The repetitive prefix and argumentless presupposition in Kanien'kéha

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Background

The adverb 'again' has often been used to make claims about syntactic complexity and verbal semantics.

(Morgan 1969, McCawley 1976, von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004, Bale 2007, Smith and Yu 2021)

Under a structural analysis of 'again' as an event modifier, the range of presuppositions it triggers correlates with the range of adjunction sites in the syntax that denote properties of events.

Two possible readings with 'again'

(1) Declarative presupposition
   a. Co-text: Seymour's dryer broke. To fix it, he hit the dryer but it didn't turn on. So...
   b. [Seymour hit the dryer] again.

(2) Subjectless presupposition
   a. Co-text: Seymour's dryer broke. He called a repairwoman who simply hit the dryer until it started working. The dryer broke down two days later. So...
   b. Seymour [hit the dryer] again.   (Bale 2007, 464)

An impossible reading

(3) Objectless presupposition
    a.   Co-text: Seymour's dryer broke. He called a
           repairwoman who simply hit the dryer until it
           started working. Then, the washing machine
           broke. So. . .
    b.   #Seymour [hit] the washing machine again.

Past claims

The structural analysis has been used to support the claim
that *external* arguments are syntactically severed from the
verb but *internal* arguments are not.

(e.g., Kratzer 1996, Harley 2014)

(4)   Adjunction sites for a transitive verb
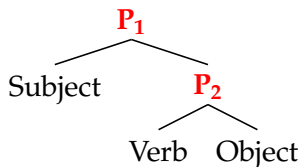
Repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha

Kanien'kéha (Northern Iroquoian) has two morphemes
which have traditionally been equated with 'again'.

- The obligatory prefix *s-*
- The optional adverb *á:re'*

(5)   Katá:wens.   (6)   **(Á:re')** **s**katá:wens.
       k-atawen-s   **are'**   **s**-k-atawen-s
       1sgA-swim-HAB   **again**   REP-1sgA-swim-HAB
       'I'm swimming.'   'I'm swimming again.'

Repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha

Like 'again', the repetitive form introduces a repetitive presupposition.

(7) Iah teske'serehtahní:nons.
     iah te-s-k-'sere-hta-hninon-s
     no NEG-**REP**-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-HAB
     'I am not buying a car again.'

  ✓ Context: I bought a car last year.
  ✗ Context: I've never bought a car before.

Repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha

In addition to the expected presuppositions of 'again', it also introduces a number of *unexpected* presuppositions, including **objectless presuppositions**.

(8)   Context: Yesterday, Paul went to his favorite restaurant. He didn't eat anything all day beforehand. At the restaurant...

    a.   É:ri   wà:rake'.
        eri   wa-ra-ek-'
        cherry FACT-MsgA-eat-PUNC
        He ate cherries.'

    b.   Sok kítkit   **s**aha'wà:rake'.
        sok kitkit   **s**-wa'-ra-'wahr-a-ek-'
        then chicken **REP**-FACT-MsgA-meat-JR-eat-PUNC
        'Then he ate chicken.'
        Literally: 'Then he meat-ate chicken again.'

The puzzle

- How are such presuppositions possible in Kanien'kéha?

- In particular, how do we get objectless presuppositions which are unattested in other languages?

- What cross-linguistic consequences does the existence of such presuppositions pose?

Main claims

- Despite apparent differences, Kanien'kéha presuppositions can be explained via the same structural analysis proposed for 'again'.

  (e.g., Dowty 1979; von Stechow 1996; Jäger and Blutner 2003; Beck and Johnson 2004, a.o.)

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- Kanien'kéha has a repetitive operator REP-Op which:
  - modifies a property of events, and
  - triggers a presupposition determined by its syntactic complement

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- Kanien'kéha has a repetitive operator REP-Op which:
  - modifies a property of events, and
  - triggers a presupposition determined by its syntactic complement

- The range of presuppositions available in Kanien'kéha indicates the range of possible adjunction sites for REP-Op.

Main consequences

- The existence of objectless presuppositions in Kanien'kéha suggests that there's an adjunction site between the verb and the object.

- This adjunction site must denote a property of events.

- How does this happen?

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- This adjunction site must denote a property of events.

- How does this happen?

