Event repetition and objectless presuppositions in Kanien'kéha<superscript>*</superscript>

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1.   Introduction

The adverb *again* has often been used to make claims about syntactic complexity and verbal semantics (see, e.g., Bale 2007, Smith and Yu 2021, Asami and Bruening 2025 on argument structure; Morgan 1969, McCawley 1976, von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004 on lexical decomposition). This investigative strategy builds off of a 'structural' analysis of *again* as an event modifier that can adjoin at any level of the derivation which denotes a property of events. Under this analysis, the range of presuppositions available with *again* shines light on verbal structure because the content of each presupposition is necessarily determined by *again*'s syntactic complement. In English, for instance, the availability of full sentence and subjectless presuppositions, as shown in (1 and (2), indicates the presence of viable adjunction sites both above and below the external argument.

(1)   Declarative presupposition

    a.   Context: <u>Seymour's dryer broke</u>. He restarted it and it began working again. The next day, however…

    b.   <u>Seymour's dryer broke</u> again.

(2)   Subjectless presupposition

    a.   Co-text: Seymour's dryer broke. He called a repairwoman who simply <u>hit the dryer</u> until it started working. The dryer broke down two days later. So…

    b.   Seymour <u>hit the dryer</u> again.   (Bale 2007:464)

At the same time, the *unavailability* of objectless presuppositions, as shown in (3), indicates that there is no possible adjunction site between the verb and its *internal* argument.

(3)   Objectless presupposition

    a.   Co-text: Seymour's dryer broke so <u>Seymour hit</u> it. Two days later, the washing machine broke. So…

    b.   #<u>Seymour hit</u> the washing machine again.'

With a structural analysis of *again*, this asymmetry provides support for the Kratzerian model of argument structure in which the external argument is introduced by its own functional projection while the internal argument is not, being an argument of the verb (Kratzer 1996) in contrast to other models in which both arguments are introduced independently (see, e.g., Neo-Davidsonian event semantics; Schein 1993, Champollion 2010, Landman 2000, Lohndal 2012, *a.o.*).

In the same spirit, this paper examines repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha (a.k.a. Mohawk; Iroquoian) as a means to shed light on the syntactic complexity of its verb phrases. Notably, while the repetitive form in Kanien'kéha gives rise to the attested readings available with *again* in English (and other previously studied languages), it also introduces a number of unexpected presuppositions, including *objectless* repetitive readings, as seen in (4).[1,2]

(4)   Context: Yesterday, Paul went to his favorite restaurant. He didn't eat anything all day beforehand. When he got to the restaurant…

    a.   Kowá:nen ka'warakarí:ta wà:-ra-k-e'.
       big   steak   FACT-MsgA-eat-PUNC
       '<u>He ate</u> a big steak.'

    b.   Sok nòn:wa kítkit **s**a-ha-'wà:ra-k-e'.
       then now   chicken **REP**.FACT-MsgA-meat-eat-PUNC
       'Then, <u>he ate</u> chicken.'
       (= eating happened again, this time of chicken, by Paul)

The felicity of these presuppositions is interesting for a number of reasons. Empirically, such readings have rarely, if ever, been attested. Thus, these new data present potential challenges for past analyses of event repetition which do not account for the existence of objectless presuppositions.

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[1] Abbreviations follow Leipzig glossing conventions with the following additions from Iroquoianist literature: DUP = duplicative; FACT = factual; HAB = habitual; NMLZ = nominalizer; PUNC = punctual; REP = repetitive; and TRANS = translocative. Agreement prefixes belong to one of three categories: agentive/subjective (A); patientive/objective (P) or transitive (X>Y) where X is the agent and Y is the patient.

[2] As seen in (4b), the co-occurrence of the repetitive prefix with other prefixes such as the factual FACT sometimes results in fused morphemes. This has no effect on the interpretation of the utterance and appears to be a purely morphophonological process.

Within this context, I draw on novel Kanien'kéha data to make three key claims: (i) despite superficial differences in morphology, Kanien'kéha's repetitive event modifier shares the same syntax-sensitive semantics as English *again*, making it a useful tool for probing verbal syntax/semantics Dowty 1979, von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004, Bale 2007, *a.o.*); (ii) Kanien'kéha exhibits an unexpectedly wide array of repetitive presuppositions of varying scopes, suggesting additional syntactic complexity in comparison to previously documented languages; and (iii) this complexity is best accounted for under a model in which all arguments are severed from the verb, in line with Neo-Davidsonian argument structure.

