

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT  
Selected from  
**Naya Nuki: Niviarsiaraq qimaasuq**  
(*Naya Nuki: Shoshoni Girl Who Ran*)

BASED ON A TRUE STORY:

Thomasma, K. 1983, *Naya Nuki*, Grandview Publishing Company, Jackson, Wyoming.

Thomasma, K. 1988, *Naya Nuki*, Wilkens Forlag, Denmark. [Danish transl. of Thomasma 1983]

Thomasma, K. 1993, *Naya Nuki*, Atuakkiorfik, Nuuk. [Kalaallisut transl. of Thomasma 1988]

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (10/5/2007): Kalaallisut has a great deal of fusion. For clarity, line 1 is in the modern Kalaallisut orthography minus allophonic variants (*e, o, f* of *i, u, v*); line 2 is the morphological analysis; line 3 are the glosses; line 4 is a free English translation. Derivational morphemes are glossed in lower case (e.g. ‘prf’ for perfect aspect), inflectional and other functional morphemes, in small caps (e.g. IND, RPT). Glosses for:

• *matrix moods*:

IND = indicative, IMP = imperative, NEG = negative, OPT = optative, QUE = interrogative

• *dependent moods*:

ELA = elaborating, FCT = factual, HAB = habitual, HYP = hypothetical, NON = non-factual

• *case*:

ABL = ablative, DAT = dative, EQU = equalis (‘like, as’), ERG = ergative, LOC = locative, MOD = modalis (modifier), VIA = vialis (path)

• *centering*:

⊤ = topic, ⊥ = background, IV = property of topic; TV = relation of topic to background

• *derivation*:

antip = antipassive, dist = distributive, dur = durative, emph = emphatic, loc.of = location of, opp = opposite, prf = perfect aspect, rcp = reciprocal, iv = intrans. verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rn = relational noun, *a**b* = suffix that attaches to category *a* to form *b*

• *clitics*:

ALT = alternative-sensitive operator (‘or’, ‘even’, ‘any’); FOC = focus

RPT = reportative evidential

Paragraphs (§) as in the original.

TOPOLOGY: *if* initial field, *ib* initial boundary, *mf* middle field, *fb* final boundary, *ff* final field.

Kalaallisut uses these fields roughly as follows:

*if*: anaphoric link to prior discourse and/or set up the primary topical referent (⊤);

*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*.

**HIGHLIGHTING:**

• xxx ‘prospective mood (HYP, IMP, NEG.IMP, OPT)’

• xxx ‘prospective stative (e.g. *-niar* ‘intend’, *-qqu* ‘want ⊥ to’, etc; see Bittner 2005)

• xxx ‘prospective non-stative (e.g. *-niar* ‘try’, *-qqu* ‘tell ⊥ to’, etc; *-ssaq* ‘prospective’, etc)

• *-galuar* ‘...but’ (unrealized expectation, desire, or the like)

|| conditional prospect (*rl* = real, *vd* = vivid, *rm* = remote)

**Imm. 3.** Kangimuinnarsuaq ingirlaarniq  
(**Ch. 3.** The long march east)

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

**§1** (p. 22)

- (1) *Naya Nuki* *iqqarsartuarpuq* *if, ib*  
*Naya Nuki* *iqqarsar-tuar-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki think-constantly-INDIV-3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> kept wondering

*sumummita* *ingirlanniqarlutik.* *ff*  
*su-mut=mita* *ingirla-t-niqar-llu-tik*  
 what-DAT=x.wonder travel-cause-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 where they<sub>T</sub> were being taken.

- (2) *Inqirlaarnirtik* *nuanniiqisuq* *naappat* *if*  
 | *ingirla-ar-niq-rtik* *nuannir-it-qi-tuq* *naa-pp-at*  
 travel-long-v\|n-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG be.fun-opp-emph-iv\|cn end-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>

*qanurmita* *piniqassava?* *ib, fb*  
 l.vd *qanuq=mita* *pi-niqar-ssa-vi-a*  
 how=FOC do.to-passive-prospect-QUE-3SG  
 What would happen to her<sub>T</sub> at the end of their<sub>T</sub> awful journey?

- (3) *Qimaaniarnissani* *iqqarsaatigiqqissaarpaa.* *if, fb*  
 • *qimaa-niar-niq-ssaq-ni* *iqqarsar-utigi-qqissaar-pa-a*  
 escape-try-v\|n-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG think-about-carefully-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 She thought carefully about escape.

- (4) *Pivvissaq* *nallirpat* *if*  
 | *pi-vik-ssaq* *nallir-pp-at*  
 do-loc.of-prospective arrive-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>

When the time was right,

*pinngitsuurani* *aniguiumaarpuq.* *mf, fb*  
 l.vd *pi-nngit-tuur-na-ni* *anigur-jumaar-pu-q*  
 do-not-happen.to-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> escape-x.hope-IND.IV-3SG  
 she would regain her freedom without fail.

**§2**

- (1) *Unnuaq taanna tigusat* *if, ib*  
*unnuaq taanna tigu-gaq-t*  
 night that take-tv\|rn-PL  
 That night the prisoners

*amirnit* *allunaasianik* *qilirsurniqarput,* *mf, fb*  
*amiq-nit* *allunaaq-liaq-nik* *qilir-tur-niqar-pu-t*  
 hide-PL.ABL rope-made-PL.MOD tie-process-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 were tied with leather thongs,

- |       |   |   |  |               |
|-------|---|---|--|---------------|
|       | <i>unnuarlu</i>   | <i>naavillugu</i>                                     | <i>nakkutigiqqissaarniqarlutik.</i>                            | <i>ff</i>     |
|       | <i>unnuaq=lu</i>  | <i>naa-vig-llu-gu</i>                                 | <i>nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-llu-tik</i>                        |               |
|       | night=and   | v.until.end-really-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3SG <sub>↓</sub> | watch-carefully-passive-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3PL <sub>T</sub>     |               |
|       | and were watched closely all night.   |   |  |               |
| (2)   | <i>Naya Nuki</i>  | <i>sinissinnaanngilaq.</i>                            |  | <i>if, fb</i> |
| •     | <i>Naya Nuki</i>  | <i>sinig-sinnaa-nngit-la-q</i>                        |  |               |
|       | <i>Naya Nuki</i>  | asleep-be.able-not-NEG-3SG                            |  |               |
|       | Naya Nuki could not sleep.  |   |  |               |
| (3)   | <i>Uqaluttuariniqartartut</i>   | <i>iqqaamavai,</i>                                    |  | <i>if, fb</i> |
|       | <i>uqaluttuari-niqar-tar-tuq-t</i>  | <i>iqqaa-ma-pa-i</i>                                  |  |               |
|       | tell.as.story-passive-habit-iv\cn-PL  | recall-res-IND.TV-3SG.3PL                             |  |               |
|       | She <sub>T</sub> remembered the stories that were told (among her <sub>T</sub> people): |   |  |               |
| (4)   | <i>tassamiguuq</i>  |   |  | <i>if</i>     |
|       | <i>tassa=mi=guuq</i>  |   |  |               |
|       | that.is=FOC=RPT   |   |  |               |
|       | <i>tigusat</i>  | <i>ungasissursuarmut</i>                              | <i>ingirlanniqariarlutik</i>                                   | <i>ib</i>     |
|       | <i>tigu-gaq-t</i>   | <i>ungasig-tuq-:suaq-mut</i>                          | <i>ingirla-t-niqar-riar-llu-tik</i>                            |               |
|       | take-tv\rn-PL   | be.far-iv\cn-big-SG.DAT                               | travel-cause-passive-...and-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3PL <sub>T</sub> |               |
|       | <i>inussiatut</i>   | <i>tuniniqartarput.</i>                               |  | <i>mf, fb</i> |
|       | <i>inuk-si-aq-tut</i>   | <i>tuni-niqar-tar-pu-t</i>                            |  |               |
|       | person-get-iv\thm-EQU   | sell-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG                         |  |               |
|       | Prisoners, they said, would be taken far away and sold as slaves.                       |   |  |               |
| (5)   | <i>Unnuaq</i>   | <i>siulliq</i>  | <i>aalajangirpuq</i>   | <i>if, fb</i> |
|       | <i>unnuaq</i>   | <i>siu-lliq</i>                                       | <i>aalajangir-pu-q</i>   |               |
|       | night   | front-most  | decide-IND.IV-3SG  |               |
|       | She <sub>T</sub> decided that very first night that,                                    |   |  |               |
| ll.rm | <i>qanurluunniit</i>  | <i>ungasitsigisumut</i>                               | <i>pissunniqaraluaruni,</i>                                    | <i>ff</i>     |
|       | <i>qanuq=luunniit</i>   | <i>ungasig-tigi-tuq-mut</i>                           | <i>pissut-niqar-galuar-gu-ni</i>                               |               |
|       | how=ALT   | be.far-to.that.deg-iv\cn-SG.DAT                       | take-passive-...but-HYP <sub>T</sub> -3SG <sub>T</sub>         |               |
|       | no matter how far she <sub>T</sub> was taken  |   |  |               |
| ll.rm | <i>qanurluunniit</i>  | <i>paarsisuminnit</i>                                 | <i>piniqaraluaruni,</i>  |               |
|       | <i>qanuq=luunniit</i>   | <i>paari-si-tuq-mik-nit</i>                           | <i>pi-niqar-galuar-gu-ni</i>                                   |               |
|       | how=ALT   | guard-antip-iv\rn-3SG <sub>T</sub> .PL-ABL            | do.to-passive-...but-HYP <sub>T</sub> -3SG <sub>T</sub>        |               |
|       | and no matter what her <sub>T</sub> captors did to her <sub>T</sub> ,                   |   |  |               |
|       | <i>ullut</i>  | <i>ilaanni</i>  | <i>qimaajumaarluni,</i>  |               |
|       | <i>ulluq-t</i>  | <i>ila-at-ni</i>                                      | <i>qimaa-jumaar-llu-ni</i>                                     |               |
|       | day-PL.ERG  | part-3PL <sub>↓</sub> .SG-LOC                         | escape-x.hope-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3SG <sub>T</sub>               |               |
|       | <i>qaqqanilu</i>  | <i>najukkaminnut</i>                                  | <i>utirumaarluni.</i>  |               |
|       | <i>qaqqaq-ni=lu</i>   | <i>najur-gaq-mik-nut</i>                              | <i>utir-jumaar-llu-ni</i>                                      |               |
|       | mountain-PL.LOC=and   | live.at-tv\rn-3SG <sub>T</sub> .PL-DAT                | return-x.hope-ELA <sub>T</sub> -3SG <sub>T</sub>               |               |
|       | some day she <sub>T</sub> would escape and return to her home in the mountains.         |   |  |               |

## §3

- (1) *Naya Nuki unnuaq taanna itiqattaartuarpuq.* *if, ib, fb*  
*Naya Nuki unnuaq taanna itir-qattaar-tuar-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki night that wake.up-keep-constantly-IND.IV-3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>↑</sup> kept waking up throughout the night.
- (2) *Pavvii singirnirilu*  
*pavvik-i singirniq-i=lu*  
 wrist-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.PL ankle-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.PL=and  
 [Her<sup>↓</sup> wrists and ankles]<sup>↑</sup>
- sukallugit qilirniqarsimagamik annirnaqaat.*  
*sukag-llu-git qilir-niqar-sima-ga-mik annir-nar-qi-pu-t*  
 v.tightly-ELA<sub>↑</sub>-3PL<sub>↓</sub> tie-passive-prf-FCT<sub>↑</sub>-3PL<sub>↑</sub> hurt-make.one-emph-IND.IV-3PL  
 were so tightly tied that they<sub>↑</sub> hurt badly.
- (3) *Unnuaq sivirusiqisug* *kiisami naammat* *if*  
*unnuaq sivi-tuuq-qi-tuq* *kiisami naa-mm-at*  
 night duration-with.big-emph-iv\cn finally end-FCT<sub>↓</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
 When the long night finally ended
- ullaanngurmallu*  
*ullaaq-nngur-mm-at=lu*  
 morning-become-FCT<sub>↓</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>=and  
 and morning came
- tigusat qilirussaajarniqarput.* *ib, fb*  
*tigu-gaq-t qilir-ut-ssaar-rar-niqar-pu-t*  
 take-tv\rn-PL tie-v\ins-remove.from-dist-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 the prisoners<sup>↑</sup> were all untied.
- (4) *Nikuiqqaaramik* *if*  
*nikuig-qqaar-ga-mik*  
 stand.up-first-FCT<sub>↑</sub>-3PL<sub>↑</sub>  
 When they<sub>↑</sub> first stood up
- nikurvanirluunniit sapingajapput.* *fb*  
*nikurva-niq=luunniit sapir-ngajag-pu-t*  
 stand-n\v=ALT be.unable-almost-INF.IV-3PL  
 they<sub>↑</sub> were barely able [*lit.* almost unable] even to stand.
- (5) *Niui ilisimanngillat,* *if, fb*  
*niu-it ilisima-nngit-la-t*  
 leg-3PL<sub>↓</sub>.PL have.feeling-not-NEG-3PL  
 Their<sub>↓</sub> legs<sup>↑</sup> were numb,
- sannirsimaqalutik issurarsimallutillu,* *ff*  
*sannir-sima-qi-llu-tik issurar-sima-llu-tik=lu*  
 get.sore-prf-emph-ELA<sub>↑</sub>-3PL<sub>↑</sub> get.stiff-prf-ELA<sub>↑</sub>-3PL<sub>↑</sub>=and  
 very sore and stiff,

*irniinnarli iqaalliimipput.*  
*irniinnaq=li iqaag-li-mi-pu-t*  
 soon=but be.limber-get.more-partly-IND.IV-3SG  
 but soon they<sub>T</sub> became somewhat more limber.

