Optional Past "Tenses" and cessation inferences in Kanien'kéha

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29 May 2024

A typology of tense

Describing a typology of tenses has at least these two considerations:

1. the **inventory** of attested tense values
2. whether the language permits **optional** tense marking (and for which values)

A typology of tense

- **On the inventory of attested tense values**
  ① Is there a DISCONTINUOUS PAST **distinct** from plain PAST tense? (Plungian and van der Auwera, 2006; Bochnak, 2016; Cable, 2017)

A typology of tense

- **On the inventory of attested tense values**
  ① Is there a DISCONTINUOUS PAST **distinct** from plain PAST
  tense? (Plungian and van der Auwera, 2006; Bochnak, 2016; Cable, 2017)

(2) K̲uk'éiy**een**
    IPFV.good.weather.PST
    'The weather was nice (but turned bad).' (Cable, 2017, 637)

Kanien'kéha Optional Past

Kanien'kéha has **two optional past suffixes**, which *prima facie* indicates support for the existence of a discontinuous past (as we will see).

(3)   wató:rats**kwe'**
    w-atorat-s-kwe'
    FZ.A-hunt-HAB-FOR.PST
    'She was hunting.'
         (Former Past *-(h)kwe'*)

(4)   rotshokwèn:**ne**.
    ro-atshokw-en-hne
    MsGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST
    'He was smoking.'
         (Remote Past *-hne'*)

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(5)   wató:rats**kwe'**
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           (Former Past *-(h)kwe'*)

(6)   rotshokwèn:**ne**.
      ro-atshokw-en-hne
      MSGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST
      'He was smoking.'
           (Remote Past *-hne'*)

Given prior descriptions (Martin, 2023), these suffixes have the properties associated with discontinuous pasts: **a strong cessation inference**.

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A preview of the results

① Is there a DISCONTINUOUS PAST **distinct** from plain PAST tense?

Re: question ①

A more detailed investigation into these suffixes shows that there is no independent support for "discontinuous past" as a distinct category of tense in Kanien'kéha

A preview of the results

① Is there a DISCONTINUOUS PAST **distinct** from plain PAST tense?

Re: question ①

A more detailed investigation into these suffixes shows that there is no independent support for "discontinuous past" as a distinct category of tense in Kanien'kéha

To see this, we will investigate:

② the nature/strength of the cessation inference

③ the distribution of each past suffix

A preview of the results

On ② the nature/strength of the cessation inference

The Former Past *-(h)kwe'* comes with a cessation **implicature**
The Remote Past *-hne'* comes with a cessation **entailment**

On ③ the distribution of each past suffix

The Former Past *-(h)kwe'* has a wider distribution (though not unrestricted), appearing on Habitual and Stative aspect verbs
The Remote Past *-hne'* only occurs on Stative aspect verbs describing right-unbounded eventualities.

A preview of the results

Overall upshot

I argue for the following analysis:

① The Former Past *-(h)kwe'* is a standard PAST tense.

② The Remote Past *-hne'* is not a tense at all; it adds a right-bound to lexically right-unbounded eventualities.

1 Kanien'kéha optional tense

2 Differentiating optional "tenses"

3 Towards a Formal Account

4 Conclusion

Kanien'kéha optional tense

Kanien'kéha

Situating **Kanien'kéha** (Mohawk):

- Spoken by the Kanien'kehá:ka people in Ontario, Quebec, and New York State
- by around 562 L1 speakers and 77 advanced L2 (DeCaire, 2023, 44)
- uncited examples come from elicitation sessions with 4 speakers

Kanien'kéha

Situating **Kanien'kéha** (Mohawk):

- "polysynthetic" (cf. Baker 1996; Mithun 2017, a.o.)
- obligatory aspectual marking
- two optional past suffixes

Kanien'kéha

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The verb template:

(8) a. argeement-[verb stem]-ASPECT-(TENSE)

    b. wató:ratskwe'
       w-[atorat]-s-kwe'
       FZ.A-hunt-HAB-FOR.PST
       'She was hunting.'

Kanien'kéha

Of the three aspects, **two are relevant for us** today.

These are the aspectual forms which have an **on-going episodic interpretation**[1]:

- **Habitual** on-going episodic
- **Stative** on-going episodic
- **Punctual**, or the (past) perfective   (I will set this aside here)

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[1]The on-going aspects have additional interpretations; I set these aside.

