

Again reveals multidominance in the structure of spray/load verbs

Background

- The *spray/load* alternation:
 - (1) John sprayed paint onto the wall.
 - (2) John sprayed the wall with paint.
- Previous work has focused on various semantic correlates of this alternation.
- I investigate these verbs' syntax using *again*.

Again

- (3) John opened the door again.
 - a. **rep(etitive)** presupposition:
the door opened before (event).
 - b. **res(titutive)** presupposition:
the door was open before (state).

- A structural account:

[John [v [V [_{AP} [$\sqrt{\text{open}}_{\text{adj}}$ the door] again_{res}] again_{rep}]]]

- Again with spray/load verbs:

- (4) John sprayed [the door with paint] again. (res)
- (5) John [sprayed the door] again with paint. (rep)

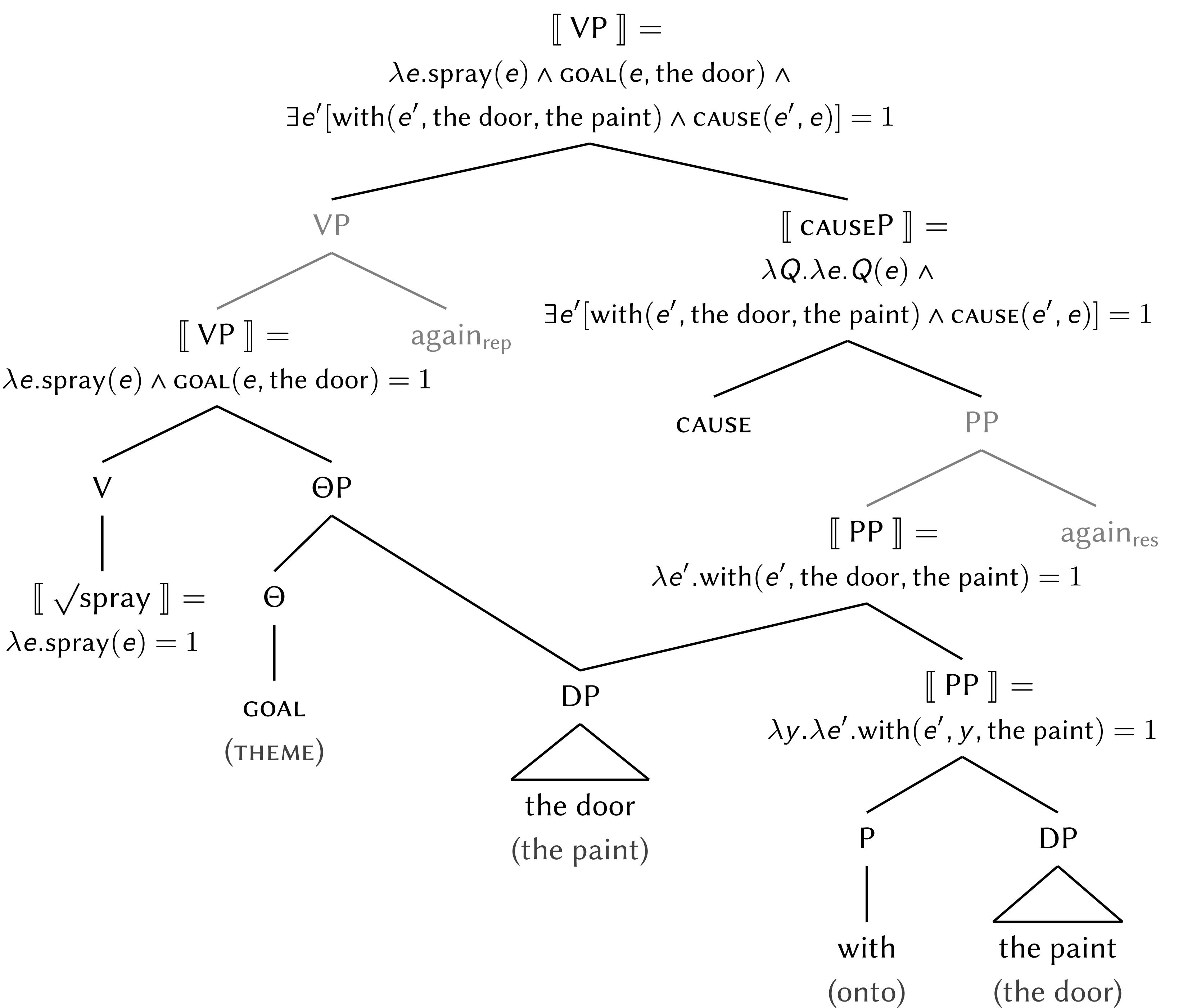
- How can *the door* be in both places at once?

