Process, eventuality and *wieder/again**

Karin Pittner

Abstract

This paper argues for a scopal explanation of the readings of the adverb *wieder*. Whether the repetitive or the restitutive reading is possible, is determined by the syntactic entity *wieder* is related to. If it is adjungated to the minimal verbal domain the denotate is a situation-internal state resulting in a restitutive interpretation, if adjungated to a higher verbal projection the denotate is an eventuality with the result of a repetitive interpretation. Proceeding from the assumption that adverbial adjuncts have base positions which reflect their semantic relations to the rest of the sentence, it is shown that repetitive *wieder* belongs to the class of eventuality adverbs minimally c-commanding the base positions of all arguments whereas restitutive *wieder* has many properties in common with process (manner) adjuncts, minimally c-commanding the verb in its clause-final base position.

1. Introduction

The German adverb *wieder* which is equivalent to English *again* has intrigued linguists for a few decades now. It is generally acknowledged that there are two different readings of *wieder*, the restitutive and the repetitive reading. While the first refers to the restitution of an earlier state, the second one refers to the repetition of an eventuality.

(1)   a. *Sie   spielte   wieder   eine   Sonate.* (repetitive)
          she   played   again   a   sonata
          '"She played a sonata again."
      b. *Er schloss   das Fenster   und öffnete   es dann   wieder.* (restitutive)
          he closed   the window   and opened   it then   again
          'He closed the window and then opened it again'

Communis opinio is also the presuppositional character of *wieder*. The repetitive reading presupposes an earlier eventuality of the same kind as asserted in the sentence, whereas the restitutive reading presupposes the earlier occurrence of a state denoted by the main predicate.

It is still controversial, however, how these different readings are to be accounted for. The main controversy is whether there is only one *wieder* and the different meanings are due to scope differences, as for instance Dowty (1979) and von Stechow (1996) assume or whether there are two meanings of *wieder* which cannot be reduced to a scope difference. Proponents of the latter view are Fabricius-Hansen (1983), Kamp and Roßdeutscher (1994), Jäger and Blutner (this volume).

In this paper, a scopal explanation of the readings of *wieder* will be defended. Whether the repetitive or the restitutive reading is possible, is determined by the syntactic entity *wieder* is related to. We assume that that there is one lexical entry for *wieder* which is showing lexical underspecification. The basic meaning of both restitutive and repetitive *wieder* is that the denotate of the entity in its scope (D) has had an earlier occurrence (D_0). If it is adjungated to the minimal verbal domain the denotate is a state resulting in a restitutive

interpretation, if adjungated to a higher verbal projection the denotate is an eventuality with the result of a repetitive interpretation.

Simplifying somewhat, a lexical entry for *wieder* might look like this:

(2)   WIEDER (D) $\rightarrow \exists D_0 \wedge D_o < D$

D is a variable for the denotate of the entity in the scope of *wieder,* the arrow signifies a presupposition and < expresses temporal precedence.

(3)   D= (situation-internal) state, if only V is in its scope
       D = eventuality, if the verbal projection including the base position of all
          arguments is in its scope

. There are two different base positions for *wieder* which are determined by the semantic entity *wieder* is related to. Repetitive *wieder* is related to whole eventualities which are syntactically represented by complete verbal projections containing all the arguments. Restitutive *wieder* is related to situation-internal states which are represented by the verb or predicative phrase, hence they are adjungated to the minimal verbal domain usually represented by V^0. It will be shown that the positions of restitutive *wieder* are the same positions that manner adjuncts occur in, so that the question arises what restitutive *wieder* and manner adjuncts have in common.

Von Stechow (1996) uses lexical decomposition of verbs in the style of generative semantics in order to explicate the different scopes of restitutive and repetitive *wieder*. He assumes that lexical decompositions are directly represented in the syntax, e.g. CAUSE in VoicePhrase and BECOME under V. *Wieder* in its restitutive reading is in the scope of BECOME and has the resultant state in its scope which is represented as a lexical head X^0 together with the object NP in a kind of small clause. The object is assumed to move to AgrO and the subject to AgrS, both for case reasons. If *wieder* occurs outside the scope of BECOME, we get the repetitive reading.

Our approach differs from von Stechow`s in two major respects. We assume a base position of restitutive *wieder* as an adjunct to the verb which in German as an OV-language has a clause-final base position. A second major difference is that we do not assume that lexical decomposition is represented directly in the syntax. Together with many syntacticians we assume that lexical decompositions are represented on a separate level of semantic structure where they provide argument places which are projected into the syntax (e.g. Haider 1993). As far as the positioning of adverbs is concerned we maintain that there is an isomorphic relation between certain syntactic entities and different semantic objects. In our view, the base position of adjuncts is determined by the semantic objects they are related to.

In earlier work (Frey and Pittner 1998, Pittner 1999) we tried to establish that there are five classes of adjuncts as far as their base positions are concerned: (I) frame adjuncts, (II) sentence adjuncts, (III) eventuality-related adjuncts, (IV) eventuality-internal adjuncts and (V) process-related adjuncts. [1] Within these classes, there may be semantic preferences for a certain order but this order is not syntactically determined. The base position of these classes and their c-command-relations reflect their semantic relations to the rest of the sentence.

(4)   Base positions of adjuncts:
         (i) <u>frame and domain adjuncts</u>: c-command the base positions of sentence
             adjuncts
         (ii) <u>sentence adjuncts</u>: c-command the finite verb and the base positions of
              eventuality-related adjuncts
         (iii) <u>eventuality-related adjuncts</u>: c-command the base position of the highest

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[1]   For slightly modified versions of this classification cf. Frey (this volume) and Pittner (in press).

argument and the base positions of eventuality-internal adjuncts (e.g. time, cause)

(iv) <u>eventuality-internal adjuncts</u>: they are minimally c-commanded by the argument they are related to, i.e. no other argument can intervene (e.g. instrument, comitative, mental attitude)

(v) <u>process adjuncts</u>: c-command minimally the verb or "verbal complex" (manner)

The goal of this paper is to show how *wieder* in its different readings fits into this picture of adverb positions in German.

