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Das ist was ziemlich Komisches ist das! -
The syntax of apokoinu-constructions in colloquial German and other
languages

The present paper draws attention to a linguistic structure which seems to be a chimera between a minimal text consisting of two subsequent, but independent clauses and a complex sentence. Its characteristic feature is that the last section of the first clause functions simultaneously as the initial part of the second clause. This constituent can hence fulfil two functions at once. This constellation, however, brings some severe problems for syntax, compositional semantics, and probably more modules. And not only this: the construction itself is problematic for speakers and hearers. The grammaticality judgements and pragmatic felicity conditions vary. However, the construction is real. The given contribution tries to present the semantico-pragmatic conditions and to deliver a syntactic approach. The data come from different languages: German, English, and Russian (furthermore a speculation is made on why one does not find corresponding structures in most Romance languages).

1. A sketch of the data and a brief overview over the existing literature

This paper centres around what in the literature is sometimes called apokoinu, sometimes amalgam, or sometimes contact clause - among others denominations. Thus, the topic is on the border between a text or a minimal discourse on the one hand, and a complex sentence on the other. Furthermore, the investigated object oscillates on the border between grammaticality and linguistic deviance. The construction is best illustrated with an example (1), or more below.

- (1) Das ist was ganz Komisches ist das!
that is what wholly strange is that
„This is rather something really strange...“

The example is interesting from several quite different points of view: first of all its discourse conditions, second the register distribution, but also its syntactic structure, of course, and its status of grammaticality. The given contribution is mainly about the last points.

Before I present a syntactic approach, and thus a new, rather detailed and perhaps controversial structural representation, I give a standard sketch of the construction. Here I quote two definitions, one in English (from Franck 1985), and one in German, taken from one of the two most influential and recent treatments, i.e. Scheutz (1992, the other one being Poncin's 2000 thesis itself).

word string pattern which are subsumed under the notion. The interested reader is hereby recommended to her work. At this point I only want to list some additional examples from either Poncin or the big corpus collection by Scheutz. (The division according to the illocutionary potential comes from me, no author spends any attention on sentence mood. Since apokoinus seem to be a root, i.e. main clause, phenomenon, a classification in terms of illocutionary force appears to be expedient.)

Declaratives:

- (6) Der Würfel liegt auf dem Klavier muss er liegen.
the cube lies on the piano must it lie
“The cube is on the piano... that’s where it must be.”
- (7) Du schiebst den Biskuit in den Ofen darfst du dann nicht reinschauen.
you push the biscuit in the oven may you then not look-into
“You push the biscuit in the oven, where you must not look into afterwards.”

Interrogatives:

- (8) Wie lange fährt man fünf Stunden nach Hamburg?
how long go one five hours to Hamburg
“How long does it take to Hamburg? Five hours?”
- (9) Ich frage mich, ob du dich an den Preis erinnerst du dich an den?
I ask me, if you you on the price remember you you on it
“I wonder about the price... Do you remember?”

(Pseudo-) Imperatives:

- (10) Ich suche das Wörterbuch brauch’ ich.
I look the dictionary need I
“I am looking for the dictionary is what I need.”
- (11) Gib’ mir mal das Buch da will ich haben!
give me particle the book there want I have
“Give me the book, I need it.”

Exclamatives:

- (12) Die habm eine derartig derbe Mundart sprechen die daheim!
they have a such hard dialect speak they at-home
“The speak a very rough dialect at home.”
- (13) Er hat ihm millimeterweis hat er ihm eingestochen ...!
he has him milimeter-wise has he him pricked
“He pricked him millimeter by millimeter.”

Mixed:

- (14) Bist du sicher, dass du kommen kannst, ist mir sehr wichtig...!
are you sure that you come can is me very important
“Are you sure you can come? This would be important to me.”
- (15) An beiden Seiten hast du jetzt’n Gewinde an beiden Seiten des Würfels?
on both sides have you now a thread on both sides of-the cube
“On both sides you have a thread now. Do you?”

By now it should be clear that as far as the acceptability of these constructions is concerned, the relevant sentences are (considered to be) controversial. Many speakers reject them straightforwardly. However, (i) generations of linguists have thought about these sentences (as worthwhile objects), (ii) apparently no test person considers them complete gibberish, and (iii) corpus studies prove that – at least as performance results – these sentences are produced with significant frequency. It should be mentioned at this point that these samples sound much more natural if they are perceived auditorily¹. And a fourth point, which was mentioned with respect to ancient literature, is (iv) that the apokoinu is found in many languages. But it is not used only as a rhetoric tool in poetic language, it seems to be a lively linguistic strategy for information packaging and/or a repair device in spontaneous spoken speech in many languages (see next paragraph). This cannot be ignored. (One more source to be quoted is Schwitalla's *Gesprochenes Deutsch* (2003, p. 129).)

2. English and Russian

A pioneer in apokoinu research is Lambrecht (cf. 1988, but many more contributions, see below). Some of the by now famous examples stem from this article, such as (16)-(18); Lambrecht calls them *Presentational Amalgam Constructions*.

- (16) There was a farmer had a dog.
- (17) There was a ball of fire shot up through the seats in from of me.
- (18) I have a friend of mine in the history department teaches two courses per semester.

In more recent work (Lambrecht 2006, Lambrecht and Ross-Hagebaum 2006), Lambrecht gives an excellent overview over all sorts of English apokoinu (-like) constructions. Most of the data are collected from corpora. Before providing some more attested examples I quote from Lambrecht (2006):

...I [Lambrecht] will extend my earlier analysis to a number of little-studied if not unrecognized spoken English constructions...

The existence and common occurrence of different apokoinu constructions in spontaneous spoken English discourse corroborates the analysis of the presentational Amalgam Construction as a pragmatically motivated syntactic structure which cannot be derived from a subtype of relative clause construction. In the apokoinu types... it is generally impossible to reduce the sentential [AC] schema to a canonical biclausal pattern...

Lambrecht associates (his) apokoinu constructions with clefts. This is understandable in an example like Delahunty's from (19).

