THE PROBLEM
Temporal anaphora in a tenseless language (Bittner 2005)

1 TENSELESS INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM IN KALAALLISUT

(N)   Noun template: root-(derivational suffix*)-NAGR-CASE(=clitic*)
(V)   Verb template: root-(derivational suffix*)-MOOD-VAGR(=clitic*)

(M)   Matrix MOOD system

• *Indicative*
sinip-*pu*q
sleep-*IND.IV*-3s
'he is/was asleep.'

• *Optative*
sinil-*li*
sleep-*OPT*.3s
'let him sleep'

• *Interrogative*
sinip-*pa*?
sleep-*QUE*.3s
'is/was he asleep?'

• *Imperative*
sini-lluar-*na*
sleep-well-*IMP*.2s
'sleep well!'

Dependent MOOD system

• *Topic factive*
sinik-*ka*-mi
sleep-$FCT_\top$-$3s_\top$
'being asleep, ($he_\top$…)'

• *Background factive*
sini-*mm*-at
sleep-$FCT_\bot$-$3s_\bot$
'because $he_\bot$ is/was asleep'

• *Topic hypothetical*
sinik-*ku*-ni
sleep-$HYP_\top$-$3s_\top$
'if/when $he_\top$ is/was asleep'

• *Background hypothetical*
sini-*pp*-at
sini-$HYP_\bot$-$3s_\bot$
'if/when $he_\bot$ is/was asleep'

• *Topic elaborating*
sinil-*lu*-ni
sleep-$ELA_\top$-$3s_\top$
'asleep'

• *Background elaborating*
sinit-*tu*-q
sleep-$ELA_\bot$-$3s_\bot$
'while $he_\bot$ is/was asleep'

• *Topic non-factual*
sinin-*na*-ni
sleep-$NON_\top$-$3s_\top$
'without sleeping'

• ('-not' + *Background elab.*)
sini-nngit-*tu*-q
sleep-not-$ELA_\bot$-$3s_\bot$
'while $he_\bot$ is/was not asleep'

• *Topic habitual*
sinik-*kaannga*-mi
sleep-$HAB_\top$-$3s_\top$
'whenever $he_\top$ is/was asleep'

• *Background habitual*
sinik-*kaanng*-at
sleep-$HAB_\bot$-$3s_\bot$
'whenever $he_\bot$ is/was asleep'

Kalaallisut system of verbal inflection is *tenseless*: there is no counterpart of English past, present, or future tense.

- Realized events

(1) I *came* (#come) home when it *got* dark. Juuna soon *fell* asleep.

(1′) *Taarsi*-**mm**-at   *angirlar*-**pu**-nga.
  get.dark-**FCT**$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$ *come.home*-IND.IV-1s

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

- Current states (now or back then)

(2) a. Juuna *is* sleeping peacefully.
  b. (I came home after dark.) Juuna *was* sleeping peacefully.

(2′) (Taarsi-riir-m-at   angirlar-pu-nga.)
  (get.dark-be.already-**FCT**$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$ come.home-IND.IV-1s)

  Juuna iqqissi-*sima*-llu-ni   *sinip*-**pu**-q.
  Juuna calm.down-*have*-ELA$_\top$-3s$_\top$ *sleep*-**IND.IV**-3s

- Current habits (now or back then)

(3) a. I first *come* home after dark. Juuna soon *falls* asleep.
  b. (Last winter) I *would* first came home after dark. Juuna *would* soon fall asleep.

(3′) (Ukiur-m-at)
  (be.winter-**FCT**$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$)

  taarsi-riir-aanng-at   aatsaat angirlar-*tar*-**pu**-nga.
  get.dark-be.already-HAB$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$ first   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 attitude states (now or back then) to future prospects

(4) a. I *will* first come home after dark. Juuna *will* soon fall sound*ly* asleep.
  b. (That morning I made a plan.) I *would* first come home after
   dark. Juuna *would* soon fall sound*ly* asleep.

