

KALAALLISUT: ESKIMO-ALEUT

Paakujuk (Sooty)

REALISTIC STORY: D. Sommer et al, eds, 1976, *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit 2*, pp. 11–21, Ministeriet for Grønland.

TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (9/23/2007): Kalaallisut has a great deal of fusion. For clarity, line 1 is in the modern Kalaallisut orthography minus allophonic variants (*e, o, f* of *i, u, v*); line 2 is the morphological analysis; line 3 are the glosses; line 4 is a free English translation. Derivational morphemes are glossed in lower case (e.g. ‘prf’ for perfect aspect), inflectional and other functional morphemes, in small caps (e.g. IND, RPT). Glosses for:

- *matrix moods*:

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

- *dependent moods*:

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

- *case*:

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

- *centering*:

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

- *derivation*:

antip = antipassive, excl = exclamatory, emph = emphatic, opp = opposite,
v\agt = agent-nominalizer, v\ins = instrument nominalizer, v\loc = location-nominalizer,
v\thm = theme-nominalizer, prf = perfect aspect, rcp = reciprocal, res = result state,
iv = intransitive verb, tv = transitive verb, cn = common noun, rn = relational noun,
a\b = suffix that attaches to category *a* to form category *b*

- *clitics*:

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

FOC = focus

RPT = reportative evidential

Paragraphs (§) as in the original.

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

Kalaallisut uses these fields roughly as follows:

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

ib: elaborate ⊤ and/or:

(i) set up a secondary topical referent (⊤′), or (ii) set up a backgrounded referent (⊥);

mf: background information about main verbal comment;

fb: main verbal comment about current topic(s) (*if*-⊤ & *ib*-⊤′ if present; otherwise ⊤ from last S)

ff: elaborate and/or set up a new backgrounded referent (⊥′) to be picked up by the upcoming *if*.

Only *fb* must be instantiated (by the main verb or complex predicate NV); all other topological fields are optional and, if instantiated, may be multiply instantiated (unlike syntactic nodes).

§1 (p. 11)

- (1) *Qimmiaraq Paakujummik atilik if*
qimmiq-araq paaq-kujuk-k-mik atiq-lik
 dog-little soot-be.like-v\N-SG.MOD name-with
 [The pup named Sooty]^T
- inunngurpuq fb*
inunngur-pu-q
 get.born-IND.IV-3SG
 was born
- nappartami aamarsuarnik siqqunnunik imalimmi. ff*
nappartaq-mi aamarsuar-nik siqqug-niq-ku-nik imaq-lik-mi
 barrel-SG.LOC coal-PL.MOD crush-v\N-residue-PL.MOD content-with-SG.LOC
 in a coal barrel (*lit.* barrel with what's left of coal after it's pulverized)
- (2) *Arnaa irniqqajaalirmat inuisa if, ib*
arna-a irni-qqajaa-lir-mm-at inuk-isa
 mother-3SG_L-SG give.birth-be.about.to-begin-FCT_L-3SG_L person
 When his^L mother^L was just about to give birth, her_L owners^T
- illuaqqami sanaaminni inissiuukkaluarpaat. mf, fb*
illu-araq-mi sana-aq-mik-ni ini-liur-ut-galuar-pa-at
 house-little-SG.LOC build-v/thm-3PL_T-SG-LOC place-make-iv\TV-...but-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 built a little kennel for her_L (but...).
- (3) *Kisianni inissani aturnagu if*
kisianni ini-ssaq-ni atur-na-gu
 but place-prospective-3SG_T-SG use-NON_T-3SG_L
 But instead of using the place she^T was meant to use
- nappartami aamarsuit siqqunniririk imalimmi mf*
nappartaq-mi aamarsuaq-t siqqug-niq-t-nik imaq-lik-mi
 barrel-SG.LOC coal-PL crush-v\N-PL-MOD content-with-SG.LOC
- apummi nuisalaartumi*
aput-mi nui-sa-laar-tuq-mi
 snow-SG.LOC stick.head.up-res-a.little-iv\cn-SG.LOC
- irnisimavuq. fb*
irni-sima-pu-q
 give.birth-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 she^T gave birth in a coal barrel that was sticking up a little out of the snow.
- §2
- (1) *Piarai miqqat nassaaraat. if, ib, fb*
piaraq-i miiraq-t nassaari-pa-it
 (animal)baby-3SG_L-PL child-PL.ERG find-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 It was the children who found the pups.

- (2) *Niaqqumigut qaqurtunik milalik if*
niaqquq-mi-kut qaqur-tuq-nik milak-lik
 head-3SG_T-VIA be.white-iv\cn-PL.MOD spot-with.SG
 [One (pup) with white spots on his head][±]

paakujungaarmat
paaq-kjug-ngaar-mm-at
 soot-look.like-very-FCT_T-3SG_±
 was black like soot (MB: rare color for a husky) so

inuata irniinnaq atsirpaa ib, mf, fb
inuk-ata irniinnaq atiq-lir-pa-a
 person-3SG_±.SG immediately name-provide-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 his_± owner^T immediately named him_±

Paakujuk ff
paaq-kjug-k
 soot-be.like-v\n
 Sooty.

- (3) *Qimmiaqqat if*
qimmiq-araq-t
 dog-little-PL
 The pups^T

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

- (4) *tassanilu if*
tassa-ni=lu
 there-LOC=and
 and that was where

Paakujuk qatanngutinilu piruriarturput. ib, fb
paaq-kjug-k qatanngut-ni=lu pirur-riartur-pu-t
 soot-be.like-v\n sibling-3SG_T.SG=and grow.up-process-IND.IV-3PL
 [Sooty and his siblings]_T lived while growing up.

- (5) *Suli uinngikkallaramilli if*
suli uig-nngit-gallar-ga-mik=li
 still open.eyes-not-for.now-FCT_T-3PL_T=since
 Ever since the time when their_T eyes were still shut

anaanartik iniminnut isiinnarturlu ib
anaana-rtik ini-mik-nut isir-innar-tuq=lu
 mother-3PL_T.SG place-3PL_T.SG-DAT enter-just-iv\cn=and
 the moment their_T mother[±] entered their kennel

§4

- (1) *Paakujuk qatanngutaalu aalassarissivipput.* *if, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k qatanngut-i=lu aalassarig-si-vig-pu-t
 soot-be.like- \vee n sibling-3SG $_{\perp}$.PL=and lively-get-really-IND.IV-3PL
 [Sooty and his siblings] $^{\top}$ became really lively.
- (2) *Imminnut paasalirput.* *mf, fb*
immi-t-nut paa-tar-lir-pu-t
 self-PL-DAT wrestle-habit-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 They $_{\top}$ started wrestling with each other.
- (3) *Paakujuk inuuqqaaramili nukangasuugami* *if*
paaq-kujuk-k inuu-qqaar-ga-mi=li nuka-nga-tuq-u-ga-mi
 soot-be.like- \vee n live-first-FCT $_{\top}$ -3SG $_{\top}$ =since little.bro-resemble-iv\cn-be- FCT $_{\top}$ -3SG $_{\top}$
 Ever since he $^{\top}$ was born, Sooty $_{\top}$ was the runt of the litter, so
- ilani artugarisarpai.* *ib, fb*
ila-ni artur-gaq-gi-tar-pa-i
 part-3SG $_{\top}$.PL unable.to.handle-tv\rn-have.as-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he $_{\top}$ was unable to stand up to the other pups $^{\perp}$.
- (4) *Saassutiriraanganni* *if*
saassut-riar-gaang-anni
 attack-stage.one-HAB $_{\perp}$ -3PL $_{\perp}$.3SG $_{\top}$
 When they $_{\perp}$ turned on him $^{\top}$
- maalasukasiulluni nunamut nallaannaaraaq.* *ib, mf, fb*
maala-tuq-kasik-u-llu-ni nuna-mut nallar-innar-tar-pu-q
 whine-iv\cn-wretch-be-ELA $_{\top}$ -3SG $_{\top}$ ground-SG.DAT lie.down-just-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 he $_{\top}$ would just lie down whining wretchedly on the ground.
- (5) *Arni iqqaminiitillugu* *if*
arna-ni iqqaq-mi-ni=it-tit-llu-gu
 mother-3SG $_{\top}$.SG vicinity-3SG $_{\top}$.SG-LOC=be-state-ELA $_{\top}$ -3SG $_{\perp}$
 When his $_{\top}$ mother $^{\perp}$ was nearby,
- qimarnguigisarpaa.* *fb*
qimarngu-vik-gi-tar-pa-a
 seek.refuge-iv\loc-rn\tv-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he $_{\top}$ would seek refuge with her $_{\perp}$.
- (6) *Aamma inummi nukappiaqqap illirsurtalirmani* *if, ib*
aamma inuk-mi nukappiaraq-p illirsur-tar-lir-mm-ani
 also person-3SG $_{\top}$.SG.ERG boy-SG.ERG defend-habit-begin-FCT $_{\perp}$ -3SG $_{\perp}$.3SG $_{\top}$
 And because his $_{\top}$ owner, the boy, had begun to defend him
- nanisiaraa.* *fb*
nanisi-tar-pa-a
 go.to-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he $_{\top}$ (also) kept running (away) to him.

- (7) *Nirisilirsillutik* *if*
niri-tit-lir-tit-llu-tik
eat-cause-begin-state-ELA_T-3PL_T
While they^T were being fed,
- ilami* *ingiarniartarmanni* *ib*
ila-mi *ingiar-niar-tar-mm-anni*
part-3SG_T.PL.ERG get.ahead.of-try-habit-FCT₁-3PL.3SG
because the other (pup)s¹ would try to get ahead of him_T
- niqiminirmik* *kiisiriarluni* *mf*
niqi-miniq-mik *kii-si-riar-llu-ni*
meat-stuff-SG.MOD take.in.teeth-antip-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T
- qimarnguttarpaa* *fb*
qimarngut-tar-pa-a
run.away.with-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he_T would run away with a piece of meat in his teeth
- ilani* *qissimigaajutigalugit.*
ila-ni *qissimigaar-jutigi-llu-git*
part-3SG.PL look.furtively.at-state-ELA_T-3PL₁
while looking furtively at the other (pup)s¹.
- (8) *Ilaanni* *inuata* *if, ib*
ilaanni *inuk-ata*
sometimes person-3SG₁.SG.ERG
Sometimes his¹ owner^T
- immikkut* *nirisassittarpaa* *mf, fb*
immi-kkut *niri-gaq-ssit-tar-pa-a*
self-SG.VIA eat-tv\|n-give-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
would give him₁ food separately
- qatanngutaalu* *saassussiniaraluit* *ff*
qatanngut-i=lu *saassut-(ss)i-niar-galuar-k-t*
sibling-3SG₁.PL=and attack-antip-try-...but-v\|n-PL
- akurnusirtarlugit*
akurnut-lir-tar-llu-git
impediment-provide-habit-ELA_T-3PL₁
keeping his₁ siblings, who were trying to attack, at bay.