The remainder of the paper is as follows. Section 2 introduces Kanien'kéha's repetitive morphology, analyzing the Kanien'kéha repetitive as akin to English *again* in its semantic contribution and syntax-sensitivity. This analysis paves the way for the use of repetitive presuppositions to diagnose verbal structure in Kanien'kéha. Section 3 presents the full array of repetitive presuppositions available in Kanien'kéha, including subjectless, objectless, and restitutive readings. Assuming the semantics of the repetitive is sensitive to the syntactic position of adjunction, the availability of these readings hints at the existence of three different adjunction sites within the Kanien'kéha verb phrase, in contrast to proposals for English and other previously studied languages. Building on this, section 4 provides a syntactic analysis of the Kanien'kéha's repetitive readings, arguing that the simplest way to account for these data is to posit the severing of all arguments from the verb root, as well as the decomposition of verbs into causing and result state predicates. Finally, section 5 concludes.

2.   Deriving repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha

This section introduces Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions, arguing that the Kanien'kéha repetitive operator has the same semantic contribution as the syntax-sensitive event modifier *again*. In line with past analyses of *again*, I propose that the Kanien'kéha repetitive operator introduces a repetitive presupposition whose content is determined uniquely by the operator's syntactic complement. As a result, the range of repetitive presuppositions available with the operator shines a light on the syntactic structure of verbs in the language.

2.1   Introducing Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions

Kanien'kéha is a Northern Iroquoian language spoken by ~600 people in Quebec, Ontario, and New York state (DeCaire 2023). While the majority of speakers are first language Elders, there are a number of fluent second-language speakers (Stacey 2016). All unattributed examples in this paper come from fieldwork conducted by the author in collaboration with four native speakers of Kanien'kéha and one advanced second-language speaker. This research adopts standard theoretically-driven fieldwork methodology (see, e.g., Matthewson 2004, Bowern 2008, and Bochnak and Matthewson 2020).

Kanien'kéha is a polysynthetic language with a wide array of derivational and inflectional morphology, particularly in verbs. A standard verb template is shown in (5). Min-

imally, the verb includes a pronominal prefix expressing agreement, a verb stem, and an aspectual suffix.

(5)   (PRE-PRONOMINAL PREFIX −) PRONOMINAL PREFIX − [VERB STEM] − ASPECT

Verbs can also appear with "pre-pronominal prefixes" which contribute a wide array of grammatical information ranging from modality and negation to direction and location (Mithun 2017). One such prefix is the so-called "repetitive" prefix *s-* which is typically translated into English as 'again'. Like *again*, the presence of the repetitive prefix introduces a repetitive presupposition. As shown in (6), the repetitive form presupposes that an event similar to the asserted event occurs temporarily prior to the asserted event.

(6)   a.   K-atá:wen-s.
              1sgA-swim-HAB
              'I'm swimming.'
        b.   **S**-k-atá:wen-s.
              REP-1sgA-swim-HAB
              'I'm swimming again.'
              Presupposes: 'I swam before.'

Evidence for this presuppositional status comes from projection facts. When the repetitive prefix occurs within the scope of negation, as in (7), the presupposed content still projects.

(7)   Context: you've never bought a car.
        #Iah te-**s**-ke-'sere-hta-hní:non-s.
          no NEG-**REP**-1sgA-car-NMLZ-buy-HAB
          Intended: 'I am not buying a car again.'

In addition to occurring on its own, the repetitive prefix frequently appears with another repetitive morpheme *á:re'*. This morpheme, also translated as 'again' in grammars, is not affixed to the verb but stands on its own, as seen in (8).

(8)   **Á:re'** **s**-k-atá:wen-s.
        REP   **REP**-1sgA-swim-HAB
        'I'm swimming again.'

Notably, while the repetitive prefix *s-* can appear without *á:re'*, the inverse is not allowed. As shown in (9), the presence of *á:re'* necessitates the presence of a repetitive prefix on the verb stem.

