

Future Discourse in a Tenseless Language

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1 LIBERAL CRITERIA FOR TENSE

(TAM) ‘Tense, aspect, and mood are all categories that further specify...the basic predication, which can be referred to as the event (= *eventuality*, MB). Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event. Mood describes the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity, or desirability.’ (Chung and Timberlake 1985:203)

(1) English

- Past TENSE inflections
He *was* asleep.
He *slept* until noon.
- Present TENSE-ASPECT inflections
He *is* asleep.
He *sleeps* until noon. (*habit*)
- Future TENSE-MOOD auxiliaries
He *will* be asleep.
She said he *would* be asleep.
- Immediate future TENSE-ASPECT auxiliaries
He *is going to* sleep until noon.
She said he *was going to* sleep until noon.

(2) ChiBemba (Givon 1972, Chung & Timberlake 1985:208, 227–28)

- Past TENSE-ASPECT inflections
ba-àlí-bomb-*ele* ‘they worked (before yesterday)’
ba-àlíí-bomb ‘they worked (yesterday)’
ba-àcí-bomba ‘they worked (today)’
ba-à-bomba ‘they worked (within the last three hours)’
- Present TENSE-ASPECT inflections
ba-léé-bomba ‘they are working’ (*state*)
ba-là-bomba ‘they work’ (*habit*)
- Future TENSE-ASPECT inflections
ba-àláá-bomba ‘they’ll work (soon, within three hours)’
ba-léé-bomba ‘they’ll work (later today)’
ba-kà-bomba ‘they’ll work (tomorrow)’
ba-ká-bomba ‘they’ll work (after tomorrow)’

2 TENSELESS INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM OF KALAALLISUT

- (3) Noun template: root-(derivational suffix*)-NAGR-CASE(=clitic*)
- (4) Verb template: root-(derivational suffix*)-MOOD-VAGR(=clitic*)
- (5) • Relational noun (rn): NAGR and CASE inflection
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Nominative</i> (iv sub., tv obj.) | <i>Ergative</i> (tv sub., rn poss.) |
| qimmi- <i>kka</i> | qimmi- <i>ma</i> |
| dog- <i>1s.pl</i> ('my dogs') | dog- <i>1s.pl.ERG</i> |
| <i>Dative</i> (goal: 'to') | <i>Ablative</i> (source: 'from') |
| qimmi- <i>n-nut</i> | qimmi- <i>n-nit</i> |
| dog- <i>1s.pl-DAT</i> | dog- <i>1s.pl-ABL</i> |
| <i>Locative</i> (location: 'in') | <i>Vialis</i> (path: 'via') |
| qimmi- <i>n-ni</i> | qimmi- <i>k-kut</i> |
| dog- <i>1s.pl-LOC</i> | dog- <i>1s.pl-VIA</i> |
| <i>Modalis</i> (modifier) | <i>Equative</i> (standard: 'as') |
| qimmi- <i>n-nik</i> | qimmi- <i>t-tut</i> |
| dog- <i>1s.pl-MOD</i> | dog- <i>1s.pl-EQU</i> |
- (6a) • Matrix intransitive verb (iv): MOOD and VAGR inflection
- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Indicative</i> (assertion) | <i>Interrogative</i> (question) |
| Sinip- <i>pu-q.</i> | Sinip- <i>pa?</i> |
| sleep- <i>IND.IV-3s</i> | sleep- <i>QUE.3s</i> |
| 'He is/was asleep.' | 'Is/was he asleep?' |
| <i>Irrealis</i> (negation) | |
| Sini-nngi- <i>la-q.</i> | Sini-nngi- <i>la?</i> |
| sleep-not- <i>IRR-3s</i> | sleep-not- <i>IRR.3s</i> |
| 'He is/was not asleep.' | 'Is/was he not asleep?' |
| <i>Optative</i> (wish) | <i>Imperative</i> (request) |
| Sinig-(<i>niar</i>)- <i>li.</i> | Sinig-(<i>niar</i>)- <i>it!</i> |
| sleep-(<i>please</i>)- <i>OPT.3s</i> | sleep-(<i>please</i>)- <i>IMP.2s</i> |
| '(Please) let him sleep.' | '(Please) go to sleep!' |

(6b) • Dependent iv: MOOD-ASPECT-CENTERING and VAGR inflection

<i>Topic factive</i>	<i>Background factive</i>
sinik-ka-mi	sini-mm-at
sleep-FCT _τ -3s _τ	sleep-FCT _⊥ -3s _⊥
‘since/when he _τ is/was asleep’	‘since/when he _⊥ is/was asleep’
<i>Topic hypothetical</i>	<i>Background hypothetical</i>
sinik-ku-ni	sini-pp-at
sleep-HYP _τ -3s _τ	sini-HYP _⊥ -3s _⊥
‘if/when he _τ is/was asleep’	‘if/when he _⊥ is/was asleep’
<i>Topic generic</i>	<i>Background generic</i>
sinik-kaanga-mi	sinik-kaang-at
sleep-GNR _τ -3s _τ	sleep-GNR _⊥ -3s _⊥
‘whenever he _τ is/was asleep’	‘whenever he _⊥ is/was asleep’
<i>Topic elaborating</i>	<i>Background elaborating</i>
sinil-lu-ni	sinit-tu-q
sleep-ELA _τ -3s _τ	sleep-ELA.IV _⊥ -3s _⊥
‘being asleep’	‘while he _⊥ is/was asleep’
<i>Non-factual elaboration</i>	(‘-not’ + <i>Background elab.</i>)
sinin-na-ni	sini-nngi-tsu-q
sleep-NON _τ -3s _τ	sleep-not-ELA.IV _⊥ -3s _⊥
‘not sleeping’	‘while he _⊥ is/was not asleep’

• Realized *events* (within topic time)

(7) I *came* home when it got dark. Juuna soon *fell* asleep.

(7') Taar-si-mm-at angirlar-pu-nga.
be.dark-become-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥ come.home-IND.IV-1s

Juuna irniinnaq sini-lir-pu-q.
Juuna soon sleep-begin-IND.IV-3s

• Current *states* (at topic time)

(8) a. Juuna *is* sleeping peacefully.
b. (I came home when it was already dark.) Juuna *was* sleeping peacefully.

(8') (Taar-si-riir-m-at angirlar-pu-nga.)
(be.dark-become-be.already-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥ come.home-IND.IV-1s)

Juuna iqqis-si-sima-llu-ni sinip-pu-q.
Juuna be.calm-become-prf-ELA_τ-3s_τ sleep-IND.IV-3s

- Current *processes* (at topic time)

- (9) a. Juuna_τ and his_τ father *are playing chess*.
 b. Juuna_τ and his_τ father *were playing chess* a moment ago.
- (9') Juuna ataata-ni=lu (aatsaannguaq) *skakkir-pu-t*.
 Juuna father-3s_τ=and (moment ago) *play.chess-IND.IV-3p*

- Current *habits* (at topic time)

- (10) a. I *come* home *when it starts* getting dark. Juuna soon *falls* asleep.
 b. (Last winter) I *would* come home *when it would start* getting dark. Juuna *would* soon fall asleep.
- (10') (Ukiur-m-at)
 (be.winter-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥)
 taar-si-lir-aang-at angirlar-tar-pu-nga.
 be.dark-become-begin-GNR_⊥-3s_⊥ come.home-habit-IND.IV-1s
 Juuna irniinnaq sini-lir-tar-pu-q.
 Juuna soon sleep-begin-habit-IND.IV-3s

TO BE ARGUED FOR:

- Current *states of mental attitudes* (at topic time) to *future prospects*

- (11) a. I *will* come home at dusk. Juuna *will* soon fall soundly asleep.
 b. (That morning I made a plan.) I *would* come home at dusk.
 Juuna *would* soon fall soundly asleep.
- (11') (Ullaaq taanna pilirsaarus-siur-pu-nga.)
 (morning that plan-make-IND.IV-1s)
 Taar-si-lir-p-at angirlar-niar-pu-nga.
 be.dark-become-begin-HYP_⊥-3s_⊥ come.home-intend-IND.IV-1s
 Juuna irniinnaq iti-ssa-na-ni
 Juuna soon wake.up-be.expected-NON_τ-3s_τ
 sini-lir-umaar-pu-q.
 sleep-begin-be.hoped.for-IND.IV-3s

<p>Kalaallisut inflectional system is <i>tenseless</i>: it contains no tense marker, be it pure or fused, simple or complex, etc (see section 1).</p>

Kalaallisut verbal inflections form a mood system, fused with aspect and centering, that contrasts *facts*, *nonfacts*, *prospects*, and *circumstances*:

- *Factual moods*: indicative (IND), interrogative (QUE), factive (FCT)
- *Nonfactual moods*: irrealis (IRR), non-factual elaboration (NON₊)
- *Prospective moods*: optative (OPT), imperative (IMP), hypothetical (HYP)
- *Circumstantial moods*: elaborating (ELA), generic (GNR)

3 CONTROVERSY ABOUT KALAALLISUT ‘FUTURE TENSES’

3.1 Reference grammars

- “2.1.3.2.1.4. Future.
There are three common affixes indicating future tense *ssa*, *niar*, and *jumaar*. The first of these also has the modal value ‘should/shall’, covering in fact most of the senses of Danish ‘skal’; as a future marker it is the nearest to an absolute or pure future, as in: *tuqu-ssa-atit*, die-future-2s.indic, ‘You will die’ (e.g. if you drink the poison) ...
niar is more common as a pure future in north-west Greenland, but is used especially in an intended or inevitable future sense in the central dialect area, as in *atuarniarpara* ‘I’m going to read it/will try reading it’ and *siallirniarpug* ‘it’s going to rain’. As a verb-extending affix it means ‘try to’...
jumaar indicates vague indefinite future (cf. related affix *-juma* ‘want to’) as in the parting formula *takuqqikkumaarpugut* ‘we’ll see each other again’...
2.1.3.2.1.4.3. Relative future.
...In suitable contexts future affixes in derived or subordinate mood verb forms may represent a future-in-the-past.” (Fortescue 1984:274–5)

Cf. Polish:

- (12) a. Jaś wkrótce {*wróci* , *wrócił*}
Jaś soon {*will.return* , *returned*}
Jaś {*will soon return*, *soon returned*}.
- b. *Myślałam*, że Jaś wkrótce {*wróci* , *wrócił*}
I.thought that Jaś soon {*will.return* , *returned*}
I thought that Jaś {*would soon return*, *had soon returned*}.
- (13) #Rano *uplanowałam* sobie wieczór. Jaś wkrótce *wróci*.
morning *I.planned* self.DAT evening. Jaś soon *will.return*
#In the morning I *planned* my evening. Jaś *will* soon *return*.

3.2 Shaer (2003)

- (14) *Atur-sima-ssa-va-a*.
use-*sima-ssa*-IND.TV-3s.3s
‘He must have used it.’ (Fortescue 1980:267)

4 EVIDENCE FROM TEXTS: PROSPECTIVITY THESIS

- [D] O'Dell, S. 1988. *Black Star, Bright Dawn*.
 [D'] O'Dell, S. 1994. *Milalinnguaq Sikkersorlu*. Translated by S. Mølle.
 [H] Hemingway, E. 1952. *The Old Man and the Sea*.
 [H'] Hemingway, E. 1991. *Angutitoqaq imarlu*. Translated via Danish by T. Efraimssen
 [L] Lindgren, A. 1997. *Pippi Longstocking*. Translated by F. Lamborn.
 [L'] Lindgren, A. 2000. *Pippi Langstrømpe—ikinngutaalu*.
 Translated by R. Grønvold Benjaminsen.
 [P] Rounds, G. 1941. *The Blind Colt*.
 [P'] Rounds, G. 1988. *Histi piaraq tappiitsoq*. Tr. by M. Petersen.
 [R] Rowling, J. K. 1997. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*.
 [R'] Rowling, J. K. 2002. *Harry Potter ujaraallu inuunartuq*. Tr. by S. Hammeken.

Table 2. Kalaallisut translations of English future auxiliaries

	<u>Kalaallisut item</u>	<u>Proposed English gloss</u>
A1.	<i>ilimagi-</i> (tv)	expect
A2.	<i>ilimantar-</i> (iv)	be likely
A3.	<i>-gunar</i> (v\ v)	be likely to
A4.	<i>-juma</i> (v\ v)	want to, be willing to
A5.	<i>-jumaar</i> (v\ v)	be promised, be hoped for, be dreaded
A6.	<i>-navianngi</i> (v\ v)	be very unlikely to
A7.	<i>-niar</i> (v\ v)	intend to, be about to, (<i>process</i> use: try)
A8.	<i>-qina</i> (v\ v)	be liable to
A9.	<i>-qqajaa</i> (v\ v)	be just about to, be ready to
A10.	<i>-qqu</i> (v\ tv)	want \perp to, enable \perp to, (<i>event</i> use: order)
A11.	<i>-riaannaa</i> (v\ v)	be well able to, be easily possible for \top to
A12.	<i>-rusuk</i> (v\ v)	wish to, feel like
A13.	<i>sapir-</i> (v)	be unable to, not dare to
A14.	<i>sapirnar-</i> (iv)	be impossible, be hard to do
A15.	<i>-sariaqar</i> (v\ v)	need to, be necessary for \top to
A16.	<i>-sinnaa</i> (v\ v)	be able to, be possible for \top to
A17.	<i>-ssa</i> (v\ v)	be expected, be desired, be about to
A18.	<i>-ssaq</i> (n\ n)	expected, desired, to be
A19.	<i>-ssamaar</i> (v\ v)	plan to, be about to
A20.	<i>-ssanga</i> (v\ v)	expect to
A21.	<i>-ssangatip</i> (v\ tv)	expect \perp to
A22.	<i>-ssaqqaar</i> (v\ v)	be confidently expected
A23.	<i>-ssaqqip</i> (n\ iv)	be suitable for
A24.	<i>-tsir, -tsii</i> (v\ tv)	wait for \perp to
	⋮	⋮
B1.	<i>-lir</i> (v\ v)	begin to, be...ing
	⋮	⋮
C1.	<i>-li/-la</i> (OPT)	let \top ...
C2.	<i>-niar-li</i> (please-OPT)	please let \top ...
C3.	<i>-niar</i> (please-IMP)	please do..., please let us...

A. Prospective statives

(15) They'll all forget this in a few weeks. [R:265]

(15') Sapaatit akunnirit marlussuit qaangiu-pp-ata
 weeks a.few pass-HYP₁-3p₁
 puigur-*unar-pa*-at.
 forget-*be.likely-IND.TV*-3p.3s [R':302]

(15'') They're likely to forget this in a few weeks.

(16) [*Muggles*] don't know we're not allowed to use magic at home.
 I'm going to have a lot of fun with Dudley this summer. [R:332]

(16') *I*imag-a-ra aasaq manna Dudley
expect-IND.TV-1s.3s summer this Dudley
 quianar-tur-si-vvigi-*ssa-llu-gu*.
 be.fun-iv\cn-experience-have.from-*be.expected-ELA₊*-3s₁ [R':267]

(16'') I expect Dudley to be my source of fun experiences this summer.