§5 (p. 12)

- (1) *Qimmiaqqat allinirugamik* *if*
qimmiq-araq-t angi-li-niru-ga-mik
 dog-little-PL big-get-more-FCT_T-3PL_T
 When the pups^T got bigger
- inirtik qimallugu* *ib*
ini-rtik qima-llu-gu
 place-3PL_T.SG leave-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 they_T left their_T dog house (*lit.* place)
- silaannarmi sinittalirput* *mf, fb*
sila-innaq-mi sinig-tar-lir-pu-t
 outdoors-just-SG.LOC asleep-habit-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 and started sleeping outdoors
- inummik anisariaat ungullugu.* *ff*
inuk-mik anisariaq-at ungu-llu-gu
 person-3PL_T.PL.ERG exit-3PL_⊥.SG surround-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 around the exit door of their_T owners' (house).
- (2) *Paakujuk matumut qaninnirpaasarpuq.* *if, ib, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k matu-mut qanig-nirpaa-tar-pu-q
 soot-be.like- \forall n door-SG.DAT be.near-most-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty would be nearest the door.
- (3) *Ilaanni inutsik malittalirpaat.* *if, ib, fb*
ilaanni inuk-tik malig-tar-lir-pa-it
 sometimes person-3PL_T.PL follow-habit-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 They_T began sometimes to follow their owners[⊥].
- (4) *Kisianni illu qimaqqunagu utirtittarpai* *if, ib, fb*
kisianni illu qimag-qqu-na-gu utir-tit-tar-pa-it
 but house leave-want-NON_T-3SG_⊥ return-cause-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 But they^T, not wanting them[⊥] to leave the house, would make them_⊥ go back,
- qimminit allanit saassunniqaqqunagit.* *ff*
qimmi-nit alla-nit saassut-niqar-qqu-na-git
 dog-PL.ABL other-PL.ABL attack-passive-want-NON_T-3PL_⊥
 so that they_⊥ wouldn't be attacked by other dogs
 (*lit.* not wanting them_⊥ to be attacked by other dogs)

§6

- (1) *Paakujuk utirtikkuminaattarpuq,* *if*
paaq-kujuk-k utir-tit-juminar-it-tar-pu-q
 soot-be.like- \forall n return-cause-be.easy-opp-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 It was always difficult to make Sooty^T go back,
 (*lit.* Sooty^T was always difficult (when one tried) to make (him) go back)

imminnut paarujutsillugit
immi-t-nut paa-rujug-tit-llu-git
 self-PL-DAT wrestle-a.bit-state-ELA_T-3PL_↓
 were play wrestling with each other

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

- (2) *Nimaarpalunnira tusaallugu if,*
nimaar-palug-nir-a tusaa-llu-gu
 whimper-sound-v\ n-3SG_↓.SG hear-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 Hearing him[↓] whimper,

inua anipallappuq, ib, fb
inuk-a ani-pallag-pu-q
 person-3SG_↓.SG go.out-quickly-IND.IV-3SG
 his_↓ owner^T rushed out

- (3) *takuaalu sanilimik qimmiata fb, ff*
taku-pa-a=lu sanilik-mik qimmiq-ata
 see-IND.TV-3SG.3SG=and neighbour-3SG_T.SG.ERG dog-3SG_T.SG.ERG
 and he_T saw the neighbour's dog^T

kiillugu aallarukkaa. ff ctd
kii-llu-gu aallar-ut-gi-a
 take.in.teeth-ELA_T-3SG_↓ set.out-iv\ tv-ELA_↓.TV-3SG_↓.3SG
 run off with him_↓ in his[↓] teeth.

- (4) *Qulariunnaarjaa qaqqurtitussanngurtuq. fb, ff*
qulari-junnaar-pa-a qaqqur-tit-tuq-ssaq-nngur-tu-q
 doubt-no.more-IND.TV-3SG.3SG crack-get.v.ed-iv\ cn-prospective-become-ELA_↓.IV-3SG_↓
 He_T was now certain that he[↓] would get bitten to death.

- (5) *Ipiraattani tigummigamiuk if*
ipiraataq-ni tigummi-ga-miuk
 whip-3SG_T.SG hold-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG_↓
 Holding his_T whip[↓]

tuaviinnaq qimmiq malippaa, ib, mf, fb
tuavi-innaq qimmiq malig-pa-a
 hastily-just dog follow-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T ran after the dog[↓].

- (6) *qimmillu malirsurniqalirami if*
qimmiq-p=lu malirsur-niqar-lir-ga-mi
 dog-SG.ERG=and pursue-passive-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T
 and the dog^T, when he_T began to be pursued,

- Paakujuk* *aqqusiniinnarmut* *qimallugu* *ib*
paaq-kjug-k *aqqusiniq-innaq-mut* *qimat-llu-gu*
soot-be.like-v\n road-just-SG.DAT leave-ELA_T-3SG_↓
just left Sooty_↓ on the road, and
- pangalilluni* *qimaavuuq.* *mf, fb*
pangalig-llu-ni *qimaa-pu-q*
run(4-legged)-ELA_T-3SG_T flee-IND.IV-3SG
ran away.
- (7) *Inua* *isumaqaraluarpuq* *if, fb*
inuk-a *isuma-qar-galuar-pu-q*
person-3SG_↓.SG belief-have-...but-IND.IV-3SG
His_↓ owner_T thought (but was wrong) that
- Paakujuk* *qaqqurtissimasuq* *ff₁*
paaq-kjug-k *qaqqur-tit-sima-tu-q*
soot-be.like-v\n crack-get.v.ed-prf-ELA_↓.IV-3SG_↓
Sooty_↓ had got fatally bitten
- inimit* *nikissanani* *nimaaqimmat.* *ff₂*
ini-mi-nit *nikig-ssa-na-ni* *nimaar-qi-mm-at*
place-3SG_T.SG-ABL move-prospect-NON_T-3SG_T whimper-emph-FCT_↓-3SG_↓
because he_↓ was just whimpering without seeming able to move.
- (8) *Tiguriarlugu* *ungalusamukaappaa* *if, fb*
tigu-riar-llu-gu *ungalu-gaq-mut=kar-ut-pa-a*
take-...and-ELA_T-3SG_↓ fence.in-tv\n-SG.DAT=go-iv\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He_T picked him_↓ up and took him to a fenced in area,
- turirsumik* *inissillugu,* *ff*
turir-tuq-mik *ini-ssit-llu-gu*
be.proper-iv\cn-SG.MOD place-give-ELA_T-3SG_↓
making a comfortable place for him_↓,
- (9) *ullullu* *ingirlanirani* *if*
ullu-t=lu *ingirla-niq-a-ni*
day-PL.ERG=and travel-v\n-3SG_↓.SG-LOC
and over the next (several) days
- akulikitsumik* *takusartarpaa* *ib, fb*
aku-lik-kit-tuq-mik *takusar-tar-pa-a*
interval-with-have.small-iv\cn-SG.MOD come.to.see-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
he_T came to see him_↓ frequently (*lit.* with small intervals)
- nirisassaanik* *tunisarlugu.* *ff*
niri-gaq-ssaq-a-nik *tuni-tar-llu-gu*
eat-tv\n-prospective-3SG_↓.SG-MOD give-habit-ELA_T-3SG_↓
with food for him_↓.

§8

- (1) *Paakujuk ullut qassiit* *if, ib*
paaq-kujug-k ulluq-t qassik-t
 soot-be.like-v\|n day-PL several-PL
 For several days, Sooty^T
- kisimiilluni ungalusami iniqartitaavuq, mf, fb*
kisi-mi=it-llu-ni ungalu-gaq-mi ini-qar-tit-gaq-u-pu-q
 alone-sg_T=be-ELA_T-3SG_T fence.in-tv\|rn-SG.LOC place-have-cause-tv\|thm-be-IND.IV-3SG
 was kept alone in the fenced-in area
- nalunannigilarlu nakurtikkiarturtuq. ff*
nalunar-nngit-la-q=lu nakurtit-kiartur-tu-q
 be.unclear-not-NEG-3S=and get.well-more&more-ELA_L.IV-3SG_L
 and it was clear that he^L was getting increasing better.
- (2) *Arnaa kisimi if*
arna-a kisi-mi
 mother-3SG_L.SG alone-sg_T
 Only his_L mother^T
- ungalusamut ilaanni isirtinniqartarpuq. ib, mf, fb*
ungalu-gaq-mut ilaanni isir-tit-niqar-tar-pu-q
 fence.in-tv\|thm-SG.DAT sometimes go.in-let-passive-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 was sometimes permitted to go into the fenced-in area.
- (3) *Arnaata if*
arna-ata
 mother-3SG_L.SG.ERG
 His_L mother^T
- kii-tinnirmini ikii ib*
kii-tit-nir-mi-ni ikiq-i
 bite-get.v.ed-v\|n-3SG_T.SG-LOC wound-3SG_L.PL
- alutturlugit sammisarpaa, mf, fb*
alug-tur-llu-git sammi-tar-pa-a
 lick-process-ELA_T-3PL_L attend.to-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 would attend to his bites by licking them.
- (4) *Paakujullu angisuukasiugalarluni if*
paaq-kujug-k=lu angiq-tuuq-kasik-u-galuar-llu-ni
 soot-be.like-v\|n=and size-with.big-silly-be-...but-ELA_T-3SG_T
 and although Sooty^T was (already) big
- milunniartarpuq. fb*
milug-niar-tar-pu-q
 suck-try-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T would try to suck.