(4′) (Ullaaq taanna pilirsaarus-siur-pu-nga.)
  (morning that plan-make-**IND.IV**-1s)

  taarsi-riir-p-at   aatsaat angirlar-*niar*-**pu**-nga.
  get.dark-be.already-HYP$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$ first   come.home-*intend*-**IND.IV**-1s

  Juuna irniinnaq iti-*ssa*-**na**-ni
  Juuna soon   wake.up-*be.expected*-**NON**$_\top$-3s$_\top$

  sini-lir-*umaar*-**pu**-q.
  sleep-begin-*be.hoped.for*-**IND.IV**-3s

> Kalaallisut verbal inflections form a *mood system*, fused with aspect and centering, which contrasts *facts*, *nonfacts, prospects*, and *circumstances*:
> • *Factual* moods: indicative (IND), interrogative (QUE), factive (FCT)
> • *Nonfactual* moods: irrealis (IRR), non-factual (NON)
> • *Prospective* moods: optative (OPT), imperative (IMP), hypothetical (HYP)
> • *Circumstantial* moods: elaborating (ELA), habitual (HAB)

2 GRAMMARS VS. TEXTS: PROSPECTIVITY THESIS

• *Descriptive grammars* (e.g. Fortescue 1984:274)

"2.1.3.2.1.4. Future.
There are three common affixes indicating <u>future tense</u> [emphasis added, MB] *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 [*ssa*] is the nearest to an <u>absolute or pure future</u> [emphasis added, MB]…*niar* is more common as a pure future in north-west Greenland, but is used especially in an <u>intended or inevitable future</u> sense [emphasis added] in the central dialect area…*jumaar* indicates <u>vague indefinite future</u> [emphasis added, MB]…

• *Kalaallisut translations of future* will/would *in texts*

[D] O'Dell, S., 1988, *Black Star, Bright Dawn*
[H] Hemingway, E., 1952, *The Old Man and the Sea*
[L] Lindgren, A. 1997. *Pippi Longstocking*.
[P] Rounds, G. 1994. *The Blind Colt*.
[R] Rowling, J., 1997, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*

<u>E.g.</u>   <u>Kalaallisut translation cf. English prospective verbal predicate</u>
(5′)	*-gunar*	*be likely to*
(6′)	*-juma*	*want to*
(4′)	*-jumaar* (+ (17′))	*hope* (*for y*) *to, be hoped for, promise to, be promised*
(7′)	*-navianngi*	*be unlikely to*
(4′)	*-niar*	{*intend, be going*} *to*
(8′)	*-qina*	*be liable to*
(9′)	*-qqaja*	*be sure to _ soon*
(10′)	*-riaannaa*	*be* {*equipped, ready*} *to*
(11′)	*-rusuk*	*wish to, feel like _ing*
(12′)	*-sinnaa*	*be able to*
(4′)	*-ssa* (+ (15′), (19′), (20′))	*be* {*expected, desirable*} *to*
(13′)	*-ssamaar*	{*plan, be going*} *to*
(14′)	*-ssanga*	*expect to*
(15′)	*-ssaqqaar*	*be sure to*
(16′)	*-tariaqar*	{*need, be required*} *to*
(17′)	*-tsii*	*wait for y to*
	⋮	⋮
(18′)	-(**niar-**)**OPT**	(*please*) *let y _*
(19′)	-(**niar**)-**IMP**	(*please*) *_*

A. Prospective statives

(5)   They'**ll** all forget this in a few weeks.   [R:265]
        (Cf. They'**re** *likely to* forget this in a few weeks.)

(5′)   Sapaatit akunnirit   marlussuit   qaangiu-pp-ata   [R′:302]
        weeks   a.few   pass-HYP⊥-3p⊥

        puigur-*unar*-**pa**-at.
        forget-*be.likely*-**IND.TV**-3p.3s

(6)   Black Star pulled up and *would*n't move.   [D:2]
        (Cf. Black Star stopped suddenly and **did**n't *want to* move on.)

(6′)   Milalinnguaq   uni-riataar-pu-q   ingirla-qqik-*kuma*-junnaar-**lu**-ni=lu
        Black.Star   stop-suddenly-IND.IV-3s   move-again-*want*-stop-ELA⊤-3s⊤=and

(7)   *At the checkpoint the race judge advised me not to leave.*
        'You'**ll** *not* get far.'   [D:78]
        (Cf. 'You'**re** *unlikely to* get far.')