The paper is organized as follows: first the basic facts about the positions of *wieder* in its two readings are given. A closer look at the base position of repetitive *wieder* is taken in section 3. Section 4 deals with the base position of repetitive *wieder* which behaves as other eventuality-related adverbs do. How intonation influences the interpretation of *wieder* is the subject of section 5. Finally, we take a look on the diachronic development of the meanings of *wieder*.

2. Position and interpretation of *wieder*

Restitutive *wieder* can occur only with predicates denoting change of state or a state which can be conceived of as the result of a change. Thus there is no ambiguity if there is no such predicate.

In a position adjacent to the verb in final position *wieder* is ambiguous: This ambiguity is due to a syntactic ambiguity. The object can either be in its base position, which means that *wieder* is adjungated to V^0. If the object has been scrambled out of its base position, *wieder* is adjungated to a higher verbal projection thus allowing for a repetitive interpretation (cf. von Stechow 1996 and this volume, beginning of section 2).

(5) a. *Hans   hat   das   Auto   wieder   repariert.* (restitutive or repetitive)
Hans   has   the   car   again   repaired
'Hans has repaired the car again.'

b. *Hans   hat   wieder   das   Auto   repariert.* (repetitive)
Hans   has   again   the   car   repaired
'Again, Hans repaired the car.'

If *wieder* occurs higher than the object, usually only a repetitive interpretation is possible. There are exceptions to this, as has been noted by von Stechow (1996) for instance.

(6) *Anna   hat   wieder   das   Haus   verlassen.*
Anna   has   again   the   housee   left
'Anna left the house again.'

For some speakers, this sentence can have a restitutive interpretation, it does not necessarily presuppose that Anna left the house before, but that she was outside the house before. Examples of this kind will be discussed in the next section.

Wieder in the position before the finite verb in verb-second clauses ("prefield" or *Vorfeld* in German) can only get a repetitive interpretation.

(7) *Wieder   hat   Hans   das   Auto   repariert.*
again   has   Hans   the   car   repaired
'Again, Hans has repaired the car.'

If *wieder* is topicalized together with the verb thus resulting in a complex prefield, the restitutive reading is strongly preferred.

(8)   *Wieder   repariert   hat   Hans   das   Auto*.
       again   repaired   has   Hans   the   car
       'Hans repaired the car again.'

It is possible to form sentences containing two occurrences of *wieder*:

(9)   *Er   hat   das   Auto   wieder   wieder   repariert.*
       he   has   the   car   again   again   repaired
       'Again, he repaired the car again.'

In this case there is a clear intuition that the first *wieder* is the repetitive one and the second the restitutive one. In the following sentence the *wieder* occurring together in the prefield with the verb and thus forming a constituent with it is the restitutive one.

(10)   *Wieder   repariert   hat   er   das   Auto   wieder.*
        again   repaired   has   he   the   car   again
        'Again, he repaired the car again.'

These data show that restitutive *wieder* is tied to the verb more closely than the repetitive one. Restitutive *wieder* is so close to the verb that it has even been assumed to be incorporated into the verb (Fabricius-Hansen 1980, Rivero 1992 for Greek, cf. Delfitto 2000). In the following section, a closer look at the base position of restitutive *wieder* is taken, especially in comparison with manner adjuncts.

3. The base position of restitutive *wieder*

The goal of this section is to establish that the base position of restitutive *wieder* is adjacent to the verb which has a final base position in German as an OV-language. It will be argued that a position of an object between restitutive *wieder* and the final verb is due to a process of integration.
    Since German allows for scrambling of its verbal arguments (and even adjuncts. cf. Frey/Pittner 1998), it is useful to employ indefinite w-expressions which may not scramble in order to determine the base position of an adjunct.

(11) a. *Er   hat   wen   wieder   geheilt*. (restitutive)
         he   has   someone   again   healed
         'He has healed someone again'
      b. *Er   hat   wieder   wen   geheilt*. (repetitive)
         he   has   again   someone   healed

The position of the object pronoun shows that restitutive *wieder* has a base position lower than the object, whereas repetitive *wieder* takes its base position higher than the object. (11) is not compatible with the assumption by Jäger and Blutner (this volume), that restitutive *wieder* like the repetitive one has a base position higher than all verbal arguments, since the indefinite w-pronoun cannot scramble.
    Interestingly, it can be shown that restitutive *wieder* behaves like manner adjuncts as far as their positions are concerned. Both manner adjuncts and restitutive *wieder* take their position close to the verb, as the position of the indefinite w-pronoun shows:

(12)   *sie   hat   was   gründlich   gelesen*
        she   has   something   carefully   read

'she read something carefully'[2]

Additional evidence for the base position of manner adverbs adjacent to the verb comes from the scope test, as Frey and Pittner (1998) and Frey (this volume) use it:

(13) a. *Hans   hat   mindestens   eine   Frau   auf jede   Art und Weise*
Hans   has   at least   one   woman   in   every   way
umworben. (∃∀)
courted.
'Hans courted at least one woman in every conceivable manner.'

   b. *Hans   hat   auf   jede   Art und Weise   mindestens   eine   Frau*
Hans   has   in   every   way   at least   one   woman
umworben. (∃∀, ∀∃)
courted.

Our rather clear intuition is that there is a scope ambiguity in the second example, but not in the first one. The scope ambiguity in the second example is due to an interpretation of the scope either according to surface structure or according to the base order, which means the manner adjunct has a base position below the object.

We argued (Frey and Pittner 1998, cf. Frey this volume) that elements occurring after manner adverbs are part of a complex predicate. The verb combines with certain adjacent elements such as resultative predicates and directional PPs so closely that it cannot be topicalized alone and neutral sentence negation cannot occur between the verb and these elements.

(14) a. *Er   ist   in   die   Stadt   nicht   gefahren* (no sentence negation)
he   is   into   the   town   not   drive
´He didn`t go by car into the town.`

   b. **Gefahren   ist   er   in   die   STADT*. (unacceptable with neutral accent).
driven   is   he   into   the   town

The fact that sentence negation cannot occur between manner adjuncts and verbs shows that manner adjuncts are adjungated to the verb. They could also be part of the complex predicate but the intonation does not support this assumption (cf. section 5).