 → **The internal argument is severed from the verb.**

Outline

1. **Background and proposal**

2. **Evidence for structural approach**

3. **Diagnosing syntactic complexity**

4. **Consequences**

5. **Conclusion**

Outline

Kanien'kéha (aka Mohawk)

HISTORIC AND CURRENT
HAUDENOSAUNEE TERRITORY

- spoken by ~600 people in Quebec, Ontario, and New York state (DeCaire 2023)
- majority of speakers are L1 Elders but growing number of fluent L2 speakers (Stacey 2016)
- polysynthetic with lots of verbal morphology
- Fieldwork since 2022 in collaboration with elders Mary McDonald, Katerí Deer, Konwaronhiá:wi Norton, and Warisó:se Bush
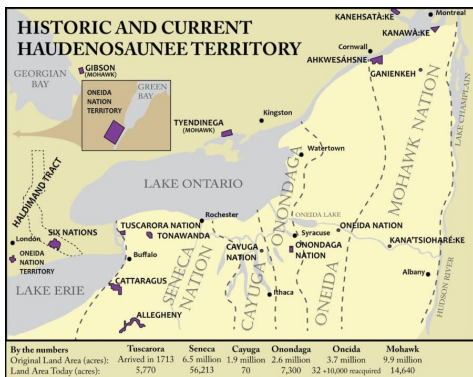
Two repetitive morphemes

① *á:re'* = free-standing 'adverb'
② *s-* = verbal prefix

(9)　**Á:re'** **s**katá:wens.
　　are'　**s**-k-atawen-s
　　again REP-1sgA-swim-HAB
　　'I'm swimming again.'

→ Both are translated as 'again' in grammars
(Bonvillain 1973, Michelson et al. 2011, Martin 2023)

Same meaning, different distribution

s- can occur without *á:re'* but *á:re'* cannot occur without *s-*

(10)   **(Á:re')** *(**s**)akatáwen'.
         are'   s-wa'-k-atawen-'
         again   REP-FACT-1sgA-swim-PUNC
         'I swam again.'

→ Co-occurrence doesn't force a double 'again' reading.

What is the syntax of the repetitive?

Proposal:

- *á:re'* is overt realization of a repetitive operator

- *s-* is a semantically vacuous concord marker

- The concord marker establishes a syntactic dependency with the operator

- Result: the prefix is realized any time the operator is present in a clause

  (11)   [REP-Operator [REP-Prefix [I swam]]]
              └── *á:re'*   *s-* ──┘

  (in the spirit of Lee 2005, Quek and Hirsch 2017, and Sun 2021 on, e.g., 'only' doubling)

Realizing the operator

In line with operator-particle analyses in other languages, the operator can also be null.

(12)   **S**akatáwen'.
        s-wa'-k-atáwen-'
        REP-FACT-1sgA-swim-PUNC
        'I swam again.'

What is the operator's semantic contribution?

As we saw in (7), it introduces a **repetitive** presupposition.

(7')   Iah te**s**ke'serehtahní:nons.
         iah te-s-k-'sere-hta-hninon-s
         no NEG-**REP**-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-HAB
         'I am not buying a car again.'

     ✓   Context: I bought a car last year.
     ✗   Context: I've never bought a car before.

Presupposition

The speaker has bought a car before

Not an additive presupposition

Crucially, the presuppositions are repetitive, not additive.

(13)   Context: John is doing kickboxing with a punching bag.

    a.   Netontiétenhte' ká:iare' wahakòn:reke'.
        netontietenhte' kaiare' wa-ra-konrek-'
        at.first   bag   FACT-MsgA-punch-PUNC
        'First, he punched the bag.'

    b.   #Sok ká:iare' **s**aharahséntho'.
        sok kaiare' **s**-wa'-ra-rahsentho-'
        then bag   **REP**-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC
        Cannot mean: 'Then he kicked the bag.'

→ *In contrast to language like Chinese and Korean which possess*
  adverbs that give rise to both repetitive and additive presuppositions

Semantics of Kanien'kéha repetitive operator

Proposal:

- Kanien'kéha's REP-Op shares the same semantics as (repetitive) 'again'.

