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Journal of Germanic Linguistics **29.3** (2017):205–258
doi: 10.1017/S1470542716000234

"Argumente *Hin*, Argumente *Her*." Regularity and Idiomaticity in German *N Hin*, *N Her*

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This paper seeks to find the best linguistic analysis of the German semispecified, productive pattern *N hin, N her* (for example, *Krieg hin, Krieg her, es muss eine gute Show werden* 'War or no war, it must be a good show'). The basic question is whether the properties of *N hin, N her* can be accounted for in a rule-based approach or whether they are to be regarded as idiosyncratic properties of this construction. One of the characteristic features of *N hin, N her* is the identity of the nouns. This raises the question of whether or not *N hin, N her* is an instance of syntactic reduplication. It is shown that rule-based copying accounts fail when they are applied to the case of *N hin, N her*. The paper argues for an alternative, constructionist account of *N hin, N her*, which is able to cover both regular and idiosyncratic aspects of the construction in a systematic fashion. However, the paper goes beyond a standard constructionist account by also arguing that the idiosyncratic features of the construction can be further explained if one takes into account general pragmatic principles. This requires a theory that incorporates a systematic interface with pragmatics.[*]

1. Introduction.

Any theory of grammar must seek to answer the question what mechanism licenses (only) the grammatical sentences or structures of a given language. One can roughly distinguish between derivational (lexicalist) and constructionist theories (Müller 2006, Jacobs 2008, Finkbeiner & Meibauer 2016b). A derivational theory—for instance, the approaches

[*] I am very grateful to two anonymous referees whose detailed and constructive comments helped me to improve the paper in important ways. A previous version of this article was presented at the Workshop on Replicative Processes in Grammar, Leipzig University, October 2, 2015. I would also like to thank Walter Bisang, Ulrike Freywald, Jochen Geilfuß-Wolfgang, and Gereon Müller for fruitful discussion. Many thanks to Ilana Mezhevich for the careful copy-editing. All remaining errors are my own.

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542716000234 Published online by Cambridge University Press

usually conflated under the heading of Mainstream Generative Grammar (such as Chomsky 1981, 1995)—assumes that linguistic knowledge is rule-based: The properties of complex linguistic expressions can be derived by general rules of grammar. One basic strategy of derivational accounts of grammar is to model syntactic structures as projections of the properties of the words included. That is, the properties of complex expressions are derived via general mechanisms from the properties of its component parts.

By contrast, a constructionist theory—for instance, the approaches usually conflated under the heading of Construction Grammar (such as Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995, 2006; Kay & Fillmore 1999; Croft 2001)—assumes that linguistic knowledge consists of a large inventory of form-meaning pairings, that is, constructions. The basic strategy of constructionist accounts of grammar is to specify the constructions and classes of constructions of a given language and the relations between them. A constructionist account thus does not derive the properties of complex expressions from the properties of its component parts, but directly states them as properties of the construction.

A phenomenon at the heart of the controversy between derivational and constructionist approaches are schematic idioms (Fillmore et al. 1988), that is, syntactic patterns that are lexically partly specified and partly open. Constructionists treat schematic idioms as prime candidates for complex constructions whose meanings cannot entirely be derived from their component parts (see Goldberg's 1995:4 original definition of constructions: "C is a construction iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <F_i, S_i> such that some aspect of F_i, or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions").[1]

[1] In a more recent, weaker definition, Goldberg (2006:5) also includes fully compositional structures that are stored (or entrenched) as constructions because of frequent use:

> Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency.

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By contrast, proponents of a derivational account may argue that schematic idioms, as productive patterns of a language, must share some properties with regular patterns of the language and try to derive these properties from more general principles of grammar. For example, while Jackendoff (2008) claims that the schematic idiom illustrated by expressions such as *student after student, book upon book* (the NPN [Noun-Preposition-Noun] construction) is an idiosyncratic construction violating standard phrase structure rules, Müller (2011) argues that NPN may be derived as a special case of a prepositional phrase, assuming additional processes such as postsyntactic phonological copying.

In this paper, I treat the German schematic idiom *N hin, N her* 'N here, N there' as a new test case for the evaluation of different approaches to grammar.[2] *N hin, N her* is a productive pattern of German used frequently both in written and spoken discourse. However, no comprehensive linguistic analysis of this construction has been carried out so far. All one can find are sparse references in some early works on German phraseology (for example, Fleischer 1982) and in some works on concessive conditionals (for example, Leuschner 2005, d'Avis 2016). Standard grammar books, such as Duden 2009, do not provide any information on the pattern. An example is given in 1 (all the examples in the paper are from DeReKo, German Reference Corpus, the electronic resource provided by Institut für deutsche Sprache, Mannheim).[3]

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[2] *Hin* and *her* correctly translate as 'thither' and 'hither', respectively. Thus, the literal English translation of the pattern is 'N thither, N hither'. This translation is unidiomatic, however. This is not only because the pattern as such does not exist in English, but also because *thither* and *hither* seem to belong to a rather formal or old-fashioned register. What is more, the ordering *thither* > *hither* is odd and would be changed in English into *hither* > *thither*. This fact can be explained by general restrictions of syllable prominence that also hold for word pairs, for example (see Ross 1980, Müller 1997). The relevant restriction here is that in a word pair, the word with a less complex onset precedes the word with a more complex onset. However, I have chosen in this paper to use instead the pseudo-literal translation 'N here, N there'. This translation, while still not being idiomatic English, sounds smoother than 'N hither, N thither', and is in accord with syllable prominence restrictions, which dictate that the word with the higher nucleus precedes the word with the lower nucleus.

[3] DeReKo is one of the largest electronically available corpora of contemporary German. The searches were carried out in the W-Archive, which comprises

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(1) Krieg hin, Krieg her, es muss eine
war.NOM thither war.NOM hither it.NOM must-3SG.PRS a.NOM

"gute Show" werden.
good.NOM show.NOM become-INF

'War here, war there, it [the Academy Awards] must be a 'good show.'' (Zeit online, March 20, 2003)

N hin, N her is closely related, but not fully equivalent to, English *X or no X*, which—at first glance—seems to be a good approximation to an idiomatic translation ('war or no war, …'). The two patterns are not interchangeable in every context, however.[4] In this paper, I therefore stick to the quasi-literal translation 'N here, N there' and refrain from providing an idiomatic translation.

Fleischer (1982:137) characterizes the pattern illustrated in 1 as a pattern 'noun + *hin* ('thither'), same noun + *her* ('hither')' to which he assigns a concessive meaning.[5] Thus, one of the defining formal features of the pattern seems to be the identity of the two nouns. This raises the question of whether or not *N hin, N her* is an instance of syntactic reduplication. In this paper, I discuss this issue in greater detail. In particular, I discuss the question whether a rule-based copying approach to *N hin, N her* is fruitful.

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roughly 3.7 billion words. It contains various text types of written language, though predominantly newspaper texts. Another large source included in the W-Archive are (written, dialogical) Wikipedia discussions.

[4] In particular, the mock repeat usages of *N hin, N her* (see section 2) and the usages with distinct nouns (see section 3) cannot be translated by English *X or no X*. Mock repeats such as *Grammatik hin, Grammatik her* (see example 8c) probably translate best as a *shm*-reduplication, 'grammar, shmammar'. The cases with distinct nouns, such as *Regen hin, Schnee her*, clearly are not translatable by English **Rain or no snow*. Here, non-negated contrast pairs such as *(come) rain or shine* must be used.

[5] See also the paraphrase in DUW 2007:818: "… hin, … her, … *(ugs.: es bleibt sich gleich, ob …, ob nicht …, … [trotzdem] …)*", '… thither, … hither, … (*coll.: it doesn't matter whether …, or not … [anyway]*)'.

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Based on a close analysis of the specific linguistic properties of *N hin, N her*, I argue for an integrative model of grammar, as proposed more recently by Culicover & Jackendoff (2005), Jacobs (2008, 2016), and Jackendoff (2013).[6] An integrative model does not seek to account for all phenomena of a language in either a constructionist or a derivational manner; rather, it allows for both constructionist and derivational elements in the theory. For instance, the Simpler Syntax model of Culicover & Jackendoff (2005) includes not only an inventory of more or less specific constructions, but also abstract constructions and more general principles. Similarly, a "heterogeneous construction grammar" (Jackendoff 2013) does not take all linguistic units to be full Saussurean signs; instead, it contains both meaningful constructions and independent principles of syntactic form and semantic structure. In the same vein, Jacobs (2008) argues for a grammar that allows for complex phrasal constructions as well as for "projectionist" (derivational) elements, such as word-based valency restrictions and general linguistic (for example, phonological) laws.[7]

A proponent of a purely derivational account may object that an integrative model leads to redundancy of analytical instruments.[8] I argue in this paper that redundancy in the analytical apparatus might be somehow inelegant, but is inescapable if one wants the grammar to account for phenomena that cannot be accounted for in a purely derivational way without additional ad hoc assumptions (see Jacobs 2008). The proponent of a purely derivational account may further object that an

[6] One may add Constructional HPSG (Sag 1997) and Sign-Based Construction Grammar (SBCG; Sag 2012).

[7] See also Jackendoff 2013:79 for the status of phonological laws in the grammar. According to Jacobs (2008), the difference between constructions and laws is that constructions state what is present in a language, while laws predict what is not possible in a language. Therefore, both types of rules are necessary in a grammar that strives to cover all phenomena without additional ad hoc assumptions. A reviewer objects that laws do not predict anything, but rather state constraints, which in turn rule out certain structures. At the same time, rules predict the well-formedness of certain structures, namely, those that are licensed by the rules.

[8] This objection might also be raised by the proponent of a purely constructionist view (for example, Croft 2001). However, many constructionist approaches in fact allow for abstract constructions and thus are in some sense "heterogeneous" or integrative (see Jacobs 2008).

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integrative model is less explanative. Behind this is the idea that a theory is more explanatory if it can keep everything in the same general format, for example, in endocentric binary branching structures. However, such a homogenous theory does not automatically explain more examples, or is psycholinguistically more adequate than a heterogeneous theory. Moreover, homogeneity often is possible only at the cost of assuming empty elements in the grammar.[9] In general, an integrative account that incorporates both phrasal constructions and abstract rules seems to be equipped with an apparatus powerful enough to explain a broad range of phenomena.[10]

The structure of this article is as follows: In section 2, I give a general description of the linguistic properties of *N hin, N her*. In section 3, I discuss some theoretical implications of the empirical observation that *N hin, N her* has a usage with distinct nominals. It is argued that this usage is to be seen as a case of creative modification. In section 4, I investigate the basic question of whether or not *N hin, N her* can be assigned a regular phrase structure. In sections 5 and 6, I then compare a rule-based copying analysis with a constructionist approach to *N hin, N her*. In section 7, I work out in detail an integrative account of *N hin, N her*, deriving the regular properties of the construction from properties of more abstract constructions, and from general syntactic and phonological principles. In section 8, I take the constructionist account one step further, outlining a more general motivation behind the idiosyncratic aspects of the construction from the perspective of a modular interaction of grammar and pragmatics. Section 9 is a conclusion.