Again, restitutive *wieder* behaves just the same. Manner aduncts and restitutive *wieder* have to appear after (i.e. to the right of) sentence negation:

(15) a. *Er   hat   das   Geschirr   nicht   sorgfältig   gespült*.
he   has   the   dishes   not   carefully   done
'He didn't do the dishes carefully.'

   b. *??Er   hat   das   Geschirr   sorgfältig   nicht   gespült*.
he   has   the   dishes   carefully   not   done

(16) a. Er   hat   die   Patienten   nicht   wieder   geheilt. (restitutive)[3]

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[2] Eckardt (this volume) tries to argue against the validity of the w-pronoun test in this respect by pointing out examples like the following ones:

(i)   *Alicia   hat   dann   gierig   was   gegessen.*
Alicia   has   then   greedily   something   eaten.
'Alicia ate something greedily.'

Here the manner adjunct occurs higher than the indefinite object pronoun. But some caution is necessary: The adverbs that Eckardt uses to make her objection are those that can also be used as mental-attitude adverbs which have a higher base position according to (4iv). If an adverb can occur to the right of an indefinite object w-pronoun that cannot be scrambled we consider that as suffcent evidence for the base positon of the adverb below the object.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

       he   has   the   patients   not   again   healed
'He didn't heal the patients again.'

b. *Er   hat   die   Patienten   wieder   nicht   geheilt.* (only repetitive)
   he   has   the   patients   again   not   healed
   'He again did not heal the patients.'

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This is solid evidence that the base position of restitutive *wieder* is lower than that of the repetitive *wieder* which sheds doubt on the assumption made by Jäger and Blutner (this volume) that *wieder* in both readings has a base position higher than all verbal arguments.

Manner adjuncts can appear in front of certain objects, however, as will be discussed with restitutive *wieder* below:

(17)   *weil   sie   schüchtern   einen   Prinzen   geküsst   hat*
            because   she   shyly   a   prince   kissed   has
            'because she kissed a prince shyly'

Indeed, some authors hold that the base position of manner adjuncts is higher than the object. In our view, data like (17) are due to the "integration" of the object into the predicate in the sense of Jacobs (1993).[4] The integrated object is not conceptualized as a separate entity, but merely as a part of a process. This is possible if the object exhibits proto-patient characteristics as defined by Dowty (1991). Focus on an integrated object can be wide focus.

(18) a. *Sie   hat   ein   BUCH   gelesen.* (wide focus possible)
         She   has   a   book   read
         'She read a book.'

      b. *Sie   hat   einen   KolLEGen   verachtet.* (only narrow focus)
         she   has   a   colleague   despised
         'She despised a colleague.'

The patient object in (15a) can be integrated whereas this is not possible for the stimulus object in (15b) which is not exhibiting proto-patient characteristics.
It has also been observed that distributive quantification prevents integration (cf. Jacobs 1993:80f.):

(19) a. *Sie   hat   jedes   HEMD   gebügelt.* (only narrow focus)
         she   has   each   shirt   ironed
         'She has ironed each shirt.'

      b. *Sie   hat   alle   HEMDen   gebügelt.* (wide focus possible)
         she   has   all   shirts   ironed
         'She ironed all shirts.'

Manner adjuncts can occur only in front of integrated objects. Therefore the following sentences with non-integrable objects are not acceptable.

(20) a. **Ich   habe   abgrundtief   den   Mann   verachtet.*
         I   have   deeply   the   man   despised
         'I despised the man deeply.'

      b. ??*Er   hat   sorgfältig   jedes   Hemd   gebügelt.*
         he   has   carefully   each   shirt   ironed
         'He ironed each shirt carefully'

In the following I will argue that a position of restitutive *wieder* to the left of objects is also due to a process of integration. More specifically, this means that in these cases the object is seen as part of the result, not as the entity undergoing change. What these sentences

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3   It can be neglected that with the proper intonation of *wieder nicht* can be a negation of *wieder* only with the result that the presupposition is negated (he did it not again, but for the first time).

4   For a more detailed discussion of this the reader is referred to Frey and Pittner (1998:498-501).

denote is not primarily a state of change of the object, but rather the object is conceptualized as part of the resultant state.[5]

Kamp and Roßdeutscher assume that restitutive *wieder* necessarily involves a fixed theme. The authors see this as the main reason for the position of restitutive *wieder* below the object:

> Throughout the succession of states and processes the theme remains fixed. In Particular, the presupposition must share the theme with the assertion that the sentence makes. This shared identity will be guaranteed only when the theme phrase is outside the scope of *wieder*. (1994:202)

Contrary to Kamp an Roßdeutscher, a restitutive interpretation of *wieder* can occur (admittedly rather marginally) with indefinite themes which get an existential interpretation, as the following example shows:

(21) *Hans hat wieder ein Fenster geöffnet.*
       Hans has again a window opened.
       `Hans opened a window again'

In a context where a window has been open before a conference, during which the air is getting stuffy, *wieder* in the sentence above can get a restitutive reading: the state of one window being open is restituted and it does not have to be the same window as before. It is not necessarily presupposed that Hans opened a window before.

Generally it has to be said that a restitutive reading in these sentences is often marginal and not available to all speakers, as in the following example.

(22) *Anna hat wieder das Haus verlassen.*
       Anna has again the house left
       'Anna left the house again.'

The explanation for the (marginal) restitutive reading in this case is that in the phrase *das Haus verlassen* nobody thinks of a particular house, it is rather an idiomatic phrase roughly meaning ´to go out´. The article may not be changed and if adjectives are added, the restitutive interpretation disappears as far as my intuition is concerned.

As we have seen, quantification by means of *jeder (each)* prevents integration. Again, if an object cannot be integrated as in (23b), restitutive *wieder* to the left of the object is not acceptable:[6]

(23) a. *Sie hat ihm wieder alle Bücher zurückgegeben.*
         she as him again all books back-given
         'She gave him all books back again.'
     b. ??*Sie hat ihm wieder jedes BUCH zurückgegeben.*
          she has him again each book back-given
          'She gave him each book back again.'

So we assume that restitutive *wieder* to the left of an object is due to an integration of this object into the complex predicate. As we have seen, an indefinite object to the right of restitutive *wieder* can only get an existential reading. (Because restitutives normally imply a fixed theme this is a rather marginal case.) This is in accord with the observation by Frey (in press b) that an indefinite NP within a complex predicate is always existentially interpreted and supporting our point that restitutive *wieder* is adjungated to the complex predicate.