- (5) *Isumannarunnaarmat* if
isumagi-nar-junnaar-mm-at
worry.about-make.one-no.more-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
When there was no longer reason to worry about him_⊥[⊥]
- inuata* *anisippaa.* ib, fb
inuk-ata *ani-tit-pa-a*
person-3SG_⊥.SG.ERG go.out-let-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
his_⊥ owner^T let him_⊥ out.
- (6) *Aasiillimi qatanngutaasa takummavaat* if, ib, fb
aasiilli=mi qatanngut-isa takumma-pa-at
sure=FOC sibling-3SG_⊥.PL.ERG be.glad.to.see-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
His_⊥ siblings^T were sure glad to see him_⊥,
- kuniurtarlugu ikasarlutillu paarujuttarlugu* ff
kuniur-tar-llu-gu ikasar-llu-tik=lu paa-rujug-tar-llu-gu
sniff.at-habit-ELA_T-3SG_⊥ v.for.fun-ELA_T-3PL_T=and wrestle-a.bit-habit-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
they_T kept sniffing him_⊥ and play wrestling with him_⊥ a bit.
- (7) “*Qujanaq ajurunnaartutit*”, if, fb
qujanaq ajur-junnaar-tu-tit
thanks be.bad-no.more-ELA_⊥.IV-2SG
“Thank [God] you’ve recovered”
- taama uqarusunnguatsiarput.* mf, fb
taama uqar-rusug-nnguatsiar-pu-t
thus say-desire-probably-IND.IV-3PL
that’s what they_T probably wanted to say.
- §9 (p. 13)
- (1) *Paakujuk* if
paaq-kjug-k
soot-be.like-v\n
Sooty^T,
- ungalusami iniqarnirmini nirilluarnirmit* ib
ungalu-gaq-mi ini-qar-nir-mi-ni niri-:luar-nir-mit
fence.in-tv\thm-SG.LOC place-have-v\n-3SG_T.SG-LOC eat-well-v\n-SG.ABL
had eaten so well while he_T was in the fenced in area that
- suanngarsimavuq ilani assigilirlugit.* fb, ff
suanngar-sima-pu-q ila-ni assik-gi-lir-llu-git
put.on.weight-prf-IND.IV-3SG part-3SG_T.SG copy-rn\TV-begin-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
he_T had put on weight, beginning to look like the other (pup)s_⊥[⊥].
- (2) *Suurlumi aamma ilaasa* if, ib
suurlu=mi aamma ila-isa
as.if=FOC also part-3SG_⊥.PL.ERG
It was as if the other (pup)s_⊥ also

- tamanna paasisimagaat.* *mf, fb*
tamanna paasi-sima-gi-at
that understand-prf-ELA₁.TV-3PL₁.3SG
had understood that.
- (3) *Naligisamittut isigilirpaat.* *mf, fb*
naligi-gaq-mik-tut isigi-lir-pa-at
consider.equal-tv\rm-3PL_T.SG-EQU look-beging-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
They^T began to consider him₁ as an equal.
- (4) *Paakujuk qunujunnaarpuq,* *if, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k qunu-junnaar-pu-q
soot-be.like-v\ n be.intimidated-no.more-IND.IV-3SG
Paakujuk^T was no longer intimidated,
- (5) *nimaarunnaarpuq,* *fb*
nimaar-junnaar-pu-q
whimper-no.more-IND.IV-3SG
he_T didn't whimper any more,
- (6) *paaniqaliraangami* *if*
paa-niqar-lir-gaanga-mi
wrestle-passive-begin-HAB_T-3SG_T
when he_T was attacked
- tamaviat akiuunniartarpuq.* *mf, fb*
tamaviat akiuut-niar-tar-pu-q
with.all.might fight.back-try-habit-IND.IV-3SG
he_T would try to fight back with all his might.
- (7) *Qatanngutaasa qajassuunniq ajurpaat.* *if, fb*
qatanngut-isa qajasuar-ut-niq ajur-pa-at
sibling-3SG₁.PL.ERG be.gentle-iv\tv-v\ n never.do-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
His₁ siblings^T didn't spare him₁ any more.
- (8) *Nukappiaraq inuni nimaarluni urnittarpaa.* *if, mf, fb*
nukappiaraq inu-ni nimaar-llu-ni urnig-tar-pa-a
boy person-3SG_T.SG whimper-ELA_T-3SG_T approach-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He^T would (still) run to the boy, his_T owner, whimpering.
- (9) *Kisianni taassuma illaatigiinnartarpaa* *if, ib, fb*
kisianni taassuma illar-utigi-innar-tar-pa-a
but that.ERG laugh-at-just-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
But that one^T would (now) just laugh at him⁺
- taama piniqarnini sukasaatiginiassammagu.* *ff*
taama pi-niqar-niq-ni sukasar-ut-gi-niar-ssa-mm-agu
thus v-passive-v\ n-3SG_T.SG train.to.be.strong-v\ins-have.as-try-prospect-FCT₁-3SG₁.3SG
for he₁ was supposed to try to treat such treatment as a way to train to get strong.

§10 (p. 14)

- (1) *Ukiurpuq.* *fb*
ukiug-r-pu-q
 winter-n\v-IND.IV-3SG
 Winter came.
- (2) *Qimussit piniariat aallartalirput.* *if, fb*
qimussiq-t piniar-riar-aq-t aallar-tar-lir-pu-t
 dog.sled-PL hunt-go.to-v\agt-PL set.out-habit-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 Dog sleds started leaving for hunting trips.
- (3) *Ilaanni nunaqarviit qaninnirit arlaannut* *if, ib*
ilaanni nunaqarvik-t qanig-niq-t arlaq-at-nut
 sometimes village-PL.ERG be.near-v\n-PL.ERG one.of(several)-3PL₁.SG-DAT
unnuiarturtarput. *fb*
unnuk-i-iar-tur-tar-pu-t
 night-spend-go.to-process-habit-IND.IV-3PL
 Sometimes they would go to spend the night in one of the nearby villages.
- (4) *Paakujuk qatanngutaalu angisuukasinngurput.* *if, fb*
paaq-kjug-k qatanngut-i=lu angiq-tuuq-kasik-nngur-pu-t
 soot-be.like-v\n sibling-3SG₁.PL=and size-with.big-silly-become-IND.IV-3PL
 Sooty and his siblings, the silly (pups), had grown big (by now).
- (5) *Qimussit aallalirsut* *if*
qimussiq-t aallar-lir-tu-t
 dog.sled-PL set.out-begin-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
 When dog sleds¹ were setting out,
- qiivalallutik malinniartarpaat,* *mf, fb*
qiivala-llu-tik malig-niar-tar-pa-it
 be.cheerful-ELA_T-3PL_T follow-try-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 they_T would cheerfully try to follow them₁,
- (6) *kisianni utimut unguurniqartarput.* *if, ib, fb*
kisianni uti-mut unguur-niqar-tar-pu-t
 but back-SG.DAT drive.away-passive-habit-IND.IV-3PL
 but they_T would be driven (away from the departing sled to go) back (home)
- (7) *Ullut ilaanni Paakujuk* *if*
ulluq-t ila-at-ni paaq-kjug-k
 day-PL.ERG part-3PL₁.SG-LOC soot-be.like-v\n
 One day Sooty^T

- inummi* *angutaa* *ib*
inuk-mi *angut-a*
 person-3SG_T.SG.ERG father-3SG_⊥.SG
- aallassalluni* *pituttuiriirsuq*
aallar-ssa-llu-ni *pitug-tur-(ss)i-riir-tu-q*
 set.out-prospect-ELA_T-3SG_T tie-process-antip-have.already-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
- qimmit* *akurnannut* *pulavuq,* *mf, fb*
qimmiq-t *akurna-at-nut* *pula-pu-q*
 dog-PL.ERG among-3PL_⊥.SG.DAT go.in-IND.IV-3SG
 mingled with the dogs, when his_T owner's father[⊥] had already harnessed up to leave.
- (8) *qimussillu* *aallarmata* *if*
qimussiq-t=lu *aallar-mm-ata*
 dog.sled-PL=and set.out-FCT_⊥-3PL_⊥
 and when the dog sled[⊥] set out
- qimuttuisa* *akurnannut* *pilluni* *.ib*
qimug-tuq-isa *akurna-at-nut* *pi-llu-ni*
 pull.sled-iv\cn-3PL_⊥.SG.ERG between-3PL_⊥.SG-DAT get-ELA_T-3SG_T
 he_T got in among the sled dogs
- malinnaavuq.* *fb*
malinnaa-pu-q
 come.along-IND.IV-3SG
 and came along.
- (9) *Tarrajummat* *maluginiqanngilaq.* *if, fb*
tarrajug-mm-at *malugi-niqar-nngit-la-q*
 darkish-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ notice-passive-not-NEG-3SG
 Because it was (still) darkish (early winter morning), he_T wasn't noticed.
- (10) *Aatsaat* *nunaqarvitsik* *qimangaatsiarlugu* *if*
aatsaat *nunaqarvik-tik* *qima-ngaatsiar-llu-gu*
 first village-3PL_T.SG leave-quite.a.lot-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
- sikumut* *avalariirlutik*
siku-mut *avalag-riir-llu-tik*
 ice-SG.DAT come.forward-have.already-ELA_T-3PL_T
 First when they had driven quite far from the village out onto the ice
- piniartup* *qimmini* *amirlagilirlugit* *ib*
piniar-tuq-p *qimmiq-ni* *amirlagi-lir-llu-git*
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG dog-3SG_T.SG consider.(too).many-begin-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
 it occurred to the hunter that he had too many dogs[⊥] and
- kisilirpai* *quliusut.* *fb, ff*
kisit-lir-pa-i *quli-u-tu-t*
 count-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL ten-be-ELA_⊥.IV-3PL_⊥
 he_T began to count them—there were ten. (*lit.* they were ten).

- (11) *Qulingihuaasussaagaluarput.* *fb*
quligiliuat-u-tuq-ssaq-u-galuar-pu-t
 nine-be-iv\cn-prospective-be-...but-IND.IV-3PL
 There should've been nine. (*lit.* they^T should've been nine.)
- §11**
- (1) *Taava takulirpaa* *if, fb*
taava taku-lir-pa-a
 then see-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 Then he^T noticed
- qimmiaraq akurnanni* *ff*
qimmiq-araq akurna-at-ni
 dog-little among-3PL₁.SG-LOC
 a pup¹ among them₁
- pituutaqarani ingirlaniataaqisuq.*
pitug-ut-qar-na-ni ingirla-niar-taar-qi-tu-q
 tie-v\ins-have-NON_T-3SG_T travel-try-hard-emph-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 unharnessed and struggling hard to keep up.
- (2) *Milaasigut qaqurtutigut paasivaa* *if, fb*
milak-isigut qaqur-tuq-tigut paasi-pa-a
 spot-3SG₁.PL.VIA be.white-iv\cn-PL.VIA find.out-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 By his₁ white spots he_T figured out
- Paakujuusuq.* *ff*
paaq-kjug-k-u-tu-q
 soot-be.like-v\n-be-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 it₁ was Sooty.
- (3) *Qimmit unitsinniaraluarpai* *if, fb*
qimmiq-t unig-tit-niar-galuar-pa-i
 dog-PL stop-cause-try-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 He_T tried to stop the dogs
- Paakujuk utirtinniarlugu.* *ff*
paaq-kjug-k utir-tit-niar-llu-gu
 soot-be.like-v\n return-cause-intend-ELA_T-3SG₁
 in order (*lit.* intending) to make Sooty₁ go back.
- (4) *Kisianni nunaqarvitsik ungasilliriiramikku* *if*
kisianni nunaqarvik-rtik ungasig-li-riir-ga-mikku
 but village-3PL_T.SG far-get-have.already-FCT_T-3PL_T.3SG
 But they_T had already come far from the village so
- ilaginnarpaa.* *fb*
ila-gi-innar-pa-a
 part-have.as-just-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 so he_T just let him₁ come along.

