


German determiner sharing as an epiphenomenon

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Introduction

- determiner sharing = non-constituent ellipsis
- omission of a determiner in a gapping construction (e.g. McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000, Lin 2002)
- defining properties:
 1. dependence on **gapping**, (1)
 2. shared nominal must be **initial** element, (2)

- (1)*Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und _{-D} LehrerIn spielt/übt Klavier.
every student plays violin and teacher plays/practices piano
- (2)*Geige spielt jede Schülerin und [Klavier _{-v} [_{-D} LehrerIn]].
violin plays every student and piano teacher

Gapping in German

- (3) Kübra liest den Artikel und Julia _{-v} das Buch.
Kübra reads the article and Julia the book
- clause-sized conjuncts (based on Hartmann 2000, Reich 2007, Repp 2009 a.o.)
 - remnants move out of ellipsis site
 - gapping = deletion of **FinP**

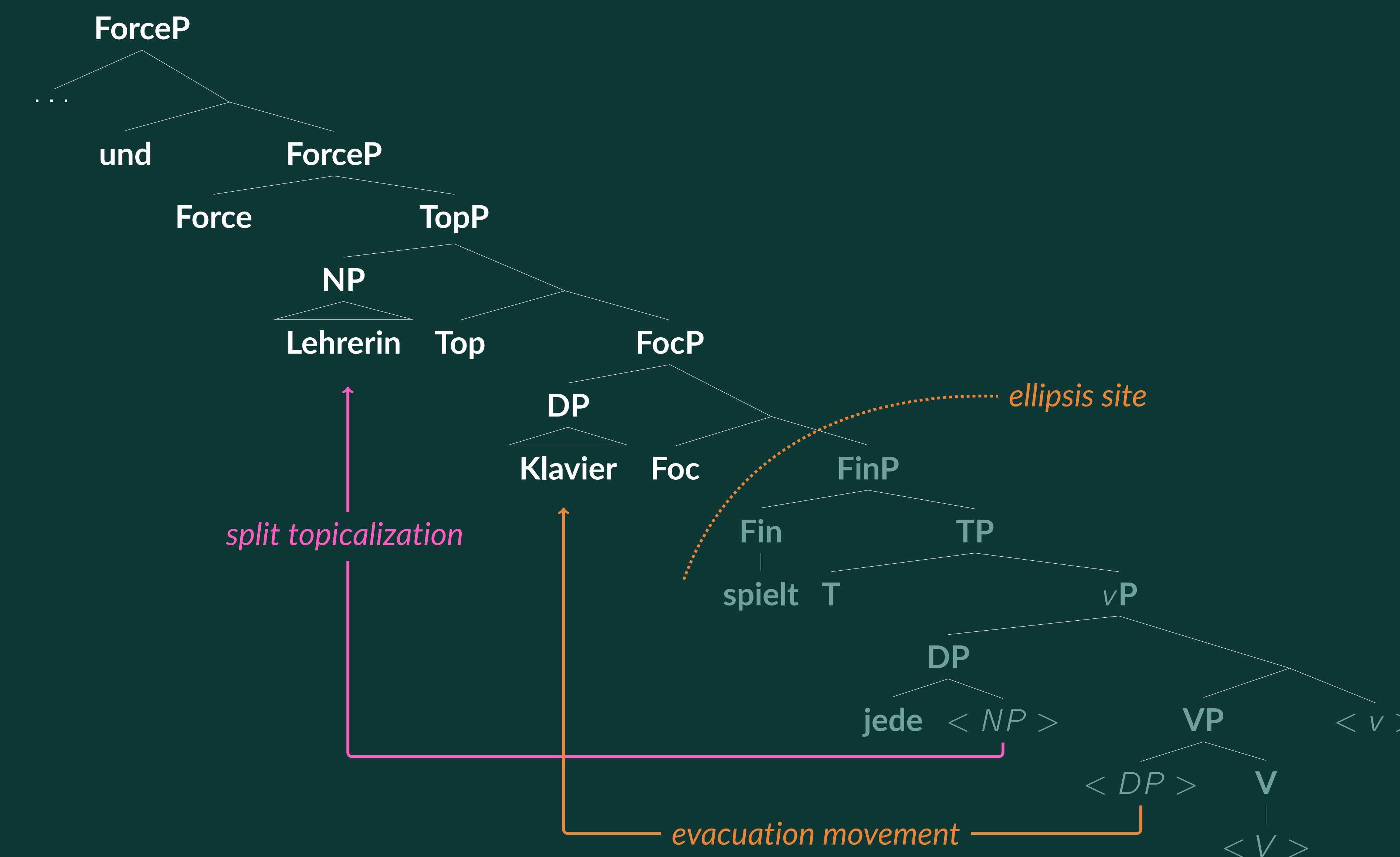
Split Topicalization

- (4) [Autos] hab ich nur [drei amerikanische].
cars have I only three American
- movement to high TopP
 - Split topicalization can occur without gapping, (5)
- (5) Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und [Lehrerin] spielt [jede] Klavier.
every student plays violin and teacher plays every piano
"Every student plays the violin and as for teachers, everyone plays the piano."

Selected References: Johnson 2000. Few dogs eat Whiskas and cats Alpo. *UMOP* 23. • Gallmann 1996. Die Steuerung der Flexion in der DP. *Linguistische Berichte* 164. • Hartmann 2000. *Right Node Raising and Gapping: Interface conditions on prosodic deletion*. Benjamins. • McCawley 1993. Gapping with shared operators. *BLS* 19.

Determiner sharing = gapping + split topicalization.

- (6) Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und _{-D} LehrerIn _{-v} Klavier.
every student plays violin and teacher piano
"Every student plays the violin and every teacher plays the piano."



Handout: <https://t1p.de/wccfl>

Evidence from syntactically conditioned case omission

- 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). This is illustrated for dative -e in (7).

- (7) a. ein Schiff aus Holz
a ship out.of wood.dat
b. *ein Schiff aus Holz-e
a ship out.of wood-dat
c. ein Schiff aus hart-em Holz/Holz-e
a ship out.of hard-DAT wood.dat
(Sternefeld 2004:269)

- (8) Jedem Lehrer ist ein Hund
every-dat teacher.dat is a dog.nom
gefolgt und _{-D} Kind-e _{-v} eine Katze.
followed and child-dat a cat.nom
"Every kindergarten teacher was followed by a dog and every child was followed by a cat."

⇒ The noun was base-generated in a DP with a case-marked determiner, licensing dative -e on the noun. The noun topicalizes, the determiner is left in the ellipsis site.

Accounting for the properties

1. dependence on gapping
 - If gapping is deletion of FinP, the ellipsis site is large enough to contain a determiner stranded by split topicalization.
2. initial element
 - Split topicalization always targets TopP, which is higher than FocP in German.
 - Winkler 2016: 1st remnant of gapping = topic, 2nd remnant = focus

Conclusion

If split topicalization occurs in the second conjunct of a gapping coordination, the result is determiner sharing.