(9)   **Á:re'** *(**s**)-k-atáwen-s.
        REP   **REP**-1sgA-swim-HAB
        'I swim again.'

2.2   Kanien'kéha REP = *again*, with concord

To account for the repetitive semantics and bipartite morphology of Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions, I propose an operator-particle analysis, inspired by past work on 'only doubling' (Lee 2005, Quek and Hirsch 2017, Sun 2021). Under such an approach, two seemingly redundant morphemes actually instantiate two different underlying heads: (i) a semantically active operator, and (ii) a semantically vacuous concord marker which establishes a syntactic dependency with the operator. In the case of Kanien'kéha, I take *á:re'* to be the realization of the repetitive operator and the prefix *s-* to be the concord marker. This analysis, represented in (10), explains the distribution of the two morphemes, with the repetitive prefix appearing whenever the repetitive operator (and its corresponding semantics) is present. See Myers To appear for a full account of the operator-particle approach in Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions.

(10)   [(**REP$_{Op}$**) [I [[$_{REP_{Prefix}}$] swim]]]

Crucially, as seen in 6a, there are contexts where the repetitive prefix *s-* can appear on its own, without *á:re'*. In line with other operator-particle accounts, I take that the Kanien'kéha repetitive operator can be null or realized as *á:re'*. In either case, the repetitive prefix must still occur because of the concord relation between the two heads. Thus, the appearance of the repetitive prefix in a Kanien'kéha clause is evidence that a repetitive operator is also present, even if it is not realized overtly.

Having explained the bipartite syntax of repetitive constructions, I turn now to their interpretation. In line with past work (Dowty 1979, von Stechow 1996, Jäger and Blutner 2003, Beck and Johnson 2004, *a.o.*), I propose that the repetitive operator in Kanien'kéha shares the same standard semantics as repetitive *again* in English (and many other languages). The operator is a modifier of properties of events ($\langle\langle v,t\rangle,\langle v,t\rangle\rangle$) which contributes a presupposition that a similar event (*e'*) to the asserted event (*e*) has already occurred. These semantics are formalized in (11).

(11) $[\![again_{REP}]\!]_{\langle\langle v,t\rangle,\langle v,t\rangle\rangle} = \lambda P_{\langle v,t\rangle}.\lambda e: \exists e' [e' \prec e \text{ \& } P(e')].\, P(e)$

With this semantics, the repetitive operator can adjoin at any level of the derivation that denotes a property of events. However, the content of the presupposition that it introduces varies based on the adjunction site because, in line with a structural account of *again*, the scope of the presupposition is uniquely determined by the syntactic complement of the operator.

2.3   Syntax-sensitivity of Kanien'kéha REP

Evidence for this syntax-sensitivity is well-documented with repetitive modifiers across languages (see, e.g., McCawley 1976, Morgan 1969, von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004, Bale 2007). In English, for instance, *again* demonstrates scope interactions with

both negation and adverbial adjuncts. These same interactions are found in Kanien'kéha, supporting the claim that Kanien'kéha's repetitive operator is syntax-sensitive and therefore useful for examining syntactic structure in the language.

In English, when *again* is leftward adjoining, its presupposition includes all elements of the clause to its right; when it is rightward adjoining, the presupposition can include either the full clause or a smaller scope. This distinction is seen in sentences with negation where rightward adjoining *again* scopes below negation (12a), but leftward adjoining *again* scopes above negation (12b) (example modified from Bale 2007:459).

(12)   a.   Esme didn't [hit Harry] again.   (NEG>REP)
         b.   Again [Esme didn't hit Harry].   (REP>NEG)

In Kanien'kéha, the same pattern appears but instead of rightward/leftward adjunction, it is driven by the presence vs. absence of *á:re'*, as shown in (13). This makes sense when we recall that *á:re'* is the realization of the repetitive operator. When *á:re'* is present, it appears to the left of the clause in line with a high adjunction site for the repetitive operator, scoping over negation (13a). When *á:re'* is absent, we cannot tell where it adjoins syntactically. However, this ambiguity allows for the possibility of its adjunction at a low site, scoping above negation (13b).

