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

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

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/19/2007): Kalaallisut has a great deal of fusion. For clarity, line 1 is in the modern Kalaallisut orthography minus allophonic variants (e, o, f of i, u, v); line 2 is the morphological analysis; line 3 are the glosses; line 4 is a free English translation. Derivational morphemes are glossed in lower case (e.g. ‘prf’ for perfect aspect), inflectional and other functional morphemes, in small caps (e.g. IND, RPT). Glosses for:
• matrix moods:
  IND = indicative, IMP = imperative, NEG = negative, OPT = optative, QUE = interrogative
• dependent moods:
  ELA = elaborating, FCT = factual, HAB = habitual, HYP = hypothetical, NON = non-factual
• case:
  ABL = ablative, DAT = dative, EQU = equalis (‘like, as’), ERG = ergative, LOC = locative, MOD = modalis (modifier), VIA = vialis (path)
• centering:
  ⊤ = topic, ⊥ = background, IV = property of topic; TV = relation of topic to background
• derivation:
  antip = antipassive, excl = exclamatory, emph = emphatic, loc.of = location of, opp = opposite, prf = perfect aspect, iv = intransitive verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rn = relational noun, a\b = suffix that attaches to category a to form b
• clitics:
  ALT = alternative-sensitive operator (‘or’, ‘even’, ‘any’)
  FOC = focus
  RPT = reportative evidential

Paragraphs ($) as in the original.
TOPOLOGY: if initial field, ib initial boundary, mf middle field, fb final boundary, ff final field. Kalaallisut uses these fields roughly as follows:
if: anaphoric link to prior discourse and/or set up the primary topical referent (⊤);
ib: elaborate ⊤ and/or:
  (i) set up a secondary topical referent (⊤′), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);
mf: background information about main verbal comment;
fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (if-⊤ & ib-⊤′ if present; otherwise ⊤ from last S)
ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (⊥′) to be picked up by the upcoming if.
Only fb must be instantiated (by the main verb or complex predicate NV); all other topological fields are optional and, if instantiated, may be multiply instantiated (unlike syntactic nodes).
§1 (p. 16)
(1) *Qillarsuakkut ikiq ikaaramikku*

When Qillarsuaq and his people had crossed the strait,

\[
\text{nuna Devon Island-p ila-a sini-r ngaatsiar-qi-llu-gu}
\]

\[
\text{land Devon Island-ERG part-3SG side-do-fair.bit-very-ELA-3SG}
\]

\[\text{they went quite a bit along the coast of Devon Island}\]

\[\text{kiisami ilimasuirlutik}\]
\[\text{finally dread-cease-ELA-3PL}\]
\[\text{[until] at last they ceased to fear [pursuit] and}\]
\[\text{uningalirsimapput.}\]
\[\text{stop-result-begin-prf-IND.3PL}\]

\[\text{made a stop for a while.}\]

(2) *Tassaluguuq upirnartursuanngulirsuq*

\[\text{By then, I’m told, it was getting to be advanced spring, when}\]
\[\text{uningaalussinnarlutik}\]
\[\text{stop-result-a.bit-post.state-ELA-3PL}\]
\[\text{after making some short stops}\]
\[\text{tassunga unikkallarput aallaqissamaarlutik.}\]
\[\text{there-DAT stop-for.a.while-IND.3PL set.off-again-plan-ELA-3PL}\]

\[\text{they paused there for a while, [still] planning to go on.}\]

§2 (p. 16)
(1) *Qillarsuakkunnguuq ningaaqarmiut*

\[\text{Qillarsuaq-kku-t=guuq ningaa-qar-mi-pu-t}\]
\[\text{Qillarsuaq=co-PL=RPT son.in.law-have-excl-IND.3PL}\]

Now, among Qillarsuaq’s people, they say, there was a son in law

\[\text{piniartursuarmik uninngaviqannngitsumik}\]
\[\text{hunter-big.SG.MOD stop-result-loc.of-have-not-IND.3PL}\]

\[\text{a great hunter, never still (i.e. always on a hunting trip),}\]
\[\text{Piuaatsumik atilimmik.}\]
\[\text{Piuaatsuq-mik atiq-lik-mik.}\]
\[\text{Piuaatsuq-SG.MOD name-with-SG.MOD}\]
\[\text{named Piuaatsuq.}\]
he was carried off [by breaking ice] far out to the west

When the wretched ice, [he] said, was in full drift off with him

he must've had not the least inkling of it!

§3 (p. 16)

(1) Taamanikkut
then-&co-PL
In those days

ima naajanniartsimapput:
so sea.gull-hunt-habit-prf-IND-IV-3PL
they used to hunt seagulls like this:

(2) Naammagisaminnik
fit.into-tv
They would build an igloo [just] big enough for themselves

leaving an opening only at the top,

[just] big enough for a seagull,

and leaving no opening anywhere else;

plugging up the entrance.
(3) Naajat illuikkap killinganut nirliusirtarpaat if, ib, fb
naaja-t illuigaq-p killingi-a-nut nirli-ut-lir-tar-pa-it
seagull-PL igloo-SG.ERG border-3SG1,SG-DAT feed-means-provide-habit-INDTV-3PL.3PL
They\textsubscript{1} would put out bait for seagulls\textsuperscript{+} right next to the igloo
puisimilluunniit ilivit-su-mik. ff
pui-si-mik=luunniit ilivit-tuq-mik
seal-SG.MOD=ALT whole-IV\textbackslash\textbackslash.cn-SG.MOD
even a whole seal.

(4) Illuikkap qaavanut mikkaangata if
illuigaq-p qaa-a-nut mig-kaang-ata
igloo-SG.ERG top-3SG\textsubscript{1} SG-DAT land-HAB\textsubscript{1}-3PL\textsubscript{1}
[Then] when they\textsubscript{1} landed on top of the igloo
ataaninngaanniit isigaasigut tigusarpaat. mf, fb
at-a-ninnngaanniit isigaq-isigut tigu-sar-pa-at
below-3SG\textsubscript{1} SG-ABL foot-3PL\textsubscript{1} PL-VIA take-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
they\textsubscript{1} would grab them\textsubscript{1} by their\textsubscript{1} feet from below.

(5) Taamaasiurlutik if
taama=iliur-llu-tik
thus=do-ELA\textsubscript{1}-3PL\textsubscript{1}
In this way
arlarissuarnik pisaqartarsimapput. mf, fb
arlaq-giit:-suaq-nik pi-saq-qar-tar-sima-pu-t
one.of.several-group-big-PL.MOD get-TV\textbackslash\textbackslash.vn-have-habit-prf-IND.IV-3PL
they used to catch large numbers [of seagulls].