(7′)   'Ungasilli-ngaar-*navianngi*-**la**-tit.'   [D′:93]
        get.far-very-*be.unlikely*-**IRR**-2s

(8)   *I don't want everybody knowing you've got a broomstick…*
        … or they'**ll** all want one.   [R:179]
        (Cf. … because, if they find out about it, they'**re** *liable to* also want one.)

(8′)   … paasi-gu-nik-ku   piuma-li-*qina*-**mm**-ata.   [R′:203]
        … find.out-HYP⊤-3p⊤-3s   want-begin-*liable*-FCT⊥-3p⊥

(9)   *If I can increase the tension just a little…*
        … it **will** hurt him (= *hooked fish*) and he **will** jump.   [H:53]
        (Cf. … he'**s** *sure to* get hurt and surface *right away*.)

(9′)   … annir-lu-ni   [H′:36]
        … get.hurt-ELA⊤-3s⊤

        qavva-tsi-*qqaja*-qi-**su**-q.
        surface-suddenly-*be.sure.to.soon*-very-ELA⊥.IV-3s⊥

(10)   *Percy — he's a prefect, …*
        … he'**d** put a stop to this.   [R: 170]
        (Cf. … he'**s** *equipped to* put a stop to what you intend to do.)

(10′)   … iliusiqar-*niar*-ni-rsi   uni-tsi-*riaannaa*-**va**-a.   [R′:193]
        … do.sth-*intend*-v\n-2p.sg   stop-cause-*be.equipped*-**IND.TV**-3s.3s

(11)   *Hagrid to Harry: I still haven't got yeh a birthday present.…*
        … I'**ll** get yer animal.   [R:92]
        (Cf. … I [**PRS**] *feel like* giving you an animal.)

(11′)   … Uumasu-mik   tuni-*rusup*-**pa**-kkit.   [R′:102]
        … animal-sg.MOD   give-*feel.like*-**IND.TV**-1s.2s

(12)   '*Say you're back in three weeks…Your team needs to run fifty miles a day to get in shape…*'
        'Bright Dawn **will** train the dogs for me.'   [D:28]
        (Cf. 'Bright Dawn **is** *able to* train the dogs for me.'

(12′)   Sikkirsu-p   qimuttu-t   sungiusar-tar-*sinnaa*-**va**-i.   [D′:39]
        B.D.-ERG   sled.dog-pl   train-habit-*be.able*-**IND.TV**-3s.3p

(13)   *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   [D:102]
        take the trail back to N.S. and Womengo.
        (Cf. We *plann***ed** to meet again in Ikuma. And then, after packing up,
        we *plann***ed** to return to Womengo.)

(13′)   Ikuma-mi   taku-qqi-*ssamaar*-**pu**-gut.   [D′:117]
        Ikuma-LOC   see-again-*plan*-**IND.IV**-1p

        Taava=lu   purtui-riar-lu-ta   Womengo-mut   uti-*ssamaar*-**pu**-gut
        then=and   pack.up-stage-ELA_T-1p   Womengo-DAT   return-*plan*-**IND.IV**-1p

(14)   '*This time I run better,*' he said '*Maybe I come first.*
        Where **will** you be [*at the end of the race*]?   [D:36]
        (Cf. What number **do** you *expect* to be?)

(14′)   Illit   nurmu   qassi-u-*ssanga*-vi-t?   [D′:48]
        you.ERG   number   how.many-be-*expect*-QUE-2s

(15)   '*If you can't see, how will you know where you are?*'
        'My lead dog **will** know?'   [D:78]
        (Cf. My lead dog **is** *sure to* find the route we're *expected* to take.)

(15′)   Ittuquti-ma   aqquti-*ssa*-rput   nani-*ssaqqaar*-**pa**-a.   [D′:93]
        lead.dog-1s.sg.ERG   route-*expected*-1p.sg   find-*be.sure.to*-**IND.TV**-3s.3s

(16)   *Igloos are very good in the wind… If we stay here another day and night,*   [D:46]
        we **will** build a porch for ourselves, a very good place to cook in.
        (Cf. … If we're not *expected* to leave tomorrow, we [**PRS**] *need to*
        add to our igloo a porch, a *desirable* place for us to cook in.)

