

AN ARGUMENT FOR MOVE-AND-DELETE FROM GERMAN DETERMINER SHARING

1 Determiner sharing

- *Determiner sharing* is the term given by McCawley (1993) to a construction like (1), in which a determiner or quantifier is **omitted** from a second conjunct in a coordination.
 - Omission of the determiner creates the illusion that the interpretation of the overt determiner in the initial conjunct is *shared* between two nominals.
- (1) a. %Few dogs like Whiskas and ___ cats ___ Alpo. (Johnson 2000b)
b. %Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und ___ Lehrerin ___ Klavier.
every student plays violin and teacher piano
“Every student plays the violin and every teacher plays the piano.”
- In English as well as German, the construction is **not accepted by all speakers**. It is predominantly found in spoken language and rare in written form. I omit % from subsequent examples.
 - Crucially, a determiner cannot be shared **unless another type of ellipsis takes place**. Most commonly, determiner sharing is parasitic on gapping, compare (2).
 - If the verb surfaces overtly, the shared interpretation is unavailable. Instead, the second conjunct of (2-a) is a statement about cats in general. (2-b) is ungrammatical since German does not allow bare singular nouns.
- (2) a. #Few dogs like Whiskas and ___ cats like Alpo.
b. *Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und ___ Lehrerin spielt Klavier.
every student plays violin and teacher plays piano

Central question: how can the dependence of determiner sharing on gapping¹ be modeled?

Proposal: A dependence of one ellipsis process on another is illusory: there is only one single ellipsis operation, **gapping**, and it can delete a determiner and a verb simultaneously. The noun associated with the deleted determiner is spared because it can undergo **split topicalization** and move out of the ellipsis site. Determiner sharing arises if these two processes apply to the same structure.

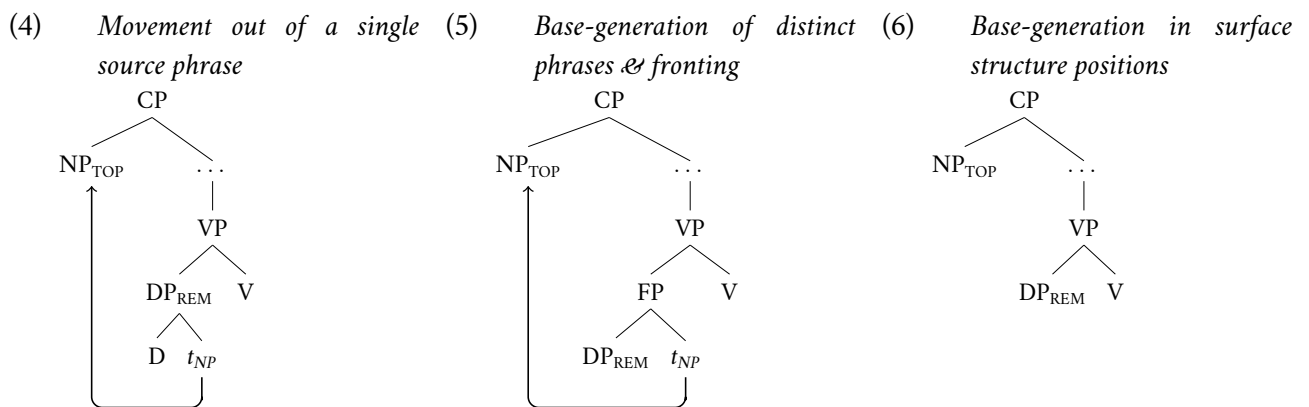
Implication: If the analysis proposed here is on the right track, determiner sharing can serve as an argument for movement-based approaches to ellipsis (e.g., Merchant 2001; Heck & Müller 2003/2007; Thoms 2010; Shen 2018), and against *in-situ* analyses (e.g., Ott & Struckmeier 2018; Broekhuis 2018; Griffiths 2019; Griffiths & Struckmeier 2021).

2 Split topicalization

- I propose that determiner sharing in German is in principle an elliptical version of an NP split.
- *Split topicalization* or *NP splits* refer to structures in which material that belongs to a single noun phrase appears in more than one position, as in (3).

(3) Lehrerin mag jede t gern Katzen.
 teacher.NOM likes every.NOM PARTC cats.ACC
 “As for teachers, every one of them likes cats.”

- Crucially, all analyses that posit **movement** of a phrase to the left periphery are **compatible** with the analysis of determiner sharing proposed here (e.g., Van Riemsdijk 1989; Bhatt 1990; Fanselow 1990, 1993; Fanselow & Ćavar 2002; Roehrs 2009; Ott 2011).



3 Gapping in German

Gapping is a type of ellipsis in which a verb (and optionally other material) is omitted from a coordination, (7).

(7) Ich hab einen Muffin gegessen und du —_{AUX} einen Keks —_V.
 I have a muffin eaten and you a cookie
 “I ate a muffin and you a cookie.”

- I argue, following previous research (Hartmann 2000; Reich 2007; Repp 2009; Konietzko & Winkler 2010), that gapping involves **large, clause-sized conjuncts** in German.
- In this respect, German differs from English, where it has been argued extensively that conjuncts are small, *vP/VP*-sized, see e.g., Chao (1988); Johnson (1996/2004, 2009); Coppock (2001); López & Winkler (2003).
- The majority of previous analyses of determiner sharing were based on small-conjunct analyses of gapping.²
- This section shows that such analyses cannot be applied to German, since (1) German clearly shows evidence that it is not *vPs/VPs* that are coordinated in gapping, but *CPs*, and (2) there is evidence that the nominal with the missing determiner in the second conjunct is part of an *A'*-movement dependency.