§4 (p. 16)
(1) Tassa Piuaatsuq if, ib
tassa Piuaatsuq thus Piuaatsuq
So Piuaatsuq
saavitaavuq ff
saavit-taa-pu-q
[breaking.ice]carry.off-passive-IND.IV-3SG
got carried off (by breaking ice)
sunaqarani
suna-qar-na-ni
thing-have-NON\textsubscript{1}-3SG\textsubscript{1}
without anything.
ataatsimilluunniit qimmigarani
ataasiq-mik=luunniit qimmii-qar-na-ni
one-SG.MOD=ALT dog-have-NON\textsubscript{1}-3SG\textsubscript{1}
without even one dog,
savillu  kisiat  sakkutuaralugu.
savik=lu  kisi-at  sakku-tuaq-gi-llu-gu
knife=and  alone-SG  weapon-sole-have.as-ELA→3SG
and with only a knife as his sole weapon.

§5 (p. 16)
(1)  Siullirmik  suurunami
    siu-liq-mik  suurunami
    front-most-SG.MOD  of.course
First of all, of course,
imminut  naviqqaaraluarpuq
immi-nut  naviir-qaar-galuar-pu-q
    self-DAT  scold-first...but-IND.IV-3SG
he reproached himself
mianirsunngippallaaqigami.
mianirsur-ngit-pallaar-qi-ga-mi
take.care-not-too-emph-FCT→3SG
that he had been much too careless.

(2)  Imminullu  niriursurpuq
    immi-nut=lu  niriursur-pu-q
    self-DAT=and  promise-IND.IV-3SG
And he promised himself
sapinngisani  tamaat  annanniarniarumalluni
    sapir-ngit-saq-ni  tama-at  annag-niar-niar-uma-llu-ni
can’t.do-not-tv\rn-3SG₁,SG  all-SG₁  survive-try-intend-want-ELA→3SG
that he would do all he could to try to survive
nuliaqarami  qiturnaqarlutillu.
    nulia-qar-ga-mi  qiturna-qar-llu-tik=lu
wife-have-FCT→3SG  offshore-have-ELA→3PL=and
because he had a wife and they had children.

(3)  Kiisa  nuna  ilaqarvia
    kiisa  nuna  ila-qar-vik-a
finally land  part-have-loc.of-3SG₁,SG
Finally the land\ where his¹ family was
ima  ungasitsigilirpuq
    ima  ungasig-tigi-lir-pu-q
so  far-to.that.degree-begin-IND.IV-3SG
became so distant
tungujuaraatinannangurluni.
tungujur-ar-tuq-innar-ngur-llu-ni
    blue-ish-IV\n\vn-just-become-ELA→3SG
that it\ became just a bluish [outline on the horizon].
In the middle of that great strait, the Lancaster Sound, he began to be carried along by the current to the ice pack (PL). The lands on both sides were [still] a bit visible but both were separated from him by open sea [lit. had open sea occupying part of the space in his direction].

But the newly formed ice was no longer to be relied on. [lit. reason to be hopeful]

I have no doubt that Piuaatsuq must have been carried off by breaking ice before the end of May for I know
May-be-begin-HAB\(-3SG\) around.here-LOC

that in the beginning of May the area around here

use-tv\rn-prospective-be-iv\cn-SG MOD get.frozen-v\n-SG not.do-begin-habit-ELA\(-3SG\)

always stops getting any usable new ice.

§7 (p. 16)
(1) Piuaatsuq sivisuursuarmik sikursuanniippuq. if, mf, fb
Piuaatsuq duration-with.big-big-SG.MOD ice-big-PL.LOC=be-IND.IV-3SG
Piuaatsuq spent very long time on the ice pack (PL).

(2) Naajanik puisinillu nanmut nirisakuinik mf
naaja-nik puisi-nik=lu nanuq-t niri-saq-ku-it-nik
sea.gull-PL.MOD seal-PL.MOD=and [polar]bear-PL.ERG eat-tv\rn-rest-3PL-PL.MOD

inuussutiqarpuq. fb
inuu-ssut-qar-pu-q
live-means-have-IND.IV-3SG
He lived on sea gulls and left overs of seals eaten by polar bears.

(3) Najugaa nanurtuursuuvuq. if, fb
najur-qaq-a nanuq-tuuq-suaq-u-pu-q
live.in-tv\rn-3SG\_SG bear-with.many-big-be-IND.IV-3SG
He lived in an area with lots of bears.

(4) Irnumaginirpaavai kaminni fb, ff\_1
irnumagi-nirpaa-pa-i kamik-ni
worry.about-most-IND.TV-3SG.3PL kamik-3SG\_PL
What he was most worried about were his kamiks [skin boots]

allanimmi kamiqannnginnami. ff\_2
alla-nik=mi kamik-qar-nggit-ga-mi
other-PL.MOD=for kamik-have-not-FCT-3SG\_T
for he didn’t have any other kamiks.

(5) Sapinngisani tamaat if
sapir-nggit-saq-ni tama(r)-at
can’t.do-not-tv\rn-3SG\_T,SG all-SG\_
With all his might

nunamut piniarsarisaraluarpuq mf, fb
nuna-mut pi-niar-saar-tar-galuar-pu-q
land-SG.DAT get-try-repeatedly-habit-…but-IND.IV-3SG
he kept trying to get [back] to land
sikursuit ilaannikut nunanut qanillisaraluarlumata. ff
siku-suaq-t ilaani-kkut nunu-mut qanig-lli-tar-galuar-mm-ata
ice-big-PL sometimes-PL.VIA land-SG.DAT close-get.more-habit-…but-FCT.3PL⊥
for the ice pack sometimes did get closer to land.

(6) Sapinngisani tamaat if
sapid-nngit-saq-ni tama(r)-at
can’t.do-not-tv
Penn-3SG.T,SG all-SG⊥
With all his might
nuna ilaqravini, tassa Devon Island-ip ilaa, ib
nuna ila-qar-vik-ni tassa Devon Island-p ila-a
land part-have-loc.of-3SG.T,SG that.is Devon Island-SG.ERG part-3SG⊥,SG
qaninniarsariarlualarpaa fb
qanig-niar-jaar-juar-galuar-pu-q
close-try-repeatedly-constantly-…but-IND.IV-3SG
he constantly kept trying to get close to the land where his family was,
that is, part of Devon Island

(7) Nalungilaa fb
nalu-nngit-la-a
not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
He knew that
nunatuqarsuarmi ilaanut, Ulussat ilaanut, ff1
nuna-tuqaq-suaq-mi ila-a-nut Ulussat ila-a-nut
land-old-big-3SG.T,SG.ERG part-3SG.T,SG-DAT Ulussat-SG.ERG part-3SG⊥,SG-DAT
pigalarunii
pi-galuar-gu-ni
get-…but-HYP-3SG.T
if he were to get to somewhere within his old land, part of Ulussat,
ilaquttani takunavirluinnassallugit
ilaqutaq-ni taku-naviir-lluinnar-ssa-lu-git
family.member-3SG.T,PL see-expect.no.more.absolutely-prospect-ELA⊥-3PL⊥
then he would definitely never see his family again,
iki-suaq imaanqa ikaagassaanngimmat. ff2
iki-suaq qa imaq=inaaq ikaar-gaq-ssaq-u-nngit-mm-at
strait-big-SG so=just cross-tv\m-prospective-be-not-FCT⊥-3SG⊥
for that great strait was not to be crossed just like that.

