REPETITIVES, REVERSIVES, AND ONGOING TELIC EVENTS IN KANIEN'KÉHA*

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1. Introduction

Like other Northern Iroquoian languages, Kanien'kéha (aka Mohawk) lacks one dedicated form for expressing an ongoing episodic (i.e., a single ongoing event) reading, typically translated into English with the Present Progressive. Instead, verbs pattern in two distinct classes. For one class, the Habitual aspect, typically used to express habitual/generic readings, additionally gives rise to an ongoing episodic reading, as illustrated by (1). For the other class, it is the the Stative aspect, typically used to express perfect readings, which does this job, as illustrated by (2).[1,2]

(1) **Habitual Present**
Ó:nenhste' tiénthos.
onenhste' k-iéntho-**s**
corn 1SGA-plant-**HAB**
'I plant corn.'
or 'I am planting corn.'

(2) **Stative Present**
Wakatshókwen.
wak-atshókw-**en**
1SGP-smoke-**STAT**
'I have smoked.'
or 'I am smoking.'

As we will show further below, these classes are complementary. While all verbs above use the Habitual for habitual readings and the Stative for perfect readings, verbs like *ientho* 'plant' in (1) express the ongoing episodic reading *only* in the Habitual aspect, and verbs like *atshokw* 'smoke' express it *only* in the Stative aspect. More examples for each class are given in Table 1.

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[1]Abbreviations follow Leipzig glossing conventions with the following additions from Iroquoianist literature: CIS = cislocative; DUP = duplicative; FACT = factual; HAB = habitual; JR = joiner vowel; PUNC = punctual; REP = repetitive; REV = reversive; and STAT = stative. 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]All unattributed examples in this paper come from fieldwork conducted by the authors in collaboration with four native speakers of Kanien'kéha. This research followed standard context-driven fieldwork methodology (see, e.g., Matthewson 2004, Bowern 2008, and Bochnak and Matthewson 2020).

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Table 1. Verb classes in Kanien'kéha.

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'

Notably, this two-way distinction has raised challenges for past linguistic work on Northern Iroquoian languages as well as the growing number of second-language learners taking part in these languages' revitalization efforts. Both linguists and learners note that determining which class a verb belongs to often seems arbitrary. In addition, no diagnostics for determining aspectual class have been proposed.

The most prominent attempt at explaining the two verb classes in Northern Iroquoian comes from Chafe (1970), on Onondaga. He terms the property which determines the ongoing episodic aspect "consequentiality", describing it as follows:

> ...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)

While this intuition feels right, and has been adopted in many descriptions of Northern Iroquoian languages, there has been no independent empirical evidence to support it, making it challenging to use further in theoretical and pedagogical contexts.

Given this, the goal of this paper is to present a more formal account of Northern Iroquoian aspectual classes with implications for both linguists and learners. Building upon Chafe's notion of 'consequentiality' as well as more recent work on ongoing episodic readings in Kanien'kéha (Cross et al. 2023), we propose that Kanien'kéha's two classes are the result of variation in telicity, here construed as the inclusion of a *result state* as part of the event denoted by the verb. We implement the telicity distinction formally within a decompositional framework (Dowty 1979), demonstrating that the verb classes in (1)–(2) result from an event structural distinction. Specifically, Stative Present verbs are atelic, denoting homogenous processes, while Habitual Present verbs are telic, denoting hetereogenous sums of a process and a result state. To support this claim, we provide two novel empirical generalizations which independently point towards the presence of a lexically specified result state. In both reversive and repetitive constructions, the two verb classes pattern exactly as expected if they were to differ in the presence or absence of a result state (in line with similar claims for English; see Bhadra 2024). In addition to reinforcing our principal claim, these generalization also provide two practical diagnostic tests for aspectual class in

the language, which we hope will be useful for both linguists and learners in the continued study of Northern Iroquoian languages.