Although there are some common properties of manner adjuncts and restitutive *wieder,*

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[5] . Von Stechow offers as an explanation that in all these cases "the qualification of the target state speaks about the object *and* the subject of the verb" (1996:109) and calls them "holder + object result verbs" (1996:110). This comes close to our idea that in these cases the object is conceptualized as part of the resulting state.

[6] In these examples it may be the element *zurück* which enforces the restitutive reading as an anonymous reviewer notes.

there are also some differences. Manner adjuncts can appear in the preverbal position ("Vorfeld") under certain conditions, whereas this position of *wieder* necessarily results in a repetitive reading.

(24) a. *Langsam   hat   sie   das   Buch   gelesen.*
Slowly   has   she   the   book   read
'Slowly, she read the book.'
b. *Wieder   ist   sie   krank   geworden.* (only repetitive)
Again   is   she   ill   become
'She became ill again.'

For manner adverbs in the prefield there is a strong tendency to be interpreted as an eventuality-related adverb if it is possible. In the case of *langsam* in (24) this means that it is interpreted not as the way the reading is going but as measuring the time until the event of her reading the book is completed.[7] A process interpretation is possible under two conditions: either if the process adjunct is narrowly focussed and thus bearing the nuclear accent (e.g. as an answer to 'how was she reading the book?') or, in rare contexts, it may have been mentioned before. In this special context it may remain unaccented.

As far as *wieder* in the prefield is concerned, in principle the same conditions obtain. But, as will be discussed later, nuclear accent on *wieder* always excludes the restitutive reading, so the narrow focus context is not possible with restitutive *wieder*. And givenness by prementioning is even more unlikely than with manner adjuncts.

The question arises: what do manner adjuncts and restitutive *wieder* have in common? If they can show up in the same positions, there must be at least some similarity in the semantic object they apply to. The semantic object restitutive *wieder* applies to is a state. Thus it can only occur with stative predicates or resultative verbs. Manner adjuncts, however, apply to a semantic entity that in earlier work we have called process (Pittner 1999, cf. Frey and Pittner 1998, Haider 2000).[8]

Sometimes the term process is used to denote a type of situation to differentiate it e.g. from states and other types of eventualities. This is not what is meant here: process is the internal structure of dynamic eventualities. Differentiating between event and process is rather of an aspectual nature, namely looking at situations from outside vs. looking at their internal structure in their progressive aspect.

This can be illustrated with adverbs of speed like *schnell* (*quickly*) or *langsam (slowly)*. The idea behind the term process adjunct is that manner adjuncts apply to inner aspects of a situation with no regard to its beginning or its end. The following sentence is ambiguous between a reading as a process adjunct or an eventuality-related adjunct.

(25) *Er   ging   schnell.*
he   walked/went   quickly
'He walked quickly/quickly went.'

In one reading *schnell gehen (walk quickly)* the adverb characterizes the single successive movements of the legs that constitute the activity of walking. The adverb *schnell* characterizes them with regard to a temporal parameter and the judgement is based on an idea what is the normal speed of the single successive movements in walking. Thus it applies to the inner aspect of the situation, its progression. In its manner interpretation, the adverb says

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[7]   Eventuality-related *langsam* may also apply to the time between a reference point and the beginning of an event, as Claudia Maienborn points out (p.c.). The different interpretations of eventuality-related *langsam* and *schnell* (cf. (25)) are probably due to their interaction with the semantics of the verb and tempus. Further study on this point is yet to be done.

nothing about the time the whole actitivity of walking was lasting. In its reading which applies to the whole situation, it says that the event of his leaving came about quickly whereas it says nothing about how fast the movement of legs went on.

What do manner adjuncts and restitutive *wieder* have in common? A manner adjunct applies only to aspects of a situation that are expressed by the semantics of the verb alone, as we have seen in the case of walking which denotes a successive movement of legs. In the same vein, restitutive *wieder* picks out a part of the verbal semantics, but in this case the state. W*ieder* in general presupposes an earlier occurrence of the semantic entity in its scope. Argueably, *wieder* as a V^0-adjunct is not in the right syntactic position to apply to a whole eventuality as is the case with repetitive *wieder*. To conclude, V^0-adjuncts can only apply to parts of the verbal semantics representing internal properties of the situation. Eventualities, however, are not represented by V^0, but by complete verbal projections containing all verbal arguments.

We suggest the following principle which is responsible for the base positions of both manner adverbs and restitutive *wieder* close to the verb:

(26)   Adjuncts that apply to parts of eventualiy predicates which are supplied by the semantics of the verb alone, take a verb-adjacent base position.

Both restitutive *wieder* and process adjuncts are sensitive to the semantics of the predicate, albeit in different ways: process adjuncts cannot combine with stative predicates[9] whereas restitutive *wieder* requires a stative predicate or a resultative verb.The interpretation of these adjuncts close to the verb is dependent on the semantics of the verb in various ways (cf. Bierwisch 2000 for *wieder*, Maienborn this vol. for verb-close locative modifiers).That these adverbs are sensitive to verb semantics is a direct consequence of their narrow scope reflected in their verb-adjacent position.

So far, it was argued that restitutive *wieder* is a V^0-adjunct, but objects may occur in its scope if they are conceptualized as part of the result. In rare cases restitutive *wieder* may even take a base position higher than the subject, cf. the example given below.

(27)   *Es   siedeln sich   wieder Delawaren in New Jersey an.* (restitutive)
          EXPL   settle   REFL   again   Delawares in New Jersey
          'Delawares are settling again in New Jersey.'