§8 (p. 17)
(1) Kiisa tassa taarsiarsaartalirpuq if, ib, fb
kiisa tassa taar-si-ar-saar-tar-lir-pu-q
finally that dark-get-a.bit-repeatedly-habit-begin-IND.IV-3SG
In the end, it started getting a bit dark now and then [i.e. no more 24 hrs of daylight]
maybe August end-begin-FCT_{T} \text{-} 3SG_{T} just as the new ice was about to start getting tougher.

---

§9 (p. 17)

(1) Kiisami  ullut  ilaanni  
\text{kiisa=}mi  ullu-t  ila-at-ni  
Finally=FOC  day-PL.ERG  part-3PL_{L}.SG-LOC

Finally, one day, the land

nuna  ima  qanitsigilirpaa  
\text{nuna}  ima  qanig-tigi-lir-pa-a  
land  so  close-to\text{-}that\text{-}degree-begin-IND.TV\text{-}3SG.3SG

he came so close to land

sikursuarminiq  najugaa  
\text{siku=}suq\text{-}miniq-q  najur-gaq-a  
ice\text{-}big\text{-}material\text{-}SG  live.on\text{-}TV\text{\textbackslash}m\text{-}3SG_{L}.SG

[that] the bit of the ice pack he was living on

nunamut  attuunnialinnguatsiarluni!  
\text{nuna-mut}  attuug-niar-lir- nguatsiar-llu-ni  
land\text{-}SG.DAT  bump\text{-}prestate-begin-be\text{\textunderscore}sure\text{\textunderscore}to-ELA_{T}\text{-}3SG_{T}

was sure to come close to bumping into land!

(2) Aarimmi  nuna  qanillingaarmat  
\text{aarit=}mi  nuna  qanig-lli-ngaar-mm-at  
sure\text{\textunderscore}enough=FOC  land\text{-}SG  close\text{-}get\text{\textunderscore}more\text{\textunderscore}very-FCT_{L}\text{-}3SG_{L}

And sure enough, when the land came very close,

\text{pissivvigaa.}  
\text{pissig\text{-}vik\text{-}gi\text{-}pa-a}  
jump-loc.of\text{-}rn\text{\textbackslash}TV\text{-}IND.TV\text{-}3SG.3SG

he jumped onto it.

§10 (p. 17)

(1) Kiisami  nunamut  pigaluarpuq.  
\text{kiisa=}mi  nunu\text{-}mut  pi-galuar-pu-q  
Finally=FOC  land\text{-}SG.DAT  get\text{\textunderscore}…but\text{\textunderscore}IND.IV\text{-}3SG

So at last, he had reached land.

(2) Kamiili  ataqqarlunna\text{\textunderscore}lirput.  
\text{kamik-it=}li  ataq\text{-}qar-lluinnar-lir-pu-t  
\text{kamik}-3SG_{L}.PL\text{\textunderscore}but  hang\text{\textunderscore}together\text{\textunderscore}barely\text{\textunderscore}absolutely\text{\textunderscore}begin\text{\textunderscore}IND.IV\text{-}3PL

But his kamiks had reached the point of just barely hanging together.
(3) Nuna nalunngikkaluarpa,

ib, fb
nuna nalu-ngit-galuuar-pa-a
land.SG not.know-not-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He did know [lit. was not ignorant about] the land, though,

ilaquttamilu najugaat
ilaqutaq-mi=lu najur-gaq-at
family.member-3SG.\tau.PL=and live.in.tv\vertical RN-3PL.3SG

sumiittuq nalu-nagu.
su-mi=it-tu-q nalu-na-gu
what-LOC=be-ELA.4IV-3SG.\tau not.know-NON-\tau-3SG.\tau
and he also knew where his family (PL) was.
[lit. and, the residence\tau of his\tau family members, also not being ignorant of where that\tau was]

\S11 (p. 17)
(1) Qanippianngilaali fb
qanig-piar-ngit-la-a=li
close.to.exactly-not-NEG-3SG.3SG=but
But he wasn’t exactly close to it

nunarsuup Devon Island-ip
nuna-:suaq-p Devon Island-p
land-big-SG.ERG Devon Island-SG.ERG

siniriaaniimmata ilurpasissumi.
siniriaq-a-ni=it-mm-ata iluq-pasig-tuq-mi
coast-3SG.\tau.SG-LOC=be-FCT.\tau-3PL.\tau interior-far.toward-IV\CN-SG.LOC
for they were far on the inner [landward?] coast of that great big land, Devon Island.

(2) Paasisakka malillugit if
paasi-:saq-kka malig-llu-git
find.out-tv\vertical RN-1SG.PL follow-ELA.\tau-3PL.\tau
According to what I have found out,

Piuaatsuq nunalissimagunarpuq ib, fb
Piuaatsuq nuna-lit-sima-gunar-pu-q
Piuaatsuq land-reach-prf-be.likely-IND.IV-3SG
Piuaatsuq probably landed

nunarsuup taassuma nuussuata iqqaatigut fb
nuna-:suaq-p taassuma nuuk-:suaq-ata iqqaq-atigut
land-big-SG.ERG that.ERG tip-big-3SG.\tau.SG.ERG vicinity-3SG.\tau.SG.VIA
somewhere near the fat end of that great big land

ilaqarvimmi kitirujussuatigut
ila-qar-vik-mi kiti-rujussuaq-atigut
part-have-loc.of-3SG.\tau.SG.ERG west-huge-3SG.\tau.SG.VIA
way to the west of where his family was.
§12 (p. 17)

(1) Taamaattussaagami Piuaatsuq

\[ taama=it-tuq-ssaq-u-ga-mi \] Piuaatsuq

Thus=be-iv\textbackslash-cn-prospective-be-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}

Since that was what he had to do, Piuaatsuq

\[ kangi-muinnarsuaq \] aallarpuaq

\[ kangi-mut=inaaq=rsuaq \] aallar-pu-q

east-DAT=only=big set.out-IND.IV-3SG

set out on the long journey to the east

\[ nunakkuurluni \] imaq sinirlugu.

\[ nuna-kut=Vr-llu-ni \] imaq sin-i-llu-gu

land-VIA=niv-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T} sea.SG side-do-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{L}

overland, along the sea shore.

(2) Uirnarluinnaliraangami

\[ uirnar-:luinnar-lir-gaanga-mi \]

sleepy-absolutely-begin-HAB\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}

When he got so sleepy he absolutely had to sleep

\[ aputiqannginnarsamut \] nallaannartarpuaq

\[ aput-qar-ngit-ni=taq-mut \] nallar-innar-tar-pu-q

snow-have-not-v\textbackslash{n}-bit SG.DAT lie.down-just-habit-IND.IV-3SG

he would just lie down on a bit of snow-free [land]

\[ sinilaarniassagami. \]

\[ sinig-laar-niar-ssa-ga-mi \]

asleep-a.little-try-prospect-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}

in order [lit. wanting] to try to get a little sleep.

