# Derived non-monotonic coordination in German

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## 1  Introduction

SLF-coordination is a term that goes back to Höhle (1983, 1990, 1991) and refers to *Subjektlücke in finiten Sätzen* 'subject gap in finite sentences'.

Examples (1) and (2) both show SLF-coordination.

(1)    In den Wald$_1$ [$_{C'}$ ging  der Jäger   t$_1$] und [$_{C'}$ fing     einen Hasen].
        in the wood        went the hunter     and       caught a       hare
        'The hunter went into the woods and caught a hare.'

(2)    Nach Angaben    der     Polizei [$_{C'}$ kennt  kein Opfer  seinen Peiniger]   und [$_{C'}$
        after  statements of.the police        knows no    victim his       tormentor and
        schweigt          stille].
        remains.silent silent
        'According to the police, there are no victims that know their persecutor, but say nothing.'

- *Observation 1:*
  The second conjunct lacks an overt subject. Instead, the subject of the first conjunct is also understood as the subject of the second conjunct. The subject was not ATB-moved: within the first conjunct, it is still present in its base position. This is why this type of coordination is called *asymmetric*.

  *Question 1:*
  Where and when is the joint subject generated? What is the nature of the subject gap? Is it the result of ellipsis, of movement or is the subject position simply empty?

- *Observation 2*:
  The topicalized PP *in den Wald* has only moved from the first conjunct. According to the bracketing in (1), this would be a violation of the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* Ross 1967.

  *Question 2*:
  Is SLF-coordination a real instance of a CSC violation?

- *Observation 3:*
  In (2), a quantifying subject within the first conjunct has scope over the second conjunct.

  *Question 3*:
  How can the subject of the first conjunct have semantic scope over the second conjunct although syntactically it does not c-command material of the second conjunct?

**Outline**

1. There was a point in the derivation where the common subject was actually merged as the subject of the second conjunct. Since it was removed from there later on, the gap is the result of movement.

2. SLF-coordination is no CSC violation. At the point of the derivation when movement of the subject occured, a coordinated structure was not present yet.

3. There was a point in the derivation where the subject *did* actually c-command material of the second conjunct. At that point scope relations established.

## 2 Generalisations to be explained

### 2.1 First conjunct

> Generalisation 1a: No ATB-movement
> The topicalised element (Vorfeldelement) is not ATB-moved: extraction of obligatory elements out of both conjuncts is impossible (Büring and Hartmann 1998).

(3)  [Einen Wagen]$_1$ kaufte  Hans t$_1$ und meldete  *t$_1$ sofort  an.
  a  car  bought Hans  and registered  immediately on
  'Hans bought a car and registered it immediately.'

> Generalisation 1b: No ATB-movement
> The topicalized element (Vorfeldelement) is only part of the first conjunct (B&H 1998).

(4)  Einen Wagen kaufte  Hans und baute sofort  einen Unfall.
  a  car  bought Hans and built  immediately an  accident
  'Hans bought a car and caused an accident immediately.'

## 2.2 Second conjunct

> Generalisation 2: No topicalisation
> The Vorfeld (SpecCP) of the second conjunct must not be occupied. This holds
> for arguments (5-b) and for adjuncts (5-c) (B&H 1998).

(5)  a.  In Italien schätzt    man Rotwein und [Ø importiert deshalb  Trauben
          in Italy   appreciates one  redwine and    imports    therefore grapes
          aus  Frankreich].
          from France
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and therefore grapes are imported.'

     b. *In Italien schätzt    man Rotwein und [**Trauben**$_1$ importiert deshalb    $t_1$
          in Italy   appreciates one  redwine and grapes       imports    therefore
          aus  Frankreich].
          from France
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and therefore grapes are imported.'

     c. *In Italien schätzt    man Rotwein und [**aus Frankreich**$_1$ importiert
          in Italy   appreciates one  redwine and from          France
          deshalb Trauben  $t_1$].
          imports therefore grapes
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and therefore grapes are imported.'

> Generalisation 3: Obligatory V1
> The second conjunct has always to be in verb first order. Verb end order with
> (6-b) or without complementizer (6-c) is impossible (B&H 1998).

(6)  a.  In Italien schätzt    man Rotwein und [**hasst** die Franzosen].
          in Italy   appreciates one  redwine and hates  the French
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and one hates the French.'

     b. *In Italien schätzt    man Rotwein und [die Franzosen **hasst**].
          in Italy   appreciates one  redwine and the French      hates
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and one hates the French.'

     c. *... dass man in Italien Rotwein schätzt    und [dass die Franzosen **hasst**].
          that one  in Italy   redwine appreciates and that  the French      hates
          'In Italy one appreciates redwine and one hates the French.'

> Generalisation 4: No object gaps
> The second conjunct cannot exhibit object gaps.

(7)  a. *[Den Hund$_1$ hat keiner  gefüttert] und [hat er  $t_1$ geschlagen].
          the  dog     has no.one fed         and has he     hit
          intended: 'No one has fed the dog and he has (it) hit.' (Johnson 2002)

    b. *[Im    Wald fing    der Jäger  einen Hasen$_1$] und [verkaufte der Förster t$_1$.]
       in.the wood caught the hunter a    hare    and sold    the ranger
       intended: 'The hunter caught a rabbit and the ranger sold it'.

## 2.3   Both conjuncts

> Generalisation 5a: Wide scope (quantifiers)
> Quantifying subjects within the first conjunct have scope over the rest of the sentence (rest of the first conjunct and the whole second conjunct) (B&H 1998).

(8)    Nach Angaben  der    Polizei kennt kein Opfer  seinen Peiniger   und
      after  statements of.the police  knows no    victim his     tormentor and
      schweigt        stille.
      remains.silent silent
      'According to the police, there are no victims that know their persecutor, but say nothing.'

  ≠ kein Opfer kennt seinen Peiniger und *kein Opfer* schweigt stille.
    'there are no victims who know their persecutor and there are *no victims* who say nothing.'

= For all victims who know their persecutor it is true that they do not remain silent.

> Generalisation 5b: Wide scope (negation)
> Negation elements have scope over the second conjunct (B&H 1998).

(9)    Katharina kam  noch nie    nach Hause und war betrunken.
      Katharina came yet    never to    home  and was drunk.
      'Katharina never came home drunken.'

  ≠ Katharina kam noch nie nach Hause und *Katharina* war betrunken.
    'Katharina never came home and Katharina was drunken'.

  ≠ Katharina kam noch nie nach Hause und *Katharina* war noch nie betrunken.
    'Katharina never came home and Katharina never was drunken.'