- (5) “*Anusinnurniassaaq,*” *fb*
anusinnur-niar-ssa-pu-q
 learn.hard.way-intend-prospect-IND.IV-3SG
 “That will learn him_T.”
- (6) *imminut uqarvigaa.* *mf, fb*
immi-nut uqar-vigi-pa-a
 self-SG.DAT say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T said to himself.
- (7) “*Qasuliruni kinguarumaarpuq.*” *if, fb*
qasu-lir-gu-ni kingu-ar-jumaar-pu-q
 tired-begin-HYP_T-3SG_T rear-move.to-be.sure-IND.IV-3SG
 “When he_T gets tired, he_T’s sure to get left behind.”
- §12** (p. 15)
- (1) *Paakujuup paasigamiuk inuluuginiqarani,* *if*
paaq-kujuk-k paasi-ga-miuk inuluugi-niqar-na-ni
 soot-be.like-v\cn find.out-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG discriminate.against-passive-NON_T-3SG_T
 When Sooty^T realized he_T was not discriminated against (for being a mere pup)
- qimmit qimuttut akurnannit piirluni* *ib*
qimmi-t qimug-tuq-t akurna-at-nit piir-llu-ni
 dog-PL.ERG pull.sled-iv\cn-PL.ERG among-3PL_⊥.SG-ABL go.away-ELA_T-3SG_T
- pangaliqattaalirpuq.* *fb*
pangalig-qattaar-lir-pu-q
 run(4-legged)-cyclic.process-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T began to run in and out from among the sled dogs.
- (2) *Ilaanni kingulirulluni uninngalaariarluni* *if*
ilaanni kingu-lliq-rut-llu-ni unig-nga-laar-riar-llu-ni
 sometimes rear-most-go-ELA_T-3SG_T stop-prf-briefly-...and-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Sometimes he_T’d briefly stop behind but then
- tamaviat pangalilluni* *ib*
tamaviat pangalig-llu-ni
 with.all.might run-ELA_T-3SG_T
- qimussit angusartarpai.* *mf, fb*
qimussiq-t angu-sar-tar-pa-i
 sled.w.dogs-PL reach-process-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he’d catch up with the dog sled by running with all his might.
- (3) *Ilaanni saninnguannut pilluni* *if*
ilaanni sani-nnguaq-at-nut pi-llu-ni
 sometimes side-little-3PL_⊥.SG-DAT get-ELA_T3SG_T
 Sometimes, running up right next to them_⊥,

§13

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

sikup *sinaava* *tikikkamiuk*
siku-p *sini-a* *tikit-ga-miuk*
 ice-SG.ERG side-3SG_I.SG come.to-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 When the hunter reached the area where he was going to hunt, on the edge of the ice

qimmini *aqupisippai.* *ib, fb*
qimmi-ni *aqupi-tit-pa-i*
 dog-3SG_T.PL sit-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he_T made his_T dogs sit (and stay put).
- (2) *Qamutini* *killurmut* *saatillugit* *if*
qamut-ni *killuq-mut* *saat-tit-llu-git*
 sled-3SG_T.PL wrong.way-SG.DAT face-cause-ELA_T-3PL_I
 He_T turned the sled (PL) to face the wrong way round (away from the dogs) and

apummut *magguppai* *mf, fb*
aput-mut *maggut-pa-i*
 snow-SG.DAT press.in-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he_T pressed it (PL) it into the snow

aallarnaviirsillugit. *if*
aallar-naviir-tit-llu-git
 set.off-become.unable-cause-ELA_T-3PL_I
 so that they couldn't move (*lit.* causing them to become unable to take off) .
- (3) *Taava sikup* *sinaanukarpuq* *if, fb*
taava siku-p *sini-a-nut=kar-pu-q*
 then ice-SG.ERG side-3SG.SG-DAT=go-IND.IV-3SG
 Then he_T went to the edge of the ice

qamaniarluni. *ff*
qama-niar-llu-ni
 lie.in.wait-intend-ELA_T-3SG_T
 in order (*lit.* intending) to do some hunting.
- (4) *Puisit* *ungasiartumiittut* *takusaraluarpai,* *if, fb*
puisi-t *ungasig-ar-tuq-mi=it=tuq=t* *taku-tar-galuar-pa-i*
 seal-PL be.far-very-iv\cn-SG.LOC=be-iv\cn-PL see-habit-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 He_T did see some seals⁺ very far away
- (5) *siqqurnirli* *ajurpuq.* *fb*
siqqur-niq=li *ajur-pu-q*
 shoot-v\n=but never.do-IND.IV-3SG
 but never (close enough) to shoot.

- (6) *Taamaalluni puisi* *if, ib*
taama=it-llu-ni puisi
 thus=be-ELA_T-3SG_T seal
 Then a seal
- ungasigani puivuuq.* *mf, fb*
ungasig-na-ni pui-pu-q
 be.far-NON_T-3SG_T stick.head.up-IND.IV-3SG
 stuck its head up nearby.
- (7) *Ummiuppaa.* *fb*
umir-ut-pa-a
 take.aim-iv\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He took aim at it.
- (8) *Tassalu nusuttakkani nusuliraa* *if*
tassa=lu nusug-tar-gaq-ni nusug-lir-pa-a
 that=and pull-habit-TV\RN-3SG_T.SG pull-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 And he₁ was just beginning to pull the trigger, when
- tunuani tassanngaannaq* *ib,*
tunu-a-ni tassanngaannaq
 back-3SG₁.SG-LOC suddenly
 suddenly behind him₁
- qimmiq qilulirpuq.* *mf, fb*
qimmiq qilug-lir-pu-q
 dog bark-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 a dog started barking.
- (9) *Suurunami puisi kalirrilluni* *if, ib*
suurunami puisi kalirrig-llu-ni
 of course, seal get.scared-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Of course, the seal got scared and
- aqqarpuq.* *fb*
aqqar-pu-q
 go.down-IND.IV-3SG
 went down.
- (10) *Pilirpaa* *fb*
pi-lir-pa-a
 v-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He^T saw that
- Paakujuk qimussit qimallugit pangaliqattaartuq,* *ff*
paaq-kujuk-k qimussiq-t qimag-llu-git pangalig-qattaar-tu-q
 soot-be.like-v\N dog.sled-PL leave-ELA_T-3PL₁ run-cyclic.process-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 Sooty had left the sled and was running back and forth

tassalu puisi takuriaramiuk
tassa=lu puisi taku-riar-ga-miuk
 that=and seal see-...and-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 and then, when he saw the seal,

allagalugu qilulirsimallugu.
alla-gi-llu-gu qilug-lir-sima-llu-gu
 other-tv\rn-ELA_T-3SG_⊥ bark-begin-prf-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 had started barking at it in surprise.

§14

- (1) *Piniartup Paakujuk uumitsaappaa* *if, ib, fb*
piniar-tuq-p paaq-kjug-k uumigi-tsag-ut-pa-a
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG soot-be.like-v\n hate-suddenly-iv\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 The hunter^T felt a sudden spurt of annoyance with Sooty⁺

qilurianngippat puisi pisarissagaluaramiuk. *ff*
qilug-riar-nngit-pp-at puisi pi-gaq-gi-ssa-galuar-ga-miuk
 bark-stage.one-not-HYP_⊥-3SG_⊥ seal get-tv\rn-rn\TV-prospect-...but-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 for if he_⊥ hadn't given that woof, he_T would've got the seal⁺.

- (2) *Imminut aamma uumitsaappuq* *if, mf, fb*
immi-nut aamma uumigi-tsag-(ss)i-pu-q
 self-DAT also hate-suddenly-antip-IND.IV-3SG
 He_T was also annoyed with himself_T

Paakujuk pitunnginnamiuk. *ff*
paaq-kjug-k pitug-nngit-ga-miuk
 soot-be.like-v\n tie-not-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 because he_T hadn't tied Sooty_⊥ (to the sled).

- (3) *Tiguriarlugu naviirpaa.* *if, fb*
tigu-riar-llu-gu naviir-pa-a
 take-...and-ELA_T-3SG_⊥ scold-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He_T caught him_⊥ and scolded him_⊥.

- (4) *Paakujuup* *if*
paaq-kjug-k-p
 soot-be.like-v\n-SG.ERG
 Sooty^T

suna pillugu ipiraattap ipuanik annirsinniqarnini ib
suna pi-llu-gu ipiraataq-p ipu-a-nik anniri-tit-niqar-niq-ni
 what tv-ELA_T-3SG_⊥ whip-SG.ERG handle-3SG_⊥.SG-MOD hurt-cause-passive-v\n-3SG_T.SG

paasigunarpaa. *fb*
paasi-gunar-pa-a
 understand-be.probable-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 probably understood why he got a beating with the whip handle.

- (5) *Piniartup* *if*
piniar-tuq-p
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG
 The hunter^T
- anut nassatani aturniqanngitsut* *ib*
anu-t nassar-gaq-ni atur-niqar-nngit-tuq-t
 harness-PL bring.along-tv\rn-3SG_⊥.SG use-passive-not-iv\cn-PL
- atitiriarlugit*
ati-tit-riar-llu-git
 put.on-cause-...and-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
 put on him_⊥ a harness (PL) he_T had brought along that was not being used and
- qamutiminut pituppa.* *mf, fb*
qamut-mi-nut pitug-pa-a
 sled-3SG_T.PL-DAT tie-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 tied him_⊥ to his_T sled.
- §15** (p. 16)
- (1) *Paakujuk qiluriaqqinngilaq.* *if, fb*
paaq-kujug-k qilug-riar-qqig-nngi-la-q
 soot-be.like-v\ n bark-stage.one-again-not-NEG-3SG
 Sooty^T didn't give another woof.
- (2) *Piniarturlu ataatsimik puisippuq.* *if, mf, fb*
piniar-tuq=lu ataasiq-mik puisig-pu-q
 hunt-iv\cn=and one-SG.MOD seal-get-IND.IV-3SG
 And the hunter got one seal.
- (3) *Puisitani qamutiminut qilirsuuppa,* *if, mf, fb*
puisi-taq-ni qamuti-mi-nut qilir-tur-ut-pa-a
 seal-of-3SG_T.SG sled-3SG_T.PL-DAT tie-process-tv\ tv'-IND.IV-3SG.3SG
 He_T tied his_T seal to his_T sled
- (4) *nunaminillu ungasissumiikkami* *if*
nuna-mi-nit=lu ungasig-tuq-mi=it-ga-mi
 land-3SG_T.SG-ABL=and be.far-iv\cn-SG.LOC=be-FCT_T-3SG_T
 and being far from his_T own home area, he_T
- nunaqarvimmu qaninnirusumut* *ib*
nunaqarvik-mut qanig-niru-tuq-mut
 village-SG.DAT be.near-more-iv\cn-SG.DAT
- unnuiarturnialirpuq.* *ff*
unnuaq-i-jartur-niar-lir-pu-q
 night-spend-go.to-intend-begin-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T decided to go spend the night in a village that was closer.