(16′)   … Aqagu-mut   aalla-*ssa*-nngik-ku-tta   [D′:58]
        … next.24hrs-DAT   leave-*expected*-not-HYP_T-1p

        illuiga-rput   paa-liur-*tariaqar*-**pa**-rput   iga-vvi-*ssa*-tsin-nik
        igloo-1p.sg   porch-add.to-*need*-**IND.TV**-1p.3s   cook-place-*desirable*-1p.sg-MOD

(17)   *What is his plan. he thought. And what is mine? Mine I must improvise*
       because of his great size. If he **will** jump, I **can** kill him.   [H:60]
       (Cf. If I just [**PRS**] *wait for* him *to* surface, then as soon as
       he tries to do that, I [**PRS**] *hope* to thrust my harpoon into him.)

(17′) Nui-*tsii*-ginnar-**u**-kku   [H′:40]
       surface-*wait.for*⊥.*to*-just-HYP⊤-1s.3s

       taama-ili-niar-iar-**p**-at   kapi-llar-*umaar*-**pa**-ra.
       thus-do-try-start-HYP⊥-3s⊥   pierce-strongly-*hope*-IND.TV-1s.3s

B. <u>Prospective moods</u>

(18)   *Race sponsors ask an injured competitor what to do.*
       'My daughter **will** run the race.'   [D:29]
       (Cf. **Please let** my daughter compete instead of me.)

(18′) Pani-ga   taarsir-lu-nga   [D′:40]
       daughter-1s.sg replace-ELA⊤-1s

       sukka-niuti-qata-u-**niar-li**
       go.fast-compete-fellow…er-be-**please-OPT**.3s

(19)   *We were running twenty first and twenty second in the race.*   [D:44]
       We **will** feed the dogs now and rest until the night comes.
       (Cf. **Please let** us feed the dogs. Then it **is** *desirable*
       that we rest a little until the *coming* nightfall.)

(19′) Qimmi-t   nirukkar-**niar**-tigik.
       dog-pl   feed-**please**.**IMP**-1p.3p

       Taava   qasuirsi-laa-*ssa*-**u**-gut
       then   rest-a.little-*desirable*-IND.IV-1p

       taarsi-ni-*ssa*-ata   tunga-a-nut
       get.dark-v\n-*expected*-sg.ERG   direction-3s.sg-DAT

PROSPECTIVITY THESIS (slightly simplified)
Kalallisut translations of future auxiliaries comprise two related classes:
A. *prospective statives* evoking (current) attitude states to future prospects
B. *prospective moods* marking the speech act as a request or wish

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3 EVIDENCE FOR PROSPECTIVITY THESIS

3.1 *Prospective statives are like* verbs, *not tenses* (pace Shaer 2003)

• Recursion

(20)   *When she heard the dogs bark, the cow [moose] took to the stream and disappeared.*
       But the bull stood sideways on the bridge ≥
       ...and did not move.   [D:53]
       (Cf. … and was not *likely to intend to* budge.)

(20′) … niki-*niar-unar*-a-ni=lu   [D′:65]
       … budge-*intend-likely*-NON$_\top$-3s$_\top$=and

• Verb doubling

(21)   *I...told the marshall that I wanted to send my dog back to Anchorage.*
       He *said* a plane was *due*.   [D:57]
       (Cf. And he *answered* me, specifically, he *said* it was
       to be expected that there would be an arrival of a plane.)

(21′) *Aki*-va-anga=lu   [D′:69]
       answer-IND.TV-3s.1s=and

       timmisartu-mik   tikit-tu-qar-tu-ssa-u-*nirar*-lu-gu
       plane-sg.MOD   come-v\n-be-v\n-*expected-be-say*-ELA$_\top$-3s$_\bot$

(22)   *He said a plane was due. 'When?' I asked.*
       'In an hour'   [D:57]
       (Cf. 'It is *expected* and *intended* to come in an hour.)