Interpretations of morphologically tenseless clauses

Generalization I

Morphologically tenseless clauses of **on-going** aspect verbs are interpretable with *either (a) present or (b) past reference*

(9) **Morphologically Tenseless Clause with Habitual Aspect**

    a. **Wató:rats**.
        w-atorat-s
        FZ.A-hunt-HAB
        'She is hunting.'   (Present on-going)

    b. Oh na'kénhaton shà:kken'   **wató:rats**.
        Oh na'kénhaton sha'-k-ken-'   w-atorat-s
        last.time   COIN-1SG>FZSG-see-PUNC FZ.A-hunt-HAB
        'When I saw her last, she was hunting.'   (Past on-going)

Interpretations of morphologically tenseless clauses

Generalization I

Morphologically tenseless clauses of **on-going** aspect verbs are interpretable with *either (a) present or (b) past reference*

(10) **Morphologically Tenseless Clause with Stative Aspect**

     a.   Shawátis **rotshókwen**.
          Shawatis ro-atshokw-en
          John   MSGP-smoke-STAT
          'John is smoking.'   (Present on-going)

     b.   Shawátis shahí:ken'   **rotshókwen**.
          Shawatis sh-a'-hi-ken-'   ro-atshokw-en
          John   COIN-FACT-1SG>MSG-see-PUNC   MSGP-smoke-STAT
          'John was smoking when I saw him.'   (Past on-going)

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Optional Past "Tenses" and cessation inferences in Kanien'kéha

Two past suffixes

Kanien'kéha has two suffixes traditionally described as past:

(11)   a.   Wató:rats.
       w-atorat-s
       FZ.A-hunt-HAB
       'She is/was hunting.'
            (on-going episodic)

     b.   wató:rats**kwe'**
       w-atorat-s-kwe'
       FZ.A-hunt-HAB-FOR.PST
       'She *is/was hunting.'
          (Former Past -(h)kwe')

(12)   a.   rotshókwen.
       ro-atshokw-en
       MSGP-smoke-STAT
       'He is/was smoking.'
            (on-going episodic)

     b.   rotshokwèn:**ne**.
       ro-atshokw-en-hne
       MSGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST
       'He *is/was smoking.'
          (Remote Past -hne')

Interpretations of past-marked forms: *-hne'*

Generalization II

Past-marked forms (*-(h)kwe'* or *-hne'*) are obligatorily (absolute) past referring and **give rise to a cessation inference**

(13) **Past suffixes: Former Past -*(h)kwe'***
Ohna'kénhaton shà:kken'   wató:rats**kwe'**
Ohna'kénhaton sh-a'-k-ken-'   w-atorat-s-kwe'
last.time   COIN-FACT-1SGA-see-PUNC   FZ.A-hunt-HAB-FOR.PAST
'When I saw her last, she was hunting.'
⇒ She is not currently hunting.

Interpretations of past-marked forms: *-(h)kwe'*

Generalization II

Past-marked forms (*-(h)kwe'* or *-hne'*) are obligatorily (absolute) past referring and **give rise to a cessation inference**

(14) **Past suffixes: Remote Past *-hne'***
Sue rotiniakòn:**ne'**.
Sue roti-niak-on-hne
Sue M.DU.P-marry-STAT-REM.PAST
'He had been married to Sue.'
⇒ They are no longer married.

Interpretations of past-marked forms: absolute past

Generalization II

Past-marked forms (*-(h)kwe'* or *-hne'*) are obligatorily (absolute) past referring and **give rise to a cessation inference**

These are further restricted to **absolute past** reference (i.e., no future perfect/past-in-the-future)

(15) *Nó:nen   ó:ia'   ientsóserate'   tewáhsen   nikahiatonhserá:ke
     nonen   oia   ientsoserate'   te-wahsen   nikahiatonhsera-ke
     now   next   it.will.be.new.year   DUPL-ten   PRT-book-COUNT

     (en)wakewennahnó:tahkwe'.
     en-wake-wennahnot-a-hkwe'
     FUT-1SGP-read-STAT-FOR.PST
     Intended: 'By this time next year, I will have read 20 books.'

Interpretations of past-marked forms: absolute past

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(16) *wísk mínit   **enhotsokwèn:ne'**
      wísk mínit   en-ro-atsokwen-hne'
      five   minute   FUT-MsGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PST
      Intended: 'In five minutes, he will finish smoking/have smoked.'