[9] See Müller 2016a, chapter 19; Müller 2016b for a discussion of empty elements. A referee points out that if one has a projectionist grammar with empty elements, one could transform it into a grammar without such empty elements that assumes exocentric rules, that is, phrasal constructions that account for the same data. Generally, it is doubtful that an empty head is a better explanation than a phrasal construction.

[10] Jacobs (2016:40) also argues that constructionist approaches may not be explanatory in the sense of "deriving" properties from general rules, but that they are explanatory in the sense of being able to explain complex expressions either diachronically, by recourse to language change, or synchronically, by recourse to inheritance relations.

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2. General Description of *N Hin*, *N Her*.

N hin, N her is a nonsentential sequence of two strings, each of which is composed of a noun followed by an adverb, the first lexically specified as *hin* 'thither', the second as *her* 'hither'. The two strings form a prosodic unit. The main stress in each string is on the adverb: *Krieg HIN, Krieg HER*.

The prototypical filler categories are bare nouns in the nominative case, as in 1.[11] The nouns may be extended by adjectives, as illustrated in 2a,b, but are usually not specified by determiners, as in 2c.[12] I therefore make the generalization that the open slots in *N hin, N her* are to be filled by nominals, that is, maximal projections of N under a DP-analysis (see Huddleston et al. 2002, Zwarts 2013).

(2) a. Schweizer Apfelbäume hin, Schweizer Apfelbäume her
Swiss apple-tree.PL thither Swiss apple-tree.PL hither
'Swiss apple trees here, Swiss apple trees there'
(Weltwoche, July 26, 2012)

b. Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik hin,
police-ADJ crime-statistics thither
polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik her

[11] For most nouns in German, there is no morphological difference between nominative and accusative singular (an exception being weak masculine nouns such as (*der*) *Bote*$_{nom}$, (*den*) *Bote-n*$_{acc}$ 'messenger'). Therefore, in bare nouns, nominative versus accusative case cannot be easily determined. Examples such as 5a below, with an extended masculine singular noun, provide an argument for the nominative case, which becomes visible in the inflected adjective (*frei-er*$_{nom}$ versus *frei-en*$_{acc}$ 'free').

[12] I would like to suggest that this is a case of strong preferences, not absolute restrictions. Of 1,000 examples randomly extracted from DeReKo, there is only one with a DP ([about the Tour de France:] *das schlechte Wetter hin, die vielen Stürze her* 'the bad weather here, the many spills there', Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2004). Occasionally, one can find other categories than nouns: Of 1,000 examples, there are two with verbal infinitives (such as *sparen hin, sparen her* '[to] save here and [to] save there', Neue Kronen-Zeitung, 1996) and three with adjectives (such as *symbolisch hin, symbolisch her* 'symbolic here, symbolic there', http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Island/Archiv /2008: Wikipedia, 2011).

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police-ADJ crime-statistics hither

'Police crime statistics here, police crime statistics there'
(Sitzungsprotokoll Hamburgische Bürgerschaft, 2004)

c. ??die (schwere) Finanzkrise hin,
the (severe) finance-crisis thither,

die (schwere) Finanzkrise her
the (severe) finance-crisis hither

'the (severe) financial crisis here, the (severe) financial crisis there'

As the examples show, in the standard case, the nominals are formally and semantically identical. This is also stated in the general description by Fleischer (1982), as cited in the introduction. In the next section, I discuss in more detail some cases that seem to violate the identity restriction.

N hin, N her is subject to a binary restriction: It combines exactly two components, no fewer and no more. Consider the contrast between 1 and 3.

(3) a. *Krieg hin, es muss eine "gute Show" werden.
war thither it must-3SG.PRS a good show become-INF
'War here, it must be a 'good show.''

b. *Krieg hin, Krieg her, Krieg hin,
war thither war hither war thither

es muss eine "gute Show" werden.
it must-3SG.PRS a good show become-INF

'War here, war there, war here, it must be a 'good show.''

Moreover, it is subject to an irreversibility restriction, as shown by the contrast between 1 and 4.[13]

[13] The ordering N *hin* > N *her* is a strong usage preference. The reverse is only used in marked contexts, for instance, for reasons of rhyme, as in the following historical example: *wenn ich nur bei laune* ***bin****, göttin her und göttin* ***hin****, alles wird mir gutes* 'if I only am in a good mood, goddess hither and goddess thither, everything is good to me' (VOSS 5,108, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 1984:1003).

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(4) ??Krieg her, Krieg hin,
war hither war thither

es muss eine "gute Show" werden.
it must-3SG.PRS a good show become-INF

'War there, war here, it must be a 'good show.''

As to its syntactic distribution, *N hin, N her* cannot appear independently, but only in juxtaposition with a main clause. Juxtaposition may take place in the left periphery, as in 1, in the right periphery, as in 5a, or as a parenthetical, as in 5b. From 5c, it becomes clear that the construction does not have argument status: It cannot appear in the prefield in front of the finite verb.

(5) a. Und eine Sportart, in der Geschwindigkeiten
and a sport-kind in REL speed.PL

von um die 100 km/h gefahren werden,
from about the 100 km/h ride.PTCP AUX-3PL.PRS

wird immer gefährlich bleiben,
will-3SG.PRS always dangerous remain.INF

freier Sturzraum hin, freier Sturzraum her!
free fall-space thither free fall-space hither

'A sport in which velocities of up to 100 km/h are reached will always remain dangerous, empty crash zones here, empty crash zones there.' (Süddeutsche Zeitung, March 5, 1994)

b. Ich werde —Verordnung hin, Verordnung her!
I will-1SG.PRS prescription thither prescription hither

—nicht zum Tierquäler werden.
not to-the animal-abuser become-INF

'I will not become an animal abuser, a prescription here, a prescription there.' (die tageszeitung, July 22, 2000)

c. *Verordnung hin, Verordnung her werde
prescription thither prescription hither will-1SG.PRS

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ich nicht zum Tierquäler werden.
I not to-the animal-abuser become-INF

As an approximation to its semantics, one can say that *N hin, N her* is the antecedent in a concessive conditional construction by which a speaker conveys that a certain state of affairs p is irrelevant for the truth of another state of affairs q. This may be paraphrased as in 6.

(6) Regardless p, q

The construction cannot be used independently and therefore does not have illocutionary force on its own. The larger construction to which it is juxtaposed mostly is an assertion, but it can also instantiate other speech acts, such as questions, as in 7.

(7) Gefühle hin, Gefühle her,
feeling.PL thither feeling.PL hither

hast du dafür auch Belege?
have-2SG.PRS you PREP-OBJ also evidence.PL

'Feelings here, feelings there, do you have any evidence for that?'[14]

In actual usage, the construction allows for a number of different interpretations: For instance, it can be used as a mere concessive (p, anyway q), as in 8a. It can also be used as a concessive conditional, often with a fatalistic interpretation ("it's no use", "it's in vain"), as in 8b. Moreover, there is a mock usage, as in 8c. In this usage, the speaker conveys a dismissive attitude toward something the discourse partner has uttered before ("what you say about X is pointless").[15]

[14] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Stefanie_Mühle: Wikipedia, 2011. I did not access Wikipedia directly. This material is part of the corpus I searched. The corpus specifies the date the material was posted: April 20, 2011.

[15] A detailed analysis of different implicatures related to utterances of *N hin, N her* is provided in Finkbeiner 2015.

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(8) a. Mindestlohn hin, Mindestlohn her,
minimum-wage thither minimum-wage hither

unser Hauswein bleibt weiterhin gewohnt günstig.
our house-wine remain-3SG.PRS further usually low-priced

'Minimum wage here, Minimum wage there, our house wine will continue to be a bargain.'[16]

b. Mindestlohn hin, Mindestlohn her.
minimum-wage thither minimum-wage hither

Was will der Arbeitnehmer denn machen,
what want-3SG.PRS the employee PRT make-INF

wenn der Boss weniger zahlt?
if the boss less pay-3SG.PRS

'Minimum wage here, minimum wage there. What can the employee do (after all) if the boss pays less?'[17]

c. **Speaker A** --Mukpp 14:04, 6. Mär 2005 (CET):

Ánanda Márga ist im Sanskrit
Ánanda Márga be-3SG.PRS in-the Sanskrit

ein Tatpurusakompositum, d.h. das Vorderglied steht
a tatpurusha-compound i.e. the front-constituent stand-3SG.PRS
mit dem Hinterglied in einer Kasusrelation.
with the back-constituent in a case-relation

Wie man das dann auflöst,
How one that then V.PRT-solve-3SG.PRS

ob genitivisch als "Weg der Seligkeit", akkusativisch,
whether genitival as way the blessedness accusatival

[16] http://mybeautime.com/germany/ahaus/restaurant-cafe/la-casita/136474653056669, accessed on September 14, 2015.

[17] http://www.spanien-treff.de/topic/1182-mindestlohn-soll-in-spanien-erh%C3%B6ht-werden/, accessed on September 14, 2015.

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als "Weg zur Seligkeit", […] ist
as way to-the blessedness be-3SG.PRS

Interpretationssache.
interpretation-thing

Speaker B -- Mnhr 18:45, 7. Mär 2005 (CET):

Grammatik hin, Grammatik her, es ist doch leicht
grammar thither grammar hither it be-3SG.PRS PRT easily

zu erkennen, welche Interpretation in die Irre führt:
to perceive-INF which interpretation in the fool lead-3SG.PRS

Eine Mission, die in so vielen Schwierigkeiten steckt,
a mission REL in so many difficulty.PL stick-3SG.PRS

kann doch wohl kaum ein Weg der "Glückseligkeit" sein.
can-3SG.PRS PRT PRT hardly a way the blessedness be-INF

'Ánanda Márga in Sanskrit is a tatpurusha compound, that is, the first constituent is in a case relation with the second constituent. How one translates this, whether as a genitive 'way of blessedness', or as an accusative, as 'way to blessedness', […] is a question of interpretation.

Grammar here, grammar there, it's very easy to see which of the interpretations is misleading: A mission, which is in that much trouble, can hardly be a way of 'blessedness'.'[18]

Taken together, these data clearly show that *N hin, N her* exhibits a number of specific formal features, including identity of the nouns, binarity and irreversibility, and syntactic disintegration. The crucial question is how the syntactic features map onto the construction's specific meaning: Is there a rule-based relationship between form and meaning, or is one forced to stipulate the meaning of the construction as an arbitrary property? A comprehensive analysis should be able to account not only

[18] http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Ananda_Marga/Archiv1:Wikipedia, 2011. I used the corpus to access the material, which was posted on March 6, 2005.

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for the formal properties of the construction, but also for its restricted interpretational range.

3. The Problem of (Non)Identity.
So far, I have taken for granted that the two nominals in instantiations of *N hin, N her* must be identical. This would call for a treatment of *N hin, N her* as a case of syntactic reduplication, either modeled via a rule-based copying process or, within a constructionist approach, via a specific identity requirement on the construction. However, a quick look into German usage data reveals that identity of the nouns is not mandatory. Consider 9.

