Introduction. Across languages, certain types of complement clauses (typically subjunctive and infinitive clauses) allow for long-distance NPI licensing (LD-NPI), where an NPI in the embedded clause is licensed by the negation on the matrix verb. On the other hand, indicative clauses typically do not allow for such configuration. The availability of LD-NPI has previously been attributed to the *structural deficiency* of the clauses that license it. The idea that these clauses are structurally reduced is, in turn, motivated by either their *control* (Grano 2015) or *tense* properties (Landau 2004; Todorović and Wurmbrand 2020; Milićević 2008; Progovac 1993).

In this talk, I examine LD-NPI in Kanien'kéha (aka Mohawk < Northern Iroquoian). Unlike in other languages discussed in the works mentioned above, the availability of LD-NPI in Kanien'kéha is not aligned with either presence of control or temporal dependency. More specifically, I demonstrate that one type of complement clause is always opaque to LD-NPI, even when it is referentially and temporally restricted. These data thus challenges the assumption that the link between reduced clausal size, and the phenomena of control, temporal restrictions and LD-NPI is universal.

Data. Kanien'kéha has two types of clausal complements: clauses with the complementizer *tsi* and Optative clauses, marked by the Optative verbal prefix (and an optional particle *ne*). The two complements look very similar morphosyntactically, as in both clauses verbs are obligatorily inflected for person and aspect, like all the other verbs in the language. At the same time, *tsi*- and Optative clauses respectively behave akin to indicative and subjunctive/infinitive clauses in other languages with regard to their distribution (see Ikeda 1991) and the availability of LD-NPI. (1a) shows that in the Optative clause, the NPI *thenen* 'anything' can be non-locally licensed by the matrix negation; in the *tsi*-clause, however, the same configuration is ruled out (1b).

(1) a. Shawatis **iah** **te**-shako-hrori Onwari [ne **(thenen)** a-ie-wennahnot-on]
John NEG NEG-MSG>FI-tell.PERF Mary NE **anything** OPT-FI.A-read-PFV
'John didn't tell Mary to read (anything).'

b. Shawatis **iah** **te**-shako-hrori Onwari [tsi **(*thenen)** wa'-ra-wennahnot-on]
John NEG NEG-MSG>FI-tell.PERF Mary COMP anything FACT-MSGA-read-PFV
'John didn't tell her that he read (*anything).'

Crucially, this contrast is also observed in the complements of *aspectual verbs*. This is illustrated in (2) for the verb *atahsonter* 'continue'. Although this verb is compatible with both Optative and *tsi*-clauses, LD-NPI is only available in the former (2a), but not the latter (2b).

(2) a. **iah** **th**-i-aon-sa-ra$_i$-atahsonteren [ne **(thenen)** a-ra$_i$-wennahnot-on]
NEG NEG-TRANS-OPT-REP-MSGA-continue.PFV NE anything OPT-MSGA-read-PFV
'He won't continue reading (anything)'

b. **iah** **th**-i-aon-sa-ra$_i$-atahsonteren [tsi **(*thenen)** ro$_i$-wennahnot-e']
NEG NEG-TRANS-OPT-REP-MSGA-continue.PFV COMP anything MSGP-read-PERF
'He won't continue reading (*anything).'

Below, I demonstrate that under aspectual verbs, *tsi*-clause in (2b), just like the Optative complement in (2a), is restricted in both subject reference and temporal interpretation. Thus, the LD-NPI contrast between the two clauses does not correlate with either of these properties.

No correlation with control. In Greek and Hebrew, subjunctives that allow for LD-NPI are control clauses (Landau 2004; Grano 2015). Grano links these facts together by suggesting that both (exhaustive) control and LD-NPI are due to the monoclausality of the sentence (see also Cinque 2004). In this approach, matrix predicates are functional heads; thus, the embedded verb does not form a separate clausal domain, allowing for the 'embedded' NPI to be licenced by the 'matrix' negation.