- (6) *Aalariarsinnaalirluni iluaallak.* *if, fb*  
 • *aala-riar-sinnaa-lir-llu-ni iluar-allag-Ø*  
 move-stage.one-be.able-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> be.good-get.a.bit.more-EXCL  
 How it helped to be able to move again!

§4

- (1) *Ussippaarsuup niqaanik camasillu surlaannik if*  
*ussippaarsuaq-p niqi-a-nik camasi-t=lu surlaq-it-nik*  
 buffalo-SG.ERG meat-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-MOD camas-PL.ERG=and root-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL-MOD  
*ullaakkursiutissaminnik tuniqqinniqrput. mf, fb*  
*ulaakkursiur-ut-ssaq-mik-nik tuni-qqig-niqar-pu-t*  
 have.breakfast-means-prospective-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL-MOD give-again-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>⊥</sub><sup>T</sup> were again given buffalo meat and camas roots for breakfast.

- (2) *Naya Nuki if*  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup>  
*imirmik nillarimmik iggisirluni nirivuq. ib, fb*  
*imiq-mik nillarig-mik iggisir-llu-ni niri-pu-q*  
 water-SG.MOD ice.cold-SG.MOD drink.with.food-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> eat-IND.IV-3SG  
 drank ice cold water with her<sub>T</sub> food.

- (3) *Kangiani qaqqatigut siqiniq sulii nuinnngitsuq if*  
*kangi-a-ni qaqqaq-t-kut siqiniq sulii nui-nngit-tu-q*  
 east.of-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC mountain-PL-VIA sun still stick.up-not-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 Before the sun rose over the eastern mountains,  
 [lit. While the the sun rise was still a non-fact]

*aallaqqipput. fb*  
*aallar-qqig-pu-t*  
 set.out-again-IND.IV-3PL  
 they<sup>T</sup> were again on the move.

- (4) *Tigusat iqqaasiqqinniqrput if, fb*  
*tigu-gaq-t iqqaa-tit-qqig-niqar-pu-t*  
 take-tv\|rn-PL recall-cause-again-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 The prisoners<sup>T</sup> were again reminded

*qimaaniaraluarunik tuqutaassasut, ff<sub>1</sub>*  
 ||rml *qimaa-niar-galuar-gu-nik tuqu-t-taq-u-ssa-tu-t*  
 escape-try-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> die-cause-tv\|rn-be-prospect-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 that if they<sub>T</sub> tried to escape, they<sub>T</sub> would be killed,

- tassalumiaasiit*                      *avissaartinniqlutik.*                      *ff*<sub>2</sub>  
*tassa=lu=mi=aasiit*                      *avissaar-tit-niqar-llu-tik*  
that=and=FOC=yet.again      separate-cause-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
and then, as before, they<sub>T</sub> were separated.
- (5) *Ataasiakkaarlutik*                      *if*  
*ataasiq-kkaar-llu-tik*  
one-v.in.units.of-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
They<sub>T</sub> were each
- histirsut*                      *sanianni*                      *ingirlagamik*  
*histi-r-tuq-t*                      *sani-at-ni*                      *ingirla-ga-mik*  
horse-do-iv\cn-PL.ERG      side-3PL<sub>1</sub>.SG-LOC      travel-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
walking next to a rider, so
- imminnut*      *uqaluussinnaanngillat.*                      *mf, fb*  
• *immi-t-nut*      *uqalug-ut-sinnaa-nngit-la-t*  
self-PL-DAT      talk-rcp-be.able-not-NEG-3PL  
they<sub>T</sub> couldn't talk to each other.
- §5 (p. 23)
- (1) *Isigaat*                      *ippassaammalli*                      *sannirsimaqaat,*                      *if, ib, fb*  
*isigaq-it*                      *ippassaq-u-mm-at=li*                      *sannir-sima-qi-pu-t*  
foot-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL      day.before-be-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>=since      get.sore-prf-emph-IND.IV-3PL  
Their<sub>1</sub> feet<sub>T</sub> were (still) very sore from the day before,
- (2) *tassaluaasiit*                      *if*  
*tassa=lu-aasiit*  
that=and=yet.again  
and now again
- naasut*                      *kapinartullit*                      *aqutigiqqilirpaat.*                      *ib, fb*  
*naa-tuq-t*                      *kapi-nar-tuq-lik-t*                      *aqut-gi-lir-pa-it*  
grow-iv\cn-PL      pierce-prone.to-iv\cn-with-PL      path-have.as-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
they<sub>1</sub><sub>T</sub> were walking over thorny plants (= cactus).
- (3) *Ippassarniilli*                      *arriinnirusumik*                      *ingirlagamik*                      *if*  
*ippassaq-nit=li*                      *arri-it-niru-tuq-mik*                      *ingirla-ga-mik*  
day.before-ABL=but      fast-opp-more-iv\cn-MOD      travel-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
But they<sub>T</sub> were traveling more slowly than the previous day, so
- naasut*                      *kapinartullit*                      *ilaat*                      *ib*  
*naa-tuq-t*                      *kapi-nar-tuq-lik-t*                      *ila-it*  
grow-iv\cn-PL.ERG      pierce-prone.to-iv\cn-with-PL.ERG      part-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL
- tutinaviirsaarsinnaavaat.*                      *fb*  
• *tuti-naviir-saar-sinnaa-pa-it*  
step.on-avoid-strive-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
they<sub>T</sub> could try to avoid stepping on some of the thorny plants.

§6

- (1) *Naya Nuki ingirlanirmini* if, ib  
*Naya Nuki ingirla-niq-mi-ni*  
 Naya Nuki travel-v\ñ-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC  
 While she<sub>T</sub> was walking, Naya Nuki<sub>T</sub>

*sunut tamanut qiniqqissaarpuq,* mf, fb  
*su-nut tamaq-nut qinir-qqissaar-pu-q*  
 what-PL.DAT all-PL.DAT search-carefully-IND.IV-3SG  
 searched carefully in every direction

- suut naliraasinnaasut tuqqurviusinnaasulluunniit* ff  
 • *su-t naliraq-u-sinnaa-tuq-t tuqqur-vik-u-sinnaa-tuq=luunniit*  
 what-PL landmark-be-be.possible-iv\cn-PL hide-loc.of-be-be.possible-iv\cn=ALT

*misissurlugit.*  
*misissur-llu-git*  
 examine-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 studying all the possible landmarks and possible places to hide.

- (2) *Nalunngilaami* fb  
*nalu-nngit-la-a=mi*  
 not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG=for  
 For she<sub>T</sub> knew that

- qimaaguni tamaanaqqukkumaarluni.* ff  
 l.vdl *qimaa-gu-ni tama-una-qqut-jumaar-llu-ni*  
 escape-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> that-VIA-go.by-x.bound.to-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 if/when she<sub>T</sub> escaped then she'd be bound to pass this way (again).

§7

- (1) *Maannali suli qimaariarsinnaanngilaq* if, ib, fb  
 • *maanna=li suli qimaa-riar-sinnaa-nngit-la-q*  
 now=but still escape-stage.one-be.able-not-NEG-3SG  
 But for now, she<sub>T</sub> could not yet make any move to escape

*nakkutigiqqissaarniqartuaramik.* ff  
*nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-tuar-ga-mik*  
 watch-carefully-passive-constantly-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 for they<sub>T</sub> were watched closely all the time.

- (2) *Malugaa* fb  
*malugi-pa-a*  
 note-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> noted

*kuussuup ingirlaarvia qutiruritsik.* ff  
*kuuk-:suaq-p ingirla-ar-vik-a qutirur-gi-tsik*  
 river-big-SG.ERG travel-long-loc.of-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG follow(moving obj)-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.TV-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.3SG  
 that they<sub>⊥</sub> were following the course of a great river.

- (3) *Kuussuarli*      *sangujuraaqimmat*      *if*  
*kuuk-:suaq=li*      *sangu-juraar-qi-mm-at*  
river-big=but      turn-again&again-emph-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
But since the river twisted and turned,
- misissuqqissaartariaqarpuq,*      *fb*  
• *misissur-qqissaar-tariaqar-pu-q*  
examine-carefully-have.to-IND.IV-3SG  
she had to study it carefully
- kuunnirami*      *maliqqissaassagaluaaraanni*      *ff*  
ll.rm *kuug-niq-a=mi*      *malig-qqissaar-ssa-galuar-gaanni*  
flow-v\N-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG=for      follow-carefully-prospect-...but-HYP.3  
for if one followed the river's edge
- uiartirujussuarluni*      *ingirlasariaqarmat.*  
| *uiar-tir-rujussuar-llu-ni*      *ingirla-tariaqar-mm-at*  
go.around-bit.by.bit-hugely-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>      travel-be.necessary-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
it would be necessary to travel great distances around each turn.
- (4) *Naya Nukip*      *paasivaa*      *if, fb*  
*Naya Nuki-p*      *paasi-pa-a*  
Naya Nuki-SG.ERG      find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
Naya Nuki saw that
- ilaaniiriarlutik*      *ff*  
*ilaanni-Vriar-llu-tik*  
sometimes-v.that.frequently-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
sometimes they
- kuussuarmiit*      *kilumitirimik*      *ataatsimik*  
*kuuk-:suaq-miit*      *kilumitiri-mik*      *ataasiq-mik*  
river-big-SG.ABL      kilometer-SG.MOD      one-SG.MOD
- ungasitisigisukkuurtarlutik.*  
*ungasig-tigi-tuq-kkut=Vr-tar-llu-tik*  
be.far-to.that.degress-i\cn-SG.VIA=go-habit-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
they<sub>T</sub> were walking a whole kilometer away from the river.
- §8
- (1) *Aqaguani*      *aamma*      *taamak*      *ingirlapput.*      *if, mf, fb*  
*aqagu-a-ni*      *aamma*      *taamak*      *ingirla-pu-t*  
next.day-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-LOC      also      thus      travel-IND.IV-3PL  
The next day again they<sub>T</sub> traveled like this.
- (2) *Suli*      *qaammangitsuq*      *tigusat*      *makititaapput.*      *if, ib, fb*  
*suli*      *qaammar-nngit-tu-q*      *tigu-gaq-t*      *makig-tit-gaq-u-pu-t*  
still      get.light-not-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>      take-tv\rm-PL      get.up-cause-tv\rm-be-IND.IV-3PL  
The prisoners<sub>T</sub> were forced to get up before it got light.  
[lit. while getting light was still a non-fact]