  (14) $[\![\text{REP-Op}]\!]P(e)$ is defined iff $\exists e^1 [e^1 \prec e \,\&\, P(e^1)]$.
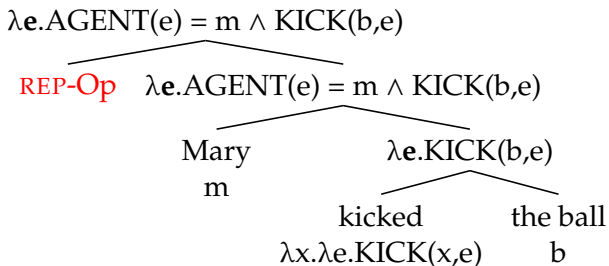   When defined, $[\![\text{REP-Op}]\!]P(e) = P(e)$.

  (von Stechow 1996, Jäger and Blutner 2003, Beck and Johnson 2004, Bale 2007, and many others)

- Presuppositional scope from syntactic structure:

  - REP-Op can adjoin at any level of the derivation that denotes a set of events.

  - The resulting presupposition is determined by the content of the operator's syntactic complement.

Structural analysis of repetitive

(15)   Deriving a declarative presupposition

$\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{AGENT}(e) = m \wedge \text{KICK}(b,e)$

REP-Op $\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{AGENT}(e) = m \wedge \text{KICK}(b,e)$

Mary $\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{KICK}(b,e)$
m

kicked   the ball
$\lambda x.\lambda e.\text{KICK}(x,e)$ b

→ Presupposes that an event of [Mary kicking the ball] happened before.

Outline

Evidence for syntax-sensitivity

Claim: Presuppositions introduced by REP-Op are sensitive to the syntax. Specifically, the content of REP-Op's presupposition is determined by its syntactic complement.

Evidence:

1 Scope effects with *á:re'* and adjuncts

2 Scope effects with overt vs. null *á:re'*

Scope effects with adverbial adjuncts in English

The adverbial adjunct is part of the presupposition only if it's contained in the complement of *again*.

(16)   Co-text: Two weeks ago, I met Esme on a Wednesday. At that time, we planned to meet the following week. So. . .

      a.   I met her again on a Tuesday.
         Syntax: . . . [[[met her] again] on a Tuesday]

      b.   #I met her on a Tuesday again.
         Syntax: . . . [[met her on a Tuesday] again]]

Scope effects with adverbial adjuncts in Kanien'kéha

(17) Context: Mary is a basket maker. She makes one basket each day.
      Yesterday she made a basket in the morning. Today...

 Á:re' [iotohétston néntie saion'therón:ni'].
 are'   iotohetston nentie s-wa'-ie-a'ther-onni-'
 again in.the.afternoon   REP-FACT-FI.A-basket-make-PUNC

   a.   ✘ '[She made a basket] again in the afternoon .'
   b.   ✓ '[She made a basket in the afternoon] again.'

  → If the adjunct comes after *á:re'*, it must be in the presupposition.

Scope effects with adverbial adjuncts in Kanien'kéha

(18)   Context: Mary is a basket maker. She makes one basket each day.
       Yesterday she made a basket in the morning. Today...

   Iotohétston néntie **á:re'** [saion'therón:ni'].
   iotohetston nentie are'   s-wa'-ie-a'ther-onni-'
   in.the.afternoon   again REP-FACT-FI.A-basket-make-PUNC

   a.   ✓ '[She made a basket] again in the afternoon .'
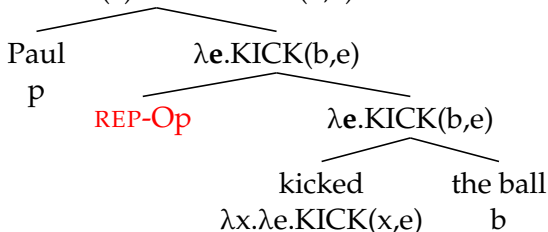   b.   ✗ '[She made a basket in the afternoon] again.'

   → If the adjunct comes before *á:re'*, it must not be in the presupposition.

á:re′ and subjectless presuppositions

To look at scope effects with the realization of á:re′, we turn to subjectless presuppositions.

