
Revisiting *wieder*: a restitutive prefix and its coerced object

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Starting with von Stechow's (1996) structural account of the repetitive-restitutive ambiguity of the German adverb *wieder* 'again', we investigate its hitherto unstudied verbal prefix counterpart as in *wiederauferstehen* 'resurrect'. As it is string-identical to the syntactic adverb plus verb, we use deverbal nominalizations like *Wiederauferstehung* 'resurrection' to avoid confusion. *Wieder*-prefixes occur for the most part with prefixed or particle verbs and often is the prefix/particle obligatory, see for instance *Wieder*(er)öffnung* 'reopening'. A few cases without additional prefix/particle exist (e.g. *Wiederkehren* 'returning'). After a series of tests, we observed that only restitutive readings are available, suggesting that prefixal *wieder* does not modify the event denoted by the verb but rather a structurally represented result state (pace Lieber's 2004:147 account of English verbal prefix *re*). This observation raises the expectation that *wieder*-prefixation is unavailable with activity verbs (unlike the homophonous syntactic adverb). Minimal pairs like **Wiederschlafen* vs. *Wiedereinschlafen* confirm this prediction. Furthermore, prefixal *wieder* requires an object (transitive object or object of unaccusative, cf. Horn 1980 on English *re*-). As many German verbs appear to form unaccusatives by means of prefixes or particles, their preponderance with *wieder* is not surprising. We adopt a DM-style analysis of Marantz (2007) according to which the restitutive prefix directly selects the (underlying) object DP or *pro* (in nominalizations) respectively. Semantically, the DP/*pro* is coerced from an expression of type *e* into a change of state event. *Wieder* adds the presupposition that the end state, which is part of the coerced change-of-state denotation of the DP, has existed before. Various units in the structure name the result state. After an informal semantic characterization, the cross- and intra-linguistic (un)availability of forms is considered.

References: • Horn, L. (1980): Affixation and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. In: *CLS* 16, 134–146.
• Lieber, R. (2004): *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: CUP. • Marantz, A. (2007): *Restitutive re- and the first phase syntax/semantics of the VP*. Ms. • Von Stechow, A. (1996): The Different Readings of *Wieder* 'Again': A Structural Account. In: *Journal of Semantics* 13, 87–138.