= Es war noch nie der Fall, dass Katharina betrunken nach Hause kam.
   'It was never the case that Katharina came home drunken.'

> Generalisation 6: Binding
> Quantifiers, arguments and adjuncts can bind pronouns in the second conjunct (B&H 1998).

(10)    Hinter  jedem Löwen$_i$ steht   eine Dompteuse und krault ihm$_i$ den Rücken.
       Behind  every lion     stands a    tamer      and tickles him  the back
       'Behind every lion there is standing a tamer and tickles its back.'

> Generalisation 7: Stacked coordination
> SLF-coordination can also exhibit more than two conjuncts (Kathol 1995).

(11)   In den Wald ging der Jäger, fing    einen Hasen und kam  am    Abend
       in the  wood went the hunter caught a       hare   and came in.the evening
       wieder zurück.
       again   back
       'The hunter went into the woods, caught a hare and came back again in the
       evening.'

> Generalisation 8: Intervening conjuncts
> A fully saturated second conjunct blocks the possibility of a subject gap in all
> following conjuncts (Reich 2009).

(12)   a.  [Wenn du  nach Hause kommst] und [siehst den Gerichtsvollzieher
           when   you to   home  comes    and sees    the marshal
           vor        der Tür] und [die Nachbarn   tuscheln schon   erregt],   ...
           in.front.of the door and the  neighbours whisper  already excitedly
           'When you come home and when you see the marshal standing at your door
           and the neighbours are whispering excitedly already ...'

       b.*?[Wenn du  nach Hause kommst] und [der Gerichtsvollzieher steht
           when   you at    home  comes    and the  marshal              stands
           vor        der Tür] und [hörst die Nachbarn   schon   erregt    tuscheln]
           in.front.of the door and hears  the neighbours already excitedly whisper
           'intended: When you come home and when the marshal is standing at your
           door and you already hear the neighbours whispering excitedly ...'

(13)   a.  [Einen Wagen klaute Hans] und [baute sofort         einen Unfall]   und
           a     car    stole  Hans and caused immediately an    accident and
           [Polizisten     sahen es].
           police.officers saw    it
           'Hans stole a car and he caused an accident immediately and the police saw
           it.'

       b. *[Einen Wagen klaute Hans] und [Polizisten     sahen es] und [baute
           a     car    stole  Hans and police.oofficers saw    it  and caused
           sofort         einen Unfall].
           immediately an    accident
           'intended: Hans stole a car and the police saw it and he caused an accident
           immediately.'

## 2.4   Interim Summary

**Most important observations to be explained:**

- subject gap
- scope effects

- CSC violation
- V1-order

# 3   State of the Art: Previous Accounts

## 3.1   Predicate Coordination

Idea: The second conjunct is a predicate with an open slot which can be combined with another predicate (Höhle 1990).

(14)   a.   Gestern ging$_1$ ich [$_{VP}$ aus t$_1$] und [$_{VP}$ traf Olaf Thon].
       b.   gestern($\lambda$x[ausgehen(x) & treffen(x,Olaf Thon)](ich))         (B&H 1998)

⚠ Why does the second predicate in SLF constructions has obligatorily V1 order and why this specific option is exclusively realized within this construction?

⚠ The finite verb has non-ATB-moved out of the first conjunct which implies a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint.

## 3.2   Phonological deletion

Idea: The subject gap is the result of deletion of a proper, semantically autonomous subject NP. Coordinated structures are C's or CPs (Wilder 1994). Alternatively the subject gap is base generated (Hartmann 1994).

⚠ These analyses cannot account for the scope effects. Second conjuncts with a full quantified subject have a different semantic interpretation than their elided versions.

(15)   a.   [Jemand holte    Ullrich am      letzten Berg ein] und [besiegte ihn].
            someone caught Ullrich at.the last      hill   up  and defeated  him
            'Someone caught up Ullrich at the last hill and defeated him.'

       b.   [Jemand holte    Ullrich am      letzten Berg ein] und [jemand  besiegte ihn].
            someone caught Ullrich at.the last      hill   up  and someone defeated him
            'Someone caught up Ullrich at the last hill and someone defeated him.' (Reich 2009)

(16)   a.   [Niemand klaut  ein Buch] und [bringt es wieder zurück].
            noone       steals a   book  and brings it again   back
            'Noone steals a book and returns it.'

    b.   [Niemand klaut ein Buch] und [niemand bringt es wieder zurück].
           noone     steals a   book   and noone     brings it again   back
           'Noone steals a book and noone returns it.'            (Reich 2009)

## 3.3   ATB-movement

Idea: The subject gap is the result of ATB-movement.

(17)     a.   In Italien kaufte$_2$ Hans$_1$[$_{VP}$ t$_1$ einen Wagen t$_2$] und [$_{VP}$ meldete    t$_1$ ihn
            in Italy   bought Hans         a      car          and      registered     him
            an].
            on
            'In Italy Hans bought a car and registered it.'

       b.   Einen Wagen$_3$ kaufte$_2$ Hans$_1$ [t$_1$ t$_3$ t$_2$] und [baute t$_1$ sofort       einen
            a      car       bought Hans         and caused     immediately an
            Unfall].
            accident
            'Hans bought a car and caused an accident immediately.'      (B&H 1998)

⚠ Since the extracted verb of the first conjunct (and in (17-b) also the topicalised object) are elements of the first conjunct only, the CSC is violated.

⚠ No explanation for the obligatory V1-order in the second conjunct.

## 3.4   Adjunction

Idea: The second conjunct is an adjunct and always a CP. In the second conjunct, an empty subject is base-generated in SpecI/SpecT and it is c-commanded/bound by an empty operator in SpecC. The operator is bound by the subject of the main clause (Büring and Hartmann 1998).

(18)     [$_{CP}$ in Italien [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ schätzt] man$_i$ Rotwein [und [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ haßt [$_{IP}$ e$_i$ die Franzosen]]]]]

✓ The operator is only possible with a verb in C (neither with an empty C head, nor with a conjunction, see Hartmann 1994 and Rizzi 1990).

✓ Scope effects: The position of the adjunct clause may vary. The main clause has scope over all elements in the adjunct.

⚠ V1-order: The subject gap only co-occurs within the configuration *OP* [$_C$ V°] *e*. Why the operator cannot bind object gaps?

(19)  Den Hund$_i$ hat keiner gefüttert und [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{C'}$ hat er e$_i$ geschlagen]].
      the dog    has no.one fed        and        has he    hit
      'No one has fed the dog and he has (it) hit.'

