

Long-distance NPI licensing in Kanien'kéha

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Main puzzle

- Kanien'kéha (aka Mohawk < Northern Iroquoian) distinguishes between two types of complement clauses:
 - Optative clauses
 - *tsi*-clauses
- The two clauses are different with respect to licensing of the NPI *thé:nen* 'anything'.

- (1) a. NEG ... [Optative clause ✓ *thé:nen* ...]
b. NEG ... [*tsi*-clause ✗ *thé:nen* ...]

- I label this phenomenon as Long-Distance NPI licensing (LD-NPI for short).

LD-NPI in other languages

- Across the literature, the availability of LD-NPI has been linked to a variety of factors
 - tense (Grano, 2015; Progovac, 1993; Todorović & Wurmbrand, 2020)
 - control (Grano, 2015; Landau, 2004),
 - mood (Montero et al., To appear)
 - semantics of the embedded verb (Homer, 2008, 2010)
- The choice between different accounts becomes even harder when we consider that in many cases multiple of these parameters co-occur.

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This talk

- ① I show that in Kanien'kéha, the availability of LD-NPI is not linked to
 - control
 - tense

⇒ these data then inform us on the cross-linguistic patterns of LD-NPI
- ② I sketch a possible alternative for accounting for the LD-NPI contrast which links it to *mood* of the embedded clause.

This talk

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⇒ these data then inform us on the cross-linguistic patterns of LD-NPI
- ② I sketch a possible alternative for accounting for the LD-NPI contrast which links it to *mood* of the embedded clause.

Language information

- Kanien'kéha is a Northern Iroquoian language
- Spoken in upstate New York, southern Quebec and southern Ontario.
- 562 L1 speakers, 77 advanced L2 speakers (DeCaire, 2023)
 - growing population of intermediate L2 speakers (> 1000 people)



Complement clauses in Kanien'kéha

- Optative clauses are characterized by:
 - the Optative marker on the verb
 - the optional presence of the particle *ne*

(2) Shawatis wa'-shako-hrori
 Shawatis FACT-MSG>FI-tell.PUNC

[ne Onwari kahiatonhsera **a**-ie-wennahnoton].
 NE Onwa:ri book **OPT**-FI.A-read.PUNC

‘Shawatis told Onwa:ri **to read a book.**’

Complement clauses in Kanien'kéha

- *tsi*-clauses are characterized by:
 - the presence of the optional complementizer *tsi*
 - non-Optative marking on the verb

- (3) Shawatis wa'-shako-hrori ne Onwari
 Shawatis FACT-MSG>FI-tell.PUNC NE Onwa:ri
- [**tsi** kahiatonhsera wa'-ra-wennahnoton].
 COMP book FACT-MSGA-read.PUNC
- 'Shawatis told Onwa:ri **that he read a book.**'

Complement clauses in Kanien'kéha

- Both complements inflect for agreement and aspect.
- Distributionally, there are parallels between
 - *tsi*-clauses and Indo-European **indicative** mood complements
 - Optative clauses and Indo-European **subjunctive** mood complements

- (4) Shawatis **ro-aterienhtar-e'**
Shawatis **MSGP-know-STAT**

[**tsi** Kor shako-nonw-e's ne Onwari].
COMP Kó:r MSG>FI-like-HAB NE Onwa:ri

‘Shawatis knows that Kó:r likes Onwá:ri.’

- (5) **te-wak-atonhontsoni**
DUP-1SGP-want.STAT

[Kor ohso'kwakeri **a-ra-hnek-onni-**'].
Ko:r coffee **OPT-MSGA-liquid-make-PUNC**

‘I want Ko:r to make coffee.’

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Ko:r coffee **OPT**-MSGA-liquid-make-PUNC

‘I want Ko:r to make coffee.’

Particle *thé:nen* is a weak NPI

- The particle *thé:nen* ‘anything’ cannot appear in a positive declarative sentence:

(8) *thenen ro-hiaton.
 anything MSGP-write.STAT
 Intended: ‘He wrote something down’

Particle *thé:nen* is a weak NPI

- However, when the sentence is negated, *thé:nen* is grammatical:

(9) **iah** thenen **te-ro-hiaton**.
NEG anything **NEG**-MSGP-write.STAT
'He didn't write anything down.'