2. Proposal

In this section, we make our proposal for the contrast in (1)–(2) explicit. First, we provide the event structural differences for the two classes of verbs (following Dowty 1979 among others). Then, we briefly show how such an account can be used to derive ongoing readings with the Stative aspect (leaving the ongoing reading of the Habitual aspect to future work). This discussion sets the stage for the remainder of the paper, where we provide two pieces of empirical support for our proposal.

2.1 Aspectual class is based on telicity

As discussed in the introduction, there are two classes of verbs in Kanien'kéha, identified by the aspectual form with which an ongoing episodic reading is expressed. Importantly, these classes are complementary. A verb for which the ongoing episodic meaning is expressed with the Habitual aspect like in (5) only has the perfect meaning available in the Stative aspect. In the same way, a verb for which ongoing episodic meaning is expressed with the Stative aspect like in (4) only has the habitual/generic meaning avialable in the Habitual aspect.

(4) a. tiénthos
k-ientho-s
1SGA-plant-HAB
i. 'I plant.' (habitual)
ii. **'I am planting.'** (ongoing episodic)

b. watiénthon
wak-ientho-on
1SGP-plant-STAT
i. 'I have planted.' (perfect)
ii. Not: 'I am planting.' (ongoing episodic)

(5) a. katshókwas
k-atshokw-as
1SGA-smoke-HAB
i. 'I smoke.' (habitual)
ii. Not: 'I am smoking.' (ongoing episodic)

b. wakatshókwen
wak-atshokw-en
1SGP-smoke-STAT
i. 'I have smoked.' (perfect)
ii. **'I am smoking.'** (ongoing episodic)

As shorthand, we will follow the recent pedagogically-oriented literature (Martin 2023; DeCaire 2023) and refer to the ongoing episodic reading of telic verbs as HAB Present verbs and that of atelic verbs as STAT Present.[3]

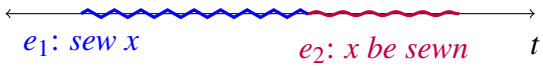
The proposal that we will defend in this paper is that the contrast in (5)–(4) is due to a telicity contrast. This proposal builds on the intuition of Chafe (1970) cited above, and provides an explicit semantic characterization of the proposal advanced in Cross et al. (2023).

More specifically, we propose that the denotation of verb roots differs in the complexity of their events.[4] An atelic verb root denotes a homogeneous process, illustrated in (6). On the other hand, a telic verb root denotes a sum of two subevents, a homogeneous process and a homogeneous result state), illustrated in (7).

(6) a. $[\![\text{study}]\!] = \lambda e.\text{study}(e)$

b. 

(7) a. $[\![\text{sew.it}]\!] = \lambda e.\exists e_1, e_2.\ (e = e_1 \sqcup e_2)$ & $\text{sew.it}(e_1)$ & $\text{it.is.sewn}(e_2)$

b. 

It is the presence of this result state that will be at issue in the remainder of the paper. Our goal will be to illustrate that various parts of the grammar of Kanien'kéha is sensitive to the presence of this result state. We turn first to the sensitivity that aspect (specifically the Stative aspect) has to the result state, and then provide corroborating evidence from two non-aspectual sources.

2.2 Application to ongoing readings

In this section, we very briefly lay out evidence directly from the ongoing episodic readings that such an account is on the right track. Due to space limitations, we refer readers to the

[3]This is a slight misnomer, however, as the ongoing episodic form is not restricted to present temporal reference; see Gatchalian (2025: 71) for details.

[4]Nominal arguments do not affect the telicity class of the verb, justifying a lexical treatment of telicity over a compositional one such as that of Verkuyl (1993) or Travis (2010). See Gatchalian (2025) for details.

full discussion of the perfect in Gatchalian (2025: 109ff). The evidence concerns restrictions on the precise interpretation of a "perfect" reading cross-linguistically. To see this, consider the following perfect aspect verb phrases in English. In particular, consider the availability of the continuative reading, indicated by the felicity of a continuation asserting the continuation of the eventuality.

(8) a. I have read the book #(and I am still reading it).

b. I have been reading the book (and I am still reading it).

c. I have lived in Montreal for four years (and I am still living there).