(3) Qiialirlunilu aallarararaaq.

\[ qiialir-llu-ni=lu \] aallar-rar-tar-pu-q

get.cold-ELA\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}=and set.off-again-habit-IND.IV-3SG

And when he got cold, he would set off again.

§13 (p. 17)

(1) Kiisa ilaanni

\[ kiisa \] ila-at-ni

finally part-3PL\textsubscript{L}-SG-LOC

Finally one day

\[ sapirluinnangajalirsimavuq \]

\[ sapir-:-luinnar-ngajag-lir-sima-pu-q \]

can’t.do-absolutely-almost-begin-prf-IND.IV-3SG

he had almost got to the point of being absolutely unable to [go on]

\[ iluamik niriissaarami \]

\[ iluaq-mik niri-ssaar-ga-mi \]

proper-MOD eat-stop.habit-FCT\textsubscript{T}-3SG\textsubscript{T}

since he had stopped eating properly [once on land]
§14  (p. 17)

(1) **Aasiinnguuq uunnulirsuq**  
*aasiiit=guuq unnug-lir-tu-q*  
as.usual= RPT become.evening-begin-ELA₁,IV-3SG₁  
One day as usual, I’m told, toward the evening,

**uqquivvissarsiulirpuq**  
*uqqaq-lit-vik-ssaq-siur-lir-pu-q*  
shelter-reach-loc.of.prospective-seek-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
he started looking for some shelter  

**sinilaarniassagami.**  
*sinig-laar-niar-ssa-ga-mi*  
asleep-a.little-try-prospect-FCT₁-3SG₁  
in order [lit. wanting] to try to get a little sleep.

(2) **Amirlanirtigut**  
amirlaniq-tigut  
most-PL.VIA
Mostly

**ujarasussuit gangatsirnini sinittarpuq.**  
*ujarasssuq:-suaq-t gangatsirniq-ni sinig-tar-pu-q*  
rock-big-PL.ERG rock.cave-PL.LOC asleep-habit-IND.IV-3SG  
he slept in rock caves.

(3) **Taama ujarirluni takuliriallaraa**  
*taama ujar-lir-lu-ni taku-lir-riallar-pa-a*  
thus seek-antip-ELA₃SG₃ see-begin-sudden.surprise-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
Looking around for one, he suddenly saw to his surprise

**suurlu una ujaranani.**  
**suurlu una ujarak-u-na-ni**  
as.if this stone-be-NON₃SG₃  
something that didn’t seem to be a rock.
(4) Illuummiuq=una!
ill-u-mi-pu-q
house-be-excl-IND.IV-3SG
Wow, it was a house!

(5a) Sumik innarlirsimangilaq
su-mik innarlir-sima-nngit-la-q
what-SG.MOD get.damaged-prf-not-NEG-3SG
It was undamaged,

(5b) taamaallaat igalaaqarviagut sullalaarsimavuq.
only window-have-loct.of-3SG.IV-VIA have.snow.blown.in-little-prf-IND.IV-3SG
there was only a little snow blown in through the window frame.

(6) Isirluni misissulirpaa.
isir-llu-ni misissur-lir-pa-a
enter-ELA-3SG examine-begin-IND.IV-3SG.3SG
He went in and began to examine it.

(7a) Paasivaa pisuqarsuunngitsuq,
pi-tuqaq-:suaq-u-nngit-tu-q
kind-old-big-be-not-ELA⊥-3SG⊥
He found out it hadn’t been [empty] like this very long

(7b) sulimi tipiqarpuq.
suli=mi tipi-qar-pu-q
still=for smell-have-IND.IV-3SG
for it still smelled.

(8) Assut iluaallagaa
assut ilaallagi-pa-a
very be.relieved.by-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He was very relieved

(9) Satsilluni
satsit-llu-ni
feeling around by touch-ELA⊥-3SG⊥
Feeling around by touch

illira misissulirpaa.
illiq-a misissur-lir-pa-a
sleeping.platform-3SG⊥-SG examine-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he began to examine the [lit. its, i.e. of the house] sleeping platform.
(10) Paasilirpaa

Paasi-lir-pa-a
understand-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He found out that

uqu rutit iluini
uqu-ut-t iluq-it-ni
warm-means-PL.ERG interior-3PL.3PL-LOC
among the skin bedding

inunnik arlariinnik tuungasuaqartuq
inuk-nik arlaq-giit-nik tuqu-nga-tuq-qar-tu-q
person-PL.MOD one.of.several-group-PL.MOD die-result-IV\cn-have-ELA.3SG
there were several human corpses.

(11) Qularnanggilaq pirlirikuussasut.

Qulari-nar-nga-t-la-q pirlir-niq-ku-u-ssa-tu-t
doubt-make.one-not-NEG-3SG starve.to.death-V
\n\nNo doubt these must have been the remains of some who had starved to death.

(12) Illirup ilaani inissaqarami

Iliq-p ila-a-ni ini-ssaq-qar-ga-mi
sleeping.platform-3SG.ERG part-3SG.3SG-LOC place-prospective-have-FCT.3SG place
Since there was room to [sleep] on part of the sleeping platform

tassunga nallarpuq

tass-unga nallar-pu-q
he just lay down there,

qasulluinnarami iluamillu nukiqarnani
qasu-ruinnar-ga-mi iluaq-mik=lu nuki-qar-na-mi
tired-absolutely-FCT.3SG proper-MOD=and strength-have-NON.3SG since he was tired out and had no real strength [left],

aqagu qaappat misissurluaqqissamaarlugu.
aqagu qaa-pp-at misissur-lluar-qqig-ssamaarl-llu-gu
next.day become.day-HYP.3SG examine-well-again-plan-ELA.3SG planning to examine it properly again the next day when it got light.

§15 (p. 18)
(1) Illu taanna sissamut qanippianggilaq.

Illu taanna sissaq-mut qanig-piar-nga-t-la-q
house.SG that shore-SG.DAT close-exactly-not-NEG-3SG
That house was not exactly close to the shore.

ilimanarluni inuttai qimaasuuimisut.
ilimagi-nar-llu-ni inuk-taq-i qimaal-tuq-uu-sima-tu-t
expect-make.one-ELA.3SG person-of-3SG.3PL flee-IV\cn-be-prf-ELA.3SG suggest that its inhabitants had been fleeing [from danger].
If one had crossed that strait and were not fleeing [from danger] then one would’ve built a house closer to the shore.

§16 (p. 18)

(1) Qaamaammani missuilirpuq. if, fb qaa-ma-at-mm-ani misissur-i-lir-pu-q become.day-result-for-FCT₃-3SG₃ examinations-beg-ind-IV-3SG When the new day dawned [on him], he began his examination.

(2) Paasivaa find.out-IND-TV-3SG,3SG He found out ilumut pirlirsimasuussasut. ff ilumut pirlir-sima-tuq-ussa-tu-t really starve.to.death-prf-iv\cn-be-prospect-ELA₁,IV-3PL that they really must’ve starved to death.