Particle *thé:nen* is a weak NPI

- It is also possible in questions, and antecedents of conditionals, which commonly license weak NPIs.

(10) thenen **ken** iako-tkaht-on?
 anything **Q** FZSG>FI-see-STAT
 ‘Did she see anything?’

(11) **toka'** thenen en-hs-atkahth-o'
if anything FUT-2SGA-see-PUNC

 ia'-sh-eiatewennatahs ne karihton
 TRANS-2SGA-telephone.IMP NE police
 ‘If you see anything, call the police.’

LD-NPI in Kanien'kéha

- Optative and *tsi*-clauses consistently differ with respect to LD-NPI.
- In Optative clauses, *thé:nen* can be licensed by the matrix negation.

(12) Shawatis **iah** **te**-shako-hrori Onwari
 Shawatis **NEG** **NEG**-MSG>FI-tell.STAT Onwa:ri

[ne **thenen** a-ie-wennahnoton].

NE **anything** OPT-FI.A-read.PUNC

‘Shawatis didn’t tell Onwa:ri to read anything.’

LD-NPI in Kanien'kéha

- In *tsi*-clauses, this is impossible:

- (13) Shawatis **iah** **te**-shako-hrori Onwari
 Shawatis **NEG NEG**-MSG>FI-tell.PUNC Onwa:ri
- [tsi (??**thenen**) wa'-ra-wennahnoton].
 COMP **anything** FACT-MSGA-read.PUNC
 'Shawatis didn't tell Onwa:ri that he read it / *anything.'

LD-NPI in Kanien'kéha

- Optative complements do not licence NPIs on their own:

(14) i-k-ehre [ne (***thenen**) a-ke-wennenhnot-on].
 EP-1SGA-want NE **anything** OPT-1SGA-read-PUNC
 'I want to read (*anything).'

- Given that, the LD-NPI asymmetry must stem from some independent properties of the Optative and *tsi*-complements.

LD-NPI in a typological context

- LD-NPI tends to be **allowed** in clauses which are structurally **dependent**, which is reflected in
 - their control properties
 - their temporal properties
- LD-NPI tends to be **disallowed** in clauses which are structurally **independent**.

LD-NPI and control

- In some languages, the availability of LD-NPI correlates with exhaustive control.
- In Italian, infinitive complements to exhaustive control predicates allow for LD-NPI (15).

(15) Gianni **non** può [dar=gli **niente**].
 Gianni **NEG** can give.ING=he.CL **anything**.
 'Gianni cannot give him anything.'

- Infinitive complements to partial control predicates do not (16).

(16) [?] Gianni **non** detesta [di aver=gli dato **niente**].
 Gianni **NEG** detest to have.INF=he.CL given anything
 'Gianni doesn't detest to having given him anything.'

(Grano, 2015, p. 23–24)

LD-NPI and control

- Grano (2015): exhaustive control constructions are monoclausal
- LD-NPI in exhaustive control constructions is allowed as the NPI is in the same clausal domain with the matrix licenser



- Partial control constructions are biclausal; the NPI cannot be licensed locally.



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LD-NPI and tense

- LD-NPI also often contrasts the subjunctive and indicative complements.
- For example, Landau (2004) shows that in Hebrew, subjunctive, but not indicative complements allow for LD-NPI.

(21) **Lo** darašti me-Gil₁
 not demanded.1SG from-Gil

[šə-*pro*₁ yedaber im **af exad**].
 that-*pro* will-speak-3SG.M with **anybody**

‘I didn’t demand of Gil that he speak to anybody.’ Subjunctive

(22) ***Lo** he’emanti [šə-Gil yedaber im **af exad**].
 not believed.1SG that-Gil will-speak.3SG.M with **anybody**

Intended: ‘I didn’t believe that Gil would speak to anybody.’