(13)   a.   Iah   te-ts-ako-'ther-ón:ni.
             NEG NEG-REP-FI.A-basket-make.STAT
             'She didn't [make baskets] again.'   (NEG>REP)
         b.   **Á:re'** iah   te-ts-ako-'ther-ón:ni.
             REP   NEG NEG-REP-FI.A-basket-make.STAT
             'Again [she didn't make baskets].'   (REP>NEG)

This distinction provides support for the claims that the semantics of the repetitive in Kanien'kéha is syntax-sensitive; the adjunction site of the operator dictates the scope of available repetitive readings.

Further such evidence is found in scope interactions between the repetitive operator (*á:re'*) and adverbial adjuncts. Like with English *again*, the relative position of *á:re'* determines whether an adjunct is included in the resulting presupposition. This is illustrated in (14) where the linear order of the adjunct 'slowly' in relation to *á:re'* determines whether it is part of the accompanying presupposition. When *á:re'* appears to the left of the adjunct, it is included in the presupposition (14a); when *á:re'* appears to the right of the adjunct, it is not (14b).

(14)   a.   **Á:re'** <u>skena'shòn:'a</u> sa-k-atá:wen-'.
             REP   slow   REP.FACT-1sgA-swim-PUNC
             '[I swam slowly] again.'
         b.   <u>Skena'shòn:'a</u> **á:re'** sa-k-atá:wen-'.
             slowly   **REP** REP.FACT-1sgA-swim-PUNC

'[I swam] again slowly.'

Taken together, these scope interactions reinforce the claim that Kanien'kéha repetitive presuppositions are syntax-sensitive, supporting their use in diagnosing the syntactic structure of verb phrases in the language.

3.   Kanien'kéha's many repetitive presuppositions

Having established the semantics and sensitivity of Kanien'kéha's repetitive operator, we turn now to its application in investigating syntactic complexity. Assuming that the repetitive operator is an event modifier, each available reading of a repetitive construction indicates a level of the derivation that denotes a set of events. Thus, by looking at the range of presuppositions available for a given sentence, we can better understand the structure of verb phrases in Kanien'kéha.

To set up this investigation, this section documents the array of presuppositions available with Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions. Unsurprisingly, Kanien'kéha mirrors English in the existence of both full sentence and subjectless presuppositions. However, Kanien'kéha repetitive constructions also give rise to presuppositions that are unexpected in the English context, hinting at more complexity in verbal structure. This section examines the availability of subjectless, objectless, and restitutive readings with the repetitive with the implication that the existence of each indicates a separate level of the derivation at which the repetitive operator can adjoin.

3.1   Subjectless presuppositions

While subjectless repetitive presuppositions exist in both English and Kanien'kéha, past work has argued that their availability is restricted by a variety of factors. Bale (2007) and Smith and Yu (2021) note that subjectless presuppositions are available with most non-stative transitive verbs but not with others and are wholly illicit with stative transitives and intransitives. This is shown in (15).

(15)   a.   Mary kicked the ball.
              John kicked the ball again.   (most non-stative transitives ✓)
        b.   Mary read the article.
              #John read the article again.   (some non-stative transitives ✗)
        c.   Mary loved ice cream.
              #John loved ice cream again.   (stative transitives ✗)
        d.   Mary swam.
              #John swam again.   (intransitives ✗)

These accounts propose that variation in the availability of subjectless presuppositions is the result of variation in argument structure. While most non-stative transitives have severed external arguments, the arguments of other verbs are included in the lexical entry of the verb root, prohibiting repetitive adjunction between the subject and verb.

The Kanien'kéha data paints a different picture. In Kanien'kéha, subjectless repetitive readings are available with *all* verbs, with no apparent restrictions.[3] This is demonstrated in (16) with the non-stative transitive 'read' which typically cannot support a subjectless reading in English. In the Kanien'kéha, this reading is easily accessible.

