{a}}}naalag-gaq-gi-tuq-tut \text{it-lir-pa-at}
sibling-3SG.PL.ERG \text{obey-Tv\text{\textsuperscript{n}}}rn\text{\textsuperscript{m}}iv\text{\textsuperscript{v}}cn\text{\textsuperscript{cEQU}} be-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
began to be regarded as a leader by his\text{\textsuperscript{1}} siblings\text{\textsuperscript{4}}.
\text{(lit. his\text{\textsuperscript{1}} siblings\text{\textsuperscript{4}} began to regard Sooty\text{\textsuperscript{4}} as a leader.)}

(5) \text{Inuat nukappiaraq} \text{if}
\text{inuk-at nukappiaraq}
\text{person-3PL.3SG} \text{boy}
\text{Their}\text{\textsuperscript{1}} owner\text{\textsuperscript{r}}, the boy,
\text{mikisunik qamutiqapuq,} \text{mf, fb}
\text{miki-tuq-nik qamut-qar-pu-q}
\text{be.small-iv\text{\textsuperscript{v}}}cn\text{\textsuperscript{cPL.MOD}} \text{sled-have-IND.IV-3SG}
had a small sled (PL)

(6) \text{qimmiaraatinilu nutaqqaat qimutsigalugit} \text{if}
\text{qimmiq-araq-ut-ni=lu nutaq-araq-t qimuq-tsi-}\text{g}lu\text{-}git
\text{dog-little-own-3SG.3SG=and new-little-PL} (\text{dog})\text{pull.sled-v\text{\textsuperscript{v}}}agt-rn\text{\textsuperscript{m}}tv-ELA-3PL.3PL
and using his\text{\textsuperscript{r}} own newbeginner pups to pull it
\text{qanittumut qimussirtapuq.} \text{mf, fb}
\text{qanig-tuq-mut qimussiq-r-tar-pu-q}
\text{be.near-iv\text{\textsuperscript{v}}}cn\text{\textsuperscript{cSG.MOD}} \text{dog.sled-do-habit-IND.IV-3SG}
he\text{\textsuperscript{r}} would drive around to nearby destinations.

(7) \text{Paakujuk ittuqutaasarpuq.} \text{if, fb}
\text{paaq-kjuug-k ittuqt-u-tar-pu-q}
\text{soot-be.like-v\text{\textsuperscript{n}}} \text{boss-be-habit-IND.IV-3SG}
Sooty\text{\textsuperscript{4}} was always the lead dog.

(8) \text{Ilani uniarnissamut iqiasuttut} \text{if}
\text{ila-ni uniar-niq-ssaq-mut iqiasug-tu-t}
\text{part-3SG.3SG pull-v\text{\textsuperscript{n}}}prospect-SG.DAT \text{be.lazy-ELA.3IV-3PL.3PL}
paasigaangamigit
paasi-gaanga-migit
find.out-HAB\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\),3PL
Whenever he,\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\) found out that (some) other pups were too lazy to pull (properly)

\[\text{saalirsuuttarpai.}\]
\[\text{saalirsuut-tar-pa-i}\]
attack-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he,\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\) would attack them\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\).

\$25$ (p. 19)

(1) \textit{Upirnassaraa}\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} siku aattulirsuq \hspace{1em} if
\[\text{upirnaq-ssaq-gi-a}\hspace{1em}\text{siku aag-tur-lir-tu-q}\]
spring-prospective-ELA\(\text{\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\).TV-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\),3SG\hspace{1em} ice melt-process-begin-ELA\(\text{\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\).IV-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\)
In the early spring, when the ice started to melt,

\[\text{nukappiaraq}\hspace{1em}\text{nunakkut}\hspace{1em}\text{qimussirpuq}\hspace{1em}ib, mf, fb\]
\[\text{nukappiaraq}\hspace{1em}\text{nuna-kkut}\hspace{1em}\text{qimussiq-r-pu-q}\]
boy land-SG.VIA dog.sled-do-IND.IV-3SG
the boy\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\) drove his sled overland

\[\text{aqissirniarluni.}\]
\[\text{aqissiq-niar-llu-ni}\]
grouse-hunt-ELA\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\)-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)
on grouse hunting trips.

