

PUZZLE: UNDOCUMENTED PRESUPPOSITIONS

- The **repetitive prefix s-** is typically equated with English *again*.
- Like *again*, it introduces a **repetitive presupposition**.

(1) Context: you've swam. (2) Context: you've never swam.
 S-k-atá:wen-s. #Iah te-s-k-atá:wen-s.
 REP-1sgA-swim-HAB NEG NEG-REP-1sgA-swim-HAB
 'I'm swimming again.' 'I'm not swimming again.'

- But unlike *again*, a **much wider array of presuppositions**...

SUBJECTLESS WITH STATIVE VERB

(3) Context: Mary loved John but then they broke up. John began dating Helen and...

Helen s-a-ho-norónhkw-e'.
 Helen REP-FACT-FZsg>Msg-love-PUNC
 'Helen loved him.'
 Literally: 'Helen [loved him] again.'

SUBJECTLESS WITH INTRANSITIVE VERB

(4) Context: John died last week. Then, this week...

Kó:r s-a-h-rénhe-ie'.
 Paul REP-FACT-MsgA-die-PUNC
 'Paul died.'
 Literally: 'Paul [died] again.'

OBJECTLESS WITH TRANSITIVE VERB

(5) Context: Yesterday, Paul went to his favorite restaurant. He didn't eat anything all day beforehand. At the restaurant, he ate cherries first. Then...

Kítkit s-a-ha-'wà:ra-k-e'.
 chicken REP-FACT-MsgA-meat-eat-PUNC
 'He ate chicken.'
 Literally: 'He [ate] chicken again.'

⇒ **Never before documented (to my knowledge)!**

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PROPOSAL: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

- The repetitive prefix is associated with a **repetitive operator** that shares its semantics with repetitive *again*.
- Following a structural analysis (von Stechow 1996, Beck and Johnson 2004, a.o.), the operator can **adjoin at different levels** of the derivation, resulting in presuppositions with different scopes.
- The availability of **objectless presuppositions** suggests that there is an adjunction site between the verb and the internal argument.

SEMANTICS OF THE REPETITIVE

- The prefix *s-* indicates the presence of an **operator REP-Op**.
- REP-Op introduces a **repetitive, not additive, presupposition**.

(6) Content: John was practicing kickboxing. First, he punched the punching bag. And then...
 #S-a-ha-rahséntho-'.
 REP-FACT-MsgA-kick-PUNC
 Cannot mean: 'He kicked it too.'
 Must mean: 'He kicked it again (and it wasn't the first time).'

- REP-Op is a **modifier of properties of events** ($\langle\langle v,t \rangle, \langle v,t \rangle\rangle$).

(7) $\llbracket \text{REP-Op} \rrbracket P(e)$ is defined iff $\exists e^1 [e^1 \prec e \ \& \ P(e^1)]$.
 When defined, $\llbracket \text{REP-Op} \rrbracket P(e) = P(e)$.

AVAILABLE ADJUNCTION SITES

- Presuppositional scope is determined by the syntactic complement of REP-Op.

(8) Scope indicates adjunction site

Presupposition	Declarative	Subjectless	Objectless
Syntactic content	[S V O]	[V O]	[V]
Level of adjunction	sentence	verb phrase	verb