B. Prospective inchoatives

(17) Yessir! I'll bring him *right over*! [P:VIII]

(17') Aap, aakka. Aggiuti-*lir-pa-ra*!
 yes, Uncle. bring-*begin-IND.TV*-1s.3s [P':53]

(17'') Yes, Uncle. I'm coming with him!

C. Prospective matrix moods

(18) We were running twenty first and twenty second in the race.
 'We will feed the dogs now and rest until the night comes,' said Oteg.
 [D:44]

(18') Qimmi-t nirukkar-*niar-tigik*.
 dog-pl feed-*please.IMP*-1p.3p [D':55]

(18'') Let us feed the dogs, *ok*?

PROSPECTIVITY THESIS

Kalallitut translations of future auxiliaries comprise three related classes:

- A. *prospective statives* evoking current attitudes to future prospects,
 B. *prospective inchoatives* evoking realized starts of expected processes,
 C. *prospective matrix moods* marking the speech act as a request/wish.

5 PROSPECTIVE STATIVES: EVIDENCE IN DETAIL

5.1 *Prospective statives are not tense markers*

- Uniqueness test: *tns markers* (19) vs. *prospective statives* (21')

- (19) a. John {*will, is going to*} be going to Paris soon.
 b. *John *will be going to* be going to Paris soon.

- (21) *Eat [the bait]* so that the point of the hook goes into your heart and kills you, *he thought*. [H:44]

- (21') ...qarsursaq uummati-n-nut apissigu-llu-gu
 ...hook heart-2s.sg-DAT have.1.go.all.way.in-ELA_T-3s₁
 tuqqutigi-nia-ssa-va-t.
 die.from-intend-be.desired-IND.TV-2s.3s [H':29]

- (21'') ...[I] *intend* and *desire* that you_T die from having the hook₁ go all the way into your heart.

- Nominalization test: *tns markers* (22) vs. *prospective statives* (23')

- (22) a. He {*is willing to, intends to, will, is going to*} help me.
 b. His {*being willing to, intent to, *willing, *being going to*} help me pleased her.

- (23) [*Whitey daydreaming*] guessed he'd teach the colt to kneel to let him get off *like he'd heard the Arabs or some such fellers did*. [P:VII]

- (23') ...isumaliur-pu-r=lu histi piaraq ilinniar-tin-niar-lu-gu
 ...think-IND.IV-3s=and horse baby learn-cause-intend-ELA_T-3s₁
 aqqa-lir-aanga-mi aqupit-tar-ni-ssa-a-nik.
 get.down-begin-GNR_T-3s_T kneel-habit-v\h-expected-3s₁.sg-MOD [P':47]

- (23'') ...and he_T had a thought: he_T intended to teach the colt₁ something —it was *to be* a habit of kneeling whenever he_T started to get down.

5.3 *Prospective statives refer to current states*

- *Realized* event (within topic time), *current* state (at topic time)

(30) *Later when we went back to the hotel, she asked me how I {was going to spend, had spent} all the money I had won.* {[D:101], MB}

(30') *apir-a-anga aningaasar-passui-t aki-ssar-sia-kka*
ask-IND.TV-3s.1s money-a.lot-pl payment-to.be-received-1s.pl
su-mut atu-{-ssamaar, -sima}-nir-i-kka.
what-DAT use-{-plan, -prf}-wonder-ELA.TV₁-1s.3p {[D':116], MB}

(30'') she *asked* me a question: how {did I plan to use, had I used} the large sum of money I had received to spend, she *wondered*.

- *Realized* (within topic time) speech (event) about *concurrent* state

(31) [*In a Quidditch dispute between Ron and Dean*] Hagrid
 {declared Dean likely to win, was on Dean's side}. {MB, [R:204]}

(31') Hagridi-p Dean {ajugaa-gunar, ilumuur-}-nirar-pa-a.
 Hagrid-ERG Dean {win-be.likely-, be.right-}-say-IND.TV-3s.3s
 {MB, [R':233]}

(31'') Hagrid *declared* Dean to {be likely to win, be right}.

- *Currently* (at topic time) habitual speech about speech-*concurrent* state

(33) *Everyone wanted to take us into their homes, but my mother {refused, kept claiming to be tired}.* {[D:9], MB}

(33') ...anaana-ga=li quja-annar-tar-pu-q
 ...mother-1s.sg=but thank-just-habit-IND.IV-3s
 {uagutsin-nu-ka-rusun-niru-, qasu-}-nirar-lu-ni.
 {our.home-DAT-go-feel.like-more-, be.tired-}-say-ELA₁-3s₁
 {[D':17], MB}

(33'') ...but my mother *kept* just saying no thank you, *claiming* to {feel more like going back to our own home, be tired}.

- *Anaphorically retrieved* speech (event) about a *concurrent* (result) state of another speech (event) about a *concurrent* (prospective) state.

(38) *In the fall Erik the Red, while visiting Herjulf's folk for several days ..., said that his son Leif was in Wineland. Sverre's folk had spoken of him on their last trading visit in Erik's fiord. They reported him to have said that he intended, after first going trading to warmer lands, to go to his father to spend the winter.* [MB]

(38') *Uqar-sima-nirar-pa-at*
say-prf-say-IND.TV-3p.3s
 nuna-nut kian-niru-su-nut niuvvag-iar-qaar-lu-ni
 land-pl.DAT be.warm-more-iv\cn-pl.DAT trade-go.to-first-ELA_τ-3s_τ
 angun-ni ukiivvig-iartur-*niar-a*.
 father-3s_τ winter.at-go.to-*intend-ELA.TV*_⊥-3s_⊥.3s [G:10]

- *Realized* (within topic time) event and *current* (at topic time) state of anxiety about [a *prospect* of a process and *concurrent* (belief) state].

(40) *After Whitey had thrown the hay out, he hung around [the pasture] as long as he dared, admiring the colt [who had strayed in] and trying to think of a way he could keep him without Uncle Torwal finding out about it. But after a while he had to leave for fear Torwal would wonder what had happened to him and come out to look.* [P:VII]

(40') Sivitsu-nngit-su-r=li Whitey angirlar-tariaqa-*lir-pu-q*
 be.long-not-iv\cn-sg=but Whitey go.home-need-*begin-IND.IV*-3s
annilaangagi-ga-mi-uk ajuqu-sir-*sima-sura-lu-ni*
*be.afraid.of-FCT*_τ-3s_τ-3s [harm-come.to-*prf-believe-ELA*_τ-3s_τ
 Thorvald'i-mit taku-*niar-niqar-ni-ssa-ni*.
 Thorvald-ABL see-try-passive-v\cn-to.be-3s_τ.sg] [P':37]

(40'') But before long Whitey_τ began to feel the need to go home, being afraid of [the prospect of Torwal trying to find him_τ, believing him_τ to have come to harm].

