

The Ellipsis of Accusative Direct Objects in Russian, Polish and Czech*

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Abstract. This article explores the ellipsis of configurational Accusative direct objects whose antecedents are Accusative or Nominative noun phrases. Ellipsis potential is shown to vary significantly among the three Slavic languages under study, according to the continuum Russian > Polish > Czech. Within each language, however, patterns of ellipsis are largely predictable based on the interaction of syntactic, lexico-semantic, and discourse factors.

1. Introduction

Ellipsis in the world's languages has been studied from two largely segregated linguistic perspectives: syntactic theory and discourse theory. Within syntactic theory, one generally finds highly simplified and incomplete generalizations about a language's elliptical properties—e.g., "Language X permits subject *pro*-drop." While such a statement succinctly captures the fact that pronominal subjects can have null realization in language X, it says nothing about how prevalent this type of ellipsis is, in what contexts it can occur, etc. Within discourse theory, one tends to find discussions of the pragmatic underpinnings of ellipsis, but few or no practically employable rules of ellipsis. This paper attempts to integrate the syntactic and discourse approaches for the analysis of direct object (DO) ellipsis in three Slavic languages: Russian, Polish, and Czech (R-P-C).

From the outset, two things must be clarified: why these three languages were selected, and what is meant by DO ellipsis.

My research on ellipsis began with a contrastive study of Russian, representing East Slavic, and Polish, representing West Slavic (McShane 1998). The methodological assumption was that ellipsis phenomena were properties of language families. This assumption, while essentially valid for certain categories (like subjects and verbs in Russian versus Polish/Czech), fails for direct objects, whose patterns of ellipsis differ signifi-

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cantly between Polish and Czech. My continuing study of ellipsis will extend to South Slavic and to more languages within East and West Slavic in an attempt to discover what properties of language determine ellipsis potential.

This paper addresses a relatively narrow scope of ellipsis phenomena, constrained as follows: (i) "DOs" are understood as configurationally case-marked Accusative (ACC) complements of verbs; (ii) all the DOs whose ellipsis potential is in question have a specific referent and a syntactically relevant antecedent (I define "syntactically relevant" as syntactically overt and located in the immediately preceding context—usually the preceding clause); (iii) in all but the last subsection, the ellipsis antecedents are configurationally case-marked ACC complements of verbs. Restricting the scope of investigation in this manner allows us to set aside issues like optional transitivity (*Patty is reading [a book]*), generalized objects (*We must love and not hate*), extra-linguistic antecedents, and Projection Principle issues associated with ellipting lexically case-marked objects.¹

1.1 Hierarchies of Ellipsis

My central proposal is that the elliptical properties of a category are best viewed not in terms of a possible/impossible dichotomy, but rather as a hierarchy of continua. The first continuum, shown in Table 1, represents the relative prevalence of DO ellipsis in the languages under consideration. English is included for reference.

Table 1

Russian	Polish	Czech	English
Widely employs DO ellipsis.	Restricts DO ellipsis somewhat more than Russian.	Restricts DO ellipsis significantly more than Polish.	Does not permit DO ellipsis. ²

The second continuum represents variations in ellipsis judgments between speakers of a given language. While some elliptical examples in each

¹ McShane 1998 discusses DO ellipsis with a generalized object and with an extra-linguistic antecedent in Russian and Polish. Rizzi 1986 discusses the non-expression of DOs with a generalized human object in Italian.

² Strictly speaking, English does permit the ellipsis of DOs with definite reference, but only in markedly telegraphic language, e.g., stage directions in plays and recipe contexts. For discussion of the latter, see Massam and Roberge 1989.

language are accepted by all informants and others are rejected by all informants, there is yet another subset for which conflicting judgments are provided. Generally, a speaker will consistently be either more or less permissive of ellipsis—if not in all contexts, then at least with respect to certain types of configurations. Therefore, any model of ellipsis must allow for slightly variable elliptical thresholds among native speakers.

The final continuum concerns the level of acceptability of a given elliptical example as determined by a single native speaker. Ellipsis judgments are not of the black and white type that we expect for phenomena like subject-verb agreement. Instead, they have values with fuzzy borders: absolutely acceptable ~ acceptable but only in highly colloquial speech ~ strange but probably possible in some contexts ~ bad but people sometimes say such things ~ unacceptable.