(9) a. Energiewende hin, Atomstrom her — den Hausbesitzer
energy-turn thither atom-current hither the house-owner

interessieren in erster Linie die Finanzen.
interest-3PL.PRS in first line the.PL finance.PL

'Energy revolution here, nuclear power there—homeowners are primarily interested in how much it costs.'
(Mannheimer Morgen, January 17, 2014)

b. Verbot hin, Gerichtsentscheid her
ban thither court-decision hither

— demonstrieren will die linke Szene
demonstrate-INF want-3SG.PRS the left scene

am Tag der Arbeit auf jeden Fall.
PREP-the day the labour PREP every case

'A ban here, a court decision there—the leftists are going to demonstrate on Labor Day at any rate.'
(die tageszeitung, April 26, 2001)

Generally, it seems that there are two possibilities for dealing with the (non)identity of nominals in *N hin, N her*. First, one might assume one single construction (in the descriptive sense of the term), whose arguments may or may not be identical. Under this assumption, a reduplication analysis would be ruled out immediately. What is particularly unsatisfactory with this assumption is that it ascribes both variants the same

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status. This is against the intuition of native speakers that the two variants, in fact, have a different status, the variant with distinct nouns being in some sense secondary.

Second, one might assume two independent constructions. Under this assumption, one could maintain a reduplication analysis for the construction with identical nouns, while proposing a different analysis for the "nonidentical" construction. An obvious problem for this assumption is that the two variants are structurally parallel and near-synonymous—by both, speakers convey that a state of affairs described by p is irrelevant to the truth of q—which suggests that they are closely related.

I therefore opt for a third analysis. Under this analysis, there is only one construction, which requires identity of the nouns. The usages with distinct nouns are not taken to instantiate a different, independent construction, but to instantiate creative modifications of the established grammatical pattern, performed by speakers/writers to achieve a certain stylistic or discursive effect. This analysis has the advantage of allowing for a unified approach to *N hin, N her*.

In general, language users have an option of intentionally overriding grammatical restrictions in order to create a specific stylistic effect. This is well-known from text types such as poems or advertisement, where word play and allusion are major linguistic devices. In the domain of phraseology, creative modification is particularly ubiquitous (Nunberg et al. 1994, Gläser 2001, Glucksberg 2001). In a way, it seems that frozenness actually invites modification.

For the case of *N hin, N her*, the newspaper data reveal that the main purpose of using the distinct variant seems to be to catch the reader's attention. For example, in 10, the construction is used to introduce an article about the growing popularity of exotic pet animals.

(10) Dackel hin, Katze her: Viele Tierhalter
dachshund thither cat hither many pet-owner.PL

im Kreis Altenkirchen schwärmen eher
in-the district Altenkirchen adore-3PL.PRS rather

für exotische Vögel, Reptitilien oder Spinnen.
PREP exotic bird.PL reptile.PL or spider.PL

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> 'A dachshund here, a cat there: Many pet owners in the district of Altenkirchen prefer exotic birds, reptiles, or spiders.'
>
> (Rhein-Zeitung, June 22, 2007)

By initially enumerating two prototypical members of the category of usual Western pet animals, the speaker establishes a set that contrasts with the set of exotic pet animals mentioned later on in the text. The construction is used here primarily to catch the initial attention of the reader and to construe textual coherence, because it requires, for a full understanding, a continuation that provides a contrast. Thus, in 10, the main communicative intention of using X hin, X her is not to convey some kind of irrelevance semantics. Neither does 10 require the topic *pet animals* to be previously established; rather, the construction is used to introduce this topic. Interestingly, the variant with identical nouns does not produce this specific effect. If *Dackel hin, Katze her* is replaced by *Dackel hin, Dackel her*, the result is rather odd, because *Dackel hin, Dackel her* does not evoke a set to be contrasted with the set {Vögel, Reptilien, Spinnen}.

In the newspaper examples explored in this paper, the usage with distinct nouns is very widespread. Nevertheless, it is still recognizable as a noncanonical usage, because its effects largely build upon the feel that the "regular" pattern has been overridden. Furthermore, as is the case with creative idiom modification in general, the data show that the usage of distinct nouns in *N hin, N her* is not totally unrestricted. Instead, the referents of the two nouns must be conceivable as two instances of one and the same higher category. In being conceptually similar, the nouns, in fact, satisfy the identity requirement on the conceptual side (but not on the formal side). For instance, dachshunds and cats in 10 belong to the category of Western pet animals; energy revolution and nuclear power in 9a are topics that belong to the debate about the change of German energy politics; and ban and court decision in 9b represent legal measures that have been taken to prevent the leftists from demonstrating.[19] Taken together, these data suggest that the basic pattern to be investigated is the

[19] Examples in which the two referents do not belong to the same higher category sound odd, for example ??*Haus hin, Dackel her, Hausbesitzer kümmern sich oft nicht um ihre Sachen* 'House here, dachshund there, house owners often do not take care of their belongings'.

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pattern with identical nouns, as described by Fleischer (1982). Therefore, the focus of this paper henceforth is on the variant with identical nominals.

4. Phrase-Structural Status of *N Hin, N Her*.

In order to decide whether or not a derivational or a constructionist analysis is more apt to account for *N hin, N her*, it is crucial to find out if *N hin, N her* can be assigned a regular phrase structure. If it cannot be assigned regular phrase structure, this would be an argument against a derivational approach. I first address the question of whether or not the construction as a whole is an instance of syntactic coordination; then I discuss the internal structure of the components *N hin* and *N her*.

4.1. N Hin, N Her *and Syntactic Coordination.*

If *N hin, N her* is an instance of a regular phrase, there must be some kind of relation between the two strings *N hin* and *N her*. It is obvious that *N hin* is not part of *N her*, and *N her* is not part of *N hin*. Thus, there is no subordination relation. Rather, these are two structurally parallel strings that appear on the same hierarchical level. The relation between the strings may be analyzed either as an instance of syntactic coordination or as an instance of mere juxtaposition. Only the syntactic coordination analysis states that there is a syntactic relation between the two components. By contrast, juxtaposition is not a syntactic relation, but rather a relation between elements in a text. If one strives for assigning a regular syntactic phrase structure to *N hin, N her*, one thus has to opt for the syntactic coordination analysis. However, this analysis is not without problems.

While in standard examples of syntactic coordination the two conjuncts are connected by a conjunction, in *N hin, N her*, there is no connector between the two components. However, this is not *per se* a problem for a rule-based approach. A standard way to solve this problem would be to assume a phonologically empty conjunction. Empty conjunctions have been argued for in the case of phrasal coordination of three or more conjuncts, as in *Jennifer Ø Jason and Justin* (Johannessen 1998).

An empty conjunction analysis might be backed up by the observation that there are related instances in which the connector is overt. First, there is a nonreduplicative variant of the construction, which always exhibits the overt coordinative connector *oder* ‘or’, as in 11.

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(11) Rauchverbote hin oder her.
smoke-ban.PL thither or hither.

Der US-Tabakmulti Philip Morris International
The US-tobacco-giant Philip Morris International

ist im ersten Quartal gut 5 Prozent mehr
AUX-3.SG.PRS in-the first quarter good 5 percent more

Zigaretten losgeworden als vor einem Jahr.
cigarette.PL V.PRT-dispose-PTCP than before one year

'A smoking ban here or there: The US-tobacco giant Philip Morris International sold a good 5 percent more cigarettes in the first quarter than the year before.' (Mannheimer Morgen, April 20, 2012)

Second, one can find examples in which *und* 'and' or *oder* 'or' are inserted into the pattern *N hin, N her*, as in 12.

(12) a. "Gesetz hin und Gesetz her", sagen
law thither and law hither say-3PL.PRS

Franz Schmiedbauer, Monika Saler und Brigitte Költringer,
Franz Schmiedbauer Monika Saler and Brigitte Költringer

aber: "Manchmal geht Hausverstand vor Gesetz..."
but sometimes go-3SG.PRS house-sense before law

'"A law here and a law there", say Franz Schmiedbauer, Monika Saler and Brigitte Költringer, but: "Sometimes common sense takes precedence over law."'
(Neue Kronen-Zeitung, April 21, 1994)

b. Schließlich ist, Markt hin oder Markt her,
eventually be-3SG.PRS market thither or market hither

China ein sozialistisches Land.
China a socialist country

'After all, a market here or a market there, China is a socialist country.' (Die Presse, May 13, 1996)

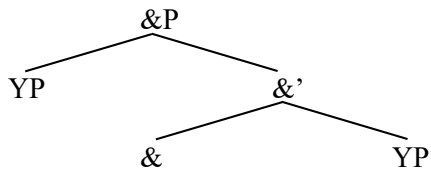
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However, in order to claim that cases such as 11 are parallel to *N hin, N her* constructions, one first has to say more about the way in which *N hin oder her* 'N here or there' is related to *N hin, N her*. This is not trivial. Second, and more importantly, the fact that it is possible to insert a conjunction into the construction in 12 is a rather weak argument, because this process is hardly constrained. For example, one may connect the two sentences in 13a by inserting *and*, as in 13b. However, one certainly would not take this as sufficient evidence that 13a is a case of phrasal (CP) coordination with an empty conjunction.[20]

(13) a. Tibby is in the garden. Toby sleeps.
b. Tibby is in the garden and Toby sleeps.

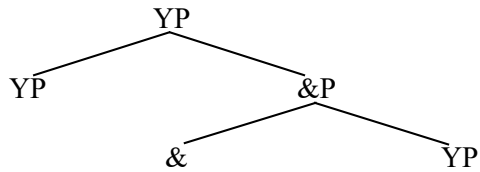
Still, a proponent of a rule-based account might hold that *N hin, N her* is a coordinate phrase with an empty conjunction. The next step is then to determine the correct phrasal structure. There are at least three different options, as shown in 14.

(14) a.



(compare Johannessen 1998)

b.

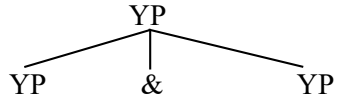


(compare Munn 1992)

[20] Similarly, instead of simply enumerating elements on a list, one may insert a connector between its items, for example, (a) *eggs, milk, ketchup* may be replaced by (b) *eggs and milk and ketchup*. However, this does not mean that (a) is an instance of phrasal coordination.

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c.



(compare Jackendoff 1977, Lechner 2001)

The structure that can be inferred most directly from the input and that is closest to the speakers' intuitions is 14c. However, the proponent of an X-bar theoretical account might hold that 14a is the correct structure, because it does not violate X-bar theoretical assumptions of binary branching, as 14c does; neither does it ascribe to the left conjunct the power of determining the features of the entire construction, as 14b does. In order to decide on the correct structure, one would need to test for the category of *N hin, N her*. However, *N hin, N her* is distributed to categorically unselective positions in the periphery of a main clause. Therefore, one cannot say whether or not it behaves more like YP (for example, an NP) or like &P.[21] Obviously, the category problem is further complicated by the fact that one does not know what the phrasal category of the basic string *N hin* (or *N her*) is. This brings me to the second issue, namely, the internal structure of the components.

4.2. Internal Structure of N Hin *and* N Her.

With respect to the internal structure of the two components, *N hin* and *N her*, two questions arise: i) What is the category of *hin* and *her*, and ii) which of the two elements is the head, N or *hin*/*her*? Let me begin with the first question. In principle, *hin* and *her* could be analyzed as adverbs or as verbal particles. Most reference grammars of German opt for the adverb analysis (for example, Zifonun et al. 1997:1162). A standard assumption is that adverbs may occupy the position in the prefield in front of the finite verb, while particles may not. Also, it is standardly assumed that adverbs can have the syntactic function of adverbials, while particles cannot. As the data in 15 show, *hin* and *her* can be fronted.[22]

[21] By contrast, if one were talking about a coordination of two NPs, for example, such as *Peter and Max*, it would be clear that 14c is the best analysis because *Peter and Max* has the distribution of an NP, as it can be selected by all heads that select for an (animate plural) NP. I owe this clarification to a referee.