Indicative

LD-NPI and tense

- Cross-linguistically, subjunctive clauses are temporally restricted: the embedded event must occur at the same time or in the future of the matrix event.
- LD-NPI is allowed because the subjunctive clause does not form a separate clausal domain due to
 - the presence a 'dependent' or 'deficient' T head (Landau, 2004; Milićević, 2008; Progovac, 1993; Todorović & Wurmbrand, 2020)
 - the absence of T (Grano, 2015)

LD-NPI and tense

(23) a. [... NEG [Subjunctive [TP T_{dependent} [V NPI]]]]



b. [... NEG [Subjunctive [V NPI]]]



(24) [... NEG [Indicative [TP T [V NPI]]]]



LD-NPI and tense

(25) a. [... NEG [Subjunctive [TP T_{dependent} [V NPI]]]]

b. [... NEG [Subjunctive [V NPI]]]

(26) [... NEG [Indicative [TP T [V NPI]]]]

Summary

- Cross-linguistically, LD-NPI is allowed in more dependent embedded clauses and disallowed in more independent clauses.
- **Today:** this correlation does not hold in Kanien'kéha

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- Cross-linguistically, LD-NPI is allowed in more dependent embedded clauses and disallowed in more independent clauses.
- **Today:** this correlation does not hold in Kanien'kéha

Aspectual verbs in Kanien'kéha

- Aspectual verbs in Kanien'kéha have split selectional requirements.
- Some verbs, like *atahsawen* 'to start', only selects for an Optative complement:

- (27) a. t-wa'-k-atahsawen [a-k-hiaton].
 CIS-FACT-1SGA-**start**.PUNC OPT-1SGA-write.PUNC
 'I started writing.'
- b. *t-wa'-k-atahsawen [tsi ra-hiaton-s].
 CIS-FACT-1SGA-**start**.PUNC COMP MSGA-write-HAB
 Intended: 'I started writing.'

Aspectual verbs in Kanien'kéha

- Other verbs, like *hsa* 'finish', only selects for an *tsi*- complement:

- (28) a. *wa'-k-hsa-'* [tsi wak-ewennahnot-e'].
 FACT-1SGA-**finish**-PUNC COMP 1SGP-read-STAT
 'I finished reading it.'
- b. **wa'-k-hsa-'* [a-k-ewennahnot-on].
 FACT-1SGA-**finish**-PUNC OPT-1SGA-read-PUNC
 Intended: 'I finished reading it.'

Control in aspectual verbs

- All aspectual verbs in Kanien'kéha are exhaustive control verbs.
 - Subject agreement on the embedded verb must be co-referent with the matrix subject.
 - The embedded clause cannot license an independent subject.
- Both clauses also show characteristic properties of obligatory control (data in the Appendix).

Control in Optative clauses

- (29) Shawatis_i t-wa'-**ra**_i-atahsawen-'
 Shawatis CIS-FACT-**MsgA**-start-PUNC
 [ne t-a-**ra**_i-tsinehtararon-'].
 NE DUP-OPT-**MsgA**-bead-PUNC
 'Shawatis started beading.'

- (30) *Shawatis_i t-wa'-**ra**_i-atahsawen-'
 Shawatis CIS-FACT-**MsgA**-start-PUNC
 [ne (**Kor**_j) t-a-**ra**_j-tsinehtararon-'].
 NE **Kó:r** DUP-OPT-**MsgA**-bead-PUNC
 Intended: 'Shawatis started off his/Kó:r's beading.'

Control in *tsi*-clauses

- (31) Kor_i wa'-**ra**_i-hsa-'
Ko:r FACT-**MsgA**-finish-PUNC

[tsi **ro**_i-wennahnot-e'].

COMP **MsgP**-read-STAT

'Ko:r stopped reading.'

- (32) *Kor_i wa'-**ra**_i-hsa-'
Ko:r FACT-**MsgA**-finish-PUNC

[tsi (**Terrance**_j) **ro**_j-wennahnot-e'].

COMP Terrance **MsgP**-read-STAT

Intended: 'Ko:r stopped him/Terrance from reading.'

Partial control in Optative clauses

- Neither Optative or *tsi*-clauses under aspectual verbs allow for partial control.

(33) ?? Shawatis t-wa'-**ra**-atahsaw-en'
 Shawatis CIS-FACT-**MsgA**-start-PUNC

[**skatne** t-aie-**tewa**-tsinehtararon-'].
together DUP-OPT-**IPL.INA**-bead-PUNC

Intended: 'Shawatis started our beading together.'

