

Habits in the past, present, and Future(-Punctual)

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Terrance Gatchalian

McGill University

Speaking of habits...

- As you may have noticed, Kanien'kéha has two ways to talk about **past habits**, by which I mean those events that occur with **some regularity** in the **past**

Speaking of habits...

On one hand, the HABITUAL ASPECT is used (with or without the Former Past):

- (1) Tsi nón:we shens iakwen'terón:tahkwe iakotkwiratshénrion ne **ióntstha** shens aienonhkwatsherón:ni.
*'Where we used to live, we found a tree which which **she would use** to make medicine.'*

On the other, in some cases, the FUTURE-PUNCTUAL can be used.

- (2) Kwah é:neken **nenieié:ra'te** tsi **enie'nikónhewe'**
*'She **would scrape** upwards and **would get the bark.**'*

(Old Kahnawà:ke: 2)

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Speaking of habits...

The question: **why does the Future get used here?**

Today, I'll show you:

- more specifically **when** the Future/Optative get used to describe habits
- when the Future/Optative **cannot** be used
- some contexts that illustrate the **slight meaning** difference

Overall, this gives us a better idea of what the Future/Optative (and Habitual) "really mean" in Kanien'kéha (setting the English translations aside).

Futures and Optatives in the past

Point ①: Optative-Punctual (and Future-Punctual) get used in contexts where the **habit haven't really happened** ("counterfactual")

- (3) Toká' aonkhwistaiéntake' akhní:non' ne ohsokwákeri
iehnekonnià:tha', thia'tewenhniserá:ke **akhnekì:ra'**

*'If I would have had money to buy a nice coffee machine, I **would drink coffee** everyday.'*

↪ I don't have money to buy a nice coffee machine, so I (currently) don't drink coffee everyday — but I would if I could!

Futures and Optatives in the past

Point ②: The Habitual **cannot be used** in contexts where the **habit haven't really happened** ("counterfactual")

- (4) ✗ Toká' aonkhwistaiéntake' akhní:non' ne ohsokwákeri
iehnekonnià:tha', thia'tewenhniserá:ke **khnekì:rha**

Intended: *'If I would have had money to buy a nice coffee machine, I would drink coffee everyday.'*

Futures and Optatives in the past

Point ③: The Habitual *and* the Future can be used when describing **real (past) habits**

- (5) a. Áhsen niwáhsen niiohserá:ke tsi náhe, kà:ron shes tsi ní:kon
tká:ra's **ronterò:roks** ne ratiksa'okòn:'a.
- b. Áhsen niwáhsen niiohserá:ke tsi náhe, kà:ron shes tsi ní:kon
tká:ra's **enhonterò:roke'** ne ratiksa'okòn:'a.

'Thirty years ago, children would watch less TV.'

Interim summary

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	<i>real habit</i>	<i>counterfactual</i>
HABITUAL	✓	✗
FUT/OPT	✓	✓

⇒ So whats the difference between Habitual and Future/Optative in *real habit* contexts?

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⇒ So what's the difference between Habitual and Future/Optative in *real habit* contexts?

Habitual correlations

Point ④: The events described by Future-Punctual verbs is correlated to other events we've discussed (i.e., the context)

- (6) **Context:** *Kor is a beach-comber and likes to look for stuff in the sands. He's quite good at it: He is always finding money on the beach (Tiótkon enhahwistatshénri' ne atsà:kta ne Kó:r.)*

Tsi ní:kon ki' enhahwistatshénri', ice cream **enhahninòn:ra'**.

'Every time he finds money, he would go to buy ice cream.'

Habitual correlations

Point ⑤: Using a Habitual verb in these “correlation” contexts gives a **disjointed feel**

(7) ✗ Tsi ní:kon ki' enhahwistatshénri', ice cream **rahninòn:re's**.

Intended: *'Every time he finds money, he would go to buy ice cream.'*

Habitual correlations

Conversely, using a Future where you're just describing different habits **links them together tightly**.