- (6) John sprayed the bucket dry. (only transitive)
- (7) John sprayed [paint onto the wall] again. (*again* > \exists)
 - Two structures: not general enough, wrong on (6)
 - Null pronoun: Case problems, wrong on (7)

Multidominance

- Multidominance allows *the door* to appear in >1 syntactic position, explaining (4–7).

(8)



- Severing internal argument [cf. 1] allows one semantics for spray/load roots in *with* and locative P variants, and accounts for cross-linguistic variability in terms of selectional restrictions (Hindi data courtesy Rajesh Bhatt).

- (9)
 - a. John filled the room with nails/ *nails into the room.
 - b. tum=ne saaraa kamraa kiiloN=se bhar diyaa hai.
you=ERG all room nails=with fill give.PFV is
 - c. Yunus=ne kamre=meN bhuusaa bhar diyaa hai.
Yunus=ERG room=in hay fill give.PFV is

Implications

- *Again* shows differences between non-alternating spray/load verbs and *put*-like verbs.
- (10)
 - a. John sprayed [paint onto the wall] again. (res)
 - b. John [sprayed paint] again onto the wall. (rep)
- (11)
 - a. * John put the shelf with the books.
 - b. John put [books on the shelf] again. (res)
 - c. # John [put books] again on the shelf. (rep)
- (12)
 - a. * John poured the glass with water.
 - b. John poured [water into the glass] again. (res)
 - c. John [poured water] again into the glass. (rep)
- Any approach that links the holistic effect to objects will be compatible with the current approach.
- (13)
 - a. John loaded the hay onto the truck,
but there was some hay left.
 - b. John loaded the truck with the hay,
but there was some space left.

Selected References

- Thanks to Kyle Johnson, Rajesh Bhatt, Seth Cable, the UMass syntax workshop, and Rong Yin.
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- [2] Beavers (2017). The spray/load alternation. *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax*.
- [3] Beck & Johnson (2004). Double objects again. *L1*.
- [4] Dowty (1979). *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*.
- [5] Johnson (2012). Towards deriving differences in how *wh* movement and QR are pronounced. *Lingua*.
- [6] Johnson (2018). To give someone their innocence again. *The Leader of the Pack*.
- [7] Kratzer (2005). Building resultatives. *Event Arguments*.
- [8] Nie (2019). Re-frozen scope in spray-load constructions.
- [9] von Stechow (1995). Lexical decomposition in syntax. *The Lexicon in the Organization of Language*.
- [10] von Stechow (1996). The different readings of wieder 'again': A structural account. *J Sem*.
- [11] Tenny (1994). *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*.

Supplement to Again reveals multidominance in the structure of spray/load verbs

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1. The semantics of *again*

- (1) $\llbracket \text{again} \rrbracket = \lambda P. \lambda e : \exists e' [\tau(e') \prec \tau(e) \wedge P(e')] . P(e) = 1$