- (5) *Timmut aallalirami puiurpaa if, fb*
timi-mut aallar-lir-ga-mi puiur-pa-a
 land.side-SG.DAT set.of-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T forget-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 When he_T started preparing to head for land, he_T forgot
- Paakujuk pituussaassallugu. ff*
paaq-kujuk-k pitug-ut-ssaq-ir-ssa-llu-gu
 soot-be.like-v\cn tie-v\ins-prospective-take.off-prospect-ELA_T-3SG_T
 to untie Sooty¹ (*lit.* take off him₁ the trace he₁ would've used)
- (6) *Aatsaat qimuqataasug takuliramiuk if*
aatsaat qimug-qat-u-tu-q taku-lir-ga-miuk
 first pull.sled-mate-be-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁ see-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 First when he_T noticed him₁ pulling the sled with the other (dog)s
- iqqaavaa. fb*
iqqaa-pa-a
 remember-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 did he_T remember him₁.
- (7) *“Isumaminik,*
isuma-mi-nik
 mind-3SG_T.SG-MOD
 “(Let him₁) suit himself.”
- (8) *qimunnig imaannaangitsug paasiniassavaa,” if, fb*
qimug-niq ima-innar-nngit-tu-q paasi-niar-ssa-pa-a
 pull.sled-v\cn thus-just-not-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁ find.out-x.intend-prospect-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He'll find out (intended prospect) that pulling a sled is not so easy.”
- (9) *piniartuq imminut uqarvigaaq. if, fb*
piniar-tuq immi-nut uqar-vigi-pa-a
 hunt-iv\cn self-SG.DAT say-to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 said the hunter^T to himself.
- §16**
- (1) *Sikukkut aqqutaat manissuugami if*
siku-kkut aqqut-at manig-tuq-u-ga-mi
 ice-SG.VIA way-3PL₁.SG be.level-iv\cn-be-FCT_T-3SG_T
 Their way over ice was level so
- Paakujummut nuanniinnarpuq. ib, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k-mut nuannir-innar-pu-q
 soot-be.like-v\cn-SG.DAT be.fun-just-IND.IV-3SG
 it was just fun for Sooty.
- (2) *Nunakkuuliramik if*
nuna-kkut=Vr-lir-ga-mik
 land-SG.VIA=n\iv-begin-FCT_T-3PL_T
 When they^T started driving overland

- qummukajaakkut* *nukkiurnarsivuq.* *mf, fb*
quli-mut=kar-jaag-k-kkut *nukkiur-nar-si-pu-q*
 up-SG.DAT=go-tend.to-v\n-SG.VIA strain-make.one-get-IND.IV-3SG
 it got strenuous on the upgrade.
- (3) *Piniartup* *takusarpaa* *if, fb*
piniar-tuq-p *taku-tar-pa-a*
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG see-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 The hunter systematically saw that
- Paakujuk* *ilamisut* *tukirnirtartuq* *ff₁*
paaq-kjug-k *ila-mik-tut* *tukirnir-tar-tu-q*
 soot-be.like-v\n part-3SG_T.PL-EQU pull.hard-habit-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
 Sooty[⊥] was pulling hard like the other (dog)s
- tamaviaartukasiulluni.* *ff₂*
tamaviat=Vr-tuq-kasik-u-llu-ni
 with.all.might=n\iv-iv\cn-silly-be-ELA_T-3SG_T
 straining with all his might.
- (4) *Paakujummut* *ajurnirusarpuq* *if, fb*
paaq-kjug-k-mut *ajur-niru-tar-pu-q*
 soot-be.like-v\n-SG.DAT be.bad-more-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 It was worse for Sooty
- qamutit* *ammukajaakkut* *sisusarnirat.* *ff*
qamut-t *at-mut=kar-jaag-k-kkut* *sisu-tar-niq-at*
 sled-PL.ERG down-SG.DAT=go-tend.to-v\n-SG.VIA slide.down-habit-v\n-3PL_⊥.SG
 when the sled (PL) was sliding down on the downgrad.
- (5) *Qamutanut* *nanirtinnissaq* *if*
qamut-nut *nanir-tit-niq-ssaq*
 sled-PL.DAT run.over-get.v.ed-v\n-prospective
 Getting run over by the sled
- aarlirinartaqaaq.* *fb*
aarliri-nar-tar-qi-pu-q
 fear.danger-make.one-habit-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 was a fearful and constant danger.
- (6) *Nunakkuurnirminni* *tamaviaarnirmit* *if*
nuna-kkut=Vr-niq-mik-ni *tamaviat=Vr-niq-mit*
 land-SG.VIA=n\iv-v\n-3PL_T.SG-LOC with.all.might=n\iv-v\n-SG.ABL
 From straining with all his_T might on their_T (= his_T + co) overland journey
- Paakujuk* *qasuippuq* *ib, fb*
paaq-kjug-k *qasu-vig-pu-q*
 soot-be.like-v\n be.tired-really-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty[⊥] was really tired

- kinguliruttalirluni.* *ff*
kingu-lliq-rut-tar-lir-llu-ni
 rear-most-go-habit-begin-ELA_T-3SG_T
 and became unable to keep up.
- §17 (p. 17)
- (1) *Piniartup* *naakkigilirlugu* *if*
piniar-tuq-p *naakkigi-lir-llu-gu*
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG be.sorry.for-begin-ELA_T-3SG_T
 The hunter^T took pity on him₁
- qamutiminut* *qaqitippaa.* *mf, fb*
qamut-mi-nut *qaqi-tit-pa-a*
 sled-3SG_T.SG-DAT climb-let-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 and let him₁ climb up onto the sled.
- (2) *Iluaallak!* *fb*
iluar-allag-Ø
 be.good-get.more-EXCL!
 Much better!
- (3) *Paakujuk* *anirtikkartuinnaalluni* *if*
paaq-kujuk-k *anitikkar-tuq-innar-u-llu-ni*
 soot-be.like-v\cn gasp-iv\cn-just-be-ELA_T-3SG_T
 Gasping (for breath), Sooty^T
- puisip* *usiata* *qaanut* *nallarpuq.* *mf, fb*
puisi-p *usi-ata* *qaa-a-nut* *nallar-pu-q*
 seal-SG.ERG load-3SG₁.SG.ERG surface-3SG₁.SG-DAT lie.down-IND.IV-3SG
 lay down on top of the loaded seal.
- (4) *Qasuilirami* *if*
qasu-vik-lir-ga-mi
 be.tired-really-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T
 Because he_T'd got really tired,
- misigilirpuq* *pirilivilluni,* *fb, ff₁*
misigi-lir-pu-q *pirililir-vig-llu-ni*
 feel-begin-IND.IV-3SG be.hungry-really-ELA_T-3SG_T
 he_T started feeling really hungry,
- unalu* *nallavini* *pilirinaraluartuq,* *ff₂*
una=lu *nallar-vik-ni* *piliri-nar-galuar-tu-q*
 this=and lie.down-v\loc-3SG_T.SG desire-make.one-...but-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 and here was this desirable thingy⁺ he_T was lying on
- *niqisunni* — *ursursunni!* *ff₃*
 — *niqi-sunni* — *ursuq-sunni*
 — meat-smell — fat-smell
 — smell of meat — smell of fat!

- (5) *Puisi amiata qaavatigut alutturtalirpaa, if, mf, fb*
puisi amiq-ata qaa-atigut alug-tur-tar-lir-pa-a
 seal skin-3SG₁.SG.ERG surface-3SG₁.SG.VIA lick-process-habit-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 He_T started licking the seal on the surface;
- (6) *immaqami mikissiinnaraanni. if, fb*
immaq=mi mikit-ssi-innar-raanni
 maybe=FOC bite.off.a.piece-antip-just-IMPRS
 maybe one could just bite off a piece.
- (7) *Puisi siqqusa mannguatigut kiiliraalu if*
puisi siqquq-isa mannguq-atigut kii-lir-gi-a=lu
 seal hind.flipper-3SG₁.PL.ERG root-3SG₁.SG.VIA bite-begin-ELA₁.TV-3SG₁.3SG
 Just as he⁺ started biting into the seal's hind flipper at the root,
- piniartup paasitipaa ib, fb*
piniar-tuq-p paasi-tit-pa-a
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG understand-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 the hunter^T let him₁ understand that
- taamaaliurniq ajurnartuq. ff*
taama=iliur-niq ajurnar-tu-q
 thus=do-v\cn be.impossible-ELA₁.IV-3SG
 doing that was not allowed.
- (8) *Ipiraattap ipua ajurtukasiuvuq. if, fb*
ipiraataq-p ipu-a ajur-tuq-kasik-u-pu-q
 whip-SG.ERG handle-3SG₁.SG be.bad-iv\cn-silly-be-IND.IV-3SG
 That silly old whip handle was bad.
- (9) *Paakujuk mikitsiriaqqinngilaq. if, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k mikit-si-riar-qqig-nngit-la-q
 soot-be.like-v\cn bite.of.a.piece-antip-stage.one-again-not-NEG-3SG
 Sooty^T did not take another bite.

§18

- (1) *Taarsigaa if*
taar-si-gi-a
 be.dark-get-ELA₁.TV-3SG₁.3SG
 When it⁺ got dark
- nunaqarvik urnigartik tikippaat. ib, fb*
nunaqarvik urnig-gaq-rtik tikit-pa-at
 village approach-tv\rn-3PL_T.SG come.to-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 they^T reached the village they_T were going to.
- (2) *Qimmit pituussaarniqarput. if, fb*
qimmiq-t pitug-ut-ssaq-ir-niqar-pu-t
 dog-PL tie-v\ins-prospective-remove.from-passive-IND.IV-3PL
 The dogs were untied.

(3) *Kisianni irniinnaq nirsinniqanngillat.* *if, ib, fb*
kisianni irniinnaq niri-tit-niqar-nngit-la-t
 but immediately eat-cause-passive-not-NEG-3PL
 But they_T were not fed immediately.

(4) *Piniartuq nirisassanik agguilirmat* *if*
piniar-tuq niri-gaq-ssaq-nik aggur-(ss)i-lir-mm-at
 hunt-iv\cn eat-tv\thm-prospective-PL.MOD divide.into.pieces-antip-begin-FCT₁-3SG₁
 When the hunter¹ started cutting up food for [them_T],

nirisitsivissaq qaninnialirpaat. *ib, fb*
niri-tit-si-vik-ssaq qanig-niar-lir-pa-at
 eat-cause-antip-v\loc-prospective be.near-try-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 they_T started trying to get close to the place where they_T were to be fed.

