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## Article Drop in German

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Article Drop (AD) in German has been argued to be restricted to reduced registers or to plural nouns (but see Geist 2021; Heycock & Zamparelli 2003; Kiss 2019). We present novel data pertaining to mereological/instrumental PPs and topicalized NPs: while the former contain an incorporated argument of the head noun, topicalized NPs resemble Geist 2021's bare nouns in specificational copular sentences, with relationality and uniqueness as AD's licensing conditions.

Bare PPs are more likely to express mereological or instrumental relations:

- (1) Ich habe ein Haus mit  $\emptyset$ /einem Wintergarten besichtigt.  
*I have a house with  $\emptyset$ / a Winter+garden visited*  
'I visited a house with a winter garden.'

Contra Kiss (2019), AD in sentences such as (1) gives rise to slightly different interpretations. While *mit Wintergarten* merely refers to a house type, *mit einem Wintergarten* introduces the referent into the discourse. NPs may also occur bare in topical position:

- (2a.) Du musst noch den Garten umgraben. ('you still need to dig up the garden.')
- (2b.) **Schaufel** steht im Schuppen.  
*shovel stands in+the shed*  
'The shovel is in the garden.'

AD is licensed in a left-peripheral position. In contrast to specificational topics (Geist 2021), there is no case constraint on these bare nouns.

- (3a.) **Schaufel**<sup>ok</sup> findest du im Schuppen.  
*shovel find you in+the shed*
- (3b.) Im Schuppen steht  $\emptyset$ <sup>#</sup>//**eine**<sup>ok</sup> Schaufel.  
*in+the shed stands  $\emptyset$ /a shovel*

AD seems productive with prepositions expressing part-whole relationships, with the PP incorporated into the relational noun. Assuming a type-shifting analysis for nouns taking hyponymic PPs, the bare noun will receive a kind-interpretation, for which no article is required. On the other hand, topical bare NPs obey Geist's constraints: anaphoric link to an antecedent and uniqueness interpretation. Their discourse relation seems to be teleological/instrumental, in that bare nouns express the way a task can be completed or a goal achieved.

**References:** • Geist, L. (2021). Definiteness without Determiners in German. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 6(1): 114, 1–30. • Heycock, C. & R. Zamparelli (2003). Coordinated bare definites. *Linguistic Inquiry* 34(3), 443–469. • Kiss, T. (2019). Determiner omission in German prepositional phrases. *Journal of Linguistics* 55(2), 305–355.