- (3) *Nakkutigiqqissaarniqarlutik*      *sulisinniqarput.*      *if, fb*  
*nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-llu-tik*      *suli-tit-niqar-pu-t*  
 watch-carefully-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>      work-cause-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>T</sub> were set to work while they were watched closely.
- (4) *Qisussanik*      *katirsuisitaapput,*      *mf, fb*  
 • *qisuk-ssaq-nik*      *katirsur-(ss)i-tit-gaq-u-pu-t*  
 wood-prospective-PL.MOD      gather-antip-cause-tv\rn-be-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>T</sub> were set to gather fire wood,
- imirtartinniqarlutik*      *ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*imiq-tar-tit-niqar-llu-tik*  
 water-fetch-cause-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 haul water,
- camasillu*      *surlaannik*      *ivvialiurtinniqarlutik.*      *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*camasi-t=lu*      *surlaaq-it-nik*      *ivviaq-liur-tit-niqar-llu-tik*  
 camas-PL.ERG=and      root-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL-MOD      bread-make-cause-passive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 and bake bread out of camas roots.
- (5) *Ullaakkursiutigiuarpaat*      *fb*  
*ullaakkursiur-ut-gi-juar-pa-at*  
 have.breakfast-means-have.as-always-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
 Their<sub>T</sub> breakfast was always
- ussippaarsuup*      *niqaa*      *panirtuq*      *ff*  
*ussippaarsuaq-p*      *niqi-a*      *panir-tuq*  
 buffalo-SG.ERG      meat-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG      be.dry-iv\cn.SG  
 dried buffalo meat
- camasillu*      *surlaat.*  
*camasi-t=lu*      *surlaaq-t*  
 camas-PL.ERG=and      root-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL  
 and camas roots.
- §9**
- (1) *Qaqqat*      *ungasilliarturtillugit*      *if*  
*qaqqaq-t*      *ungasig-li-iartur-tit-llu-git*  
 mountain-PL      be.far-get.more-get.more&more-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 As they<sub>T</sub> moved farther and farther away from the mountains,
- Naya Nuki*      *nikalloraluttuinnarpuq.*      *ib, fb*  
*Naya Nuki*      *nikallur-galuttuinnar-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki      be.depressed-get.ever.more-IND.IV-3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> got ever more depressed.

- (2) *Ilami qaqqaarsuit ungasillivallaartinnagit if*  
*ila=mi qaqqaq-:suaq-t ungasig-li-pallaar-tit-na-git*  
 oh yes=FOC mountain-big-PL be.far-get.more-too.much-state-NON-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>
- qimaarusukkaluaqaaq. fb*
- *qimaa-rusug-galuar-qi-pu-q fb*  
 escape-desire-...but-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>τ</sub> so wanted to escape before they got too far from the great mountains.  
 [lit. while getting too far from the great mountains was still a non-fact]
- (3) *Piriarvissaqanngilarli*
- *pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-nngit-la-q=li*  
 v-stage.one-loc.of-prospective-have-not-NEG-3SG=but  
 But there was no chance to do anything,
- aalariarninnguatik tamarmik nakkutigiqqissaarniqarmata*  
*aala-riar-niq-nnguaq-tik tamaq-mik nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-mm-ata*  
 move-stage.one-v\cn-little-3PL<sub>τ</sub>.PL all-PL<sub>τ</sub> watch-carefully-passive-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 for their<sub>τ</sub> every move was closely watched.
- §10**
- (1) *Irininarsinngitsuq if*  
 Soon
- ussippaarsuit ataatsimuurtursuakkuutaat . ib*  
*ussippaarsuaq-t ataasiq-mut=Vr-tuq-:suaq-kkuutaar-q-it*  
 buffalo-PL.ERG one-SG.DAT=go-v\cn-big-v.in.units.of-v\cn-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL
- takusalirpaat. fb*  
*taku-tar-lir-pa-at*  
 see-habit-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
 they<sub>τ</sub> began to see great herds of buffalo.
- (2) *Naammattursuarnik mf*  
*naammag-tuq-:suaq-nik*  
 be.enough-iv\cn-big-PL.MOD
- nutaartugassaqaalirput. fb*
- *nutaaq-tur-gaq-ssaq-qar-lir-pu-t*  
 fresh-use.as.customary-tv\cn-prospective-have-begin-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>τ</sub> had plenty of fresh meat to eat.
- (3) *Ussippaarsuarnik taamak amirlatigisunik if*  
*ussippaarsuaq-nik taamak amirla-tigi-tuq-nik*  
 buffalo-PL.MOD thus many-to.that.degree-iv\cn-PL.MOD
- aatsaat takulirput. ib, fb*  
*aatsaat taku-lir-pu-t*  
 only.then see-begin-IND.IV-3PL  
 They<sub>τ</sub> had never seen so many buffalo.  
 [lit. Only then did they<sub>τ</sub> see so many buffalo.]

- (4) *Nirisassanik* *taamak* *amirlatigisunik* *if*  
 • *niri-gaq-ssaq-nik* *taamak* *amirla-tigi-tuq-nik*  
 eat-tv\`rn-prospective-PL.MOD thus many-to.that.degree-iv\`cn-PL.MOD  
*aatsaat takulirput.* *ib, fb*  
*aatsaat taku-lir-pu-t*  
 only.then see-begin-IND.IV-3PL  
 [And] never before had they<sub>T</sub> seen so much food [*lit.* things to eat]
- (5) *Ussippaarsuit* *amiinik* *if*  
*ussippaarsuaq-t* *amiq-it-nik*  
 buffalo-PL.ERG hide-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL-MOD  
 From buffalo hides  
*atiraasanik pitsaanirpaanik qajannaannirpaanillu* *mf*  
*atiraasaq-nik pitsaaq-nirpaaq-nik qajannar-it-nirpaaq-nik=lu*  
 moccasin-PL.MOD excellent-most-PL.MOD be.fragile-opp-most-PL.MOD=and  
*mirsurtuqarsinnaavuuq.* *fb*  
 • *mirsur-tuq-qar-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 sew-iv\`cn-have-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG  
 one could make the very best and strongest moccasins.
- (6) *Ussippaarsuit* *amiinit* *if*  
*ussippaarsuaq-t* *amiq-it-nit*  
 buffalo-PL.ERG hide-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL-ABL  
*tæppiliat atisaliallu*  
*tæppi-liaq-t ati-gaq-liaq-t=lu*  
 blanket-made-PL wear-tv\`rn-made-PL=and  
 [Blankets and clothes]<sup>T</sup> made out of buffalo hide  
*pitsaaqatissaqanngillat* *fb*  
 • *pitsaaq-qat-ssaq-qar-nngit-la-t*  
 be.excellent-mate-prospective-have-not-NEG-3PL  
 were the best of all. [*lit.* had nothing to match them in excellence]
- (7) *Tuttursuit* *amiinit* *uqurnirullutillu* *if*  
*tuttu-:suaq-t* *ami-it-nit* *uqur-niru-llu-tik=lu*  
 caribou-big-PL.ERG hide-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL-ABL be.warm-more-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and  
 They<sub>T</sub> were warmer than deerhide and  
*qitunnirullutillu* *ib*  
*qitug-niru-llu-tik=lu*  
 be.soft-more-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and  
 softer and  
*pingasuriaammik sivisunirusumik atasarput.* *mf, fb*  
*pingasut-riar-q-mik sivi-tuuq-niru-tuq-mik ata-tar-pu-t*  
 three-v.cn.times-v\`n-MOD duration-with.big-more-iv\`cn-MOD last-habit-IND.IV-3PL  
 and lasted three times as long.

## §11 (p. 24)

- (1) *Qaqqarsuit kiisa aanngarpaat.* if, ib, fb  
*qaqqaq-:suaq-t kiisa aanngar-pa-it*  
 mountain-big-PL finally lose.sight.of-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
 In the end they<sup>T</sup> could no longer see the mountains.
- (2) *Narsarsuaq suurlumi* if, ib,  
*narsaq-:suaq suurlu=mi*  
 plain-big.SG as.if=FOC  
 It was as if the great prairie<sup>T</sup>
- suli allierturtuq.* mf, fb  
*suli angi-li-iartur-tu-q*  
 still be.big-get.more-get.more&more-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 were growing ever larger.
- (3) *Naya Nuki qimaarusuqaaq.* if, fb  
 • *Naya Nuki qimaa-rusug-qi-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki escape-desire-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> longed to escape.
- (4) *Ungasissursuarmut allaat takusinnaavaat.* if, fb  
 • *ungasig-tuq-:suaq-mut allaat taku-sinnaa-pa-it*  
 be.far-iv\cn-big-SG.DAT even see-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
 They<sup>T</sup> could see for miles.
- (5) *Kuussuulli kuuvvia malittarisinnaavaat,* if, fb  
 • *kuuk-:suaq-p=li kuug-vik-a malittari-sinnaa-pa-at*  
 river-big-SG.ERG=but flow-loc.of-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG follow-be.able-IND.TV-3PL.3SG  
 But they<sup>T</sup> could (still) follow the course of the river
- tassami urpiit puppilit urpikkallu* ff  
*tassa=mi urpik-t puppili-t urpigaq-t=lu*  
 that=for tree-PL cottonwood-PL willow-PL=and  
 for cottonwood trees and willows
- kuussuup sinaani naasarmata.*  
*kuuk-:suaq-p sini-a-ni naa-tar-mm-ata*  
 river-big-SG.ERG side-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC grow-habit-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 grew on the banks of the great river.
- (6) *Kuussuup sinaa tamatigut tamaana* if, ib  
*kuug-:suaq-p sini-a tamaq-tigut tama-una*  
 river-big-SG.ERG side-3SG.SG.ERG all-VIA that-VIA  
 All along the bank<sup>T</sup> of the river
- qutaarluusunik ippissuaqartitirpuq.* mf, fb  
*qutaarluk-u-tuq-nik ippik-:suaq-qar-titir-pu-q*  
 steep.cliff-be-iv\cn-PL.MOD cliff-big-have-dist-IND.IV-3SG  
 there were high steep cliffs here and there.

§12

- (1) *Sivisuursuarmik* *ingirlaarnirminni* *if*  
*sivi-tuuq-:suaq-mik* *ingirla-ar-niq-mik-ni*  
duration-with.big-big-SG.ERG travel-dur-v\n-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC  
On the interminable journey
- tigusaagamilli*  
*tigu-gaq-u-ga-mik=li*  
take-tv\thm-be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=since  
since they<sub>T</sub> were captured
- ullut* *ilaat* *ataasiq* *ib*  
*ulluq-t* *ila-at* *ataasiq*  
day-PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.SG one  
one day
- ullut* *nuannirnirsaattut* *iqqaamavaa.* *mf, fb*  
*ullu-t* *nuannir-nirsa-at-tut* *iqqaa-ma-pa-a*  
day-PL.ERG be.fun-most-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG-EQU recall-result.state-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
stood out as the happiest day in her<sub>T</sub> memory.
- (2) *Tassa ulluq tigusat* *ataatsimuuertinniqarvitsik,* *if, fb*  
*tassa ulluq tigu-gaq-t* *ataasiq-mut=Vr-tit-niqar-vik-tik*  
that dat take-tv\thm-PL.ERG one-SG.DAT=n\cn-cause-passive-loc.of-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG  
It was the day that all the prisoners<sub>T</sub> were allowed to come together
- imminnut* *uqaluqatigiissinnaalirlutik.* *ff*  
• *immi-n-nut* *uqalu-qat-gii-g-sinnaa-lir-llu-tik*  
self-PL-DAT talk-mate-set-cn\iv-be.able-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
and were permitted to talk to each other.
- (3) *Allaammi qilirsurniqaratik* *sinissinnaapput.* *if, mf, fb*  
• *allaat=mi* *qilir-tur-niqar-na-tik* *sinig-sinnaa-pu-t*  
even=FOC tie-process-passive-NON<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> be.asleep-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG  
They<sub>T</sub> were even allowed to sleep without being tied up.
- (4) *Sulili nakkutigiqqissaarniqartuarput.* *if, fb*  
*suli=li* *nakkutigiqqissaar-niqar-tuar-pu-t*  
still=but watch-carefully-passive-constantly-IND.IV-3PL  
But they<sub>T</sub> were still watched closely all the time.
- (5) *Ullut tamaviisa ilisimatinniqartarput* *if, fb*  
*ullu-t tamaq-vik-isa ilisima-tit-niqar-tar-pu-t*  
day-PL all-really-PL<sub>⊥</sub> know-cause-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG  
Every single day they<sub>T</sub> were warned
- qimaaniartut* *tuqutaassasut.* *ff*  
• *qimaa-niar-tuq-t* *tuqut-gaq-u-ssa-tu-t*  
escape-try-iv\cn-PL kill-tv\thm-be-prospect-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3PL  
that those<sub>⊥</sub> who tried to escape would be killed.