[22] I am grateful to a reviewer for providing these examples.

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(15) a. Hin kommt man entweder mit dem Auto
thither come-3SG.PRS one either with the car

über die B27 oder in den Sommermonaten
over the B27 or in the.PL summer-month.PL

mit dem Ausflugsschiff.
with the excursion-ship

'One can get there either by car via road B27 or, in the summer months, using the excursion boat.'[23]

b. Her kommt man über die Straße,
hither come-3SG.PRS one over the street

die 3 km südlich von Egirdir am See entlang
REL 3 km southern from Egirdir at-the lake along

und in Richtung des Vororts Yeni Mahalle führt.
and in direction the suburb Yeni Mahalle lead-3SG.PRS

'One can get here via the road that goes 3 kilometers south of Egirdir along the lake and in the direction of the suburb Yeni Mahalle.'[24]

Furthermore, *hin* and *her* have a usage as (parts of) adverbials:

(16) a. Das Zimmer lag zur Straße hin.
the room lie-3SG.PST to-the street thither
'The room was looking out into the street.'

b. hin und her
thither and hither
'here and there'

[23] http://www.wuerzburgerleben.de/2014/12/17/die-5-besten-plaetze-fuer-wuerzburg-besucher/, accessed on July 1, 2016.

[24] https://books.google.de/books?isbn=382971646X, accessed on February 6, 2017.

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c. hin und zurück
thither and back
'back and forth'

d. hin und wieder
thither and again
'now and then'

Thus, the possibility of fronting and adverbial usage support an adverb analysis of *hin/her*.

However, contra the view of prescriptive grammars, Müller (2002) argues that particles of all kinds can, in fact, be fronted.[25] Following his analysis, fronting is not a decisive criterion. At the same time, *hin* and *her* often combine with verbs of direction or motion, which supports their analysis as (verbal) particles. The status of verbal particles is subject to controversial debates (for example, Olsen 1997, Müller 2002, Zeller 2002, Jacobs et al. 2010). If one analyzes *hin* and *her* as verbal particles, the basic question is whether *hin* and *her* are heads or parts of the verbal head, and whether they are phrasal categories or not. In sum, the categorial status of *hin/her* is not a trivial matter.

Second, it is not immediately obvious which of the elements in the sequence *N hin* is the head. On the one hand, bare nouns normally do not select either adverbs or particles as their complements. While there are DPs with adverbial adjuncts, as in 17, combinations of bare noun + particle, such as 18, are syntactic fragments rather than regular phrases and should be treated differently. Thus, the phrasal status of 18 is unclear; hence the question, which of the elements is the head.

(17) a. die Fahrt hin (war sehr anstrengend)
the.NOM trip.NOM thither (was very exhausting)
'the trip there (was very exhausting)'

[25] See, for instance, the following authentic examples from Müller 2002: *Raus kam der Schwindel erst gestern* (lit. 'PART(out) came the fraud only yesterday') 'The fraud was only revealed yesterday'; *Vor hat er das jedenfalls* (lit. 'PART(before) has he that in.any.case') 'But he does plan this'.

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b. der schöne Tag gestern
the.NOM nice.NOM day.NOM yesterday
'the nice day yesterday'

(18) a. Geld her!
money.ACC hither
'Hand over the money!'

b. Licht aus!
light.ACC off
'Lights off!'

On the other hand, neither adverbs nor particles normally subcategorize for (bare) nouns. Apart from their usage with verbs of direction or motion, *hin* and *her* appear in adverbial prepositional phrases, as in 19a, or in word pairs, as in 20.[26] In 19a, *hin* is a nonhead, which is shown by the fact that it cannot fulfill the role of an adverbial on its own, as in 19b. This is also shown by the fact that it can be omitted, as in 19c.

(19) a. Das Zimmer lag zur Straße hin.
the room lie-3SG.PST to-the street thither
'The room was looking out into the street.'

b. *Das Zimmer lag hin.
the room lie-3SG.PST thither
'The room was situated.'

c. Das Zimmer lag zur Straße.
the room lie-3SG.PST to-the street
'The room was looking out into the street.'

By contrast, one might argue that *hin*/*her* in 20 (repeated from 16b–d) are heads, based on their distribution: Word pairs such as 20 have the syntactic distribution of adverbials.

[26] In German, there are many instances of such adverbial word pairs: for example, (with local interpretation) *hier und da*, *da und dort* and (with temporal interpretation) *ab und zu*, *ab und an*, and *dann und wann*.

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(20) a. hin und her
thither and hither
'here and there'

b. hin und zurück
thither and back
'back and forth'

c. hin und wieder
thither and again
'now and then'

Even though neither particles nor adverbs normally subcategorize for bare nouns, in structures such as 18, one is inclined to analyze *hin* as the element that selects the noun, not vice versa. This is due to the intuition that such structures are derived from sentences, in which *hin*/*her* are verbal particles: *Gib das Geld her* 'Give the money PRT (hither)'; *Mach das Licht aus* 'Turn the light PRT(off)'. Together with the verb, this particle would select the object NP. This is in line with the analysis of the bare nouns in 18 as accusative nouns.

Obviously, this argument presupposes some kind of ellipsis analysis, where parts of a full sentence are deleted. However, it is not entirely clear how one should apply this analysis to the case of *N hin, N her*. For instance, one might consider 21 as a potential full sentence.

(21) Wende den Krieg hin (und) wende
turn-2sg.IMP the.ACC war.ACC thither (and) turn-2sg.IMP

den Krieg her (wie du willst), …
the.ACC war.ACC hither (as you like)

'No matter how you look at the war, …'

However, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (DW), a large resource for older stages of German, does not provide structures such as 21 as examples of authentic usage of *hin* or *her*. What one does find are examples that confirm an analysis along the general lines of a VP with a direct object NP and a verb of reflecting or dithering, as shown in 22.

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(22) a. [sie mochte] diese Sorgen
[she.NOM may-3SG.PST] these.ACC sorrow.PL.ACC

hin und wieder legen [wie sie wollte]
thither and again lay-INF [as she.NOM want-3SG.PST]
'She had to bear about this perpetual anxiety in her thoughts, and turn which way she would, …'[27]
(DW 1984, p. 1374, Goethe, 1795)

b. oft hin und her die sach
often thither and hither the.NOM thing.NOM

erwegen ward
consider-PTCP AUX-3SG.PST

'The thing was often considered back and forth' (=*werden*-passive)
(DW 1984, p. 1373, Wickram, 1540)

Clearly, a problem with an ellipsis analysis of *N hin, N her* is that the nouns in *N hin, N her* seem to carry nominative, not accusative case—at least, this is what examples such as *…frei**er** Sturzraum hin, frei**er** Sturzraum her* '… empty crash zones here, empty crash zones there' suggest (see 5a above). Note, however, that the majority of usages of *N hin, N her* are bare noun usages, which would, in principle, allow for an accusative interpretation as well.[28]

Moreover, from a theoretical point of view, the deletion in 23 seems to violate standard requirements of ellipsis (for example, Merchant 2004), in particular, the requirement that only constituents may be deleted.

(23) ~~Wende den~~ Krieg hin ~~(und) wende den~~ Krieg her ~~(wie du willst)~~, …

[27] *Hin und wi[e]der* 'thither and again' is an older equivalent of *hin und her* (see DW 1984:1374). English translation: *Elected Affinities*, 1871. Boston: D. W. Niles, p. 168.

[28] In order to save the ellipsis analysis, one might argue that in the process of reduction of the full sentence to the fragment *N hin, N her*, reanalysis has happened, such that the originally accusative NP is reanalyzed by speakers as a nominative, which is the prototypical, unmarked case.

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Taken together, the data discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2 suggest that an analysis of *N hin, N her* as (some kind of) coordination phrase may not be impossible within an X-bar theoretic framework, but it is far from convincing. First, there is not enough evidence supporting the analysis that *N hin* and *N her* are syntactically related. In other words, one might be dealing with mere juxtaposition rather than with coordination. Second, it is unclear what the correct phrase structure of a presumed coordination phrase should be. Finally, the internal composition of the two strings seems to defy regular phrase structure rules.

5. A Copying Approach to *N Hin, N Her*.

I have argued above that *N hin, N her* is a potential instance of syntactic reduplication, as it requires identity of the two nominals. While I have shown that *N hin, N her* poses a number of problems for an X-bar theoretic phrase structure analysis, it might still be possible to account for the reduplication in *N hin, N her* via a rule-based approach to syntactic copying. In this section, I first introduce three recent copying analyses of different syntactic reduplication constructions and then make an attempt to apply them to the case of *N hin, N her*. It turns out that none of the versions of the copying approach provide a tailor-made solution for the *N hin, N her* problem. More generally, it is argued that a copying approach is not satisfactory as long as it does not systematically account for the specific meaning of the construction.

5.1. Three Versions of the Copying Approach.

Copying approaches to syntactic reduplication have been developed within the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1995). In the Copy Theory of Movement, traces are treated as unpronounced copies of a moved constituent. Sometimes, the traces (the copies) do not remain unpronounced, but are spelled out. Thus, syntactic copying would be the result of the spell-out of multiple positions in a movement chain. This can be illustrated by 24.

(24) Wie$_i$ denk je wie$_i$ ik gezien heb?
who think-2SG.PRS you who I see-PTCP have-1SG.PRS
'Who do you think I have seen?'
(Colloquial Dutch, Barbiers 2008)

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This approach raises the basic theoretical question of what mechanism licenses multiple spell-out. After all, in most cases, only one copy is overtly realized. It is often assumed that multiple spell-out is licensed by an abstract reduplication (RED) feature that needs to be checked (see Kimper 2008).

An influential approach to syntactic reduplication is the approach of Travis 2001, 2003. In her (2001) paper, Travis discusses different types of syntactic reduplication, which behave differently as to the role of the RED morpheme. For my purposes, only what she refers to as "phonological reduplication" and "syntactic reduplication" are of interest.[29]

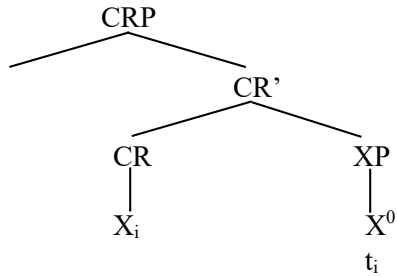
In phonological reduplication, RED is the head of a functional phrase and takes as its sister a head. The need for feature checking triggers head movement, which sets up the appropriate environment for the reduplication. In this case, the functional head is the final position of the copied constituent. An example of this kind of analysis is Ghomeshi et al.'s (2004) analysis of contrastive focus reduplication (*salad-salad* 'lettuce, not tuna salad').[30] Under this analysis, there is an abstract CR morpheme that heads a functional phrase CRP. The CR morpheme has the features [+prototypical, +contrast] and triggers head movement of the adjacent X^0. The copy of X^0 merges with CR, multiple spell-out results in the reduplication. This is illustrated in 25.