(5) *Paakujuk ilaaqquppuq,* *if, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k ilaaqqut-pu-q
 soot-be.like-v\n do.like.others-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty^T did like the other (dog)s,

(6) *nirisassanillu agguisug* *if*
niri-gaq-ssaq-nik=lu aggur-(ss)i-tuq
 eat-tv\thm-prospective-PL.MOD=and divide.into.pieces-antip-iv\cn

qanillivallaaramiuk
qanig-li-pallaar-ga-miuk
 be.near-get-too.much-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 and when he_T got too close to the [man] who was cutting up the food

qimmit ittuqutaannit saalirsuunniqarpuq. *ib, fb*
qimmiq-t ittuqut-taq-at-nit saalirsuut-niqar-pu-q
 dog-PL.ERG boss-of-3PL₁.SG-ABL attack-passive-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T got attacked by the lead dog.

(7) *Taamaattumik tunuarpuq.* *if, fb*
taamaattumik tunu-ar-pu-q
 therefore rear-move.to-IND.IV-3SG
 So he_T retreated.

§19

(1) *Piniartuq nirisassat agguriirlugit* *if*
piniar-tuq niri-gaq-ssaq-t aggur-riir-llu-git
 hunt-iv\cn eat-v\thm-prospective-PL divide.into.pieces-have.already-ELA_T-3PL₁
 When the hunter^T had cut up the food and

nirukkaalirmat akuliutiriarahuarpuq *ib, fb*
nirukkar-(ss)i-lir-mm-at akuliut-riar-galuar-pu-q
 feed-antip-begin-FCT₁-3SG₁ mingle-stage.one-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 started feeding, he^T tried to mingle (in vain)

§20 (p. 18)

- (1) *Qimmirsuit takurnartat* if
qimmiq-:suaq-t takurnartaq-t
 dog-big-PL strange-PL
 Strange dogs^T
- iqqaani qaninniarput* ib, fb
iqqaq-a-ni qanig-niar-pu-t
 vicinity-3SG₁.SG-LOC be.near-try-IND.IV-3PL
 tried to approach all around them.
- (2) *Qanillivallaaraangata* if
qanig-li-pallaar-gaang-ata
 be.near-get.more-too.much-HAB₁-3PL₁
 When they¹ came too near
- Paakujukkut ittuqutaata* ib
paaq-kjug-k-ku-t ittuqut-ata
 soot-be.like- \sqrt{n} -&co-PL.ERG boss-3PL.SG.ERG
 [the lead dog of Sooty's team]^T
- qatimaavvigisarpai* fb
qatimaag-vik-gi-tar-pa-i
 growl- \sqrt{loc} -rn\TV-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 growled at them₁.
- (3) *Irsattaliriannguarlutik aarimmi* if, ib
irsag-tar-lir-riar-nnguar-llu-tik aarimmi
 show.teeth-habit-begin-...and-brief-ELA_T-3PL_T sure enough
 As soon as they^T started baring their teeth at each other, sure enough,
- imminnut saassutiinnaqaat.* mf, fb
immi-t-nut saassut-innar-qi-pu-t
 self-PL-DAT attack-just-emph-IND.IV-3PL
 they_T just attacked each other.
- (4) *Paggutilirput.* fb
paa-ut-lir-pu-t
 fight-rcp-begin-IND.IV-3PL
 They_T started fighting.
- (5) *Paakujuup tikinnissaat qunugigamiuk if*
paaq-kjug-k-p tikit-niq-ssaq-at qunugi-ga-miuk
 soot-be.like- \sqrt{n} -SG.ERG come.to- \sqrt{n} -prospective-3PL₁.SG be.afraid.of-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 Sooty^T was afraid of their¹ coming so
- ungataanni tamaviat qiluppuq.* ib, mf, fb
ungat-at-ni tamaviat qilug-pu-q
 periphery-3PL.SG-LOC with.all.might bark-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T barked with all his might on the periphery of the₁ fight (*lit.* on their₁ periphery)

- (6) *Piniartup annivigalugit avissaartippai. if, fb*
piniar-tuq-p ani-vik-gi-llu-git avissaar-tit-pa-i
 hunt-iv\cn-SG.ERG go.out-v\loc-rn\TV-ELA_T-3PL_⊥ separate-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 The hunter^T came out to them_⊥ and separated them_⊥.

§21

- (1) *Aqaguani angirlaramik if*
aqagu-a-ni angirlar-ga-mik
 next.day-3SG_⊥.SG-LOC go.home-FCT_T-3PL_T
 When they^T went home the next day
- Paakujuk qimuqataavuuq. ib, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k qimug-qat-u-pu-q
 soot-be.like-v\N (dog)pull.sled-mate-be-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty^T pulled the sled together with the other (dog)s.

§22

- (1) *Paakujuk inuata nukappiaqqap tammaagamiuk if*
paaq-kujuk-k inuk-ata nukappiaraq-p tammaa-ga-miuk
 soot-be.like-v\N person-3SG_⊥.SG.ERG boy-ERG unable.to.find-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 When his[⊥] owner, the boy, couldn't find Sooty_⊥
- ujarturaluarpaa, fb*
ujar-tur-galuar-pa-a
 look.for-process-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T spent some time looking for him_⊥ (but in vain).
- (2) *sumiinnirali naluliramiuk if*
su-mi=it-niq-a=li nalu-lir-ga-miuk
 what-SG.LOC=be-v\N-3SG_⊥.SG=but not.know-begin-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 but unable to determine his_⊥ whereabouts,
- isumaqaannarpuq qimussinik malinnissimasuq. fb, ff*
isuma-qar-innar-pu-q qimussiq-nik malig-nig-sima-tu-q
 belief-have-just-IND.IV-3SG dog.sled-PL.MOD follow-antip-prf-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥
 he_T just thought that he_⊥ must have followed a dog sled.
- (3) *Taamaattumik angunni tikilirmat if*
taamaattumik angut-ni tikit-lir-mm-at
 therefore father-3SG_T.SG come-begin-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥
 So when his_T father[⊥] was about to arrive,
- niuvviurpuq, fb*
niuvviur-pu-q
 go.down.to.meet-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T went down (to the shore) to meet (him_⊥).
- (4) *Paakujullu qimuqataasuuq takugamiuk if*
paaq-kujuk-k-p=lu qimug-qat-u-tu-q taku-ga-miuk
 soot-be.like-v\N-SG.ERG=and (dog)pull.sled-mate-be-ELA_⊥.IV-3SG_⊥ see-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG
 And when he_T saw Sooty_⊥ pulling together with the other (dog)s

- tulluutiqaaq.* *fb*
tulluut-qi-pu-q
 be.proud-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T was very proud.
- (5) *Qimussit unimmata* *if*
qimussiq-t unig-mm-ata
 sled.w.dogs-PL stop-FCT₁-3PL₁
 When the sled (PL)¹ stopped
- Paakujuk anuinit piirsippaa* *ib, mf, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k anu-i-nit piir-tit-pa-a
 soot-be.like-v\|n harness-3SG.PL-ABL get.out.of-cause-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he_T took the harness off of Sooty¹
- pattalaarlugulu.* *ff*
pattag-laar-llu-gu=lu
 pat-a.little-ELA_T-3SG₁=and
 and patted him₁.
- §23**
- (1) *Paakujuk maniguutiqaaq* *if, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k maniguut-qi-pu-q
 soot-be.like-v\|n humble-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty^T was very humble
- suurlu uqarniartuq:* *ff*
suurlu uqar-niar-tu-q
 as.if say-intend-ELA₁.IV-3SG₁
 as if he wanted to say:
- (2) “*Naalanngisaaama pillarniaqinanga,* *if, fb*
naalagnngisaar-ga-ma pillar-niar-qina-nga
 disobedient-FCT_T-3SG_T punish-POL-NEG.IMP-2SG.1SG
 “Please don’t punish me for my disobedience
- (3) *pillaatisiara naammariirpuq.”* *if, fb*
pillar-ut-si-aq-ga naammag-riir-pu-q
 punish-v\|ins-get-v\|thm-1SG.SG sufficient-be.already-IND.IV-3SG
 I have already got enough punishment.”
- (4) *Qatanngutaasa urnillugu kuniurpaat:* *if, fb*
qatanngut-isa urnig-llu-gu kuniur-pa-at
 sibling-3SG.PL.ERG approach-ELA_T-3SG₁ snff.at-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 His₁ siblings^T came up to him₁ and sniffed at him₁:
- (5) “*Sumiikkavinuna,* *fb*
su-mi=it-ga-vit=una
 what-SG.LOC=be-FCT_T-2SG=this
 “Where is it you’ve been,

- (6) *qujanaq tikittutit,* *fb, ff*
qujanaq tikit-tu-tit
 thanks come-ELA_⊥.IV-2SG
 thank God, you've come back
- (7) *maqaasiliraluarpatsigit,* *fb*
maqaasi-lir-galuar-pa-tsigit
 miss-begin-...but-IND.TV-1PL.2SG
 we've (already) begun to miss you (but that is now over)."
- (8) *taama uqarniarunarput.* *if, fb*
taama uqar-niar-gunar-pu-t
 thus say-intend-be.probable-IND.IV-3PL
 that's what they_τ probably wanted to say.
- (9) *Paakujuup* *if*
paaq-kujug-k-p
 soot-be.like-v\cn-SG.ERG
 Sooty^T
- qataatsumik qarlu-luvvigai* *mf, fb*
qataag-tuq-mik qarlu-lu-vik-gi-pa-i
 (tone)be.high-iv\cn-SG.MOD make.sounds-a.bit-v\loc-rn\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 was making soft high noises at them_⊥,
- immaqa naalliupiraarnini paasitinniarlugu.* *ff*
immaqa naalliug-piraar-niq-ni paasi-tit-niar-llu-gu
 perhaps suffer-a.bit-v\cn-3SG_τ.SG understand-cause-try-ELA_τ-3SG_⊥
 perhaps trying to explain his_τ suffering.
- §24**
- (1) *Paakujuup piaarinaaatsuurtumik angalanirata* *if*
paaq-kujug-k-p piaarinaaatsuur-tuq-mik angala-niq-ata
 soot-be.like-v\cn-SG.ERG v.accidentally-iv\cn-SG.MOD go.on.trip-v\cn-3SG_⊥.SG.ERG
- kinguniraa* *fb*
kinguniq-gi-pa-a
 consequence-rn\TV-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 A consequence of Sooty's accidental trip^T was
- qatanngumminit qummut isiginiqalirnira.* *ff*
qatanngut-mik-nit quli-mut isigi-niqar-lir-niq-a
 sibling-3PL_τ.SG-ABL up-SG.DAT look-passive-begin-v\cn-3SG_⊥.SG
 that his_⊥ siblings began to look up to him_⊥.
- (2) *Qimuttut inirsimasut* *if*
qimug-tuq-t inir-sima-tuq-t
 (dog)pull.sled-iv\cn-PL grow.to.maturity-prf-iv\cn-PL
 Adult sled dogs^T