(16)   Context: Terrance and Katya both want to read a National Geographic magazine so they take turns borrowing it. Terrance <u>read the NatGeo</u> first. Then…

   Katya **s**a-ie-wennahnó:-ton'   NatGeo.
   Katya **REP**.FACT-FI.A-read-PUNC NatGeo
   'Katya <u>read the NatGeo</u>.' (literally, 'Katya <u>read the NatGeo</u> **again**')

Subjectless readings are also available with the other verb types that have been proposed to prohibit such readings in English. This includes both stative transitive predicates such as 'love', as seen in (17), and intransitives, such as 'die', in (18). Though the literal English translations sound odd, the Kanien'kéha versions are perfectly grammatical.

(17)   Context: John was married to Mary but then she died. After this, he got married again, this time to Helen. First, Mary <u>loved him</u> and then…

   Helen **s**a-ho-nó:ron-hkwe'.
   Helen **REP**.FACT-FZsg>Msg-love-R.PST
   'Helen <u>loved him</u>.' (literally, 'Helen <u>loved him</u> **again**')

(18)   Context: John and Paul were friends for 50 years. Last week, John <u>died</u>. Then,…

   Kó:r   **s**a-hr-énhei-e'.
   Helen **REP**.FACT-MsgA-die-PUNC
   'And Paul <u>died</u>.' (literally, 'Paul died **again**')

Thus, in Kanien'kéha, subjectless repetitive readings can occur with all verbs in contrast to the claims of Bale (2007) and Smith and Yu (2021). Interestingly, more recent cross-linguistic recent work supports the Kanien'kéha findings. In re-examining repetitive readings in English and Japanese, Asami and Bruening (2025) argue that unergative and stative transitives *can* allow subjectless repetitive readings as long as an appropriate context is set up, suggesting that the Kanien'kéha paradigm is not as surprising as we might think. That being said, their subjectless readings often require very specific and detailed contexts, which are not needed in Kanien'kéha. What's more, Kanien'kéha appears to allow for unaccusative subjectless readings, as with 'die' in 18, indicating that the lack of restrictions on subjectless repetitive readings in Kanien'kéha is still noteworthy.

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[3]One potential exception is the class of so-called "stative-only" verbs which denote states like 'be tall' or 'be hard'. While these verbs don't allow subjectless presuppositions, they also pattern differently from standard verbs in a variety of ways, suggesting that they are likely a different beast entirely. Unlike standard verbs, stative-only verbs can only appear with the 'stative' aspect suffix and cannot co-occur with mood or tense morphology. Based on this distribution, I follow Baker and deMena Travis 1998 and Baker 2003 in taking these roots to be *adjectival* and therefore outside the scope of verbal event repetition.

3.2   Objectless presuppositions

More surprising than subjectless readings, Kanien'kéha also allows for objectless repetitive readings with all verbs. In such readings, it is presupposed that a prior event has occurred which only shares its *verb* with the asserted event. This is demonstrated in (19) where each sentence marked by the repetitive prefix has the same verb but different subjects and objects.[4]

(19)   Context: we all went on a shopping spree: me, you, and Jen.

      a.   Wa-hsh-anishonhshawi-'tshera-hní:non-'.
          FACT-2sgA-ring-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
          'You <u>bought</u> a ring.'

      b.   Sok **s**a-ie-hna'ta-'tshera-hní:non-'.
          then **REP**-FACT-FI.A-purse-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
          'Then she <u>bought</u> a purse.' (literally, 'she <u>bought</u> a purse **again**')

      c.   Sok **s**a-k-hiaton-hshera-hní:non-'.
          sok **s**-wa'-k-hiaton-hshera-hninon-'
          then **REP**-FACT-1sgA-book-NMLZ-buy-PUNC
          'Then I <u>bought</u> a book.' (literally, 'I <u>bought</u> a book **again**')

These types of readings are incredibly rare cross-linguistically and, to my knowledge, have never been documented with an exclusively repetitive reading. While similar objectless repetitive readings have been documented (see, e.g., Matthewson and Davis (2022) on Salish; Xu 2016 on Mandarin; Seungho Nam (p.c.) for Korean), the morphemes at play in these languages can all also be used in additive contexts where objectless readings are expected. This syncretism does not exist in Kanien'kéha where objectless presuppositions are always repetitive, highlighting a typologically unique phenomenon.

