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Repetitives, Reversives, and On-going telic events in Kanien'kéha

Iakwarihwí:saks, 22 May 2025

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Background on grammar

- Important for today: three-way aspectual contrast

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Background on grammar

- Important for today: three-way aspectual contrast

(1) **Habitual**
     K-ateweiénst-ha'.
     1SGA-study-HAB
     'I study.'

     ~ **Imperfective**

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Background on grammar

- Important for today: three-way aspectual contrast

(1) **Habitual**
K-ateweiénst-ha'.
1SGA-study-HAB
'I study.'

(2) **Punctual**
Wa'-k-atéweienst-e'.
FACT-1SGA-study-PUNC
'I did study.'

~ **Imperfective**   ~ **Perfective**

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Background on grammar

- Important for today: three-way aspectual contrast

(1) **Habitual**
K-ateweiénst-ha'.
1SGA-study-HAB
'I study.'

(2) **Punctual**
Wa'-k-atéweienst-e'.
FACT-1SGA-study-PUNC
'I did study.'

(3) **Stative**
Wak-ateweiénst-on.
1SGP-study-STAT
'I have studied.'

~ **Imperfective**   ~ **Perfective**   ~ **Perfect**

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Puzzle

- One particularly tricky topic to learn: **PRESENT TENSE**

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Puzzle

- One particularly tricky topic to learn: **PRESENT TENSE**

- There is no dedicated form for expressing the present. Instead, one of two aspectual suffixes is used.

(4) **Habitual Present**
Ó:nenhste   t-iéntho-s.
corn   1SGA-plant-HAB
'I plant corn.' OR
'I am planting corn.'

(5) **Stative Present**
Wak-atshókw-en.
1SGP-smoke-STAT
'I have smoked.' OR
'I am smoking.'

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Puzzle

- Verbs are *either* HAB Present or STAT Present

(6) **If HAB Present…**
T-iéntho-s.
1SGA-plant-HAB
✓ 'I plant it.'
✓ 'I am planting it.'

(7) …**then STAT Perfect**
Wak-iénth-on.
1SGP-plant-STAT
✓ 'I have planted it.'
✗ 'I am planting it.'

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Puzzle

- Verbs are *either* HAB Present or STAT Present

(6) **If HAB Present...**
T-iéntho-s.
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✓ 'I plant it.'
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(7) ...**then STAT Perfect**
Wak-iénth-on.
1SGP-plant-STAT
✓ 'I have planted it.'
✗ 'I am planting it.'

(8) **If STAT Present...**
Wak-atshókw-en.
1SGP-smoke-STAT
✓ 'I have smoked.'
✓ 'I am smoking.'

(9) ...**then HAB Imperfective**
K-atshókwa-s.
1SGA-smoke-HAB
✓ 'I smoke.'
✗ 'I am smoking.'

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Puzzle

- Determining which
  suffix to use with which
  verb seems relatively
  arbitrary.

- There are no diagnostics
  for aspectual class.

- Learners must resort to
  rote memorization of
  long lists of verbs in order
  to conjugate correctly.

HAB Present	**STAT Present**
ientho 'plant'	*atshokw* 'smoke'
hninon 'buy'	*hnekihr* 'drink'
atawen 'swim'	*onni* 'make'
te-ia'toreht 'judge'	*ateriio* 'fight'
rakw 'choose'	*atshennonni* 'get happy'
atorat 'hunt'	*te-ahsaro* 'clap'
ateweienst 'study'	*wennahnot* 'read'

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Past analysis: "Consequentiality"

One influential insight from Chafe (1970, 1980):

- The **present reading** is determined by the **"consequentiality"** of the verb

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Past analysis: "Consequentiality"

One influential insight from Chafe (1970, 1980):

- The **present reading** is determined by the **"consequentiality"** of the verb

In his words:

> *. . . We might, then, posit a new selectional unit for verbs, one that can be labeled 'consequential'. Its meaning involves the **potentiality of present and perceptible states**, such as those that would result from pounding or planting corn, from burning, and the like.' (Chafe 1970: 17, emphasis ours)*

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Past analysis: "Consequentiality"

One influential insight from Chafe (1970, 1980):

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In his words:

> . . . *We might, then, posit a new selectional unit for verbs, one that can be labeled 'consequential'. Its meaning involves the **potentiality of present and perceptible states**, such as those that would result from pounding or planting corn, from burning, and the like.' (Chafe 1970: 17, emphasis ours)*

How do we know whether a verb is **"consequential"**?

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Our proposal

- We propose that "consequentiality" or **telicity** about whether the verb describes a RESULT STATE

- Class 1: Atelic (STAT Present) verbs have no result state (10)

- Class 2: Telic (HAB Present) verbs have a result state (11)

(10)

e: *prepare.food*

t

(11)

e_1: *sew x*

e_2: *x be sewn*

t

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Support for the proposal

- This proposal has testable implications for the event structure of Kanien'kéha verbs.