The generalization is that continuative readings of the perfect are restricted to stative or imperfectively-marked VPs. Similar patterns are not uncommon cross-linguistically, being found in Bulgarian as well as in Greek which lacks imperfective-aspect participles, and so lacks continuative perfect readings in general (Iatridou et al. 2001). The analytical intuition underlying this cross-linguistic pattern is that the imperfective aspect allows the event to be presented such that there is no culmination within the reference interval. Because of this, the eventuality is asserted to be true throughout the reference interval. In this sense, the imperfective viewpoint aspect is crucial to this meaning.

Turning now to Kanien'kéha, we see that the Stative aspect suffix, which has the semantics of the perfect, can only derive continuative readings with atelic verbs. What is crucial here is that the continuative reading of the Stative aspect in (9) is restricted to atelic verbs.

(9) Kó:r shiiohrhòn:ke **shihowenná:note'** kí:ken iewennahnotáhkhwa'.
Kor shi-io-hrhon'k-e shi-ho-wennanot-e' kiken iewennahnotahkhwa'
Kor COIN-NP-morning-STAT COIN-MSGP-read-STAT this book
'Kor has been reading this book all morning.' (Gatchalian 2025: 111)

For telic verbs, the continuative reading is instead found in the Habitual aspect. This is shown in (10).

(10) a. Kó:r shiiohrhòn:ke' **shatehahtotáhrhos**.
Kor shi-io-hrhon'k-e sh-a'te-ha-tohtahrho-s
Kor COIN-NP-morning-STAT COIN-DUPL-MSGA-clean-HAB
'Kor has been cleaning all morning.'

b. #Kó:r shiiohrhòn:ke **sha'tehotohtáhrhon**.
Kor shi-io-hrhon'k-e sh-a'te-ho-tohtahrh-on
Kor COIN-NP-morning-STAT COIN-DUPL-MSGP-clean-STAT
Intended: 'Kor has been cleaning all morning.' (Gatchalian 2025: 111)

Given that the Stative aspect is a perfect and that continuative readings are restricted to atelic verbs, we can account for the ongoing episodic reading in the following way. Ongoing episodic readings are analyzed in an identical manner as continuative readings of the perfect. The restrictions on continuative readings are well known (Iatridou et al. 2001). For the purposes of our discussion, the crucial piece permitting such an analytical move is treating the atelic verbs in an analogous way to the imperfective aspect in English and Bulgarian. This is spelled out in more detail in Gatchalian (2025: 124ff).

So far, we have seen how our conception of telicity can be used to derive the restriction of ongoing interpretations in Stative aspect. In the remainder of the paper, we will see independent evidence not related to the aspectual suffixes which points to an event structural distinction between the two classes of verbs. Namely, we will see two tests which pick out the result state of telic verbs.

3. Telicity and event reversal

The first piece of supporting evidence comes from the available readings with the Reversive suffix. The Reversive suffix derives verbs with one of two meanings: (i) a REVERSAL reading wherein the result state of the event is undone (similar to English *un-*), and (ii) a CESSATION reading, where the event is asserted to end. As implied by this description, the REVERSAL reading is restricted to telic verbs, since only these have a result state. Section 3.1 illustrates these readings and discusses the lexical restrictions. Section 3.2 sketches an analysis whereby the Reversive suffix is a cessative operator, and that the reversal reading arises from applying the cessation to the full result-including event.

3.1 Reversal vs. cessation readings

The Reversive suffix has two allomorphs *-kw* and *-hsi*, whose distribution is root-controlled. Verbs derived with the Reversive suffix have one of two meanings, expressing either event-reversal or a event-cessation. The central generalization in this section is that the choice between these two readings is determined by the telicity of the verb (and secondarily, real-world knowledge of the kinds of result states which are reversible). Crucially, the form of the verb does not correlate with the suffix.