²Many share the basic idea that a determiner must be adjacent to a certain functional projection (FP) in order to be realized overtly (Johnson 2000a; Lin 2002; Arregi & Centeno 2005; Centeno 2012, for multidominance accounts see McCawley 1993; Citko 2006; Kasai 2007). This FP occurs higher than *vP*, and the DP has to move out of the coordination to FP. The Coordinate structure constraint dictates that only the DP of the first conjunct may move out of a coordination. This creates the illusion that there is a determiner missing in the non-initial conjunct, when in reality, it only cannot be morphologically realized. Omitting details, the basic small-conjuncts based analysis of determiner sharing is illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. Few dogs like Whiskas and cats Alpo.
 b.

3.1 Large conjunct gapping

3.1.1 No cross-conjunct binding

- In English gapping, the subject in the first-conjunct can bind the subject in the second conjunct, as in (8-a) (see e.g., McCawley 1993; Johnson 1996/2004; Kennedy 2001; Johnson 2009). This binding is not possible in non-gapping coordinations, (8-b).

- (8) a. Not every girl₁ ate a green banana and her₁ mother ate a ripe one. (Johnson 1996:26)
 b. #Not every girl₁ ate a green banana and her₁ mother ate a ripe one.

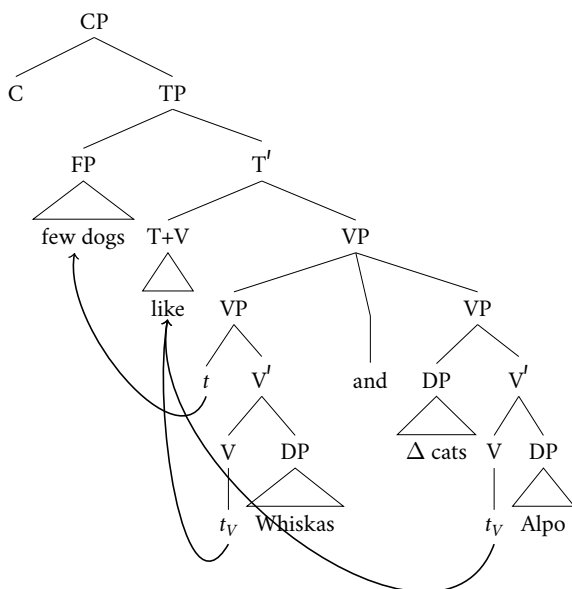
- Cross-conjunct binding is an argument for small conjuncts: binding is only possible if the subject of the first conjunct is in a high enough position to c-command the subject of a non-initial conjunct.
- Johnson (1996/2004, 2009) proposes that cross-conjunct binding can be explained if the coordinated phrases are *v*Ps, and the first subject moves out of its conjunct into Spec,TP where it can c-command the subject *in situ* in the second conjunct.
- German differs from English in that it does not allow cross-conjunct binding, (9).

- (9) a. #Keine Studentin₁ wählt die CDU und ihr₁ Professor wählt die SPD.
 no student votes the CDU and her professor votes the SPD
 b. #Keine Studentin₁ wählt die CDU und ihr₁ Professor wählt die SPD.
 no student votes the CDU and her professor votes the SPD
 intended: “No student votes for the CDU and her professor for the SPD.”

- The impossibility of cross conjunct binding suggests that the conjuncts are so large that it is not possible for the first subject to move out of its conjunct to a position where it could c-command the second subject.
- At the same time, both subjects move to the position preceding V2, i.e., Spec,CP. This suggests that conjuncts are clause-sized.

3.1.2 Verb-second order

- Particle verbs reveal that the second conjunct shows verb-second word order, which indicates that the conjunct is clause-sized. In the standard analysis of V2 word order as V-to-C movement (Den Besten



(1977/1983); Schwartz & Vikner (1989); Fanselow (2004) among many others), the conjunct must contain at least enough left peripheral structure to host the landing position of the verb.

- First note that particles can never occur in second position, (10). In V2 structures, they are split from their verbal host and occur in the verb's base position.

- (10) a. Er (*um)-fährt jeden Radfahrer um.
 He PARTIC-drives every.ACC biker.ACC PARTIC
"He runs over every biker."
- b. Sie (*vor)-wirft ihm seine Verfehlungen vor.
 she PARTIC-throws him his faults PARTIC
"She reproaches him for his faults."

- Gapping of particle verbs creates a structure in which the finite verbal part is omitted and the particle surfaces overtly in the verbal base position to the right of the direct object, (11).

- (11) Sven und Julia können nicht gut Autofahren. Er fährt jeden Baum an und [CP sie Sven und Julia can not well drive he drives every.ACC tree.ACC PARTIC and she fährt jede Oma um].
 drives every.ACC grandma.ACC PARTIC
"Sven and Julia are terrible drivers. He bumps into every tree and she knocks over every grandma."

- Since the verbal part cannot have been deleted in base position, this indicates that the verb must have moved away from the particle to C⁰.