## §13

- (1) *Naya Nuki Sacajawealu* *if*  
*Naja Nuki Sacajawealu=lu*  
*Naya Nuki Sacajawealu=and*
- piriarvissaqalirlutillu*  
 • *pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-lir-llu-tik=lu*  
 v-stage.one-iv\loc-prospective-have-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and
- imminnut uqaluuttarput;* *mf, fb*  
*immi-n-nut uqalug-ut-tar-pu-t*  
 self-PL-DAT talk-rcp-habit-IND.IV-3PL  
 Whenever [Naya Nuki and Sacajawealu]<sup>T</sup> got a chance they<sub>T</sub> talked;
- (2) *imminnut tikillutillu nuannaartaqaat.* *if, fb*  
*immi-n-nut tikit-llu-tik=lu nuannaar-tar-qi-pu-t*  
 self-PL-DAT come-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and be.happy-habbit-emph-IND.IV-3PL  
 they<sub>T</sub> were very happy to be together again (*lit.* to have come to each other).
- (3) *Paarsisuminnit tusaaniqarsinnaajunnaarlutillu* *if*  
 • *paari-si-tuq-mik-nit tusaa-niqar-sinnaa-junnaar-llu-tik=lu*  
 guard-antip-iv\loc-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL-ABL hear-passive-be.possible-no.longer-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and  
 When the guards<sup>+</sup> were not near enough to hear,
- qimaanissani Naya Nukip iqqarturtuarpaa.* *ib, mf, fb*  
 • *qimaa-niq-ssaq-ni Naya Nuki-p iqqartur-tuar-pa-a*  
 escape-v\loc-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG Naya Nuki-SG.ERG talk.about-always-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> always talked about her<sub>T</sub> plans to escape.
- (4) *Qimaanarluni uqaqqaarmat* *if*  
 • *qimaa-niar-llu-ni uqar-qqaar-mm-at*  
 escape-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> say-first-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 The first time she<sup>+</sup> said she was going to escape
- Sacajaweap uqarvigaa* *ib, fb*  
*Sacajaweap uqar-vigi-pa-a*  
 Sacajaweap-SG.ERG say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 Sacajaweap<sup>T</sup> told her
- qimaanissaminut* *ff*  
 • *qimaa-niq-ssaq-mi-nut*  
 escape-v\loc-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-DAT
- piriarvissaqanngivissuq.*  
 • *pi-riar-vik-ssaq-qar-nngit-vig-tu-q*  
 v-stage.one-iv\loc-prospective-have-not-really-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG  
 that there was absolutely no chance to escape.

- (5) *Aappani uqarvigisarpaa* *if, fb*  
*aappa-ni uqar-vigi-tar-pa-a*  
 mate-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG say-to-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 Over and over she<sub>T</sub> would tell her<sub>T</sub> friend<sub>1</sub>
- qaqqarsuarnut najukkaminnut* *ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*qaqqaq-:suaq-nut najur-gaq-mik-nut*  
 mountain-big-PL.DAT live.in-tv\ʁn-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL-DAT
- qanuq ungasitsigilirsimallutik,*  
*qanuq ungasig-tigi-lir-sima-llu-tik*  
 how be.far-to.that.degree-begin-prf-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 how far they<sub>T</sub> had come from their home in the mountains,
- isumaqarlunilu* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*isuma-qar-llu-ni=lu*  
 belief-have-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and  
 and that she<sub>T</sub> (Sacajawea) thought
- nagguiqatitik nassaarinavianngikkai*  
 | *nagguik-qat-tit nassaari-navianngit-gi-i*  
 tribe-mate-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL find-be.certain.not.to-ELA.TV-3SG<sub>1</sub>.3PL  
 that she<sub>1</sub><sup>T</sup> (the friend) would definitely never find their<sub>T</sub> people (again)
- qaqqarsuarnut angukkaluaruniluunniit.*  
 ll.rm *qaqqaq-:suaq-nut angu-galuar-gu-ni=luunniit*  
 mountain-big-PL.DAT reach-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG=ALT  
 even if she<sub>T</sub> (the friend) did reach the high mountains.
- (6) *Taamaasilluni Naya Nukip paasivaa* *if, ib, fb*  
*taama=ili-llu-ni Naya Nuki paasi-pa-a*  
 thus=become-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> Naya Nuki understand-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 In this way Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> finally understood that
- Sacajawea qimaaniarluni* *ff*  
 • *Sacajawea qimaa-niar-llu-ni*  
 Sacajawea escape-try-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>
- immaqa misilirusunnigitsurluunniit.*  
 • *immaqa misilig-(ss)i-rusug-nngit-tuq=luunniit*  
 perhaps attempt-antip-desire-not-iv\cn=ALT  
 Sacajawea<sup>1</sup> perhaps did not even want to make any attempt to escape.
- §14**
- (1) *Naya Nukilli isummani allanngurtinngilaa.* *if, ib, fb*  
*Naya Nuki-p=li isuma-ni alla-nngur-tit-nngit-la-a*  
 Naya Nuki-SG.ERG=but mind-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG other-become-let-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 But Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> herself didn't change her mind.

- (2) *Kisimiissagaluaruniluunniit* *if*  
 ll.rm *kisi-mi=it-ssa-galuar-gu-ni=luunniit*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-prospect-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=ALT  
 Even if she<sub>T</sub> were to go alone,
- pinngitsuurani qimaaniarpuq.* *mf, fb*  
 | *pi-nngitsuur-na-ni qimaa-niar-pu-q*  
 v-fail-NON-3SG<sub>T</sub> escape-intend-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> was absolutely determined to escape.  
 (*lit.* she intended to escape without fail)
- (3) *Tamanna iqqarsaatigigaangagu* *if*  
*tamanna iqqarsar-utigi-gaang-agu*  
 that think-about-HAB<sub>L</sub>-3SG<sub>L</sub>.3SG  
 Whenever she<sub>T</sub><sup>+</sup> thought about it,
- uqaasiq "kisimiilluni"* *ib*  
*uqaasiq "kisi-mi=it-llu-ni"*  
 word "alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>"
- isummaani suurlumi akisuasartuq.* *mf, fb*  
*isuma-a-ni suurlu-mi akisua-tar-tu-q.*  
 mind-3SG<sub>L</sub>.SG-LOC as.if=FOC echo-habit-ELA<sub>L</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>L</sub>  
 it was as if the word "alone" would echo in her<sub>L</sub> mind.
- (4) *Siullirmik annilaangaqqaaraluarpuq,* *mf, fb*  
 • *siu-lliq-mik annilaar-nga-qqaar-galuar-pu-q*  
 front-most-SG.MOD become.terrified-res-first-...but-IND.IV-3SG  
 At first she<sub>L</sub><sup>T</sup> felt terrified,
- kisimiillunili qimaanissani* *ff*  
 • *kisi-mi=it-llu-ni=li qimaa-niq-ssaq-ni*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=but escape- $\sqrt{n}$ -prospective-3SG.SG
- iqqarsaatigillualiramiuk*  
*iqqarsar-utigi-lluar-lir-ga-miuk*  
 think-about-well-begin-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3SG  
 but when she<sub>T</sub> began to think carefully about [the prospect of escaping alone]<sup>+</sup>
- sungiukkiartulirpaa.*  
*sungiut-jartur-lir-pa-a*  
 get.used.to-more&more-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> started getting used to the idea<sub>L</sub>.
- (5) *Taava iqqarsalirpuq* *if, fb*  
*taava iqqarsar-lir-pu-q*  
 then think-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 Then it occurred to her<sub>T</sub> that

- immaqa tigusaqatiminik allanik ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*immaqa tigu-gaq-qat-mi-nik alla-nik*  
 perhaps take-tv\ʀn-mate-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL-MOD other-PL.MOD
- aamma qimaajumasuqassasuq*  
 • *aamma qimaa-juma-tuq-qar-ssa-tu-q*  
 also escape-want-iv\cn-have-prospect-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 perhaps there would be other captives who would also want to escape,
- II *taavalu Sacajawea qimaaqataajumanngippat ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*taava=lu Sacajawea qimaa-qat-u-juma-nngit-pp-at*  
 then=and Sacajawea escape-mate-be-want-not-HYP<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 and then, if Sacajawea<sup>+</sup> didn't want escape with them,
- allat immaqa qimaaqatigiumaarlugit.*  
 l.vd *alla-t immaqa qimaa-qat-gi-jumaar-llu-git*  
 other-PL perhaps escape-mate-rn\tv-x.hope-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 then perhaps she<sub>T</sub> herself would escape with these other prisoners.
- (6) *Ikinngutiginirpaasamili qimannissaa if*  
*ikinngut-gi-nirpaa-gaq-mi=li qimat-niq-ssaq-a*  
 friend-have.as-most-tv\ʀn-3SG.SG.ERG=but leave-v\ʀn-prospective-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG
- artungajavippaa. fb*  
*artur-ngajag-vig-pa-a*  
 be.unable.to.bear-almost-really-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 But she<sub>T</sub> almost couldn't bear the prospect of leaving her<sub>T</sub> best friend.
- (7) *Qimakkunimmi if*  
 I *qimat-gu-nik=mi*  
 part-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=for  
 For if they<sup>T</sup> parted
- imminnut takuqqinnavianngilaat. mf, fb*  
 l.vd *immi-t-nut taku-qqig-navianngit-la-t*  
 self-PL-DAT see-again-be.certain.not.to-NEG-3PL  
 they<sup>T</sup> would certainly never see each other again.
- §15 (p. 26)
- (1) *Naya Nuki nalirassarsiurtuarpuq, if, fb*  
 • *Naya Nuki naliraq-ssaq-siur-tuar-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki landmark-prospective-look.for-constantly-IND.IV-3SG  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> was constantly on the lookout for landmarks

*allallu*            *qaangiasatik*            *iqqarsaatigalugit*            *ff*  
*alla-t=lu*        *qaangir-iaa-gaq-tik*        *iqqarsar-utigi-llu-git*  
 other-PL=and    pass-dist<sub>⊥</sub>-tv\ʁn-3PL<sub>τ</sub>.PL    think-about-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>

*takurluurtuarlugit*

*takurluur-tuar-llu-git*

imagine-constantly-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>

and constantly visualized them, along with the others they had already passed.

- (2) *Kuussuarmi*    *qiqirtat,*    *innat*    *purtusuut,*    *qurlurtut,*            *if*  
*kuug-:suaq-mi*    *qiqirtaq-t*    *innaq-t*    *purtusuuq-t*    *qurlur-tuq-t*  
 river-big-SG.LOC    island-PL    cliff-PL    high-PL        gush-iv\cn-PL

Islands in the mighty river, high bluffs, waterfalls,

*kuunniri*        *silittut*            *allallu,*  
*kuug-niq-i*        *silig-tuq-t*        *alla-t=lu*  
 flow-v\ʁn-PL    be.wide-iv\cn-PL    other-PL=and  
 large streams, and other [landmark]s,

*puiquikkiurniarsarai*

*puiquikkiut-ur-niarsar-pa-i*

fix.in.memory.for.ever-dist<sub>⊥</sub>-try.with.all.might-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

she<sub>τ</sub> tried with all her mind to fix each and every one in her memory for ever

*suut*    *aqqutiminni*            *iqqumiitsursiani*            *tamaasa.*            *ff*  
*suk-t*    *aqqut-mik-ni*            *iqqumiit-tuq-si-aq-ni*            *tamaq-isa*  
 suk-PL    way-3PL<sub>τ</sub>.SG-LOC    be.strange-iv\cn-get-iv\thm-3SG<sub>τ</sub>.SG    all-PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 and anything that struck her<sub>τ</sub> as remarkable along the way.

