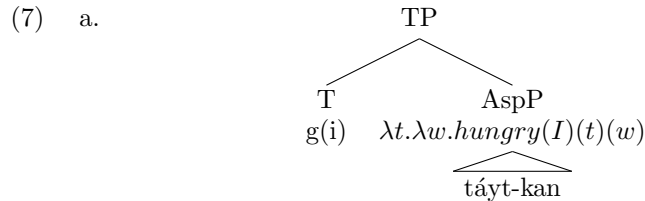


3 Matthewson’s analysis

- The central claim: There is tense. It restricts TT to being previous or simultaneous to t_c .
- (6) $\llbracket \text{TENSE} \rrbracket^{g,c}$ is only defined if no part of $g(i)$ is after t_c . If defined, $\llbracket \text{TENSE} \rrbracket^{g,c} = g(i)$.
- In order for her account to be meaningful, the absence of future tense in English has to be a lexical gap. If there were a principled explanation for the absence of future tense, there would be no work for her tense morpheme.
- An example: (3a)



- b. $\llbracket \text{TP} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda w.hungry(I)(g(i))(w)$
- If $g(i) < t_c$, a past reading results,
 - If $g(i) = t_c$, present reading arises.

- There is evidence against assuming that there are two null tenses: (9). There is only one verb, and hence also only one tense head. There could then be no two different tense operators.
- (8) Context: Your white friends Theresa, Charlie and Marie got drunk at the bar. You are looking after them because you don’t drink. Theresa threw up at 10 pm; Marie hasn’t thrown up at all. Just as Charlie is in the process of throwing up, another friend calls and asks (a); you can answer with (b):
 - wat’k’ ha i snek’wnuk’wa7-lhkállh-a
vomit YNQ DET.PL friend(PL)-1PL.POSS-DET
’Did our friends throw up [at any non-future time]?’
 - wat’k’ kw s-Theresa mú ta7 s-Charlie
vomit DET NOM-Theresa and NOM-Charlie
’Theresa and Charlie threw up / are throwing up.’ (p. 681-2)

- (9) ‘Last year, John didn’t go fishing, so he had no dried salmon last winter. Then summer came, and he went fishing. He got a lot of dried salmon. Fred didn’t go fishing, so Fred has no dried salmon now.’

(wa7) zúqw-cen s-John múta7 s-Fred
(IMPF) die-foot NOM-John and NOM-Fred

‘John and Fred were / are starving.’ (not at the same time) (p. 682)

It says *die-foot* in the article.

Both (8) and (9) raise questions about the role of aspect in these examples. See p. 682-3 for discussion of the role of perfective in (8).

3.1 *kelh* = WOLL

- WOLL is a modal that combines with tense. In English,
 - WOLL+PAST=*would*
 - WOLL+PRESENT=*will*
- The relevant notion of modality here is syntactic in the sense laid out in last Thursday’s handout:
 - WOLL doesn’t occupy the syntactic position that present and past tense appears in
 - WOLL appears in the same syntactic position as modals like *must, can, may* . . .

It is semantic in the sense that

- WOLL does not introduce a relation between utterance time and topic time
- WOLL is there in addition to TENSE

Matthewson suggests that quantification over possible worlds is involved too, but she does not provide an account.

- Evidence for *kelh* being WOLL: *would*-readings:

(10) A child was born who would be ruler of the world.

I’m glossing over the effect of aspect here.

- (11) Situation: Mike Leech is currently chief of T'ít'q'et. His (deceased) mother was called Julianne.

zwát-en-as s-Julianne [k-wa-s kúkwpi7 *kelh*
 know-DIR-3ERG NOM-Julianne [DET-IMPF-3POSS chief *kelh*
 ta skúza7-s-a] i kwís-as
 DET child-3POSS-DET] when.PAST fall-3CONJ

‘Julianne knew when he was born that her child would become chief.’ (p. 689)

- (12) *will/would* ambiguity under past sentences:

tsut tu7 kw s-Susan i ánw-as xetspásqet lhel
 say tu7 DET NOM-Susan when.PAST two-3CONJ week from
 lhkúnsa [kw s-lhwál-en-as *kelh* ta kwtám-ts-s-a
 now [DET NOM-leave-DIR-3ERG *kelh* DET husband-3POSS-DET
 l-ku pála7 xetspásq'et]
 in-DET one week]

‘Susan said 2 weeks ago that she will leave her husband in one week from now / would leave him one week from then.’ (p. 689)

- Evidence for *kelh* behaving like *will*:

- (13) Lack of simultaneous readings of future under future:

tsut *kelh* s-Pauline [kw s-guy't-ál'men-s *kelh*
 say *kelh* NOM-Pauline [DET NOM-sleep-want-3POSS *kelh*]