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Support for the proposal

- This proposal has testable implications for the event structure of Kanien'kéha verbs.
- We found **two contexts** which provide support for the proposal.
  1. EVENT REVERSAL
  2. EVENT REPETITION

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Support for the proposal

- This proposal has testable implications for the event structure of Kanien'kéha verbs.
- We found **two contexts** which provide support for the proposal.
    1. EVENT REVERSAL
    2. EVENT REPETITION
- In addition, these contexts can be used as diagnostics for learners/linguists to distinguish verb classes in the language.

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Event reversal

- The REVERSIVE suffixes *-hsi* and *-ako* expresses:
  - "undo" for telic result states (12)
  - "stop" for atelic events (13)

(12) ke-'nikhón-**kwa**-s
REP-1SGA-sew-**REV**-HAB
'I'm **undoing** stitches.'

(13) wake-kh-onni-**áhsi**-on
1SGP-food-make-**REV**-STAT
'I've **stopped** cooking.'

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Reversive semantics

- Despite the name, we can understand the Reversive to mean STOP
- When the verb has no result state, it means "stop the event"
- When the verb it attaches to has a result state, it means "stop the result", in other words, "undo"

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Event reversal

(14) a. **'prepare food' is atelic**

e:prepare.food   *t*

b. **REVERSIVE of 'prepare food' says stop the event**

e′: STOP

e: prepare.food   *t*

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More examples of atelic readings

(15) Context: I was studying something but now I'm finished...
wak-ateweienhst-á-**kw**-en.
1SGP-study-JR-**REV**-STAT
'I'm finished studying.'
atelic: Reversive of 'to study' results in the cessation of the atelic
event.

(16) Context: I was shy but now I'm not...
wak-atsheiarón-**kw**-en.
1SGP-shy-**REV**-STAT
'I stopped being shy.'
atelic: Reversive of 'to be shy' results in the cessation of the atelic
event.

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Event reversal

(17) a. **'sew it' is telic**

e_1: *sew x* e_2: *x be sewn* t

b. **REVERSIVE of 'sew it' says stop the *result***

e': STOP

e_1: *sew x* e_2: *x be sewn* t

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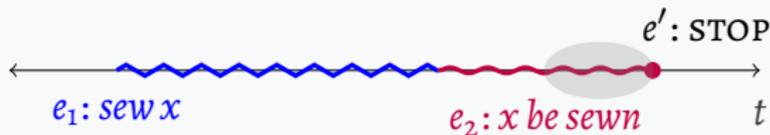
More examples of telic readings

(18) k-hiatón-**kw**-as.
      1SGA-write-**REV**-HAB
      'I'm erasing.'
      telic: Reversal of the result state of 'to write'.

(19) k-ienthó-**kw**-as.
      1SGA-plant-**REV**-HAB
      'I'm harvesting.'
      telic: Reversal of the result state of 'to plant'.

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Event repetition

- Event repetition in Kanien'kéha is expressed with the pre-pronominal prefix *s-*, commonly translated as English *again*.

(20) K-atá:wen-s.
      1SGA-swim-s
      'I am swimming.'

(21) S-k-atá:wen-s.
      REP-1SGA-swim-HAB
      'I am swimming again.'

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How does the repetitive work?

$\rightarrow$ Take an event and introduce a presupposition that a similar event
  happened sometime before

(22)   Kà:sere' se-k-hní:non-s.
       car   REP-1SGA-buy-HAB
       'I am buying a car again.'
       Presupposes: An event of [me buying a car] happened before.

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Restitutive readings

- Like English *again*, the repetitive prefix also gives rise to RESTITUTIVE readings in which the whole event doesn't repeat, but the result state of the event does.

(23)   Context: My mom put my shoes on this morning. Then, she took them off so I could play. Now. . .
Te-**s**-k-aráhta'-s.
DUP-**REP**-1SGA-put.shoes.on-HAB
'I'm putting my shoes on again.'
Presupposes: An event of [me having my shoes on] happened before.

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More examples of restitutive readings

(24)   Context: I bought a new car but I don't like it so now. . .
        S-k-atkè:ron-s.
        REP-1SGA-sell-HAB
        'I'm re-selling it.'
        Presupposes: An event of [it being sold] happened before.

(25)   Context: Paul found a toy on the ground but lost it. I found it
        and. . .
        T-onta-hí:i-on-'.
        CIS-REP.FACT-1SG>MSG-give-PUNC
        'I gave it back to him.'
        Presupposes: An event of [Paul having the toy] happened before.

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Accounting for restitutive readings

- Telic verbs have two parts:
  - process
  - result state

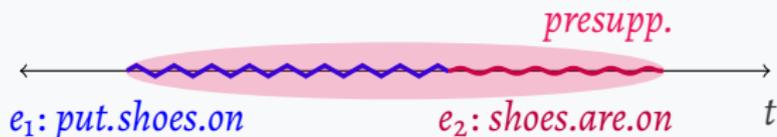- The repetitive can take in the whole verb (process + result state) or just the result state.