5.4 *Prospective statives refer to attitude states*

- Counterfactual *-galuar* as diagnostic for modal objects

- (42) Pippi as a Thing-Finder:
 ‘*Oh dear!* I was sure I saw a lump of gold.’ [L:28]
- (42') Kuulti-minir-mik
 gold-lump-MOD
 taku-suri-i-vik-*kaluar-a*-ma
 see-believe-already-really-*unrealized-FCT_T*-1s [L':26]
- (42'') I really already believed myself (*alas, wrongly*) to have seen a lump of gold.
- (43) [*Snowed in at a check point, we built an igloo.*] *Oteg had brought a lamp ...[which] glowed and made blue shadows dance against the walls. I should have felt snug, but I didn't. I wanted to be on the trail.* [D:47]
- (43') Nuannisaar-tariaqar-*aluar-pu*-nga,
 enjoy.self-be.necessary-*unrealized-IND.IV*-1s
 taama=li misigi-sima-nngi-la-nga
 thus=but feel-prf-not-IRR-1s
 — ingirla-qqik-kusuk-*kaluar-nir*-mik
 — travel-again-wish-*unrealized-v\N*-MOD [D':58]
- (43'') I should've enjoyed myself, but I didn't feel that way — (just) a *frustrated wish* to be on the trail again.
- Cf.
- (44) “*We are losing time,*” my father said. “*You are still in the race.*”
 I had given up all thoughts of the race. [D:91]
- (44') Sukka-niun-niq puigur-*aluar-pa*-ra.
 go.fast-compete-v\N forget-*unrealized-IND.TV*-1s.3s [D':106]
- (44'') I *had forgotten*, but was now reminded about, the ongoing race.

- Modal anaphora to *eventuality concepts* (not propositions): support temporal anaphora (46), aspectual typing (47–49) & anaphora to parts (49)

(46) *My father and I harnessed up the team while my mother watched. We would meet again in Ikuma. Then we would pack two sleds and take the trail back to Norton Sound and Womengo.* [D:102]

(46') Ikuma-mi taku-qqi-ssamaar-pu-gut. Taava=lu
Ikuma-LOC see-again-plan-IND.IV-1p then=and
purtui-riar-lu-ta W.-mut uti-ssamaar-pu-gut
pack.up-have.just-ELA_T-1p W.-DAT return-plan-IND.IV-1p [D':117]

(46'') We planned to meet again in Ikuma. And *then*, after quickly packing up, we planned to return to Womengo.

(47) 'It was papa made me leave. I am a boy and I must obey him.'
'I know,' the old man said. 'It's quite normal.' [H:10]

(47') Ataata-ma=mi=una niu-qqu-ga-a-nga;
father-1s.sg=because=this get.off.boat-order-ELA.TV_I-3s-1s
Nukappiara-a-ga-ma=lu *naala-innar-tariaqar-sima-va-ra.*
boy-be-FCT-1s=and obey-just-be.necessary-prf-IND.TV-1s.3s
... 'Taama-it-tu-ssa-u-vu-r=mi.'
... 'thus-be-iv\cn-expected-be-IND.IV-3s=for [H':6]

(47'') 'It's because papa ordered me to get off your boat. And being a boy, I have been forced to just *obey* him.' ... 'For it is expected to be so.'

(49) [*Pippi, Tommy and Annika are looking for Mr. Nilsson lost in the woods.*]
Tommy suggested they all three go in different directions and hunt.
At first Annika didn't want to because she was a little afraid. [L:84]

(49') Tommy siunnirsu-i-vu-q avissaar-lu-tik
Tommy suggest-tv\iv-IND.IV-3s [separate-ELA_T-3p_T
ujar-li-ssa-llu-tik. Annika *annilaanga-ga-mi*
seek-tv\iv-be.desired-ELA_T-3p_T] Annika *be.afraid*-FCT_T-3s_T
taama-iliu-rusu-nngik-kaluar-pu-q.
thus-do-wish-not-unrealized-IND.IV-3s [L':73]

(49'') Tommy made a suggestion: he wanted them to separate and search. Annika was *afraid* so she didn't wish to *do that* (but...).

5.5 *Prospective statives refer to current attitudes to future prospects*

- Attitude to prospects vs. attitudes to now: *want* vs. *be pleased*

- (52) a. Ron {*wanted, hoped for, was eager for*} Snape *to* suffer.
 b. Ron *was* {*glad, amused, pleased*} *to* watch Snape suffer.

- (53) *Harry muttered angrily as Snape limped away. ‘Wonder what’s wrong with his leg?’ ‘Dunno, but I hope it’s really hurting him,’ said Ron bitterly.*
 [R:198]

- (53') ...*niriup*-pu-nga=li annirna-ssa-qi-su-q.
 ...*hope*-IND.IV-1s=but be.painful-*be.desired*-very-ELA.IV_⊥-3s_⊥
 [R':225]

- (53'') ...but I have a *hope*: I *want* it *to be* very painful.

- (54) ‘c-can’t t-tell you how p-pleased I am to meet you’. [R:80]

- (54') *Nuannaa-qa-a-nga* naapik-ka-kkit.
be.pleased-very-IND.IV-1s meet-FCT_τ-1s.2s [R':87]

- (54'') I *am* very *pleased* I *have* met you.

- Impersonal attitudes: *be likely* (prospect) vs. *seem* (now)

- (57) a. Snape *is* not *likely* to be a fair referee.
 b. Snape *does* not *seem* to be a fair referee.

- (58) ‘*Snape’s refereeing?...He’s not going to* be fair if we might overtake Slytherin.’ [R:234]

- (58') Slytherini-mut ajugaa-lir-u-tta naapirtuilluar-tu-mik
 Slytherin-DAT win-begin-HYP_τ-1p be.fair-iv\cn-MOD
 dommiri-u-ni-ssa-a ilimana-nngi-la-q.
 referee-be-*v*\n-to.be-3s_⊥.sg be.*likely*-not-IRR-3s [R':267]

- (58'') *The prospect* of his being a fair referee *is unlikely* if we begin to...

- (59) ‘*Harry—yer a wizard?... ‘I don’t think I can be a wizard.’* [R:67]

- (59') Uppiri-nngi-la-ra angakku-u-ni-ra.
 believe-not-IRR-1s.3s wizard-be-*v*\n-1s.3s [R':72]

- (59'') I don’t *believe* it—*my being* a wizard.

- Forgotten expectations vs. forgotten realities

- (60) a. The participant in the race *forgot* {*to, the expected*} sign-in.
 b. While fighting for her life, the participant *forgot the* race.
- (61) [*Arriving at the check point in my home village*] *I was too tired to enjoy the excitement.* I almost forgot to check in. [D:76]
- (61') Allaammi unammi-qata-a-su-tut
 even compete-fellow...er-be-iv\cn-EQU
 alla-tsi-ni-ssa-ra piugu-ngaja-vip-pa-ra.
 write-get...en-v\n-expected-1s.sg forget-almost-really-IND.TV-1s.3s [D':90]
- (61'') Even my *expected* sign-in as a race participant—I really almost *forgot* that.
- (62) “*We are losing time,*” my father said. “*You are still in the race.*”
 I had given up all thoughts of the race. [D:91]
- (62') Sukka-niun-niq puigur-aluar-pa-ra.
 go.fast-compete-v\n forget-unrealized-IND.TV-1s.3s [D':106]
- (62'') I *had forgotten*, but was now reminded about, the ongoing race.

- Purposive elaboration (see also (23'))

- (63) Attitude to a prospect: She left *expecting* him to be fair.
 Cf. Simple state: She left *very angry*.
 Cf. Attitude to now: She left *believing* him to be fair.
- (64) I ate some of it [*food she had cooked for my welcome*] [D:76]
 just to please her.
- (64') nuannaar-tik-kusu-llu-gu niri-ngaatsia-annar-pu-nga.
 be.happy-cause-wish-ELA_T-3s_⊥ eat-fair.amount-just-IND.IV-1s
- (64'') I ate a fair amount, *wishing* to make her happy.