¹In this respect, the apokoinu-construction is also very similar to the German embedded V2 data discussed by Freywald, see below.

- (19) It was your husband paid for that.

For Lambrecht these sentences are legitimate grammatical objects which serve as specific information packaging devices. Again, without presenting Lambrecht's detailed classification I content myself here with quoting some more corpus data:

- (20) You are lazy is what you are.
 (21) They call it a video CD is what you are talking about.
 (22) You can take an anti-inflammatory medicine usually is the best thing.
 (23) It's my burn blister just broke.
 (24) I went to a conference in Boston I guess it was.
 (25) What are you drunk?
 (26) You know what's good is a hibiscus cooler.

One more language I want to present here is Russian. Also in this language the apokoinu construction is attested. Interestingly, also here it seems to fulfil the same information theoretic tasks and is linked to a similar emphatic flavour. And more importantly - exactly as in English and in German – to the extent that the construction is acceptable at all, it is considered to be detectable and tolerable only in the spoken, spontaneous register. There, however, it surfaces quite frequently:

- (27) Пойдем в Большой завтра на Образцову мне билеты обещали.
 Poydem v Bol'shoy zavtra na Obraztsovy nme bilet'y obeshcha-l-i
Let's-go in Bolshoi tomorrow to Obraztsova me tickets promised-PST-PL
 Presumably going back to:
 "Let's go to the Bolshoi Theater tomorrow to see the Obraztsova.
 For the Obraztsova (performance) they promised me tickets."
 (28) Купи хлеба на завтра утро не хватит.
 Kupi khleba na zavtra utro ne khvatit
buy bread-GEN on tomorrow morning not suffice
 "Buy bread!
 The bread for tomorrow will not be enough."
 (29) У него не было никакого отношения к лингвистике Смирнов не имел.
 U nego ne bylo nikakogo otnosheniya k lingvistike Smironov ne ime-l
on him not was none relationship to linguistics Smirnov not had-3SG
 "He did not have a relationship to linguistics...
 No relationship to linguistics did Smirnov ever have."

More data plus a discussion of these constructions' appropriateness can be found in Shirjajev (2001) and Botezatu (2008). Although both works do not make any mention of the notion "apokoinu", nor do they make a hint of the A-B-C structural description, it is relatively obvious that both authors describe the same pattern as Scheutz, Poncin and others for German and Lambrecht for English. Many of their examples divide into the A-B-C part. In each of the examples chosen here, the A-B part (B always underlined) is a potentially complete, independent clause – and so is the B-C part.

3. Pragmatic constraints

One can state that the apokoinu is a construction which belongs to the spoken register of several languages. It is highly interesting that the few linguists who took notice of this structure locate it in this sociolectal area. Thus there seems to be something spontaneous, and emphatic about it. Poncin lists the hypothetical functions of the construction:

- (i) language economy, with some flavour of stenographic thinking² and verbalizing
- (ii) signalizing coherency
- (iii) focussing, emphasizing, stressing, highlighting - and/or
- (iv) repair or linguistic strategy change

I agree that especially the last two functions are characteristic. (At least for the examples which are of interest in this paper; there is of course a stylistic function for the poetic, literary uses, which we disregard here.) Especially Lambrecht describes all possible distributional topic and focus settings, taking into account contrastive, multiple, narrow and presentational, i.e. wide, focus, as well as aboutness, contrastive, familiar and other topic types. Scheutz (1992) speculates that the construction allows for a collapsing of a regular in-situ focus for the B-part with regard to the first, i.e. A-B piece, and a simultaneous focal topic interpretation – whatever this exactly is – for B within the B-C part. This interpretation also found its way into a standard benchmark book such as the syntax volume of the *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* (1995: 6, 7).

I do not want to comment or elaborate on this. The only remark I want to make with regard to this is that – as will become clear soon – the B part, i.e. the shared koinon, behaves as the “Vorfeld”, or SpecCP within the B-C part. Sometimes, however, B comprises more than just the prefield (i.e. Spec,CP, see example (15)). This assigns to the middle constituent, and consequently to the whole construction, the observed “emphatic force” - term which is attributed to the initial pre-filed constituent in works as early as Delbrück (1893-1900) to (as recent as) Frey (2009).

4. A new and refined syntactic approach

4.1. Grafting and its benefits

In this paragraph I want to present a syntactic structure for the apokoinu. The proposal will be a grafting analysis in the sense of van Riemsdijk (2001, 2006). Given this I have to introduce the core idea of this approach. The prominent example is Kajita’s *far-from*

²One of the reviewers criticizes the use of the notion “stenographic thinking”. The terminus, however, goes back to the 19th century philologist Hildebrand (1870: “*stenographie des gedankens*”) and found its way into Poncin’s chapter on the functions of apokoinus (p. 60).

(transparent) free relatives, other parentheticals, plus the so-called Andrew's and (Larry) Horn amalgams³. The latter, i.e. Horn amalgams are discussed in Lakoff 1974. An example is given in (33).

(33) John is going to, I think it's Chicago (on Sunday).

It is fairly straightforward to imagine what a grafting structure would look like: *Chicago* is anchored twice in the structure