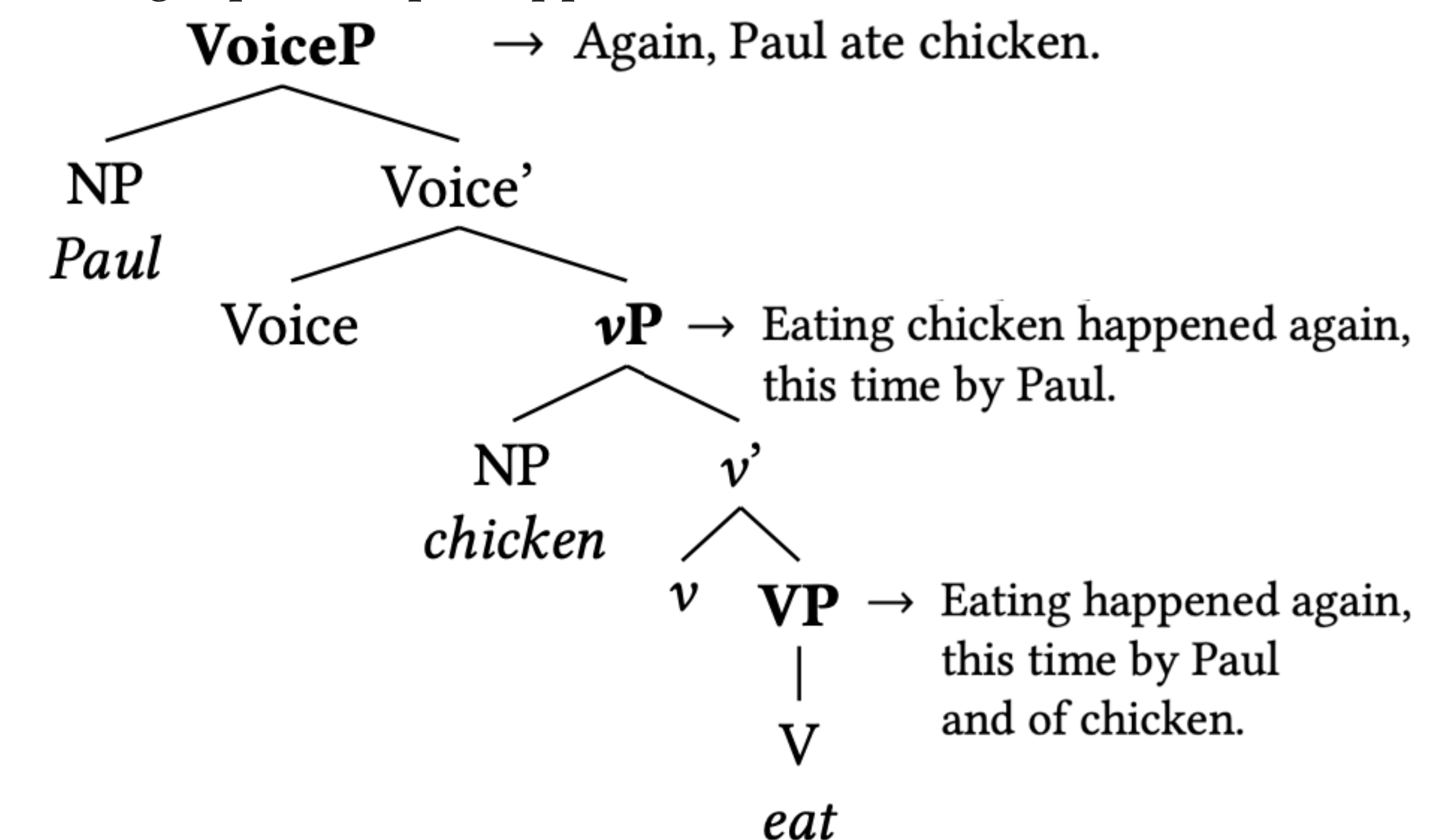
- Claim 1:** there must be an adjunction site above the verb but below the experiencer/theme/object.
- Claim 2:** this node must denote a predicate of events.

CONSEQUENCES: ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

- Sever the external argument:** availability of subjectless presuppositions supports claims that the external argument is severed from the verb (Kratzer 1996).
- Sever the internal argument:** availability of objectless presuppositions supports claims that the internal argument is also severed from the verb (Schein 1993, Champollion 2010, Lohndal 2012).
- The verb/root is a **bare event predicate** and all arguments are added later, via functional projections

(9) $\llbracket \text{EAT} \rrbracket = \lambda e. \text{EAT}(e)$

(10) Deriving repetitive presuppositions in Kanien'kéha



THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

- Cross-linguistic variation:** do languages vary in argument structure or in adverbial modifiers? why don't other languages have objectless presuppositions?
- Verb/root modification:** growing evidence that this is possible (Pylkkänen 2008 on *partway*, Ahn 2021 on *out-*).
- Extension to restitutive readings:** support for decompositional approach; sever result state predicates from V.

(11) Context: John lost his toy and I found it. Then...

Tont-a-hí:-ion-'.
 REP.CIS-FACT-1sg>Msg-give-PUNC
 'I gave it back to him.'
 (I gave it to him and he has it again)

- Alternative analyses:** is the cost of a lexical analysis—positing at least 4 separate lexical entries for REP-op—worth it?