(19)   Subjectless presupposition
        $\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{AGENT}(e) = m \wedge \text{KICK}(b,e)$

Paul $\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{KICK}(b,e)$
p
        REP-Op $\lambda \mathbf{e}.\text{KICK}(b,e)$

                    kicked   the ball
                    $\lambda x.\lambda e.\text{KICK}(x,e)$ b

→ Presupposes that an event of [kicking the ball] happened before.

Overt *á:re* forces declarative presuppositions

(20)   Context: Mary kicked the ball. Then...

    a.   #**Á:re'** Kó:r saharashéntho'.
           are'   Kó:r s-wa'-ra-rashéntho-'.
           again Paul REP-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC
           Cannot mean: 'Paul [kicked it] again.'
           Can only mean: 'Again [Paul kicked it].'

    b.   #Kó:r **á:re'** saharashéntho'.
           Kór are' s-wa'-ra-rashéntho-'.
           Paul again REP-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC
           Cannot mean: 'Paul [kicked it] again.'
           Can only mean: 'Again [Paul kicked it].'

Lower scope requires null *á:re'*

(21)   Context: Mary kicked the ball. Then. . .

       Kó:r saharashéntho'.
       Kór s-wa'-ra-rashéntho-'.
       Paul REP-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC

       'Paul [kicked it] again.'

Lower scope requires null *á:re'*

(21)   Context: Mary kicked the ball. Then...

        Kó:r saharashéntho'.
        Kór s-wa'-ra-rashéntho-'.
        Paul REP-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC

        'Paul [kicked it] again.'

→ REP-Op is overtly realized when it's outside the verb phrase, but null when it's inside the verb phrase.

   (Mirrors distinction between left- and right- adjoining 'again')

Outline

Diagnosing syntactic complexity

Examining the range of repetitive presuppositions available in Kanien'kéha lets us see which adjunction sites are possible.

This in turn sheds light on the argument structure and semantics of the Kanien'kéha verb.

What we've seen so far

- Declarative presuppositions (P_1)
- Subjectless presuppositions (P_2) (specifically w/ non-stative transitive verbs)

(22)   Adjunction sites for a transitive verb

$$P_1$$

Subject P_2

Verb   Object
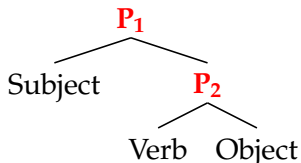
→ *Good in both English* and Kanien'kéha.*

What about other contexts?

In English, some subjectless presuppositions and all
objectless presuppositions are infelicitous (Bale 2007).

(23)   a.   Mary kicked the ball.
           John kicked the ball again.   (most transitives ✓)

      b.   Mary read the article.
           #John read the article again.   (some transitives ✗)

      c.   Mary loved ice cream.
           #John loved ice cream again.   (stative transitives ✗)

      d.   Mary swam.
           #John swam again.   (intransitives ✗)

What we're going to see

All of these presuppositions are perfectly fine in Kanien'kéha.

(24)   Comparing repetitive presuppositions

Presupposition	English	Kanien'kéha
Subjectless Non-stative	✓/✗	✓
Subjectless Stative	✗	✓
Subjectless Intransitive	✗	✓
Objectless	✗	✓

Non-stative transitive verbs in Kanien'kéha

(25) Context: Terrance and Katya both want to read the same copy of National Geographic magazine so they take turns borrowing it.

    a. Terrance wahawennahnó:ton'   NatGeo.
        Terrance wa-ra-wennahnot-on'   NatGeo
        Terrance FACT-MsgA-read-PUNC NatGeo
        'Terrance read the NatGeo.'

    b. Sok Katya **s**aiewennahnó:ton'   NatGeo.
        sok Katya **s**-wa'-ie-wennahnot-on'   NatGeo
        then Katya **REP**-FACT-FI.A-read-PUNC NatGeo
        'Then Katya [read the NatGeo].'
        Literally: 'Then Katya [read the NatGeo] again.'

Stative transitive verbs in Kanien'kéha

(26)   Context: John was married to Mary but then they
        broke up. He started dating Helen.

    a.   Mary ronorónhkhwahkwe' ne John.
           Mary ro-noronhkhwa-hkwe' ne John
           Mary FZsg>Msg-love-F.PST   NE John
           'Mary loved John.'

    b.   Tánon' Helen **s**ahonó:ronhkwe'.
           tánon' Helen **s**-wa'-ro-noronhkhwa-hkwe'
           and   Helen **REP**-FACT-FZsg>Msg-love-R.PST
           'And Helen [loved him].'
           Literally: 'And Helen [loved him] again.'