(3) Illup ilua aputaialiramiuk if illu-p ilu-a aput-iar-lir-ga-miuk house-SG,ERG interior-3SG₃,SG snow-remove.from-begin-FCT₃-3SG₃,3SG₃ When he began to clear the inside of the house of snow pigisaat nassaariutulirpai. ib, fb pigi-saq-it nassaari-jur-tur-lir-pa-i own-TV\n-3PL,PL discover-pl.obj-process-begin-IND-TV-3SG,3PL he began to gradually uncover their possessions.

§17 (p. 18)

(1) Ujalut miqquillulut aturvissaartilluakkani if ujalutq-t miqqu-t=lu atur-vik-saqar-tit-lluar-gaq-ni gut.thread-PL needle-PL=and use-loc.of-prospective-have-believe-well-TV\n-3SG₃,PL nassaarai. fb nassaari-pa-i discover-IND-TV-3SG,3PL He uncovered threads of gut and needles which he thought he could well use.
(2) Kamini ajurtilluinnarsimamata if
kamik-ni ajur-tit-luinnar-sima-mm-ata
kamik-3SG.PL bad-get-absolutely-prf-FCT_{-3PL}_⊥
Because his kamiks had become completely useless

tuttut amikuinik alirsiurnialirpuq. mf, fb
tuttu-t amiq-ku-it-nik alirsiq-liur-niar-pu-q
[caribou-PL.ERG skin-rest-3PL⊥.PL-MOD] sock-make-intend-begin-IND.IV-3SG
he⊥ decided to make inner socks out of scraps of caribou skins

kamikut ilaat pitsaammata ff
kamik-ku-t ila-it pitsaq-u-mm-ata
kamik-rest-PL some-3PL⊥.PL excellent-be-FCT_{-3PL}_⊥

alirsitalirniarlugit.
alirsiq-taq-lir-niar-llu-git
sock-of-provide-intend-ELA_{⊥-3PL}_⊥
intending to use them inside some of the discarded kamiks, which were [still] fine.

(3) Aamma if
aamma
also
Also,

pisissiq qarsullu nanivai ib, fb
pisissiq qarsuq-t=lu nani-pa-i
bow.SG arrow-PL=and find-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he found a bow and some arrows

aaqqissulaarlugit atuqqissinnaalluartut. ff
aaqqig-tur-laar-llu-git atur-qqig-sinnaa-lluuar-tuq-t
repair-process-a.bit-ELA_{⊥-3PL}_⊥ used-again-be.possible-well-IV\cn-PL
that could well be used again after a few repairs.

(4) Kiisami tassa ajursaataruppuq if, fb
kiisa=mi tassa ajursaat-irut-pu-q
finally=FOC that lack-run.out.of-IND.IV-3SG
So at last he no longer suffered any lack of anything

niqi kisiat ajursaatigilirlugu. ff
niqi kisi-at ajursaat-gi-lir-llu-gu
meat alone-SG⊥ lack-have.as-begin-ELA_{⊥-3SG}_⊥
except for meat [lit. beginning to lack only meat].

§18 (p. 18)
(1) Tassani sivisulaartumik uningasinnaannginnami if
tassani sivi-su-laar-tuq-mik unig nga-sinnaa-nngit-ga-mi
there.LOC duration-with.big-a.bit-IV\cn-SG.MOD stop-result-able-not-FCT_{⊥-3SG}_{⊥}
Since he couldn’t stay there for any length of time
ulluunirani kamini
ulluq-u-niq-a-ni kamik-ni
[day-be-v\n-3SG\SG-LOC kamik-3SG\T.PL

inirniarsarissallugit
inir-niar-saar-ssa-llu-git
get.done-prestate-try.to.cause-prospect-ELA\T-3PL\_

suliarilirpai
suliari-lir-pa-i
work.on-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he set to work on his kamiks,
in order [lit. wanting] to try to get them as good as done by daylight.

aqagu aalaaqqinnaassagami.
aqagu aallar-qig-niar-ssa-ga-mi
next.day set.off-again-intend-prospect-FCT\T-3SG\T
for he wanted and intended to leave again the following day.

(2) Taarsilirsurlu kiisami inirpai
 taaq-st-lir-tu-q=lu kiisa=mi inir-pa-i
dark-get-begin-ELA\I\T=and finally=FOC get.done-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
And just when it began to get dark, he finally did get them done.

(3) Sinitsinnani
 sinig-tit-na-ni
asleep-state-NON\T-3SG\T
Before sleep [lit. while his asleep state was (still) a non-fact]

pisissiq qarsullu suliarai
pisissiq qarsuq-t=lu suliar-pa-i
[bow.SG arrow-PL=and] work.on-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he worked on the bow and the arrows

atursinnaanngurtillugit.
atur-sinnaa-ngur-tit-llu-git
used-able-become-cause-ELA\T-3PL\_
making them usable (again).

(4) Uuqattaaramigit paasivaa
uuqatttaar-ga-migit paasi-pa-a
try.out-FCT\T-3SG\T.3PL\_ find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
When he tried them out, he found out that

assut pitsaasuusut.
assut pitsak-u-tuq-u-tu-t
very excellent-be-IV\CN-be-ELA\I\V\IV-3PL\_
they now were really excellent.
§19 (p. 18)
(1) Sininnialirami
    sinig-niar-lir-ga-mi
    asleep-prestate-begin-FCT₃SG₃
When he began to get ready for bed
    igalaaqarvik  apummik  matuva.  ib, mf, fb
    igalaaq-qar-vik  aput-mik  matu-pa-a
    window-have-loc.of  snow-SG.MOD  cover-IND-TV-3SG.3SG
he covered up the window frame with snow.

(2) Tikikkamili
    tikit-ga-mi=li
    come-FCT₃SG₃=since
Since he had come here
    kataap  matua  ujarak  nikisinngilaa.  ib, fb
    katak-p  matu-a  ujarak  nikit-tit-ngit-la-a
    entrance  cover-3SG.₄SG  stone  shift-cause-not-NEG-3SG.3SG
he hadn’t shifted the stone covering the entrance.

(3) Sininngaliraluarlunilu
    tusaasaqalirpuq.  if, fb
    sinig-niar-lir-galuar-llu-ni=lu  tusaas-qar-lir-pu-q
    asleep-prestate-begin-...but-ELA₃SG₃=and  hear-TV\m-have-begin-IND.IV-3SG
He was about to fall asleep when he suddenly heard something.

(4) Aarimmi
    taqqama  qiraarpalulirpuq  if, ib, fb
    aarit=mi  taqqama  qiraar-palug-lir-pu-q
    sure.enough=FOC  across.wall  [snow]crunch-hear-begin-IND.IV-3SG
Sure enough, crunching [footsteps in the] snow began to be heard from the outside
    nalunarani  nanuusuq.  ff
    nalu-nar-na-ni  nanuq-u-tu-q
    not.know-make.one-NON₃SG₃ bear-be-ELA.₄IV-3SG.₄SG
clearly it was a bear.