To illustrate the pattern, consider the root *-'nikhon* 'sew something' in (11). This verb expresses its ongoing episodic reading with the Habitual aspect, and thus is a telic verb. The Reversive form is given in (11b), where the meaning of the derived verb is 'to undo stiches, to un-sew something'. Note also that the telicity of the base verb is unaffected: the Reversive stem remains telic.

(11) a. Ke'níkhons
ke-'nikhon-s
1SGA-sew-HAB
'I'm sewing it.'

b. Wa'tkaterien'tawénrie' ne tiorì:wa'
wa'-t-k-at-erien't-awenri-e' ne t-io-rihw-a'
FACT-DUPL-1SGA-SR-disposition-stir-PUNC NE CIS-NP-matter-NSF
(s)ke'nikhónkwas
ke-'nikhon-**kw**-as
1SGA-sew-**REV**-HAB
'I made a mistake, so that's why I'm undoing the stitches (again).'

In contrast to the above, consider the atelic verb in (12)–(13). That these verbs are atelic can be seen from the ongoing episodic reading which occurs with the Stative aspect, as accounted for under our analysis in Section 2.2. When verbs of this class occur with the Reversive suffix, the resulting meaning is a verb meaning to stop the event of the base verb. Thus (12b) can only mean to *stop cooking*, and not *uncook*.

(12) a. Wakekhón:ni
wake-kh-onni
1SGP-food-make.STAT
'I'm cooking.'

b. Ó:nen **wakekhonniáhsion**.
onen wake-kh-onni-**ahsi**-on
already 1SGP-food-make-**REV**-STAT
'I've already stopped cooking.'

(13) a. Kahiatónhsera rowennà:note'
kahiatonhsera ro-wennahnot-e'
book MSGP-read-STAT
'He's reading a book.'

b. Wa'kewennahnotá:ko'
wa'-ke-wennahnot-ako-'
FACT-1SGA-read-REV-PUNC
'I finished reading it.'

So far, we have seen cases where the telicity class of the base verb directly correlates with the meaning found with the Reversie suffix for that verb: telic HAB Present verbs give rise to an 'undo' reading whereas atelic STAT Present verbs give rise to a 'stop' reading. There are, however, some principled exceptions to this pattern. Certain telic verbs denote events whose result state is incompatible with a reversal meanings; that is, they are telic but their result state is not something that can be agentively reversed, shown in (14).

(14) a. Ra'serehtóhares ne raò:sere
ra-'sereh-tohare-s ne rao-'sere
MSGA-car-wash-HAB NE MPOSS-car
'He is washing his car.'

b. Waha'serehtoharehsi
wa-ra-'sereh-tohare-hsi-'
FACT-MSGA-car-wash-REV-PUNC
'He finished washing the car'

In the above case, instead of the expected event reversal meaning, the Reversive suffix is interpreted with the event cessation meaning. This is not unexpected, given a broader cross-linguistic pattern wherein the use of event reversal morphology is lexically restricted (see Bhadra 2024 for a discussion on English *un-*). The generalization in Kanien'kéha, then, is that telic verbs which denote events with irreversible result states are not ungrammatical, but rather express a cessation meaning. A summary of the discussion so far is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Correlates of telicity, to be revised.

Verb class	REV
HAB Present	undo, stop
STAT Present	stop

3.2 Analytical sketch

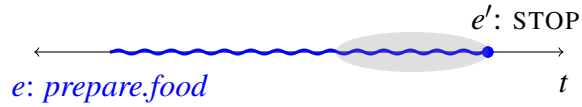
In this section, we provide a brief sketch of the how the reversal and cessation meanings can be derived, as well as the role that telicity plays in the observed distribution of each meaning. The core intuition we would like to draw on is the idea that the Reversive suffix is in fact a cessation operator, which denotes a process that picks out the *final subpart* of an event denoted by the base verb. Thus, the goal will be to derive an event reversal reading from this semantic characterization.

First, to illustrate the event cessation meaning, consider the diagrams in (15). Given an atelic root, the Reversive denotes some event e' which is the final part of an event e which is a *preparing food* event. Since this e' is a final part, the existence of an event of this type entails the cessation of the event.