2. Contexts and additional examples

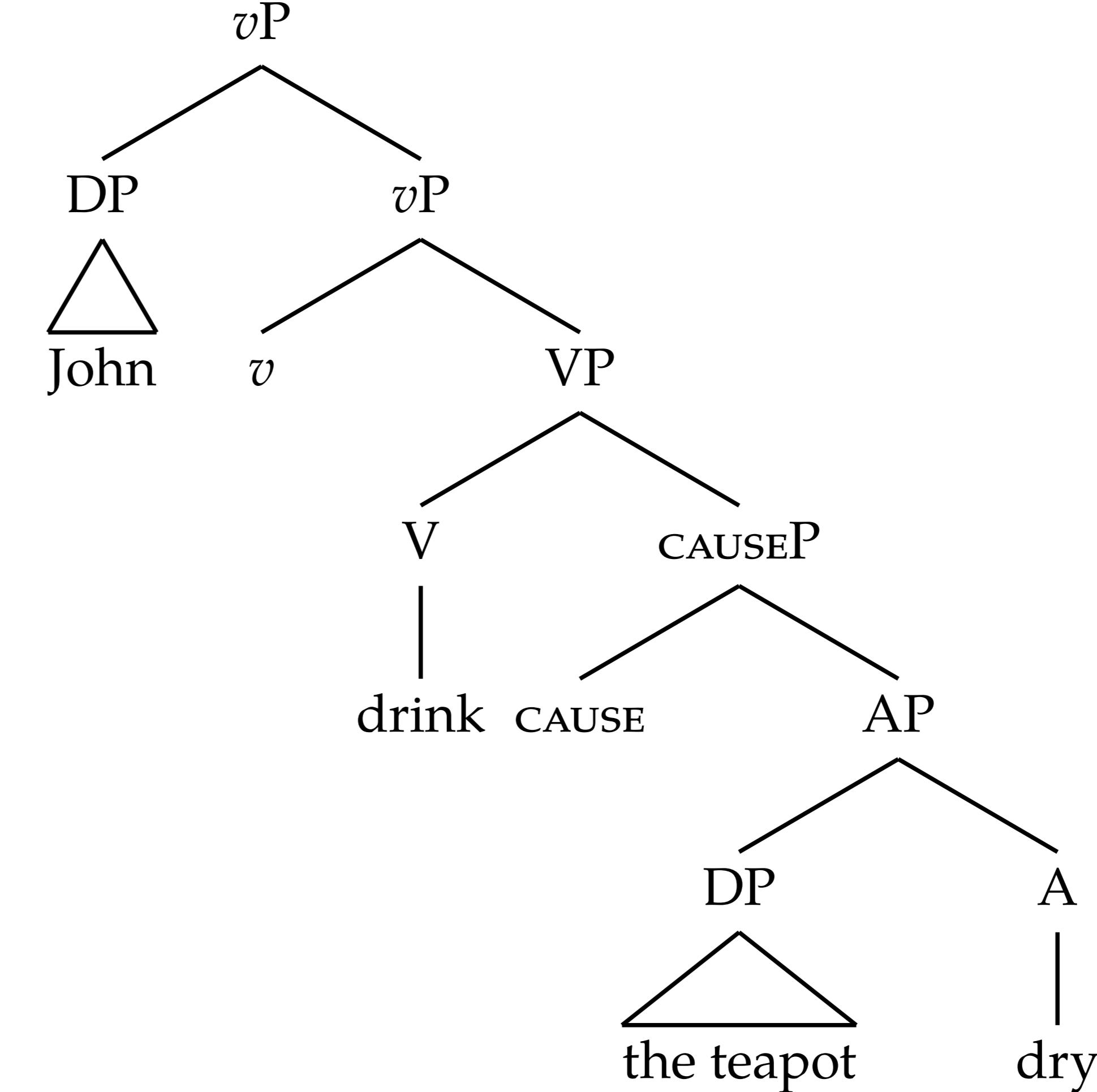
- (2) a. **Context:** The door was dipped in paint when it was made. Over time, this paint wore off, so ... John sprayed the door with paint again. (cf. poster's (4))
- b. **Context:** The wooden door had never had paint on it. Over time, it got old and dirty, and John decided to paint it. First, he sprayed the door with water to clean it off. And then, ... John sprayed the door again with paint. (cf. poster's (5))
- c. **Context:** The door was dipped in paint when it was made. Over time, thes paint wore off, so ... John sprayed paint onto the door again.
- d. **Context:** John and Bill were hired to paint the door. Bill showed up early but drunk, and ended up spraying paint everywhere, completely missing the door. Luckily, John showed up later, and then... John sprayed paint again onto the door.

- The same pattern seems to occur with every *spray/load* verb.

3. Resultatives

- Why won't the two structures approach explain (6)?

- (3) John drank the teapot dry. (cf. Kratzer 2005)



- Kratzer (2005): resultatives are formed from intransitive uses of verbs; (3) is possible even though *the teapot* is not the argument of *drink*.
- Example (6) from the poster cannot receive this interpretation. It only receives a transitive interpretation, where *the bucket* must be the argument of the verb.

- (4) a. **Context:** John hooked up a hose to the paint bucket's spigot. Using the hose, sprayed every last drop of paint out of the bucket, resulting in the bucket being dry.
#John sprayed the bucket dry.
- b. **Context:** The bucket was full of gunk. Using an air hose, John sprayed the bucket, cleaning out all the gunk, and resulting in the bucket being dry.
John sprayed the bucket dry.