(65) *On the 25th of Feb. I boarded the bush plane Mr. Weiss had hired...*
 ... to take me and the team to Anchorage. [D:31]

(65') ...timmisartu-mut iki-vu-gut [D':42]
 ...plane-sg.DAT get.into-IND.IV-1p
 Anchorage-lia-ssa-llu-ta
 Anchorage-go.to-expect(ed)-ELA_T-1p

(65'') ... we got on the plane, *expecting/expected* to go to Anchorate.

- Scale-based prediction

(66) Attitude to a prospect: He's too smart to be *expected* to die.
 Cf. Attitude to now: #He's too smart to be *known* to die.

(67) [Uncle Torwal tells Whitey the winter is hard on wild horses and he thinks
 the blind colt—Whitey's favorite—is already dead. Whitey answers:]
 'I haven't seen him for a spell, but I don't think he's dead; he's too smart.'
 [P:V]

(67') ...tuqu-ssa-llu-ni=mi silatu-allaa-qa-a-q.
 ...die-be.expected-ELA_T-3s_T=for be.smart-too-very-IND.IV-3s [P':36]

(67'') ...for he's much *too* smart to *be expected* to die.

6 CONCLUSIONS

- Kalaallisut is genuinely *tenseless*: it has no counterpart of English past or present tense or of future auxiliaries *will/would* or *is/was going to*.
- Futurity is expressed in accordance with:

PROSPECTIVITY THESIS

Kalallisut translations of future auxiliaries comprise three related classes:
 A. *prospective statives* evoking current attitude states to future prospects,
 B. *prospective inchoatives* evoking realized starts of expected processes,
 C. *prospective matrix moods* marking the speech act as a request/wish.

- By default, the *topic time* (for *current* states and *realized* events) is *now*. Explicit topic time update defeats this default.

APPENDIX: SAMPLE TEXT

Aataarsuup irnikasia
"Aataarsuaq's kid son"

From D. Sommer et al, eds, 1972, *Kalaallisut Ilinniutit* 1, pp. 27–32, Ministeriet for Grønland. TRANSCRIPTION, GLOSSES & TRANSLATION by Maria Bittner (1/25/2005).

Transcription and glosses as in Bittner (2004) 'Future Discourse in a Tenseless Language' (at <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~mbittner/ou.html>). Paragraphs (§) as in the original. TOPOLOGICAL FIELDS: initial field (*if*), initial boundary (*ib*), middle field (*mf*), final boundary (*fb*), final field (*ff*)

I. Once upon a time...**§1.**

- (1) Qanga=nnguuq *if*
long.ago=hearsay
 Once upon a time, 'tis said,...
- anguti-qar-pu-q Aataarsuar-mik ati-lim-mik. *fb, ff*
man-have-IND.IV-3s Aataarsuaq-MOD name-with- MOD
 ...there was a man named Aataarsuaq.
- (2) Taama-ni inu-it *if, ib*
then/there-LOC person-pl
 Back then people_T...
- inu-qati-min-nik tuqut-si-sar-pu-t. *mf, fb*
person-fellow-3p_T.pl-MOD kill-apass-habit- IND.IV-3p
 ...used to kill their_T fellow men.
- (3a) Aataarsuaq aamma *if*
Aataarsuaq also
 Aataarsuaq_T also...
- akira-qar-pu-q *fb*
enemy-have-IND.IV-3s
 ...had enemies,
- (3b) akiqqa-ni=li tuqun-niq sapir-pa-i. *ff: if, fb*
enemy-3s_T.pl=but kill-v\ñ be.unable-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...but he_T was unable to kill them₁.
- (4) Aamma *if*
also
 [He_T]_{*fb*} also...
- nulia-qar-pu-q. *fb*
wife-have-IND.IV-3s
 ...had a wife.
- (5a) Sivisuu-mik aappari-ik-kaluar-pu-t, *mf, fb*
long.time-MOD have.as.mate-rcp-unrealized-IND.IV-3p
 They_T had been married a long time [in vain]...

- (5b) kisianni suli qiturna-qa-nngil-la-t. *ff: if, fb*
but still offspring-have-not-IRR-3p
 ...but they_τ still had no offspring.
- (6) Ullu-l=li ila-an-ni Aataarsuu-p *if, ib*
day-pl.ERG=but one.of-3p_⊥.sg-LOC Aataarsuaq-ERG
 But one day Aataarsuaq_τ
 malugi-lir-pa-a nuli-i naartu-su-q. *fb, ff*
sense-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s wife-3s_τ.sg be.pregnant-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...noticed that his_τ wife_⊥ was pregnant.
- (7) Naav-i *if*
belly[pl]-3s_⊥.pl
 Her_⊥ belly_τ...
 alli-artu-qa-u-t. *fb*
grow-process-very.much-IND.IV-3p
 ...grew a lot.
- (8) Aarimmi ullu-t ila-an-ni *if, ib*
sure.enough day-pl.ERG one.of-3p_⊥.sg-LOC
 And sure enough, one day...
 nukappiaqqa-mik irni-vu-q. *mf, fb*
boy-MOD give.birth-IND.IV-3s
 ...she_τ gave birth to a boy.
- §2.**
- (1) Irnir-taa-ni inu-u-sima-tsiar-tu-q *if*
son-new-3s_τ.sg person-be-prf-briefly-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 As soon as his_τ baby son_⊥ was born...
 angut-a-ata annil-lu-gu *ib*
father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG take.out-ELA_τ-3s_⊥
 ...the father_τ took him_⊥ out and...
 sissa-mut arpaliup-pa-a. *mf, fb*
shore-DAT run.with-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...ran with him_⊥ [down]_{see (2)} to the shore.
- (2) Tasama-ni *if*
down.there-LOC
 There...
 niaqu-a tasiqqa-mut *if*
head-3s_⊥.sg hole.in.ice-DAT
 ...[he_τ dipped]_{fb} his_⊥ head in a hole in the ice
 sivisuu-mik mursut-tis-sima-va-a. *mf, fb*
long.time-MOD disappear.under.wtr-cause-prf-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...for a long time.

- (3) Tauva tuavi=innaq *if, ib*
 then hurry= \forall
 Then, hurrying all the way,
 illu-min-nut maju-up-pa-a. *mf, fb*
 home-3p_T.sg-DAT go.up-with-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T carried him_L [back] up home.

II. Son's childhood

§1.

- (1) Taama-iliur-tuar-pa-a. *fb*
 thus-do.to-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 He_T kept on doing that to him_L.
- (2) Ullaak-kut itir-lu-ni=lu *if*
 morning-VIA wake.up-ELA_T-3s_T=and
 Every morning when he_T woke up,...
- irn-i suli sinit-tu-q *ib*
 son-3s_T.sg still sleep-ELA_L.IV-3s_L
 ...while his_T son_L was still asleep...
- annit-tar-pa-a, sissa-mu=innaq. *fb, ff*
 take.out-habit-IND.TV-3s.3s, shore-DAT= \forall
 ...he_T would take him_L out, always [down] to the shore.
- (3) Kiisa irnir-a pisut-ta-lir-a-mi *if, ib*
 in.the.end son-3s_L.sg walk-habit-begin-FCT_T-3s_T
 In the end when the son_T began to walk...
- mitir-tut sivisu-tigi-su-mik aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q. *mf, fb*
 eider-EQU be.long-as...as-iv\cn-MOD dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T began to dive and stay underwater as long as an eider.

§2.