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

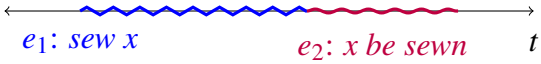


b. **REVERSIVE of 'prepare food' picks out final subevent**

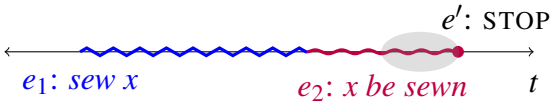


Consider now what happens with telic verbs. Recall that our characterization of telicity is one where the verb denotes a sum of events. We will illustrate this with the verb *'nikhon* 'sew something' seen in (11b). In much the same way as above, the Reversive denotes some event e' which is the final event of *sewing something* e. However, note here that the meaning of e must include the result state in order to be within the extension of the base verb. In other words, the final part of an event which counts as an event of *sewing something* will necessarily include the result state. Bringing about the cessation of the event e, then, will be a bringing about of the result state of e; in other words, it is an event of undoing the result state.

(16) a. **'sew' is telic**



b. **REVERSIVE of 'sew' picks out final subevent**



Thus, we have an account of the meanings associated with the Reversive suffix. Crucially, this account relies on the telicity of the base verb. What remains to be explained, under this approach, is the cessation reading of some telic verbs like the one in (14). We will set this question aside for this paper, until we are able to provide a more detailed account for the semantics for the Reversive. For now, the basic generalizations drawn in this section are sufficient for our aim here: to illustrate the role of telicity, and more specifically lexically-encoded result states, in the grammar of Kanien'kéha.

4. Telicity and event repetition

Additional support for our proposal comes from their interaction with the repetitive prefix. Like English 'again', the repetitive can give rise to two different readings: (i) a REPETITIVE reading in which the whole event described by the verb repeats, and (ii) a RESTITUTIVE reading in which only the result state of the verbal event repeats. As implied by this description, the RESTITUTIVE reading is restricted to telic verbs, since only these have a result state. Section 4.1 illustrates these readings and discusses lexical restrictions on their availability. Section 4.2 sketches an analysis whereby the Repetitive prefix indicates a repetitive operator, and that the restitutive reading arises from the repetition only to the resulting state.

4.1 Repetitive vs. restitutive readings

The Repetitive prefix *s-* gives rise to two types of readings whose availability depends on the verb. While all verbs allow REPETITIVE readings (akin to English 'again'), only certain verbs additionally allow RESTITUTIVE readings (akin to 're-' or 'back'). This section shows that the availability of secondary restitutive readings is based on the telicity of the verb, patterning in line with the two other empirical generalizations presented above. Specifically, only telic verbs allow restitutive readings with the Repetitive prefix.

To illustrate this pattern, consider the root *ientho* 'plant'. As shown in (1), this verb uses the Habitual aspect to express an ongoing episodic reading and as such, is telic. The Repetitive form given in (17) is ambiguous between a repetitive and a restitutive reading. In the repetitive reading, it is the event of planting corn that is repeated. In the restitutive reading however, only the result state of planting corn is repeating.

(17) Ó:nenhste' **tsitiénthos**.
onenhste' **s**-k-ientho-s
corn **REP**-1SGA-plant-s

a. 'I am planting corn again.' (repetitive)
Context: I plant corn every year. Last year, I planted corn and this year…

b. 'I am re-planting corn.' (restitutive)
Context: I've never planted corn before but I saw that rabbits had dug up the corn that John planted last week so to be nice, today….

Other verbs in this class pattern similarly, allowing restitutive readings, as seen in (18-21). In all of these examples, the asserted event is happening for the first time but the result state is repeating.[5]

(18) Context: My mom puts my shoes on every morning. Today, she took them off so I could play. Now, for the first time…

Teskaráhta's.
te-**s**-k-arahta'-s
DUP-**REP**-1SGA-put.shoes.on-HAB
'I'm putting my shoes back on.'