[29] Both phonological reduplication and syntactic reduplication, as defined by Travis (2001), represent syntactic processes. The term *phonological reduplication* is supposed to reflect the fact that this type of reduplication is sensitive to phonological domains.

[30] Note that Travis treats contrastive focus reduplication not as a case of head movement, but as base-generated head adjunction. Ghomeshi et al. (2004) discuss two different analyses of contrastive focus reduplication, one in the spirit of Minimalism (see above), the other one in the spirit of the Parallel Architecture (Jackendoff 1997).

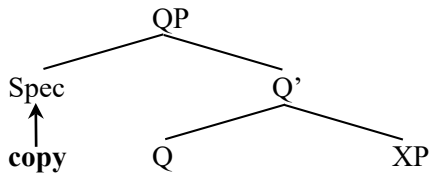
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(25) Head movement



The second type discussed by Travis (2001) is syntactic reduplication, as in 26. In this case, the structure also contains a functional phrase with a RED head, but there is no movement.

(26) Spec filling[31]



Instead, the head creates a copy of its phrasal sister which then appears in the Spec position of the functional phrase. In this case, RED is not the final position for the copy. As examples of this type of reduplication, Travis mentions cases such as English *cup of coffee after cup of coffee* or Malagasy *na iza na iza* 'whoever' (with *iza* meaning 'who').[32]

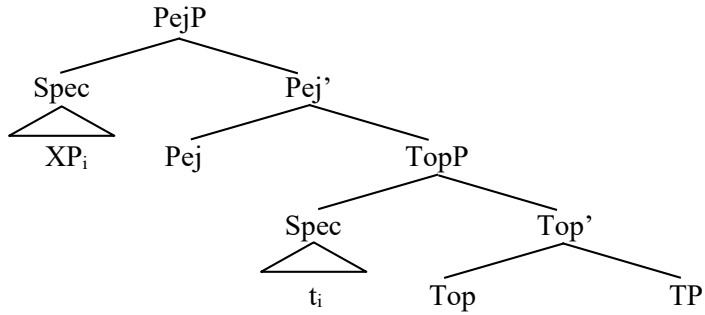
A third alternative analysis related to Travis's syntactic reduplication is the analysis proposed by Grohmann & Nevins (2004) for the case of *shm*-reduplication in English (for instance, *money-shmoney*), as in 27.

[31] Q corresponds to the RED morpheme and stands for "quantity", as a salient semantic effect of reduplication.

[32] It remains unclear in Travis's analysis how the preposition *after* is generated in a structure such as 26.

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(27) Phrasal movement to a higher functional projection



In this case, phrasal copying results from movement. However, Grohmann & Nevins (2004) do not assume a specific reduplication projection (as in QP or CRP above). Instead, they assume two functional phrases: a topic phrase and a pejoration phrase. A topic expression (for example, *money*) is moved from the topic projection to the higher pejoration projection; multiple spell-out results in reduplication. Furthermore, they assume a restriction on the level of PF that requires minimal distinctness of the two copies. This restriction is responsible for the phonological distinctness of the second copy (*money shmoney*).

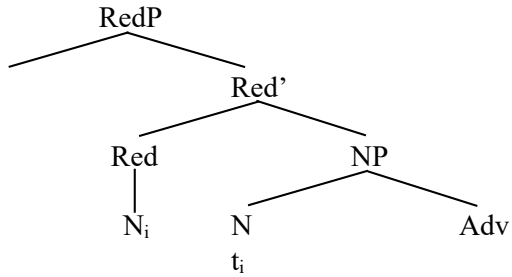
All analyses discussed so far concern cases of syntactic reduplication of lexical heads or of phrasal units with lexical heads. Thus, they should in principle be applicable to the case of *N hin, N her*, which involves reduplication of nouns or NPs. In the next subsection, I apply each of the copying approaches discussed above to the case of *N hin, N her*.

5.2. Is N Hin, N Her *a Case of Syntactic Copying?*

A first option is a head movement analysis, as illustrated in 28. Here, I assume a functional phrase with a RED head that triggers copying of the noun. To make the head movement analysis work, one must assume that the noun is the head of the sequence [N *her*].

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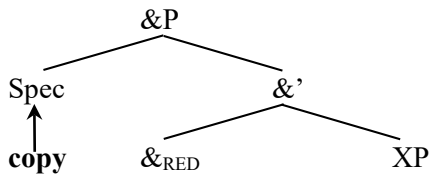
(28) Head movement of N



Obviously, this analysis generates the wrong output, for example, phrases such as *Krieg Krieg her* (or, alternatively, *Krieg Krieg hin*). Thus, it can derive doubling of the noun, but it cannot derive the particle (or adverb) *hin* that intervenes between the two nominal copies. Furthermore, this analysis can only account for instances of *N hin, N her* that feature nouns, but not for the instances that feature NPs, as in 2 above.

A second option is spec-filling, as in 29.[33] The advantage of this analysis is that it can derive phrasal copying. Under this analysis, there is no movement, but a copy of XP is freely generated and inserted into the Spec position.[34] Here RED is not a landing position. Assuming a syntactic coordination analysis, one may suggest that RED attaches to the (empty) conjunctional head.

(29) Spec filling



[33] This analysis is based on the conjunction phrase 14a which, from an X-bar theoretic perspective, would be the most adequate if one assumes that *N hin, N her* is an instance of syntactic coordination.

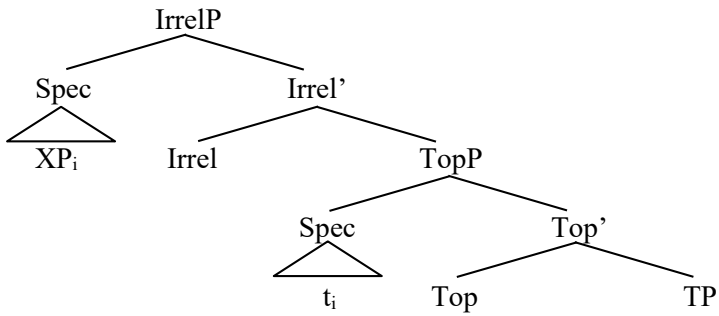
[34] A movement analysis would not work here, because extraction from one conjunct into the other is not warranted.

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While this analysis correctly predicts that the whole string is copied, it results in the erroneous output *Krieg her Krieg her* (or, alternatively, *Krieg hin Krieg hin*). Thus, it cannot account for the distinctness of the particles (or adverbs), at least not without substantial additional assumptions.

As a third option, one may consider phrasal movement to a higher functional projection, as in 30. Like *shm*-reduplication, *N hin, N her* is also a case of topicalization and can be assumed to be base-generated in Spec, TopP.[35] Adapting Grohmann & Nevins's (2004) analysis, one might postulate a higher functional projection IrrelP (Irrelevance Phrase), based on *N hin, N her*'s irrelevance meaning. After movement to the Spec position of IrrelP, the copy that remains in Spec of TopP undergoes a process of phonological change (*Krieg ~~hin~~* > *Krieg her*).

(30) Phrasal movement to a higher functional projection



However, the analysis faces a number of problems. For example, it falsely predicts that *Krieg hin* should be able to appear alone in topic position, which is impossible, as shown by the contrast in 31.[36]

(31) a. Money—who needs that stuff! (Grohmann & Nevins 2004)

[35] *N hin, N her* has the status of a discourse topic (see Van Dijk 1977, Krifka 2008).

[36] A proponent of a copying approach might try to solve this problem by assuming a special feature associated with *hin* that needs to be checked. However, this would be entirely stipulative.

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b. *Krieg hin — es muss eine gute Show werden.
war thither it must-3SG.PRS a good show become-INF
'War here—it must be a good show.'

Furthermore, it only accounts for *N hin, N her* in left-peripheral position, not for its right-peripheral or parenthetic usages. The explanation of the distinctness of *hin* versus *her* in terms of a postsyntactic PF process is also unwarranted. Finally, this analysis cannot explain how *hin* comes into the picture in the first place, as it is not part of the given discourse topic.

Taken together, these observations show that *N hin, N her* poses a number of technical and theoretical problems for a syntactic copying analysis, which mainly result from the fact that *N hin, N her* displays intervening material between the reduplicated elements.

These problems cannot be solved easily. In general, nonadjacent syntactic reduplication of lexical categories is rarely analyzed in the Copy Theory of Movement framework. There is a proposal of Kobele (2008) for the case of English *X or no X*, which is not very detailed, though. Kobele (2008:9) attempts to show, in contrast to Pullum & Rawlins (2007), that *X or no X* is a case of copying, even if the strings are only partially identical (for example, *war with Iraq or no fucking war*). The assumption is that copying takes place at a certain point in the derivation. As the derivation continues, further operations may obscure the exactness of the copy relation. In particular, ellipsis and late adjunction are assumed to be at work here. Under Kobele's analysis, the derivation of *war with Iraq or no fucking war* would proceed as follows: First, the phrase *war with Iraq* is constructed, then it is copied, then *with Iraq* is deleted from the second disjunct, followed by late adjunction of the expressive adjective *fucking*.

In this analysis, it remains largely unclear how the copying process works exactly. A first problem is that it seems to violate the No-Tampering Condition (Chomsky 2008), which says that structure may not be changed after it is copied to another place.[37] Second, it is unclear whether this copying process involves movement or not. Probably not, because movement from one conjunct into the other is highly unwarranted, as it overrides a syntactic barrier. Furthermore, the Across the Board constraint states that if something is moved from the second conjunct, it should also

[37] Chomsky 2008:138: "Merge of X and Y leaves the two SOs [syntactic objects] unchanged."

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be moved from the first conjunct, which would be incompatible with the analysis. Next, it is unclear what licenses the copying. Is there any RED feature, and if yes, where is it positioned? Also, Kobele seems to assume that the negation element is not part of the second string, that is, the structure is [X] *or no* [X]. This is rather unintuitive, however. The point is that if *no* is part of the second string, then the question is whether or not the two strings are identical at all at any point in derivation.

Returning to the case of *N hin, N her*, the crucial problem is maybe not so much the question of whether or not a copy analysis is technically possible. There certainly are technically sophisticated frameworks that might provide solutions for the problems mentioned above. The most fundamental flaw of a copy analysis is that there is nothing in a process of copying that predicts the resulting irrelevance meaning. In other words, the irrelevance aspect associated with the construction does not follow from the copying.

Thus, it appears that an analysis of *N hin, N her* within a rule-based framework of syntactic copying is not convincing. Not only is the copying analysis not straightforward, but also the basic assumption that *N hin, N her* can be assigned phrase-structural status is doubtful. Therefore, in the next section, I discuss an alternative, constructionist approach to *N hin, N her*.

6. A Constructionist Approach to *N Hin, N Her*.

In this section, I sketch an alternative, constructionist approach to *N hin, N her*, taking Jackendoff's (2008) analysis of the NPN construction as a model. It is argued that the constructionist approach is able to account for both regular and idiosyncratic features of *N hin, N her* in a systematic fashion. In general, a constructionist approach can cover idiosyncratic aspects of a construction by directly mapping meaning onto form. At the same time, the regular aspects can be accounted for in a "heterogeneous" constructionist approach by specifying the relations of the idiosyncratic construction to other, more general constructions and to overarching, general principles of grammar.

