

Kanien'kéha repetitive vs. English *again*

Roti'nikonhrowá:nens | Willie Myers

March 13, 2024

1 What is the repetitive?

- Two main uses: counting one thing and *again* (Martin 2023)

(1) Counting one thing

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | kanà:tson
ka-nats-on
N-pail-NOM
'bucket' | b. | skanà:tsa
s-ka-nats-a
REP -N-pail-be
'one bucket' |
|----|---|----|---|

(2) Repetitive as *again*

- (3) a. Sakhní:non'.
s-a-k-hninon-'
REP-FACT-1sgA-buy-PUNC
'I bought it again.'
- b. Skatonhkária'ks.
s-k-at-onhkaria'k-s
REP-1sgA-SRFL-be.hungry-HAB
'I'm hungry again.'
- c. Sewakatshennón:ni.
s-wak-at-shenn-onni-Ø
REP-1sgP-SRFL-happy-make-STAT
'I am happy again.'

2 English *again*

- The adverb *again* modifies propositions and introduces a presupposition (see von Stechow 1996; Jäger and Blutner 2003; Beck and Johnson 2004).
 - Assuming that the proposition expresses an event E_1 , *again* introduces a presupposition that there is an event E_0 which is similar to E_1 but occurs before it.
 - In other words, *again* requires that the event being described now is not the first event of its kind within the context of the conversation. This is why the following examples are infelicitous in English.
- (4) a. CO-TEXT: Mary has never bought a car.
#Mary bought a car again.
- b. CO-TEXT: Terrance has never eaten meat in his life.
#Will Terrance eat meat again?
- c. CO-TEXT: Wíshe has never ran a marathon.
#Wíshe won't run a marathon again.
- Outside of scope, *again* also has a scope. In other words, there is a specific domain of the sentence which *again* applies to and which is included in the presupposition (Bale 2007).

- For intransitive verbs, for example, *again* scopes over the whole sentence including the subject. This means that the presupposition must include the same subject and verb as the sentence with *again*.

- (5) CO-TEXT: Yesterday, Harry danced. It looked like so much fun that it inspired others to dance and. . .
- Today, Harry danced again.
 - #Today, Megan danced again.

- This also is the case for stative, transitive verbs.

- (6) CO-TEXT: When she was little, Akwiratékha's friend loved Björk even though no one else at school did. Eventually, he grew out of the phase but then Björk released a new album and Akwiratékha' and his friend listened to it together. It was so good that. . .
- Akwiratékha's friend loved Björk again.
 - #Akwiratékha' loved Björk again.

⇒ For both of these types of verbs, the presupposition *must* include the subject.

- With non-stative transitive verbs, on the other hand, the subject doesn't always need to be included in then presupposition.

- (7) CO-TEXT: Seymour's dryer broke. He called a repair-woman who simply hit the dryer until it started working. The dryer broke down two days later so. . .
- The repairwoman hit the dryer again.
 - Seymour hit the dryer again.

⇒ In summary, intransitives and stative transitives must have pre-suppositions that include the subject while non-stative transitives can have presuppositions that don't.

- (8) Summary of *again* presuppositions

Verb type	Subject	No subject
Intransitive	✓	✗
Stative transitive	✓	✗
Non-stative transitive	✗	✓

- Small aside: not all non-stative transitives can always do this but no one has found a better generalization than the above!

3 Back to Kanien'kéha!

- How does Kanien'kéha pattern in regards to the scope of the repetitive? Is the comparison to *again* still useful?

⇒ Short answer: IAH!

⇒ Longer answer: The presupposition introduced by the repetitive doesn't need to include the subject OR the object (when excorporated), regardless of verb type.

3.1 Is this subject in the presupposition?

- The subject never needs to be in the presupposition, even with intransitives.
- One place this shows up easily is when using *nòn:wa* and the repetitive to get a 'next' reading.

3.1.1 Transitive

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

- b. Sok Katya nòn:wa saiewennahnó:ton' NatGeo.
 sok Katya nonhwa s-a-ie-wennahnot-on' NatGeo
 then Katya now REP-FACT-FIsgA-read-PUNC NatGeo
 'And then Katya read the NatGeo next.'
 Lit: 'Then Katya read the NatGeo again now.'

3.1.2 Intransitive

- (10) Context: we're all waiting at the doctor's office.
- a. Terrance ienhatáweia'te'.
 Terrance i-on-ra-taweia't-'
 Terrance TRANS-FUT-MsgA-go.in-PUNC
 'Terrance will go in.'
- b. Akaónha nòn:wa ientsiontáweia'te'.
 akaonha nonhwa i-on-s-ion-taweia't-'
 she now TRANS-FUT-REP-FZsgA-go.in-PUNC
 'She'll go in next.'
 Lit: 'She'll go in again now.'

3.2 Objects

- Continuing this distinction from *again*, the presupposition introduced by the repetitive with transitive verbs can does not need to include the OBJECT either.
- The following examples show changes in:
 - number of objects
 - type of object
 - completely different object
- Trying to do a direct translation of these sentences into English is ... not great.