Partial control in *tsi*-clauses

- Neither Optative or *tsi*-clauses under aspectual verbs allow for partial control.

(34) ?? Shawatis wa'-**ra**-hsa-'
 Shawatis FACT-**MsgA**-finish-PUNC

[tsi **skatne** te-**ionkwa**-tsinehtararon].
 COMP **together** DUP-**IPL.INP**-bead.STAT

Intended: 'Shawatis finished what we were beading.'

Tense in complements to aspectual verbs

- Both Optative or *tsi*-clauses under aspectual verbs are temporally dependent on the matrix verb.

(35) thetenre John t-wa'-ra-atahsawen
 yesterday John CIS-FACT-MSGA-start.PUNC
 [t-a-ra-rahtate-' (*eniohrhen'ne)].
 DUP-OPT-MSGA-run-PUNC **yesterday**
 'Yesterday, John started to run (*tomorrow).'

Tense in complements to aspectual verbs

- Both Optative or *tsi*-clauses under aspectual verbs are temporally dependent on the matrix verb.

(36) onhwa wenhniserate John wa-ra-hsa-'
 today John FACT-MSGA-finish-PUNC
 [tsi ra-hiaton-s *(eniohrhen'ne)].
 COMP MSGA-write-HAB **tomorrow**
 'Today, John finished to write *(tomorrow).'

LD-NPI in aspectual verbs

- Although Optative and *tsi*-clauses are similar in their control and temporal properties under aspectual verbs, they still differ with respect to LD-NPI.

(37) **aro'khe te-t-ro-atahsaw-e'**
not.yet NEG-CIS-MSGP-start.STAT
 [**thenen** a-ra-wennahnot-on].
anything OPT-MSGA-read-PUNC
 'He didn't start reading anything yet'

(38) **aro'khe te-ro-hs-on**
not.yet NEG-MSGP-finish-STAT
 [*tsi* (***the:nen**) ro-wennahnot-e'].
 COMP **anything** MSGP-read-STAT
 'He hasn't finished reading (*anything) yet'

LD-NPI in aspectual verbs

	(exhaustively) controlled	temporally dependent	LD-NPI
predictions	✓	✓	✓
<i>tsi</i> -clause	✓	✓	✗
Optative clause	✓	✓	✓

- **Generalization 1:** *tsi*-complements are opaque to LD-NPI even when referentially/temporally dependent

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Optative clause	✓	✓	✓

- **Generalization 1:** *tsi*-complements are opaque to LD-NPI even when referentially/temporally dependent

Temporally independent Optative clauses

- Most Optative complements are either temporally simultaneous relative to the matrix predicate, or are future-oriented (cf. subjunctive complements in Romance/Balkan).
- However, in some cases, Optative clauses are compatible with an independent reference to the past.
- One such case arises with the verb *askanek* ‘wish’.

(39) **onhwa nikahawi** k-askanek-s
now at.the.time 1SGA-wish-HAB

[t-a-k-enoniahkw-ha-ke' **tho shikahawi**].
 CIS-OPT-1SGA-dance-HAB-CONT **there back.then**

‘(Now) I wish I were a dancer back then.’

Temporally independent Optative clauses

- Notably, past-oriented Optative complements to *askanek* 'wish' still license LD-NPI.

(40) onhwa nikahawi **iah** **te**-k-askanek-s
 now at.the.time **NEG** **NEG**-ISGA-wish-HAB
 [ne **thenen** a-k-hiaton-hse-ke tho shikahawi].
 ne **anything** OPT-ISGA-write-HAB-CONT there back.then
 'I wish I hadn't been writing anything back then!'

- Generalization 2:** Optative complements are transparent to LD-NPI even when temporally independent

Empirical summary

- In Kanien'kéha, the availability of LD-NPI follows the 'type' of the clause.
 - It is **never available** in *tsi*-complements, regardless of their control and temporal characteristics.
 - It is **always available** in Optative complements, regardless of their temporal characteristics.
- This shows that LD-NPI does not universally follow referential/temporal dependency of the clause.

Towards an account

- If LD-NPI contrasts in Kanien'kéha is independent of the control/tense properties of the clause, what other factors could determine it?

