

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

Claim & Introduction. Recently, the research on ellipsis has generated many proposals of *in-situ* analyses (e.g. Griffiths & Struckmeier 2021, Griffiths 2019, Broekhuis & Bayer 2020). I present an argument against such approaches based on an analysis of novel data of so-called *determiner sharing* constructions (DS) in German. DS refers to non-constituent ellipsis in which omission of a determiner or quantifier is parasitic on another ellipsis, commonly verbal gapping (e.g., McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000, Lin 2002). Omission of a determiner is impossible without gapping, see (1). I propose that DS arises as the accidental result of the simultaneous application of two independent processes: (clausal) ellipsis and split topicalization, i.e., (1) is the elliptical version of (2).

- (1) %Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und — Lehrerin (*spielt) Klavier.
 every student plays violin and teacher plays piano
 “Every student plays the violin and every teacher plays the piano.”
- (2) Jede Schülerin spielt Geige und Lehrerin₁ spielt jede —₁ Klavier.
 every student plays violin and teacher plays every piano
 “Every student plays the violin and as for teachers, everyone plays the piano.”

Movement + clausal ellipsis. In German, gapping, i.e., ellipsis of a (finite) verb, should be analyzed as clausal ellipsis (following e.g., Hartmann 2000, Reich 2007, Konietzko & Winkler 2010). Evidence comes from the word order of particles, the restricted scope of negation, object fronting, and the impossibility of cross-conjunct binding. I give an example of the latter. In English, in coordinations in which the verb is gapped in non-initial conjuncts, the subject in the first-conjunct can bind the subject in the second conjunct, as in (3-a). This binding is not possible in non-gapping coordinations, (3-b) (e.g Kennedy 2001, Johnson 1996). German does not show this contrast, (4).

- (3) 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.
- (4) 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

The subject in the initial conjunct in (4-a) moves to the position preceding the finite verb, Spec,CP. Still, it is not high enough to bind the second subject. This suggests that the conjuncts are so large that it is not possible for the subject to move to a position where it can c-command the second subject, and that consequently both conjuncts must be CPs.

I also provide arguments that suggest that in gapping, and specifically DS, the remnants are parts of a movement dependency. The first piece of evidence comes from island effects. Elements that are contained in an island cannot be remnants of ellipsis, see the Complex NP island in (5).

- (5) a. *Ich kenne [DP niemanden [CP der jedes Papier von Chomsky gelesen hat]] oder
 I know nobody who every paper by Chomsky read has or
 Buch, von Lasnik.
 book by Lasnik
 b. ... oder [CP Buch₁ [PP von Lasnik]₂ [~~ich kenne [DP niemanden [CP der jedes t_1 t_2 gelesen hat]]]]~~]

Second, remnants may originate in an embedded clause and move successive-cyclically, (6).

- (6) a. Linh hat gesagt dass jeder Schüler hier Geige spielt und Nils, Lehrer.
 Linh has said that every student here violin plays and Nils teacher
 “Linh said that every student here plays the violin and Nils said that every teacher here plays the violin.”
 b. ... und [_{CP} Nils₁ Lehrer₂ [~~hat t_T gesagt [_{CP} jeder t₂ hier Geige spielt]]]~~

Third, the P-stranding generalization (Merchant 2001, Abels 2003) suggests that remnants move. German cannot strand prepositions in regular A' movement, (7-a). (7-b) shows that P-stranding is equally impossible for remnants of gapping.

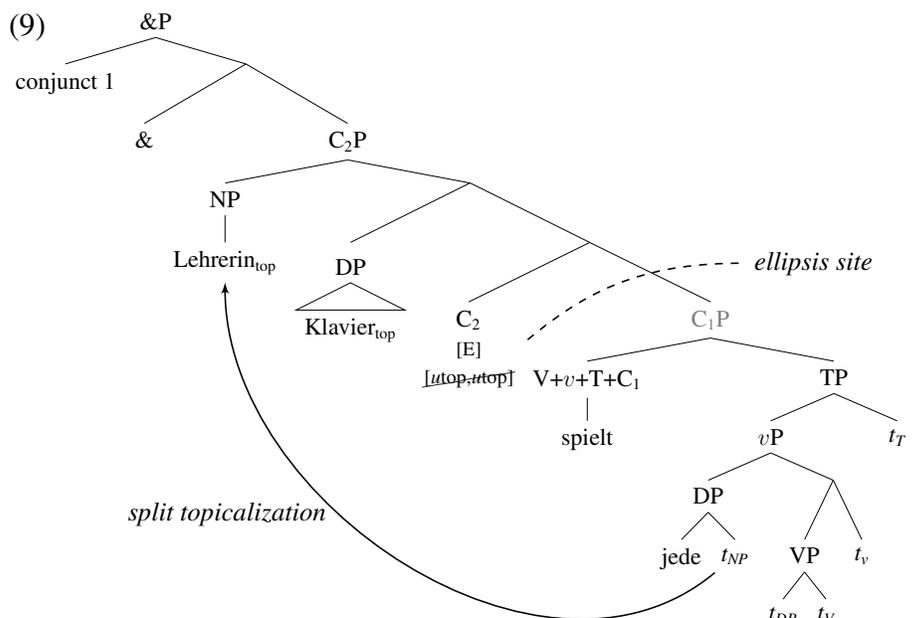
- (7) a. *Wem_i hast du gesprochen mit _i?
 who have you talked with
 b. Britta hat mit Abed geredet und Shirley [_{PP} *(mit) [_{DP} Jeff]].
 Britta has with Abed talked and Shirley with Jeff
 “Britta has talked to Abed and Shirley has talked to Jeff.”

These observations, as well as additional arguments from particle verbs and freezing, suggest that the conjuncts in gapping are clause sized, and that remnants of ellipsis must move.

Analysis. I propose that DS arises if split topicalization occurs in an elliptical structure. I follow Hartmann (2000) in analyzing gapping as the ellipsis of a lower C₁P that hosts the finite verb or a complementizer. I assume that German also has another, higher C₂P-layer which hosts landing sites for A'-movement. C₂⁰ may possess an [E]-feature (Merchant 2001, Aelbrecht 2010), which blocks vocabulary insertion in its complement. I assume (split) topicalization is triggered by a feature [*utop*]. The exceptional movement of the second remnant *Klavier* is regulated by (8). DS is derived as in (9).

- (8) *Feature Co-Occurrence Restriction for exceptional movement* (based on Gazdar et al. 1985)
 C₂⁰ may be assigned an additional [*utop*] if and only if it also contains {[*utop*],[E]}.

The parasitism of DS on gapping falls out naturally from this account: if a noun undergoes split topicalization and moves to a position higher than the elided phrase C₁P, its determiner will be left behind in the ellipsis site and consequently deleted. Omission of a determiner is therefore an accidental result of the simultaneous application of split topicalization and (clausal) ellipsis. I argue that the success of this analysis strengthens the case for movement-based approaches to ellipsis.



Selected References. Broekhuis & Bayer 2020. Clausal ellipsis: deletion or selective spell-out? *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 37 • Griffiths & Struckmeier 2021. What does a plausible ‘in-situ’ theory of ellipsis look like. Talk presented at GLOW 44 • Hartmann 2000. Right Node Raising and Gapping. • Lin 2002. Coordination and Sharing at the Interfaces.