The meaning of *wieder* in this sentence is basically restitutive: The sentence does not necessarily denote the repetition of an event, but rather the restitution of an earlier state, since the Delawares are conceived to have been in New Jersey in the first place and not to have settled there, disappeared and settled again there. This example is the main reason which Jäger and Blutner (2000) give in order to support their view that *wieder* in both readings has its base position higher than the subject.[10]

They argue that this example falsifies an explanation of the different readings of *wieder* by means of its different scopes: Since the subject position in Stechow's analysis is higher than the BECOME-predicate and *wieder* occurs higher than the subject, a restitutive reading should be excluded according to Stechow's analysis their argument goes. It is not quite clear, however, that the subject here is in the "usual" subject position binding an argument of the CAUSE-predicate. The verb in this sentence is an ergative verb with a subject in the object

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[9]   For those manner adjuncts that can apply to stative predicates it makes no sense to call them process adjuncts, e.g. *Sie ist seltsam schön. / She is strangely beautiful.* A detailed subclassification of manner adjuncts is still missing. Cf. Maienborn (2000) and Katz (this volume) for adverbial modification of stative predicates.

[10]   The example occurs in a slightly modified form in Jäger and Blutner (this volume). Cf. the discussion by von Stechow (this volume)

position which lies within the scope of the BECOME-predicate and therefore can occur in the scope of restitutive *wieder*.

It has to be noted that examples of this kind are hard to find. That a restitutive reading is possible here is due to the fact that nobody saw the Delawares settling for the first time so that they can be conceived of to always have been there. This specialty cannot be extended to verbs of appearing in general. Other examples of the Delaware type denote the restitution of some state that can be conceived as a native natural state, e.g.

(28)   *weil da wieder Bäume wachsen*
         since there again trees grow
         `since there grow trees again'

Moreover, the same pattern can be found with predicates that denote the availability of their subject referents:[11]

(29)   *weil wieder Feuerwehrmänner verfügbar sind*
         since again firemen available are
         'since firemen are available again'

What these sentences have in common is that they are asserting the existence of their subject referents in some place. The subjects bear the main accent, whereas the predicates remain unaccented.

Although the concept of integration is not explicitly applied to subjects by Jacobs (1993), there are some good reasons to assume that something similar is taking place in these sentences. First of all, it can be observed that neutral sentence accent is placed on the subject, nuclear accent on other constituents inevitably results in a narrow focus (cf. Rochemont 1986:55 who observes this for verbs of appearing in general). Moreover, it can be argued that the Delawares (and the subject referents in the other examples) have a proto-patient property, since they change their place. This means that the Delawares are conceptualized as part of the resulting state, namely that there are Delawares again in New Jersey. As we have seen, objects have to occur in the scope of restitutive *wieder*, if they are part of the resulting state. This also extends to subjects of some verbs of appearing.

What is also remarkable is that there is no definite entity which changes its place but that the Delawares that are settling in New Jersey are not those that have been there before. Usually the entity undergoing change is remaining constant in a restitutive reading, but, as we have already seen, there are exceptions to this, namely if an indefinite occurs in the scope of restitutive *wieder*. As far as the "identity problem" is concerned, it is due to a special property of common nouns like *Delawares*. They often denote a concept which changes its referents with the course of time.

In this section, it was argued that restitutive *wieder* has a base position adjacent to the verb. Objects and in rare cases subjects may be integrated into the predicate if they are conceptualized as part of the resultant state. In these cases, restitutive *wieder* occurs to the left of these elements.

4. Repetitive *wieder* as eventuality-related adverb

Repetitive *wieder* has been claimed to be a sentence adverb (e.g. Dowty 1976, Fabricius-Hansen 1983). In this section it will be argued, however, that in a more fine-grained classification of adverbs there is a separate class of eventuality adverbs to which repetitive *wieder* belongs. Eventuality-related adverbs, dominating the base positions of all arguments,

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[11]   Cf. section 5 for the repetitive vs. restitutive interpretation of sentences with stative predicates.

delimit the range of existential closure (cf. Frey in press a). Diesing (1992), on the contrary, assumed that sentence adverbs delimit the range of existential closure. It will be shown that sentence adverbs have a higher base position than eventuality-related adverbs and more specifically, that they delimit the topic range of the sentence to their left.

From a semantic point of view, it makes sense to say that repetitive *wieder* is related to events. Kamp and Roßdeutscher (1994:196) make use of the notion of eventuality in their description of repetitive *wieder*:"The presupposition generated by repetitive *wieder* is that an eventuality of the type described by the *wieder*-sentence happened before the one whose occurrence the sentence asserts."

Eventuality-related adjuncts, according to rule (4iii), c-command the base positions of all arguments. This can be shown by quantifier scope:

(30)   *weil   mindestens   ein   Kollege   wieder   protestiert   hat*
        ($\exists$ WIEDER, WIEDER $\exists$)
        because   at least   one   colleague   again   protested   has
        'because at least one colleague protested again'

While the reading of the quantifier *ein* with wide scope is a reflection of the surface order, the reading with the wide scope of *wieder* can be attributed to a base position of the subject lower than *wieder* according to the scope principle by Frey (1993):

(31)   A quantified expression α can have scope over a quantified expression β if the head of the local chain of α c-commands the base position of β.

Note that the ambiguity observed in (30) does not occur with restitutive *wieder*.

(32)   *weil mindestens ein Kollege wieder krank geworden ist* (only $\exists$ WIEDER with the restitutive reading)

Sentence adverbs c-command the finite verb and the base position of eventuality-related adverbs according to (4ii). On the surface, sentence adverbs partition the sentence in topic and comment (Frey/Pittner 1998, Pittner 1999, Frey in press a). Since only referring expressions can be topics (cf. Lambrecht 1994), this can be tested with expressions that have no referent like *keiner (nobody)*.

(33) a. **weil   keiner   wahrscheinlich   KOMMT*
        because   nobody   probably   comes

Other types of adjuncts may precede sentence adjuncts, but this requires that they are topics:

(34) a. *Petra   wird   auf   diese   Weise   anscheinend   ihre   Reise   finanzieren.*
        Petra   will   in   this   way   apparently   her   trip   finance
        'Petra apparently will finance her trip in this way'

Contrary to (33), *wieder* can occur to the right of *keiner*:

(35) a. *weil   keiner   wieder   singt*
        because   nobody   again   sings
        'because nobody sings again'

The finite verb is c-commanded by sentence adverbs. Since German is of the OV-type, for sentence adverbs in the middle field this condition is always fulfilled. In German, this condition can be observed in the following sentences, where it is violated and leads to ungrammaticality (judgement applies to non-focussing use of the sentence adverb).