3.3   Restitutive readings

In addition to subjectless and objectless readings, the Kanien'kéha repetitive also gives rise to restitutive readings. With telic verbs, the use of the repetitive can trigger a presupposition that only the resulting state of the verb has occurred previously. An example of a restitutive reading is seen in (20); within this context, it is presupposed that the of the speaker wearing shoes has occurred previously, but not that the event of the speaker putting on shoes has.

(20)   Context: My mom put my shoes on this morning. I took them off to play. Now...
      Te-**s**-k-ráhta'-s.
      DUP-**REP**-1sgA-put.shoes.on-HAB
      'I'm putting my shoes back on.' (= again, my shoes are on)

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[4]Interestingly, noun incorporation, as seen in (19), has no effect on the availability of objectless presuppositions. This aligns with other work which argues that noun incorporation in Kanien'kéha does not have an effect on verbal semantics (DeCaire et al. 2017, Cross et al. To appear).

Similarly, in (21), it is presupposed that the result of Otto possessing the toy has occurred before, but not that the event of the speaker giving Otto the toy has.

(21)   Context: Otto found a toy on the ground. I took it from him. Then, I gave it *back* to him.
Iontkahri:tha' **s**a-hí:i-on-'.
toy   **REP**.FACT-1sg<Msg-give-PUNC
'I gave him back the toy.' (= again, he has the toy)

The presence of restitutive readings with the repetitive operator is not wholly surprising in Kanien'kéha as many languages use a repetitive modifier to derive restitutive readings (see Beck and Johnson 2004 *a.o.*). Nevertheless, the fact that this type of reading is available along with subjectless and objectless readings emphasizes the breadth of repetitive presuppositions induced by the repetitive operator, particularly in comparison to cross-linguistic counterparts like *again*. Within a syntactic approach to *again* readings, the unrestricted availability of all of these readings in Kanien'kéha raises implications for the structure of verbs in the language.

3.4   Summary

The Kanien'kéha repetitive operator triggers a wide array of presuppositions in comparison to many other languages. Unlike past accounts of English *again*, subjectless readings with the repetitive operator are unrestricted, occurring with all types of verbs. The same widespread availability is also seen with objectless repetitive readings, which have not been attested in other languages. Finally, Kanien'kéha also allows for restitutive readings with the repetitive. This paradigm is illustrated in (22).

(22)   Available repetitive readings and their presuppositional content

Reading	Full Sentence	Subjectless	Objectless	Restitutive
Content	[S V O]	[V O]	[V]	Result state

4.   Consequences

This section builds on the past two sections to present a potential explanation for why Kanien'kéha exhibits the range of repetitive readings it does. To do so, I assume a syntax-sensitive analysis of repetitive presuppositions, as argued for in section 2. Under such an approach, the data presented in section 3 indicate the presence of at least four levels of the derivation at which the operator can adjoin: (i) above the subject (ii) above the object, (iii) above the verb, and (iv) above the result state of the verb. In the spirit of past analyses which have argued that the availability of subjectless repetitive readings supports the severing of the external argument from the verb (Bale 2007, Smith and Yu 2021, Asami and Bruening 2025), I argue that a similar approach can be taken in accounting for objectless and restitutive readings, motivating the severing of internal arguments and result states as well.
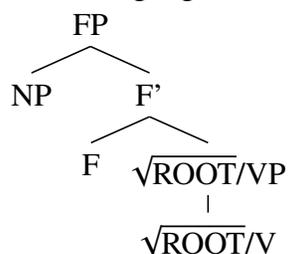
As a note, this syntactic/structural approach is not the only way to account for the Kanien'kéha facts. The readings could also be explained under a lexical analysis, driven by polysemy (see, e,g., Jäger and Blutner 2000 and Fabricius-Hansen 2001). Under this analysis, each reading is generated by a semantically different but morphologically identical but semantically distinct operator. While this approach can be made to predict the same results as a structural account, its implementation is considerably more complex, challenging the suitability of such an analysis in Kanien'kéha. See Myers 2025 for a fuller discussion comparing structural vs. lexical accounts of *again* ambiguity in Kanien'kéha which supports the decision here to opt for structural analysis and the implications it raises.