‘Pauline will say that she will be tired’ (p. 690)

- (14) Forward shifting of embedded tenses:

tsut *kelh* s-Pauline [kw s-guy't-ál'men-s
 say *kelh* NOM-Pauline [DET NOM-sleep-want-3POSS]

‘Pauline will say that she is tired’ (p. 690)

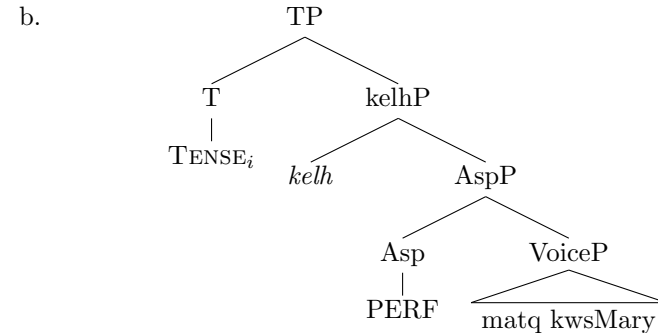
- The semantics of WOLL:

- (15) $[[\text{WOLL}]] = \lambda P \in D_{\langle i, st \rangle}. \lambda t. \lambda w. \exists t' [t < t' \ \& \ P(t')(w) = 1]$

- *will* readings arise when $g(i) = t_c$, *would*-readings arise when $g(i) < t_c$ (see p. 692 for examples)

- An example:

- (16) a. matq *kelh* [kw s-Mary]
 walk WOLL [DET NOM-Mary]
 ‘Mary will walk.’ (p. 691)



- c. $[[\text{TP}]^{g,c} =$

$$\lambda w. \exists t' [\underbrace{g(i)}_{T} < \underbrace{t'}_{WOLL} \ \& \ \underbrace{\exists e [walk(e)(w) \ \& \ agent(Mary)(e)(w)]}_{VoiceP} \ \& \ \underbrace{\tau(e) \subseteq t'}_{PERF}]$$

(where no part of $g(i)$ follows t_c)

- Interpretation in embedded contexts works like in English (Choose your account!)

- The modality of *kelh*: following the parallelism of English *will/would*, one might expect non-future modal readings with *kelh* parallel to (17). These are absent though, see (18) .

- (17) Non-future modal uses of *will* (p. 694):

- a. Sarah *will* sometimes play loud music to annoy her mother.
 b. Oh, the light is on. That means Fred'll be home.

- (18) # wa7 *kelh* álk'wilh lh-núkw-as s-Sarah
 IMPF WOLL babysit COMP-other-3CONJ NOM-Sarah
 lh-as tsicw ts'úqwaz'-am i núkw-a
 COMP-3CONJ get.there fish-MID DET.PL other-DET

#‘Sarah will sometimes babysit when everyone else goes fishing.’
 Consultants comment: “That *kelh* is she WILL. But you said it was sometimes.” (p. 694, (43)a. and b.)

Matthewson argues that this follows from the fact that modals in ST’ have fixed conversational backgrounds. The conversational background of *kelh* is different from what we see in (17).

As Amy Rose and Seth point out, this argument relies on the assumption that the reason *will* has these readings in English is that there is variability in the conversational background of WOLL. Amy Rose presented reasons to doubt this assumption.

- *kelh* shares another property of ST’ modals: quantificational variability. Modals in ST’ vary in their quantificational force. Depending on context they can be either existential or universal. She observes that the same is true of *kelh*. It is sometimes interpreted as universal (*will*) or as existential (*might*), see (19).

(19) ka-kwís-a kelh ti k’ét’h-a
 OCC-fall-OCC kelh DET rock-DET
 ‘That stone might drop.’ (p. 687)

4 Tense in ‘tenseless languages’

4.1 Tense in ST’

- There is tense in ST’
- Tense is morphologically covert
- Tense is semantically underspecified and only restricts the topic time to be non-futurate.
- Everything else is like English.
- “Of course, here I am claiming not that St’át’imcets makes a two-way distinction in tense, but that it makes no distinctions at all.” (p. 706)
- In other words... ST’ has a couple things that look like tense (*kelh* and *tu7*) but these are *not* tense. Nevertheless, there is a phonologically null tense morpheme present in every clause (which prevents a future interpretation).

4.2 Implications for tense(lessness) elsewhere

Similarities between range of possibly tense (= pronoun) features and other types of features.

- Various degrees of (under)specification are expected (single/plural vs. single/dual/plural)
- Null 3rd person is common.
- Under-specified determiners also present (← this is thin!)

4.3 Future Directions

- Chinese, Kalaallisut, Yuktatek Maya
- The analyses of these languages do not work for ST’
- Does present analysis of ST’ work for them?
- Unknown.