## §16

- (1) *Qimaalluni*            *iluatsitsissaguni*            *if*  
 | *qimaa-llu-ni*            *iluatsit-si-ssa-gu-ni*  
 escape-ELA<sub>τ</sub>-3SG<sub>τ</sub>    succeed.in-antip-prospect-HYP<sub>τ</sub>-3PL<sub>τ</sub>  
 If she<sub>τ</sub> were to make a successful escape

*ilisimasariaqarpai*

l.vd *ilisima-tariaqar-pa-i*

know-have.to-INDIV-3SG.3PL

she<sub>τ</sub> would have to know

- *nuna,*    *tuqurvissat*            *pitsaanirpaat,*            *ff*  
*nuna*    *tuqur-vik-ssaq-t*            *pitsaa-nirpaaq-t*  
 land    hide-iv\loc-prospective-PL    excellent-most-PL  
 the land, the best places to hide,

*qaqqarsuarnilu*            *najukkamik*            *tungaanut*  
*qaqqaq-:suaq-ni=lu*        *najur-gaq-mik*            *tungi-a-nut*  
 mountain-big-PL.LOC=and    live.in-tv\ʁn-3PL<sub>τ</sub>.SG.ERG    toward-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-DAT

*aqqutaa isumannaannirpaaq.*  
*aqqut-a isumagi-nar-it-nirpaaq*  
 way-3SG.SG worry.about-make.one-opp-most  
 and the safest way back to her<sub>T</sub> home in the high mountains.

- (2) *Qimaanirmini kuussuaq* *if, ib*  
*qimaa-niq-mi-ni kuug-:suaq*  
 escape-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC river-big

*nalunaaqutarisussaavaa,* *fb*  
 • *nalunaaqutaq-gi-tur-ssa-pa-a*  
 guideline-rn\TV-process-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 During her<sub>T</sub> escape she<sub>T</sub> would use the mighty river as a general guideline

- (3) *ilisimasariaqarpaali sumiinnirluni,* *fb, ff<sub>1</sub>*  
 • *ilisima-tariaqar-pa-a=li su-mi=it-nir-llu-ni*  
 know-have.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG=but what-SG.LOC=be-x.wonder-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 but she<sub>T</sub> would have to know where she<sub>T</sub> was

*qanurlu qaqqarsuarniit* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
*qanuq=lu qaqqaq-:suaq-niit*  
 how=and mountain-big-PL.ABL

*ungasitsigisumiinnirluni.*  
*ungasig-tigi-tuq-mi=it-nir-llu-ni*  
 be.far-to.that.degree-iv\cn-SG.LOC=be-x.wonder-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 and how far she<sub>T</sub> was from the mountains.

§17

- (1) *Unnuat ilaanni taarsuup ataani* *if*  
*unnuaq-t ila-at-ni taaq-:suaq-p at-a-ni*  
 night-PL.ERG part-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC dark-big-SG.ERG under-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC  
 One evening under the cover of darkness

*Sacajawealu imminnut isussuullutik uqaluupput,* *ib, mf, fb*  
*Sacajawealu immi-t-nut isussug-ut-llu-tik uqalug-ut-pu-t*  
 Sacajaweala-and self-PL-DAT whisper-rcp-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> talk-rcp-IND.IV-3PL  
 [Naya Nuki and Sacajaweala]<sup>T</sup> had a whispered conversation

*paarsisurtik ungasilliimiriarmat.* *ff*  
*paari-si-tuq-rtik ungasig-li-imi-riar-mm-at*  
 guard-antip-iv\cn-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG be.far-get.more-a.bit-...and-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 while the guard was far from them<sub>T</sub> for a while.

## §18

- (1) “*Ingirlaarnitsinni nuna ingirlavigisarput* *if*  
*ingirla-ar-niq-tsinni nuna ingirla-vik-gi-gaq-rput*  
travel-dur-v\an-1PL.PL.LOC land travel-iv\loc-have.as-tv\an-1PL.SG  
*misissuqqissaarsimavara* *ib, fb*  
*misissur-qqissaar-sima-pa-ra*  
examine-carefully-prf-IND.TV-1SG.3SG  
“During our (daily) marches, I’ve been carefully watching the land around us.”
- (2) *Tuqqurvissaqaqaaq,* *fb*  
• *tuqqur-vik-ssaq-qar-qi-pu-q*  
hide-iv\loc-prospective-have-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
There are many places to hide,
- (3) *ivigarsuarnik tuqqurvissanik ulikkaarpuq.* *mf, fb*  
*ivigaq-:suaq-nik tuqqur-vik-ssaq-nik ulikkaar-pu-q*  
grass-big-PL.MOD hide-iv\loc-prospective-PL.MOD full.of-IND.IV-3SG  
it’s full of tall grass to conceal us.
- (4) *Nalunngilara* *fb*  
*nalu-nngit-la-ra*  
not.know-not-NEG-1SG.3SG  
I know that
- marluugutta qimaasinnaalluta, Sacajawea.* *ff*  
l.vdl *marluk-u-gu-tta qimaa-sinnaa-llu-ta Sacajawea*  
two-be-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1PL escape-be.able-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1PL Sacajawea  
we can escape if there are two of us, Sacajawea.
- (5) *Kialluunniit, suulluunniit uanga* *if, ib*  
*kia-p-luunniit su-t=luunniit uanga*  
who-SG.ERG=ALT what-PL=ALT me
- akurnusirsinnaanngilaanga* *fb*  
l.vd *akurnut-lir-sinnaa-nngit-la-anga*  
impediment-provide-be.able-not-NEG-3SG.1SG  
Nobody and nothing can stop me
- qimaallunga qaqqarsuarnut najukkatsinnut utirniaruma.* *ff*  
ll *qimaa-llu-nga qaqqaq-:suaq-nut najur-gaq-tsinnut utir-niar-gu-ma*  
escape-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1SG mountain-big-PL.DAT live.in-tv\an-1PL.DAT return-try-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1SG  
when I escape and try to go back to our mountains.
- (6) *Pivvissaq nallirpat qimaassaagut.* *if, fb*  
l.vdl *pi-vik-ssaq nallir-pp-at qimaa-ssa-pu-gut*  
v-iv\loc-prospective come-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> escape-prospect-IND.IV-3SG  
When the right time comes, we shall escape.

§19

- (1) *Nalunngilara* *qimaasinnaasugut,* *fb, ff*  
 • *nalu-nngit-la-ra* *qimaa-sinnaa-tu-gut*  
 not.know-not-NEG-1SG.3SG escape-be.able-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-1PL  
 I know we can escape,
- (2) *qimaasariaqarpugummi,* *illit uangalu,”* *fb, ff*  
*qimaa-tariaqar-pu-gut=mi* *illit uanga=lu*  
 escape-have.to-IND.IV-1PL=FOC you me=and  
 we MUST do it, you and I,”
- (3) *Naya Nuki isussuppuq.* *if, fb*  
*Naya Nuki isussug-pu-q*  
 Naya Nuki whisper-IND.IV-3SG  
 whispered Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup>.

§20

- (1) “*Maannakkut qimaasinnaanngilagut* *if, fb*  
 • *maanna-kkut qimaa-sinnaa-nngit-la-gut*  
 now-SG.VIA escape-be.able-not-NEG-1PL  
 We cannot escape now,
- nakkutigiqqissaarniqartuartilluta.* *ff*  
*nakkutigi-qqissaar-niqar-tuar-tit-llu-ta*  
 watch-carefully-passive-constantly-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-1PL  
 while we are constantly being closely watched.
- (2) *Qimaagaluarutta* *if*  
 ll.rm *qimaa-galuar-gu-tta*  
 escape-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-1PL  
 If we did escape,
- | *histirlutik malissavaatigut* *mf, fb*  
*histi-r-llu-tik malig-ssa-pa-atigut*  
 horse-do-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub> follow-prospect-IND.TV-3PL.1PL  
 they would follow us on horses
- | *irngirlutalu tuqussalluta.* *ff*  
*irngir-llu-ta=lu tuqut-ssa-llu-ta*  
 v.soon-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>=and kill-prospect-IND.TV-3PL.1PL  
 and would soon kill us.
- (3) *Qaqqat najukkavut suli angunagit* *if*  
*qaqqaq-t najur-gaq-vut suli angu-na-git*  
 mountain-PL live.in-TV\ʀn-1PL.SG still reach-NON<sub>T</sub>-3PL  
 Before we got to our mountains,  
 (lit. with our reaching our mountains still a non-fact)

- |            |   |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|------------|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
|            | <i>nannunit,</i>  | <i>amaqqunit</i>                             | <i>imaluunniit</i>                       | <i>akiqqatsinnit</i>                  | <i>allanit</i>  | <i>ib</i>         |
|            | <i>nanuq-nit</i>  | <i>amaruq-nit</i>                            | <i>ima=luunniit</i>                      | <i>akiraq-tsinnit</i>                 | <i>alla-nit</i> |                   |
|            | bear-PL.ABL   | wolf-PL.ABL                                  | SO=ALT                                   | enemy-1PL.PL.ABL                      | other-PL.ABL    |                   |
|            | <i>tuqutaassaagut.</i>  |  |  |                                       |                 | <i>fb</i>         |
| •          | <i>tuqut-gaa-ssa-pu-gut</i>                                   |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | kill-passive-prospect-IND.IV-1PL                              |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | we would be killed by bears, wolves, or other enemy warriors. |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| (4)        | <i>Maani</i>  | <i>naammattursuarnik</i>                     |  | <i>nirisassaqarpugut,</i>             |                 | <i>if, mf, fb</i> |
| •          | <i>maa-ni</i>   | <i>naammag-tuq-:suaq-nik</i>                 |  | <i>niri-gaq-ssaq-qar-pu-gut</i>       |                 |                   |
|            | here-LOC  | be.enough-iv\cn-big-PL.MOD                   |  | eat-v\thm-prospective-have-IND.IV-1PL |                 |                   |
|            | Here we have plenty to eat                                    |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | <i>ajurtumillu</i>  |  | <i>piniqassanata.</i>                    |                                       |                 | <i>ff</i>         |
| •          | <i>ajur-tuq-mik</i>   |  | <i>pi-niqar-ssa-na-ta</i>                |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | be.bad-iv\cn-SG.MOD   |  | v-passive-prospect-NON <sub>T</sub> -1PL |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | and are safe from harm.                                       |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| (5)        | <i>Ulluq</i>  | <i>alla</i>                                  | <i>qimaanissarput</i>                    | <i>iqqarturumaarparput,</i>           |                 | <i>if, ib, fb</i> |
|            | <i>ulluq</i>  | <i>alla</i>                                  | <i>qimaa-niq-ssaq-rput</i>               | <i>iqqartur-jumaar-pa-rput</i>        |                 |                   |
|            | day   | other  | escape-v\n-prospective-1PL.SG            | discuss-be.promised-IND.TV-1PL.3SG    |                 |                   |
|            | We will talk about escape another day,                        |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| (6)        | <i>maannakkut</i>   |  | <i>iqqarturaluarutsigu</i>               |                                       |                 | <i>if</i>         |
| ll.rm      | <i>maannakkut</i>   |  | <i>iqqartur-galuar-gu-tsigu</i>          |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | now   |  | discuss-...but-HYP <sub>T</sub> -1PL.3SG |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | <i>iluaqutaanngilaq,”</i>                                     |  |  |                                       |                 | <i>fb</i>         |
| l.rl       | <i>iluar-qut-u-nngit-la-q</i>                                 |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | be.good-v\ins-be-not-NEG-3SG                                  |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | it's no good to talk about it now.”                           |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| (7)        | <i>Sacajawea</i>  | <i>sallaatsumik</i>                          |  | <i>akivuq.</i>                        |                 | <i>if, mf, fb</i> |
|            | <i>Sacajawea</i>  | <i>sallat-tuq-mik</i>                        |  | <i>aki-pu-q</i>                       |                 |                   |
|            | Sacajawea   | be.soft-iv\cn-SG.MOD                         |  | answer-IND.IV-3SG                     |                 |                   |
|            | answered <sup>T</sup> softly.                                 |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| <b>§21</b> |   |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
| (1)        | <i>Sacajaweap</i>   |  | <i>uqaasiisa</i>                         |                                       |                 | <i>if</i>         |
|            | <i>Sacajawea-p</i>  |  | <i>uqasiq-isa</i>                        |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | Sacajawea-SG.ERG  |  | word-3SG.PL.ERG                          |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | Sacajawea's words <sup>T</sup>                                |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | <i>Naya Nuki</i>  |  | <i>aliatsatsiqaat.</i>                   |                                       |                 | <i>ib, fb</i>     |
|            | <i>Naya Nuki</i>  |  | <i>aliagi-tsag-tit-qi-pa-at</i>          |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | Naya Nuki   | be.sad.about-tv\iv-cause-emph-IND.TV-3PL.3SG |  |                                       |                 |                   |
|            | made Naya Nuki <sup>1</sup> feel very sad.                    |  |  |                                       |                 |                   |