- (12) *dass er jeden Radfahrer um-fährt und jeden Baum an-fährt
 that he every.ACC biker.ACC PARTIC-runs.over and every.ACC tree.ACC PARTIC-drives
 intended: *"that he runs over every biker and drives against every tree"*

- The second conjunct must have an underlying V2 structure, which implies that it is at least big enough to host the position the verb moves to. In sum, overt particles in gapping indicate that conjuncts must be clausal.

3.1.3 Object fronting

- Hartmann (2000:158) introduces an argument from gapping in complement clauses.
- With gapping in embedded clauses, the complementizer must be obligatorily non-overt (13-a) (see also Hendriks 1995; Lechner 2018). Gapping of the verb with an overt complementizer is ungrammatical, (13-b).

- (13) a. Ich glaube, [CP dass Peter mit seiner Frau nach Indien reist] und [CP — Martin mit I believe that Peter with his wife to India travels and Martin with seinen Kollegen in die Schweiz —].
 his colleagues in the Switzerland
- b. *Ich glaube, [CP dass Peter mit seiner Frau nach Indien reist] und [CP dass Martin mit I believe that Peter with his wife to India travels and that Martin with seinen Kollegen in die Schweiz —].
 his colleagues in the Switzerland
"I think that Peter will travel to India with his wife and Martin will travel to Switzerland with his colleagues."


(Hartmann 2000:158)

- In principle, (13-a) could receive an analysis like (14), in which TPs are coordinated under a single complementizer, i.e., there is no complementizer that must be obligatorily deleted in the second conjunct.

- (14) [I think [CP that [TP ...] and [TP ...]]]

- Hartmann points out that such an analysis is not possible for embedded *wh*-clauses.
- In (15), the conjuncts are object clauses with a *wh*-element. Crucially, in the second conjunct in (15), it is impossible to omit the *wh*-word, i.e., an analogous analysis to (14) in which a *wh*-word moved across-the-board from two embedded TPs as in (16) is ruled out. She concluded that examples like (15) suggest that the conjuncts must be CPs.

(15) Ich verwechsle immer [was Peter Ute zum Geburtstag schenkt] und [**(was)*
 I confuse always what.ACC P.NOM U.DAT to birthday give and what.ACC
 sie ihm zum Geburtstag schenkt]
 she.NOM him.DAT to birthday give
 “I always confuse what Peter will give Ute for her birthday and what she will give him for his birthday.”
 (modified, D. Buring p.c. to Hartmann 2000:158)

(16) *I confuse [CP what [TP ... t ...] and [TP ... t ...]]


3.2 Movement of remnants

3.2.1 Island constraints


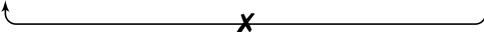
- Hankamer (1971), Neijt (1979) and Coppock (2001) argue that remnants of gapping are sensitive to islands. The observations have been made for English, but carry over to German, (17). If a remnant is contained in an island, ellipsis becomes impossible. This suggests that movement of the remnants is a crucial ingredient in the derivation of ellipsis.

(17) *Complex NP constraint* (Coppock 2001)
 a. *Some complained about the person who ate the seafood and others, bread.
 b. *Manche haben sich über die Person die Meeresfrüchte gegessen hat beschwert und
 some have REFL about the person who seafood eaten has complained and
 andere, Brot.
 others bread

(18) *Adjunct island constraint* (Coppock 2001)
 a. *Some danced after they ate seafood and others, bread.
 b. *Manche haben getanzt nachdem sie Meeresfrüchte gegessen haben und andere, Brot.
 some have danced after they seafood eaten have and others bread

Freezing

- A phrase becomes an island after the phrase itself has undergone movement (e.g. Wexler & Culicover 1980; Corver 2017).

(19) a. I think that [reviews of his books]_j John never reads *t_j*.

 b. *[Whose books]_k do you think that [reviews of *t_k*]_j John never reads *t_j*?


- Yoshida (2005) investigates freezing effects in English gapping: if the remnants move, they should become opaque for extraction.
- If no gapping occurs, a *wh*-phrase can move across-the-board out of a PP, (20-a).
- If the verb is gapped, this movement becomes impossible, (20-b).

(20) a. I wonder which topic John talked [about *t*] and Mary talked [about *t*] too.
 b. *I wonder which topic John talked [about *t*] and Mary — [about *t*] too. (Yoshida 2005)

- The same can be observed in German. In (21), the *wh*-word can move out of a coordination across-the-board.

(21) Wer hat Stefan gesagt [_{CP} *t* jage Bären] und hat Maria gesagt [_{CP} *t* jage Schafe] ?
 who.NOM has S said hunts bears and has M said hunts sheep
 “For who is it true that Stefan said they hunt bears and Maria said they hunt sheep?”

- If the verb is gapped, the *wh*-word would have to move out of a CP-remnant, but this becomes impossible, (22).

(22) *Wer hat Stefan gesagt [_{CP} *t* jage Bären] und — Maria — [_{CP} *t* jage Schafe] ?
 who.NOM has S said hunts bears and M hunts sheep

- The only difference between these examples is the ellipsis of the matrix verb.
- The freezing effect in the elliptical examples can be explained if remnants have to move out of ellipsis sites, blocking further extraction from them.

