Rethinking *her-*: Dutch verbal prefixation and rule ordering

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1. The problem

(1) *infinitive*　　　　　*past participle* (formed with prefix *ge-*)
a.　　zien 'see'　　　　　ge-zien
　　　gaan 'go'　　　　　ge-gaan
b.　　be-zien 'view'　　　be-zien　　　　　(*ge-be-zien, *be-ge-zien)
　　　ont-zien 'spare'　　ont-zien　　　　(*ge-ont-zien, *ont-ge-zien)
c.　　ver-gaan 'perish'　ver-gaan　　　　(*ge-ver-gaan, *ver-ge-gaan)
d.　　ge-bruiken 'use'　　ge-bruikt　　　　(*ge-ge-bruikt)

(2) *infinitive*　　　　　*past participle*
a.　　her-zíen 'revise'　　her-zien　　　　(*ge-her-zien, *her-ge-zien)
b.　　hér-interpreteren　　ge-her-interpeteerd　(*her-interpreteerd)
　　　　　'reinterpret'

"As predicted, the participle is *geherinterpreteerd*, with the prefix *ge-* present, **because the stem-initial prefix bears the main stress of the verb**" (Booij 2002:74)

>> discussion point: is *ge-*prefixation determined by
　　a.　properties of the word as a whole? (e.g. accentuation, cf. Anderson 1992:282) or
　　b.　the internal structure of the word? (Halle, via Anderson *loc cit*)

2. The origin of the prefix *her-* ('re-')

(3)　　*her-* < *re-*　(Van Ginneken 1928)

- initially: only the type in (2a)　　(cf. Weiland 1802)
- *her-* + *be-/ver-/ont-*: backformation　(Van Haeringen 1962)
  　ontginning 'mining' > herontginning > herontginnen
  　opvoeding 'education' > heropvoeding > heropvoeden
- *her-* + latinate (*-éren*) behaving analogously to other latinate verbs (ibid.)
  　apocoperen : ge-apocopeerd :: herinterpreteren : ge-herinterpreteerd

>> two strata:　　I　original *her*-verbs　- stress on the verb stem
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　- no *ge-*prefixation
　　　　　　　　　　II　later *her*-verbs　　- stress (i) on *her-* or (ii) on particle
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　- *ge-*prefixation not excluded
(4)　　her-zien, be-zien, ont-zien ('see')
　　　her-stellen, be-stellen, ver-stellen, ont-stellen ('place')
　　　her-zetten, be-zetten, ver-zetten, ont-zetten ('put')
　　　her-kennen, be-kennen, ver-kennen, ont-kennen, er-kennen ('know')
　　　her-nemen, be-nemen, ver-nemen, ont-nemen ('take')
　　　her-kleden, be-kleden, ver-kleden, ont-kleden ('clothe')
　　　her-denken, be-denken, ge-denken ('think')
　　　her-leiden, ver-leiden, ge-leiden ('lead')
　　　etc.　　　　　　　　　　　　>> *her* I is **similar to** *be-/ver-/ont-*

(5)   her-groeperen, *be-groeperen, *ver-groeperen, *ont-groeperen ('group')
        her-structureren, *be-structureren, *ver-structureren, *ont-structureren ('structure')
        her-op-bouwen, *be-op-bouwen, *ver-op-bouwen, *ont-op-bouwen ('build')
        her-ver-delen, *be-ver-delen, *ver-ver-delen, *ont-ver-delen ('divide')
        her-interpreteren, *be-interpreteren, *ver-interpreteren, *ont-interpreteren
        etc.   ('interpret')

                                        >> *her* II is **different from** *be-*/ver-/ont-

(6)   Absence of *ge-* with *her* I is explained (cf. (1b-d))

        >> distribution of *ge-* with *her-* only an issue with stratum II verbs

3. A closer look at stratum II verbs

(7)   a. stratum I   (NB *her-* not a prosodic word, Booij 2002:170)
            older forms, simplex
            herzien, herbouwen, herademen

        b. stratum II   (i.e. *her-* is a prosodic word, like all prefixes)
            newer forms, complex
            (i)   particle verbs [varying stress pattern]
                    her-in-delen, her-in-richten, her-op-bouwen, her-op-voeden,
                    her-aan-stellen, her-uit-geven
            (ii)   prefixed verbs [stress on *her-*]
                    her-be-bossen, her-ver-delen, her-ont-ginnen, her-ge-bruiken
            (iii)   prefixed particle verbs [varying stress pattern]
                    her-aan-be-steden
            (iv)   suffixed verbs in *-éren* [varying stress pattern]
                    her-activeren, her-examineren, her-formuleren, her-structureren
                    her-acclimatiseren, her-becommentariëren, her-interpreteren
            (v)   inseparable particle verbs [varying stress pattern]
                    her-over-wegen, her-onder-zoeken
            (vi)   compound verbs [stress on *her-*]
                    her-huis-vesten