- (2) *Kisimiivilluni* *misigaaq.* *mf, fb*  
*kisi-mi=it-vig-llu-ni* *misigi-pu-q*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-really-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> feel-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>I</sub><sup>T</sup> felt all alone.
- (3) *Sacajawea allanik uqaluqatigilirpaa,* *if, mf, fb*  
*Sacajawea alla-nik uqalug-qat-gi-lir-pa-a*  
 Sacajawea other-PL.MOD talk-mate-rn\|tv-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> talked to Sacajawea<sup>1</sup> about other things
- uniqqissaarluni innangalluni* *ff*  
*unig-qqissaar-llu-ni innar-nga-llu-ni*  
 stop-carefully-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> lie.down-res-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 and then lay motionless
- unnuami allaaqqissuarmi*  
*unnuaq-mi allaaqqit-:suaq-mi*  
 night-SG.LOC be.with.clear.sky-big-SG.LOC
- ulluriarpassuit uisurilasut isiginnaajutigalugit.*  
*ulluriaq-paa-:suaq-t uisurila-tuq-t isiginnaar-jutigi-llu-git*  
 star-set-big-PL be.bright-iv\|cn-PL look.at-state-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>I</sub>  
 looking up at the bright stars on this clear night.
- (4) *Sacajaweap uqaasii sivisuumik* *if, mf*  
*Sacajawea-p uqaasiq-i sivi-tuuq-mik*  
 Sacajawea-SG.ERG word-3SG<sub>I</sub>.PL duration-with.big-SG.MOD
- iqqarsaatigai*  
*iqqarsar-utigi-pa-i*  
 think-about-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 She<sub>T</sub> thought about Sacajawea's words<sup>1</sup> for a long time.
- (5) *Sacajawea qimaajumanngippat* *if*  
 | *Sacajawea qimaa-juma-nngit-pp-at*  
 Sacajawea escape-want-not-HYP<sub>I</sub>-3SG<sub>I</sub>  
 If Sacajawea<sup>1</sup> did not want to escape,
- kisimiilluni qimaasariaqarpuq.* *mf, fb*  
 l.vd *kisi-mi=it-llu-ni qimaa-tariaqar-pu-q*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> escape-have.to-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> would have to go alone.

- (6) *Kisimiikkuni* *if*  
 | *kisi-mi=it-gu-ni*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 If she<sub>T</sub> were alone,  
*ingirlalirtunirusinnaavuq.* *fb*  
 l.vd *ingirla-lirtur-niru-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 travel-quickly-more-be.able-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> could travel more swiftly.
- (7) *Navianartursiulirnirmini* *if*  
*naviagi-nar-tuq-siur-lir-niq-mi-ni*  
 fear.danger-make.one-iv\cn-experience-begin-v\cn-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC  
*tuqquqvissarsiullaqqissuuvuq.* *fb*  
 • *tuqquq-vik-ssaq-siur-llaqqig-tuq-u-pu-q*  
 hide-v\loc-prospective-look.for-be.good.at-iv\cn-be-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> was good at hiding in time of danger.
- (8) *Uumasunut nujuartanut qimaalluni* *if*  
*uumasuq-nut nujuartaq-nut qimaa-llu-ni*  
 animal-PL.DAT wild-PL.DAT escape-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
*urpinnut majuarsinnaavuq.* *mf, fb*  
 • *urpik-nut majuar-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 tree-PL.DAT go.up-be.able-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> could climb trees to escape wild animals.
- (9) *Nirisassaminik pissarsiursinnaavuq.* *mf, fb*  
 •• *niri-gaq-ssaq-mi-nik pi-ssaq-siur-sinnaa-pu-q*  
 eat-tv\cn-prospective-3SG.PL-MOD n-prospective-look.for-be.able-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> could look for her own food.
- (10) *Allanik qimaajumasuqanngippat* *if*  
*alla-nik qimaa-juma-tuq-qar-nngit-pp-at*  
 | other-PL.MOD escape-want-iv\cn-have-not-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 If there wasn't anyone else who wanted to escape  
*kisimiilluni qimaassaaq!* *mf, fb*  
 l.vd *kisi-mi=it-llu-ni qimaa-ssa-pu-q*  
 alone-sg<sub>T</sub>=be-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> escape-prospect-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> would escape alone.
- (11) *Nalunaaquttap akunnirpassui iqqumalluni* *if*  
*nalunaaqutaq-p akunniq-paa-:suaq-t iqquma-llu-ni*  
 clock-SG.ERG interval-set-big-PL be.awake-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 She<sub>T</sub> lay awake for many hours

- *qimaanissani* *iqqarsaatigaa,* *ib, fb*  
*qimaa-niq-ssaq-ni* *iqqarsar-utigi-pa-a*  
 escape-v\N-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG think-about-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 thinking about her<sub>T</sub> planned escape,

- (12) *kiisamilu* *sinilirpuq* *if, fb*  
*kiisa=mi=lu* *sinig-lir-pu-q*  
 finally=FOC=and be.asleep-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 and finally she<sub>T</sub> fell asleep

*annilaangassutiqarani* *ff*  
*annilaar-nga-ssuti-qar-na-ni*  
 get.scared-state-v\reason-have-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 without fear.

**Imm. 5.** Unnuaannarsuarmi qimaaniq  
**(Ch. 5.** A night to run)

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

**§1** (p. 36)

- (1) *Uktubir* *qaammataagaa* *ualikkuuvuq* *if, fb*  
*uktubir* *qaammat-u-gi-a* *ualiq-kkut-u-pu-q*  
 October month-be-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.TV-3SG.3SG afternoon-time-be-IND.IV-3SG  
 It was an October afternoon

- (2) *unnukkursiutissallu* *if*  
 • *unnuk-kkut-siur-ut-ssaq-t=lu*  
 evening-time-experience-v\ins-prospective-PL=and  
 and the evening meal (PL)

*iniriirsimapput.* *fb*  
*inir-riir-sima-pu-t*  
 get.done-have.already-prf-IND.IV-3PL  
 was ready.

- (3) *Sila* *suli* *kiarujuppuq.* *if, ib, fb*  
*sila* *suli* *kiag-rujug-pu-q*  
 weather still be.warm-extremely-IND.IV-3SG  
 It was still extremely hot.

- (4) *Suurlumi* *silaannaq* *uninngasuj* *if, ib, fb*  
*suurlu=mi* *silaannaq* *unig-nga-tu-q*  
 as.if=FOC air stop-res-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG  
 It was as if the air stood still

- (5) *tassanngaannarujussuarli*      *anurlilirpuq*      *if, fb*  
*tass-annga-innaq-rujug-:suaq=li*      *anurlir-lir-pu-q*  
that-from-just-extremely-big=but      wind.blow-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
but all of a sudden the wind came up
- pujuralak tamaat tingillugu.*      *ff*  
*pujuralak tamaq-at tingi-t-llu-gu*  
dust all-SG<sub>1</sub> fly-cause-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
raising the dust.
- (6) *Sila nillirtikkiartulirpuq;*      *if, fb*  
*sila nillir-tit-kiartur-lir-pu-q*  
weather be.cold-become-gradually-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
The temperature began to fall;
- (7) *kitaani qilak taartippuq*      *if, ib, fb*  
*kita-a-ni qilak taar-tit-pu-q*  
west-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-LOC sky be.dark-become-IND.IV-3SG  
The western sky grew dark
- siqiniq taarrimmat.*      *ff*  
*siqiniq tarrig-mm-at*  
sun go.down-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
as the sun went down.
- (8) *Silarlirniaqaaq.*      *fb*  
• *sila-rluk-lir-niar-lir-qi-pu-q*  
weather-bad-begin-be.about.to-begin-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
It was the beginning of a big storm building up.
- §2
- (1) *Naya Nukip ummaataa kassutturujussuanngurpuq.*      *if, fb*  
*Naya Nuki-p uummaat-a kassug-tuq-rujug-:suaq-nngur-pu-q*  
Naya Nuki-SG.ERG heart-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG beat-iv\cn-extreme-big-become-IND.IV-3SG  
Naya Nuki's heart<sup>T</sup> began to race.
- (2) *Unnuarurpat*      *if*  
| *unnuaq-rur-pp-at*  
night-grow.complete-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
When the night<sup>1</sup> fell,
- tassaa qimaasussanngurnirpa?*      *ib, fb*  
|.vd *tassa qimaa-tuq-ssaq-nngur-nir-pi-a*  
was this (the night) to make her<sub>T</sub> escape, [she<sub>T</sub>] wondered.
- (3) *Nirisani iinirluunniit sapingajappai.*      *if, fb*  
• *niri-gaq-ni ii-niq=luunniit sapir-ngajag-pa-i*  
eat-tv\rn-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG swallow-√n=ALT be.unable.to-almost-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
She was hardly able to swallow her food.

- (4) *Kallilirpuq* *innaaluttuinnanngurluni.* *fb, fb*  
*kallir-lir-pu-q* *innaa-lug-tuq-innar-nngur-llu-ni*  
thunder-begin-IND.IV-3SG lightning.strike-badly-iv\cn-just-become-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
Thunder and lightning filled the air.
- (5) *Siqiniq tarritturlu* *siallilirpuq,* *if, fb*  
*siqiniq tarrig-tu-q=lu* *siallir-lir-pu-q*  
sun go.down-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG=and rain-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
At sunset the rain started
- (6) *arnallu* *if*  
*arna-t=lu*  
woman-PL=and  
and the women<sup>T</sup>
- ikumatitamik* *aamaat* *matuupallappaat.* *ib, fb*  
*ikuma-tit-gaq-mik* *aamaaq-t* *matuur-pallag-pa-it*  
burn-cause-tv\rn-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL.ERG hot.coals-PL cover.up-quickly-IND.TV-3PL.3PL  
rushed to bury the red-hot coals of their fires.
- (7) *Kikkut tamarmik* *if*  
*kikkut tamaq-mik*  
who.PL all-PL<sub>T</sub>  
Everyone<sup>T</sup>,
- illurujussuarnut* *isaapallapput.* *ib, fb*  
*illu-rujug-:suaq-nut* *isir-at-pallag-pu-t*  
house-huge-big-PL.DAT enter-simultaneously-quickly-IND.IV-3PL  
all at once, quickly ran into the long houses.
- (8) *Illurujussuit* *qaliaasa* *ammarngisigut* *if*  
*illu-rujug-:suaq-t* *qaliaq-isa* *ammarnga-isigut*  
house-huge-big-PL.ERG roof-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL.ERG opening-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL.VIA  
Through the openings in the roofs of the long houses
- takuniqarsinnaavuq* *fb*  
• *taku-niqar-sinnaa-pu-q*  
see-passive-be.possible-IND.IV-3SG  
one could see
- illut* *iluini* *ikumatitanik* *ff*  
*illu-t* *ilu-i-ni* *ikuma-tit-gaq-nik*  
house-PL.ERG inside-3PL<sub>1</sub>.PL-LOC burn-cause-tv\cn-PL.MOD
- ikitsisuartartuq,*  
*ikit-t-si-tuq-qar-tar-tu-q*  
light-cause-antip-iv\cn-have-habit-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
that fires were repeatedly lit inside the houses,

