

## The two 'Vorfelder' of SGF Coordination in German

German exhibits the so-called SGF coordination (1) (*subject gap in finite/frontal clauses*, Höhle 1983), a coordinate construction with inversion in the first and an invisible subject (a subject gap) in the second verb-second clause:

- (1) [Vorfeld 1 **Dann**] holten der Vater und Niklaus Sack für Sack vom Handwagen und [Vorfeld 2 ?] leerten ihn gemeinsam durchs Fenster hinab.

It is controversial whether the first Vorfeld element (the temporal adverbial *dann* 'then') has wide scope over both conjuncts (Höhle 1990, Heycock & Kroch 1993) or narrow scope only over the first conjunct (Hartmann 1994), and to what extent its function, for example the opposition adjunct vs. argument, influences the grammaticality of SGF coordination (Van de Velde 1986: 503-508, Heycock & Kroch 1993: 75). Moreover, it is doubtful whether the second Vorfeld is either occupied by an empty subject, by an operator that binds the empty subject (Hartmann 1994: 12) or by an adjunct ellipsis (vgl. Duden 2006: 913), or a priori 'filled' with a shared subject outside the coordination (Kathol 1999). SGF coordination competes with other coordinate constructions without inversion and/or with a resumed subject. However, the common feature of these analyses seems to be that they avoid a systematic confrontation with the actual use of the construction alternatives. In this talk, I therefore present a case study of the distribution of the alternatives on the basis of a literary corpus, consisting of four German novels. The starting point of the investigation is the construction grammar Principle of No Synonymy (Goldberg 1995, 2006). In particular, the correlation between the respective form of the coordination variant and three semantic properties is tested. Results show that the prototypical SGF coordination diverges from its alternatives as a construction with a wide or ambiguous interpretation of the first Vorfeld element and identical semantic subject roles, but also converges with them in that they all possess an old or mediated first subject.

## References

*Der Duden in zwölf Bänden; 4. Die Grammatik.*

P. Eisenberg, J. Peters and P. Gallmann. Edited by K. Kunkel-Razum et al.  
Mannheim, Duden, 2006, 1343 p.

Goldberg, A. E., *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*.  
Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995. 265 p.

Goldberg, A. E., *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*.  
Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006. 280 p.

Hartmann, K., "Zur Koordination von V2-Sätzen",  
in: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 13 (1994), 1, p. 3-19.

Heycock, C. & A. Kroch, "Verb Movement and the Status of Subjects: Implications for the Theory of Licensing",  
in: *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik*, 36 (1993), p. 75-102.

Höhle, T. N., *Subjektlücken in Koordinationen*.  
Unveröffentlichtes Typoskript, 1983.

Höhle, T. N., "Assumptions about Asymmetric Coordination",  
in: *Grammar in Progress. Glow Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*. Edited. by J. Mascaró et al. Dordrecht, Foris, 1990, p. 221-235.

Kathol, A., "Linearization vs. Phrase Structure in German Coordinate Constructions",  
in: *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1999, p. 303-342.

Van de Velde, M., "Zum 65. gratuliere ich Ihnen und biete ?(ich) Ihnen diesen Beitrag an",  
in: *Wortes anst – Verbi gratia: donum natalicum Gilbert A. R. De Smet*. Edited by H. L. Cox, V. F. Vanacker et al. Leuven, Acco, 1986, p. 503-512.