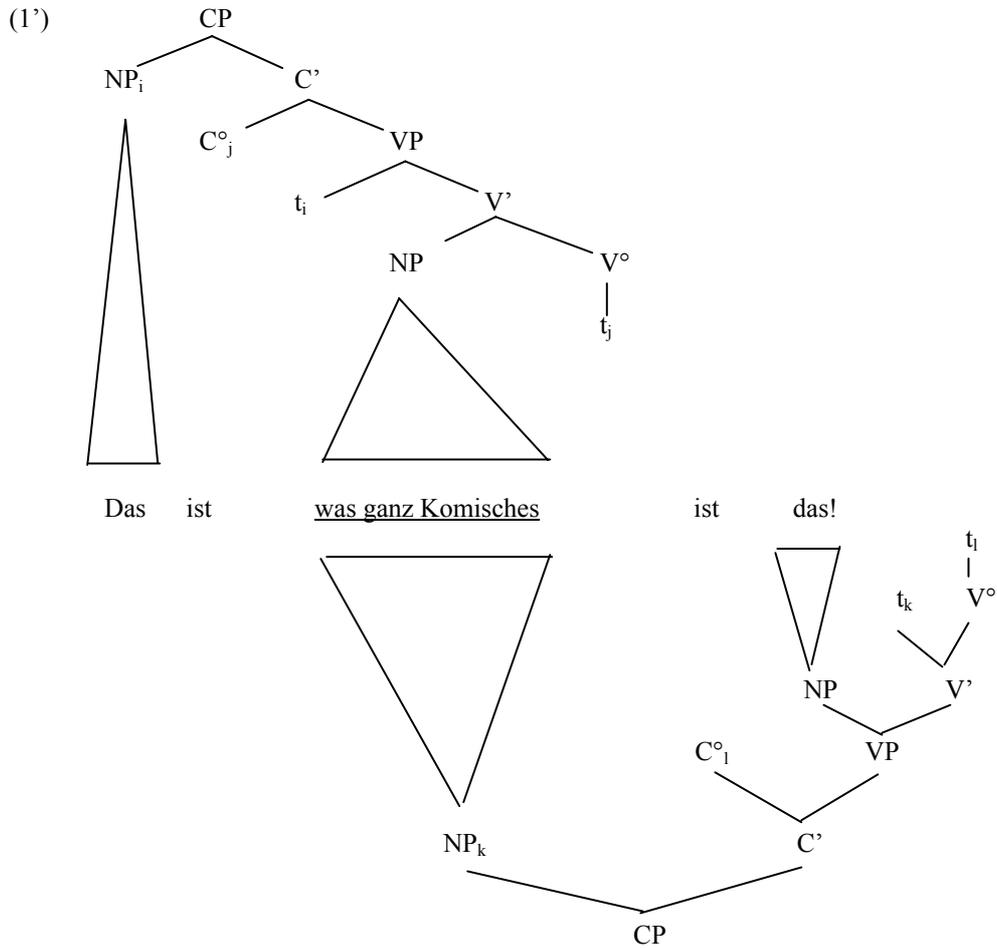
(33')

John is going to		Chicago
I think it's		Chicago

In Lambrecht (2006), Horn amalgams are reconsidered again. Lambrecht subsumes them under apokoinu-constructions in the broader sense. However, Lambrecht's syntax does not go beyond a linear A-B-C sketch. This I will do here. The attentive reader will guess by now what my proposal for the sentences is: the koinon is the part which gets a double anchoring in the structure. It is a sort of butt hinge between the two clauses:

³ Van Riemsdijk's interest in these constructions is both: empirical and theoretic. The theoretical status is highly controversial. Grosu (e.g. 2007) reconsiders each of van Riemsdijk's constructions and concludes that all of them not only can but even should better be given an analysis different from grafting. Grosu's approach thus supports a grammar without multi-dimensional trees, which reconciles with a traditional and more restrictive theory of phrase structure.

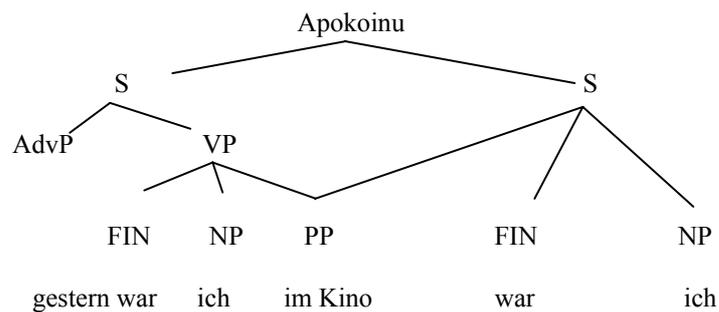
(1) Das ist was ganz Komisches ist das!



In principle, this proposal for the structure does not come as a surprise. It can be understood as an X-bar-syntax interpretation or translation of Poncin's tentative tree for *Gestern war ich im Kino war ich* (Poncin 2000, 151):

(34) Gestern war ich im Kino war ich.
yesterday was I in-the cinema was I
 "Yesterday I went to the pictures is where I went."

(34')



However, this (i.e. (1')) is the first time that grafting has been applied to apokoinus. There are several advantages to such a hierarchical representation compared to the purely linear A-B-C treatments or also to a more structured approach as Poncin's (34'). In (1') it is evident that the B-C part is a regular root CP (main clause), which in standard generative approaches has a "transformational" or "derivational history". This means that in the more standard, so-called asymmetric approaches, the left sentence bracket (i.e. C') gets targeted and filled by the finite verb, and the *Vorfeld* (prefield) emerges through placement of some appropriate constituent. In most cases, the constituent is moved there from a base-position somewhere deeper inside the tree. Thus, the grafting approach to apokoinus is more explanative than and hence superior to the linear ones. The linear or less articulate approaches (cf. Poncin's tree) suggest a modus operandi roughly as in the following derivational sketch: (i) spell out A, (ii) continue and spell out B as a well-formed succession to A, ((ii') change strategy and), (iii) take B, interpret it as the start-up constituent of a new clause, and (iv) finish such that B-C results in a regular, licit clause. Such a "procedure" prevents the B part from being interpreted as an inherent integral part of the lower clause being linked to some deeply embedded position within that clause too. This is not the case under grafting like in (1'), which offers a relatively simple explanation for binding, i.e. scope readings, for Negative Polarity Item and comparable licensing, and idiomatic interpretation. These points, however, are all relevant for apokoinu constructions:

- (35) Und da wurden mindestens vier Aufgaben gelöst hat da jeder innerhalb
and there were at-least four assignments resolved has there everybody within
 der Frist..
the time-limit
 "Four assignments were resolved in time – by everyone."
- (36) Ich hab' da keinen Bock hab ich da drauf!
I have there no „desire“ have I there up
 "I don't feel like it."
- (37) Der hat doch 'nen Vogel hat der!
the has particle a bird has he
 Maybe: "He has / must have bets in the belfry."
- (38) Und dann kam's wie Pilze sind dann solche Hotels aus dem Boden geschossen
and then came it like mushrooms are then such hotels from the earth shot
 "Hotels were built there en masse."