(22′) Akunniq   ataasiq   qaangiu-pp-at   [D′:69]
       hour   one   pass-HYP$_\bot$-3s$_\bot$

       tikit-tu-*ssa*-u-*niar*-pu-q.
       come-v\n-*expected*-be-*intended*-IND.IV-3s

(23)   *As the giant fish nibbles at the bait, the old man thinks: Eat it...*
       so that the point of the hook goes into your heart and kills you.   [H:44]
       (Cf. It is *intended* and *expected* that you die from
       having the hook go all the way into your heart.)

(23′) qarsursaq   uummati-n-nut   apissigu-llu-gu   [H′:29]
       hook   heart-2s.sg-DAT   have.y$_\bot$.go.all.way.in-ELA$_\top$-3s$_\bot$

       tuqqutigi-*nia-ssa*-va-t.
       die.from-*intended-expected*-IND.TV-2s.3s

3.2 *Prospective statives refer to* current states

• Current (*now or then*) states, e.g., (2′), (4′), most of (5′) - (23′).

• Current reporting habit (now or then) of current (*at report time*) state

(24)a. Ani first *comes* home after dark. She often *says* she {*is tired*, *hopes* to go to bed soon}.
   b. (Last winter) Ani *would* first come home after dark. She *would*
      often say she {*was tired*, *hoped* to go to bed soon}.

(24′) (Ukiur-m-at)   Aani
       (be.winter-FCT$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$)   Ani

       taarsi-riir-aanng-at   aatsaat   angirlar-tar-pu-q.
       get.dark-be.already-GNR$_\perp$-3s$_\perp$ first   come.home-habit-IND.IV-3s

       Aku-likit-su-mik
       interval(s)-have.small-v\n-sg.MOD

       {qasu-,   irniinnaq   innar-*umaar*-}-*nirar*-tar-pu-q
       {*be.tired*-,   soon   lie.down-*hope*-}-*say*-habit-IND.IV-3s

• Current (*now or then*) attitude state to current (*at attitude time*) state or habit. Cf. (27′): current attitude state to past (*at attitude time*) event.

(25)   *Pippi's mother had died when Pippi was just a tiny baby...*
       Pipi **was** *sure* that her mother *was* now up in Heaven,   [L:11]
       watching her little girl through a peephole in the sky
       (Cf. P. *believed* her mother to *be* in Heaven, and she *believed*
       her to *be in the habit* of looking down through a little hole)

(25′) Pippi-p   anaana-ni   qilam-mi-*is-suri*-va-a   [L′:11]
       Pippi-ERG   mother-3s$_\top$ heaven-in-*be-believe*-IND.TV-3s.3s

       putu-nngua-kkut=lu   am-mut   isigi-*sar-sur*-a-a.
       hole-little-sg.VIA=and   down-DAT   look-*habit-believe*-IND.IV-3s.3s

(26)   I *think* I'**ll** *have to* go and take a nap.   [L:35]
       (Cf. I *think* I [PRS] *need to* sleep a little.)

(26′) Sini-laar-*tariaqar-sura*-a-nga.   [L′:33]
       sleep-a.little-*need-believe*-IND.TV-1s

(27)   *[Pippi is a Thing-Finder] Oh dear!*
       I **was** *sure* I *saw* a lump of gold.   [L:28]
       (Cf. I *already* really *believed* myself to *have seen* ...but...)

(27′) Kuulti-minir-mik   *taku-suri*-i-vik-kaluar-a-ma   [L′:26]
       gold-lump-sg.MOD   *see-believe*-be.already-really-...but-FCT$_\top$-1s

3.3   *Prospective statives refer to current* attitude *states*

• Anaphora to modal object of attitude state

(28)   *Pippi, Tommy and Annika are looking for P's monkey lost in the woods.*
Tommy suggested $^{1+2}$[^{1}[they all three go in different directions] and hunt].   [L:82]
At first Annika didn't want to$_{do1+2}$ because she was a little afraid$_{of\,1}$.
(Cf. T. made a suggestion: it was desirable $^{1+2}$[for them to ^{1}[separate and] search].
Annika was afraid$_{of\,that1}$ and so didn't wish to do **that$_1$**/**that$_{1+2}$**, but *was later persuaded.*)