## 3.5  Subordination of events

Idea: One of the main characteristics is the so called *fused interpretation* or *single event reading* of SLF-coordination: Two subevents fuse to one single event. Reich (2009)'s analysis focusses on this semantic/pragmatic aspect, assuming an occasion relation which can be understood as subordination of events. He argues that SLF-coordination (asymmetric coordination in general) is "a syntactic reflex of a discourse-structuring strategy" (Reich 2009, p.195). This is formalized as a functional projection called OccP.

✓ The analysis considers the special semantic interpretation of SLF-coordination.

⚠ The OccP seems to be a functional projection specific to SLF-coordination.

## 3.6  Summary

All discussed analysis struggle with at least one of the following aspects.[1]

- violation of the CSC

- lacking explanation for the subject gap

- lacking explanation for the V1-order

- no account for the scopus/binding effects

- no explanation for object gaps

- lacking explanation for stacked coordination

- no account for coordinations with more than two conjuncts

- stipulation of SLF-construction specific elements/projections

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[1]See Reich 2009 for discussion of further accounts (e.g. Heycock and Kroch 1994, Johnson 2002, Sternefeld 2006) which also exhibit at least one of the mentioned problematic points.

# 4 Analysis

> **Core idea**:
> SLF-coordination in German can be captured by putting together two inde-
> pendently proposed processes:
> a) Biclausal coordinated structures originate out of monoclausal structures.
> b) Syntactic structure can be removed and remerged.
> In the case of SLF-coordination, an underlying monoclausal structure which
> consists of a main clause and a small clause, is turned into a biclausal coor-
> dinated structure by removing and remerging syntactic material.

## 4.1 Core assumptions

- Biclausal coordinated structures can be derived from monoclausal structures (Weisser 2015).

- Already merged syntactic structure can be removed from the derivation and

    a) it disappears (Müller 2015, 2016$a,b,c$, see also Murphy 2015, 2016),

    b) it can be returned to the numeration (Johnson 2003),

    c) it can be moved to another syntactic object (*sideward movement*, Hornstein 2000, Nunes 2001),

    d) it can be placed into a separate workspace and then be remerged at a later point in the derivation (Heck 2016, cf. also Bobaljik and Brown 1997 *interarboreal operations*). I follow option d).
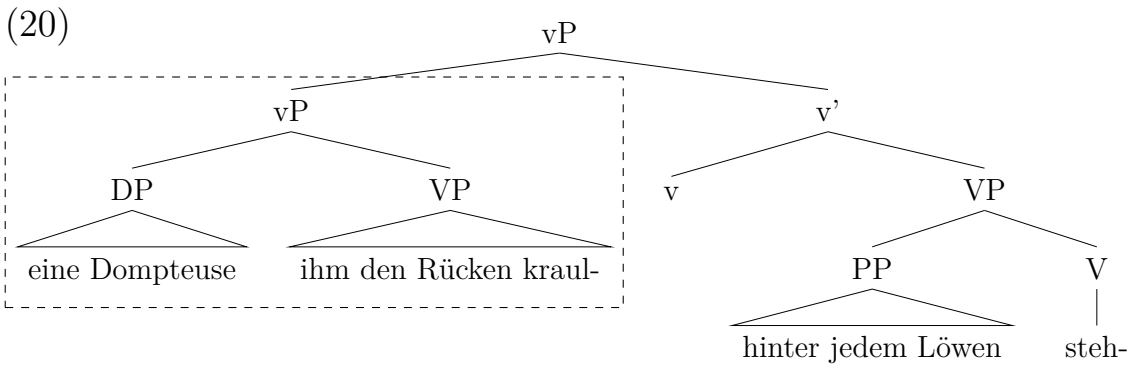
## 4.2 Derivation

*Small clause (Williams 1975,Den Dikken 2006)*:
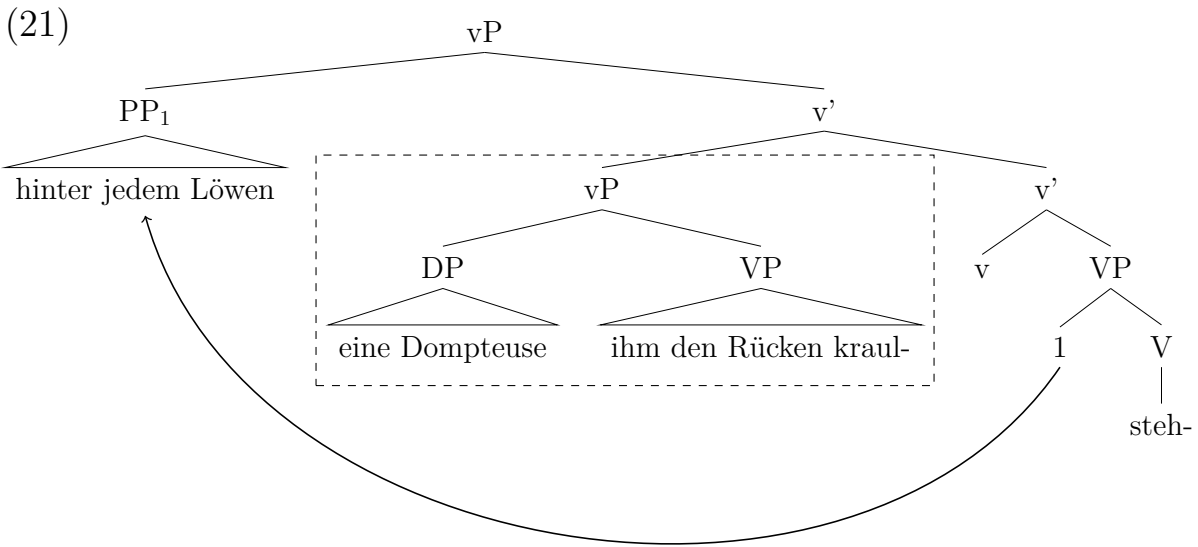A small clause is a subject-predicate structure lacking tense.