In (35) a reading with (*mindestens*) *vier Aufgaben* within the scope of *jeder* is more than likely: it is the prominent interpretation of the sentence. This comes out straightforwardly if the B-C part gets its separate CP structure: in (39), where the constituent [*mindestens vier Aufgaben*] occupies an original position below the quantifier *jeder* (= each):

(39) [VP... [CP [*mindestens vier Aufgaben*]_i VP] [C hat da [*jeder* [... t_i]]]

A || B || C

Only within the lower CP part, namely within the c-command domain of *jeder*, can the quantified expression receive its dependent interpretation. Only then does movement to SpecCP (linearly the B position) apply. The A-B part in this example – if understood as a relatively separate unit – can never license the interpretation in (35).

Similar arguments apply to (36), (37) and (38). In comprehensive analyses, *kein*-NPs are indefinite expressions under sentence, i.e. clausal negation. Hence, to get a license of *kein* inside the B-C part, as well as the idiomatic reading, one fares relatively uncomplicated if the *Vorfeld*-constituent is reconstructed into its base position. This lowers *keinen Bock* into the c-command domain of sentence negation. Similarly, reconstruction of *'nen Vogel* or *wie Pilze* into their original position creates a unitary piece (in “deep-structure”), which an idiomatic, non-compositional expression should ideally be. Otherwise much more machinery would be needed to derive the idiomatic chunk character.

Purely linear approaches would need extra devices to explain all these “connectivity effects”, the mere clause-mate status is not sufficient to get the relevant licensing.

Also for the Russian examples in (29), a hierarchical treatment in combination with an embedded, fully structured CP as the result of a “derivational history” explains the genitive of negation on the koinon-constituent in the same vein. This morphological case is licensed only in the semantic scope of sentential negation. Syntactically this means that the base position of a negative genitive constituent is inside the c-command domain of the negative item: in our case the polarity head *ne*. (Of course, there is another at least as important *ne* in the first clause, but the one from the second needs an associate too.)

4.2. When is a string an apokoinu? - Which languages display the apokoinu-construction? Are there differences between languages, and if so, why?

At this point, a short discussion seems appropriate: Is there something like an indisputable, i.e. undeniable, apokoinu? I think this is hard to say – and if so the answer is rather negative. The majority of the apokoinus discussed in the literature are likely to be of the claimed A-B-C type. However, for most – if not for all – an alternative analysis seems possible. This option is ellipsis. One can always assume that the apokoinu is a sequence of two “complete” clauses, one of which has undergone phonological deletion or some other form of reduction or elision. Only few arguments can be brought up to refute or at least to question and challenge such a view. (35) or (39), at least suggest that a potential topic drop analysis cannot be maintained. Such an ellipsis alternative would be to analyze the sentence as an instance of the following sort:

(40) [CP A-B] [CP Ø – C] – with Ø signalling topic drop.

Since in (35), however, *mindestens vier Aufgaben* is interpreted within the scope of the universal quantifier from the second part of the construction, this string cannot be (exclusively a piece of) part B. (40) only accounts for a reading with an existential reading of at least four assignments. This, however, is not what (35) means. The preferred interpretation is such that the assignments co-vary with the individuals denoted by the members of set comprised by *jeder*. Insofar examples like (35) are instances where the apokoinu status is hard to deny. What could still be refuted then is the acceptability of such constructions. That is why I think that a conclusive and irrevocable apokoinu analysis must remain an unobtainable desideratum (as much as I understand the wish of one of the reviewers).

The issue raised in this paragraph is very much related to the question of a reviewer: Why do the Romance languages lack the apokoinu-construction? Posed this way, the question triggers the presupposition that the descendants of Latin do not possess apokoinu-structures. However, Knud Lambrecht (p.c.) informs me that he could find a few French examples (cf. footnote⁴). His speculation why languages like Italian or Spanish do not show this construction (more obviously) is the following. Statistics show that the most frequent case is that the shared element (i.e. the koinon B) is a nominative noun phrase. This goes along with the findings for German (i.e. Middle High German (Karg, 1929), or Modern German (Pittner 1995: 204)). As a noun phrase in nominative case, the koinon mostly acts as the subject within the B-C part. Since most Romance idioms are pro-drop languages, the C part alone often counts as a saturated, i.e. complete clause. Hence, speakers have the option to assign a structure [A-B] [pro_(=B) C], whereby pro_(=B) is phonologically null, resulting in a structure: [A-B] [Ø-C] – compare to (40). Thus, most “potential” apokoinus have a regular non-graft option. Take the very famous English sentence (16), here repeated and translated word by word into Italian.

(16) There was a farmer had a dog.

(41) c' era un contadino aveva un cane
there 'was a farmer had a dog

The string as such is perfect Italian. If one abstracts from phonological phrasing, an apokoinu structure is potentially available. It would be parallel to the English sentence. However, it is not very likely given that the very string has a natural interpretation as two subsequent clauses – the first being a regular existential statement about some farmer. The second being a continuation in form of a categorical statement about this farmer, realized as an anaphoric pronoun, which in Italian figures as phonologically null pro (42).

⁴ (i) t'as toute la vallée blanche était toujours pleine de neige
You 'have whole the valley white was always full of snow
 “There is a valley which was always white and full of snow.”
 Again, thanks to Knud Lambrecht for sharing his data with me.

- (42) C'era un contadino. — Aveva un cane.
there 'was a farmer_i. pro_i had a dog
 "There was a farmer. He had a dog."