(28′)   Tommy   siunnirsui-vu-q   [L′:73]
Tommy   make.suggestion-IND.IV-3s

avissaar-lu-tik   ujar-li-ssa-llu-tik.
[separate-ELA$_\top$-3p$_\top$]   seek-tv\iv-be.desirable-ELA$_\top$-3p$_\top$

Annika   annilaanga-ga-mi   **taama**-iliu-rusu-nngik-kaluar-pu-q.
Annika   afraid-FCT$_\top$-3s$_\top$ **thus**-do-wish-not-…but-IND.IV-3s

(29)   *You can't imagine how wonderful it is here [in this hollow tree].*
You must [come in] too. … If you only *do it* once,   [L:73]
you'll never want to *do anything else.*
(Cf. Please [come here].… Once you try to do **it**, you
are expected to acquire a constant wish to do **this**.)

(29′)   [Maa-nnga-r]-niar-it…
[here-to-come]-please.IMP-2s…

ataasiar-lu-tit   misilik-ku-k**ku**
do.once-ELA$_\top$-2s $x_\top$.try.to.do. $\mathscr{E}_\bot$-HYP$_\top$-2s.**3s$_\bot$**

taama-liu-rusut-tuaanna-li-ssa-a-tit.
thus-do-wish-constant.habit-begin-expected-IND.IV-2s

(30)   …but I don't want ^{1}[everybody knowing ^{2}[you've got a broomstick]   [R:179]
or they'll all want one.
(Cf. It is not desirable for ^{1}[your schoolmates to find out
^{2}[you got a new broomstick]], for if $_1$*they find out about* **it$_2$**,
they're liable to want one.)

(30′)   ila-vil=li   paasi-ssa-nngi-la-at   [R′:203]
mate-2s.pl.ERG$_\top$=but   [$x_\top$.find.out.$p_\bot$]-be.desirable-not-IND-3p.3s

saniguti-taar-tu-tit
[broomstick-get.new-ELA$_\bot$-2s]$_\bot$

paasi-gu-nik-**ku**   pi-uma-le-qina-mm-ata.
find.out-HYP-3p$_\top$-**3s$_\bot$**   that.kind-want-begin-be.liable-FCT$_\bot$-3p$_\bot$

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

• Purposive elaboration (see also (23′))

(31)   Attitude to a prospect: She left *expecting* him to be fair.
         Cf. Simple state: She left *very angry*.
         Cf. Attitude to the present: She left *believing* him to be fair.

(32)   I ate some of it [*food she had cooked for my welcome*] just to please her.   [D:76]
         (Cf. …*wishing* to make her happy)

(32′)   nuannaar-tik-*kusu*-llu-gu   niri-ngaatsia-annar-pu-nga.
         be.happy-cause-*wish*-ELA⊤-3s⊥   eat-fair.amount-just-IND.IV-1s

(33)   *On the 25th of Feb. I* boarded the bush plane *Mr. Weiss had hired…*
         … to take me and the team to Anchorage.   [D:31]
         (Cf. … got on the plane, *expecting/expected* to go to A.)

(33′)   …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⊤-1p

• Scale-based prediction

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

(35)   *Uncle Torwal says the winter is hard on the horses out on the range*
         He believes the blind colt—Whitey's favorite—is already dead. Whitey responds:
         '*I haven't seen him for a spell, but I don't think he's dead;* …he's too smart].   [P:V]
         (Cf. …for he's too smart to *be expected* to die.)

(35′)   …tuqu-*ssa*-llu-ni=mi   silatu-allaaqa-a-q.   [P′:36]
         …die-*be.expected*-ELA⊤-3s⊤=for   be.smart-too-IND.IV-3s

4 CONCLUSIONS

•   Kalaallisut is genuinely *tenseless*: it has no counterpart of English past or present tense nor of the future auxiliary *will/would*.
•   Futurity is typically expressed either (a) by prospective derivational suffixes (mostly v\v) referring to *current attitude states to future prospects*, or (b) by prospective mood inflections
•   By default, *current* means *now*. This default can be defeated in favor of *back then* by explicitly updating the topic time (for a formal implementation see Bittner *in press*).

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