Towards an account

- It cannot be the semantics of the embedding verb, as *tsi-* and Optative clauses differ with respect to LD-NPI under the same matrix verbs.

- (41) Shawatis **iah te-shako-hrori** Onwari
Shawatis **NEG NEG-MSG>FI-tell.STAT** Onwa:ri

[ne **thenen** a-ie-wennahnoton].

NE **anything** OPT-FI.A-read.PUNC

‘Shawatis didn’t tell Onwa:ri to read anything.’

- (42) Shawatis **iah te-shako-hrori** Onwari
Shawatis **NEG NEG-MSG>FI-tell.PUNC** Onwa:ri

[tsi (**??thenen**) wa'-ra-wennahnoton].

COMP **anything** FACT-MSGA-read.PUNC

‘Shawatis didn’t tell Onwa:ri that he read it / *anything.’

Mood in Kanien'kéha

- In many regards, the distribution of *tsi*-clauses and Optative clauses is similar to the indicative/subjunctive split found in Indo-European languages.
 - selectional split between factual epistemic verbs (select *tsi*-clauses) and desire verbs (select Optatives)
 - interpretational split under verbs like *tell*, *remember*, *forget*
 - polarity subjunctive

Mood in Kanien'kéha

- 'Polarity Optative' in Kanien'kéha
- *aterientar* 'know' is typically only compatible with the *tsi*-clause
- However, it is **also** compatible with an Optative complement under polarity operators:

(43) Kor **iah** **te-ro-aterientar-e'** ne Shawatis
 Kó:r **NEG NEG-MSGP-know.STAT** NE Shawatis

[**a-ro-wennahnot-a-ke** ne thiken iewennahnotahkhwa'].
OPT-MSGP-read-STAT-CONT NE this book

'Kó:r doesn't know that Shawatis has already read this book.'

Theoretical question

- Can LD-NPI contrasts be formally linked to the mood properties of the clause?

Option 1: structural difference

- One option would be to suggest that ‘indicative’ *tsi*-clauses are structurally more complex than ‘subjunctive’ Optative clauses.
- On this type account, the difference in LD-NPI would be explained as follows:
 - NPI must be licensed locally.
 - *tsi*-clauses establish a separate domain and thus disallow for LD-NPI
 - Optative clauses do not establish a separate domain; LD-NPI can go through

- (44) a. [NEG *matrix verb* [*tsi* [XP **X** [... [AspP Asp [_{VP} *v* NPI]]]]]]
- 
- b. [NEG *matrix verb* [OPT [... [AspP Asp [_{VP} *v* NPI]]]]]]
- 

- **Challenge:** what can XP be?

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Option 2: semantic difference

- Montero et al. (To appear): in Spanish, LD-NPI split is observed between indicative and subjunctive clauses

(46) a. Anabelle **no** cree [que Tim haya comido pastel
Anabelle **not** believe that Tim had-SUBJ eaten cake
en años].
in years
'Anabelle doesn't believe that Tim has eaten cake in years.'

b.^{?/#} Anabelle **no** cree [que Tim ha comido pastel
Anabelle **not** believe that Tim had-IND eaten cake
en años].
in years

Intended: 'Anabelle doesn't believe that Tim has eaten cake in years.'

Spanish (Montero et al., To appear, pp. 1040–1041)

Option 2: semantic difference

- **Semantic asymmetry of mood (Schlenker, 2003)**
 - Indicative introduces a presupposition which disrupts the DE properties of the sentence, necessary for licensing NPIs.
 - Subjunctive is semantically vacuous and does not disrupt the DE properties of the sentence.

Challenge: can the approach to mood a-là Schlenker (2003) can be extended to Kanien'kéha in the light of the uses of the complement clauses under aspectual predicates?

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Challenge: can the approach to mood a-là Schlenker (2003) can be extended to Kanien'kéha in the light of the uses of the complement clauses under aspectual predicates?

Summary

- In Kanien'kéha, the availability of LD-NPI is not dependent on control or temporal dependency of the embedded clause
 - informs our understanding of the cross-linguistic patterns in LD-NPI
- Future work: formal proposal for whether mood in Kanien'kéha can disrupt/allow LD-NPI.

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Niá:wen!