1. A small clause[2] (vP, dashed) is merged in the specifier of v.[3]

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[2] Concerning the internal structure of small clauses, there are various proposals in the literature: sometimes they are just labelled as 'SC', or are considered as VPs (Kayne 1984, Hoekstra 1988 and many others) or as relator phrases (Den Dikken 2006) etc.
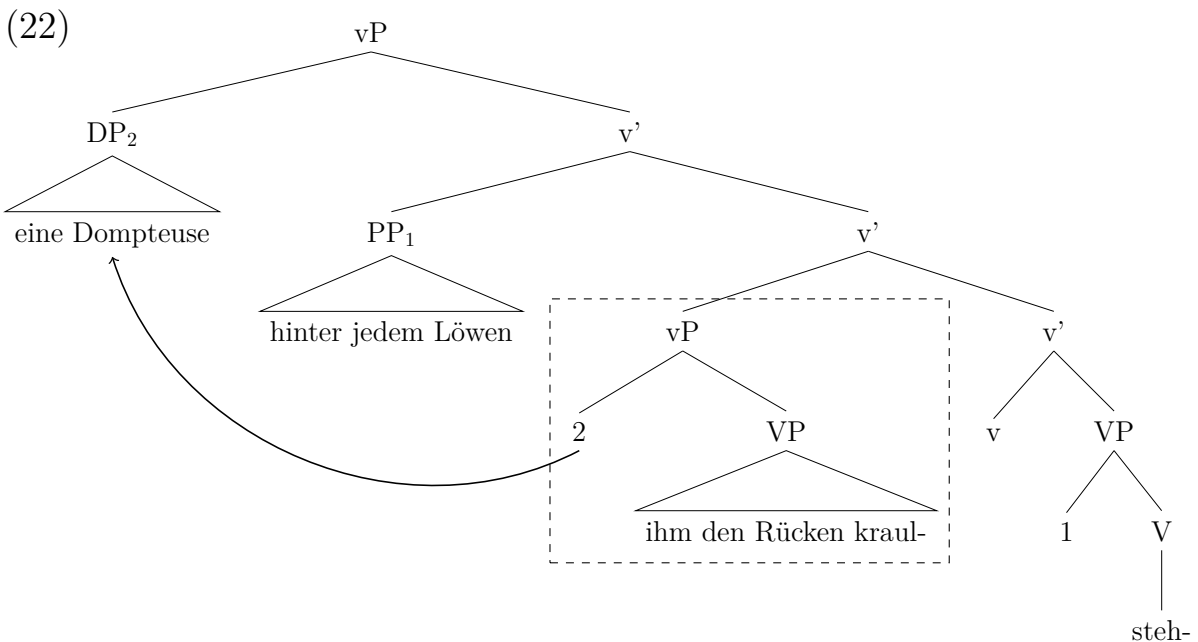
[3] I follow Heck (2016) that low adverbs and negation are introduced as the innermost specifiers of vP (below the subject), for similar proposals see also Collins (1997), McGinnis (1998) and Anagnostopoulo (2003). Consequently, I assume modyfing elements like small clauses to be introduced in the specifier of vP.

(20)

```
                                        vP
                   ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐           v'
                   │         vP        │        ╱      ╲
                   │      ╱      ╲      │       v        VP
                   │   DP          VP   │            ╱        ╲
                   │  ╱╲          ╱  ╲  │          PP          V
                   │ eine      ihm den  │       ╱      ╲       │
                   │ Dompteuse Rücken   │   hinter jedem Löwen steh-
                   │          kraul-    │
                   └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
```

2. Optional movement of arguments/adjuncts (here: PP *hinter jedem Löwen*) leads to binding of pronouns (here: *ihm*).

(21)

```
                                        vP
              PP₁                              v'
          ╱       ╲                      ╱          ╲
   hinter jedem Löwen    ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐        v'
                         │      vP       │     ╱      ╲
                         │   ╱      ╲    │    v        VP
                         │  DP       VP  │          ╱     ╲
                         │ ╱╲       ╱  ╲ │         1       V
                         │eine    ihm den│                 │
                         │Dompteuse Rücken│              steh-
                         │        kraul- │
                         └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
```

3a. Scenario I: The subject of the small clause becomes the subject of the main clause.