- (9) *ikumatitalli* *pujui* *if*  
*ikuma-tit-gaq-t=li* *pujuq-i*  
 burn-cause-tv\cn-PL.ERG=but smoke-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL  
 but the smoke (PL) from the fires
- illut* *iluinnaviinut* *anurimit*  
*illu-t* *ilu-innaq-vik-i-nut* *anuri-mit*  
 house-PL.ERG inside-just-real-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL -DAT wind-SG.ABL
- tingitaasarmata*  
*tingi-t-taa-tar-mm-ata*  
 fly-cause-passive-habit-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3PL  
 got constantly blown by the wind right (back) inside the houses so
- kiisa* *ikumatitaliaagaluit* *qamirarniqarput.* *ib, mf, fb*  
 • *kiisa* *ikuma-tit-gaq-liaq-galuaq-t* *qamig-rar-niqar-pu-t*  
 finally burn-cause-tv\cn-made-...but-PL put.out-dist-passive-IND.IV-3PL  
 eventually the would-be fires were all put out.
- (10) *Qialirumanatik* *if*  
 • *qialir-uma-na-tik*  
 freeze-want-NON<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 To keep warm [*lit.* not wanting to get cold]
- ussippaarsuit* *amiinik* *qipitturput,* *mf, fb*  
*ussippaarsuaq-t* *amiq-i-nik* *qipik-g-tur-pu-t*  
 buffalo-PL.ERG skin-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>.PL-MOD blanket-n\v-process-IND.IV-3PL  
 they<sub>T</sub> wrapped themselves in buffalo skins,
- ilarpassuilu* *sininniaannalirlutik.* *ff*  
 • *ila-paa-:suaq-i=lu* *sinig-niar-innar-lir-llu-tik*  
 part-set-big-PL=and be.asleep-intend-just-begin-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>T</sub>  
 and many (people) decided to just go to sleep.
- §3
- (1) *Naya Nuki* *if*  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup>
- tiqiqqumi* *inigisartakkamini* *ib*  
*tiqiqquq-mi* *ini-gi-gaq-r-tar-gaq-mi-ni*  
 corner-SG.LOC place-have.as-tv\rn-n\v-habit-tv\rn-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC
- piquliasimavuq* *fb*  
*piquliag-sima-pu-q*  
 curl.up-prf-IND.IV-3SG  
 lay curled up in her corner.



- (3) *Anirsaarsuaq ila kamassimassaqaq!* *if, ib, fb*  
 • *anirsaag-:suaq ila kamag-sima-ssa-qi-pu-q*  
 spirit-big surely be.angry-prf-prospect-emph-IND.IV-3SG  
 The Great Spirit surely must be very angry!

- (4) *Suurlumi qilak qatimaattursuaq.*  
*suurlu=mi qilak qatimaag-tuq-:suaq*  
 as.if=FOC sky roar-iv\cn-big  
 It was as if the heavens were roaring.

## §5 (p. 37)

- (1) *Naya Nukip iqqaavai* *if, fb*  
*Naya Nuki-p iqqaa-pa-i*  
 Naya Nuki-SG.ERG remember-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> remembered

*nunaqarviminni silarlussiurtarnitik* *ff*  
*nunaqarvik-mik-ni sila-rlug-siur-tar-niq-tik*  
 village-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC weather-bad-experience-habit-v\N-3PL<sub>T</sub>.PL  
 the storms they<sub>T</sub> had experienced back home

*qatanngutinilu anaanaminnut qimarrattarnitik.*  
*qatanngut-ni=lu anaana-mik-nut qimaa-rrat-tar-niq-tik*  
 sibling-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL=and mother-3PL<sub>T</sub>.SG-DAT escape-en.masse-habit-v\N-3PL.SG  
 and how she<sub>T</sub> and her<sub>T</sub> brothers and sisters had run together to their<sub>T</sub> mother for comfort.

- (2) *Maannali silarluk irisigisakkani* *if, ib*  
*maanna=li sila-rluk irsigi-gaq-ni*  
 now=but weather-bad fear-tv\N-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG  
 But now the stormy weather that she<sub>T</sub> had (once) feared,

- qimaanissaminut* *mf*  
 • *qimaa-niq-ssaq-mi-nut*  
 escape-v\N-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-DAT

- ikiurtigisussangurpaa.* *fb*  
 • *ikiur-ti-gi-tuq-ssaq-nngur-pa-a*  
 help-v\agt-have.as-v\N-prospective-become  
 she<sub>T</sub> was going to use as an aid to make her<sub>T</sub> escape.

## §6

- (1) *Anuri sialullu kipivviqanngillat,* *if, fb*  
*anuri sialuk=lu kipi-vik-qar-nngit-la-t*  
 wind rain=and get.cut.off-v\loc-have-not-NEG-3PL  
 The wind and rain continued non-stop [*lit.* had no cut-off time]

- (2) *kalliq innaalussuarlu paarlagaapput.* *if, fb*  
*kalliq innaaluk-:suaq=lu paarlag-gaq-ut-pu-t*  
 thunder lightning-big=and replace-tv\N-rcp-IND.IV-3PL  
 the thunder and the lightning came and went.  
 [*lit.* took turns to replace each other]

- (3) *Illu takisuursuaq nipaaruppuq* *if, fb*  
*illu taki-tuq-:suaq nipi-irut-pu-q*  
house be.long-iv\cn-big sound-become.without-IND.IV-3SG  
The long house grew quiet
- taaqaalunilu.* *ff*  
*taar-qi-llu-ni=lu*  
be.dark-emph-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and  
and very dark.
- (4) *Taannaqa Naya Nuki utaqqilirpuq.* *if, ib, fb*  
*taannaqa Naya Nuki utaqqi-lir-pu-q*  
! Naya Nuki wait-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup> began to wait!
- §7
- (1) *Ikumatitat qamimmata* *if*  
*ikuma-tit-gaq-t qamig-mm-ata*  
burn-cause-tv\rn-PL (fire)go.out-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>L</sub>  
With the fires out
- takuniqarani angalaarsinnalirpuq* *mf, fb*  
• *taku-niqar-na-ni angala-ar-sinnaa-lir-pu-q*  
see-passive-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> move-dur-be.able-begin-IND.IV-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
she could now move unseen.
- (2) *Imami taartigaaq* *fb*  
*ima=mi taar-tigi-pu-q*  
so=FOC be.dark-to.that.degree-IND.IV-3SG  
It was so dark that
- takuniqaraluaruniluunniit* *ff*  
||.rm *taku-niqar-galuar-gu-ni=luunniit*  
see-passive-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=ALT  
even if she were seen
- ilisariniqarnaviarani.*  
| *ilisari-niqar-naviar-na-ni*  
recognize-passive-be.certain.that.not-NON<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
it was certain she wouldn't be recognized.
- (3) *Tassa pivvissaq nallirpuq.* *if, ib, fb*  
• *tassa pi-vik-ssaq nallir-pu-q*  
that v-v\loc-prospective (time)come-IND.IV-3SG  
Now (at last) the time for her<sub>T</sub> planned (escape) had come.
- (4) *nalunaaquttap akunnirpassuit utaqqiniq* *if*  
*nalunaaqqutaq-p akunniq-paa-:suaq-t utaqqi-niq*  
clock-SG.ERG interval-set-big-PL wait-v\n  
the many hours of waiting  
[*lit.* the wait for many hours]

- qaangiuppuq.* *fb*  
*qaangiut-pu-q*  
 pass-IND.IV-3SG  
 were over.
- (5) *Qimaalluni aallarvissanngurpuq.*  
 • *qimaa-llu-ni aallar-vik-ssaq-nngur-pu-q* *if, fb*  
 escape-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> set.out-v\loc-prospective-become-IND.IV-3SG  
 The time had come to make a run for it.
- §7
- (1) *Naya Nuki mianirsuqqissaarluni* *if*  
*Naya Nuki mianirsur-qqissaar-llu-ni*  
 Naya Nuki be.cautious-carefully-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 Very cautiously and carefully, Naya Nuki<sup>T</sup>
- matup tungaanukarpuq,* *fb*  
*matu-p tungi-a-nut=kar-pu-t*  
 door-SG.ERG direction-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-DAT=go-IND.IV-3SG  
 moved toward the door,
- *ilani sinittut itirtinnaviirsaaqqissaarlugit.* *ff*  
 • *ila-ni sinig-tuq-t itir-tit-naviir-saar-qqissaar-llu-git*  
 part-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL be.asleep-iv\cn-PL wake.up-cause-avoid-strive-carefully-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub>  
 taking care not to wake up the others, who were asleep.
- (2) *Nalunngilaa* *fb*  
*nalu-nngit-la-a*  
 not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> knew
- kina sumi sinittuq* *ff<sub>1</sub>*  
*kina su-mi sinig-tu-q*  
 who.SG what-SG.LOC be.asleep-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 who slept where
- *akurnutissarsinanilu matu tikillugu.* *ff<sub>2</sub>*  
 • *akurnut-ssaq-si-na-ni=lu matu tikit-llu-gu*  
 obstacle-prospective-get-NON-3SG=and door come.to-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 and she<sub>T</sub> reached the door without running into any (potential) obstacles.

- (3) *Anigami* *if*  
*ani-ga-mi*  
 go.out-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 Outside [*lit.* when she<sub>T</sub> came out]
- qatturngup*      *urpillip* *ib*  
*qatturniq-p*      *urpik-lik-p*  
 hill-SG.ERG      tree-with-SG.ERG
- ussippaarsuup*      *amianik*      *tuqqursivimmi*      *tungaanut*  
*ussippaarsuaq-p*      *ami-a-nik*      *tuqqur-si-vik-mi*      *tungi-a-nut*  
 buffalo-SG.ERG      skin-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-MOD      hide-antip-v\loc-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG.ERG      direction-3SG<sub>1</sub>.SG-DAT
- aallarpuq.* *fb*  
*aallar-pu-q*  
 set.out-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> set of for the tree-covered hill, where she<sub>T</sub> had hidden the buffalo skin.
- (4) *Ullut marluk qaangiupput* *if, fb*  
*ullu-t marluk qaangiut-pu-t*  
 day-PL two      pass-IND.IV-3PL  
 It was two days ago  
 [*lit.* Two days had passed since]
- suli siqiniq nuinnigitsuq* *ff*  
*suli siqiniq nui-nngit-tu-q*  
 still sun      stick.head.out-not-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>
- savik tassunga tuqqurmagu.*  
*savik tass-unga tuqqur-mm-agu*  
 knife that-DAT      hide-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>.3SG  
 that she<sub>T</sub> had hidden the knife there (too) before dawn  
 [*lit.* while sunrise was still a non-fact].
- (5) *Aamma tuqqurtarai* *if, fb*  
*aamma tuqqur-taq-gi-pa-i*  
 also      hide-tv\rn-have.as-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 Also hidden there was
- niqit panirtualuit* *ff*  
*niqi-t panir-tuq-aluk-t*  
 meat-PL be.dry-iv\cn-bunch-PL  
 some dried meat
- atiraasallut illugiit pingasut.*  
*atiraasaq-t=lu illuk-gii-t pingasut*  
 moccasin-PL=and pair.mate-set-PL three  
 and three pairs of moccasins.