Interpretations of past-marked forms

Generalization II

Past-marked forms(*-(h)kwe'* or *-hne'*) are obligatorily (absolute) past referring and **give rise to a cessation inference**

Generalization II taken at face value suggests that both suffixes make the same semantic contribution

(see Ormston 1993; Baker and Travis 1997, 1998 for explicit analyses along these lines)

Interpretations of past-marked forms

Generalization II

Past-marked forms (*-(h)kwe'* or *-hne'*) are obligatorily (absolute) past referring and **give rise to a cessation inference**

My claim

The past suffixes have **distinct truth conditions**. They are empirically differentiable by:

1. the strength of the cessation inference
2. their distribution
3. their morphophonology

Differentiating optional "tenses"

Cessation inferences with (discontinuous) past tense

- Plungian and van der Auwera (2006) show that putative "discontinuous past tenses" convey that the event no longer holds at present.
    - They encode this in the conventional semantic contribution of the "discontinuous past" and so predict that these cessation inferences are **entailed**.
- Cable (2017) and Bochnak (2016) shows that for at least Tlingit and Washo, the cessation inference is defeasible and therefore argue it to be an **implicature**.

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I will show that:

- Former Past *-(h)kwe'* comes with a cessation implicature;
- Remote Past *-hne'* comes with a cessation entailment.

Cessation implicatures with the Former Past

The cessation inference arising with *-(h)kwe'* is **defeasible**.

(17) **Former past gives rise to cessation inference**

Kahiatónhsera rowennahnó:t**ahkwe'**

kahiatonhsera ro-wennahnot-a-hkwe'

book MSGP-read-STAT-FOR.PST

'He was reading the book.'

⇒ He is not currently reading

Cessation implicatures with the Former Past

The cessation inference arising with *-(h)kwe'* is **defeasible**.

(18) **Cancellation of inference via explicit denial and ignorance statement**

a. Shontakatáweia'te   rowennahnó:ta**hkwe'**
Shon-ta-k-ataweia't-e   ro-wennahnot-a-hkwe'
COIN-CIS.FACT-1SGA-enter-PUNC MSGP-read-STAT-FOR.PST

    tánon   shé:kon   rowennà:note'   ó:nen'k
    tanon'   shekon   ro-wennahnot-e'   onen'k
    and   still   MSGP-read-STAT   right.now
'He was reading when I entered, and he is still reading right now.'

b. ... nek tsi iah   tewakateriéntare'   tóka shé:kon rowennà:note'
... nek tsi iah   te-wak-aterientar-e'   toka shekon ro-wennahnot-e'
... but   NEG   NEG-1SGP-know-STAT   if   still   MSGP-read-STAT
'He was reading when I entered, but I don't know if he's still reading.'

Cessation entailments with the Remote Past

The cessation inference arising with *-hne'* is **not defeasible**.

(19)   **Remote Past cessation inference cannot be cancelled via explicit denial of cessation**

    a.   Shawátis **rotshokwèn:ne**.
          Shawatis ro-atshokw-en-hne
          John   MsgP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST
          'John was smoking.'
          ⇒ John is not currently smoking

    b. #Shawátis **rotshokwèn:ne**
          Shawatis ro-atshokw-en-hne
          John   MsgP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST

          tánon' shé:kon rotshókwen.
          tanon shekon ro-atshokw-en
          and   still   MsgP-smoke-STAT
        Intended: 'John was smoking and he is still smoking .'

Cessation entailments with the Remote Past

The cessation inference arising with *-hne'* is **not defeasible**.

(20) **No cancellation with explicit statement of ignorance**

a. Sue **rotiniakòn:ne'**.
   Sue roti-niak-on-hne
   Sue M.DU.P-marry-STAT-REM.PST
   He was married to Sue.'
   ⇒ they are not married anymore

b. #... nek tsi iah   tesewakaterièn:tare'   tóka' shé:kon
   ... nek tsi iah   te-se-wak-aterien:tar-e'   toka' shekon
   ... but   NEG   NEG-REP-1SG.P-know-PUNC if   still

   rotiniá:ken
   roti-niak-en
   M.DU.P-marry-STAT
   Intended: '... but I don't know if they're still married.'