(2) \textit{Qimussirvigisartagaa}\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} if
\[\text{qimussiq-r-vik-gi-tar-gaq-a}\]
dog.sled-do-v\textsubscript{\text{\text{T}}}\text sub loc-rn tv-habit-tv\textsubscript{\text{T}}\text sub run-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\),SG
\[\text{angajuqqaaavisa}\hspace{1em}\text{nalu-nngilaat.}\hspace{1em}ib, fb\]
\[\text{angajuqqaa-isa}\hspace{1em}\text{nalu-nngit-la-at}\]
parent-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\),PL.ERG not.know-not-NEG-3PL.3SG
His\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) parents\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) knew his\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) sledding route.

(3) \textit{Nukappiaqqap}\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} angajuqqaaani\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\) niriursuriirpai\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} if, ib, fb
\[\text{nukappiaraq-p}\hspace{1em}\text{angajuqqaa-ni}\hspace{1em}\text{niriursur-riir-pa-i}\]
boy-SG.ERG parent-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\),PL promise-have.already-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
The boy\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) had promised his\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) parents\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\)
\[\text{nunakkquinnaq}\hspace{1em}\text{qimussirtassalluni.}\hspace{1em}ff\]
\[\text{nuna-kkquinnaq}\hspace{1em}\text{qimussiq-r-tar-ssa-llu-ni}\]
land-SG.VIA=just dog.sled-do-habit-prospect-ELA\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\)-3SG\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\)
only to drive on land.

(4) \textit{Taamaattumik}\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} siku aqqarviginiq\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\) ajuippaa.\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}\)\hspace{1em} if, ib, fb
\[\text{taamaattumik}\hspace{1em}\text{siku aqqar-vik-gi-niq}\hspace{1em}\text{ajuur-vig-pa-a}\]
therefore ice go.down-v\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\text sub loc-rn tv-v\textsubscript{\text{T}}}\text sub run never.do-really-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
Therefore he,\(\text{\textsubscript{T}}}\) absolutely never went down to the ice.
§26

(1) Paakujuk pisarnirmisut qimulluartarpuq. if, mf, fb
paaq-kujug-k pi-tar-niq-mi-tut qimug-=luar-tar-pu-q
soot-be.like-v\n v-habit-v\n\n3SG,SG-EQU (dog)pull.sled-well-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty\ always pulled well, as was his\ wont.

(2) Aamma ilai sungiussilirput. if, ib, fb
aamma ila-i sungiut-(ss)i-lir-pu-t
also part-3SG\,PL get.used.to-antip-begin-IND.IV-3PL
The others\, too, started getting used to it.

(3) Nukappiaaqap ipiraattani aturluartarpaa. if, ib, fb
nukappiaaq-p ipiraataq-ni atur-=luar-tar-pa-a
boy-SG.ERG whip-3SG,SG use-well-habit-IND.TV-3SG,3SG
The boy\ was using his\, whip\ well.

(4) Qimmit anniartillugit ipirarturtangilai. if, fb
qimmiq-t anni-ar-tit-llu-git ipirar-tar-tangit-la-i
dog-PL get.hurt-dist-cause-ELA-3PL use.whip-process-habit-not-NEG-3SG,3PL
He\ didn't hurt the dogs by whipping them\.

(5) Kisianni sukkut ingirlassasut if, ib
kisianni su-kkut ingirla-ssa-tu-t
but what-SG.VIA travel-prospect-ELA,IV-3PL\,
But (concerning) which way they\ should go,
naalakkirsinnaavai. fb
naalag-gaq-lir-sinnaa-pa-i
obey-tv\thm.provide-be.able-IND.TV-3SG,3PL
he\ could make them obey.

(6) Sungiussisinniarlugit ilaanni if, ib
sungiut-(ss)i-tit-niar-llu-git ilaanni
get.used.to-antip-cause-intend-ELA-3PL\ sometimes
In order to train them (lit. intending to train them), sometimes
init qimallugit sangutittarpai. mf, fb
ini-t qimag-llu-git sangu-tit-tar-pa-i
sled.track-PL leave-ELA-3PL\ turn-cause-habit-IND.TV-3SG,3PL
he\ would make them\ turn off the (beaten) sled track.