[5]As seen in 19, the co-occurrence of the repetitive prefix with other prefixes sometimes results in fused morphemes. In line with recent work on the morphology of Kanien'kéha prefixes (Blackburn 2025), we take this to be a purely morphophonological process with no effect on the syntactic or semantic analysis of the clause.

(19) Context: Paul found a toy on the ground but lost it. I found it and…

Tontahí:ion'.
t-**onta**-hi-on-'
CIS-**REP**.FACT-1SG>MSG-give-PUNC
'I gave it back to him.'

(20) Context: I've never sold a car before. Last year, I bought a car but I don't like it so now…

Skatkè:rons.
s-k-atkehron-s.
REP-1SGA-sell-HAB
'I'm re-selling it.'

(21) Context: Mary wrote a message on the board last week but someone erased it so now…

Sekhiá:tons.
s-k-hiaton-s
REP-1SGA-write-HAB
'I am writing it back (up on the board).'

Unlike telic verbs, atelic verbs do not allow restitutive readings. Consider the atelic verb *atshokw* 'smoke' which uses the Stative suffix to express ongoing episodic readings. When this verb appears in the Repetitive form, only a repetitive reading is available, as illustrated in (22). Even trying to imagine a restitutive reading for this verb is challenging.

(22) Skatshókwas.
s-k-atshokw-as.
REP-1SGA-smoke-HAB
'I smoke it again.'
Cannot mean: 'I re-smoke/smoke it back.'

This restriction is even more evident when looking at verbs whose English translations do support restitutive readings. Take, for instance, the verb *onni* 'make'. Though it is logically possible to imagine a restitutive use for English *make*, such a use is infelicitous in Kanien'kéha, as shown in (23). In this way, the verb patterns like other atelic verbs in the language despite its English translation.

(23) Context: Mary made a special red shirt for John but John lost it last year. I wanted to be nice so I found pictures of the original shirt and…

#Sa'katia'tawi't-sherón:ni'.
s-wa'-k-atia'tawi't-sher-ón:ni-'
REP-FACT-1SGA-shirt-NMLZ-make-PUNC
Intended: 'I re-made the shirt.'

In general then, we see that Kanien'kéha telic verbs with result states allow restitutive readings in which the result state repeats but atelic verbs do not.

4.2 Analytical sketch

Like the readings of the Reversive suffix discussed in section 3, the two readings of the Repetitive prefix fall out naturally from an analysis of telicity in which telic verbs include a separate result state. Assuming that restitutive readings involve the application of a repetitive operator to a result state, the existence of restitutive readings with telic verbs is unsurprising because only telic verbs have result states to target.

Following previous analyses of the Kanien'kéha Repetitive form by Myers (2025, To appear a,b), we take the repetitive prefix to indicate the presence of a repetitive operator which shares the same widely accepted semantics as repetitive *again* (von Stechow 1996; Jäger and Blutner 2003; Beck and Johnson 2004, *a.o.*). Under this analysis, the repetitive operator is an event modifier which takes a property of events and introduces a presupposition that a similar event has occurred temporally prior. Following von Stechow (1996) and Beck and Johnson (2004), this same operator can give rise to either a repetitive or restitutive reading depending on what is included in the event it modifies. In the case of repetitive readings, the operator modifies the entire event described by the verb, giving rise to the presupposition that the entire event occurred before. In the case of restitutive readings, it modifies only the result state subevent of the verb, giving rise to the presupposition that just the result state occurred before.

This theoretical background naturally accounts for the restriction on restitutive readings in Kanien'kéha. Consider a verb like *atshokw* 'smoke' whose interaction with the Repetitive is illustrated in (24). Being atelic, the verb denotes a single homogenous process and this is the only event that the repetitive operator can modify. The result is that only a repetitive reading, in which the full event described by the verb is included in the repetitive presupposition.