3.2.2 Successive-cyclic movement

- Gapping and sharing structures can occur long-distance, (23).
- The ability of the remnant to move successive-cyclically is another argument for the presence of A' movement.

(23) a. Linh hat gesagt dass jeder Schüler hier Geige spielt und Nils, (jeder) Lehrer.
 Linh has said that every student here violin plays and Nils every teacher
 “Linh said that every student here plays the violin and Nils said that every teacher here plays the violin.”
 b. ... und [Nils₁ Lehrer₂ { hat *t*₁ gesagt [*t*₂ dass jeder *t*₂ hier Geige spielt}]]

3.2.3 P-stranding

- Merchant (2001, 2004) and Abels (2003) observe that languages that normally allow stranding of prepositions under movement, also allow it under sluicing and in fragment answers.
- German does not allow stranding of the preposition under *wh*-movement in (24-a), and instead has to obligatorily pied-pipe the preposition. It also does not allow P-stranding in sluicing (24-b), suggesting that sluicing involves the same type of movement.

(24) a. *Wem_i hast du gesprochen mit *t*_i?
 who have you talked with
 b. Peter hat mit jemandem geredet, ich weiß aber nicht *(mit) wem
 Peter has with someone talked I know but not with whom

- Vanden Wyngaerd (2009) argues that preposition stranding in gapping is only possible if the language allows preposition stranding under movement. If gapping involves movement out of the ellipsis site, the prediction is that languages should show the same P-stranding behavior in gapping as in sluicing and fragment answers.³ In German gapping, this is borne out, (25).

³Erschler (2018) notes that in English gapping P-stranding should be possible, but is not, as shown by e.g., Jayaseelan (1990); Lasnik & Saito (1991); Abe & Hoshi (1997), (i). Jayaseelan (1990) and Lasnik & Saito (1991) derive this by postulating rightward movement of the remnant DP. For all other analyses of English gapping this puzzling observation remains an explanandum. However, there seems to be no consensus on the acceptability of preposition stranding in English gapping, as Steedman (1990), for instance, judges examples like (ii) perfectly acceptable.

- (i) *John talked about Bill, and Mary Susan. (Abe & Hoshi 1997:102)
- (ii) Harry went to London, and Barry Detroit. (Steedman 1990:248)

- (25) Britta hat mit Abed geredet und Shirley ____v *(mit) Jeff.
 Britta has with Abed talked and Shirley with Jeff
"Britta has talked to Abed and Shirley has talked to Jeff."

3.2.4 No non-phrasal remnants

- Only full phrases, not heads, can be remnants in gapping (Hankamer 1979; Lasnik 1999; Merchant 2004; Boone 2014). A theory of ellipsis that involves movement of the remnants to a specifier position in the left periphery makes exactly that prediction.
- Hartmann (2000) argues explicitly for German that X^0 -elements such as prepositions and articles cannot be remnants of gapping, (26).

- (26) a. *Karl verlegt die Rohre über den Putz und Peter ____v die Kabel unter ____{DP}.
 Karl installs the pipes under the plaster and Peter the cables under
- b. *Peter traf den Schrader und Martin ____v die ____{NP}.
 Peter met the.M Schrader and Martin the.F
 intended: *"Peter met a male member of the Schrader family and Martin met a female member of the Schrader family."* (Hartmann 2000:149)

3.2.5 (Non)-mobile particles

- Particle verbs differ in their ability to front the particle (Wurmbrand 2000). So called transparent particles like *auf* in *auf-machen* "to open" can front in German, (27-a), while idiomatic particles like *auf* in *auf-führen* "to perform", cannot be fronted, (27-b).

- (27) a. Auf_i hat er die Tür ____i gemacht.
 open has he the door made
"He opened the door."
- b. *Auf_i haben sie das Stück ____i geführt.
 PARTIC have they the play performed
 intended: *"They staged the play."*

- If only such elements that can undergo movement can be remnants of gapping, we expect that only transparent particles can be remnants, while idiomatic ones cannot (see also Weir 2014 for a similar argument for fragment answers in English). This seems to be borne out, (28).

- (28) a. Er hat die Tür zu gemacht und sie ____v ____{DP} auf.
 he has the door close made and she open
"He closed the door and she opened it." *transparent particle*
- b. *Er hat ihr zu gehört und mit dem Quatsch auf ____v.
 he has her PARTIC listened and with the nonsense PARTIC
 intended: *"He listened to her and stopped with the nonsense."* *idiomatic particle*

3.2.6 Syntactically motivated case omission

- German can show inflection markers on determiners, adjectives, and nouns. In some cases, nouns occur without overt case markers.
- Gallmann (1996) observes that the distribution of overt case markers on nouns seems to depend on the syntactic environment: nouns can only bear a case suffix if there is another overtly case-marked element (adjective or determiner) within the same DP in concord with the noun (Gallmann 1996, 1998, see also Müller 2002; Sternefeld 2004).

- This is illustrated for dative *-e* in (29).⁴ In (29-c), the adjective *hart* is morphologically marked as dative, and only then can the noun *Holz* also show overt marking.

- (29) a. ein Schiff aus Holz
 a ship made.of wood.DAT
 b. *ein Schiff aus Holz-e
 a ship made.of wood-DAT
 c. ein Schiff aus hart-em Holz-e
 a ship made.of hard-DAT wood-DAT

(Gallmann 1996)

- Turning to determiner sharing structures, we can see that it is possible for the NP whose determiner is omitted to carry the overt case marker, such as *Kind-e* “child” and *Wald-e* “forest” in (30), even though there is no other case-marked element.