- (1a) Anguta-a-ta *if*
 father-3s.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
- taama-tut sungiusar-tuar-pa-a, *mf, fb*
 thus-EQU train-keep.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...kept on training him_L like this,
- (1b) kiisa angi-niru-lir-a-mi *ff: if*
 in.the.end be.big-...er-begin-FCT_T-3s_T
 In the end when he_T got bigger...
- sivisu-rsuar-mik aqqa-ama-sa-lir-pu-q. *mf, fb*
 long.time-big-MOD dive-result-habit-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T began to dive and stay underwater for a very long time.

III. Father's seal catch

§1.

- (1) Ila-an-ni if
one.of-3p_⊥.sg-LOC
 One [day]...
- anguta-a qajar-tur-lu-ni ib
father-3s_⊥.sg kayak-use-ELA_⊥-3s_⊥
 ...when the father_⊥ was out [hunting] in his kayak...
- qasigissa-mik pi-sa-qar-pu-q. mf, fb
harbour.seal-MOD get-tv_⊥rn-have-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_⊥ caught a harbour seal.
- (2) Tikik-ka-mi if
come-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥
 When he_⊥ came back,...
- nuli-i uqar-vig-a-a:
wife-3s_⊥.sg say-loc.of-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_⊥ said to his_⊥ wife_⊥:
- (3) “Ami-a ib
 “*skin-3s_⊥.sg*
 “The skin_{⊥β}, ...
- avata-ssa-tut suliar-ssa-va-t. mf, fb
hunting.bladder-expected-EQU process-be.expected-IND.TV-2s.3s
 ...you will process as for a hunting bladder [used to keep harpooned animals afloat] ...
- taliru-i siqqu-i=lu ata-til-lu-git!” ff
hind.flipper-3s_⊥.pl front.flipper-3s_⊥.pl=and attached-cause-ELA_⊥-3p_⊥
 ...leaving the hind flippers and the front flippers attached!”

§2.

- (1) Nuli-a-ta if
wife-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 His_⊥ wife_⊥...
- taama suliar-a-a. mf, fb
thus process-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...processed it_{⊥β} in that way.
- (2) Inir-m-at uvi-a-ta if, ib
finish-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥ husband-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 When she_⊥ finished, the husband_⊥...
- ulikkaar-lu-gu immir-pa-a mf, fb
fill.up-ELA_⊥-3s_⊥ put.sth.inside-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...filled it_{⊥β} up with stuffing...
- panir-sir-vi-ssa-a-nul=lu qullar-lu-gu ff
dry-gradually-loc.of-expected-3s_⊥.sg-DAT=and put.up-ELA_⊥-3s_⊥
 ...and hung it_{⊥β} up in a suitable place to dry.

- (3) Panir-sir-nir-a-ni if
dry-gradually-v\vn-3s_⊥.sg-LOC
 While it_{⊥β} was drying...
 irn-i ullaa-t tamaa-sa sissa-mu-ka-ut-tar-pa-a. ib mf fb
son-3s_τ.sg morning-pl all-pl_⊥ shore-DAT-go-with-habit-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_τ kept taking his_τ son_⊥ [down] to the shore every morning.
- (4) Ila-an-ni if
one.of-3p.sg-LOC
 One [day]...
 anguta-a itir-iallar-a-mi ib
father-3s_⊥.sg wake.up-&see-FCT_τ-3s_τ
 ...the father_τ woke up and saw...
 qasigissa-p ami-a panir-sima-su-q. ff
harbour.seal-ERG skin-3s_⊥.sg dry-prf-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...that the seal skin_{⊥β} was dry.
- (5) Irn-i itirsar-pa-a: if, fb
son-3s_τ.sg wake.up-IND.TV-3s.3s
 He_τ woke up his_τ son_⊥:
- (6a) “Maki-niar-i-t fb
 “*get.up-please-IMP-2s*
 “Get up, please,
- (6b) atisar-taa-t ati-nia-ssa-va-t!” ff: if, fb
garment-new-2s.sg put.on-try-be.expected-IND.TV-2s.3s
 you’re going to try on your new suit!”

IV. Dress rehearsal

§1.

- (1) Asu taama pi-sa-q if, ib
and.so thus tell-tv\vn-sg
 And so, having been told that,...
 qasigissa-p ami-a ati-va-a. mf, fb
harbour.seal-ERG skin-3s_⊥.sg put.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_τ put on the seal skin [suit].
- (2) Ani-ar-tur-a-mi tuma-i if, ib
go.out-firs.stage-process-FCT_τ-3s_τ track-3s_⊥.pl
 As he_τ headed for the door, his tracks_τ...
 akilir-iip-pu-t, tassa=li allurni-ki-ngaar-a-mi. fb, ff
be.parallel.to-rcp-IND.IV-3p that.is=but step(s)-have.small-very-FCT_τ-3s_τ
 ...were parallel, —that was because he_τ was taking very small steps.

- (8) Issi-vvi-a-ta nala-a *if*
fall.into.water-loc.of-3s_⊥.sg-ERG vicinity-3s_⊥.sg
 [All] around the place where he_⊥ (the boy) had hit the water, ...
 itsuar-tur-pa-a. *fb*
look.through-process-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T (the father) looked down toward the bottom.
- (9) Taamak *if*
gone
 Gone, ...
 pi-qa-nngi-la-q. *fb*
that-be.there-not-IRR-3s
 ...he wasn't there.
- (10) Kiisa *if*
in.the.end
 In the end...
 naqq-a issigi-niq sapi-lir-pa-a. *mf, fb*
bottom-3s_⊥.sg watch-v\ñ be.unable-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T was unable to see the bottom any more.
- (11) Irn-i ipi-ssa-sura-lu-gu *if*
son-3s_T.sg drown-be.expected-believe-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 Dreading his_T son_⊥'s death by drowning,
 anguta-a annilaa-nga-lir-pu-q *mf, fb*
father-3s_⊥.sg get.terrified-result-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...the father_T began to feel terrified...
 immi-nul=lu navii-lir-lu-ni. *fb*
self_T-DAT=and scold-begin-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and began to reproach himself_T.
- §2.**
- (1) Suli uqalun-niar-lu-ni, *if*
still tell.off-intend-ELA_T-3s_T
 He_T was still at it, when...
 suaar-pallak tusar-pa-a. *mf, fb*
shout-sound hear-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T heard a shout.
- (2) Avam-mut qiviar-a-mi *if*
seaward-DAT look.toward-FCT_T-3s_T
 Looking out toward the open sea,
 taku-va-a *fb*
see-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_T saw...
 irn-i imma-mit nui-immi-saar-tu-q. *ff*
son-3s_T.sg sea-ABL stick.head.up-a.bit-intermittently-ELA_⊥.IV-3s_⊥
 ...his_T son_⊥ stick his head up from the sea a bit, now and then.

- (3) Tamaviat if
with.all.might
 With all his_T might,
 paar-lu-gu aallarvig-a-a mf,fb
paddle.toward-ELA_T-3s_⊥ set.off.toward-IND.TV-3s.3s
 he_T set off paddling toward him_⊥.
- (4) Irnir-a-ta if
son-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 The son_T...
 unil-lu-ni isig-a-a mf,fb
stop-ELA_T-3s_T watch-IND.TV-3s.3s
 stopped [bobbing up and down] and watched him_⊥.
- (5) Angut-a-ta if
father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 The father_T,...
 irnir-mi qanilli-nir-a naammagi-lir-a-mi-uk ib
son-3s_T.sg-ERG get.closer-v\vn-3s_⊥.sg judge.enough-begin-FCT_T-3s_T-3s_⊥
 when he_T judged he_T had got close enough to his_T son_⊥,...
 naak-kiar-pa-a. fb
harpoon-first.stage-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...cast his harpoon at him_⊥.
- (6) Irnir-a if
son-3s.sg
 The son_T...
 imma-mut mursup-pu-q. mf,fb
sea-DAT disappear.under.wtr-IND.IV-3s
 ...dove down into the sea.
- (7) Qangami imar-pallak!
excl. sea-sound
 What a splash!
- (8) Anguta-a-ta if
father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
 ini-ku-a kisi-at iqgur-pa-a. mf,fb
place-former-3s_⊥.sg alone-sg_⊥ hit-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...hit only his_⊥ former location.