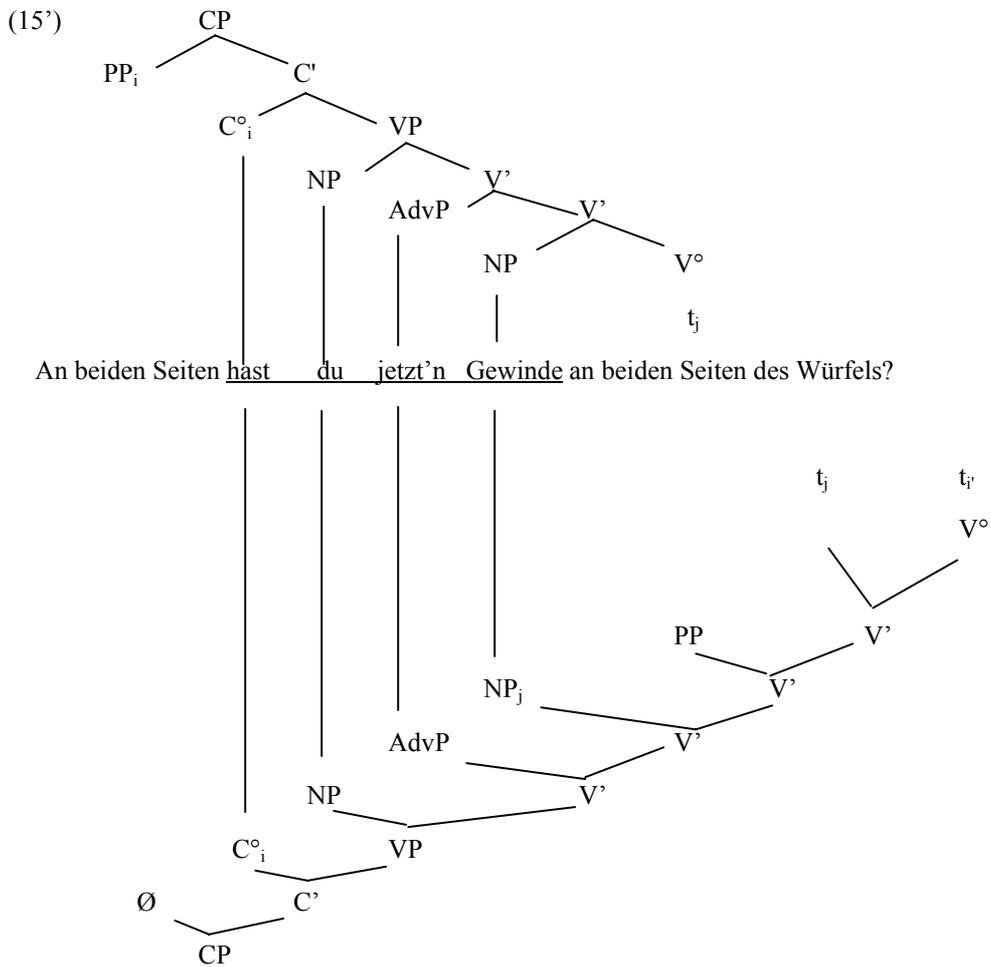
This systematic option makes the apokoinu-construction very hard or even almost impossible to native speakers of these languages. I can speculate further that other pro-drop languages like Latin or (Ancient) Greek are less apokoinu-phobe because they are much less configurational. Hence, sentences do not (have to) canonically begin with the subject. This reduces the [A-B] [pro_(=B) C]-device to just a subgroup of cases, and hence the assumed strategy is much less applicable and compelling, which makes that the apokoinu-analysis more likely. Furthermore: if the koinon is (or were) a direct or an indirect object in Italian or Spanish, for the apokoinu-analysis it would have to be a left-dislocated constituent which is adjoined to the C part. Under such circumstances the C-part would almost necessarily exhibit a resumptive clitic (clitic doubling). This again provides us with an indecisive situation: the C-part alone constitutes a saturated, complete clause. No naïve native speaker would suspect a double anchoring of the respective constituent inside two clauses. Thus, the grammatical parameters of the average Romance languages make it very hard to prove the existence of the apokoinu-construction. The respective sentences always have an analysis which is more easily available and does not have to make a resort to problematic structural proposals, hence the lack of apokoinus in most Romance languages.

4.3. The status of the A-B-C parts

Generally: the B-C part seems to always form a complete sentence (CP); as for the CP character of the A-B part, I am much more sceptical. It seems to often set up a complete, potentially independent clause, but not always. However, I am convinced that A-B belongs together in a fashion which (1') suggests: thus there can be drawn an incremental-parser-like tree over A-B which takes A and B as clause-mates.

To the extent that examples as (8) or (15) are admissible, the generative grafting approach seems superior again. In these examples, we do not only have a single constituent which is shared, but more material. Under a Poncin-style representation this leads, at least in the tree diagram, to an unattractive disturbing multiplicity of crossing branches. The A-B-C representation remains completely silent about the internal structure of B. It rather lumps things together which are clearly hierarchically structured. A Riemsdijk-style representation seems to nicely capture the transition from A to C through a structured B:

(15) An beiden Seiten hast du jetzt'n Gewinde an beiden Seiten des Würfels?



5. Some comments on a relative of the apokoinu

In this paragraph I will suggest that apokoinus are related to *dass*-verb-second clauses insofar as they are both projected around a “somewhat infelicitous left periphery”.