Cessation entailments summary

Generalization III

Past-marked on-going-aspect verbs come with a cessation

- implicature, with the Former Past *-(h)kwe'*
- entailment, with the Remote Past *-hne'*

Cessation inferences

The empirical picture seems to provide support for the view in Plungian and van der Auwera (2006) that some past tenses (like *-hne'*) **entail cessation**.

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-hne') **entail cessation**.

However, I will show that this is too hasty a conclusion:

- Former Past *-(h)kwe'* has a wide (but not unrestricted)
  distribution, as expected of a tense suffix
- Remote Past *-hne'* is much more restricted in its distribution
  and, I argue, does not convey tense.

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  distribution, as expected of a tense suffix
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  and, I argue, does not convey tense.

I will argue:

- the entailment with can be derived without directly encoding
  tense-like temporal anteriority

Syntactic distribution

While descriptions typically claim that the past suffixes are aspectually restricted, this does not capture the full picture.

- The Former Past *-(h)kwe'* occurs:
  - productively on Habitual aspect verbs
  - on a subset of verb roots in the Stative aspect
- The Remote Past *-hne'* is restricted
  - to a subset of verb roots in the Stative aspect

Where a verb root permits both suffixes, there are differences in interpretation   (see Appendix).

Here, I will focus on the verb roots **where the suffixes are in complementary distribution**.

Syntactic distribution

Where the Remote Past *-hne'* is impossible with the Stative aspect (b), the Former Past *-(h)kwe'* is used (c).

(21) a. Ieksà:'a teiakonniáhkwen.
          ieksa'a te-iako-nonniahkw-en
          child   DUPL-FI.P-dance-STAT
          'The child is/was dancing'

      b. *Ieksà:'a teiakononniahkwèn**:ne'**
          ieksa'a te-iako-nonniahkw-en-hne
          child   DUPL-FI.P-dance-STAT-REM.PST
          Intended: 'The child was dancing.'

      c. Ieksà:'a teiakononniahkwen**hkwe'**
          ieksa'a te-iako-nonniahkw-en-hkwe'
          child   DUPL-FI.P-dance-STAT-FOR.PST
          'The child was dancing.'

Syntactic distribution

Where the Remote Past *-hne'* is impossible with the Stative aspect
(b), the Former Past *-(h)kwe'* is used (c).

(22)   a.   rowennà:note'
               ro-wennahnot-e'
               MsgP-read-stat
               'He is/was reading.'

       b.   *rowennà:note**hne'**
               ro-wennahnot-e-hne'
               MsgP-read-stat-rem.pst
               Intended: 'He was reading.'

       c.   rowannahnóta**hkwe'**
               ro-wennahnot-a-hkwe'
               MsgP-read-stat-for.pst
               'He was reading.'

Remote Past *-hne'* distribution

Proposal

Remote Past forms are restricted to verbs whose event descriptions **do not encode an endpoint.**

Examples of such predicates include:

- number predicates
- temperature predicates
- evaluative predicates
- notionally permanent or difficult-to-change properties/results

Remote Past -*hne'* distribution

Proposal

Remote Past forms are restricted to verbs whose event descriptions **do not encode an endpoint.**

(23) **Number predicates**

áhsen	**nikontíhne'**	akohsá:tens
ahsen	ni-konti-hne	akohsatens
three	PRT-be.number-REM.PST	horse

   ronáhskwaientahkwe'

   ro-nahskwaient-a-hkwe'

   MSGP-have.horse-STAT-FOR.PST

'He had three horses.' (The number is different now).

Remote Past *-hne'* distribution

Proposal

Remote Past forms are restricted to verbs whose event descriptions **do not encode an endpoint.**

(24) **Temperature predicates**
lowistóhne   ken shiiohrhón'ke
io-wisto-hne   ken shi-io-hrhon'ke
N.P-be.cold.STAT-REM.PST Q   COIN-N.P-be.morning
'Was it cold (weather) this morning?' (It is not cold currently)

Remote Past *-hne'* distribution

Proposal

Remote Past forms are restricted to verbs whose event descriptions **do not encode an endpoint.**

(25) **Evaluative predicates**
É:so tsi   **iaontonnia'tòn:ne'**
eso   tsi   ia-ontonnia't-on-hne'
this   that   N.P-be.boring-STAT-REM.PST
'It was boring.' (but was now re-written to be less so, e.g.)

Remote Past *-hne'* distribution

Proposal

Remote Past forms are restricted to verbs whose event descriptions
do not encode an endpoint.