- (30) a. Jedem Erzieher ist ein Hund gefolgt und ___ Kind-e ___v eine Katze.
 every-DAT kindergarten.teacher.DAT is a dog.NOM followed and child-DAT a cat.NOM
“Every kindergarten teacher was followed by a dog and every child was followed by a cat.”
 b. Jedem Jagdrevier fehlt ein Jäger und ___ Wald-e ___v ein Förster.
 every-DAT shoot.DAT lacks a hunter.NOM and forest-DAT a forester.NOM
“Every shoot lacks a hunter and every forest lacks a forester.”

- This suggests that the dative-marked noun must have once been in a sufficiently local configuration with a determiner that can carry overt case marking to make concord possible.
- This can be explain if we suppose that the noun was base-generated in a DP with a case-marked determiner, which has subsequently been deleted, and the noun can surface with dative *-e* because it has escaped deletion by moving away from its base position, out of the ellipsis site, leaving its determiner behind.

3.2.7 Types of embedding predicates

- Temmerman (2013) observes for Dutch fragment answers that they can only be embedded under propositional attitude verbs like *denken* “think”, *geloven* “believe” (see also Barbiers 2000, 2002). They cannot occur under factive verbs such as *weten* “know” and *betreuren* “regret”.
- She proposes that this falls out from an analyses in which fragment answers must move.
- Factive verbs, but not propositional attitude verbs require a silent operator in their complement’s left periphery (Manzini 1992; Watanabe 1993; Barbiers 2002).
- This operator blocks movement of any other phrase to its position.
- If fragment answers have to move at some point in their derivation, it follows that they can only occur if they are embedded under propositional attitude verbs.
- The same argument can be applied to German gapping. The remnants of gapping can only be embedded under propositional attitude verbs, not under factive verbs, (31-a) vs. (31-b).

- (31) a. Die Grünen haben in Bayern gewonnen und ich fürchte/ glaube/ denke die CDU in Sachsen.
 the green.party has in Bavaria won and I fear believe think the CDU in Saxony

⁴Note that dative *-e* is generally optional and somewhat archaic in modern German. However, if it does appear, it can only do so in the context of another overtly case marked element.

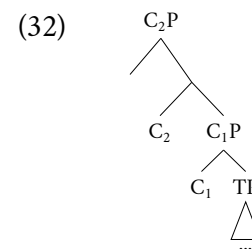
- b. *Die Grünen haben in Bayern gewonnen und ich weiß/ bezweifle/ stimme zu die
 the green.party has in Bavaria won and I know doubt agree the
 CDU in Sachsen.
 CDU in Saxony
 "The green party has won in Bavaria and I fear/believe/think/*know/*doubt/*agree the CDU
 has won in Saxony."

- If a factive operator occupies the position that a remnant would have to move into, it falls out naturally that gapping clauses can only be embedded under verbs that do not require such an operator.-

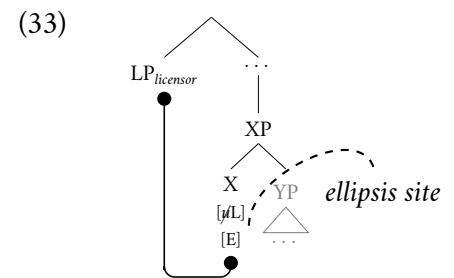
4 The conspiracy analysis

4.1 Assumptions

- Structure of the left periphery in German:
 - I make the assumption that the German left periphery consists of two clausal layers, (32) (following Hartmann 2000; Repp 2009).
 - The lower head C_1 is the landing site for V2-movement and host of the complementizer in V-final clauses. The higher head C_2 is non-overt and attracts A' -moved phrases into its specifier.



- Ellipsis: I assume that ellipsis is triggered by an E-feature (Merchant 2001, 2004; Aelbrecht 2010; Murphy & Müller to app.), as in (33).



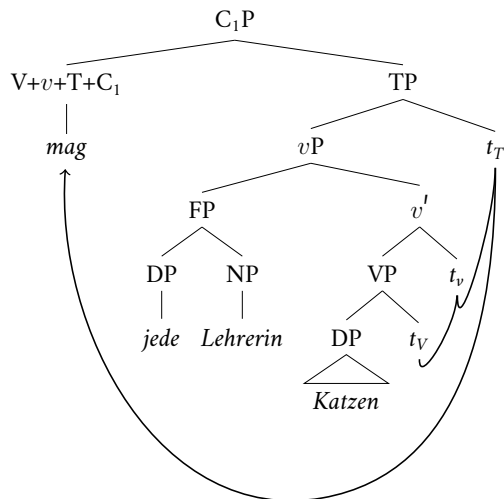
- Splits: I represent the noun phrase that will be split as an FP containing the moving nominal, which I label NP, and the determiner that stays *in situ*, which I label DP. Any analysis of split topicalization that employs movement is compatible with the analysis of determiner sharing.

4.2 Derivation

- The second conjunct of (34) is built up until C_1P , the finite verb moves into C_1 , (35).

(34) Jede Schülerin mag Hunde und __ Lehrerin __ Katzen.
 every student likes dogs and teacher cats
 "Every student likes dogs and every teacher likes cats."