(8)   a. particle verbs   *her-ín-**ge**-deeld* ('regrouped')   (7bi)
                                            *hér-in-**ge**-richt* ('redecorated')

        >> varying stress pattern does not affect *ge*-prefixation (also c, d)

        b. prefixed verbs   *hér-be-bost* ('reforested')   (7bii)
        c. prefixed particle verbs   *hér-aan-be-steed* ('reallocated')   (7biii)
                                           her-áan-be-steed
        d. suffixed verbs in *-éren*   *__ge__-hér-interpreteerd* ('reinterpreted')   (7biv)
                                           __ge__-her-structuréerd ('restructured')
        e. inseparable particle verbs   *hér-over-wogen* ('reconsidered')   (7bv)
        f. compound verbs   *__ge__-hér-huis-vest* ('rehoused')   (7bvi)

        >>   no connection with the stress pattern

(9)   cf. also stratum I   her-dénken   'memorialize'   her-dacht (*ge-her-dacht)
                             hér-denken   'rethink'   her-dacht (*ge-her-dacht)

4. The relevance of the internal structure of *her*-verbs

>> Taking stock

- stratum I verbs: no *ge*-prefixation

    >> explanation: *her* I belongs to the class of *be-/ver-/ont-*

- stratum II verbs: *ge*-prefixation varies:

    >> **generalization**
    if the base of a *her*-verb allows *ge*-prefixation, then so does the *her*-verb

VERB TYPE	BASE WITH *GE*-?	*HER*-VERB WITH *GE*-?	EXAMPLE
particle verb	YES	YES	(her)-in-**ge**-deeld
prefixed verb	NO	NO	(her)-be-bost
prefixed particle verb	NO	NO	(her)-aan-be-steed
suffixed verb in *-éren*	YES	YES	**ge**-(her)-structureerd
inseparable particle verb	NO	NO	(her)-over-wogen
compound verb	YES	YES	**ge**-(her)-huis-vest

>> The relevance of the stress pattern:

- we can use the stress pattern to separate Stratum I from Stratum II verbs

(10)   stratum I: simple   stratum II: complex
        her-zíen   hér-ín-delen
                                   hér-interpretéren
                                   hér-be-bóssen
                                   hér-áan-be-steden
                                   hér-over-wégen
                                   hér-húis-vesten

- but the complex stress pattern of stratum II verbs does not predict the presence or absence of *ge-*
    >> for that we need to look at the verb's **internal structure**

5. Theoretical relevance

"There is no persuasive reason to assume that (most) words 'have' an internal morphological structure in the way they 'have' phonological structure." (Anderson 1992:256)

(11)   *German*
        sprechen 'speak'   >   ge-sprochen
        be-spréchen 'discuss'   >   be-sprochen   (*ge-be-sprochen)

        riskíeren 'risk'   >   riskiert   (*ge-riskiert)

"The correct generalization makes no reference to internal morphological structure: it is simply that [*ge-*] is only attached to stems that bear initial stress." (Anderson 1992:283)

(12) *Dutch*
be-spréken 'discuss'   >   be-sproken
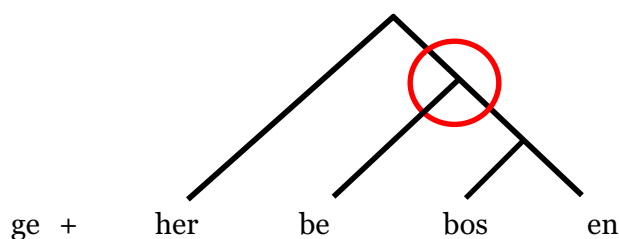riskéren 'risk'   >   ge-riskeerd   (*riskeerd)

"So in accounting for the distribution of *ge-* in Dutch there seems no alternative to referring to prefixes as such." (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992:215)

>> this discussion was limited to stratum I cases, with stratum II cases the conclusion becomes even clearer

(13)   her-structuréren 'restructure'   >   ge-her-structureerd   (*her-structureerd)

>> no initial stress, still *ge-* prefixation

(14)

ge +   her   be   bos   en

>> realization of *ge-* is determined by the properties of the circled node

"[in many cases] there does indeed seem to be no syntactic or morphological process which needs to peek inside at its internal structure. On the other hand, it is not hard to find instances where rules governing the inflectional or derivational behaviour of a word do apparently involve this kind of peeking." (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992:214)

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