(24) a. **'smoke' is atelic**



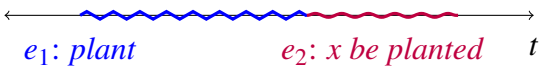
b. **REPETITIVE of 'smoke' can only modify full event**



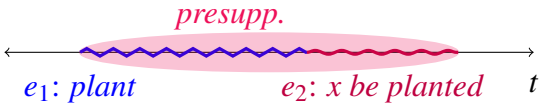
'I am smoking again.'

With a telic verb, however, an additional reading is possible. As shown in (25), verbs like *ientho* 'plant' which are telic denote a sum of two subevents. The repetitive operator can modify either the sum of these events, giving rise to a standard repetitive reading, or it can modify just the lower subevent—the result state e_2—giving rise to a restitutive reading in which only this result state is included in the repetitive presupposition. In this way, telic verbs allow both possible readings of the Repetitive form while atelic verbs do not.

(25) a. **'plant' is telic**

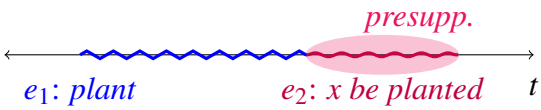


b. **REPETITIVE of 'plant' can modify full event**



'I am planting corn again.' (and I planted it before)

c. **REPETITIVE of 'plant' can also modify result state**



'I am re-planting corn.' (someone else planted it before)

In line with past work on repetitive/restitutive readings, this account draws on the presence or absence of a lexical result state to explain restrictions on the availability of restitutive readings in Kanien'kéha. Taken together with the reversive facts, the distribution of restitutive readings in Kanien'kéha supports our central proposal for a telicity-based aspectual class system. It also provides an additional diagnostic for learners to use in determining what class a given falls under. An updated summary of Kanien'kéha verb classes and their behavior across all three correlates of telicity is provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Correlates of telicity, final.

Verb class	REV	REP
HAB Present	undo, stop	repetitive or restitutive
STAT Present	stop	repetitive only

5. Conclusions and implications

In this paper, we provided two novel empirical generalizations relating to verb classes in Kanien'kéha. As background, we showed that verbs are divided into two complementary classes (traditionally labelled "consequential" and "non-consequential" verbs, following

Chafe 1970). The characteristic property of these classes is the viewpoint aspect with which an ongoing episodic reading is expressed. We proposed, following Cross et al. (2023), that consequentiality is a telicity contrast. Building on this intuition, we proposed a lexical distinction between telic (consequential) and atelic (non-consequential) verbs: telic verbs are event-structurally complex, referring to sums of processes and a result state; in contrast, atelic verbs are event-structurally simplex, referring only a process.

We then forwarded two novel tests in Kanien'kéha, both of which pick out the result state of telic verbs. The first involved event reversal as expressed by the Reversive suffix. For verbs which occur with the Reversive, the event reversal meaning is available with (a subset of) telic roots, whereas atelic roots uniformly receive a event cessation meaning. The second test involved the Repetitive prefix, which has both repetitive and restitutive readings. As expected, restitutive readings require a result state. Thus, we show that across the board, telic verbs in Kanien'kéha behave as though they make reference to a result state as part of their meaning.

Theoretically, establishing both the verb classes and the precise syntactic and semantic properties which give rise to the verb classes is a crucial step towards providing a more complete picture of the grammar of Kanien'kéha. In particular, any further work on the temporal structure of the language relies heavily on establishing the properties of verb roots. To this end, the analysis provided in this paper is crucial to the semantic analysis of the viewpoint aspect suffixes, an area that remains underdeveloped despite considerable work on their morphological and syntactic properties.

Pedagogically, we hope that this work can provide second-language learners with additional insights into the telicity classes of verbs. In particular, the HAB Present/STAT Present distinction is not the most semantically transparent when presented through the interpretations of the viewpoint aspect suffixes. Instead, we hope that the tests provided by Kanien'kéha's Reversive and Repetitive morphology, by drawing on intuitions speakers already have about the corresponding English Reversive (*un-*) and Repetitive (*re-*) can provide a more intuitive way to arrive at this important distinction in Kanien'kéha.

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