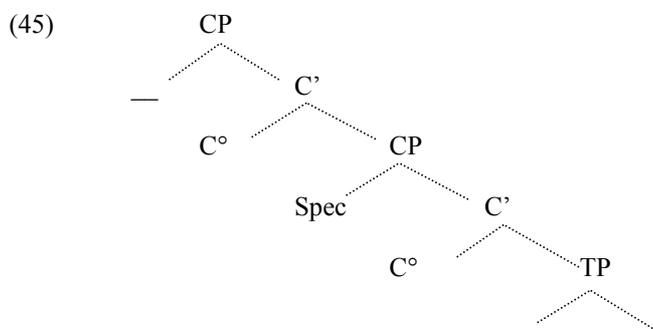
After initial inquiries among German native speakers⁵, first impressions point into the

⁵ Thanks at this point go to my colleagues at the ZAS (Berlin) and to students from the Humboldt Universität Berlin and the Bergische Universität Wuppertal.

following direction: impartial unbiased native speakers rate the wellformedness of apokoinus similar to that of *dass*-V2-clauses. Some completely reject them, some evaluate them cautiously acceptable if produced under certain conditions, and some, who are the majority, rate them on the border between a grammatical structure and a deviant construction. Those speakers often have the feeling that something is wrong, but the speaker managed to save his utterance with a more or less effective repair device. *Dass*-clauses with verb second are a very young topic in German syntactic theory. The following examples come from Freywald (2008):

- (43) Das liegt einfach DARan, dass KINder, die hiv-infiziert sind, stellen keinen
this lies simply THERon, that CHILdren, who hiv-infected are, pose no
 markt für die pharmaindustrie dar.
market for the pharma-industry participle
 “The reason is that children who are hiv-positive do not constitute a market for
 the big industry.” (source: radio station DLF, Interview: July, 14, 2004)
- (44) Aber ich glaube, dass wenn man da eine Umfrage im Deutschen oder in Österreich
but I believe, that if one there a survey in German or in Austria
 machen würde, erübrigt sich jede Diskussion.
make would, do-without itself every discussion
 “I think (that) if one conducted a survey in Germany or Austria, one would not
 need any arguing.” (source: TV station SAT1, Interview: August, 2, 1994)

Freywald discusses the history, pragmatics (including style and register), semantics and the syntax of these constructions. In Freywald (2007) she offers three possible structural descriptions. I will adopt one of them here: the CP-recursion analysis. Under this approach, the German left periphery comprising the traditional prefield and the left sentence bracket is doubled.



This seems to be the straightforward solution. Insofar Freywald’s sentences can be regarded as similar to McCloskey’s findings and analysis. His constructions, which are English sentences of course, seem also to involve a double realization of the CP layer, McCloskey (2005).

(46) It is useful to know that once you have mastered the chosen dialect that you will be able to pick up a newspaper and read it.

(47) I don't think that he should content that just because he makes a promise that it becomes a responsibility of the United States.

For these constructions it is crucial that the doubled complementizer be followed by a further embedded clause inside its projection. German has similar sentences.

(48) Es ist klar, (*It is clear:*)

dass, wenn wir alle Anträge so rechtzeitig einreichen, also keine Frist
that, if we all applications so in-time hand-in, thus no deadline
 versäumen und alles auch ordnungsgemäß ausgefüllt ist, dass wir dann gute
miss and everything also correctly filled-in is, that we then good
 Chancen haben.
chances have

“It is clear that if we hand in all applications in time – not missing any deadline and if everything is properly and correctly filled in – then we have a good chance.”

These examples, which seem to belong to the spoken register, have gained almost no interest in the literature. However, it seems to me that this construction is a highly frequent repair strategy in oral communication. Speakers use this resumption device very often, and - I believe - they do so even being aware sometimes that the performance output does not comply with the rules, neither of normative grammar, nor of regular language use, i.e. the *System* in Coseriu's sense (i.e. Coseriu, 1979). Nevertheless, speakers decide to break these rules to facilitate the understanding of their message. For some reason, such a communicative behaviour did not trigger much attention of linguists. The only exception I know of is Betten (1980). In a contribution to a volume on linguistic mistakes (*Fehlerlinguistik*), Betten lists two relevant systematic mistakes(!) – thus she considers them grammatically deviant structures: “*Wiederaufnahmen mit einem auf den Einschub bezugnehmenden Element*” (resumptions with an element referring back to the plug-in word string), or “*Wiederaufnahme von Konjunktionen und folgendem Satzglied bei eingeleiteten Nebensätzen*” (resumptions of conjunctions and following element in complementizer-introduced subordinate sentences). Concerning the latter point, Betten provides examples like (49).

(49) ... darum ist es doch zweifellos so, dass ein geschlechtlicher Verkehr, der
... therefore is it particle undoubtedly so, that a sexual intercourse, rel.pron
 nicht aus wirklicher Liebe... geschieht, dass der verhängnisvolle Folgen
not from true love ... happens, that the fatal consequence
 haben kann.
have can

“And therefore there is no doubt that a sexual intercourse which does not result from true love can have fatal consequences.”

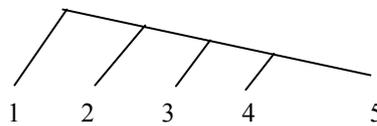
In these cases, it appears that the speaker iterates the CP node (and occasionally some more material). Remember: in the case of Freywald's *dass*+V2, the speaker does so to shift the proposition of the dependent clause more into prominence. He seems to highlight the quasi **main clause status** of the embedded CP. In the case of McCloskey's examples or their German counterparts, or Betten's data, it seems the speaker anchors and underlines the **subordinate character** of the dependent clause. Thus, the observed instances of CP-recursions are cases of stressing the form and the function of the second CP layer as either V2 (= matrix like) or *dass*-introduced (= subordinated).

The proposal of this contribution is thus that under certain circumstances, the CP layer can function as a rather flexible butt-hinge or frame-joint. It can (en-) graft two clauses together; or it can detach, and hence loosen, or dehisce the clause combining.

(50)

(a) Regular projecting

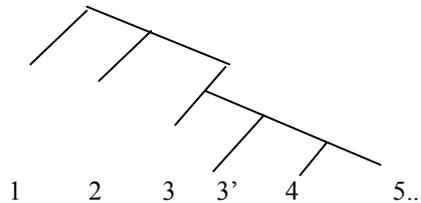
...[_{VP} V [_{CP} XP [_{C'} C° ...



(b) Doubling/recursion

...[_{VP} V [_{CP1} XP [_{C'} C°=*dass* [_{CP2} YP [_{C'} C°=*dass*/V_{fin}

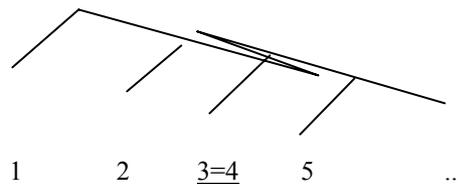
...