(8) **Context:** *Oh niiontiérhahkwe' shes sa'nisténha shiseksà:'a?* 'What did you mother do when you were a child?'

a. istèn:'en shes tewà:ia iontena'tarón:niskwe tánon'
iontawenskwe'.

'My mother used to bake pies and she used to swim.'

b. ?? istèn:'en shes tewà:ia iontena'tarón:niskwe tánon'
eniontá:wen'.

↪ If you saw her making pies, you knew she was going to go swimming after.

Future means “this is definitely coming”

How do we think about these set of examples?

Future (usually) means something like: this event is definitely coming in the future. But you can really only making predictions like this truthfully if you have **reasons to believe this with certainty**.

(9) **eniokén:nore'** 'it will rain'



In this sense, it's really telling you something about *now*: the way things are now, it is likely that *raining* will happen.

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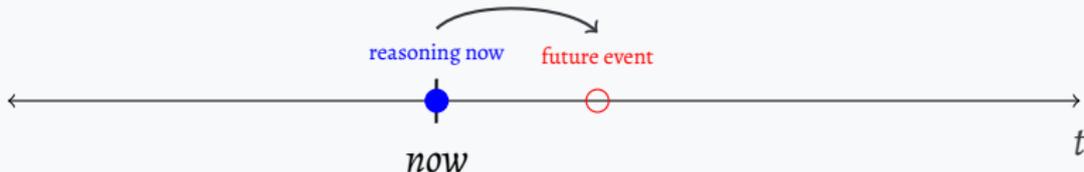
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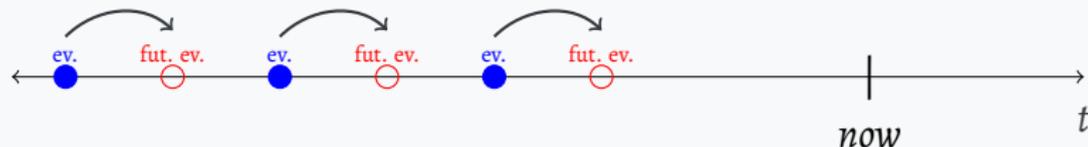
Future means “this is definitely coming”

In past contexts, we need some description of that makes an event “certain to occur”.

This raises the importance of **context**. Look at (10) again.

(10) Tsi ní:kon ki' enhahwistatshénri', ice cream **enhahninòn:ra'**

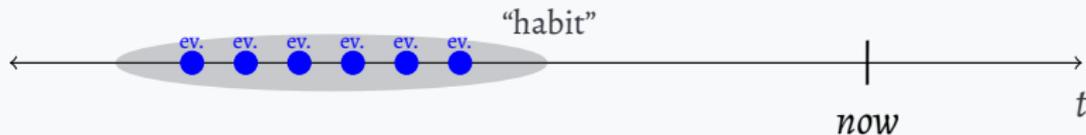
Whenever **money-finding** happens, **ice-cream-buying** is “certain to occur”.



Habitual means “this event occurs regularly”

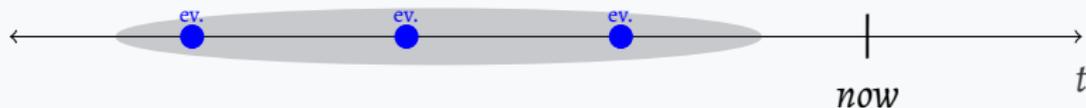
In contrast, Habitual forms require the event to be **already occurring regularly**.

- (11) Shikekhsá'a **katá:wens**(kwe').
'When I was a child, I used to swim.'



Putting it all together

- (12) Wahón:nise akhsótha shens **ienonhkwatsherón:nis**.
 ‘Long ago, my grandmother *used to make medicine.*’

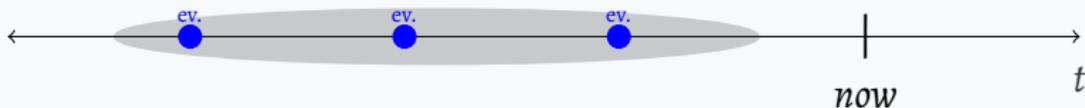


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