An example of a constructionist approach to syntactic reduplication is Jackendoff's (2008) analysis of the NPN construction (for example, *student after student, page by page, book (up)on book*). This reduplicative construction may be used either as an argument (*Student after student entered my office*) or adverbially (*He went through the book page by page*),

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and comes with a variety of meanings, a central one being "succession". Focusing on the empirical side of the phenomenon, Jackendoff argues that a rule-based, X-bar theoretical account is not feasible, as the construction "violates standard principles of phrase structure" (2008:8).[38] In particular, he argues, it is unclear what syntactic category the NPN construction is—an NP or a PP—as the adjunct positions in which NPN can appear are categorically unselective. Also, the internal structure of NPN is puzzling, as prepositions normally do not take bare nouns as their complements, nor as their specifiers.

As an alternative to the X-bar approach, Jackendoff suggests a constructionist analysis. Under this analysis, there is a lexical entry for the NPN construction that maps meaning directly onto form, as in 32.

(32) semantics: MANY X_is IN SUCCESSION
syntax: $[_{NP}\ N_i\ P_j\ N_i]$
phonology: Wd_i *after*$_j$ Wd_i

In the meaning representation, there is only one entity that is mapped onto two nouns in syntactic representation (index i). The preposition in syntax maps onto *after* in phonology but not in semantics; that is, the preposition does not contribute directly to the "succession" meaning. This is the noncompositional aspect of the construction. Thus, Jackendoff stipulates a constructional schema for NPN that imposes an identity restriction and is associated with the semantics of the entire construction.[39]

Applying this analysis to the case at hand, one may conceive of *N hin, N her* as a syntactic schema with two open slots for whose fillers identity

[38] By contrast, Müller (2011) analyzes NPN as a phrase with prepositional head [P N], where the left-hand N is derived via a postsyntactic phonological copying process.

[39] A reviewer points to an important difference between NPN and *N hin, N her*: While NPN may be iterated (see Bargmann 2015, Müller 2016a:401; for example, *student after student after student*), *N hin, N her* is strictly binary. The possibility of iterating NPN poses a challenge to a reduplication analysis, because it is unclear what is reduplicated: Is *student* combined with *after* and *student after student*? The solution suggested in Bargmann 2015 is to assume the structure N(PN)+, indicating a process of (unrestricted) repetition.

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is required, and to which an irrelevance meaning is assigned. This schema may be represented as follows:

(33) semantics: REGARDLESS X_i (, Q)
syntax: $[_U\ [N_i^0\ Adv_j]\ [N_i^0\ Adv_k]]$[40]
phonology: Wd_i *hin*$_j$ Wd_i *her*$_k$

As in 32, there is only one entity in the meaning representation of 33 that is mapped onto two nominal constituents in syntactic representation. This provides the desired interpretation, which features only one referential entity (for example, *Regardless of the* ***war****, the show must go on*). The adverbs in syntax are not mapped onto semantics, only onto phonology. This is the idiomatic aspect of the construction.

Obviously, if one adopts 33 as the representation of *N hin, N her*, one does not have a problem with the fact that *N hin, N her* cannot be assigned a regular phrase structure. As there is no claim that the properties of the entire construction are projections of the head—instead, these properties are specified for the construction as a whole—one does not have to assign head status to any of the constituents. Here, I simply treat *N hin, N her* as an instance of the category *U* (utterance).

The constructionist approach fits nicely in with the intuition that *N hin, N her* is a frozen phraseological pattern. The constructional template states that this pattern is fixed in exactly this shape, with exactly the phonological, syntactic, and semantic features it has. However, it would be unsatisfactory to stop here. If one were to stipulate the features of *N hin, N her* in a template, one would reduce the construction merely to an arbitrary linguistic sign. However, not every feature of *N hin, N her* is arbitrary. Rather, there are several features in *N hin, N her* that correspond to well-established features of German grammar.

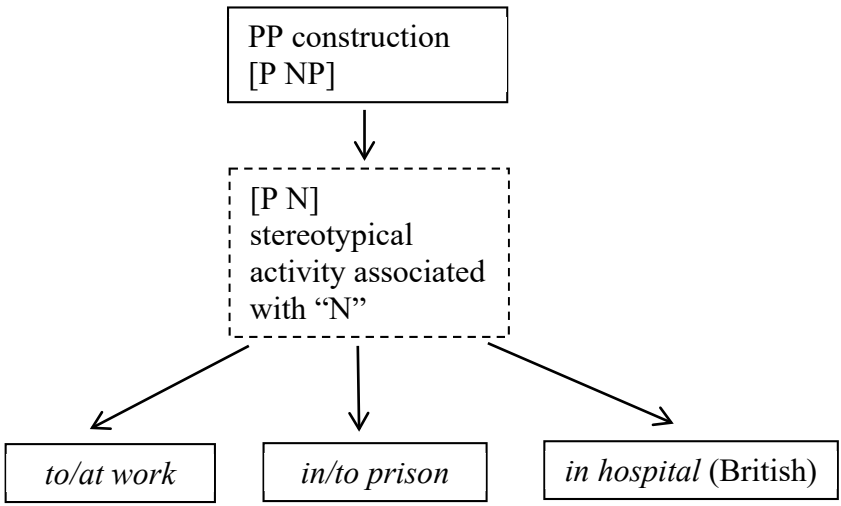
While constructionist approaches are often criticized for simply stipulating features, most major constructionist approaches, in fact,

[40] For reasons of exposition, I use only N^0 in the syntactic representation. Recall that extended nouns can also figure in the construction, as in *Schweizer Apfelbäume hin, Schweizer Apfelbäume her* 'Swiss apple trees here, Swiss apple trees there'. Thus, instead of N^0, one may have an NP here. In this case, the phonological representation linked to NP must be adjusted to state "phrase" instead of "word" (*Wd*).

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capture generalizations in the grammar.[41] Mostly, this is accomplished via default inheritance relations (for example, Goldberg 1995, 2006; Kay & Fillmore 1999; Sag 2012). Goldberg (2013:21) sketches a network of constructions into which the P N construction (*to bed, in prison*) is embedded, as shown in 34. The P N construction is peculiar in that it does not involve a determiner and is associated with a meaning "stereotypical activity". However, it also has regular features: For instance, its word order follows the word order of the more general PP construction. More specifically, the PP construction reflects the fact that English has prepositions instead of postpositions.

(34) *Network of PP constructions* (Goldberg 2013:21)



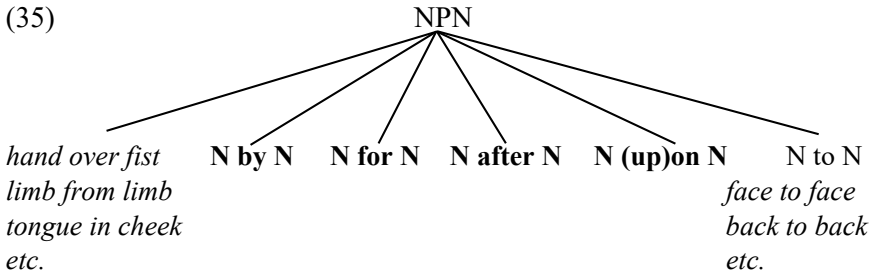
While not detailed in Jackendoff's (2008) paper, NPN could also be modeled as part of an inheritance hierarchy, thus covering the properties that can be related to more general constructions and to overarching principles of grammar. In Jackendoff 2008:17, one finds the following

[41] See, for instance, Müller's (2011:220) pointed remark: "Da Konstruktionen quasi per Definition irregular sind […], gibt es keine Probleme mehr: Der Anspruch ist geringer, und somit auch die Gefahr des Scheiterns" [As constructions are by definition irregular, as it were, there are no problems left: The demands are lower, and thus the risk of failing.]

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internal inheritance hierarchy for the NPN construction with its subconstructions (see also Jackendoff 2013:87):

(35)



In 35, the subconstructions to the left are idioms; the bold-faced subconstructions are fully productive; the *N to N* subconstruction is a case of what Jackendoff refers to as "semi-productive". While Jackendoff does not specify the ways in which the general NPN construction is embedded into the larger network of other, more general constructions, the idea is that such a network should be possible in principle to model.

Overall, a constructionist approach that incorporates some kind of inheritance network provides an apparatus powerful enough to account for both, idiosyncratic and regular aspects of a given construction. However, as I argue below, the constructionist approach may be taken one step further if one also allows for its interaction with general pragmatic processes and principles. I show that this step also makes it possible to account for the idiosyncratic aspects of the construction.

7. An Integrative Account of *N Hin, N Her*.

In 33, I stated a constructional template for *N hin, N her* which matches the specific formal configuration with a specific constructional meaning. In this section, I work out in more detail the hierarchy of constructions and more general principles into which the construction is embedded. In sketching this constructional network, one can account for its regular features.

My basic assumption here is that *N hin, N her* is not an instance of syntactic coordination, but an instance of mere juxtaposition of two strings. That is, I do not state a syntactic relation between the two strings, but rather a relation on the level of text, plus a high degree of conventionalization. From a surface-based perspective, relevant cases to

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which *N hin, N her* may be compared are expressions of the kind illustrated in 36.

(36) a. ein Mann, ein Wort
a man a word
'a man, a promise'

b. gesagt, getan
say-PTCP do-PTCP
'no sooner said than done'

c. außen hui, innen pfui
outside whee inside whoo
'all show and no substance'

d. Reden ist Silber, Schweigen ist Gold.
talk-INF be-3SG.PRS silver keep-silent-INF be-3SG.PRS gold
'Speech is silver, but silence is golden.'

The examples in 36 are parallelisms, which are stored as multiword expressions in memory. Each of them is a configuration of two structurally equivalent and semantically contrastive strings, with 36a being a pair of NPs; 36b a pair of past participles; 36c a pair of fragments, each of which is composed of an adverb and an interjection; and 36d a pair of sentences. The most plausible account of these structures treats them as frozen discourse units: They are not connected syntactically, but they are conventionalized as pairs, which can be seen in the fact that they are binary and irreversible, as shown in 37.

(37) a. ??Schweigen ist Gold, Reden ist Silber
keep-silent-INF be-3SG.PRS gold talk-INF be-3SG.PRS silver

b. ??ein Wort, ein Mann
a word a man

c. ??getan, gesagt
do-PTCP say-PTCP

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d. ??innen pfui, außen hui
inside whoo outside whee

Now, if *N hin, N her* is an instance of a syntactic parallelism, how can one represent its internal composition, and how is it related to other constructions of German? As already stated in 33 above, I suggest the structural pattern in 38.

(38) [U [N *hin*] [N *her*]]

While an X-bar theoretic approach, as pointed out above, cannot deal with the structure of the substrings [N *hin*] and [N *her*] in a straightforward way, these substrings are not, from a constructional perspective, totally ill-formed or impossible. First, there is a well-established construction in German that may be referred to as the resultative directive. This is the construction illustrated in 39.[42]

(39) a. Geld her!
money.ACC hither
'Hand over (the) money'

b. Kopf hoch!
head.ACC up
'Cheer up'

c. Licht aus!
light.ACC off
'Lights off'

d. Tür zu
door.ACC PRT
'Shut the door'

The examples in 39 are utterances conventionally associated with a directive illocutionary potential. They are composed of a noun functioning

[42] Plural count nouns can also be inserted into the pattern, as in *Finger weg* 'hands off' (lit. 'fingers off'), *Hände hoch* 'hands up', *Hefte raus* 'take out your exercise books' (lit. 'exercise books out').