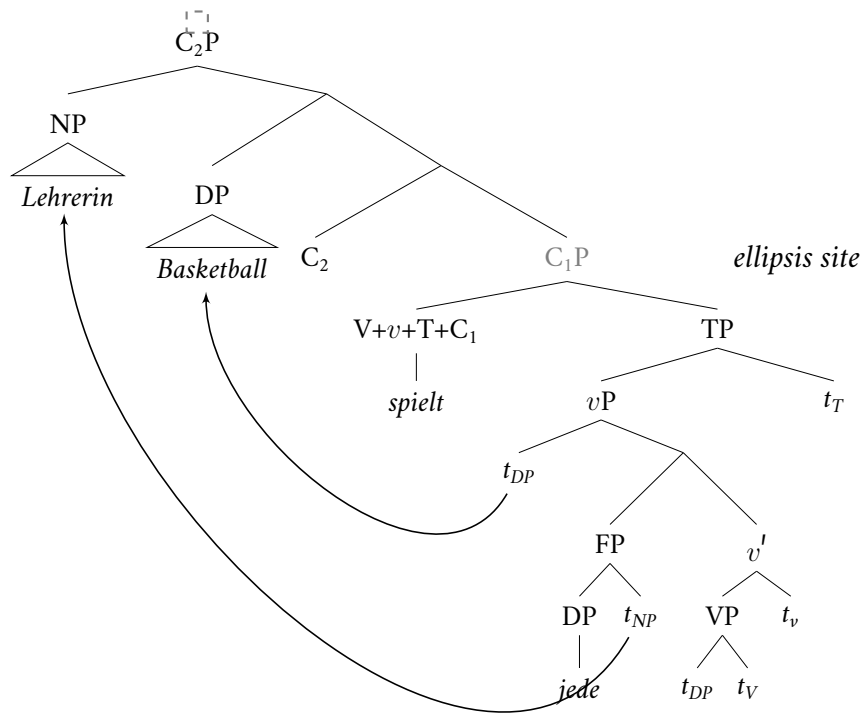
(35)



- The next higher C₂P is merged, it has two functions:
 - it contains an **[E]-feature** (Merchant 2001; Aelbrecht 2010), which instructs post-syntax not to insert vocabulary items into its complement, C₁P
 - it contains a feature which attracts a phrase into its specifier (to fill the *prefield*). I assume that this is an **edge feature** (EF, based on Heycock 1994; Roberts 2005; Fanselow & Lenertová 2011; Light 2012).⁵
- With this feature specification, C₂ would attract one remnant into its specifier and delete its complement.
- To account for the second (and subsequent) remnants of gapping, I assume that ellipsis is subject to a **feature co-occurrence restriction** (36) similar to the edge feature condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001).
- With (36), C₂ can now attract two (or more) remnants. This is illustrated in (37).

(36) *Feature Co-Occurrence Restriction for exceptional movement* (based on Gazdar et al. 1985)
 C₂ may be assigned an additional [EF] if and only if it already contains [E],[EF].

(37)₃ However, as far as I can see, other approaches to topicalization should also be compatible with this analysis of determiner sharing.



- The result is a structure in which only the two remnants are realized overtly, (38).

(38) ... und Lehrerin Katzen.
and teacher cats

- Split topicalization of *jede Lehrerin* leaves the quantifier *in situ*. If that quantifier happens to be contained in an ellipsis site, the resulting structure is the one that has been labeled determiner sharing.
- Crucially, split topicalization and gapping are completely independent of each other.

(39) **Gapping without split topicalization**

Jede Schülerin mag Hunde und jede Lehrerin₁ Katzen₂ [_{C₁P} mag t_T t₂].
every student likes dogs and every teacher cats

(40) **Split topicalization without gapping**

Jede Schülerin mag Hunde und Lehrerin mag jede t Katzen.
every student likes dogs and teacher likes every cats
“Every student likes dogs and as for teachers, they all like cats.”

(41) **Split topicalization and gapping = determiner sharing**

Jede Schülerin mag Hunde und Lehrerin₁ Katzen₂ [_{C₁P} mag jede t_T t₂].
every student likes dogs and teacher cats

4.3 Accounting for parasitism

- The parasitism of ellipsis of the determiner on ellipsis of the verb is illusory: there is only one ellipsis process that **deletes both elements simultaneously** (contra Schwarzer 2021).
- If split topicalization occurs in a clause that contains an ellipsis site, the quantifier left behind can be deleted “accidentally”.
- Split topicalization can turn a run-of-the-mill gapping structure into determiner sharing.
- Determiners can be deleted to the exclusion of their NP if they can be stranded in an ellipsis site.⁶

⁶This analysis makes the prediction that not only gapping, but any ellipsis that is large enough to contain a stranded determiner

5 Conclusion

- I presented a large-conjunct analysis of German determiner sharing, as far as I know the first account of determiner sharing in this language.
- Determiner sharing arises if a determiner or quantifier can be stranded inside an ellipsis site. This can happen, e.g., if split topicalization occurs in a gapping-conjunct.
- I showed that remnants of gapping, and thus also the noun with the omitted determiner, are part of an A' movement dependency. This strengthens the case for move-and-delete approaches to ellipsis (e.g., ?), and argues against analyses in which remnants stay in situ (e.g., ?, and also Johnson 2000a; Lin 2002 for determiner sharing specifically).
- In contrast to parasitism accounts (Ackema & Szendrői 2002; Fitzgibbons 2014; Schwarzer 2021), I propose that the joint application of independent, optional processes can account for all properties of determiner sharing without additions to the theoretical architecture (see also Schneider in prep. for an argument against the existence of parasitism in general).
- If this analysis is on the right track, a seemingly similar surface structure is derived by different operations in different languages. The present theory of determiner sharing cannot easily be transferred to determiner sharing in English or Spanish, since these languages show evidence of smaller conjuncts and lack an operation such as split topicalization.

