

Contents

List of Tables — IX

List of Figures — XI

Abbreviations — XIII

Preface — XV

1 Introduction — 1

1.1 Backward gapping — 4

2 Determiner sharing — 8

2.1 Properties of determiner sharing structures — 8

2.1.1 Parasitism on ellipsis — 8

2.1.2 Initial position of the element with the omitted determiner — 15

2.1.3 Non-constituency — 18

2.2 Determiner sharing in German — 19

2.2.1 Experiment 1: Acceptability of determiner sharing — 19

2.2.2 Experiment 2: Stripping — 26

2.2.3 Summary — 29

2.3 Previous analyses — 30

2.3.1 Small conjunct gapping analyses — 31

2.3.2 Large conjunct gapping analyses — 43

3 Aspects of gapping in German — 48

3.1 Gapping with large conjuncts — 49

3.1.1 Lack of cross-conjunct binding — 49

3.1.2 Scope of negation and NPI-licensing — 50

3.1.3 Object fronting in embedded clauses — 54

3.2 Movement in gapping — 55

3.2.1 Clause-boundedness — 56

3.2.2 The shape of remnants — 57

3.2.3 Preposition stranding — 58

3.2.4 (Im)mobile particles — 60

3.2.5 Complements of factive predicates — 60

3.3 Gapping as clausal ellipsis — 62

3.4 Subgapping — 67

4 Split topicalization — 74

- 4.1 Properties of split topicalization and determiner sharing — **75**
- 4.1.1 Connectivity effects — **75**
- 4.1.2 Mixed splits — **78**
- 4.1.3 Syntactically conditioned case omission — **80**
- 4.1.4 Regeneration and inflection mismatches — **81**
- 4.1.5 Types of determiners — **83**
- 4.2 Analyses of split topicalization — **87**
- 4.3 Information-structure of split topicalization — **89**

5 Analysis — 92

- 5.1 Assumptions — **93**
- 5.1.1 Movement to the left periphery — **93**
- 5.1.2 The [E]-feature and local-derivational ellipsis — **99**
- 5.2 Derivation of determiner sharing — **103**
- 5.2.1 Subject determiner sharing — **103**
- 5.2.2 Object determiner sharing — **107**
- 5.3 Deriving the properties of determiner sharing — **111**
- 5.3.1 Accounting for the ellipsis generalization — **112**
- 5.3.2 Accounting for the first-element generalization — **128**
- 5.3.3 Accounting for the non-constituency generalization — **129**
- 5.3.4 Summary — **132**
- 5.4 An alternative analysis: Structure Removal — **132**
- 5.4.1 Removal of Fin⁰ — **134**
- 5.4.2 Removal of FinP — **135**

6 Exceptional evacuation movement — 139

- 6.1 Empirical problems for Move-and-Delete approaches — **139**
- 6.1.1 Immobile elements — **139**
- 6.1.2 Complex prefields — **141**
- 6.2 Modeling exceptional movement of clause-mate phrases — **143**
- 6.2.1 Cyclic Linearization (Fox & Pesetsky 2005a,b) — **144**
- 6.2.2 PF-movement for focus-marking (Weir 2014) — **147**
- 6.2.3 Covert movement (Richards 2001) — **151**
- 6.2.4 Optimality-theoretic syntax (Heck & Müller 2003) — **155**

7 Outlook and summary — 159

- 7.1 Arguments for a Move-and-Delete approach — **159**
- 7.1.1 Empirical evidence — **159**
- 7.1.2 Conceptual evidence — **160**

7.2	Cross-linguistic variation —	161
7.3	Conclusion —	162

Bibliography —	165
-----------------------	------------

Index —	187
----------------	------------