3.2.1 Same object, different number

- (11) 2 to 1 with numbers
- a. Tékeni wa'thatinonhsón:ni'.
 tekeni wa'-t-rati-nonhs-onni-'
 two FACT-DUP-house-make-PUNC
 'They built two houses.'
- b. Sok énska sahatinonhsón:ni'.
 sok enska s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-'
 then one REP-FACT-house-make-PUNC
 'Then, they built one house.'
 Lit: 'Then, they built one house again.'
- (12) 2 to 1 with counting verbs
- a. Tekanónhsake wahatinonhsón:ni'.
 te-ka-nons-a-ke wa-rati-nonhs-onni-'
 DUP-N-house-JR-count FACT-house-make-PUNC
 'They built two houses.'
- b. Sok skanónhsa sahatinonhsón:ni'.
 sok s-ka-nons-a s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-'
 then REP-N-house-be REP-FACT-house-make-PUNC
 'Then, they built one house.'
 Lit: 'Then, they built one house again.'
- (13) Singular to plural with a verbal distributive
- a. Wahatinonhsón:ni'.
 wa-rati-nonhs-onni-'
 FACT-MplA-car-make-PUNC
 'They built a house.'
- b. Sok sahatinonhsónniánion'.
 sok s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-a-nion-'
 then REP-FACT-MplA-car-make-JR-DISTRIB-PUNC
 'Then, they built houses.'
 Lit: 'Then, they built houses again.'
- (14) Plural to singular with a verbal distributive

- a. Tsóhsera tsi náhe'
s-oshera tsi nahe'
REP-year that since
wahatinonhsónniánion'.
wa-rati-nonhs-onni-a-nion-'
FACT-MplA-house-make-JR-DISTRIB-PUNC
'Last year they built houses.
- b. Sok nòn:wa sahatinonhsón:ni'.
sok nonwa s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-'
then now REP-FACT-MplA-house-make-PUNC
'And now they built a house.'
Lit: 'Then, they built a house again.'

(15) Singular to plural with a nominal distributive

- a. Skanónhsha wahatinonhsón:ni'.
s-ka-nonhs-a wa-rati-nonhs-onni-'
REP-N-car-be PUNC-MplA-car-make-FACT
'They built one house (all together).
- b. Skanonhshátshon sahatinonhsón:ni'.
s-ka-nonhs-a-tshon s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-'
REP-N-car-be-DISTRIB REP-PUNC-MplA-car-make-FACT
'Then, they built one house each.'
Lit: 'Then, they built one house each again.'

(16) Plural to singular with a nominal distributive

- a. Skanonhshátshon wahatinonhsón:ni'.
s-ka-nonhs-a-tshon wa-rati-nonhs-onni-'
REP-N-car-be-DISTRIB PUNC-MplA-car-make-FACT
'They built one home each.'
- b. Skanónhsha sahatinonhsón:ni'.
s-ka-nonhs-a s-a-rati-nonhs-onni-'
REP-N-car-be REP-PUNC-MplA-car-make-FACT
'Then, they built one house (all together).'
Lit: 'Then, they built one house again.'

3.2.2 Same object, different type

(17) Change in brand/name

- a. Wa'ke'serahtahní:non' ne Porsche.
wa'-k-e'sere-hta-hninon-' ne Porsche
FACT-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-PUNC NE Porsche
'I bought a Porsche.'
- b. Sake'serahtahní:non' ne Maserati.
s-a-k-e'sere-hta-hninon-' ne Maserati
REP-FACT-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-PUNC NE Maserati
'Then, I bought a Maserati.'
Lit: 'Then, I bought a Maserati again.'

(18) Change in property

- a. Ka'serehtowá:nen wa'ke'serahtahní:non'.
ka'sere-hta-wanen wa'-k-e'sere-hta-hninon-'
N-car-NMLZ-big FACT-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
'I bought a big car.'
- b. Sok ken' nika'serehtà:'a
sok ken' ni-ka'sere-hta-'a
then about PART-N-car-NMLZ-DIM
sake'serahtahní:non'.
s-a-k-e'sere-hta-hninon-'
REP-FACT-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
'Then, I bought a small car.'
Lit: 'Then, I bought a small car again.'

(19) Change in subtype (with incorporated noun)

- a. Sewahió:wane' wa'kà:iake'.
sewahiowane' wa'-k-ahi-a-k-'
apple FACT-1sgA-fruit-JR-eat-PUNC
'I ate an apple.'
- b. Sok é:ri sakà:iake'.
sok eri s-a-k-ahi-a-k-'
then cherry REP-FACT-1sgA-fruit-JR-eat-PUNC
'Then, I ate a cherry.'

Lit: 'Then, I ate a cherry again.'

3.2.3 Completely different object

- (20) Apple to cherries
a.

Sewahió:wane' wà:keke'.
sewahiowane' wa'-k-k-'
apple FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC

'I ate an apple.'