(36) *Leider   geraucht   hat   er   gestern.
      Unfortunately smoked   has   he   yesterday.
      'He unfortunately smoked yesterday.'[12]

For repetitive *wieder* as eventuality-related adverb this condition does not obtain:

(37) Wieder   geraucht   hat   er   gestern.
      again   smoked   has   he   yesterday
      'he again smoked yesterday'

So far, it has been argued that repetitive *wieder* has a base position different from the one of sentence adverbs and contrary to sentence adverbs does not delimit the topic range in the sentence. As was indicated at the beginning of this section, eventuality-related adverbs, the class to which repetitive *wieder* belongs, delimit the range of existential closure. This means that indefinite NPs occurring to its left can only get a "strong" interpretation. In the case of bare plurals this means that they do not get an existential but a generic interpretation (cf. Frey in press a).

(38) a. *weil   Väter   an Weihnachten   mit   der   Eisenbahn   spielen*
          (only generic)
          because fathers   at Christmas   with   the   locomotive   play
          'because fathers play at Christmas with the locomotive'
     a'. *weil   an Weihnachten Väter   mit   der   Eisenbahn   spielen*
          (existential or generic)
          because   at Christmas   fathers   with   the   locomotive   play
          'because fathers play at Christmas with the locomotive'

     b. *weil   Väter   wieder mit   der   Eisenbahn   spielen* (only generic)
          because fathers   again   with   the   locomotive play
          'because fathers play with the locomotive again´
     b'. *weil   wieder Väter   mit   der   Eisenbahn   spielen*
          (existential or generic)[13]
          because again   fathers   with   the   locomotive   play
          'because fathers play with the locomotive again´

A position to the left of *wieder* does not mean that these NPs are topics, however. By using a context which identifies topics, it can be shown that elements to the left of sentence adverbs are topics, but not necessarily elements to the left of eventuality-related adverbs, the class to which also repetitive *wieder* belongs (cf. Frey in press b):

(39) *Da wir gerade von Vätern sprechen:*

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[12] Cf. the English facts, which show that in English the finite verb has to be c-commanded by the sentence adverb, (c) is due to a movement of the finite verb:

(i)   a.*George has been probably reading the book.
       b. George probably has been reading the book.
       c. George has probably been reading the book.

(ii)   George will read the book again/yesterday/*probably.

(ii) shows that eventuality-related adverbs in English like repetitive *again* or *yesterday* do not pattern with sentence adverbs.

[13] Frey (in press a) shows that the generic interpretation is not due to a status as topic as is often assumed. Generic interpretation becomes necessary if the bare plural occurs to the left of an eventuality adverb, but it can occur to the right of a sentence adverb, which means that generic NPs are not necessarily topics.

Speaking about fathers

a. *#Ich habe gehört, dass erfreulicherweise Väter wieder*
   I   have heard that luckily   fathers again
   mit der Eisenbahn spielen
   with the railway   play

b. *Ich habe gehört, dass Väter erfreulicherweise wieder*
   I   have heard that fathers luckily   again
   mit der Eisenbahn spielen
   with the railway   play
   'I heard that fathers luckily play with the railway again'

This goes to show that topics have to occur to the left of sentence adverbs. Contrary to von Stechow (1996), who assumes a movement of subjects in a position higher than repetitive *wieder* for case reasons, I argued that a movement to a position that is higher than repetitive *wieder* has effects on the interpretation and on the information status of the respective verbal arguments.

The fact that topics occur to the left of repetitive *wieder* and, as we have seen, to the left of sentence adverbs, does not mean, however, that these NPs necessarily have the same referent in the presupposed and the asserted event.

The following sentence has a repetitive reading which is strongly preferred over a restitutive reading on account of the individual level predicate:

(40) *weil der Präsident wieder ein Frauenheld ist* (same or another President)
      because the President again a womanizer is
      'because the president is a womanizer again'

Here we have an individual level-predicate and according to Diesing (1992), the subject of an individual level predicate is generated outside the domain of existential closure and thus has to appear in front of *wieder*. The fact that we have an individual level predicate strongly suggests a reading where different presidents are meant in presupposition and assertion. If we exchange it for a stage level predicate, the reading where one and the same president is meant becomes much more likely and we get a restitutive interpretation (although two presidents are still a possible interpretation which yields a repetitive reading).

(41) *weil der Präsident wieder schlank ist*
      because the President again slim is
      'because the President is slim again'

That an element to the left of *wieder* can have two different referents is due to a semantic pecularity of nouns like *President*, since they are functional expressions whose referent may change in the course of time.
A similar example is the following, where the NP to the left of *wieder* has a different referent in assertion and presupposition:

(42) *weil Anna den Titel ihres Vortrags geändert hat*
      because Anna the title of her talk   changed has
      und den Titel wieder angekündigt hat [14]
      and the itel again announced has
      'because Anna changed the title of her talk and announced the title again'

It can be argued that the title in this sentence is topic (both according to a notion of topic based on pragmatic aboutness as well as to a notion based on familiarity). Since topics can

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[14] I owe this example to B. Partee.

only occur to the left of sentence adverbs which again c-command all other types of adverbs topics may only occur to the left of adverbs in the German middle field.

The position to the left of *wieder* is due to the topic status of the respective constituents. Since topics must occur higher than sentence adverbs which again are higher than all other kinds of adverbs (except frame adjuncts that are topics), it follows that topics can occur only higher than adverbs in the middle field.

In this section, it was argued that repetitive *wieder* belongs to the class of eventuality-related adverbs which are c-commanding the base positions of all arguments as well as of event-internal adjuncts. They delimit the domain of existential closure with the effect that indefinite NPs occuring to the left of repetitive *wieder* receive a strong interpretation. Sentence adverbs, however, which were assumed to delimit the range of existential closure by Diesing (1992), have a different base position: they delimit the topic range to their left in the sentence.

5. *Wieder* and nuclear accent assignment

Following observations made by Fabricius-Hansen (1995) and in earlier work, Jäger and Blutner (this vol.) assume that the intonation has a disambiguating effect on the readings of *wieder*: "Unmarked intonation goes with the restitutive reading, while main accent on *wieder* leads to the repetitive interpretation." The first part of this statement is not quite adequate, as will be shown in this section. I agree with the second part of this statement and will try to give an explanation for this.