(22)

```
                                        vP
            DP₂                                v'
         ╱      ╲                       ╱            ╲
   eine Dompteuse              PP₁                    v'
                           ╱       ╲             ╱         ╲
                    hinter jedem Löwen  ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐     v'
                                        │    vP     │   ╱    ╲
                                        │  ╱    ╲   │  v      VP
                                        │ 2      VP │       ╱   ╲
                                        │      ╱   ╲│      1     V
                                        │  ihm den  │            │
                                        │  Rücken   │          steh-
                                        │  kraul-   │
                                        └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
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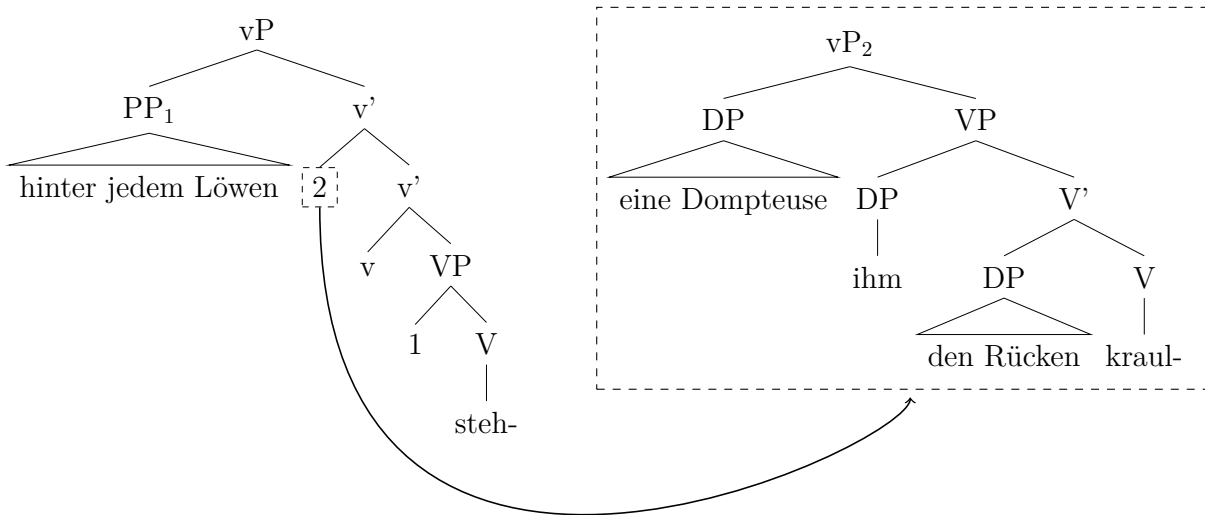
> **Final product**:
> The small clause is realized as a non-finite construction, e.g a present participle: *[CP Hinter jedem Löwen steht eine Dompteuse, [ihm den Rücken kraulend.]]*
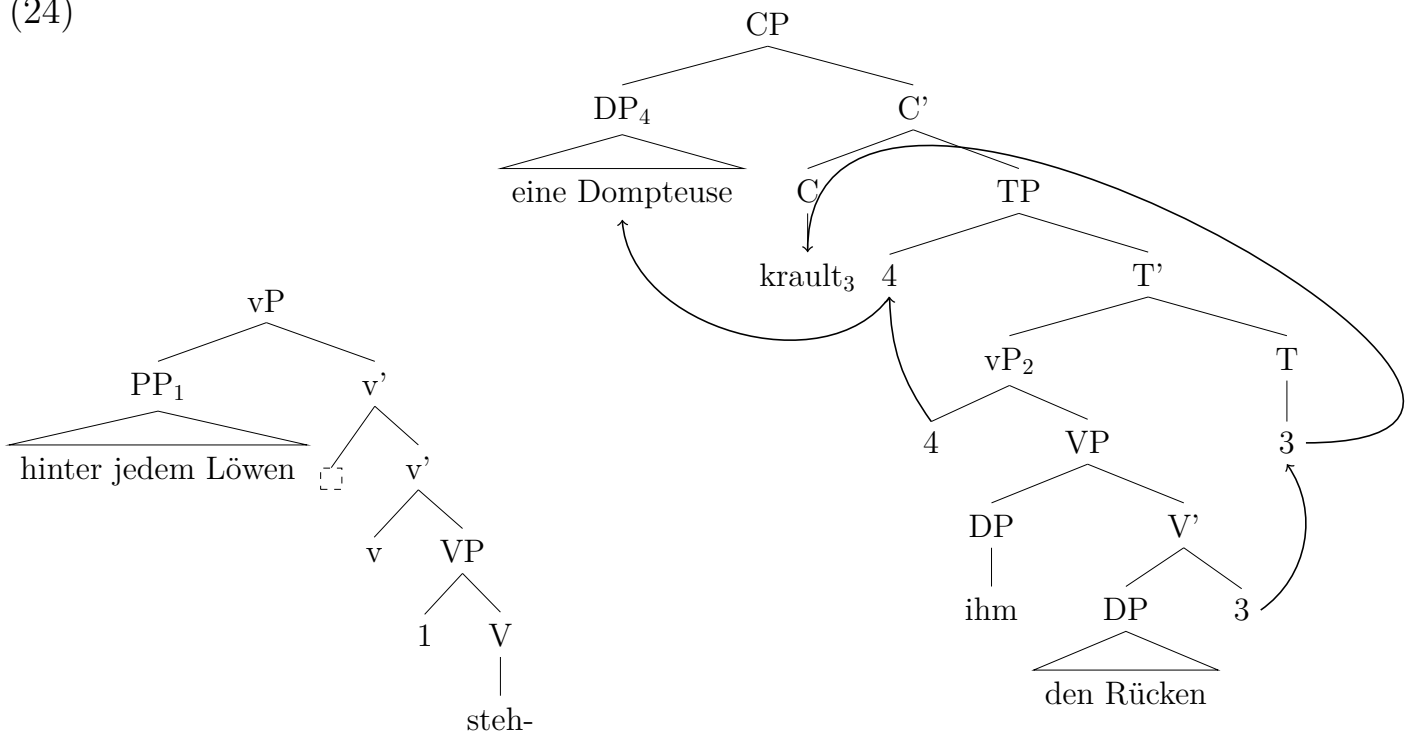
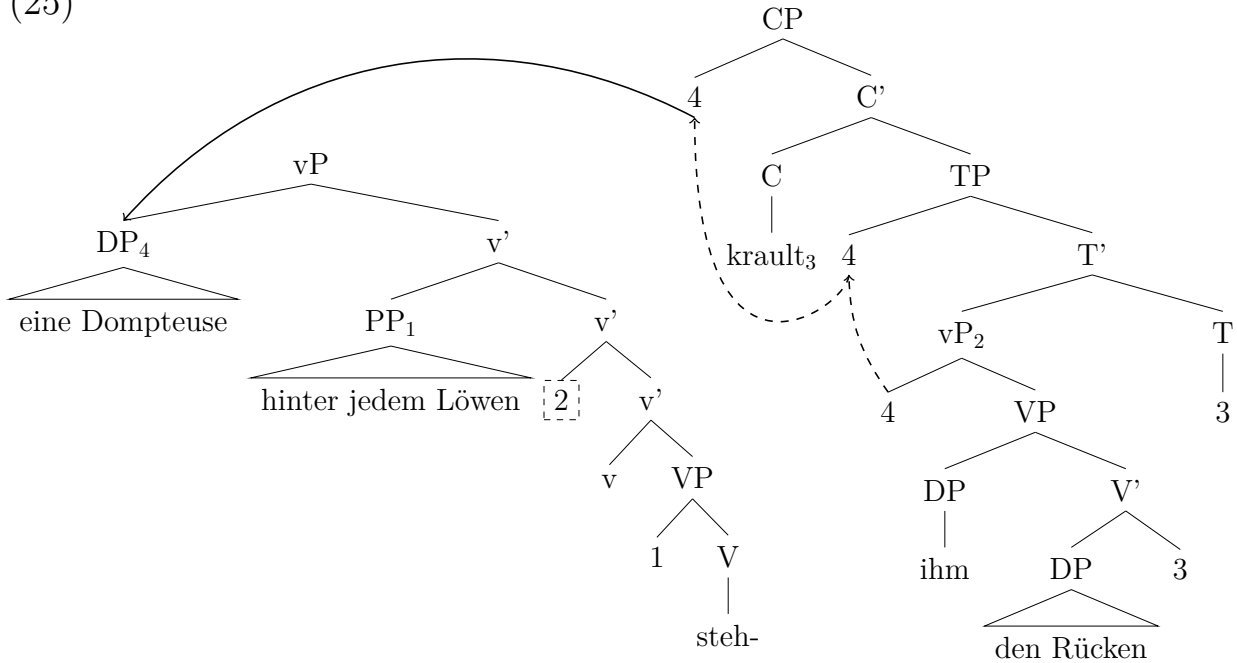3. Scenario II: The whole small clause is removed into a separate workspace (right).

(23)



4. The removed small clause is now accessible again. A TP- and a CP-layer are merged. The verb of the small clause undergoes regular V-to-T-to-C-movement. The subject in SpecvP moves via SpecTP to SpecCP. The original small clause now derived into a regular V2 main clause.

(24)

5. In the original workspace (left) v is still missing a subject. Since there is no further subject available in the numeration, the subject of the clause in the second workspace (right, here: *eine Dompteuse*) is removed from this workspace and remerged in SpecvP (left).
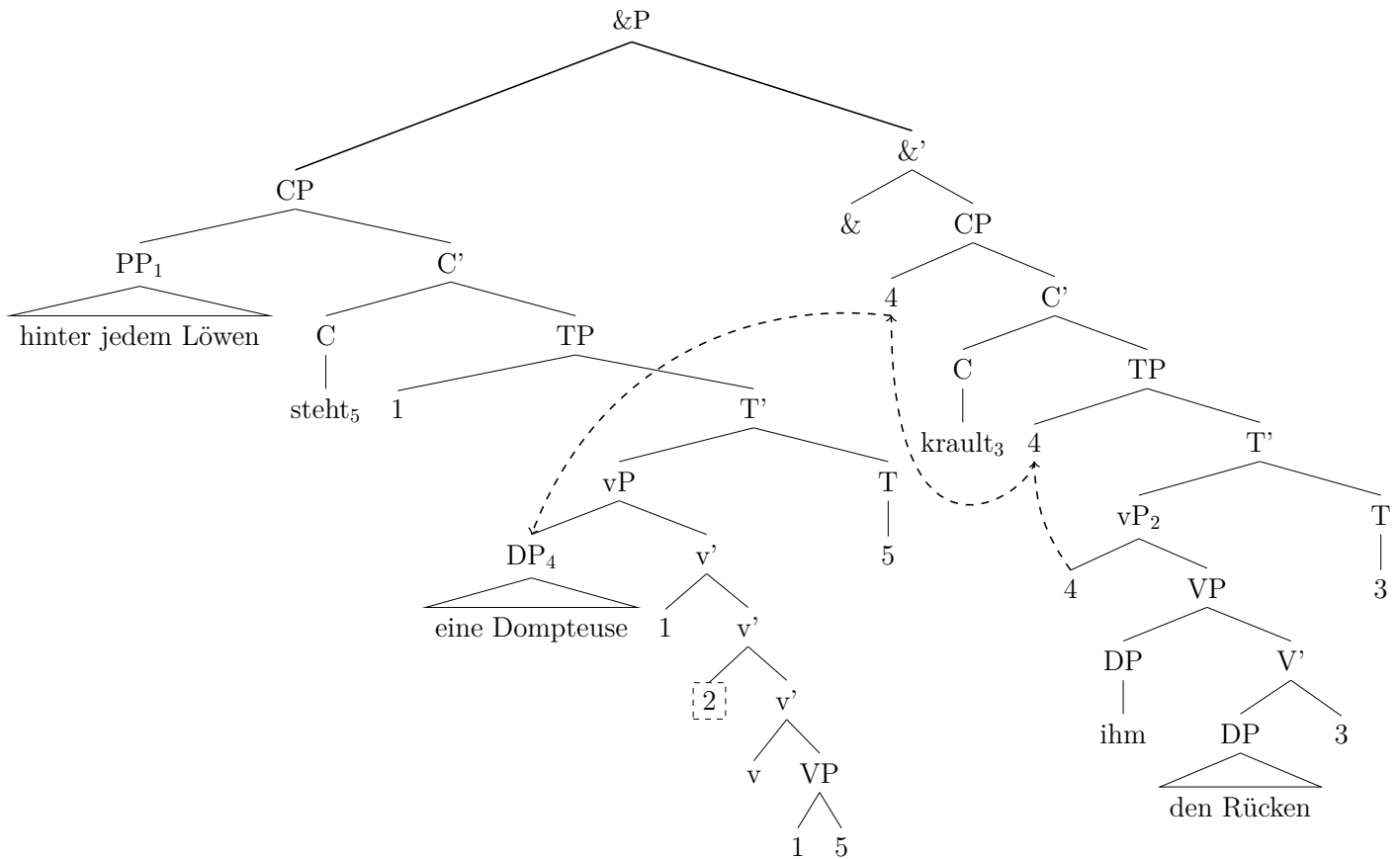
(25)

CP
4 — C'
C | krault₃
TP
4 — T'
vP₂ — T | 3
4 — VP
DP | ihm — V'
DP (den Rücken) — 3

vP