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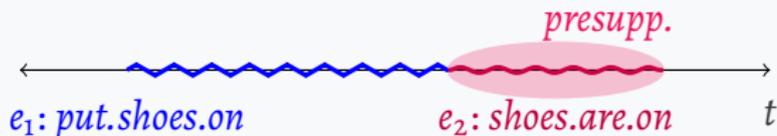SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSAL
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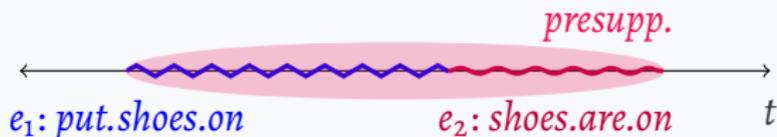
Accounting for restitutive readings

- REP(whole verb) = **repetitive** reading

'Again, I'm putting my shoes on.' (and I put them on before too)

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Accounting for restitutive readings

- REP(whole verb) = **repetitive** reading

e_1: *put.shoes.on* e_2: *shoes.are.on* t

presupp.

'Again, I'm putting my shoes on.' (and I put them on before too)

- REP(result only) = **restitutive** reading

e_1: *put.shoes.on* e_2: *shoes.are.on* t

presupp.

'I'm putting my shoes back on.' (and I had them on before too)

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Prediction of proposal

- The availability of a restitutive reading is based on a verb's telicity!

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Prediction of proposal

- The availability of a restitutive reading is based on a verb's telicity!

  - Restitutive readings require a result state.

  - Only HAB Present verbs have a result state.

  - → Only HAB Present verbs can have restitutive readings.

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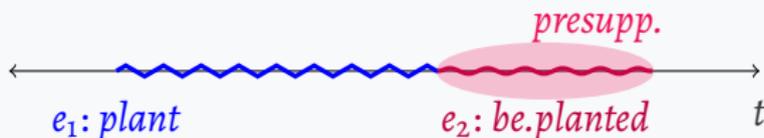CONCLUSION
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Testing the prediction

Habitual Present + REP = restitutive

(26) Context: Someone else planted corn last week but rabbits dug it
      up so today...
      Ó:nenhste s-k-iéntho-s.
      corn   REP-1SGA-plant-HAB
      'I am re-planting the corn.'

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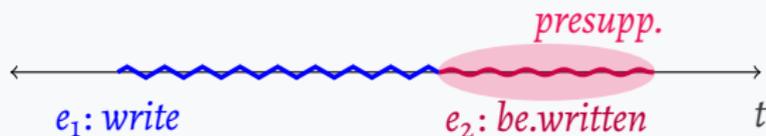
Testing the prediction

Habitual Present + REP = restitutive

(27) Context: Mary wrote a message on the board last week but
someone erased it so now. . .
Se-k-hiá:ton-s.
REP-1SGA-write-HAB
'I am writing it back (up on the board).'

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Testing the prediction

Stative Present + REP = repetitive only

(28) S-k-atshókwa-s.
REP-1SGA-smoke-HAB
'I smoke it again.'
Cannot mean: 'I re-smoke/smoke it back.'

e:smoke   *t*

(29) Te-s-k-áhsaro'k-s.
DUP-REP-1SGA-clap-HAB
'I clap again.'
Cannot mean: 'I re-clap/clap back.'

e:clap   *t*

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Summary

- The two verb classes which pattern differently with regards to present readings also pattern differently with regards to reversive and repetitive readings.

Result state	Present	REV	REP
✓	HAB	undo	repetitive/restitutive
✗	STAT	stop doing	repetitive

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Summary

- The two verb classes which pattern differently with regards to present readings also pattern differently with regards to reversive and repetitive readings.

Result state	Present	REV	REP
✓	HAB	undo	repetitive/restitutive
✗	STAT	stop doing	repetitive

- In addition to functioning as verb class diagnostics, these contexts also provide further evidence for the core proposal that the two verb classes differ in the presence/absence of a result state.

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Pedagogical implications

- Curriculum Design: having tests/diagnostics makes it easier to learn; better understanding roots and inherent meanings (swim means get in water; study means make know) upheld

- Byproducts of this research include expanding the known standards of applicability for reversive suffixes, and increased context into reversive variation, with the expansion of the known vocabularies of both reversive and repetitive verbs.

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Summary

- Kanien'kéha has two classes of verbs which pattern differently across a number of contexts:
  - "Present tense"
  - Reversive readings
  - Repetitive/restitutive readings

- The classes differ fundamentally in **telicity**.
  - Class 1: only process, no result state
  - Class 2: process + result state

- This distinction explains all three patterns, with benefits for language learning.

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Niá:wen

- Ro'nikonhkátste Norton & Tehokwiráthe Cross

- Konwaronhiá:wi Norton, Katerí Deer & Warisó:se Bush

- Tsowén:te Cross & the Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa Language and Cultural Center

- Mary Onwá:ri Tekahawáhkwen McDonald

- Akwiratékha Martin

- Wíshe Mittelstaedt

- Roti'nikonhrowá:nens

- Katya Morgunova, Jessica Coon, Alan Bale, & Luis Alonso-Ovalle