

An argument for Move-And-Delete from German determiner sharing

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Determiner sharing

- (1) a. Few dogs like Whiskas and few cats like Alpo. (Johnson 2000)
 b. Jede Fürstin mag Rosen und jede every princess likes roses and Gräfin mag Lavendel. duchess lavender

- deletion of determiner **parasitic** on another ellipsis, often gapping
- German DS shows evidence of **high, clausal coordination**, which makes previous analyses unapplicable (e.g., McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000, Lin 2002)

The problem

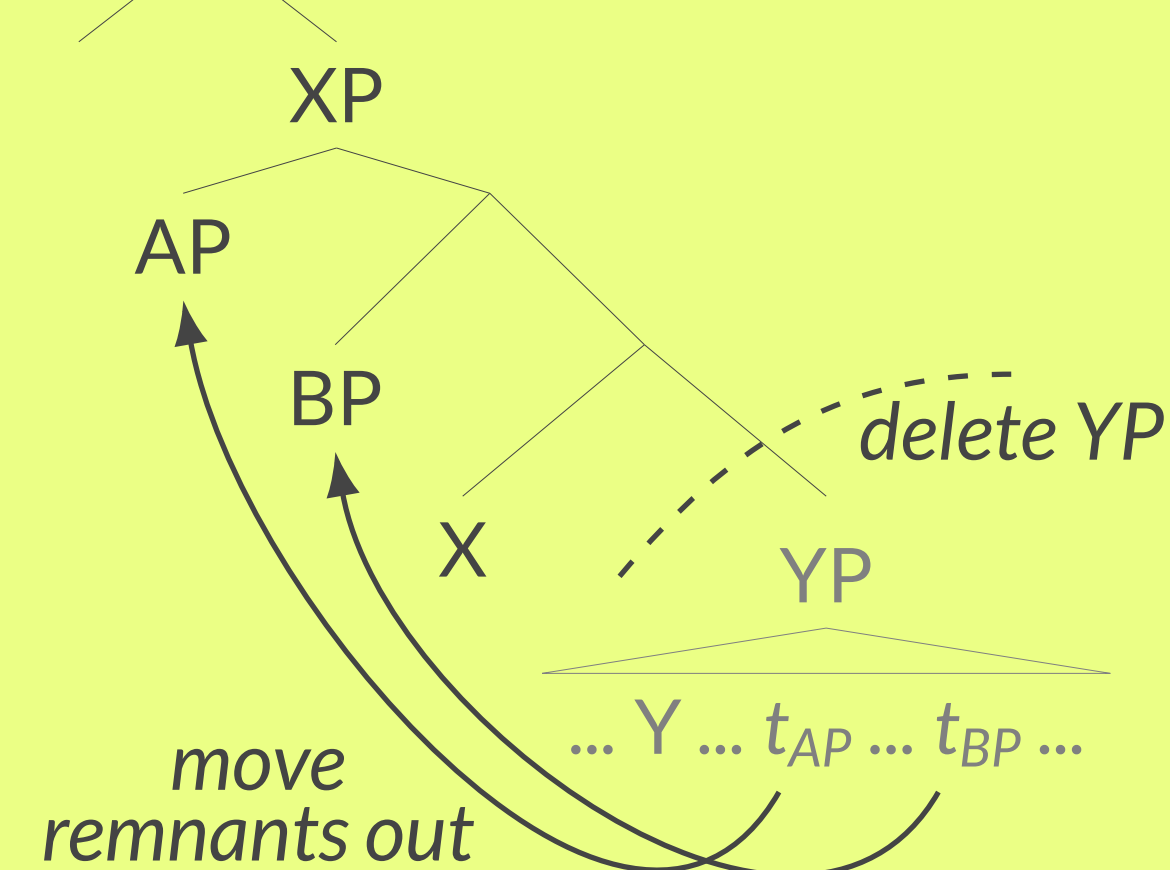
- deletion of determiner is **not freely available**, but only licensed in the presence of another ellipsis

The solution

- The parasitism is illusory: Only one ellipsis process deletes the verb in gapping *and* DET as collateral damage.
- Determiner sharing arises if a DET can be stranded in an ellipsis site, e.g. by **split topicalization**, (2).