Intransitive verbs in Kanien'kéha

(27) Context: John and Paul were friends for 50 years.
Last week...

    a. ewatís wahrénheie'.
       Sewatís wa'-r-rénhe-e'.
       John FACT-MsgA-die-PUNCH
       'John died.'

    b. Sok Kó:r **s**ahrénheie'.
       Sok Kó:r s-wa'-r-rénhe-e'.
       then Paul **REP**-FACT-MsgA-die-PUNC
       'Then Paul [died].'
       Literally: 'Then Paul [died] again'

Objectless presuppositions in Kanien'kéha

(28)   Context: You went to an all-you-can-eat buffet so you
        fasted all day beforehand. At the buffet. . .

   a.   É:ri   wà:keke'.
         eri   wa'-k-ek-'.
         cherry FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
         'I ate cherries.'

   b.   Sok o'wà:ron **s**á:keke'.
         sok o'wahron **s**-wa'-k-ek-'.
         then meat   **REP**-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
         'Then I [ate] meat.'
         Lit: 'Then I [ate] meat again.'

Verb-only presuppositions

(29)   Rón:kwe wahiiaterennaién:hahse'.
        ronkwe   wa-ri-ate-renn-a-ien-hahs-'
        man   FACT-1sg>3sg-SRFL-song-JR-place-BEN-PUNC
        'I [prayed for] the man.'

(30)   Sok è:rhar **s**ahsaterennaién:hahse'.
        sok   ehrhar **s**-wa'-hs-ate-renn-a-ien-hahs-'
        then dog   **REP**-FACT-2sg-SRFL-song-JR-place-BEN-PUNC
        'Then, you [prayed for] the dog.'
        Literally: 'Then, you [prayed for] the dog again.'

Noun incorporation has no effect

(31) Context: You, me and Jen all went on a shopping spree.

    a. Wahshanishonhshawi'tsherahní:non'.
        wa-hsh-anishonhshawi-'tshera-hninon-'
        FACT-2sgA-ring-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
        'You bought a ring.'

    b. Sok saiehna'ta'tsherahní:non'.
        sok **s**-wa'-ie-hna'ta-hshera-hninon-'
        then **REP**-FACT-FI.A-purse-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
        'Then she [bought] a purse.'
        Literally: 'Then, she [bought] a purse again.'

    c. Sok sakhiatonhsherahní:non'.
        sok **s**-wa'-k-hiaton-hshera-hninon-'
        then **REP**-FACT-1sgA-book-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
        'Then I [bought] a book.'
        Literally: 'Then, I [bought] a book again.'

Empirical review

(32)   Available repetitive readings & their syntactic content

Reading	Declarative	Subjectless	Objectless
Content	[S V O]	[V O]	[V]

- Kanien'kéha has a wider array of presuppositions compared to many documented languages.

- Even with common presuppositions, it has fewer stipulations.

- To my knowledge, objectless repetitive presuppositions have not been documented in any other language.
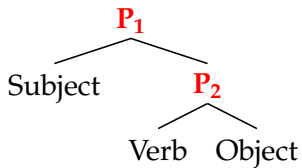
Outline

Accounting for subjectless presuppositions

External arguments are syntactically severed from the verb.

(Kratzer 1996, *a.o.*)
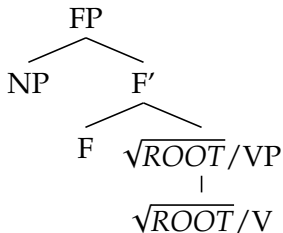
(33)   Adjunction sites for a transitive verb

Accounting for objectless presuppositions

Internal arguments are ALSO severed from the verb.