DP₄ (eine Dompteuse) — v'
PP₁ (hinter jedem Löwen) — [2] — v'
v' — v VP
1 — V | steh-

6. The PP within the orginal workspace (left, here: *hinter jedem Löwen*) moves via SpecT to SpecC. The verb (here: *steh-*) undergoes V-to-T-to-C movement.

(26)

CP
PP₁ (hinter jedem Löwen) — C'
C | steht₅ 1
TP
T'
vP — T | 5
DP₄ (eine Dompteuse) 1 — v'
[2] — v'
v VP
1 5

CP
4 — C'
C | krault₃ 4
TP
4 — T'
vP₂ — T | 3
4 — VP
DP | ihm — V'
DP (den Rücken) — 3
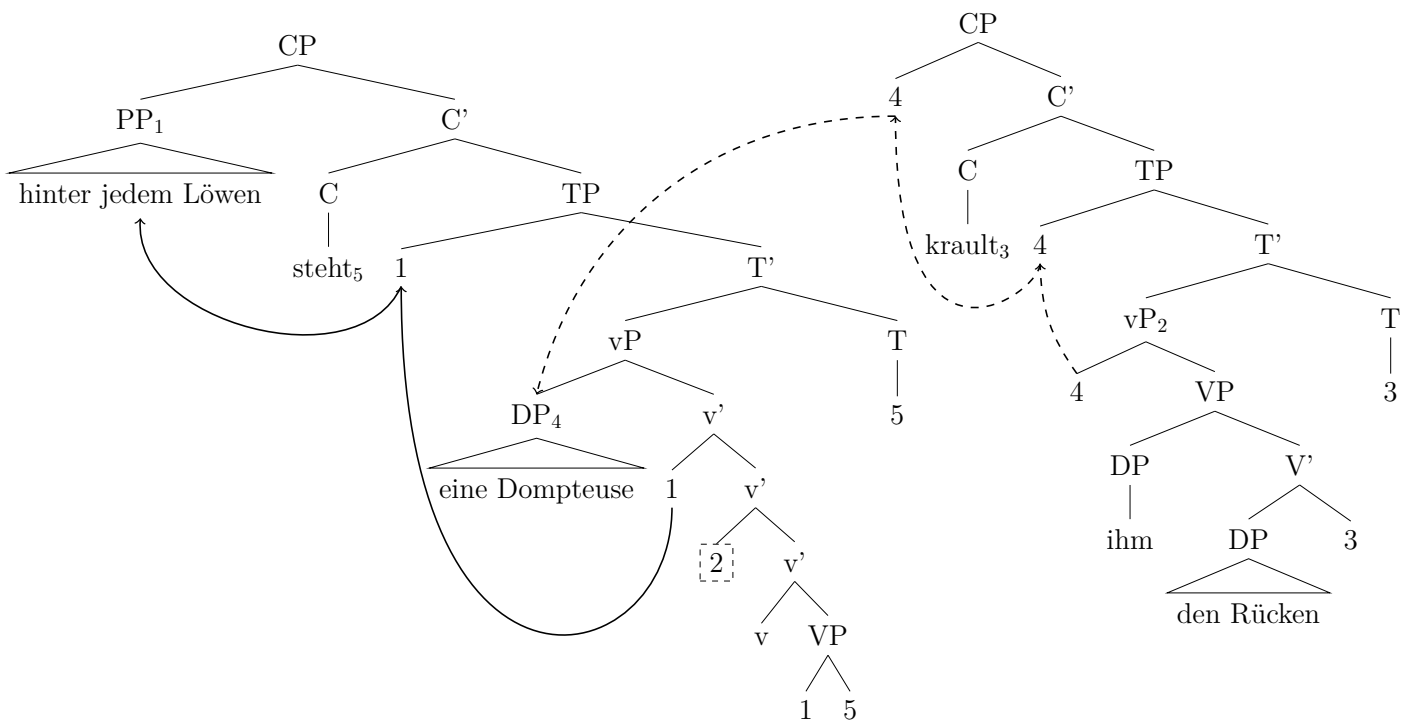
7. Finally, the two CPs are coordinated by an &P.

(27)



> **Final product**:
> The original small clause is realized as a finite main clause which is conjoined with another finite main clause.

## 4.3   Predictions

- Generalisation 1a: No ATB-movement
  The topicalised element (Vorfeldelement) is not ATB-moved: extraction of obligatory elements out of both conjuncts is impossible.

- Generalisation 1b: No ATB-movement
  The topicalized element (Vorfeldelement) is only part of the first conjunct.

> ✓ The topicalised element was never part of the second conjunct at any point of the derivation.

- Generalisation 2: No topicalisation
  The Vorfeld (SpecCP) of the second conjunct must not be occupied.

  > ✓ SpecCP is the only position wherefrom the subject can be removed to be remerged in the first conjunct. Removal cannot affect an element that is contained in vP if the CP-layer is already built, since such a movement would violate the Strict Cycle Condition (Chomsky 1973, 1993).
  > ⇒ Subject topicalisation feeds Removal
  > ⇒ Object topicalisation bleeds Removal.

- Generalisation 3: Obligatory V1
  The second conjunct has always to be in verb first order.

  > ✓ Since the second conjunct is a regular main clause, there is a point at the derivation where we get regular verb second order. Removal of the subject later on gives the impression of verb first order.

  Subject removal can be understood as regular extraction from V2-clauses. In both cases, movement results in a clause initial gap.

  *Initial gap restriction on extraction from V2-clauses* (Reis 1996):