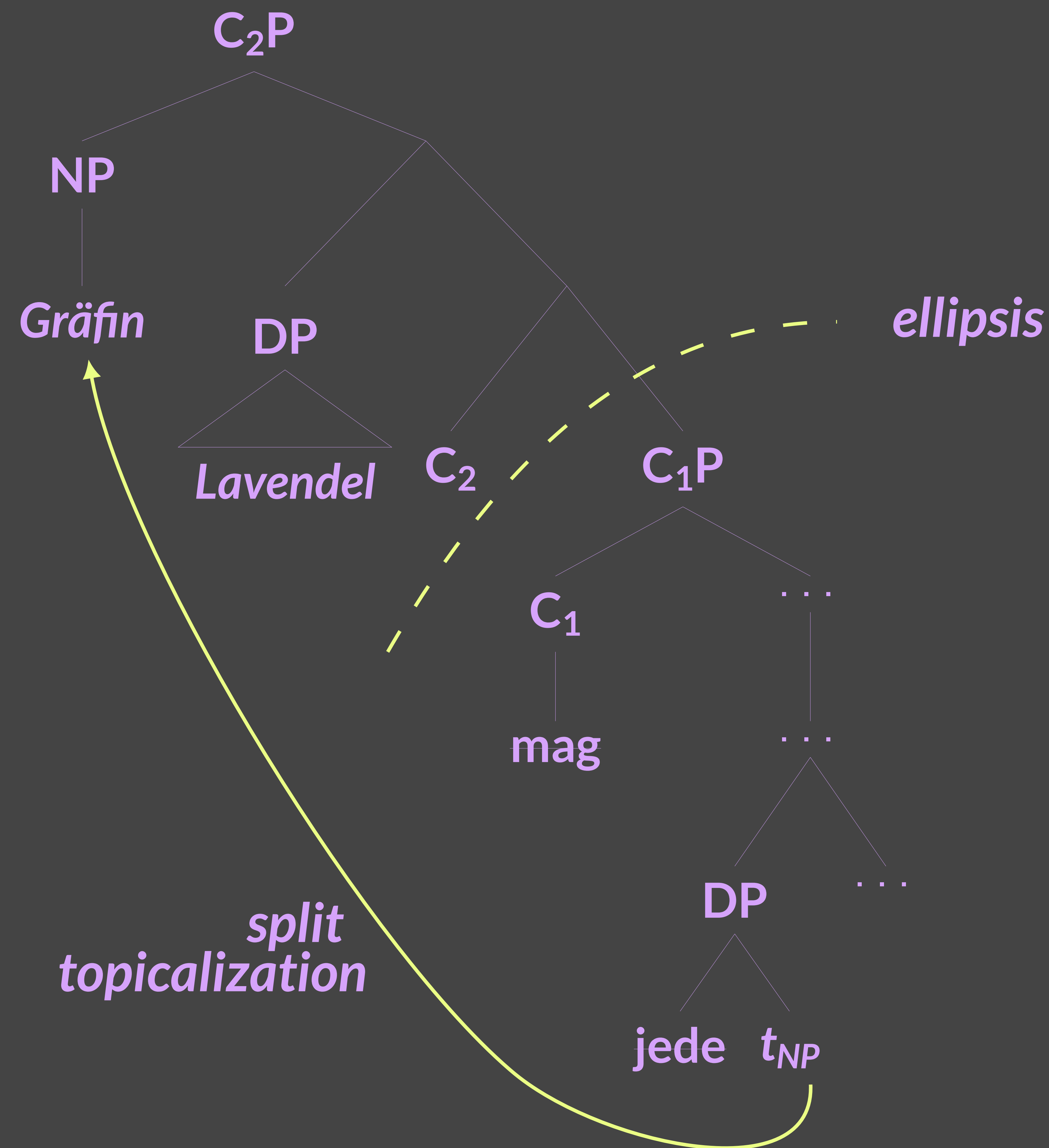
- (2) Rosen habe ich die weißen _ bestellt.
 roses have I the white ordered
 "As for roses, I ordered the white ones."

- Ellipsis = **move-and-delete**, (3)



German determiner sharing = split topicalization + clausal ellipsis.

Jede Fürstin mag Rosen und ...



Evidence for movement

- Elements contained in an **island** cannot be remnants of ellipsis.
- Remnants may originate in an embedded clause and move **successive-cyclically**.
- The **P-stranding generalization** (Merchant 2001, Abels 2003) suggests that remnants move
- other evidence: particle verbs and freezing

Parallelism between DS and split topicalization

- Both the initial remnant of gapping and the topicalized nominal have **topic** properties (Winkler 2005 and Kniffka 1996, Nolda 2007 respectively).
- The elements that can be shared are **identical** to the ones that may not be part of the topicalized part of NP splits, i.e., that must be left *in situ* within the ellipsis site (quantifiers, demonstratives).
- Some elements **cannot occur in splits** and also **cannot be shared**: definite and indefinite articles.
- Some elements do not behave as predicted: numerals, possessive pronouns, and (bare) adjectives are possible in splits, but for some reason, cannot be shared.

Implication

Empirical evidence for movement of the remnants and the success of this conspiracy analysis strengthen the case for movement-based approaches to ellipsis.