- qimmiaqqat nutaqqat saassutiqqajaasarpaat,* *ib, fb*
qimmig-araq-t nutaq-araq-t saassut-qqajaa-tar-pa-it
 dog-little-PL new-little-PL attack-be.about.to-habit-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 generally snarl at newbeginner pups⁺.
- (3) *kisianni Paakujuk taama piniq ajurpaat.* *if, ib,*
kisianni paaq-kjug-k taama pi-niq ajur-pa-it *mf, fb*
 but soot-be.like-v\n thus v-v\n never.do-IND.TV-3PL.3PL
 but they_T never did that to Sooty⁺.
- (4) *Taamaattumik Paakujuk* *if*
taamaattumik paaq-kjug-k
 Therefore soot-be.like-v\n
 Therefore Sooty⁺
- qatanngutaasa naalagarisutut ilirpaat.* *ib, mf, fb*
qatanngut-isa naalag-gaq-gi-tuq-tut it-lir-pa-at
 sibling-3SG.PL.ERG obey-tv\in-rn\iv-iv\cn-EQU be-begin-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 began to be regarded as a leader by his₁ siblings^T.
 (*lit.* his₁ siblings^T began to regard Sooty⁺ as a leader.)
- (5) *Inuat nukappiaraq* *if*
inuk-at nukappiaraq
 person-3PL₁.SG boy
 Their₁ owner^T, the boy,
- mikisunik qamutiqarpuq,* *mf, fb*
miki-tuq-nik qamut-qar-pu-q
 be.small-iv\cn-PL.MOD sled-have-IND.IV-3SG
 had a small sled (PL)
- (6) *qimmiaraatinilu nutaqqaat qimutsigalugit* *if*
qimmig-araq-ut-ni=lu nutaaq-araq-t qimug-tsi-gi-llu-git
 dog-little-own-3SG_T.PL=and new-little-PL (dog)pull.sled-v\agt-rn\tv-ELA_T-3PL₁
 and using his_T own newbeginner pups to pull it
- qanittumut qimussirtarpuq.* *mf, fb*
qanig-tuq-mut qimussiq-r-tar-pu-q
 be.near-iv\cn-SG.MOD dog.sled-do-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T would drive around to nearby destinations.
- (7) *Paakujuk ittuqutaasarpuq.* *if, fb*
paaq-kjug-k ittuqut-u-tar-pu-q
 soot-be.like-v\n boss-be-habit-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty^T was always the lead dog.
- (8) *Ilani uniarnissamut iqiasuttut* *if*
ila-ni uniar-niq-ssaq-mut iqiasug-tu-t
 part-3SG_T.PL pull-v\n-prospect-SG.DAT be.lazy-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
paasigaangamigit

paasi-gaanga-migit

find.out-HAB_T-3SG_T.3PL

Whenever he_T found out that (some) other pups were too lazy to pull (properly)

saalirsuuttarpai.

fb

saalirsuut-tar-pa-i

attack-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL

he_T would attack them_I.

§25 (p. 19)

(1) *Upirnassaraa*

siku aattulirsuq

if

upirnaq-ssaq-gi-a

siku aag-tur-lir-tu-q

spring-prospective-ELA_I.TV-3SG_I.3SG ice melt-process-begin-ELA_I.IV-3SG_I

In the early spring, when the ice started to melt,

nukappiaraq

nunakkut

qimussirpuq

ib, mf, fb

nukappiaraq

nuna-kkut

qimussiq-r-pu-q

boy

land-SG.VIA

dog.sled-do-IND.IV-3SG

the boy^T drove his sled overland

aqissirniarluni.

ff

aqissiq-niar-llu-ni

grouse-hunt-ELA_T-3SG_T

on grouse hunting trips.

(2) *Qimussirvigisartagaa*

if

qimussiq-r-vik-gi-tar-gaq-a

dog.sled-do-v\loc-rn\tv-habit-tv\rn-3SG_I.SG

angajuqqaavisa

nalunnigilaat.

ib, fb

angajuqqaavisa

nalunngit-la-at

parent-3SG_I.PL.ERG

not.know-not-NEG-3PL.3SG

His_I parents^T knew his_I sledding route.

(3) *Nukappiaqqap*

angajuqqaani niriursuriirpai

if, ib, fb

nukappiaraq-p

angajuqqaani niriursur-riir-pa-i

boy-SG.ERG

parent-3SG_T.PL

promise-have.already-IND.TV-3SG.3PL

The boy^T had promised his_T parents^I

nunakkuinnaq

qimussirtassalluni.

ff

nuna-kkut=innaq

qimussiq-r-tar-ssa-llu-ni

land-SG.VIA=just

dog.sled-do-habit-prospect-ELA_T-3SG_T

only to drive on land.

(4) *Taamaattumik*

siku aqqarviginiq

ajuippaa.

if, ib, fb

taamaattumik

siku aqqar-vik-gi-niq

ajur-vig-pa-a

therefore

ice

go.down-v\loc-rn\tv-v\n

never.do-really-IND.TV-3SG.3SG

Therefore he_T absolutely never went down to the ice.

§26

- (1) *Paakujuk* *pisarnirmisut* *qimulluarterpuq.* *if, mf, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k *pi-tar-niq-mi-tut* *qimug-:luar-tar-pu-q*
soot-be.like-v\N v-habit-v\N-3SG_T.SG-EQU (dog)pull.sled-well-IND.IV-3SG
Sooty^T always pulled well, as was his_T wont.
- (2) *Aamma ilai* *sungiussilirput.* *if, ib, fb*
aamma ila-i *sungiut-(ss)i-lir-pu-t*
also part-3SG₁.PL get.used.to-antip-begin-IND.IV-3PL
The others^T, too, started getting used to it.
- (3) *Nukappiaqqap* *ipiraattani* *aturluarterpaa.* *if, ib, fb*
nukappiaraq-p *ipiraataq-ni* *atur-:luar-tar-pa-a*
boy-SG.ERG whip-3SG_T.SG use-well-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
The boy^T was using his_T whip¹ well.
- (4) *Qimmit* *anniartillugit* *ipirarturtanngilai.* *if, fb*
qimmiq-t *annir-ar-tit-llu-git* *ipirar-tur-tar-nngit-la-i*
dog-PL get.hurt-dist-cause-ELA_T-3PL₁ use.whip-process-habit-not-NEG-3SG.3PL
He_T didn't hurt the dogs by whipping them₁
- (5) *Kisianni sukkut* *ingirlasasut* *if, ib*
kisianni su-kkut *ingirla-ssa-tu-t*
but what-SG.VIA travel-prospect-ELA₁.IV-3PL₁
But (concerning) which way they₁ should go,

naalakkirsinnaavai. *fb*
naalag-gaq-lir-sinnaa-pa-i
obey-TV\thm-provide-be.able-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he_T could make them obey.
- (6) *Sungiussisinniarlugit* *ilaanni* *if, ib*
sungiut-(ss)i-tit-niar-llu-git *ilaanni*
get.used.to-antip-cause-intend-ELA_T-3PL₁ sometimes
In order to train them (*lit.* intending to train them), sometimes

init *qimallugit* *sangutittarpai.* *mf, fb*
ini-t *qimag-llu-git* *sangu-tit-tar-pa-i*
sled.track-PL leave-ELA_T-3PL₁ turn-cause-habit-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
he_T would make them₁ turn off the (beaten) sled track.
- (7) *Ulluq taanna nukappiaraq* *if, ib*
ulluq taanna nukappiaraq
day that boy
That day the boy^T

aamma taamaaliurpuq. *mf, fb*
aamma taama=iliur-pu-q
also thus=do-IND.IV-3SG
also did that.

- (8) *Isumaqarpurlu* *fb*
isuma-qar-pu-q=lu
 belief-have-IND.IV-3SG=and
 And he_T thought
- maanna qimmiaqqat sukkulluunniit naalatsissinnaallugit.* *ff*
maanna qimmiq-araq-t su-kkut=luunniit naalag-tit-sinnaa-llu-git
 now dog-little-PL what-SG.VIA=ALT obey-cause-be.able-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
 that he_T was now able to make the pups obey (him_T) in any kind of terrain.
- (9) *Angirlaliramik* *init* *atuarpaat.* *if, ib, fb*
angirlar-lir-ga-mik *ini-t* *atuar-pa-at*
 go.home-begin-FCT_T-3PL_T sled.track-PL follow-IND.TV-3PL.3SG
 When they_T started heading home, they_T followed the sled track.
- (10) *Sissap* *qulinnguatuurput.* *fb*
sissaq-p *quli-nnguaq-atigut=Vr-pu-t*
 shore-SG.ERG above-little-3SG_⊥.SG.VIA=n\iv-IND.IV-3PL
 They_T were going just above the shore.
- (11) *Init* *sissamut* *atanirat* *qaangiinnarlugu* *if*
ini-t *sissaq-mut* *ata-niq-at* *qaangir-innar-llu-gu*
 sled.track-PL shore-SG.DAT contact-v\ n-3PL_⊥.SG pass-just-ELA_T-3SG_⊥
 Going past the point where the sled track goes (down) to the shore
- nunakkuurlutik* *tikikiartussapput.* *mf, fb*
nuna-kkut=Vr-llu-tik *tikit-jartur-ssa-pu-t*
 land-SG.VIA=do-ELA_T-3PL_T come-v.by.degrees-prospect-IND.IV-3PL
 they_T would make their way home by land.
- §27 (p. 20)
- (1) *Aalisariat* *sikumut* *aqqarvigisartagaat* *if*
aalisar-iar-q-t *siku-mut* *aqqar-vik-gi-tar-gaq-at*
 fish-go.to-v\ n-PL ice-SG.DAT go.down-v\ loc-rn\ tv-habit-tv\ rn-3PL_⊥.3SG
- tikilirlugulu*
tikit-lir-llu-gu=lu
 come-begin-ELA_T-3SG_⊥=and
 Just as they_T approached the point where fishermen generally went down to the ice
- tassanngaannaq* *qimmit* *aallarsarput* *ib, mf, fb*
tassanngaannaq *qimmiq-t* *aallar-sar-pu-t*
 suddenly dog-PL set.off-strain.to-IND.IV-3PL
 the dogs^T suddenly made a rush for it,
- sikullu* *tungaanut* *sangullutik.* *ff*
siku-p=lu *tungi-a-nut* *sangu-llu-tik*
 ice-SG.ERG=and direction-3SG_⊥.SG-DAT turn-ELA_T-3PL_T
 turning toward the ice.