§3.

- (1a) Mursu-mm-at anguta-a-ta *if, ib*
disappear.under.wtr-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥ *father-3s_⊥.sg-ERG*
 When he_⊥ dove down, the father_⊥...
- arrii-tsu-mik avam-mut aallar-pu-q, *mf, fb*
move.slowly-iv\cn-MOD *seaward-DAT* *set.off-IND.IV-3s*
 ...slowly set off [farther] out toward the open sea,
- (1b) sivisuu-mik utaqqi-va-a. *if, fb*
long.time-MOD *wait.for-IND.TV-3s.3s*
 ...he_⊥ waited for him_⊥ a long time.
- (2) Kiisa *if*
in.the.end
 In the end...
- annilaa-nga-lir-pu-q *fb*
get.terrified-result-begin-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_⊥ [again] began to feel terrified.
- (3) Suaar-palla-mm-at *if*
shout-make.sound-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥
 At the sound of shouting,...
- nipi-p tunga-a qiviar-pa-a *mf, fb*
voice-ERG *direction-3s_⊥.sg* *look.toward-IND.TV-3s.3s*
 ...he_⊥ looked in the direction of the voice.
- (4) Tasama tasama *if*
out.west *out.west*
 It was way out west [i.e. *out toward open sea in West Greenland*],...
- qani-nngi-la-q. *fb*
be.close-not-IRR-3s
 ...far away.
- (5a) Tamaviat *if*
with.all.might
 With all his_⊥ might,...
- urni-lir-pa-a, *fb*
approach-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_⊥ set off toward him_⊥,...
- (5b) maanna-kkut naak-kiar-nia-nngi-la-a. *ff: if, fb*
here/now-VIA *harpoon-first.stage-intend-not-IRR-3s.3s*
 ...this time he_⊥ didn't intend to cast his harpoon at him_⊥.
- (6) Tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
come.to-FCT_⊥-3s_⊥-3s_⊥
 When he_⊥ got to him_⊥,...

- niaqu-a-gut patip-pa-a *mf, fb*
head-3s₁.sg-VIA pat-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T patted him₁ on the head...
- uqarviga-lu-gu=lu: *ff*
say.to-ELA_T-3s₁=and:
 ...and said to him₁:
- (7) “Aqqa-ammarr-tuu-nngua-q *if*
 “*dive-result-with.big-nice.little-sg*
 Nice little long-time diver,
- tim-mut tamaviat nuug-it. *ib, mf, fb*
shoreward-DAT with.all.might move-IMP.2s
 Swim with all your might toward the shore.
- Mali-ssa-va-kkit!” *fb*
follow-be.expected-IND.TV-1s.2s
 I will pursue you!”
- §4.**
- (1) Angun-ni taama uqar-m-at irnir-a *if, ib*
father-3s_T.sg thus say-FCT₁-3s₁ son-3s₁.sg
 When the father₁ said that, the son_T...
- mursup-pu-q. *fb*
disappear.under.wtr-IND.IV-3s
 ...dove down.
- (2) Angun-ni suli apuuti-nngi-tsu-q *if*
father-3s_T.sg still arrive-not-ELA₁.IV-3s₁
 Before his_T father had arrived,...
- irnir-a-ta *ib*
son-3s₁.sg-ERG
 ...the son_T...
- sissa-q angu-va-a. *mf, fb*
shore-sg reach-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...[already] reached the shore.
- (3) Anguta-a-ta
father-3s₁.sg-ERG
 The father_T...
- irn-i akiqqa-mi-nut sakku-gi-nia-lir-pa-a. *ib, mf, fb*
son-3s_T.sg enemy-3s_T.pl-DAT weapon(s)-use.as-intend-begin-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...decided to use his_T son as a weapon against his_T enemies.

VI. *The boy's revenge*

§1.

- (1a) Aqagu-a-ni qajar-pa-ssui-t *if, ib*
next.day-3s₁.sg-LOC kayak-group-big-pl
 The next day a big mob_{pl} of kayakmen...
- Aataarsuu-p ilaquata-i nunguk-kiar-tur-pa-it, *mf, fb*
 Aataarsuaq-ERG *family-3s₁.pl finish.off-first.stage-process-IND.TV-3p.3p*
 ...set out to finish off Aataarsuaq's family_{pl},
- (1b) unnu-a-ni=li iqqarli-a-ta *if, ib*
night.of-3s₁.sg-LOC=but cousin-3s₁.sg-ERG
 ...but during the night a cousin...
- tamatu-minnga kalirris-sima-va-i. *mf, fb*
that-MOD warn.about-prf-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...had warned them about it.

§2.

- (1) Nukappiara-q suli sinit-tu-q qayar-pa-ssui-t *if, ib*
boy-sg still sleep-ELA₁.IV-3s₁ kayak-group-big-pl
 While the boy₁ was still asleep, [the leaders of]_{fb} the kayak mob_T...
- nui-a-lir-pu-t. *fb*
stick.'head'.up-group.action-begin-IND.IV-3p
 ...began to appear on the horizon.
- (2) Arna-a-ta *if*
mother-3s₁.sg-ERG
 His₁ mother_T...
- itirsar-pa-a. *ib*
wake.up-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...woke him₁ up.
- (3) Itir-a-mi *if*
wake.up-FCT_T-3s_T
 When he_T woke up...
- atisa-ni tuavior-lu-ni ati-va-a, *ib, mf, fb*
garment-3s_T.sg hurry-ELA_T-3s_T put.on-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T hastily put on his_T [diving] suit...
- ani-llu-ni=lu. *ff*
go.out-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and went out.

§3.

- (1) Ani-innar-tu-q akira-i-sa *if, ib*
go.out-just-ELA₁.IV-3s₁ enemy-3s₁.pl-ERG
 As soon as he₁ went out, his₁ enemies_T...
- taku-va-at. *fb*
see-IND.TV-3p.3s
 ...saw him₁.