As was mentioned in the beginning, restitutive *wieder* can occur with stative predicates which denote states that may be conceived of as the result of a change. In our view, a nuclear accent on the predicate can occur with both restitutive and repetitive reading, whereas a nuclear accent on *wieder* excludes the restitutive reading (cf. Fabricius-Hansen 1995).

(43) a. *weil   der   Kapitän   wieder   NÜCHtern   ist* (restitutive, repetitive)
   because   the   captain   again   sober   is
   'because the captain is sober again'
   b. *weil der Kapitän WIEder nüchtern ist* (only repetitive)

Wieder has a repetitive reading with stative predicates if two separate periods of times are looked at where it doesn`t matter whether the same or another state was present in between. A restitution is also the repetition of a state but within one complex situation where in between the two identical states a different, usually an opposite state obtained. The following diagrams illustrate the difference.

Fig. 1: repetition of a state

Fig. 2: restitution of a state

The effect of intonation of *wieder* can be observed also with other types of predicates (cf. Fabricius-Hansen 1995, who identifies a counterdirectional reading of *wieder* in the following example[15]).

> (44) a. *weil   das   Barometer   wieder   FIEL*
>   (restitutive/counterdirectional, repetitive)
>   because   the   barometer   again   fell
>   'because the barometer fell again'
>   b. *weil das Barometer WIEder fiel* (only repetitive)

In this section, it shall be briefly shown how this pattern can be explained by the rules for focus assignment and the interpretation of focus according to an alternative semantics as developed by Rooth (1992). I assume that nuclear accent indicates focus, which according to Rooth delimits the range of alternatives. Focus is not restricted to the accented constituent but can spread according to certain rules, so that there is wide focus or "focus projection" as it is called in the German literature. Since a focus on an adjunct cannot project (cf. Pittner 1999 for a discussion of exceptions), nuclear accent on *wieder* is not neutral, but indicates narrow focus on *wieder*,[16] which means that the rest of the sentence is background. Background information can be taken to be presupposed in some sense. Since the rest of the sentence denotes an eventuality, an eventuality is presupposed and the reading of *wieder* is necessarily repetitive.

In view of the semantics of restitutive *wieder*, it makes sense to say that there are different states a theme is going through, so that the alternatives lie in the state expressed by the predicate, whereas the rest is usually given. Hence focus usually includes the predicate which expresses the state since it indicates the right set of alternatives for restitutive interpretation of *wieder*.

This does not mean that there is a simple correlation between a neutral nuclear accent and a restitutive interpretation of *wieder*. Sentence accent on the verb allows for either narrow focus on the verb or broad focus and therefore allows both a restitutive and a repetitive reading. We do not share the view held by Jäger and Blutner (this vol.) that in what they call an "empty context"[17] *wieder* has to bear the nuclear accent in order to be interpreted repetitively. There is no simple disambiguating effect of intonation as suggested by Jäger and Blutner (this vol.) and Fabricius-Hansen (1995). While it is true that a nuclear accent on *wieder* precludes a restitutive reading, this is not necessarily the reason for accenting it. It may be stressed for emphatic reasons, for instance in order to emphasize the unexpectedness or even the unpleasantness of the repetition. On the other hand, the verb may be stressed to contrast the eventuality with other possible eventualities in a repetitive reading.

To illustrate this, we look at a sentence that may be interpreted repetitively or restitutively (or, in the terminology of Fabricius-Hansen 1995, counterdirectionally).

(45)   [*Wie stehen die Aktienkurse heute?*]
        [How are the stock prices today?]

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[15] Fabricius-Hansen (1995) defines a relation CONTRA which holds between predicates like *fall* and *rise* where the precondition is the result condition of the other predicate of the relation and vice versa. In my view, a counterdirectional reading of *wieder* can be subsumed under restitution, because e.g. *to rise again* means to reach many states that obtained before.

[16] *Wieder* is also accented if it is part of a particle verb if that verb begins with an unstressed syllable: '*wiederbeleben*, '*wiedereröffnen*, but *wieder'herstellen*. In these particle verbs we find most often restitutive *wieder*. Its accentuation is due to a process of integration into the verb.

[17] It is not quite clear what their concept of an empty context is because they assume that in the examples they discuss all constituents except *wieder* are given.

Die Aktienkurse FALLEN wieder.
The stock prices fall again.
`The stock prices are falling again.`

If the stock prices fell some time before and now are falling again, we have a repetitive reading. The verb is accented, because the alternative would be that they are rising. If the stock prices had been rising right before falling, we have a counterdirectional reading. The verb is accented on account of the contrast of this movement to the earlier one.
The following diagram goes to show that it depends on the periods of times we are looking at whether there is a repetitive or a restitutive/counterdirectional reading.
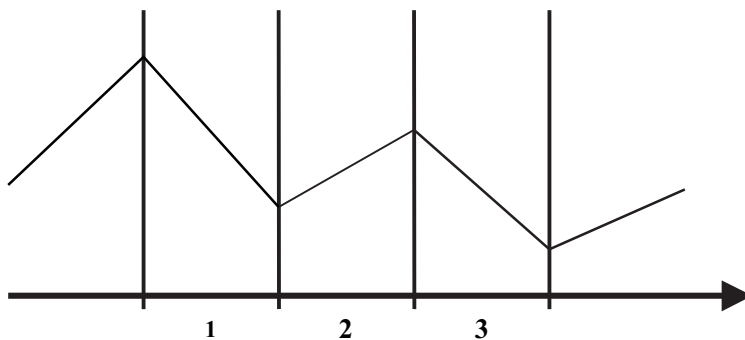

Fig. 3: repetition vs. restitution

Looking at 1 and 3, we get a repetitive reading, whereas looking at 2 and 3, the interpretation is restitutive/ counterdirectional. The accent remains the same in both cases.
In this section, it was argued that a nuclear accent on *wieder* leads to a backgrounding of the eventuality denoted by the rest of the sentence. The eventuality is presupposed with the result of a repetitive reading. It was argued that an accent on the predicate does not automatically lead to a restitutive reading as many authors assume. In these cases, disambiguation is not so much effected by intonation as by the context.