  Regardless of the base position of the movee, extraction leaves a gap in the initial position of the V2 clause.

  (28)    a.   $Wo_1$   glaubt   er, [$t_1$ wohnt sie jetzt $t_1$?]
             where believes he     lives   she now
             'Where do you think that she lives now?'
        b.   $Wen_1$ denkst du, [$t_1$ hat er gefragt $t_1$?]
             who   thinks you    has he asked?
             'Who do think that he asked?'

- Generalisation 4: No object gaps
  The second conjunct cannot exhibit object gaps.

  > ✓ Removal of the object from the second conjunct into the first conjunct would violate the SSC since the object would have to be merged within the VP-projection below the vP-projection.

- Generalisation 5a:
  Quantifying subjects within the first conjunct have scope over the rest of the sentence (rest of the first conjunct and the whole second conjunct).

- Generalisation 5b:
  Negation elements have scope over the second conjunct.

- Generalisation 6:
Quantifiers, arguments and adjuncts can bind pronouns in the second conjunct.

> ✓ Before the small clause is removed into a separate workspace, there is a point at the derivation, where it is in the c-command domain of quantifying elements, subordinating conjunctions and negation elements. At this point all these elements do have scope over the future second conjunct. The same holds for binding.
> ⇒ Counter-bleeding: Removal of the small clause could have bled establishing scope/binding relations, but removal applied too late.

- Generalisation 7: Stacked coordination
SLF-coordination can also exhibit more than two conjuncts.

(29)  In den Wald ging  der Jäger, fing    einen Hasen und kam  am     Abend
      in  the  wood went the hunter caught a     hare   and came in.the evening
      wieder zurück.
      again   back
      'The hunter went into the woods, caught a hare and came back again in the evening.'                                                  (Kathol 1995)

> ✓ Removal from a monoclausal structure and remerger of a subject can apply recursively.

(30)