4.1   Severing external and internal arguments

In the same spirit as past accounts have utilized the range of presuppositions introduced by *again* to argue for an asymmetry between external and internal arguments in English, I propose that the Kanien'kéha facts support a symmetrical analysis for both types of arguments. Specifically, the unrestricted availability of subjectless and objectless presuppositions motivates the severing of *all* arguments from the verb.

Having established that the repetitive operator is a modifier of properties of events and that the presupposition it induces is determined by its syntactic complement, the availability of objectless presuppositions indicates that there is a level of the derivation that denotes a set of events before any arguments are introduced. To account for this, I follow Schein (1993), Champollion (2010), and Lohndal (2012) in severing the internal argument syntactically from the verb in addition to the external argument. Under this approach, I take the verb to be a bare predicate of events, as formalized in (23a) for the verb 'eat'. All arguments are then related to the verb via thematic roles introduced by functional projections, as demonstrated in (23b).
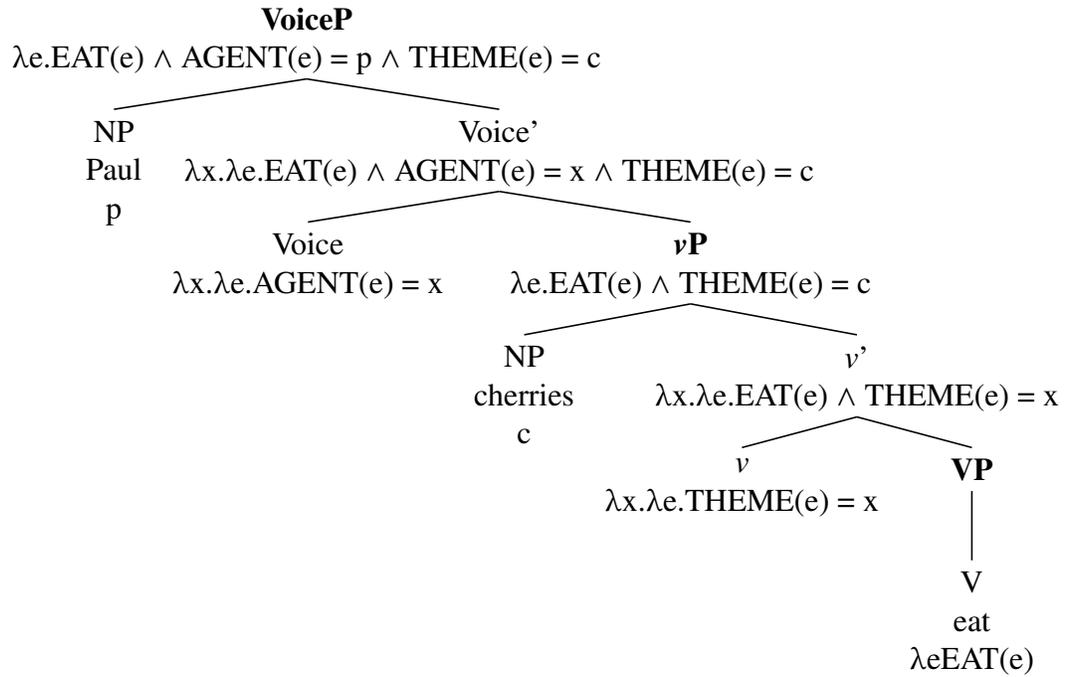
(23)   a.   Semantics of the verb/root
                $[\![EAT]\!] = \lambda e\text{EAT}(e)$
        b.   Introducing arguments

```
              FP
             /  \
           NP     F'
                 /  \
                F   √ROOT/VP
                        |
                    √ROOT/V
```

With these semantics, the repetitive operator can modify the verb directly (i.e., below the object) to derive objectless presuppositions. What's more, all verbs share the same underlying structure regardless of whether they are transitive or intransitive, unaccusative or unergative, reflecting the unrestricted availability of subjectless and objectless presuppositions. An example of a proposed structure is given in (24) with each level at which the repetitive can adjoin in bold. To distinguish between functional projections, I have assumed

that Voice relates an event to an agent and little *v* an event to a theme (as is widely proposed) but the exact head which introduces each argument is not critically important.[5]