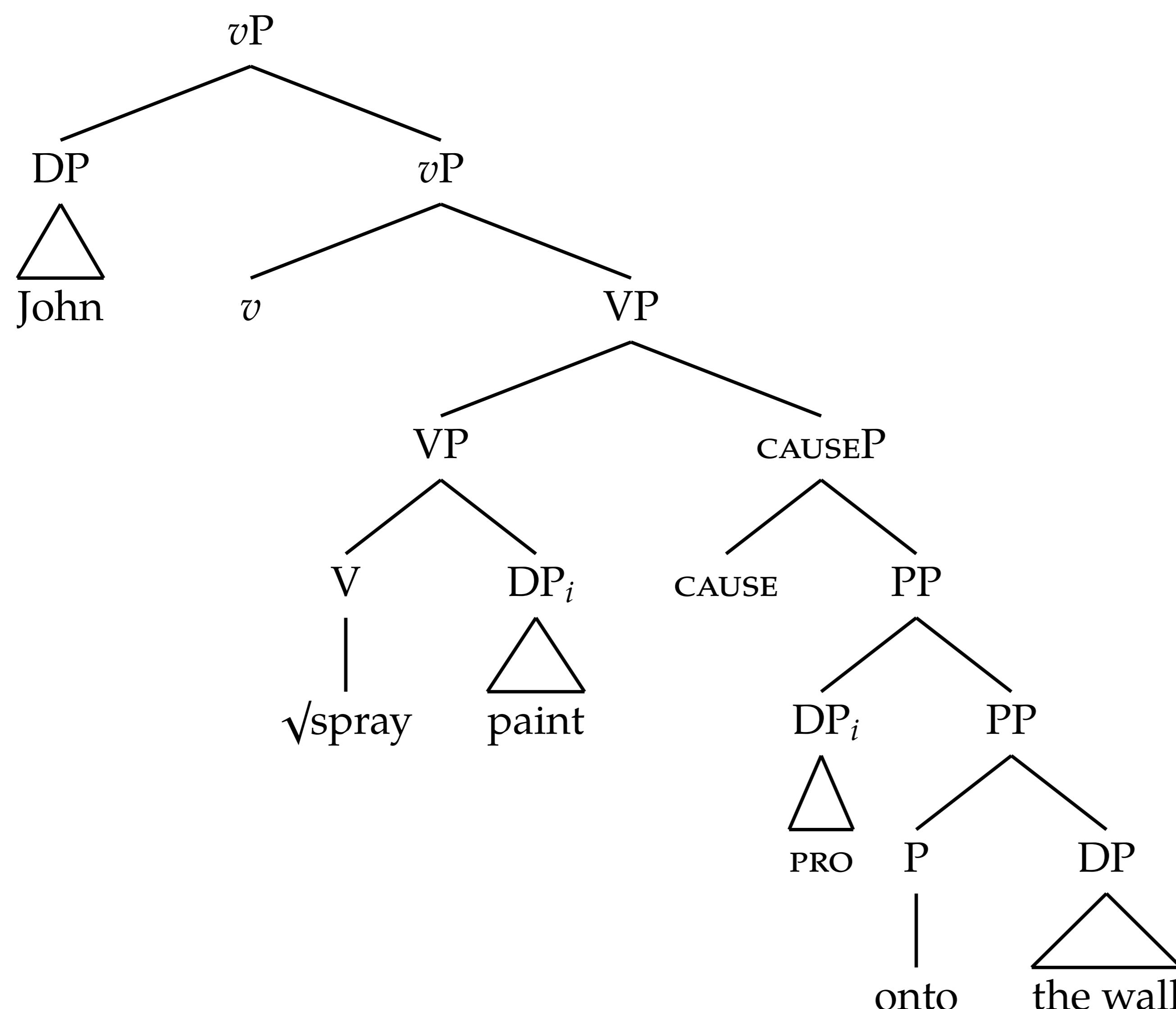
- This shows that an intransitive structure is not available for *spray*. If it were, such a reading should be possible. However, the two structures approach would explain the restitutive reading as resulting from a structure much like (3) (replace *dry* with a PP).

While a possible reading, this is clearly not the most natural reading, which is one where the paint sprayed in the asserted event differs from the previously sprayed paint (cf. (2d)).

4. problems

- Instead of having two structures, we could attempt to combine both without multidominance. This could be accomplished by assuming a null pronoun in Spec,PP that is obligatorily coindexed with the object.

(5)



- Some analytical hurdles with this structure: how to enforce coindexation? Where does PRO get case (Sigurðsson 1991)? Big PRO or little *pro*?
- An empirical problem: in a restitutive reading, analyzing Spec,PP as a bound pronoun would require identity of the object from the prior event and the object in the asserted event. This is because the semantics is (paraphrasing) *John's spraying paint_i caused its_i being on the wall*.