## §8

- (1) *Nunaqarvik sialussuup ataani qimakkamiuk if*  
*nunaqarvik sialuk-:suaq-p at-a-ni qimag-ga-miuk*  
 village rain-big-SG.ERG below-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.SG-LOC leave-FCT<sub>↑</sub>-3SG<sub>↑</sub>.3SG  
 As she<sub>↑</sub> left the village in the pouring rain
- arpalirpuq. fb*  
*arpag-lir-pu-q*  
 run-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>↑</sub> began to run.
- (2) *Kalliq qaammaallakkaangat if*  
*kalliq qaammar-allag-gaang-at*  
 thunder light.up-suddenly-HAB<sub>↓</sub>-3SG<sub>↓</sub>  
 Whenever (the lightning after) thunder lit up the sky
- iqqaminiittut takusinnaalirsarpai. ib, fb*  
 • *iqqaq-mi-ni=it-tuq-t taku-sinnaa-lir-tar-pa-i*  
 vicinity-3SG<sub>↑</sub>.SG-LOC=be-iv\cn-PL see-be.able-begin-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 she was just be able to make out her surroundings.
- (3) *Irininarsinngitsuq if*  
*irininarsinngitsuq*  
 Soon
- urpigaaluit tuqqursivini angugamigit*  
*urpigaq-aluk-t tuqqur-si-vik-ni angu-ga-migit*  
 bush-bunch-PL hide-antip-v\loc-3SG<sub>↑</sub>.PL reach-FCT<sub>↑</sub>-3SG<sub>↑</sub>.3PL  
 she reached her hiding place in the pile of brush and
- irlinnartuutini, ib*  
*[irligi-nar-tuq-ut-ni*  
 treasure-make.one-iv\cn-owned-3SG<sub>↑</sub>.PL
- ajurani aniguissaguni*  
 |.vd *[ajur-na-ni anigur-(ss)i-ssa-gu-ni*  
 be.bad-NON<sub>↑</sub>-3SG<sub>↑</sub> survive-antip-prospect-HYP<sub>↑</sub>-3SG<sub>↑</sub>
- pinngitsuursinnaanngisani*  
 | *pi-nngit-tuur-sinnaa-nngit-gaq-ni]]*  
 v-not-unexpectedly-be.able-not-tv\rn-3SG<sub>↓</sub>.PL
- tigupallappai. fb*  
*tigu-pallag-pa-i*  
 take-quickly-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 and quickly grabbed [her hard-won treasures  
 [that she could not do without if she were to survive]].

§9

- (1) *Nassatassani* *if*  
 • *nassar-taq-ssaq-ni*  
 take.along-tv\tn-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL  
*ussippaarsuup amianut puurtuutipallappai* *ib, fb*  
*ussippaarsuaq-p amiq-a-nut puur-tur-ut-pallag-pa-i*  
 buffalo-SG.ERG skin-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-DAT wrap.up-process-tv\tv'-quickly-IND.TV-3SG.3PL  
 She<sub>T</sub> quickly wrapped up the items she<sub>T</sub> was going to take along inside the  
 buffalo skin.
- (2) *Savik qitiquitimnut qilirutiriarlugu* *if*  
*savik qitirut-mi-nut qilir-ut-riar-llu-gu*  
 knife belt-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-DAT tie-tv\tv'-. . .and-ELAT-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 She tied the knife to her belt and  
*ilummut anirsaarujussuariarluni* *ib*  
*iluq-mut anrisaar-rujug-:suaq-riar-llu-ni*  
 interior-SG.DAT breathe-hugely-greatly-. . .and-ELAT-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 taking a deep breath  
*arpalluni aallarpuq* *mf, fb*  
*arpag-llu-ni aallar-pu-q*  
 run-ELAT-3SG<sub>T</sub> set.off-IND.IV-3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> set off at a run  
*nunaqarvik tunullugu avannamut kimmur.* *ff*  
*nunaqarvik tunug-llu-gu avannaq-mut kit-mut*  
 village v.away.from-ELAT-3SG<sub>⊥</sub> north-SG.DAT west-SG.DAT  
 heading north and west away from the village.
- (3) *Nunaqarviup iqqannguani qattunirmiit* *if*  
*nunaqarvik-p iqqaq-nnguaq-a-ni qattuniq-miit*  
 village-SG.ERG vicinity-little-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>.SG-LOC hill-SG.ABL  
 From the hill near the village  
*aqqutissani isiginnaartuartarsimavaa* *ib, fb*  
 • *aqqut-ssaq-ni isiginnaar-tuar-tar-sima-pa-a*  
 route-prospective-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG look.at-always-habit-prf-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 she<sub>T</sub> had looked at her planned route whenever she<sub>T</sub> was there
- (4) *maannali taarlunilu siallirmat* *if*  
*maanna=li taar-llu-ni=lu siallir-mm-at*  
 now=but be.dark-ELAT-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and rain-FCT<sub>⊥</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 but now in the dark and the rain  
*suurlumi suut tamarmik allangursimasut.*  
*suurlu=mi su-t tamaq-mik allaq-nngur-sima-tu-t*  
 as.if=FOC what-PL all-PL<sub>T</sub> other-become-prf-ELAT<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3PL<sub>⊥</sub>  
 it was as if everything had become different.

- (5) *Qilak nuiaqarmat ulluriaqanngilaq.* *if, fb*  
*qilak nuiaq-qar-mm-at ulluriaq-qar-nngit-la-q*  
 sky cloud-have-FCT<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub> star-have-not-NEG-3SG  
 The sky was overcast, so there were no stars.

## §10

- (1) *Pisinnaasangvani tamaat arpassuataarpuq* *if, fb*  
 • *pi-sinnaa-gaq-nnguaq-ni tamaaq-at arpag-:suataar-pu-q*  
 tv-be.able-tv\|rn-little-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG all-SG<sub>1</sub> run-with.all.might-IND.IV-3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> ran as fast as she<sub>T</sub> could,

- quaalluni urlunaviirsarluni.* *ff*  
 • *quaag-llu-ni urlu-naviir-saar-llu-ni*  
 slip-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> trip&fall-avoid-strive-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 taking care to avoid slipping and falling.

- (2) *Ajutuuraluarpammi* *if*  
 ||.rm *ajutuur-galuar-pp-at=mi*  
 have.accident-...but-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>=for  
 For if she<sub>T</sub> had an accident (now)

- suut tamarmik isasuussapput.* *ib, fb*  
 | *su-t tamaq-mik isa-tuq-u-ssa-pu-t*  
 what-PL all-PL<sub>T</sub> fall.apart-iv\|cn-be-prospect-IND.IV-3PL  
 then everything (all her plans) would fall apart.

- (3) *Kisimiikkamilu ikiurtissaqanngilaq.* *if, fb*  
 • *kisi-mi=it-ga-mi=lu ikiur-ti-ssaq-qar-nngit-la-q*  
 alone-SG<sub>T</sub>=be-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>=and help-v\|agt-prospective-have-not-NEG-3SG  
 She<sub>T</sub> was alone and there was nobody to help her<sub>T</sub>.

- (4) *Kukkulutturaluaruni* *if*  
 ||.rm *kukkuluttur-galuar-gu-ni*  
 make.mistake-...but-HYP<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 To make a mistake (now)

- tassa tuqu* *fb, ff*  
 | *tassa tuqu*  
 that death  
 meant death.

- (5) *Sapinngisaminik tuaviurluni* *if*  
 • *sapir-nngit-gaq-mi-nik tuaviur-llu-ni*  
 unable.to.manage-not-tv\|rn-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-MOD hurry-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>

- qimaguttariaqarpuq.* *fb*  
 • *qimagut-tariaqar-pu-q*  
 get.away-have.to-IND.IV-3SG  
 She had to get away as fast as she could.

§11 (p. 38)

- (1) *Arpalluni ilungirsurnirmit* if  
*arpag-llu-ni ilungirsur-niq-mit*  
run-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> make.effort-v\n-SG.ABL  
She was so preoccupied with her running,  
*irsiunnaarpurluunniit,* fb  
*irsi-junnaar-pu-q=luunniit*  
fear-stop-IND.IV-3SG=ALT  
that she even forgot her fears,
- (2) *tiimirpassuillu arpakkaluarami* if  
• *tiimi-paa-:suaq-t=lu arpag-galuar-ga-mi*  
hour-set-big-PL=and run-...but-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
and although she had run for many hours  
*qasuniniluunniit maluginngilaa.* ib, fb  
*qasu-niq-ni=luunniit malugi-nngit-la-a*  
be.tired-v\n-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG=ALT notice-not-NEG-3SG.3SG  
she didn't even feel tired. [*lit.* her tiredness]
- (3) *Aatsaat nalunaaquttap akunniri tallimat* if  
*aatsaat nalunaaqutaq-p akunniq-i tallimat*  
first clock-SG.ERG interval-3SG.PL five  
*qaangiutiriirsut*  
*qaangiut-riir-tu-t*  
pass-have.already-ELA<sub>↓</sub>.IV-3PL<sub>↓</sub>  
It was more the five hours before  
[*lit.* first when five hours had already passed]  
*anirsaarturluarniarluni qasuirsilaarniarlunilu* ib  
• *anirsaatur-lluar-niar-llu-ni qasu-irsi-laar-niar-llu-ni*  
breathe-well-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub> be.tired-cease-a.little-intend-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
*arpagunnaarpuq.* fb  
*arpag-junnaar-pu-q*  
run-stop-IND.IV-3SG  
she stopped running to catch her breath and to rest a little.  
[*lit.* intending to catch her breath and to rest a little]
- (4) *Suli siallirahuartuq siunirmini samanirsuaq* if, ib  
• *suli siallir-galuar-tu-q siuniq-mi-ni samaniq-:suaq*  
still rain-...but-ELA<sub>↓</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>↓</sub> ahead-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG-LOC westward-big  
It was still raining, but far ahead toward the west  
*ulluriaq ataasiq takuaa.* mf, fb  
*ulluriaq ataasiq taku-pa-a*  
star one see-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
she saw a single star.

- (5) *Silapiluk qaangiutilirpuq* *if, fb*  
*sila-piluk qaangiut-lir-pu-q*  
 weather-bad pass-begin-IND.IV-3SG  
 The storm was ending
- (6) *niriussimagaluarpurli* *sialliinnarallassasuq.* *fb, ff*  
 •• *niriug-sima-galuar-pu-q=li* *siallir-innar-gallar-ssa-tu-q*  
 hope-prf...but-IND.IV-3SG=but rain-just-for.now-prospect-ELA<sub>1</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 but she had hoped that it would've continued to rain a bit longer.
- (7) *Nalunngilaami* *if*  
*nalu-nngit-la-a=mi*  
 not.know-not-NEG-3SG.3SG=for  
 For she knew
- | *ullaanngurpat* *ff*  
*ullaaq-nngur-pp-at*  
 morning-become-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3SG<sub>1</sub>  
 that in the morning [*lit.* when it became morning]
- |.vd *histirsunit* *ujarniqalissalluni.*  
*histi-r-tuq-nit* *ujar-niqar-lir-ssa-llu-ni*  
 horse-do-iv\cn-PL.ABL look.for-passive-begin-prospect-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 men on horses would start looking for her.
- (8) *Tumini nassaariniqaraluarpata* *if*  
 ||.rm *tumi-ni nassari-niqar-galuar-pp-ata*  
 track-3SG<sub>T</sub>.PL discover-passive-...but-HYP<sub>1</sub>-3PL<sub>1</sub>  
  
*annariavissaarutissalluni*  
 | *annag-riar-vik-ssaq-irut-ssa-llu-ni*  
 get.saved-stage.one-v\loc-prospective-lose-prospect-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
  
*nalunnginnamiuk*  
*nalu-nngit-ga-miuk*  
 not.know-not-FCT<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>.3SG  
 Knowing that she wouldn't have a chance if her tracks were found
- suli sialliqqugaluaqaa.* *ib, fb*  
 •• *suli siallir-qqu-galuar-qi-pa-a*  
 still rain-want-...but-emph-IND.TV-3SG.3SG  
 she dearly wished that the rain would continue.
- §12
- (1) *Sivikitsunnguamik* *qasuirsitsiariarluni* *if*  
*sivi-kit-tuq-nnguaq-mik* *qasu-irsi-tsiar-riar-llu-ni*  
 duration-have.little-iv\cn-little-SG.MOD be.tired-cease-briefly-...and-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>T</sub>  
 After a brief stop to rest



- (5) *Annirnartumik* *sannirnini* *if*  
*anniri-nar-tuq-mik* *sannir-niq-ni*  
 feel.pain.in-make.one-iv\cn-SG.MOD have.sore.muscles-v\n-3SG<sub>T</sub>.SG
- puigurlugu*  
*puigur-llu-gu*  
 forget-ELA<sub>T</sub>-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>  
 Forgetting her tired, aching muscles,
- unnuaannarsuaq* *anurlirsursuusuaq* *ib*  
*unnuaq-innar-:suaq* *anurlir-tuq-:suaq-u-tu-q*  
 night-just-big wind.blow-iv\cn-big-be-ELA<sub>⊥</sub>.IV-3SG<sub>⊥</sub>
- arpassuataarpuq.* *fb*  
*arpag-:suataar-pu-q*  
 run-with.all.might-IND.IV-3SG  
 she ran with all her might into the stormy night.