(25) **Notionally difficult-to-change properties/results**
     wakatiòn:ne   ne akehnhotónkwa.
     wak-ati-on-hne   ne ake-hnhotonkwa
     1SGP-lose-STAT-REM.PST NE 1SGP-keys
     'I lost my keys.' (and have found them now)

Towards a Formal Account

The main claim: (un)boundedness

(Right) unboundedness

The property I claim to underlie the distribution of the Remote Past *-hne'* is **right-unboundedness** defined in (26), following the temporal profile of statives proposed in Altshuler and Schwarzchild (2013) (see also Cable 2017).

(26) **An (untensed stative) verb describes a right-unbounded eventuality φ iff:**

    a. φ is true at a moment m,

    b. for any moment m'' such that $m < m''$, φ is true (right-unboundedness)

Unboundedness in embedded contexts

Independent support for right-unboundedness at play in
Kanien'kéha comes from the obligatory marking for back-shifting in
embedded contexts.

Unboundedness in embedded contexts

Independent support for right-unboundedness at play in Kanien'kéha comes from the obligatory marking for back-shifting in embedded contexts.

Generalization IV

Predicates marking anteriority with the Remote Past *-hne'* **require** it to be back-shifted in embedded contexts

Unboundedness in embedded contexts: -(h)kwe' optional

Generalization IV

Predicates marking anteriority with the Remote Past -hne' **require** it to be back-shifted in embedded contexts.

(27) **Context for backshifted interpretation:** *Katya didn't show up for a get-together last week. Willie told me yesterday why.*

Willie wahèn:ron'
Willie wa-ha-ihron-'
Willie FACT-MsGA-say-PUNC

   tiahia'khera tsi náhe Katya Aquatic Centre kiontá:wens(**kwe'**)
   tiahia'khera tsi náhe Katya Aquatic Centre t-ie-atawen-s-kwe'
   last.week   Katya   CIS-FI.A-swim-HAB-FOR.PAST
'Willie said that Katya was swimming at the Aquatic Centre last week.'

Unboundedness in embedded contexts: *-hne'* obligatory

Generalization IV

Predicates marking anteriority with the Remote Past *-hne'* **require** it to be back-shifted in embedded contexts.

(28) **Context for backshifted reading:** *I come into the room and it's very smoky. No one is currently smoking, but John told me why there's so much smoke in the air.*

Shawátis	wahèn:ron'	Kó:r	rotshokwèn#(:ne).
Shawatis	wa-ha-ihron-'	Kor	ro-atshokw-en-hne
John	FACT-MSGA-say-PUNC	Paul	MSGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PAST

'John said that Paul was smoking.'

Neutralizing tense contrasts

I illustrate how the cessation inferences are computed in each case, and account for the difference in strength of the inference as such:

- The inference is defeasible when alternative interpretations are not independently ruled out.
- The inference is non-defeasible if alternatives interpretations are independently ruled out (i.e., by right-unboundedness of the predicate).

Analytical Assumptions

To derive the cessation inferences, I will assume the following tense values, with the following interpretational possibilities:

- Non-future tense (choice of RT)
  $[\text{NFUT}] \Leftrightarrow \varnothing$, past presupposition: $t < t*$, *or*
  $[\text{NFUT}] \Leftrightarrow \varnothing$, present presupposition: $t = t*$

- Optional past tense
  $[\text{PST}] \Leftrightarrow$ *-(h)kwe'*, past presupposition: $t < t*$

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- Optional past tense
  $[\text{PST}] \Leftrightarrow$ *-(h)kwe'*, past presupposition: $t < t*$

I will abbreviate the key condition from lexical (un)boundedness as follows:

- bounded: $\forall m, P(e)(m)$
- unbounded: $\exists m'.m < m' \; P(e)(m)$ and $\neg P(e)(m')$

Neutralizing tense contrasts

To illustrate, first consider tenseless clauses. Specifically, consider the Event Time/Utterance Time relation (final column):

Lexical semantics	Aspect	Tense	On-going at UT
bounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t < t^*$	ceased *or* on-going
bounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t = t^*$	on-going
unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t < t^*$	**on-going**
unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t = t^*$	**on-going**

Regardless of the choice of RT, use of NFUT tense with unbounded predicates entails on-going at UT; i.e., neutralizes the effects of RT on on-goingness

Deriving cessation implicatures

Consider now *-(h)kwe'* marked forms. Assuming Former Past *-(h)kwe'* is PST tense.