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should be able to feed determiner sharing structures. This is borne out. Determiner sharing can be observed in stripping (i), fragment answers (ii), and “sluicing” with apparent massive pied-piping (Abels 2019), (iii). German independently does not allow VP-ellipsis or pseudogapping.

- (i) Jede Baronin mag Grüntee und Herzogin auch.
every baroness likes green.tea and duchess too
“Every baroness likes green tea and every duchess, too.”
- (ii) a. Mag jede Baronin Grüntee?
likes every baroness green.tea
“Does every baroness like green tea?”
b. Nein, Herzogin mag jede † Grüntee.
no duchess likes every green.tea
“No, every duchess likes green tea.”
- (iii) Greifvogel weiß ich welchen ich gesehen hab, aber Singvogel weiß ich nicht.
raptor know I which I seen have but songbird know I not
“As for raptors, I know which one I have seen, but as for songbirds, I don’t know which one I have seen.”

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Appendix

Split topicalization and determiner sharing

- Split topicalization or NP splits refer to structures in which material that belongs to a single noun phrase appears in more than one position, as in (42).

(42) Rosen hab ich dir schon einige t geschenkt.
Roses have I you.DAT already several given.as.present
“As for roses, I have already given you a few.”

- Groups of analyses: (1) discontinuous material is base-generated as a single phrase, part of that phrase moves out (e.g., van Riemsdijk 1989; Bhatt 1990), (2) discontinuous material is base-generated as distinct phrases, one of them moves away (e.g., Fanselow 1988, 1990, 1993; Fanselow & Ćavar 2002; Roehrs 2009; Ott 2011), (3) discontinuous material is base-generated in surface positions, no movement (e.g., Haider 1990; Pittner 1995; Ballweg 1997)
- Crucially, all analyses that posit movement of a phrase to the left periphery are compatible with the analysis of determiner sharing proposed here.
- If determiner sharing structures are derived by split topicalization and subsequent ellipsis of the determiner left *in situ*, we expect that sharing structures show similarities to splits.

Island effects

- NP splits show island sensitivity (van Riemsdijk 1989), (43)–(44).
- Determiner sharing is also impossible out of islands, (45)–(46).

(43) *Complex NP island in splits*

*Augen kenne ich [keine Frau die schönere t hat] als ich.
eyes know I no woman who prettier has than me

intended: *“As for eyes, I don’t know any woman who has more beautiful ones than me.”*

(Van Hoof 2017:7)

(44) *Adverbial island in splits*

*(In) Schlössern ist Horst in ein Haus gezogen [nachdem er in mehreren *t* gewohnt hatte].
in castles is Horst into a house moved after he in several lived had
intended: "As for castles, after Horst had lived in many of them, he moved into a house."

(Ott 2011:25)

(45) *Complex NP island in sharing*

- a. *Ich kenne niemanden der jedes Papier von Chomsky gelesen hat oder Buch, von Lasnik.
I know nobody who every paper by Chomsky read has or book by Lasnik
b. ... oder [_{C₂P} Buch_k [_{PP} von Lasnik]_m [_{C₁P} ich kenne [_{NP} niemanden der jedes *t_k t_m* gelesen hat]]]

(46) *Adjunct island in sharing*

- a. *Ich rufe dich an bevor jeder Schüler Geige übt und Lehrer Schlagzeug (denn dann
I call you PARTC before every student violin practices and teacher drums because then
wird es zu laut).
gets EXPL too loud
b. ... und [_{C₂P} Lehrer_k Schlagzeug_m [_{C₁P} ... bevor jeder *t_k t_m* übt]]

Types of determiners

- Not all elements are equally accepted in sharing constructions.
- 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. These elements are quantifiers like *viele* "many", *wenige* "few", *jeder* "every", *alle* "all", *mehrere* "several", etc., and demonstratives like *dies-* "this" and *jen-* "that", (47) and (48).⁷

(47) *Split topicalization*

- a. Ammern mag ich eigentlich (nur) viele/ wenige/ alle/ manche *t*.
buntings like I actually only many few all some
"As for buntings, I actually many/ few/ all (only) some of them."
b. Fink(en) nistet hier jeder/ keiner.
finch(.PL) nests here every no
"As for finches, every/ none of them nests here."
c. Fink(en) hab ich nur diesen/ jenen gesehen.
finch(.PL) have I only this that seen
"As for finches, I have only seen this/ that one."