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as THEME argument followed by a particle that denotes the endpoint, as in 39a,b, or the result, as in 39c,d, toward which the THEME argument is to be moved.

Second, there is a well-established directional adverb construction, as illustrated in 40.

(40) a. bergauf
hill.up
'uphill'

b. flussabwärts
stream.downwards
'downstream'

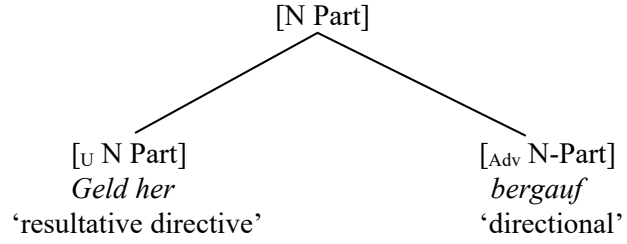
The expressions in 40 are compounds composed of a noun denoting a type of landscape (*Berg, Fluss*) followed by a directional adverb (or particle) denoting a direction (*auf*, *abwärts*). As a whole, they have a directional meaning (for example, *Sie folgten dem Tal flussabwärts* 'They followed the valley downstream').

Both 39 and 40 can be analyzed as instantiations of a more general syntactic construction [N Part], which is independent of semantics.[43] To make this work, one must adopt a "heterogenous" constructionist approach, as outlined in Jackendoff 2013. Under this approach, meaningful constructions "are just one kind of abstract stored structure. The grammar of a language can also contain independent principles of syntactic form, as well as independent principles of semantic structure" (Jackendoff 2013:79). Thus, [N Part] can be analyzed as a piece of stored syntactic structure that does not specify any semantics and appears at the top of the inheritance hierarchy in 41.

[43] Within a constructionist framework, or Jackendoff's Parallel Architecture framework, it is not a problem that *Geld her* lit. 'money hither' is a syntactic unit, while *bergauf* 'uphill' is a morphological unit. In these frameworks, syntax and lexicon are conceptualized not as strictly separated modules, but rather as a continuum.

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(41)



According to this hierarchy, the syntactic configuration [N Part] may be instantiated either as an independent utterance, conveying the meaning "resultative directive", or as an adverbial complement, conveying a directional meaning.

Now, the question is how *N hin, N her* fits into this hierarchy. First, note that the directional [N Part] construction may also appear as a pair of syntactically equivalent, semantically contrastive strings, as in 42. In this pair, the noun is duplicated and combined with particles denoting opposite directions, such as *up/down*.

(42) a. bergauf, bergab
hill.up hill.down
'up and down the hill'

b. landauf, landab[44]
country.up country.down
'up and down the country'

c. treppauf, treppab
stair.up stair.down
'up and down the stairs'

While the construction in 42 is still directional, it differs from 40 in adding a meaning component of "exhaustive extension", which is correlated with the doubled form. For example, *landauf, landab* means 'all over the country, everywhere'. The same is possible with temporal expressions, such as *tagein, tagaus* meaning 'every day', as in 43.

[44] There is also the variant *landein, landaus* 'country.in, country.out'.

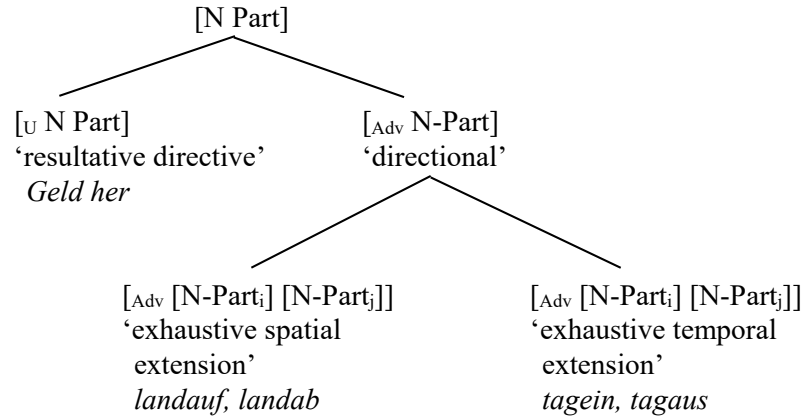
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(43) a. tagein, tagaus
day.in day.out
'every day'

b. jahrein, jahraus
year.in year.out
'every year'

These cases may be added to the hierarchy in 41, yielding 44.

(44)



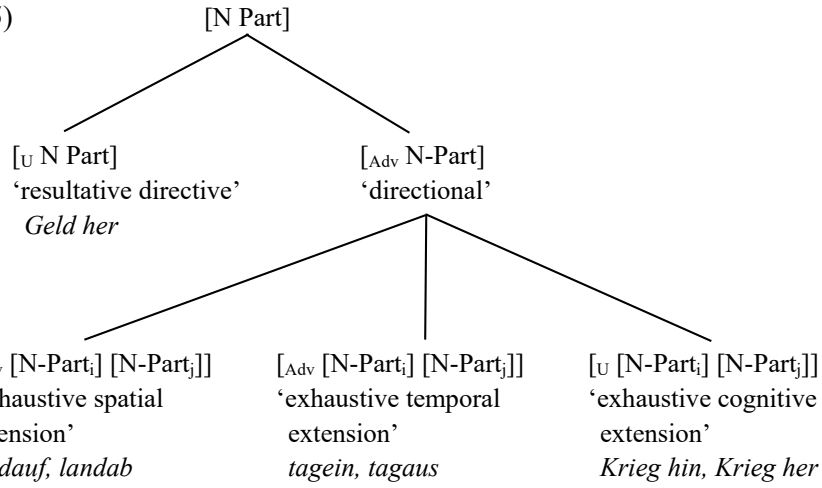
Now, *N hin, N her* relates to *landauf, landab* not only in instantiating the same paired syntactic string of N followed by opposite adverbs/particles; it also has the same meaning component of exhaustive extension. By using N hin, N her, a speaker conveys the exhaustion of the cognitive space of alternative ways to look at something.[45] Thus, this pattern fits straightforwardly into the inheritance hierarchy, as in 45. As to the semantic relations, it is plausible that the meaning variants of spatial

[45] Note, however, that the type *landauf, landab* differs from the type *N hin, N her* in that in *landauf, landab*, the noun cannot be extended (**ganzes landauf, ganzes landab* 'all country up, all country down'), while in the latter case, it can (*Schweizer Apfelbäume hin, Schweizer Apfelbäume her* 'Swiss apple trees here, Swiss apple trees there'). This may be related to the fact that *landauf* is a morphological unit, such that syntactic modifiers do not have access to the parts of the morphological construction.

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extension, temporal extension and cognitive extension are related to each other via metaphorical links.

(45)



Having established this partial inheritance hierarchy, it is possible to check which of the properties of *N hin, N her* can be derived from more general constructions or principles, and which should be treated as idiosyncratic. Recall the following general properties of *N hin, N her* (see section 2): i) identity; ii) binarity; iii) irreversibility; iv) main stress on the adverbs; v) no determiner; vi) word order N > Adv; vii) syntactic disintegration; viii) irrelevance meaning.

The constructional network in 45 already states the syntactic configuration of the construction discussed here: As the more general *N Part* construction, the subconstruction *N hin, N her* is a (doubled) configuration of a determinerless noun and a particle/adverb. Thus, property v) (no determiner) is an inherited property. Also, the word order restriction as per vi) (N > Adv) is inherited from the more general *N Part* construction. Again, it could be suggested that this word order is related to the more general word order NP > verbal particle in a main sentence, where the (verbal) particle remains in situ. This is straightforward for cases such as [$_{U}$ N Part], for example, *Geld her* (< [*Sie gibt*] *das Geld*$_{acc}$ *her* '[She hands] the money over'), and [$_{Adv}$ N-Part], such as *bergauf* (< [*Sie geht*] *den Berg*$_{acc}$ [*hin*]*auf* '[She goes] up the hill', lit. '[She goes] the hill up'). However, for *N hin, N her*, this analysis is only straightforward under the

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assumption that N (originally) is an accusative, for example, under a reanalysis assumption (see section 4, note 28). In any case, as long as the word order N > Part is stated in the general [N Part] construction, *N hin, N her* inherits the correct word order.

The stress pattern of *N hin, N her* (property iv) is the same as the stress pattern of the more general [$_{Adv}$ N-Part] construction. It follows a general phonological rule, according to which it is the contrasted element that carries stress in contrast pairs.[46] Note that the stress pattern does not follow from the abstract syntactic [N Part] construction; rather, [N Part] allows for different stress patterns, as shown in 46.

(46) a. [$_{U}$ N Part]: Géld her, *but not* ??Geld hér
b. [$_{Adv}$ N-Part]: bergáuf *but not* ??bérgauf

The irreversibility constraint (property iii), that is, *hin* > *her*, follows a general phonological restriction on syllable prominence (Müller 1997:33, Lenz 2002; see also Ross 1980). It states that a high nuclear vowel of a syllable dominates a low nuclear vowel of another syllable, with the dominating syllable sequentially preceding the dominated syllable. The validity of this principle can be observed, for example, in binomials and reduplicative words, as in 47 and 48, respectively.

(47) a. Drum und Dran ‘bag and baggage’
but not: *Dran und Drum

b. Hinz und Kunz ‘every Tom, Dick, and Harry’
but not: *Kunz und Hinz

(48) a. zickzack ‘zigzag’,
but not: *zackzick

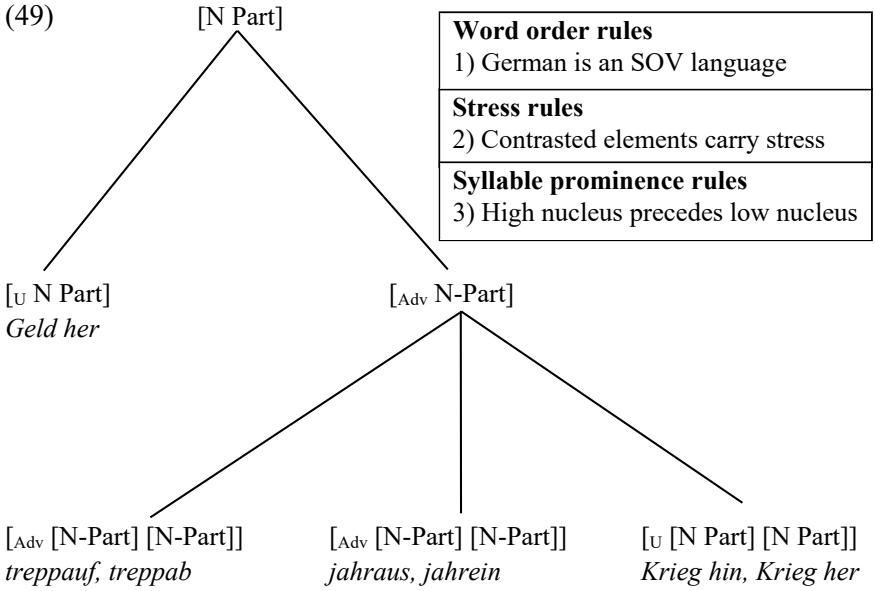
[46] One may assume that the nondoubled adverbs, such as *bergáuf* ‘uphill’, also follow the rule for contrast pairs, because an adverb such as *bergáuf* implies that there is a contrasting direction, namely, *bergáb* ‘downhill’. By contrast, *Géld her* does not involve a contrast between two directions. Rather, this expression is primarily about the THEME argument, which is in the focus of the speaker.