Lexical semantics	Aspect	Tense	On-going at UT
bounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t < t^*$	ceased *or* on-going
bounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t = t^*$	on-going
bounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	PST: $t < t^*$	cessation inferred

① A knowledgable authority choosing PST conveys that the present reading of NFUT (line 2) is not assertable (cf. Cable 2017).
② The overlapping meaning w.r.t. on-goingness with the past reading of NFUT (line 1) is inferred to be false.

Deriving cessation entailments

With unbounded eventualities, use of a dedicated PST tense does not change the on-goingness entailment:

Lexical semantics	Aspect	Tense	On-going at UT
unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t < t^*$	**on-going**
unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	NFUT: $t = t^*$	**on-going**
unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	PST: $t < t^*$	**on-going**

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unbounded	$\tau(e) \subseteq t$	PST: $t < t^*$	**on-going**

What we want is to derive the following truth conditions:

① introduce a right-bound to obviate the on-goingness entailment

② ensure the absolute pastness of this right-bound

Terrance Gatchalian

Optional Past "Tenses" and cessation inferences in Kanien'kéha

Deriving cessation entailments

① Firstly, I propose the Remote Past *-hne* derives right-bounded
eventualities.

Deriving cessation entailments

① Firstly, I propose the Remote Past *-hne* derives right-bounded eventualities.

② To ensure the absolute pastness of this right-bound, there are two ways:

H1 allow for Remote Past *-hne* to also encode strict anteriority as a PST tense   (discont. past analysis)

H2 propose that the Remote Past *-hne* encodes anteriority in some other way (as a modal?)   (no discont. past analysis)

I leave spelling out and adjudicating between these options for future.

Conclusion

Take aways

Empirically

I introduced a novel observation regarding the Kanien'kéha past suffixes

- Former Past *-(h)kwe'* comes with a cessation implicature;
- Remote Past *-hne'* comes with a cessation entailment.

Analytically and Theoretically

I argued that

- The distribution of Kanien'kéha's Remote Past *-hne'* is restricted to right-bounded eventualities
- This distribution complicates a straightforward discontinuous past analysis

Thank you

Niawenhkó:wa to Mary Onwá:ri Tekahawáhkwen McDonald,
Akwiratékha' Martin, Konwaronhiá:wi Helen Norton, and Katerí
Deer for sharing their knowledge of Kanien'kéha with me.
Thanks to Luis Alonso-Ovalle, Jessica Coon, Chase Boles,
Tsowén:te Cross, Shona'tsó:wane Diabo, Sophia Flaim, Karin
Michelson, Katya Morgunova, Willie Myers, Wishe Mittelstadt,
Jonathan Palucci, Martin Renard, and the participants of the
Roti'nikonhrowá:nens group and the Syntax-Semantics/MULL
Reading Groups at McGill, the SSCircle at UC Berkeley, WCCFL
42, WSCLA 27, and reviewers for SALT 34 for comments on
various stages of this work.
contact: terrance.gatchalian@mail.mcgill.ca

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Distributional overlap and semantic differences

(29) a. Iowistóhne'
io-wisto-hne'
N.P-be.cold.STAT-REM.PST
'It was cold (weather).'
⇒ It is no longer cold.

b. Kewistóskwe'
ke-wisto-s-kwe'
1SGA-be.cold-HAB-FOR.PST
'I was cold.'
⇒ I am no longer cold.

(30) a. tkaieríhne'
t-ka-ieri-hne'
CIS-N.A-correct.STAT-REM.PST
'It was correct.'
⇒ It is no longer correct.

b. tkaiérihkwe'
t-ka-ieri-hkwe'
CIS-N.A-correct.STAT-FOR.PST
'It was correct.'
⇒ It is no longer correct.

Endpoint Actuality

(31) a. Wísk mínit enhahsa'   tsi   rotshókwen
            wisk minit en-ra-hs-a'   tsi   ro-atshokw-en
            five   minute FUT-MSGA-finish-PUNC that MSGP-smoke-STAT
            'In five minutes, he will finish smoking.'

      b. *wísk mínit enhotsokwèn:ne'
            wísk mínit en-ro-atsokwen-hne'
            five   minute FUT-MSGP-smoke-STAT-REM.PST
            Intended: 'In five minutes, he will finish smoking/have
            smoked.'