(Freywald's, McCloskey's, and Betten's cases)

(c) Cutting-out/parasitism

...[_{VP} V [_{CP} XP _{VP}] [_{C'} C° ...



(Apokoinus, grafts (and possibly contaminations or blends, see below))

This whole representation (i.e. a summary of 50 (a) to (c)) reminds of the technique of an armament's knee or elbow: with a natural bending of the arm or leg, the flexible parts are in the idle state; the need of stretching or compressing forces an unnatural, marked state. However, flexible systems can cope with this: technicians have developed knights' clothing, folding fans or accordions, nature came up with the telescope devices for strained organs⁶, and language apparently uses grafting and node repetition (cf. (CP-) recursion).

6. Related cases and summary

In this last paragraph I want to present two more examples of evidence for the grafting structure, which are “structural relatives” of the apokoinus presented, discussed and analyzed here. And again, in the examples the shaky grammaticality (judgements) repeat(s). The impression is that speakers are aware of the manipulative force of these structures: the produced strings are somewhat in conflict with the regular rules, but the hearer will be able to understand. The first pool of examples is “morphological” grafting, the second is a further syntactic case, arguably something like a syntactic or construction-specific case of haplology.

Linguists who care about cases of morphological contamination at all consider their productivity language specific. There is no agreement about the status. It appears that in English the pattern seems relatively copious, see the regular examples in (51); also the linguistic terminology is manifold: blending, telescoping (compare footnote 6), contamination, portmanteau etc. For Polish blending has been argued to be off the limits of productive morphology (cf. Grzesiowski, 2009).

(51) brunch	(breakfast + lunch)
smog	(smoke + fog)
motel	(motor + hotel)
chunnel	(channel + tunnel)
modem	(modulator + demodulator)

In and for German, these complex words are pretty much neglected. However, examples are much more frequent than one assumes.

(52) Teuro	(teuer + Euro)
jein	(ja + nein)
Tragikomik	(Tragik + Komik)
Kurlaub	(Kur + Urlaub)

⁶ The idea of telescoping for linguistic structures is not completely new (see also contamination in the following section, paragraph on contamination). Giorgio and Pianesi (1997: 230ff.), for example, propose a Feature Scattering Principle. This device is active when some morpho-syntactic (mono-morphemic) feature bundle licenses and hence projects more than one projection. The morpheme then scatters into its respective features, each of which can host its own (functional) projection.

Nespresso	(Neskaffe + Espresso)
Bionade	(bio(logisch) + Limonade)
Schwuso	(schwul + Juso)
Bananas	(Banane + Ananas)
schwulesbisch	(schwul + lesbisch)
Denglisch	(deutsch + englisch)

Anglicisms and names are good blending sources too:

Schlepptop	(schleppen + Laptop)
Slimnastik	(slim + Gymnastik)
Obamania	(Obama + Manie/Mania)
Tolstoi-toi-toi	(Titel of a Schlöndorff production of a Tolstoi piece in Neuhardenberg 2009)
Hasifal	(Hase + Parsifal, Titel of a review of Schlingensief's 2004 Bayreuth production of Parsifal with a shocking video spot of a rotting hare)
mo-zärtlich	(Mozart + zärtlich (= endearing))
beet-höflich	(Beethoven + höflich (= polite))

Sometimes one part is integrated as a whole, which means completely:

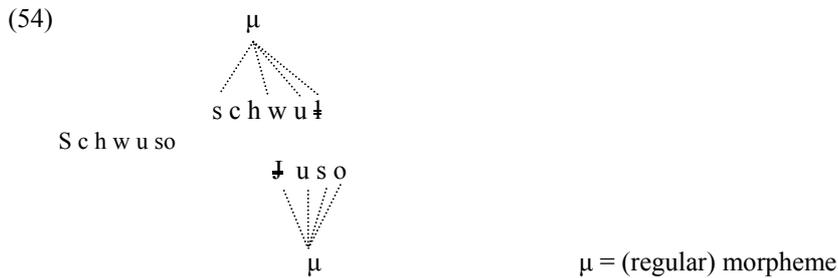
geGen	(gegen + Gen(technik), slogan of the Green party for 2009 elections)
BÄRlin	(Bär + Berlin)
principally also <i>Kurlaub, jein</i> or even subtraction of a phoneme, cf. in <i>Ostalgie</i> ("nostalgia for East Germany")	

In 2008, Friedrich submitted a very detailed and comprehensive dissertation on blends in German (Friedrich, 2008). She claims and demonstrates convincingly that blending in contemporary German – especially in certain registers – is highly productive and popular. A few things can be said about these words – being the result of a word formation process (contamination).

For our purposes here, my claim about blends is that: (i) the speaker (producer) undertakes a conscious creative act to make the word exist, which goes beyond the naïve and effortless generation of a so-called ad-hoc or deictic compounds ("Okkasionelle Bildung"). He does so being aware that his linguistic means are likely to violate regular word formation, but he can be sure that (ii) the hearer understands the meaning of the word – almost with the same certainty with which he grasps the meaning of ad-hoc formations. This means that the context, i.e. the actual knowledge, plays an important role. Very recently Vater (2010) propagates a very similar view of linguistic creativity, basing himself also on contaminations in word formation.

The bracketing device for such blends or contaminations is akin to the structural tree diagramming of grafting, which allows an elegant and comprehensive treatment:

(53) a. English: [sm[o]g] b. German: [Tragi[k]omik] - or:



(53) or (54) illustrate how a linguistic unit – a single sequence of phonemes – plays a double role (in some cases a single phoneme). The grafting approach captures this intuition in the most straightforward manner.

These cases of morphological apokoinu-hood are instances of conscious creativity. They seem to be the product of intentional reflection about linguistic entities. Nevertheless, such entities also belong to the language faculty and should ideally be described by the tools of grammar.