- (2) *Nukappiaqqap unitsinniaraluarpai.* *if, fb*
nukappiaraq-p unig-tit-niar-galuar-pa-i
 boy-SG.ERG stop-cause-try-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 The boy_T tried to stop them_L,
- (3) *kisianni ajurnaqaq.* *if, fb*
kisianni qjurnar-qi-pu-q
 but be.impossible-emph-IND.IV-3SG
 but it was absolutely impossible.
- (4) *Init manngiqimmata* *if*
ini-t manngig-qi-mm-ata
 sled.track-PL be.hard-emph-FCT_L-3PL_L
 The sled track was very hard so
- akimmivvissaqanngilaq.* *fb*
akimmig-vik-ssaq-qar-nngit-la-q
 thrust.against-v\loc-prospective-have-not-NEG-3SG
 he_T had nothing to give him purchase.
- (5) *Allatut ajurnarmat* *if*
alla-tut ajurnar-mm-at
 other-EQU be.impossible-FCT_L-3SG_L
 Since there was nothing else for it,
- sikumut aqqarluaannarpuq* *fb*
siku-mut aqqar-:luar-innar-pu-q
 ice-SG.DAT go.down-well-just-IND.IV-3SG
 he_T just went way down to the ice
- isumaliurluni aqqaruni unitsikkumallugit.* *ff*
isuma-liur-llu-ni aqqar-gu-ni unig-tit-juma-llu-git
 belief-make-ELA_T-3SG_T go.down-HYP_T-3SG_T stop-cause-want-ELA_T-3PL_L
 thinking he_T would stop them when he_T got down.
- (6) *Aqqarami unitsiriaraluarpai.* *if, fb*
aqqar-ga-mi unig-tit-riar-galuar-pa-i
 go.down-FCT_T-3SG_T stop-cause-stage.one-...but-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 When he_T got down he_T made an attempt to stop them (but didn't succeed)
- (7) *Aamma init qimallugit* *if*
aamma ini-t qimag-llu-git
 also sled.track-PL leave-ELA_T-3PL_L
- talirpimmut sangulirmata*
talirpik-mut sangu-lir-mm-ata
 right-SG.DAT turn-begin-FCT_L-3PL_L
 Also when they_T turned to the right, off the sled track,

- (4) *Qimmit* *ilaat* *ataasiq* *maavuq* *if, fb*
qimmi-t *ila-at* *ataasiq* *maa-pu-q*
dog-PL.ERG part-3PL_⊥.SG one sink.in-IND.IV-3SG
[One of the dogs]^T sunk in

urlullunilu. *ff*
urlu-llu-ni=lu
stumble-ELA_T-3SG_T=and
and stumbled.
- (5) *Taamaaliriarmat* *qamutiminut* *ikilluni* *if, ib*
taama=ili-riar-mm-at *qamut-mi-nut* *iki-llu-ni*
thus=become-...and-FCT_⊥-3SG_⊥ sled-3SG_T.PL-DAT get.on-ELA_T-3SG_T
When it got to be like that, he^T got onto the sled and

tamaviannguat *ipirartulirpuq* *mf, fb*
tamaviat-nnguaq *ipirar-tur-lir-pu-q*
with.all.might-little use.whip-process-begin-IND.IV-3SG
started using the whip with all his_T might, which wasn't much,

saamimmut *sangutillugit* *utirtinniarlugit.* *ff*
saamik-mut *sangu-tit-llu-git* *utir-tit-niar-llu-git*
left-SG.DAT turn-cause-ELA_T-3PL_⊥ return-cause-try-ELA_T-3PL_⊥
trying to make them turn left and return (to the sled track).
- (6) *Paakujuk* *piqqaannagu* *ipirarpaa* *if, ib, fb*
paaq-kjug-k *pi-qqar-it-na-gu* *ipirar-pa-a*
soot-be.like-v\cn v-barely-opp-NEG_T-3SG_⊥ use.whip.on-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
He^T hit Sooty[⊥] hard with the whip

suurlu kalirrisaarniaraa *ikiuqqulluni* *ff*
suurlu kalirrig-saar-niar-gi-a *ikiur-qqu-llu-ni*
as if get.scared-try.to.cause-intend-ELA_⊥.TV-3SG.3SG help-tell-ELA_T-3SG_T
as if to try to scare him, asking for help.
- §29**
- (1a) *Tamanna patsisaanirpuq,* *if, fb*
tamanna patsisiq-u-nir-pu-q
that reason-be-x.wonder-IND.IV-3SG
Perhaps that was the reason
- (1b) *imaluunniit Paakujuup* *if*
ima=luunniit paaq-kjug-p
so=ALT soot-be.like-SG.ERG
or else Sooty_⊥

navianartursiurnirtik *namminiq* *ib, mf*
naviagi-nar-tuq-siur-niq-rtik *namminiq*
dread-make.one-iv\cn-experience-v\cn-3PL_T.SG self

- paasisimanirpaa,* *fb*
paasi-sima-nir-pa-a
 find.out-prf-x.wonder-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 may himself have understood their dreadful danger.
- (2) — *ilani* *saalirsuutiriarlugit* *if*
 — *ila-ni* *saalirsuut-riar-llu-git*
 — part-3SG_T.SG attack-stage.one-ELA_T-3PL_↓
 — growling at the other (dog)s and
- pituuttani* *sukallugu*
pitug-ut-gaq-ni *sukag-llu-gu*
 tie-with-tv\|rn-3SG_T.SG tighten-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 and tightening his_T trace
- qamutit* *saamimmut* *sangutinniarsarai.* *ib, mf, fb*
qamut-t *saamik-mut* *sangu-tit-niar-sar-pa-i*
 sled-PL left-SG.DAT turn-cause-try-cause.process-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 he_T struggled to turn the sled toward the left.
- (3) *Qimmip* *urluvvia* *siku* *asirursimavug,* *if, fb*
qimmiq-p *urlu-vik-a* *siku* *asirur-sima-pu-q*
 dog-SG.ERG stumble-v\|loc-3SG_↓.SG ice break-prf-IND.IV-3SG
 The ice where the dog stumbled had broken up
- (4) *taannalu* *aqqusaangajavillugu* *if*
taanna=lu *aqqusaar-ngajag-vig-llu-gu*
 that=and follow.route-almost-really-ELA_T-3SG_↓
 and this was almost directly on their route where
- qamutit* *sangusussaapput.* *ib, fb*
qamut-t *sangu-tuq-ssaq-u-pu-t*
 sled-PL turn-iv\|cn-prospective-be-IND.IV-3PL
 the sled^T (PL) would have to turn.
- (5) *Taamaattumik* *nukappiaraq* *qamutini* *ikisimaannarpuq* *if, ib,*
taamaattumik *nukappiaraq* *qamut-ni* *iki-sima-innar-pu-q* *mf, fb*
 therefore boy sled-PL get.on-prf-just-IND.IV-3SG
 Therefore the boy^T just stayed on the sled (PL)[↓]
- nakkassagaluarpata* *najummatsirviginiaramigit.*
nakkar-ssa-galuar-pp-ata *najummatsir-vik-gi-niar-ga-migit*
 fall-prospect-...but-HYP_↓-3PL_↓ cling.to-v\|loc-rn\|tv-intend-FCT_T-3SG_T.3PL
 intending to cling to it_↓ if it_↓ were to fall through (the ice).
- §30**
- (1) *Paakujuk* *asuli* *tamaviaanngilaq.* *if, ib, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k *asuli* *tamaviat=Vr-nngit-la-q*
 soot-be.like-v\|n in.vain with.all.might=n\|iv-not-NEG-3SG
 Sooty^T did not strain with all his might in vain.

- (2) *Ilani tamaviaartilirpai.* *if, fb*
ila-ni tamaviat=ar-tit-lir-pa-i
 part-3SG_T.PL with.all.might=n\iv-cause-begin-IND.TV-3SG.3PL
 He_T started making the other (dog)s^l strain with all their might (too).
- (3) *Qamuitit kingurnat immamut nakkaakkaluarpuq* *if, ib, fb*
qamut-t kingurna-at imaq-mut nakkar-at-galuar-pu-q
 sled-PL.ERG behind-3PL_L.SG sea-SG.DAT fall-simultaneously-...but-IND.IV-3SG
 Both of the rear ends of the sled runners fell through into the sea.
- (4) *Kisianni qimmit nuqitsiniratigut* *if*
kisianni qimmiq-t nuqit-si-niq-atigut
 but dog-PL.ERG pull.in.opp.direction-antip-v\N-3PL_L.SG.VIA
 But thanks to the dogs' pulling in the opposite direction
- qamutit sikumut qaqipput.* *ib, mf, fb*
qamut-t siku-mut qaqi-pu-t
 sled-PL ice-SG.DAT climb-IND.IV-3PL
 the sled (PL)^T was pulled (back) up onto the ice.
- (5) *Init kingumut tikikkamik* *if*
ini-t kingu-mut tikit-ga-mikkik
 sled.track-PL back-SG.DAT come.to-FCT_T-3PL_T.3PL
 When they^T got back onto the sled track
- tamaviat angirlamut ingirlapput.* *ib, mf, fb*
tamaviat angirla-mut ingirla-pu-t
 with.all.might home-SG.DAT travel-IND.IV-3PL
 they went on home (running) with all their might.
- (6) *Nukappiaqqap qarlii masapput,* *if, fb*
nukappiaraq-p qarli-i masag-pu-t
 boy-SG.ERG trousers-3SG_L.PL be.wet-IND.IV-3PL
 The boy's trousers were wet
- (7) *kisianni annappuq.* *if, fb*
kisianni annag-pu-q
 but get.saved-IND.IV-3SG
 but he_T had been saved.
- §31**
- (1) *Tikikkamik* *if*
tikit-ga-mik
 come-FCT_T-3PL_T
 When they^T got back
- Paakujuk anuiramiuk pattalaarpa,* *ib, fb*
paaq-kujuk-k anu-ir-ga-miuk pattag-laar-pa-a
 soot-be.like-v\N trace-remove-FCT_T-3SG_T.3SG pat-a.little-IND.TV-3SG.3SG
 he^T unharnessed Sooty^l and patted him_L.

- (2) *Paakujullu* *nilliarujuppuq* *if, fb*
paaq-kujug-k=lu *nillia-rujug-pu-q*
 soot-be.like- \sqrt{n} =and whine-a.bit-IND.IV-3SG
 Sooty^T made soft whining sounds
- uqarniarunarluni:* *ff*
uqar-niar-gunar-llu-ni
 say-try-be.probable-ELA_T-3SG_T
 probably trying to say:
- (3) “*Qimmiaraasunga* *annaakkamma* *if*
qimmiq-araq-u-tu-nga *annag-ga-mma*
 dog-little-by-ELA_T-1SG save-FCT_T-2SG.1SG
 Because you saved me when I was a little pup
- qujanaq* *uanga* *aamma* *ikiursinnaagakkit.* *ib, fb*
qujanaq *uanga* *aamma* *ikiur-sinnaa-ga-kkit*
 thanks me also help-be.able-FCT_T-1SG.2SG
 thank God that I too was able to help you.