(5) Pilirtuqaluni
    pisissiq  piariirpaa.  if, ib, fb
    pi-lirtur-qi-llu-ni  pisissiq  piariir-pa-a
    do-quickly-emph-ELA₃SG₄ bow  get.ready-IND-TV-3SG.3SG
Instantly, he got his bow ready.

(6) Aarimmi
    igalaaqarviup  matua  aput  if, ib
    aarit=mi  igalaaq-qar-vik-p  matu-a  aput
    sure.enough=FOC  window-have-loc.of-SG.ERG  cover-3SG.₄SG  snow
And sure enough, the snow covering the window frame,
    silataanit  sakappaa.  mf, fb
    sila-taq-a-nit  sakag-pa-a
    outdoors-of-3SG.₄SG-ABL  push-IND-TV-3SG.3SG
he (the bear) pushed in from the outside.
(7) **Nannup niaqursua ilummut puttuppuq.** if, mf, fb
    *nannuq-p niaqur-suaq-a iluq-mut puttuq-pu-q*
    bear-SG.ERG head-big-3SG.SG inside-SG.DAT stick.head.in-IND.4V-3SG
    The huge head of a bear poked its nose inside.

(8) **Pisiriarnialissallugu if**
    *pisig-riar-niar-lir-ssa-llu-gu*
    hit.with.arrow-stage.one-prestate-begin-prospect-ELA-3SG-⊥
    He was about to get ready to loose an arrow at it but
    *pisirianngitsuuginnarpaa fb*
    *pisig-riar-ngitsuur-innar-pa-a*
    hit.with.arrow-stage.one-refrain-just-ELA-3SG-⊥
    just held his hand
    *nanuq-p niaqquq-ni sila-taq-a-nit nusug-mm-agu*
    bear-SG.ERG head-3SG.SG outside-of-3SG.ABL pull-FCT-3SG-⊥.3SG-⊥
    because the bear pulled his head back from the outside.

(9) **Nansuraq utiriarturlu naalarniaarlugu if**
    *nannuq-suaq utir-riar-tuq=lu naalaa-niar-lir-riar-llu-gu*
    bear-big return-stage.one-IV-CN=and listen.for-try-begin-stage.one-ELA-3SG-⊥
    Just as he† started trying to listen for the bear† coming back,
    *tusaalirpaa illu kaajallakkiaturpalurira.* fb, ff
    *tusaa-lir-pa-a illu kaajallag-iartur-palug-riir-gi-a*
    hear-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG [house circle-go.to-x.hear-begin-ELA.4V-3SG.3SG-⊥]
    he† caught the first sound of it† coming [back] to circle round the house.

(10) **Nirisusuqigami igalaaqarvik tikisirlugu if, ib**
    *niri-rusuk-qi-ga-mi igalaaq-qar-vik tikit-lir-llu-gu*
    eat-want-emph-FCT-3SG.TV window-have-loc.of come.to-begin-ELA-3SG-⊥
    Being very hungry, he† went toward the window frame and
    *qamalirpaa pisissiq qiluriirlugu.* fb, ff
    *qama-lir-pa-a pisissiq qilug-riir-llu-gu*
    lie.in.wait.for-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG bow draw-have.already-ELA-3SG-⊥
    he† began to lie in wait for it†, which his† bow already drawn.
And sure enough, when he was good and ready, it began to pass by very near.

Turning to flee with a mighty roar it was gone, one couldn’t hear it any more.

He wanted to go and look for it.
(16) Sulili taartursuummat if
suli=li taaq-tursuu-mm-at
still=but dark-have.lots-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$
But since it was still very dark,
quilirtagigallarpaa. fb
quilir-agi-gallar-pa-a
fear.hurt.from-for.now-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he$_T$ didn’t dare to go after it$_T$ yet.

(17) Qaammalirpat allaatigalugu if
qaa-mm-irr-lir-pp-at allaat-gi-lu-gu
[start-have-as-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$
[light-get-begin-HYP$_T$-3SG$_T$ start-have-as-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$

asuliinnaq tussassallugu aalajangirpuq. mf, fb
asuli=inaq tussar-sa-llu-gu aalajangir-pu-q
for.fun=just follow.tracks-prospect-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$ decide-IND.IV-3SG
He$_T$ decided that at the first light, just for the heck of it, he$_T$ would follow its$_T$ tracks.

(18) Tassani irinigisuqaluni qaatsiilirpaa. if, mf, fb
tassani irini-gi-suq-qi-llu-ni qaatsi-liir-pa-a
there.LOC long.for-feel-emph-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$ light.wait.for-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He$_T$ began to wait there longingly for daylight.

(19) Niriukkaluarpuq nanuq pisarisinnaallugu fb, $f_1$
niriug-galuar-pu-q nanuq pi-saq-gi-sinnaa-llu-gu
hope-…but-IND.IV-3SG bear get-tv\rm-have.as.be.able-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$
He$_T$ hoped he$_T$ might be able to get the bear

ikiliiriiamiumi. $f_2$
iki-liir-riir-ga-miuk=mi
wound-provide-have.already-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$,3SG$_T$=for
for he$_T$ had already wounded it$_T$.

(20) Aammami taanna pisarinngikkuniuk if
aamma=mi taanna pi-saq-gi-nngit-gu-niuk
also=for that get-tv\rm-have.as-not-HYP$_T$-3SG$_T$,3SG$_T$
Also because, if he$_T$ didn’t get it$_T$

qaqugu nirisassarsissanirluni ib, mf
qaqugu niri-saq-ssaq-si-ssa-nir-llu-ni
when$_{at}$ eat-tv\rm-prospective-get-prospect-x.wonder-ELA$_T$-3SG$_T$

nalugamiuk
nalu-ga-miuk
not.know-FCT$_T$-3SG$_T$,3SG$_T$
he$_T$ didn’t know when he$_T$ would anything to eat.
(21) Nirsassarsisariaqarpumi

*fb*

**niri-saq-ssaq-si-tariaqar-pu-q=mi**

eat-tv\m-prospective-get-have.to-IND.3SG=for

For he\(_T\) had to find something to eat

**ilani**  **suli**  **ungasikkamigit**

**ila-ni**  **suli**  **ungasig-ga-migit**

part-3SG\(_T\).PL  still  far.from-FCT\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\).3PL\(_⊥\)

since being still far from his\(_T\) family,

**sivisuumik**  **pisuttariaqarami**

**sivi-tuq-mik**  **pisug-tariaqar-ga-mi**

duration-with.big-SG.MOD  walk-have.to-FCT\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\)

he\(_T\) had to walk for a long time,

**nirisassarsinngikkunilu**

**niri-saq-ssaq-si-nngit-gu-ni=lu**

eat-tv\m-prospective-get-not-HYP\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\)=and

and if he\(_T\) didn’t get anything to eat

**naammattumik**  **nukissaarutissagami.**

**naammag-tuq-mik**  **nukik-saq-irut-ssa-ga-mi**

sufficient-iv\cn-SG.MOD  strength-prospective-run.out.of-prospect-FCT\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\)

he\(_T\) would run out of adequate strength.