(7) Ulluq taanna nukappiaraq if, ib
ulluq taanna nukappiaraq
day that boy
That day the boy\,
aamma taamaaliurpuq. mf, fb
aamma taama=iliur-pu-q
also thus=do-IND.IV-3SG
also did that.
(8) *Isumaqarpurlu*  
*isuma-qar-pu=q=lu*  
belief-have-IND.IP=3SG=and  
And he$_\tau$ thought  

*maanna qimmiaqqat sukkullumiit naalatsissinaallugit.*  
now dog-little-PL what-SG.VIA=ALT obey-cause-be.able-ELA$_\tau$-3PL$_\tau$
that he$_\tau$ was now able to make the pups obey (him$_\tau$) in any kind of terrain.

(9) *Angirlaliramik*  
*angirlar-lir-ga-mik ini-t atuar-pa-at*  
go.home-begin-PL sled.track-PL follow-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
When they$_\tau$ started heading home, they$_\tau$ followed the sled track.

(10) *Sissap*  
*sissaq-p suli-nnguaq-atit=Vr-put*  
shore-SG.ERG above-little-3SG$_\tau$.SG.VIA=n/IV-IND.IP-3PL
They$_\tau$ were going just above the shore.

(11) *Init sissamut atanirat qaangiinnarlugu*  
*ini-t sissaq-mut ataq-at qaangir-inna-slu-gu*  
sled.track-PL shore-SG.DAT contact-v$\\n$-3PL$_\tau$.3SG
Going past the point where the sled track goes (down) to the shore  

*nuukuurlutik tikikiartussapput.*  
*nuu-kku=Vr-llu-tik tikiti-jartur-sa=pu-t*  
land-SG.VIA=do-ELA$_\tau$-3PL$_\tau$ come-v.by.degrees.prospect-IND.IP-3PL
they$_\tau$ would make their way home by land.

§27 (p. 20)

(1) *Aalisariat sikumut aqqarvigisartagaat*  
*aalisar-iar-q-t siku-mut aqqar-vik-gi-ta-gaq-at*  
fish-go.to-v$\\n$-PL ice-SG.DAT go.down-v$\\n$loc-fin$\\n$tv-habit$\\n$tv-3PL$_\tau$.3SG

*tikiliqulugu*  
tikit-lir-llu-gu=lu  
come-begin-ELA$_\tau$-3SG$_\tau$=and
Just as they$_\tau$ approached the point where fishermen generally went down to the ice

*tassanngaannaq qimmit aallarsarput*  
tassanngaannaq qimmig=$t$ aallar-sar-pu-t
suddenly dog-PL set.off-strain.to-IND.IP-3PL
the dogs$^\tau$ suddenly made a rush for it,

*siku=p=lu tungaanut sangullutik.*  
siku-p=lu tungi-a-nut sangu-llu-tik
ice-SG.ERG=and direction-3SG$_\tau$.SG.DAT turn-ELA$_\tau$-3PL$_\tau$
turning toward the ice.
(2) Nukappiaqqap unitsinniaraluarpai.  
nukappiaraq-p unig-tit-niar-galuar-pa-i  
boy-SG.ERG stop-cause-try-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
The boy\textsuperscript{7} tried to stop them\textsubscript{1},

(3) kisianni ajurnaqaaq.  
kisianni ajurnar-qi-pu-q  
but be.impossible-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
but it was absolutely impossible.

(4) Init manngiqimmata  
ni-t manngig-qi-mm-ata  
sled.track-PL be.hard-emph-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-3PL\textsubscript{⊥}  
The sled track was very hard so

akimmivissaqanngilaq.  
akimmig-vik-ssaq-qar-ngit-la-q  
thrust.against-v\textsuperscript{loc}-prospective-have-not-NEG-3SG  
he\textsubscript{r} had nothing to give him purchase.

(5) Allatut ajurnarmat  
alla-tut ajurnar-mm-at  
other-EQU be.impossible-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-3SG\textsubscript{⊥}  
Since there was nothing else for it,

sikumut aqqarluuammarpuq  
siku-mut aqqar-:luar-innar-pu-q  
icce-3DAT go.down-well-just-IND.IV-3SG  
he\textsubscript{r} just went way down to the ice

isumaliurluni aqqaruni unitsikkumallugit.  
isuma-liur-llu-ni aqqar-gu-ni unig-tit-juma-llu-git  
belief-make-ELA\textsubscript{τ}-3SG\textsubscript{τ} go.down-HYP\textsubscript{τ}-3SG\textsubscript{τ} stop-cause-want-ELA\textsubscript{τ}-3PL\textsubscript{⊥}  
thinking he\textsubscript{r} would stop them when he\textsubscript{r} got down.