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b. tipp-topp ‘tip-top’
but not: *topp-tipp

Based on these considerations, the structure in 49 emerges.[47]

(49)



What cannot be derived from the constructional network and from more general principles are the following properties of *N hin, N her*: i) identity, ii) binarity, vii) syntactic disintegration, and viii) irrelevance meaning.

First, it does not follow from a general rule of juxtaposition that the juxtaposed nouns must be identical (property i). Neither does it follow that one must have exactly two nouns (property ii). Second, it is not predictable

[47] A reviewer remarks that “if certain constructions are dealt with abstract schemata in the grammar it is not trivially clear that one can capture constraints in inheritance hierarchies if the constraints on the final structure that is supposed to be licensed are in conflict with the machinery used in other parts of the grammar.” This is certainly right, and it is a general problem of inheritance approaches. However, it would go beyond the scope of this paper to investigate in detail whether the proposed hierarchy may be in conflict with other parts of the machinery.

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from its structural composition that *N hin, N her* only can occur in the periphery of a sentence (property vii). After all, there are other instances of [N Part] that can occur in integrated position, namely, the adverbial cases (for example, *bergauf* or *treppauf, treppab*). Finally, it is obvious that the complex irrelevance meaning of the construction (property viii) cannot be derived simply from the meaning of its component parts. For example, there are two occurrences of the same noun in syntactic structure, but the noun contributes only once to the computational system. More generally, the problem is that syntactically, it is at most a syntactic fragment, but semantically, it is a proposition.

Obviously, the constructional approach can handle all of these nonderivational aspects by stating a constructional schema, which specifies the idiosyncratic properties of the construction. This is what was done in 33 above. However, I think that it is possible to go one step further and account for the idiosyncratic aspects of the construction as well. This can be accomplished if pragmatics is integrated into the picture.

8. A Pragmatic Perspective on *N Hin, N Her*.

The constructional approach covers as many properties of the construction as possible via general regularities. The remaining properties are viewed as idiosyncratic aspects of this specific construction. What is still missing, however, is a more general motivation behind the construction. In short, why does the construction look the way it does? I argue that many of the idiosyncratic properties of *N hin, N her* can be explained by taking a closer look at different pragmatic domains that play a role here. A theoretical premise for such an enterprise is that one must adopt a modular theory of language in which grammar and pragmatics are thought of as independent but systematically interacting modules (for example, Bierwisch 1980).

In Jackendoff's (1997) tripartite parallel architecture, pragmatics is not a separate component. Thus, it is unclear how pragmatic principles or inferences become active in this model. The same is true for most constructionist approaches to grammar: They usually do not incorporate a systematic interface with pragmatics, but rather are conceptualized as nonmodular theories (Goldberg 2013:16). This means, first, that a typical constructionist analysis represents both semantic (truth-functional) aspects and aspects traditionally thought of as pragmatic (for example, information-structural status, speech act force) as part of the meaning of a construction (Lakoff 1987, Lambrecht 1994; see Nikiforidou 2009).

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Second, standard constructionist approaches do not incorporate a theoretical explication of the status of general pragmatic principles in the theory (as developed, for instance, by Grice 1975; for a recent discussion, see Ariel 2016).[48] In the following, it is shown that reference to pragmatic categories is indispensable if one wants to gain a deeper understanding of the idiosyncratic aspects of *N hin, N her*.

First, a pragmatic approach can account for property i), the identity of the nouns in *N hin, N her*. I rejected a formal-syntactic copying analysis of syntactic reduplication above. Instead, I would like to argue that doubling in *N hin, N her* is based on an operation of *utterance repetition*. The main difference between reduplication and repetition is that reduplication is a restricted, obligatory process located within the domain of grammar, while repetition is a pragmatic option used by speakers to create certain discursive effects (see Maas 2005, Stolz 2007, Stolz et al. 2011). Thus, while the effects of most well-known grammatical reduplication processes are on the level of grammatical functions or denotational semantics, repetition yields effects on the level of speaker attitude and illocution. For instance, an utterance such as "A fox, a fox is in the garden!" (Sperber & Wilson 1995) does not convey that there are two foxes in the garden; instead, the speaker introduces an emotional component into the speech act performed. Similarly, it is on the level of speaker attitude and illocution where the irrelevance aspect of *N hin, N her* is to be described. This aspect is not a referential (propositional) type of meaning, which would be prototypical for reduplication.

From a repetition analysis, it also follows readily that the doubled noun contributes only once to the computational system. A linguistic expression that is repeated does not undergo changes in its structural composition or denotational semantics (see Knowles 1979). Thus, the

[48] The Construction Discourse approach of Östman (2005, 2015) introduces additional, "external features of context" (Östman 2015:25) into the constructional description. These include, for example, properties such as discourse pattern, formalized as boxes containing attribute-value pairings. However, as it is all about *conventionalized* pragmatic aspects of constructions, this approach does not contribute to the question of what ways constructions interact with general pragmatic principles. For example, it does not say anything about general principles of speech act assignment to constructions, or about implicatures being derived in the context of utterances containing constructions.

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utterance "A fox, a fox is in the garden!" is not an instance of uttering the syntactic structure *a fox a fox*; rather, the NP *a fox* is used twice. This is exactly what I described above as juxtaposition, as being different from coordination. From the viewpoint of classical rhetoric, of course, parallelism is nothing other than a figure of speech that belongs to the broader class of figures of addition and reordering (see Göttert 1991:44), to which figures of repetition also belong (for example, asyndeton, antithesis, chiasm).

Second, pragmatics provides a straightforward explanation for property viii), the general irrelevance meaning of *N hin, N her*. On the one hand, this meaning can be related to the repetition of the nouns. It is a well-known function of repetition to convey disaffiliation with the addressee (Tannen 1989, Bamford 2000, Bazzanella 2011). In particular, mock repeats can be used by speakers to convey a dismissive attitude toward a phenomenon, expressing that the phenomenon in question is of no relevance, as shown in 50.

(50) A: I can't prepare the dinner today, I have to look after the dog.
B: The dog, the dog, that's the only thing I hear from you all day!

On the other hand, the irrelevance meaning can be related to the pragmatic domain of deixis. *Hin* and *her* are indexical expressions, which incorporate reference to the speaker. Relative to the position of the speaker, *hin* and *her* point in two opposite directions. This brings about an interpretation under which the object referred to by the nominal is turned around and looked at from different, maximally contrasting perspectives. *Hin* and *her* thus can be conceptualized as contributing an aspect of exhausting the set of potential alternatives. At the same time, there is also an aspect of vainness, in that the reflection does not lead to the desired outcome.[49] Both aspects are in direct connection with the resulting irrelevance aspect (none of the potential preconditions p will influence the

[49] A feel of something unsteady, erratic, distractive, or indecisive is also present in examples such as *Man läuft hin, man läuft her, und nichts passiert* 'One runs thither, one runs hither, and nothing happens' or *Dieses ständige Hin und Her ist furchtbar* 'This permanent back and forth is horrible'. Thus, in a way, the attempt to establish an exhaustive list of alternatives fails. Thanks to a reviewer for pointing this out to me.

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truth of q). From the conceptual requirement of contrasting two perspectives (property ii), the binarity restriction also follows readily: For a contrast to be established, what one minimally needs are exactly two contrasting elements.

Finally, by reference to the pragmatic domain of information structure one may account for property vii), the syntactic disintegration of *N hin, N her*. This positional restriction can be taken as an indicator of the information-structural status of *N hin, N her* as a discourse topic. A peripheral syntactic position is characteristic of topical constructions. Consider, for example, hanging topics, as in 51 and 52.

(51) A: In der Schule gab es heute keine Hausaufgaben.
in the school give-3SG.PST it today no homework.PL
'We did not get any homework at school today.'

B: Apropos Schule, hast du dein Pausenbrot gegessen?
apropos school have-2SG.PRS you your bag-lunch eat-PTCP
'Speaking of school, have you eaten your packed lunch?'

(52) Die Versicherung —tja, ich weiß auch nicht,
the insurance well I know-1SG.PRS also not

ob sie sich schon einig geworden sind.
if they REFL already agreed become-PTCP AUX-3PL.PRS

'The insurance—well, I don't know whether they have come to a compromise yet.'

The construction can only be used felicitously if the discourse referent encoded by N is old information, either previously mentioned or provided by shared background knowledge of the discourse participants. While the *N hin, N her* part is correlated with the discourse topic, the juxtaposed main clause is correlated with a comment, or discourse-new information. The information-structural properties also have an impact on the distribution of communicative weight. According to Leuschner (2005:296), the communicative weight in concessive conditionals is on the information presented in the second component (q), while the information in the first component (p) is "pragmatically downgraded" (see also Brandt 1996).

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Generally, it is reasonable to conclude that the construction is a piece of "frozen discourse". As such, it is not a free discourse option any longer; rather, the syntactic and semantic properties of *N hin, N her* are conventionalized. This is in line with general assumptions of grammaticalization and pragmaticalization theory (Traugott & Trousdale 2014). Future work is needed to justify those assumptions empirically, by tracing *N hin, N her* back to earlier stages of German.

9. Conclusion.

In this article, I have investigated in detail the formal and interpretational properties of the German schematic idiom *N hin, N her* 'N here, N there', treating it as a new test case for the evaluation of competing approaches to grammar. My conclusion is that a heterogeneous constructionist approach is most apt to capture both regular and idiosyncratic features of *N hin, N her* in a systematic fashion. In general, the constructionist approach can cover idiosyncratic aspects by directly mapping meaning onto form. Regular aspects can be accounted for, in a heterogeneous constructionist approach, by specifying those properties of the construction that can be related to properties of other, more general constructions, as well as to overarching, general principles of grammar. I have argued, however, that the analysis should not stop here, but should also seek a more general explanation for the idiosyncratic features of the construction that cannot be derived in grammar. This can be achieved within a theory that incorporates a systematic interface with pragmatics. As pragmatic domains and processes relevant to the case of *N hin, N her*, I have identified repetition as a conversational practice, deixis, and information structure. It is a task of future research to show whether or not a process of grammaticalization is involved in the development of *N hin, N her*.

Knowles (1979:654) once remarked that processes of iteration are not linguistic in the narrow sense of being "reflexes of the formal system of rules we call 'grammar', but are in fact special stylistic phenomena, though based on linguistically defined data." One may take the reverse to be possible as well: The special stylistic uses become grammaticalized via frequent usage, thus making their way back into the "formal system of rules we call 'grammar'".

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1470542716000234 Published online by Cambridge University Press

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