§20 (p. 19)

(1) **Kiisami**  **taamaalluni**  **qaalirpuq.**

*if, ib, fb*

**kiisa=mi**  **taama=it-llu-ni**  **qaa-lir-pu-q**

finally=FOC  thus=be-ELA\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\)  light-begin.IND.4-V-3SG

At last, while he was [waiting] like this, it grew light.

(2) **Qaammarnira**  **naammagiliramiuk**

*if*

**qaa-mmar-niq-a**  **naammagi-lir-ga-miuk**

light-get\v\n-3SG\(_⊥\).3SG  consider.sufficient-begin-FCT\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\).3SG\(_⊥\).3SG\(_⊥\)

When he decided there was enough light,

**pigisaalunnguani**  **tiguriarlugit**  **anivuq,**

*ib, fb*

**pigi-saq-aluk-nnguaq-ni**  **tigu-riar-llu-git**  **ani-pu-q**

own-tv\v\n-bunch-small-3SG\(_T\).PL  take.stage.one-ELA\(_T\)-3PL\(_⊥\)  go.out-IND.4-V-3SG

he took his few possessions and went out,

**assut**  **mianirsrurluni**

*ff\(_1\)*

**assut**  **mianirsrur-llu-ni**

very  take.care-ELA\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\)

taking great care

**nanursuarmi**  **quilirtagigamiuk.**

*ff\(_2\)*

**nanuq=:suaq=mi**  **quilirtagi-ga-miuk**

bear-big=for  fear.hurt.from-FCT\(_T\)-3SG\(_T\).3SG\(_⊥\)

for he\(_T\) was (still) afraid of the great bear.
And sure enough, there were his great big tracks, full of blood,

The sea was actually very near, and the bear had set off straight down.

But as soon as it reached the shore it started off across [its old tracks, i.e. along the shore]

Very excited he began to follow its tracks.

Since it still wasn’t fully light, it was half dark.
Then suddenly he found something strange.

A big yellowish object

At the end of its trail of tracks.

With great care, he began to move toward it.

Extremely slowly, step by step he came closer with his bow already drawn and ready.

When he got very close to it

He suddenly realized

That it indeed was that one!
(12) Nanursuaq tuqusimaqaq!
  nanuq=::suaq tuqu-sima-ar-qi-pu-q
bear-big die-prf (result state)-long-emph-IND-IV-3SG
The great big bear was quite dead!

§21 (p. 19)
(1) Kiisami sinnilissuartik inuussutissarsivuq.
  kiisa=mi sinniq-lik-::suaq-mik inuu-ssut:ssaq-/-qi-pu-q
finally=FOC residue-with-big-SG.MOD live-means-prospective-get-IND-IV-3SG
At last, he acquired more than enough to keep himself alive.

(2) Allat iqqaamngilai
  alla-t iqqaa-ngit-la-i
other-PL remember-not-NEG-3SG.PL
He only remembered [lit. didn’t remember anything other than]
taakkut timi-t pirlirnikut illuqagitignani.
  taakkut timi-t pirlir-niq-ku-t illu-qat-qi-qaq-/-ni
those body-PL starve.to.death-v

§22 (p. 19)
(1) Naammagisaminik taqussiinnarluni
  naammagi-qaq-mi-nik taqua-qi-INNER-/-llu-ni
consider.adequate-tv

(2) Nirilluarami nukituaqallassimaqaq.
  niri-lluar-ga-mi nuki-kaqallag-sima-qi-pu-q
eat-well-FCT-3SG.FCT strength-get-more-suddenly-prf-emph-IND-IV-3SG
Having eaten well, he now suddenly felt much stronger.
(3) Ingirlavuq, ingirlavuq
    ingirla-pu-q ingirla-pu-q
    go.on-IND.IV-3SG go.on-IND.IV-3SG
    HeT went on and on
    sissaq sinirtualugu.
    sissaq sini-r-tuar-llu-gu
    shore edge-do-constantly-ELA-T-3SG⊥
    following the shore all the way.

(4) Taamaallunimi ilarsuani tikiqai!
    taama=it-llu-ni=mi ila-:suaq-ni tikit-qi-pa-i
    thus=be-ELA-T-3SG=FOC part-big-3SG⊥,Pl coming.to-emph-IND.TV-3SG,3Pl
    And that was how heT really did reach his companions!

(5) Taamaasinirani
    taama=ili-niq-a-ni
    thus=become-v\n\n-3SG⊥,SG-LOC
    Around then
    silarsuaq issittursuanngurpuq
    sili-:suaq issig-tuq-:suaq-ngur-pu-q
    weather-big be.frost-iv\cn-big-become-IND.IV-3SG
    heavy frosts set in
    kapirlammi ungasikkunnaarmat.
    kapirlak=mi ungasig-kunnar-mm-at
    winter.darkness=for far-no.longer-FCT⊥,3SG⊥
    for the winter darkness was no longer far off.

§23 (p. 19)
(1b) Qillaarsuaq imaasiursimavuq:
    Qillaarsuaq ima=iliur-sima-pu-q
    Qillaarsuaq so=do-prf-IND.IV-3SG
    As for QillaarsuaqT, this is what heT had done:

(1b) ilartik saavitaammat
    ila-rtik saavit-taq-u-mm-at
    part-3Pl⊥,SG [breaking.ice]carry.off-tv\n\n-rem-be-FCT⊥,3SG⊥
    When one of their party was carried off by breaking ice
    uningaaavimminni tassani
    unig-nga-ar-vik-mik-ni tassa-ni
    stop-result-long-loc.of-3Pl⊥,SG-LOC that-LOC
    ukiigallarniarluni aalajangirpuq
    ukiuq-i-gallar-niar-llu-ni aalajangir-pu-q
    winter-spend-for.now-intend-ELA-T-3SG⊥ decide-IND.IV-3SG
    heT decided to stay for now for the winter at that camp where theyT had stopped.
for at some point, somehow, he (he) might nonetheless come back.

(2) \( Qillarsuaq \) silatuturuugami nalungilaa if, fb
\( Qillarsuaq \) sila-tuug-u-ga-mi nalung-il-a
\( Qillarsuaq \) sense-with.big-big-be-ELA-3SG\(_T\) not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG

Being very wise, \( Qillarsuaq \) knew that

\( \text{inggaani} \) Piuaatsuq
\( \text{inggaaq-ni} \) Piuaatsuq
son.in.law-3SG.3SG Piuaatsuq
[his \( \text{son-in-law, Piuaatsuq} \)]

\( \text{sapinngisaminik} \) annanriarumaartuq
\( \text{sapir-nngit-saq-mi-nik} \) annag-niar-umaar-tu-q
\( \text{can’t.do-not-tv} \text{rv-3SG.3SG-MOD} \) survive-try-be.hoped-ELA-IV-3SG.3SG

would do everything he could to try to survive

\( \text{ingirlaniarumaaartulu.} \)
\( \text{ingirla-niar-niar-umaar-tu-q=lu} \)
go.on-try-intend-be.hoped-ELA-IV-3SG=and

would be determined to try to go.