(6) Aqqarami unitsirialaruarpai.  
aqqar-ga-mi unig-tit-riar-galuar-pa-i  
go.down-FCT\textsubscript{τ}-3SG\textsubscript{τ} stop-cause-stage.one-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
When he\textsubscript{r} got down he\textsubscript{r} made an attempt to stop them (but didn’t succeed)

(7) Aamma init qimallugit  
aamma ini-t qimagllu-git  
also sled.track-PL leave-ELA\textsubscript{τ}-3PL\textsubscript{⊥}  
alnulirpimmut sangulirmata  
talirpik-mut sangu-lir-mm-ata  
right-SG.DAT turn-begin-FCT\textsubscript{⊥}-3PL\textsubscript{⊥}  
Also when they\textsubscript{r} turned to the right, off the sled track,
He used the whip in an (unsuccessful) attempt to return them to the sled track on the left. (8) *Ajurnavipput.*

They were absolutely impossible (to turn).

They were trying to get to. (10)

He also saw a dark area ahead. (2)

Perhaps water-logged ice. (3)
http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~mbittner/ktxt.html

(4) Qimmit  ilaat  ataasiq  maavuq  
quimmi-t  ila-at  ataasiq  maavuq  
[One of the dogs] and one 
sink in

urlullunilu.  
urlu-llu-ni=lu  
and stumbled.

(5) Taamaaliriarmat  qamutiminut  ikilluni  
taama=ili-riar-mm-at  qamut-mi-nut  
thus=become...and-sled-3SG.TV  get.on-ELA-3SG.TV

When it got to be like that, he got onto the sled and

tamaviannguat  ipirarturipuq  
tamaviat-nguauq  ipirar-tur-lir-pu-q  
with.all.might-little use.whip-process-begin-IND.IV-3SG

started using the whip with all his might, which wasn’t much,

saamimmut  sanguttiligut  utirtiinniarligut.  
left-SG.DAT turn-cause-ELA-3PL.dat return-cause-try-ELA-3PL.dat

trying to make them turn left and return (to the sled track).

(6) Paakujuk  piqqaannagu  ipirarpaa  
paaq-kujug-k  pi-qar-it-na-gu  ipirar-pa-a

He hit Sooty with the whip

suurlu  kalirrisaarniaara  .  ikuqqulluni  
suurlu  kalirrig-saar-niar-gi-a  ikiur-quq-llu-ni

as if to try to scare him, asking for help.

§29

(1a) Tamanna  patsisaanirpuq,  
tamanna  patsisiq-u-nir-pu-q  
that reason-be-x.wonder-IND.IV-3SG

Perhaps that was the reason

(1b) imaluuuniit  Paakujuup  
ima=luuuniit  paaq-kujug-p  
so=ALT soot.be.like-SG.ERG

or else Sooty

navianartursiurnirtik  namminiq  
naviagi-nar-tuq-siur-niq-rtik  namminiq

dread.make.one.iv\cn-experience-v\n-3PL.TV.SG self
paasisimanirpaa,

paasi-sima-nir-pa-a

find.out-prf-x, wonder-IND.TV-3SG.3G

may himself have understood their dreadful danger.

(2) — ilani saalirsuutiriarlugit
— ila-ni saalirsuut-riar-llu-git
— part-3SG.T.3G attack-stage,one-ELA-\-3PL⊥
— growling at the other (dog)s and

pituuttani sukallugu

pitug-ut-gaq-ni sukag-llu-gu
tie-with-TV\।rn-3SG.T.3G tighten-ELA-\-3SG.3G

and tightening his\_ trace

qamutit saamimmut sangutinniarsarai.

qamut-t saamik-mut sangu-tit-niar-sar-pa-i

sled-PL left-SG.DAT turn-cause-try-cause,process-IND.TV-3SG.3PL

he\_ struggled to turn the sled toward the left.

(3) Qimmip urluvvia siku asirursimavuq,

qimmig-p urlu-vik-a siku asirur-sima-pu-q
dog-SG.ERG stumble-v\loc-3SG.3G ice break-prf-IND.IV-3SG

The ice where the dog stumbled had broken up

(4) taannalu aqqusaangajavillugu

taanna=lu aqqusaar-ngajag-vig-llu-gu

that=and follow.route-almost-really-ELA-\-3SG.3G

and this was almost directly on their route where

qamutit sangusussaapput.

qamut-t sangu-tuq-ssaq-u-pu-t

sled-PL turn-IV\\cn-prospective-be-IND.IV-3PL

the sled\_ (PL) would have to turn.