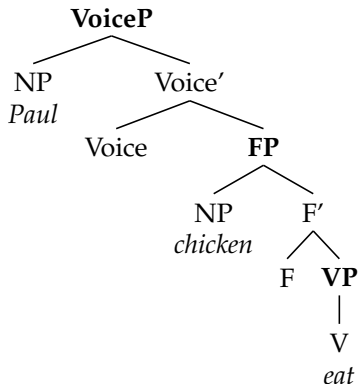(Schein 1993, Champollion 2010, Lohndal 2012)

(34) a. Semantics of the verb/root
          $\llbracket EAT \rrbracket = \lambda e EAT(e)$

      b. Introducing arguments

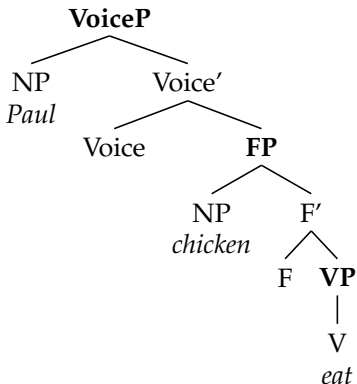# Putting it together

(35)   REP adjunction sites

VoiceP
- NP *Paul*
- Voice′
  - Voice
  - **FP**
    - NP *chicken*
    - F′
      - F
      - **VP**
        - V *eat*

- **VoiceP:** an event of [Paul eating chicken] happened before

Putting it together

(35)   REP adjunction sites

```
                    VoiceP
                   /      \
                 NP       Voice'
                Paul      /    \
                      Voice     FP
                               /  \
                             NP     F'
                           chicken  / \
                                   F   VP
                                       |
                                       V
                                      eat
```

- **VoiceP:** an event of [Paul eating chicken] happened before

- **FP:** an event of [eating chicken] happened before

Putting it together

(35)   REP adjunction sites

VoiceP
- NP
  - *Paul*
- Voice′
  - Voice
  - **FP**
    - NP
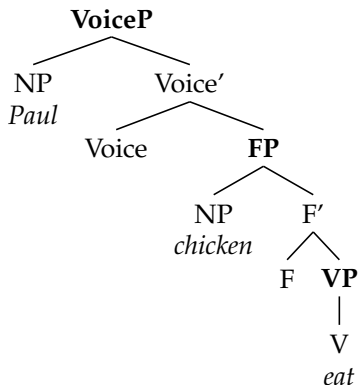   - *chicken*
    - F′
      - F
      - **VP**
        - V
          - *eat*

- **VoiceP:** an event of [Paul eating chicken] happened before

- **FP:** an event of [eating chicken] happened before

- **VP:** an event of [eating happened] before

Extension: restitutive readings

(36)   Context: Paul found a toy on the ground but I took it
from him.

Sok   tontahí:ion'.
Sok   tont-wa'-hi-on-'.
then **REP**.CIS-FACT-1sg>Msg-give.to.use-PUNC
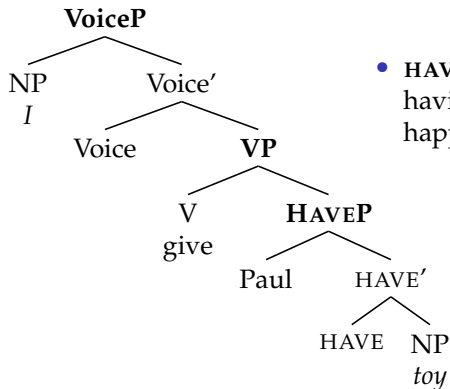
'Then I gave it back to him.'
(i.e. 'Then I gave it to him and as a result, he has it again')

Accounting for restitutive readings

Result states are also severed from the verb.

(e.g., von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2005)

(37)

```
              VoiceP
             /      \
          NP        Voice'
          I        /     \
              Voice        VP
                          /  \
                         V    HaveP
                       give   /    \
                           Paul    Have'
                                   /    \
                                HAVE    NP
                                        toy
```

- **HaveP:** an event of [Paul having the toy] happened before

Outline

Summary

- Kanien'kéha has two morphemes associated with event repetition: REP-Op and concord marker.

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- This operator induces a uniquely wide array of presuppositions including *objectless* presuppositions.

- Despite this, Kanien'kéha event repetition can be explained under the standard structural analysis of repetitive adverbs like 'again'.

   → One tweak needed: sever the internal argument.

→ The resulting presuppositions are exactly what we'd expect within a neo-Davidsonian framework where all arguments are added after the verb.

Cross-linguistic implications

- Do other languages have objectless presuppositions?
  Or…why only Kanien'kéha?