Since English does not permit DOs to be ellipted, the challenges for language informants in a study like this might not be self-evident. As a means of clarification, let us look at a comparable situation in English. The question is which of the following elliptical sentences are acceptable.³ [e] stands for “empty category” (EC), which is the result of ellipting a category that, even when not overtly realized, retains its syntactic function.

- (1) a. Republicans are conservative and Democrats [e] liberal.
- b. John hates liberalism and Jane [e] surfing.
- c. John hates liberalism and Jane [e] to go surfing.
- d. John hates liberalism and dogs [e] to go surfing.

All speakers of English agree that (1a) is grammatical: it juxtaposes two comparable traits possessed by two comparable groups. Example (1b) is slightly deviant because *liberalism* and *surfing* are not semantically congruent. Example (1c) is more deviant because *liberalism* and *to go surfing* are not only semantically incomparable, they are categorially different as well.⁴ Finally, (1d) is quite bad—perhaps even uninterpretable if not

³ This type of ellipsis, called “Gapping” in the Government and Binding literature, consists of ellipting the verb and, optionally, other VP-internal categories in the second clause of a coordinate or comparative structure. In Gapping structures, the antecedent must be overt, it must precede the EC, and the EC must be surrounded by overt lexical categories (it cannot be clause initial or clause final). For analyses of Gapping see especially Hudson 1989, Jackendoff 1971, Lobeck 1995, Neijt 1979, 1981, Rooryck 1985, Ross 1967, Stillings 1975.

⁴ A mismatch in the categorial status of coordinated elements does not automatically yield ungrammaticality, as shown in Sag et al 1985: Pat is either *stupid* or *a liar* = [AP or NP].

prompted by the preceding examples. The complication arises in labelling examples (1b–d): where does “strange but grammatical” end and “ungrammatical” begin? It is these types of judgments that native speakers were asked to make with regard to DO ellipsis in Russian, Polish and Czech. As expected, there was not full agreement regarding all examples.

1.2 Conventions Used to Show the Status of DOs in Examples

Clearly, we need a finer-grained classification for DO status than elliptable/unelliptable. The following conventions will be used in examples to reflect elliptability judgments more precisely. *Ego*, used here for illustration, is the 3rd person masc/neut sing ACC pronoun in Russian.

- [e] Empty category; says nothing about the non-elliptical variant.
- (ego) DO ellipsis is optional.
- ego/*[e] The DO must be overt. (Although the lack of parentheses in itself implies that the DO must be overt, the slash notation emphasizes it.)
- [e]/*ego The DO must be ellipted; having an overt DO yields ungrammaticality.
- [e]/!ego The DO should be ellipted, having an overt DO creates stylistic infelicity. (! indicates stylistic infelicity.)
- % ego Native speakers provide differing elliptability judgments for the DO.

1.3 Typological Considerations

Russian, Polish, and Czech are very similar typologically: they all have a developed system of morphological case marking, so-called “free” word order, theme-rheme discourse structure, and no verb-object agreement that could license DO ellipsis morphologically.⁵ There are, however, two notable typological differences.

The first difference regards subject *pro*-drop: whereas Russian has moderate subject *pro*-drop (an East Slavic property), Polish and Czech

⁵ All three languages, however, have subject-verb agreement that arguably licenses subject *pro*-drop. I say “arguably licenses” because Franks (1995), for example, rejects the notion that subject-verb agreement, when present, always participates in licensing subject *pro*-drop. He proposes that whereas subject-verb agreement licenses subject *pro*-drop in Polish, it is not fundamentally associated with subject *pro*-drop in Russian. This analysis is questioned in McShane 1998 (23–29).

have more prevalent subject *pro*-drop (a West Slavic property).⁶ However, if subject *pro*-drop affected DO ellipsis, we would expect Polish and Czech to have similar patterns of DO ellipsis—an expectation that is patently not realized.