The next case is the opposite – under one perspective at least: the relevant linguistic construct is produced without conscious reflection. Rather: conscious reflection would lead to correction, or to doubts about the linguistic piece’s acceptability. The construction comes about in situations where adhortative *Lass uns* (even verbatim, i.e. word-by-word: *let us*, or *let’s*) is combined with a reflexive use of a first person plural pronoun. The German *Lass uns* construction is very similar to, albeit slightly more restricted than the English counterpart *lets*, of which Hopper and Traugott (2003) illustrate a grammaticalization path⁷.

The German adhortative *Lass uns* expression combines with an infinitival group, for generative grammarians, an infinitival clause with a PRO subject partially bound by the first person plural pronoun:

(55) Lass uns nachhause gehen.
let us to-home go.
 “Let’s go home.”

(56) [_ silent addressee(i) lass uns; [PRO_i nachhause gehen]]

The observation now is: if the embedded infinitival construction contains an object which is a reflexive pronoun bound by PRO (and by transitivity also by *uns*), then this pronoun is dropped very often. The explanation might be that the grammatically expected correct string of words has to identical words (= *uns*) in a row:

⁷ Hopper and Traugott also speculate on the reduction and quasi-elision of the element “*us*”. However, since English is not OV, and hence adjacency of different, no-clause-mate pronouns “*us*” is impossible (as it is the case in German), the grammaticalization paths go into different directions.

- (57) (a) Lass uns uns am Eingang treffen.
let us us at-the entrance meet
 “Let’s meet at the entrance!”

Especially if the infinitival predicate is inherently reflexive, elision of the second *uns* is much more frequent in spoken language than its presence. Thus, the (b) examples occur much more often, and at first “hear” they even sound better than their actual grammatically correct counterparts in the (a) variants.

- (58) (b) Lass uns am Eingang treffen.
let us at-the entrance meet
- (59) (a) Lass uns uns hier hinsetzen.
 (b) Lass uns hier hinsetzen.
let us here sit-down
 “Let’s sit down here.”
- (60) (a) Lass uns uns erst nach seinem Tod scheiden.
 (b) Lass uns nach seinem Tod scheiden.
let us after his death divorce
 “Let us divorce only after his death!”
- (61) (a) Lass uns uns nicht mehr streiten.
 (b) Lass uns nicht mehr streiten.
let us not more argue/fight
 “Let’s stop fighting/arguing!”

As a matter of fact, with the exception of (61) where *streiten* could possibly be argued to be construed as a one-place-predicate: in isolation, *uns* must be present twice. It is an integral part of the *Lass uns*-construction, AND it can never be dropped as a complement of (*hin-*) *setzen*, *treffen*, and the situation is even more complicated with *scheiden(lassen)* and many more. It thus seems that the single presence of *uns* satisfies the valency of two predicates. Several scenarios are possible. However: it seems that the speaker avoids the repetition of the form *uns*. The sheer doubling of a string of phonemes sounds doggerel or is intuitively anticipated as stutter-like. Morphologists know this phenomenon as *haplology*. Speakers save themselves from repetition which – on the one hand – seems grammatically correct, but which, in terms of communication, seems to be dispensable, on the phonological side too sumptuous and time-consuming, and from an aesthetic point of view inelegant. Haplology is a phenomenon in diachrony, where it explains contemporary *England* from *EngLA + Land*; or synchronically *library* ,*laɪ'brəri* > ,*la ɪ'bəri* (in American English), or further colloquial:

- (62) particularly > particuly
 pierced-ear earrings > pierced earrings
 probably > probly

More or less well-known German examples are *Zauberin* (“witch”, female magician, instead of *ZauberERin*) or *Pilger* (pilgrim, instead of *PilgERer*). The phenomenon is attested in many languages. It should be clear by now how these words and expressions can

be captured: a sequence of phonemes can be part of two morphemes simultaneously. Grafting captures this configurational status. Haplology is a relatively long recognized phenomenon in language and language change (somewhat less than 100 years, it is often attributed to Bloomfield (1855-1928). It applies at the phonology-morphology interface, for an assessment also of German data see Wurzel (1976)).

There is no reason why the same grammatical mechanism of haplology should not be effective on higher levels such as syntax.:

Apokoinu-constructions seem to be the syntactic counterpart to haplology: larger-than-word constituents belong to two different clauses. The shared element (the koinon) integrates into two elaborate sentential structures.

Appendix*

According to textbooks like Weddige's *Mittelhochdeutsch. Eine Einführung* (1999: 169-171), the *Nibelungenlied*, presumably the most famous document in Middle High German, begins with an apokoinu. This opinion has become a widespread assumption, which, however, is not shared by one of the reviewers. I understand the reviewer's reservations very much, especially considering the fact that the original text shows no punctuation. However, for the sake of illustration and the established view I quote the "familiar" version at this point.

"*Nibelungenlied*" beginning:

- (i) *Uns ist in alten mæren wunders vil geseit*
von helden lobebæren, von grôzer arebeit,
von freuden, hôchgezîten, von weinen und von klagen,
von küener recken strîten muget ir nu wunder hœren sagen.

With the underlined part being the koinon, arguably interpretable as argument to *geseit* ("said"), as well as to *muget ... hœren* ("shall hear"). Karg (1929) brings many more examples from Old and Middle High German, so also from the *Nibelungenlied* (ii), for example. In addition, Karg provides an insightful discussion of the topic.

- (ii) *si truogen für dir tür siben tusent toten wurfen sie derfür*

Furthermore, Gärtner (1969) assigns a whole article to the apokoinu construction in the Middle High German writings of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

A further example, which is more easily accessible to the unfamiliar reader is to be found in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (according to Wierschin (2005), for example):

(iii) *Was sein Pfeil erreicht, das ist seine Beute, was da krecht und fleucht.*

(In all three cases, i.e. (i), (ii) and (iii), glossing and translations are not important.)

Again, a reviewer rejects this structural interpretation and refers to apokoinus in the contemporary lyric work of Ernst Jandl and Ulla Hahn. I am grateful for this advice.

As for the Old Egyptian examples and other references to languages and instances therein, see Schenkel (1966).

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