- (20) Sok é:ri sá:keke'.
sok eri s-a-k-k-'
then cherry REP-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
'Then, I ate a cherry.'
Lit: 'Then, I ate a cherry again.'

- (21) Cherries to meat

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

b. Sok o'wà:ron sá:keke'.
sok o'wahron s-a-k-k-'
then meat REP-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
'Then, I ate meat.' Lit: 'Then, I ate meat again.'

3.2.4 Noun incorporation matters

- The non-incorporated objects must align with the incorporated noun (subset relation?).

- (22) a. É:ri wa'kà:iake'.
eri wa'-k-ahi-a-k-'
cherry FACT-1sgA-fruit-JR-eat-PUNC
'I ate cherries.'

- b. #Sok sake'wà:rake'.
sok s-a-k-'wahr-a-k-'
then REP-FACT-1sgA-meat-JR-eat-PUNC
Intended: 'Then, I ate meat.'
Must mean: 'Then, I started eating meat again (because I had been eating it before).'

3.3 Both subject and object

- Based on this, thje repetitive should be able introduce a presupposition that includes neither the subject nor the object.

- (23) Different subject, different object

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

b. Sok è:rhar
sok ehrhar
then dog
sahsaterennaién:hahse'.
s-a-hs-ate-renn-a-ien-hahs-'
REP-FACT-2sg-SRFL-song-JR-place-BEN-PUNC
'Then, you prayed for the dog.'
Lit: 'Then, you prayed for the dog again.'

⇒ Can you think of any other examples like this?

- Potential context: some friends make a dare to see how long they can go without eating. On day 2, John cheats by eating an apple and on day 3, Mary cheats by eating a burger.

- (24) John ate an apple and then Mary ate a burger (again).

4 Other parts of the sentence

- Certain types of adverbials *do* seem to fall within the presupposition. For example, the number of times an event occurs is within the scope of the repetitive.

(25) One time to two times

- a. Énska ia'ká:ienhte' wahatá:wen'.
 enska ia'kaienhte' wa-r-atawen-'
 one time PUNC-MsgA-swim-FACT
 'He swam one time.'
- b. #Tékeni ia'tká:ienhte' sahatá:wen'.
 tekeni ia'tkaienhte' s-a-r-atawen-'
 two time.DUP REP-PUNC-MsgA-swim-FACT
 Intended: 'He swam again two times.'

(26) Two times to one time

- a. Tékeni ia'tká:ienhte' wahatá:wen'.
 tekeni ia'tkaienhte' wa-r-atawen-'
 two time.DUP PUNC-MsgA-swim-FACT
 'He swam two times.'
- b. #Énska ia'ká:ienhte' sahatá:wen'.
 enska ia'kaienhte' s-a-r-atawen-'
 one time REP-PUNC-MsgA-swim-FACT
 Intended: 'He swam again one time.'

⇒ How does this work with other adverbial-type things? For example, 'quickly/slowly', 'in the morning', 'for an hour'.

- (27) a. Yesterday I swam quickly and then today I swam slowly (again).
 b. Yesterday I swam in the morning and today I swam in the afternoon (again).
 c. Yesterday I swam for an hour and today I swam for three hours (again).

- d. Yesterday I swam in Kahnawà:ke and today I swam in Kanehsatà:ke (again).

5 'Again' as a particle

The particle *á:re*' has been translated as English 'again'. Does its distribution differ from the repetitive's? So far, all the examples I've found include both the particle and the prefix. I'd be interested to see:

- 1. when the particle can be used without the prefix,
 - 2. if the word order of *á:re*' matter (e.g. if subject comes before or after), and
 - 3. if there are instances in which the particle cannot be used with the prefix contextually (hypothesizing a different scope)
- Regarding the latter point, I think that using the particle does force a wider scope reading. Compare the example below (28) with (21).

- (28) a. É:ri wà:keke'.
 eri wa'-k-k-'
 cherry FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
 'I ate cherries.'
- b. Sok á:re' o'wà:ron sá:keke'.
 sok are' o'wahron s-a-k-k-'
 then again meat REP-FACT-1sgA-eat-PUNC
 'Then, I went back to eating meat.'
 Cannot mean: 'Then, I ate meat.'

⇒ Can you think of a time when you use *á:re*' without the repetitive?

⇒ Does changing where you say *á:re*' affect the meaning? (before/after subject, etc)

⇒ If you have a repetitive sentence without *á:re*' and then you add the particle like above, does it force a certain stronger meaning?

6 Open questions and implications

- Where do other things fall regarding the scope of the repetitive?
- How can these findings help learners gain fluency with the repetitive?
- Very weak presupposition! Just the event with no arguments. This supports claims past claims that all non-incorporated overt arguments are in clause-external adjoined positions.
- Noun incorporation: incorporated nouns fall within the semantic scope of the repetitive but non-incorporated nouns do not; how does this work with what we know about excorporation and focus (see [DeCaire et al. 2017](#))?
- Agreement: no semantic consequences?

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