In Kanien'kéha, however, control does not correlate with the contrast in (2). Under the verb 'continue', embedded subject agreement must exhaustively refer to the matrix subject *regardless* of the clause type; additionally, neither clause can not host an independent subject in this context:

(3) a. Shawatis$_i$ i-ons-wa'-ra$_i$-atahsonteren ne (***Kor**$_j$) a-ha$_{i/*j}$-hiaton-'
John TRANS-REP-FACT-MSGA-continue-PFV NE Paul OPT-MSGA-write-PFV
'John continued writing.' **Not:** 'John continued Paul's/his writing.'

b. Shawatis$_i$ i-ons-wa'-ra$_i$-atahsonteren tsi (***Kor**$_j$) ra$_{i/*j}$-hiaton-s
John TRANS-REP-FACT-MSGA-continue-PFV COMP Paul MSGA-read-IPFV
'John continued writing.' **Not:** 'John continued Paul's/his writing.'

No correlation with tense. In Greek, Hebrew and Serbian, subjunctive clauses, which allow for LD-NPI, are temporally restricted: the embedded event must occur at the same time or in the future of the matrix event. This correlation has motivated accounts that link the availability of LD-NPI to the embedded T head being obligatorily dependent (Landau 2004; Todorović and Wurmbrand 2020; Milićević 2008) or it being absent altogether (Grano 2015). In either of these configurations, the embedded predicate forms one clausal domain with the main verb, thus allowing for LD-NPI.

In many context, *tsi*-clauses are temporally independent from the matrix clause as they can describe an event in the past of the matrix event, like in (4). In these cases, it is then expected under the temporal accounts that these clauses would block LD-NPI, as in (1b).

(4) onwa wenhniserate ta-hak-hrori-' tsi te-t-to-honniahkw-en thetenre
today CIS.FACT-MSG>1SG-tell-PFV that CIS-DUPL-MSGP-dance-PERF yesterday
'**Today**, he told me that he had danced **yesterday**.'

However, under *aspectual verbs*, both *tsi*- and Optative clauses are temporally restricted. (5)–(6) show that the embedded event is obligatorily simultaneous with the matrix one and cannot host a distinct temporal modifier. Since the two clauses do not contrast in temporal characteristics, this parameter does not correlate with the dichotomy in (2) either.

(5) onhwa wenhniserate Shawatis ionsahatahsonteren ne a-ha-hiaton' (*eniohrhen'ne)
today John MSGA.continue.PFV NE OPT-MSGA-write.PFV tomorrow
'Today, John continued writing (*tomorrow).'

(6) onhwa wenhniserate Shawatis ionsahatahsonteren tsi ra-hiaton-s (*eniohrhen'ne)
today John MSGA.continue.PFV TSI MSGA-write-IMPF tomorrow
'Today, John continued writing (*tomorrow).'

Discussion. Under aspectual verbs, both *tsi*- and Optative clauses in Kanien'kéha are referentially and temporally restricted. Structural accounts to LD-NPI predict that in this configuration, both complements should also be transparent to LD-NPI, as they expect these properties to go hand-in-hand; this prediction is not borne out, as the key data in (2) shows.

One alternative to explaining the pattern in (2) is to give up the assumption that exhaustive control and temporal dependency are *universally* linked to reduced clausal size. In this case, the dichotomy in (2) could still be explained through the size difference between *tsi*- and Optative clauses, with the former forming a separate clausal domain and blocking LD-NPI. (Future work is required to see if there is independent evidence for the size difference between the two complements). The other possibility would be to give up the assumption that the availability of LD-NPI itself is linked to reduced clausal size (see, for example, Homer 2008; Montero et al. To appear on semantic approaches to LD-NPI patterns in French and Spanish). In either case, the Kanien'kéha data provides a crucial insight into our understanding of the correlations between LD-NPI, control and tense on the one hand and the structural size of embedded clauses on the other.

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