6. The meaning(s) of *wieder*

As was indicated in the introduction, the question whether there is only one meaning of *wieder* or whether there is polysemy involved is still controversial. So far it was argued that the two readings of *wieder* can be reduced entirely to a difference in scope.
A short look on the diachronic development ot this lexeme may shed additional light on the question. As in English, where we have *again* and a related preposition *against*, in German *wieder* is related to a preposition *wider* (`contra`) which has an archaic flavour. The dictionary by Grimm (1960, vol. 29:867ff.) notes that the oldest meaning of *wieder* was a directional one roughly equivalent to *towards*. Out of that an adverse meaning `against` and a meaning `contrary to` developed as well as a counterdirectional meaning (`back`, `backwards`). This was the basis for the development of the restitutive meaning and later on for the development of the repetitive meaning. [18]

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[18]   Fabricius-Hansen (2001), which deals extensively with *again(st)* and *wi(e)der*, came to my attention only after finishing this paper.

Fabricius-Hansen (1995), who points out these etymological facts, concludes from them that the the counterdirectional-restitutive meaning today still has priority over the repetitive reading which obtains only if the context does not allow for a repetitive reading. In the following short sketch of the development of the meanings of *wieder* I want to argue for a different view, namely that the repetitive meaning today is the prevailing meaning. I will also suggest an explanation for this change.

There is a close connection of the counterdirectional meaning with the restitutive meaning: A counterdirectional movement leads one back to a place, or rather, many places where one was earlier. By a metaphorical transfer from a concrete local meaning to more abstract "places". i.e. states, the restitutive meaning is gained. The restitutive meaning can be conceived of as a reverse movement to an earlier state. That this is necessarily implying the repetition of this state is the starting point for the development of the repetitive meaning.

As we have seen, the restitutive meaning is dependent on a close syntactical relation to the verb. Once this relation is loosened and the adverb occurs higher in the sentence there is no longer access to the internal aspects of the eventuality, i.e. the state referred to by the verb which is reached again in the restitutive sense. What remains if the adverb occurs in these positions is the repetitive meaning element, in this case not of a situation-internal state, but of the whole eventuality.

Thus the „development" of the repetitive meaning can be seen as the effect of a loosening of selectional restrictions, because repetitive *wieder* can occur with any type of eventuality, except of course those that are temporally unlimited. The loosening of selectional restrictions has an effect on the syntactic positon of *wieder*, which may occur higher in the sentence than before.

We find it adequate to assume that the adverb nowadays is reduced to its repetitive meaning, and that the only difference between a „restitutive" and a „repetitive" meaning lies in the semantic entity that it is applied to which is reflected in the syntactic base position of the adverb. As we have seen, we can get the repetition of an event-internal state only in the position adjacent to the predicate. A modification of the whole eventuality is possible for *wieder* in a base position above the base position of all verbal arguments.

There are other illustrative examples of the „meaning change" of adverbs going together with a change of their syntactic class. Another case in point is the German adverb *gerne* which has a frequency interpretation ('often') and a volitional interpretation ('willingly'). In its volitional interpretation it qualifies the attitude of the subject referent and is eventuality-internal. Hence, this interpretation is not available if the position of the adverb does not meet the requirements for eventuality-internal adverbs as in (46):

(46) *weil   hier   gerne jemand   arbeitet* (only frequency interpretation)
      because   here   often   somebody works
      `because often somebody works here`

This shows clearly that there are ordering restrictions of adverbs relative to the arguments in a sentence. *Gerne* is not c-commanded by the subject and therefore cannot be interpreted as a mental-attitude adverb since it does not meet condition (4iv).

As far as *gerne* is concerned, we have an implicature that something that is done willingly is done often. If *gerne* is used in a context where there is no volitionally acting person, the meaning element 'willingly' is suppressed and the meaning element 'often' is the only one to survive.

The border line between polysemy and homonymy is often difficult to draw. Even if there is clearly a common etymological source, which is usually a reason to assume polysemy, there may be reasons to assume homonymy, i.e. two lexical entries. Although there is a common etymological source in the case of *gerne*, it is reasonable to assume two lexical entries: only the adverb with the volitional interpretation can be negated by the prefix *un-* and

may appear in comparative or superlative form (by means of the suppletive stem *lieb-*). In the case of *wieder*, however, there is nothing to enforce the assumption of two separate lexical entries.

Adverbs like *wieder* or *gerne* belong to different adverb classes as pointed in (4) in their different readings. The „meaning change" comes about when the adverb appears in a position where certain meaning elements are not compatible with the adverb class it belongs to on account of its structural position. As we have seen, *gerne* can have its mental attitude meaning only if the syntactic conditions for it are fulfilled. In a similar fashion, *wieder* in a position adjungated to a complete verbal projection looses the counterdirectional flavour that restitutive *wieder* still has and is reduced entirely to its repetitive sense.

To sum up: Although we today can still easily see how the restitutive reading of *wieder* is closely connected to the earlier counterdirectional meaning of the adverb, it seems plausible that today we have only a repetitive meaning and the so-called restitutive reading is also a repetition, in this case not of a whole eventuality, but of a situation-internal state.

7. Results

In this paper, an explanation of the different readings of *wieder* by a difference in scope was defended. It was demonstrated that restitutive *wieder* has a base position close to the main predicate in its clause-final base position, whereas repetitive *wieder* in its base position c-commands the verb phrase containing the base positions of all arguments. Restitutive *wieder* shares its base position with manner adverbs. Both restitutive *wieder* and manner adverbs apply to internal aspects of the situation which are denoted by the verb. Repetitive *wieder* shares its base position with temporal adjuncts. Adjuncts occurring in this position apply to the situation as a whole. It was argued that these eventuality-related adverbs are a class distinct from sentence adverbs which relate to the proposition. Whereas the former delimit the domain of existential closure to the effect that existentially interpreted indefinite NPs may occur only to their right, sentence adverbs mark the topic-comment boundary

The influence of accentuation on the interpretation of *wieder* was explained by the rules for the assignment and interpretation of neutral sentence accent. The paper was concluded with reflections on the diachronic development of the meanings of *wieder*.

The characteristics of repetitive vs. restitutive *wieder* support the assumption stated in the introductory part of the paper that adverbs have a base position which is determined by their semantic relations to the rest of the sentence.

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