(48) *Determiner sharing*

- a. Viele/ wenige/ alle/ manche Ammern mögen Insekten und — Finken — Samen.
many few all some buntings like insects and finches seeds
"Many/ few/ all/ some buntings like insects and many/ few/ all/ some finches like seeds."
b. Jeder/ dieser/ jener/ kein Fink nistet im Nistkasten und — Rabe — im Baum.
every this that no finch nests in.the nestbox and raven in.the tree
"Every/ this/ that/ no finch nests in the nestbox and every/ this/ that/ no raven nests in the tree."

- Some elements cannot occur in splits and also cannot be shared: definite and indefinite⁸ articles, (49) and (50).

⁷It must be noted, however, that there is a lot of variation between speakers, and not all speakers accept all of these elements in a sharing construction. To the best of my knowledge, determiner sharing is more restricted than split topicalization, i.e., a speaker may not accept sharing with a certain element, but will accept splits with it.

⁸The indefinite article is homophonous with the numeral "one". Ott (2011) argues that the element that can occur in splits is the numeral, and the article is impossible in splits.

(49) *Drossel hab ich die/ eine *t* im Rosenbusch gefunden.
 thrush have I the a in.the rose.bush found

(50) *Die/ eine Drossel war der Bräutigam und ___ Amsel ___ die Braut.
 the a thrush was the groom and blackbird the bride

- Some elements do not behave as predicted: numerals, possessive pronouns, and (bare) adjectives are possible in splits, (51), and we would expect that they should also be possible in sharing structures. However, that is not the case, (52).

(51) a. Amseln hab ich zwei *t* am Futterhäuschen gesehen.
 blackbirds habe I two at.the bird.feeder seen
 “As for blackbirds, I have seen two at the bird feeder.”

b. Mantel hat Hildegard ihren nassen *t* tatsächlich im Kasten aufgehängt.
 coat has Hildegard her wet really in.the closet hung
 “As for her coat, Hildegard really hung up her wet one in the closet.” (Puig Waldmüller 2006, 69)

c. Wein hat sie nur georgischen *t* da.
 wine has she only Georgian there
 “As for wine, she only has a Georgian one.”

(52) a. #Zwei Amseln sind am Futterhäuschen und ___ Drosseln ___ an der Tränke.
 two blackbirds are at.the bird.feeder and thrushes at the watering.place

b. *Meine Mutter kann nähen und ___ Oma ___ häkeln.
 my mother can sew and grandmother crotchet

c. ?#Guter Wein kommt aus Frankreich und ___ Wodka aus Russland.
 good wine comes from France and vodka from Russia

- I do not have an explanation for this yet.

Determiner sharing in English

- This analysis cannot be transferred to English determiner sharing.
- English does not allow split topicalization.
- English also does not show signs of large conjuncts, which would motivate such an approach (but see Frazier 2015; Potter et al. 2017 for arguments for large conjuncts in English).
- Small-conjunct approaches like Johnson (2000a); Lin (2002); Arregi & Centeno (2005) seem to be more successful.
- This implies that a superficially similar construction like determiner sharing can be derived by different means in different languages.

Exceptional movement

- In general, German does not allow the position preceding the finite verb (the *prefield*) to be occupied by more than one constituent, (53).

(53) *[Lehrerin]₁ [Katzen]₂ mag jede *t*₁ *t*₂.
 teacher cats likes every

- For exceptions to the rule see Bildhauer & Cook (2010); Müller (2003); Müller (2005); Müller et al. (2012).
- It seems that sentences like (53) are only allowed in elliptical contexts, if ellipsis is analyzed as move-and-delete.
- Movements that only seem to occur in ellipses have been called *exceptional* (e.g., Jayaseelan 1990; Richards 2001; Thoms 2010; Weir 2014; Boone 2014).

- The challenge for Minimalist accounts lies in the modeling and proper restriction of this movement.
- Irregular movement can be regulated by the insertion of edge features: under certain conditions, heads can be enriched with non-inherent features (Chomsky 2000, 2001; Müller 2011).
- We can extend this mechanism to ellipsis contexts. To account for exceptional movement, I propose a constraint to the numeration similar to the Edge Feature Condition, (54).

(54) *Feature Co-Occurrence Restriction for exceptional movement* (based on Gazdar et al. 1985)
 C₂ may be assigned an additional [EF] if and only if it already contains [E],[EF].

Order in the left periphery

- Determiner sharing is only possible when the nominal with the missing determiner is the initial element in the conjunct.
- This falls out from the interaction of split topicalization and an independent requirement of topic-focus word order (Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012).
- The fronted nominal in split topicalizations shows topic properties (Kniffka 1996; Nolda 2007).
- Winkler (2005) observes that the initial remnant of gapping behaves as a (contrastive) topic, the second remnant as a (contrastive) focus (see also Konietzko & Winkler 2010; Molnár & Winkler 2010).
- It seems to be a cross-linguistically robust generalization that topics that have moved to the left periphery invariably land in a higher position than foci that move to the left periphery (Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012).

(55) **Foc > Top Generalization* (Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012)
 In languages in which both topics and foci move, the topic invariably lands in a higher position than the focus. [...]

- There are different ways of deriving this: post-syntactic interface filters (Reinhart 2006; Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012; Neeleman & Koot 2012; Titov 2019, 2020), OT models (Müller 1999; Broekhuis 2008), or accounts based on proper-syntactic features (Rizzi 1997; Meinunger 2000; Belletti 2004; Hartmann 2016; Bárány & Hartmann 2022). Most of these approaches are compatible with the present analysis.