- How do we account for this variation?
  - Different argument structures, same modifier
  - Same arg structure, different restrictions on modifier

- More evidence that the root can be modified directly

  (e.g., Pylkkänen 2008 on partway, Ahn 2022 on out-)

- More support from under-studied languages for
  severing the internal argument

  (e.g., severing the internal argument in Eskimo-Aleut (Basilico 2019) and Mam (Elkins et al 2024))

Niawenhkó:wa!

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- Warisó:se Bush
- Katerí Deer
- Konwaronhiá:wi Helen Norton
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Appendix 1: status of object

Covert pronouns in Kanien'kéha require an antecedent.

(38)   Wà:keke'.
        wa'-k-ek-'.
        FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
        ✓ 'I ate it.'
        ✗ 'I ate something.'

Appendix 1: status of object

Covert pronouns in Kanien'kéha require an antecedent.

(39)   a.   É:ri   wà:keke'.
            eri   wa'-k-ek-'.
            cherry FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
            'I ate cherries.'
       b.   Sok **s**á:keke'.
            sok **s**-wa'-k-ek-'.
            then **REP**-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
            'Then I ate them again.'
            Cannot mean: 'Then I ate something.'
       c.   Sok **othé:nen**   **s**á:keke'.
            sok othenen   **s**-wa'-k-ek-'.
            then **something REP**-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
            'Then I ate something.'

Appendix 1: status of object

Objectless presuppositions can occur even with definite objects.

(40) a. Ne ki' karét énhseke'.
          ne ki' karet en-hs-ek-'
          NE this cake FUT-2sgA-eat-PUNC
          'You'll eat this cake.'

      b. Tánon' ne **thi'** karét énskeke'.
          tanon' ne **thi'** karet en-s-k-ek-'
          and   NE **that** cake FUT-REP-1sgA-eat-PUNC
          'And I'll eat **that** cake.'
          Literally: 'I'll [eat] that cake again.'

Appendix 2: focus

Focus has no effect on disambiguating presuppositions.

(41)   Context: John and Paul are practicing kickboxing with a
        punching bag. John hit the bag.

    a.   Sok thí:ken **ónhka** sahakòn:reke'?
             sok thiken onhka s-wa'-konhrek-'
             then that who REP-FACT-hit-PUNC
             'Then, **WHO** hit it again?'

    b.   Sok **Kó:r** sahakòn:reke'   ne ká:iare'.
             sok Kor s-wa'-ra-konhrek-'   ne kaiare'
             then Paul REP-FACT-MsgA-punch-PUNC NE bag
             'Then **PAUL** [hit the bag] again.'   (Subject focus)

Appendix 2: focus

(42) a.   Context: Then **what** did Paul hit?
          Sok thí:ken **ká:iare'** **s**ahakòn:reke'   ne Paul.
          sok thiken kaiare' s-wa'-konhrek-'   ne Paul
          then that   bag   REP-FACT-hit-PUNC NE Paul
          'Then Paul [hit **THE BAG**] again.   (Object focus)

     b.   Context: Then **what** did Paul **do** to the bag?
          Sok **s**ahakòn:reke'   ne ká:iare ne Paul'.
          sok s-wa'-konhrek-'   ne kaiare' ne Paul
          then REP-FACT-hit-PUNC NE bag   NE Paul
          'Then Paul [**HIT** the bag] again.   (Predicate focus)

⟶ Unlike role of focus in disambiguating repetitive/restitutive readings in Kutchi Gujurati (Patel-Grosz
     and Beck 2019) and repetitive/additive readings in Mandarin and Korean (Xu 2014, Lee 2005)

Appendix 3: Other potential operator-particle constructions

(43) a. Iah tekatá:wens.
          iah te-k-atawen-s
          no NEG-1sgA-swim-HAB
          'I don't swim.'   (Negating)

      b. Áhsen nikanónhsake.
          ahsen ni-ka-nonhs-a-ke
          three PART-N.A-house-JR-be.certain.amount
          '(there are) three houses'   (Quantifying)

      c. Tho ia'katá:wen'.
          Tho i-wa'-k-atawen-'
          there TRANS-FACT-1sgA-swim-PUNC
          'I swam there.'   (Directions/locations)