(5) Taamaattumik nukappiaraq qamutini ikiisimaannarpuq

taamaattumik nukappiaraq qamut-ni iki-sima-innar-pu-q

therefore boy sled-PL get.on-prf-just-IND.IV-3SG

Therefore the boy\_ just stayed on the sled (PL)\_2

nakkassagaluarpata najummatsirviginiamagit.

nakkar-ssa-galuar-pp-ata najummatsir-vik-gi-niar-ga-migit

fall-prospect-…but-HYP-\-3PL⊥ cling.to-v\loc-m\tv-intend-FCT-\-3SG.T.3PL

intending to cling to it\_ if it\_ were to fall through (the ice).

§30

(1) Paakujuk asuli tamaviamngilaq.

paaq-kujug-k asuli tamaviat=Vr-ngit-la-q

soot-be.like-v\n\n in.vain with.all.might=n\tv-not-NEG-3SG

Sooty\_ did not strain with all his might in vain.
Ilani tamaviaartilirpai. if, fb
ila-ni tamaviat=ar-tit-lir-pa-i part-3SGr.PL with.all.might=\n\n-cause-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
He\n\n started making the other (dog)s\n\n strain with all their might (too). (2)

Qamuitit kingurnat immamut nakkaakkaluarpuq if, ib, fb
qamut-t kingurna-at imaq-mut nakkar-at-galuar-pu-q sled-PL.ERG behind-3PL.3SG sea-SG.DAT fall-simultaneously-\n\n but-IND.IV-3SG
Both of the rear ends of the sled runners fell through into the sea. (3)

Kisianni qimmit nuqitsiniratigut if
kisianni qimmig-t nuqit-si-niq-atigut
but dog-PL.ERG pull.in.opp.direction-antip-v\n\n-3PL.3SG.VIA
But thanks to the dogs’ pulling in the opposite direction

qamutit sikumut qaqipput. ib, mf, fb
qamut-t siku-mut qaqi-pu-t sled-PL ice-SG.DAT climb-IND.IV-3PL
the sled (PL)\n\n was pulled (back) up onto the ice. (4)

Init kingumut tikikkamikkik if
ini-t kingu-mut tikit-ga-mikkik sled.track-PL back-SG.DAT come.to-FCT,3PL.3PL
When they\n\n got back onto the sled track

tamaviat angirlamut ingirlapput. ib, mf, fb
tamaviat angirla-mut ingirla-pu-t with.all.might home-SG.DAT travel-IND.IV-3PL
they went on home (running) with all their might. (5)

Nukappiaqqap qarlii masapput, if, fb
nukappiaraq-p qarl-i masag-pu-t boy-SG.ERG trousers-3SG.3PL be.wet-IND.IV-3PL
The boy’s trousers were wet (6)

kisianni annappuq. if, fb
kisianni annag-pu-q but get.saved-IND.IV-3SG
but he\n\n had been saved. (7)

§31

(1) Tikikkamik if
 tikit-ga-mik come-FCT,3PL.3PL
When they\n\n got back

Paakujuk anuiramiuk pattalaarpaa, ib, fb
paaq-kujug-k anu-ir-ga-miuk pattag-laar-pa-a soot-be.like-\n\n trace-remove-FCT,3SG.3SG pat-a.little-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he\n\n unharnessed Sooty\n\n and patted him\n\n.
(2) *Paakujullu nilliariujuppuq*  
*paaq-kujug-k=lu nillia-rujug-pu-q*  
soot-be.like-v\n=and whine-a.bit-IND.1V-3SG  
Sooty made soft whining sounds

*uqarniarunarluni:*  
*uqar-niar-gunar-llu-ni*  
say-try-be.probable-ELA₁-3SGᵣ  
probably trying to say:

(3) “*Qimmiaraasunga annaakkamma*  
*qimmiq-araq-u-tu-nga annag-ga-mma*  
dog-little-by-ELA₁-1SG save-FCTᵣ-2SG.1SG  
Because you saved me when I was a little pup

*qujanaq uanga aamma ikiursinnaagakkit.*  
*qujanaq uanga aamma ikiur-sinnaa-ga-kkit*  
thanks me also help-be.able-FCTᵣ-1SG.2SG  
thank God that I too was able to help you.