(3) \( Ilimagisaaluimi \) tamanna iqquppuq.
\( ilimagi-saq-a=lu=mi \) tamanna iqqug-pu-q

expect-tv-rn-3SG.3SG=and-FOC that prove.right-IND.IV-3SG

And this expectation of his proved to be right.

§24 (p. 19)

(1) \( Ilimagiunnaaraanni \)
\( ilimagi-junnar-gi-anni \)
expect-no.longer-ELA-3TV-3PL.3SG\(_T\)

When they were no longer expecting him

\( \text{Piuaatsuq tikippuq.} \)
\( \text{Piuaatsuq tikit-pu-q} \)
\( \text{Piuaatsuq} \) come-IND.IV-3SG
\( \text{Piuaatsuq} \) came back.

(2) Tikippuq
\( \text{tikit-pu-q} \)
come-IND.IV-3SG
\( \text{He} \) came back

\( \text{nuliani} \) Avurtungiaq
\( \text{nuliaq-ni} \) Avurtungiaq
wife-3SG.3SG Avurtungiaq
[when] his wife Avurtungiaq
Qillarsuakkut avvarliirsaasa ilaannit
Qillarsua-kku-š avvarliq-gi-saq-isa ila-at-nit
Qillarsuaq-&co-PL neighbour-have.as-tv\rn-3PL₁,PL part-3PL₁,SG-ABL

nuliartaarningarluni aaniqariirsimasuq.
nuliiq-taari-niqar-llu-ni aa-niqar-riir-sima-tu-q
wife-get.as.new-passive-ELA₁-3SG₁ fetch-passive-have.already-prf-ELA₁-3SG₁

had already been fetched away as a new wife by one of the Qillarsuaq family’s neighbours.

(3) Piuaatsuq angirlamut tikikkami if
Piuaatsuq angirla-mut tikit-ga-mi
Piuaatsuq home-SG.DAT come-FCT₁-3SG₁
When Piuaatsuq came home

suurunami nuannaaraluarpug. ib, fb
suurunami nuannaar-galuar-pu-q
of.course happy-...but-IND.IV-3SG
he₁ was happy, of course.

(4) Nulianili allamik uiniriirsimasuq if
nuliiq-ni=li alla-mik ui-nig-riir-sima-tu-q
wife-3SG₁,SG=but other-SG.DAT husband-get-have.already-prf-ELA₁,IV-3SG₁

paasigamiuk
paasi-ga-miuk
find.out-FCT₁-3SG₁,3SG₁

But when he₁ found out that his₁ wife had already got another husband, then

suurunami aamma nuannaarpiaangngiaaq. ib, fb
suurunami aamma nuannaar-piar-ngit-gi-pu-q
of.course also happy-exactly-not-emph-IND.IV-3SG
of course, he₁ also wasn’t exactly happy.

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

tatigialugulu, ff₁
tatigi-qi-llu-gu=lu
trust-emph-ELA₁-3SG₁=and
and had great trust in him.

pingaartumimi nuliami Qillarsuak qatannguitigimmagu ff₂
pingaartumik=mi nuliiq-mi Qillarsuak qatanngut-gi-mm-agu
especially=for wife-3SG₁,SG.ERG Qillarsuak sibling-have.as-FCT₁-3SG₁,3SG₁
especially because his₁ wife₁ was Qillarsuaq’s sister
pingaartitaralugulu  asaqigamiuk.
pingaar-tit-taq-gi-lu-gu=lu  asa-qi-ga-miuk
important-consider-tv\nand have.ELA\nlove-emph-FCT.3SG.3SG
and she\nand she\nt valued him\nand valued him\nvery much.

(6)  Qillarsuup
Qillarsuaq-p
Qillarsuaq-SG.ERG
Qillarsuaq\n
ningaarsuani       ilalirsulirpaa       ib, fb
ningaaq=saq-ni      ilalir-tur-lir-pa-a
son.in.law-big-3SG\nencourage-process-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
began to encourage his\ngreat son-in-law\n
piumappat    nulia    aaniaqqullugu    ff
pi-uma-pp-at   nuliaq-a   aa-niar-qqu-lu-gu
do-want-HYP\nwife-3SG.3SG\nfetch-try-tell-ELA\n

telling him\nto fetch his\nwife\nback if he\nwanted to,

uisaavanit  nukiqarniruppatt.
ui-taaq-a-nit  nukik-qar-niur-pp-at
husband-new-3SG\nstrength-have-more-HYP\n
if he\were stronger than her\new husband.

§25 (p. 20)
(1)  Aarimmi    ullut    ilaanni    if, ib
aari=mi    ulluq-t    ila-at-ni
sure.enough=FOC day-PL.ERG part-3PL.3SG-LOC
And sure enough, one day

unammisussamngurput    fb
unammig-taq-ssaq-nngur-pu-t
compete-iv\cn-prospective-become-IND.IV-3SG
they came to have a song competition

arnaq    taanna    pissutigalugu;
arnaq    taanna    pissut-gi-lu-gu
woman this\nreason-have.as-ELA\n
because of that woman,

kamaatinngikkaluarlutik,    ff_2
kamaat-mngir-galuur-lu-tik
angry.with.e.o-not...but-ELA\n
not that they\nwere angry with each other

takuniarluguli    kina    arlaat    ajugaajumaarirsuq.
taku-niar-lu-gu=li    kina    arlaq-at    ajugaar-umaar-nir-tu-q
see-intend-ELA\nbut who\nwin-destined-x.wonder-ELA\n
but to see\[lit. intending to see\] which one of them would win.
ajugaasup arnaq taanna pissamagu.
ajugaa-tuq-p arnaq taanna pi-ssa-mm-agu
win-iv\cn-SG.ERG woman this get-prospect-FCT\-3SG\⊥,3SG\⊥
for the winner was going to get that woman.

(2) Aarimmi Piuaatsuq
aarit=mi Piuaatsuq
sure.enough=FOC Piuaatsuq
And sure enough, it\⊥ was Piuaatsuq\⊥

ajugaarujussuaqisuq
ajugaa-rujussuaq-qi-tu-q
win-hugely-emph-ELA\⊥,IV-3SG\⊥
that\⊥ won a huge victory

pirsuarsiuqiniqaqalunilu
pi-:suaq-siur-ut-gi-niqaar-qi-llu-ni=lu
kind-great-celebrate-cause-have.as-passive-emph-ELA\⊥-3SG\⊥=and
and was celebrated as a great hero

nuliaini utirtimmagu.
nuliaq-ni utir-tit-mm-agu
wife-3SG\⊥,SG return-cause-FCT\⊥-3SG.3SG
when he\⊥ brought his\⊥ wife back home.