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Complement clauses in Kanien'kéha

- The complementizer *tsi* is incompatible with an Optative-marked predicate

(47) Onwari t-iakaw-eh tahkw-en [**tsi** Kor ro-niak-on].
 Onwá:ri DUP-FI.P-believe-STAT **COMP** Kó:r MSGP-get.married-STAT
 'Onwá:ri believes that Kó:r is married'

(48) Onwari t-iakaw-eh tahkw-en
 Onwá:ri DUP-FI.P-believe-STAT
 [{***tsi** | **ne**} Kor a-ro-niak-on].
COMP **NE** Kó:r OPT-MSGP-get.married-STAT
 'Onwá:ri believes that Kó:r is married'

Obligatory control in aspectual verbs

(49) Subject prefix in an Optative clause must have a c-commanding controller

- a. [[Kor_j] shako-'ken'-a]_j t-wa'-**ion**-atahsawen
 Kó:r MSG>FI-younger.sister-NSF CIS-FACT-**FI.A**-start.PUNC
 iewennahnotahkhwa a-**ie**-hiaton-'
 book OPT-**FI.A**-write-PUNC
 'Kó:r's sister started writing a book.'
- b. * [[Kor_j] shako-'ken'-a]_j t-wa'-**ion**-atahsawen
 Kó:r MSG>FI-younger.sister-NSF CIS-FACT-**FI.A**-start.PUNC
 iewennahnotahkhwa a-**ha**-hiaton-'
 book OPT-**MSG.A**-write-PUNC
 Intended: 'Kó:r's sister started him writing a book.'

Obligatory control in aspectual verbs

(51) Subject prefix in an Optative clause must have a local controller

- a. Akat_i wa'-**ie**_i-hron Shawatis_j t-wa'-**ra**_j-atahsawen
 Akát FACT-**FI.A**-say.PUNC Shawátis CIS-FACT-**MsgA**-start.PUNC
 ne a-**ra**_j-wennahnoht-on ne kahiatonhsera
 NE OPT-**MsgP**-read-PUNC NE book

'Akát said that Shawátis started reading the book.'

- b. *Akat_i wa'-**ie**_i-hron Shawatis_j t-wa'-**ra**_j-atahsawen
 Akát FACT-**FI.A**-say.PUNC Shawátis CIS-FACT-**FI.A**-start.PUNC
 ne a-**ie**_i-wennahnoht-on ne kahiatonhsera
 NE OPT-**MsgP**-read-PUNC NE book

Intended: 'Akát said that Shawátis started Akát's reading the book.'

Obligatory control in aspectual verbs

(52) Subject prefix in a *tsi*-clause must have a local controller

- a. Akat_i wa'-**ie**_i-hron Shawatis_j wa-**ha**_j-hsa
 Akát FACT-**FI.A**-say.PUNC Shawatis FACT-**MsgA**-finish.PUNC
 tsi **ro**_j-wennahnot-e ne kahiatonhsera
 COMP **MsgP**-read-STAT NE book
 'Akát said that Shawátis finished reading the book.'
- b. *Akat_i wa'-**ie**_i-hron Shawatis_j wa-**ha**_j-hsa
 Agatha FACT-**FI.A**-say.PUNC Shawatis FACT-**MsgA**-finish.PUNC
 tsi **iako**_i-wennahnot-e ne kahiatonhsera
 COMP **FI.P**-read-STAT NE book
 Intended: 'Akát said that Shawátis finished Akát's reading
 the book.'

Mood in Kanien'kéha

- A similar polarity alternation is observed with the aspectual verb *hsa* 'finish', which only is compatible with a *tsi*-clause in a positive environment.

- (53) a. arokhe th-ie-ro-hs-on
not.yet NEG-TRANS-MSGP-finish-STAT
- [tsi ro-wennahnot-e' thiken iewennanotahkwa'].
COMP MSGP-read-STAT that book
'He hasn't finished reading that book yet.'
- b. arokhe th-ie-ro-hs-on
not.yet NEG-TRANS-MSGP-finish-STAT
- [a-ra-wennahnot-on thiken iewennanotahkwa'].
OPT-MSGP-read-PUNC that book
'He hasn't finished reading that book yet.'