- (2) Nukappiaqqa-p if
 boy-ERG
 The boy_T...
- atirvi-ur-pa-i. fb
go.down.toward-group.obj-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...went down toward them_L.
- (3) Suli qaanna-t sissa-mut pi-nngi-tsu-t if
still kayak-pl shore-DAT get.to-not-ELA_L.IV-3p_L
 Before the kayakmen_L had got to the shore,...
- imma-mut tingi-vu-q. mf, fb
sea-DAT fly-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T leapt [*lit. flew*] into the sea.
- (4a) “Issi-kasi-qa-u-q!” ib
fall.into.water-silly-very-IND.IV-3s
 “The stupid kid has fallen into the water with a big splash!”
- (4b) qaanna-t suaar-pu-t. if, ib
kayak-pl shout-IND.IV-3p
 the kayakmen_T shouted.
- §4.**
- (1) Qini-lir-m-an-ni if
look.around.for-begin-FCT_L-3p_L-3s_T
 When they_L started looking around for him_L, ...
- qiqqussa-t akurn-an-nut pula-tir-pu-q, mf, fb
sea.weed-pl gap.between-3p_L.sg go.into.enclosure-gradually-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T worked his way into a gap between some sea weeds,...
- issi-mi illu-a kisi-at nui-sil-lu-gu ff
eye-3s_T.pl.ERG on.one.side-3s_L.sg alone-sg_L stick.'head'up-cause-ELA_T-3s_L
 ...keeping just one eye above the surface.
- (2) Anguti-t marluk sakku-qa-nngi-tsu-t taku-va-i if, fb
man-pl two weapon(s)-have-not-iv\cn-pl see-IND.TV-3s.3p
 He_T saw two unarmed men, ...
- tama-rmik isa-it ajur-tu-t ff
all-pl_T eye-3p_L.pl be.bad-ELA_L.IV-3p_L
 ...both with bad eyes.
- (3) Aappa-a nakunga-vu-q, if, fb
pair.mate-3s_L.sg squint-IND.IV-3s
 One was squint-eyed,...
- aappa-a=lu siqunngir-tuar-lu-ni. ff
pair.mate-3s_L.sg=and shut.eyes-keep.on-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and the other one kept his eyes shut.

- (4) Sakku-tua-r-a-at fb
weapon(s)-sole-have.as-IND.TV-3p.3s
 Their_T sole weapon was...
 avaartaat. ff
club
 a club [*for finishing off fish*].
- (5) Sani-ati-gut pui-vu-q. if,fb
side-3p_⊥.sg-VIA come.up.to.surface-IND.IV-3s
 He came up to the surface [*like a seal*] beside them.
- (6) Aappa-a-ta if
pair.mate-3s_⊥.sg-ERG
 One_T of them...
 avaartaa-mik anaa-riar-pa-a, mf,fb
club-MOD hit.with.club-first.stage-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...struck at him_⊥ with the club...
 uniur-lu-gu=li. ff
miss-ELA_T-3s_⊥=but
 ...but missed him_⊥.
- (7a) Aamma pui-qqip-pu-q. if,fb
also come.up.to.surface-again-IND.IV-3s
 Once again, he_T came up, ...
- (7b) kisianni iqqu-nngi-la-at. if,fb
but hit-not-IRR-3p.3s
 ...but [again] they_T failed to hit him_⊥.
- (8a) Nakunga-su-q ila-i-sa urnip-pa-at if, ib,fb
squint-iv\cn-sg mate-3s_⊥.pl-ERG approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
 The rest_T of the mob came toward the squint-eyed [fellow]_⊥,
- (8b) nukappiara-r=li ava-si-inna-kkut pui-vu-q. if, mf,fb
boy-sg=but seaward-far-∇-VIA come.up.to.surface-IND.IV-3s
 ...but the boy_T first came up far out toward the open sea.
- (9) Qaanna-t if
kayak-pl
 The kayakmen_T...
 tuavi=innaq urnip-pa-at. mf,fb
hurry=∇ approach-IND.TV-3p.3s
 ...rushed toward him_⊥.

- (10a) Suli tiki-nngik-ka-an-ni *if*
still come.to-not-ELA₁.TV-3p₁-3s_T
 Before they₁ got to him_T...
- aqqa-qqip-pu-q, *fb*
dive-again-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T dove again...
- (10b) taama=lu iliur-lu-ni *if*
thus=and do-ELA_T-3s_T
 ...and by doing that...
- akiqqa-ni avam-mu-ka-up-pa-i. *mf, fb*
enemy-3s_T.pl seaward-DAT-go-with-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_T drew his_T enemies₁ out toward the open sea.
- (11) Ilulia-q tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
iceberg-sg come.to-FCT_T-3s_T-3s
 Coming to an iceberg, ...
- tass-unga qaqi-vu-q. *mf, fb*
that-DAT climb-IND.IV-3s
 ...he_T climbed up onto it.
- (12) Anguti-t ilulissa-mut majuar-m-ata *if*
man-pl iceberg-DAT go.up-FCT₁-3p₁
 When the men₁ scrambled up onto the iceberg,...
- ilulia-mini-q nakkar-tip-pa-a. *mf, fb*
iceberg-chunk-sg fall-cause-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T dropped a chunk of ice.
- (13) Anguti-t nakka-ap-pu-t. *if, fb*
man-pl fall-group.action-IND.IV-3p
 The men_T fell off en masse.
- (14) Anguti-rpai-t annilaa-nga-lir-a-mik *if*
man-group-pl get.terrified-result-begin-FCT-3p
 Beginning to feel terrified, the men_T in the mob...
- qaanna-min-nut iki-llu-tik qima-ap-pu-t. *mf, fb*
kayak-3p_T.pl-DAT get.into.kayak-ELA-3p flee-group.action-IND.IV-3p
 ...all got into their_T kayaks and fled.
- (15) Nukappiara-q *if*
boy-sg
 The boy_T...
- ilulissa-p sanira-a-tigut imma-mut pissip-pu-q. *mf, fb*
iceberg-ERG side-3s₁.sg-VIA sea-DAT leap-IND.IV-3s
 ...leapt down the side of the iceberg into the sea.
- (16) Qaanna-t ata-ati-gut ingirla-vu-q. *if, fb*
kayak-pl.ERG space.under-3p₁.sg-VIA travel-IND.IV-3s
 He_T swam along underneath the kayaks₁.

- (17a) Siulli-q tikik-ka-mi-uk *if*
first-sg come.to-FCT_T-3s_T-3s_⊥
 When he_T got to the first one_⊥, ...
 paata-i-sigut nusup-pa-a
paddle[pl]-3s_⊥.pl-VIA pull-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...he_T pulled him_⊥ by his_⊥ paddle_{pl}, ...
 kinngu-til-lu-gu,
capsize-cause-ELA_T-3s_⊥
 ...causing him_⊥ to capsize, ...
- (17b) tama-isa=lu taama iliur-lu-git nungup-pa-i. *if, mf, fb*
all-pl_⊥=and thus do-ELA_T-3p_⊥ finish.off-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...and [so] he_T finished them_⊥ all off in that way.
- (18) Nakunga-su-kku-t kisi-isa *if*
squint-iv\cn-&co-pl alone-pl_⊥
 Only [the squint-eyed fellow and his mate]_⊥ ...
 pi-nngi-la-i. *fb*
get-not-IRR-3s.3p
 ...did he_T spare.
- (19) Taakkua *if*
those
 Those_⊥ ...
 ataasi-ar-na-ni tupat-tit-tar-pa-i, *mf, fb*
one-do.n.times-NON_T-3s_T get.startled-cause-habit-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_T startled more than once,
 tassa paata-i-sa isu-i-sigut asuli nusu-laar-tar-lu-git. *ff*
that.is paddle-3p_⊥.pl-ERG end-3p_⊥.pl-VIA for.fun pull-a.bit-habit-ELA_T-3p_⊥
 ...that is, by repeatedly pulling them_⊥ a bit by the tip of their_⊥ paddles, just for fun.
- (20) Taama pi-riar-lu-git *if*
thus get.first.stage-ELA_T-3p_⊥
 After thus mock-attacking them_⊥,
 qimap-pa-i. *fb*
leave-IND.TV-3s.3p
 ...he_T let them_⊥ be.
- §5.
 (1) Taama *if*
thus
 In this way ...
 Aataarsuaq irmir-a-ta akiniup-pa-a. *mf, fb*
Aataarsuaq son-3s_⊥.sg-ERG avenge-IND.TV-3s.3s
 ...Aataarsuaq_⊥ was avenged by his_⊥ son_T.