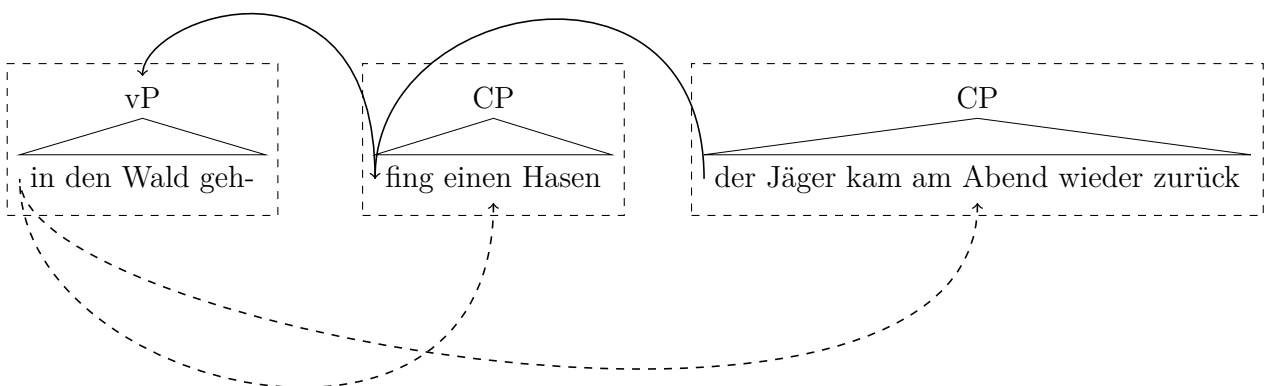


- Generalisation 8: Intervening conjuncts
A fully saturated second conjunct blocks the possibility of a subject gap in all following conjuncts.

> ✓ If the monoclausal structure is already coordinated with additional material, one cannot remove out of it anymore (violation of the CSC and of the SSC, see (33)). If removal of the small clause into an additonal workspace applied first and a third conjunct is squeezed in between the workspaces afterwards, the subject which would have to move to the original workspace cannot cross the intervening workspace (34).

(31)    a. *[Einen Wagen stahl Hans] und [ein Polizist sah es] und [baute sofort einen Unfall].
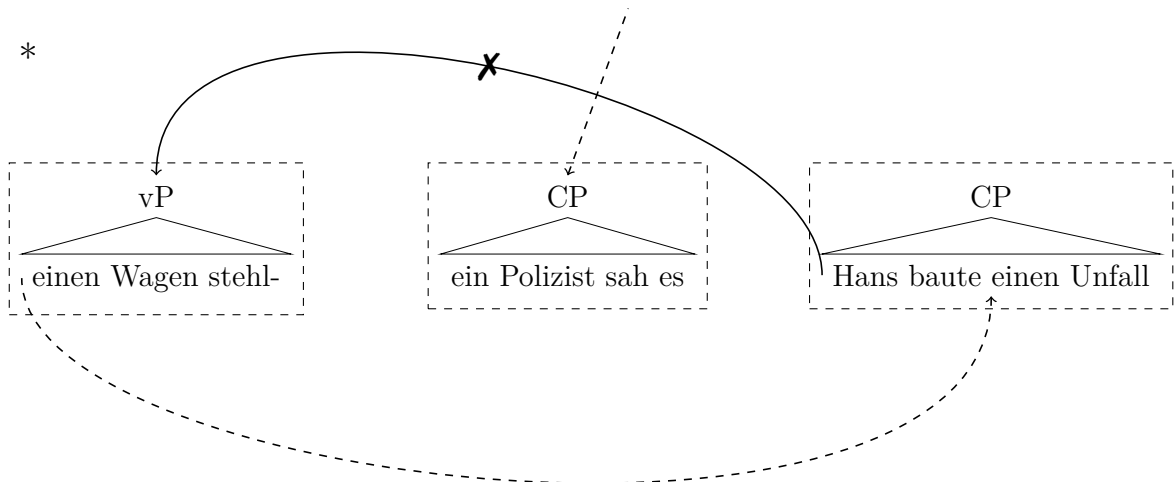        b.  [Einen Wagen stahl Hans] und [baute sofort einen Unfall] und [ein Polizist sah es].

(32)
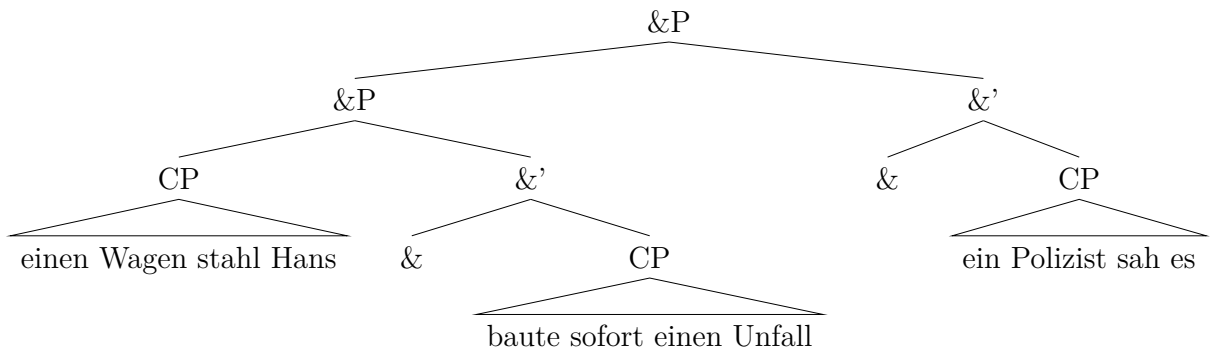


(33)    *
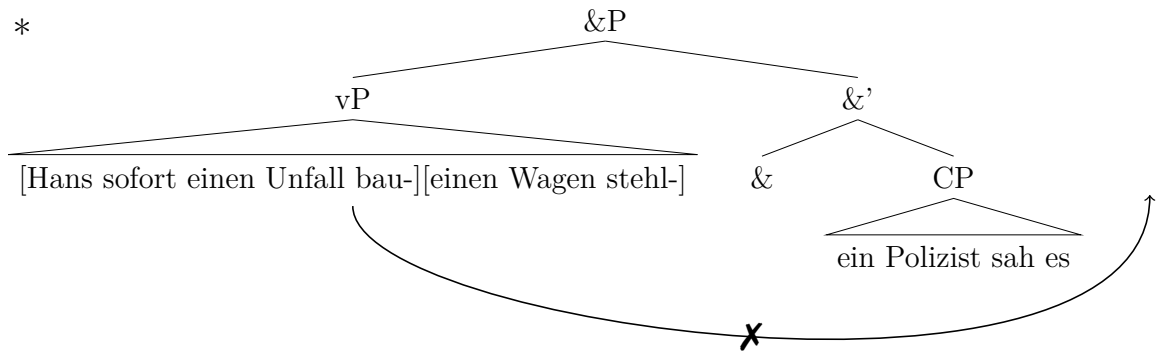


(34)    *

## 4.4  Summary

**New contribution to the problem**:
Under the assumptions that biclausal coordinated structure originate out of monoclausal structures and that syntactic structure can be removed and remerged the main properties of SLF-coordination follow naturally:

- Subject gap: No need for construction specific assumptions (e.g. operators, functional projections). The subject gap is the result of regular, cyclicity respecting movement operations.

- V1 order: The apparent construction specific V1 order in fact is canonical V2 order of a canonically derived main clause.

- CSC: There is no violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. SLF-coordination is not asymmetric, rather symmetric CP-coordination.

- Scope/binding effects: The scope effects result from canonical syntactic c-command at the beginning of the derivation.

- Additionally, the analysis accounts for coordinated structures with more than two conjuncts (stacked coordinations), for the blocking effect of conjuncts which have their own subject and for the ungrammaticality of object gaps.

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