(24)　　a.　Kó:r é:ri　　**s**a-ra-k-e'
　　　　　　Paul cherry **REP**.FACT-MsgA-eat-PUNC
　　　　　　'Paul ate cherries again.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Adjunction at **VoiceP**)
　　　　　　'Paul ate cherries again.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Adjunction at ***v*P**)
　　　　　　'Paul ate cherries again.'　　　　　　　　　　　　(Adjunction at **VP**)
　　　　b.　Introducing arguments independently

VoiceP
λe.EAT(e) ∧ AGENT(e) = p ∧ THEME(e) = c

　　　NP　　　　　　　　　　　　Voice'
　　　Paul　　λx.λe.EAT(e) ∧ AGENT(e) = x ∧ THEME(e) = c
　　　p

　　　　　　Voice　　　　　　　　　***v*P**
　　　　λx.λe.AGENT(e) = x　　　λe.EAT(e) ∧ THEME(e) = c

　　　　　　　　　NP　　　　　　　　　　*v*'
　　　　　　　cherries　　λx.λe.EAT(e) ∧ THEME(e) = x
　　　　　　　　　c

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　v　　　　　　**VP**
　　　　　　　　　λx.λe.THEME(e) = x

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　V
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　eat
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　λeEAT(e)

4.2　Severing the result state

Relatedly, the availability of restitutive readings with the repetitive operator provides supports for severing within the verb root itself. In extending the above analysis to restitutive readings, I follow von Stechow (1996), Beck and Johnson (2004) and others, in decomposing resultative predicates like 'give' into two elements: a causative light verb BECOME, in V, and the predicate of the result state, in a lower head X. In the case of 'give', the result state is one of possessing which I represent as HAVE. This structure is exemplified in (25); adjunction at VP results in a repetitive reading, scoping over both the causing event and resulting state predicates (25a) while adjunction at XP results in a restitutive reading, scoping only over the resulting state predicate (25a).

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[5]While the sentence exemplified here is a transitive, I assume that *v* can also pass up its complement without introducing an argument to form an unergative.

(25) T-onta-hí:i-on'.
      CIS-**REP**.FACT-1sg>Msg-give-PUNC
      'I gave him the toy again.' OR 'I gave him back the toy.'

    a. [[$_{VP}$ CAUSE [$_{XP}$ the toy is possessed]] REP-OP]   (Adjunction at VP)
        Presupposes: 'An event of giving the toy occurred before.'

    b. [[$_{XP}$ the toy is possessed] REP-OP]   (Adjunction at XP)
        Presupposes: 'A state of the toy being possessed occurred before.'

5.   Conclusion

In this paper, I presented an account of repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha, arguing that the wide range of available repetitive readings can be explained naturally by the interaction of a syntax-sensitive repetitive operator with the semantics of English *again* and a verb whose arguments are all introduced independently. To motivate these claims, I demonstrated that the Kanien'kéha repetitive functions akin to English *again* in regards to the presuppositions it triggers and the scope interactions it has with other elements like negation and adverbial adjuncts. Then, I documented the wide array of repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha, including subjectless, objectless and restitutive readings. With these findings in mind, I argued that the Kanien'kéha facts can most suitably be explained by taking up an analysis of the verb with Neo-Davidsonian argument structure and syntactically decomposed sub-events.

    One question this analysis raises is how to account for cross-linguistic variation between Kanien'kéha, which allows objectless repetitive readings, and other languages, which do not. This variation could arise from either the verb or the repetitive operator. Either languages differ in the underlying semantics of their verbs, with Kanien'kéha allowing bare event predicates and others requiring the inclusion of an internal argument, or languages differ in the properties of their modifiers, with Kanien'kéha allowing modification of the verb/root and others placing stipulations on such adjunction.

    Though it is likely impossible to determine which of these options is truly the case, the latter option, in which the semantics of the verb are universal and variation arises as a result of language-specific modifiers, seems more straightforward, particularly in the wake of growing work on the diversity of adverbs within languages (see, e.g., Marantz 2007 on *re*- vs. *again*) as well on root modification in English (Pylkkänen 2008 and Ahn 2022). Additionally, as more work continues to be done on under-studied languages, more evidence for severing the internal argument continues to arise (Basilico 2019 on Eskimo-Aleut, Elkins et al. 2024 on Mam, *a.o.*).

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