The second difference concerns pronominal clitics. Czech has the most developed system of pronominal clitics and Russian has the least developed one, with Polish falling somewhere in between. This hierarchy of clitic systems, $C > P > R$, inversely correlates with the hierarchy of DO-ellipsis potential, $R > P > C$, a fact pointed out to me by George Fowler. Fowler suggests that, despite appearances to the contrary, DO ellipsis may be occurring in Czech, but the process is obscured by overt pronominal clitics. This raises a fundamental question regarding how to define ellipsis. I define it in a “surfacy” fashion: if the DO is referred to overtly in the syntax, there is no ellipsis. This approach effectively obscures the distinction between full-form and clitic pronouns. However, another valid approach would be to consider clitic pronouns in Czech (and possibly Polish) to be free-standing indicators of object agreement with a possibility of abstract clitic doubling. Under this analysis, Czech (and possibly Polish) might have DO ellipsis in the presence of clitic objects, in which case the question would shift to what contexts permit object agreement markers to be ellipted. I reserve this “deeper” approach to ellipsis for future study.

While it is natural and correct to search for typological and theoretical explanations for cross-linguistic variation, one global property of ellipsis must not be overlooked: the fact that a language has the typological prerequisites to employ a given type of ellipsis does not mean that it will maximally exploit that potential.⁷ Therefore, in our search for explanation, we must not discount the possibility of inexplicable, systematic underexploitation of ellipsis.

1.4 Comprehensible Does Not Imply Grammatical

Even in languages that liberally permit DO ellipsis, it is *not* the case that any logically retrievable DO can be ellipted—an assumption that might be inherent in a purely pragmatic approach to ellipsis. (In English, by the

⁶ This generalization must be modified for different language styles: e.g., in Polish, subject pronouns are quite common in the spoken language, even though they are ellipted when recoverable in the written language. See Nillson 1982 for discussion.

⁷ Gapping in English is an example of underexploited ellipsis. Gapping is natural in English only in formal or planned speech; it is stylistically incompatible with other speech registers. In other languages, like Russian, Polish and Czech, Gapping is perfectly natural in all speech registers. See McShane 1999c for discussion of Gapping in R-P-C.

way, although we could interpret the following sentence without a DO, it is absolutely ungrammatical: **I lost my keys yesterday but found [e] today.*) Evidence for the inexact correspondence between logical recoverability and elliptability can be found by comparing two examples whose second clauses contain equally "obvious" DOs.⁸

- (2) R: Mat' slučajno vypustila **pticu,** no
 P: Matka przypadkiem wypuściła **ptaka,** ale
 mother_{NOM} accidentally let-out **bird_{ACC}** but
 syn (ee) pojmal.
 syn (go) złapał.
 son (it)_{ACC} caught

'The mother accidentally let out the bird but her son caught it.'

- (3) R: V komnatu vletela **ptica,** i brat
 P: Do pokoju wleciał **ptak,** i brat
 into room flew **bird_{NOM}** and brother
 ee/*[e] pojmal.
 go/*[e] złapał.
 it_{ACC}/*[e] caught

'A bird flew into the room and my brother caught it.'

In both (2) and (3) it is clear that *bird* is the intended DO of the second clause; however, while (2) permits ellipsis in Russian and Polish, (3) blocks it.⁹ The source of this contrast lies in the nature of the antecedent: the antecedent in (2) is an ellipsis-promoting ACC NP, while the antecedent in (3) is an ellipsis-impeding NOM NP. (Why case-marking thus affects ellipsis is explained in sections 2.1 and 4.1.) We conclude that the ellipsis-promoting pragmatic factor "logically recoverable" is not powerful enough to override the ellipsis-impeding syntactic factor "NOM antece-

⁸ When reasonable, only one word-for-word translation and gloss are provided to cover all language examples. Differences in word order are not noted, and word order follows the first language cited. When the status of the DO is different for the cited languages, the DO in the literal translation is presented with no indication of elliptability—each language example must be consulted individually.

⁹ The Czech examples are not included because both Czech sentences block ellipsis—a fact deriving from that language's generally restricted employment of DO ellipsis (which will be noted repeatedly throughout the paper). For reference, the Czech variants of (2) and (3) are given on the following page as (i) and (ii), respectively.

i) Matka_{NOM} náhodou vypustila ptáka_{ACC} ale syn ho_{ACC}/*[e] chytil.

ii) Do pokoje vletěl pták_{NOM} a bratr ho_{ACC}/*[e] chytil.

dent." Thus, if we are to fully understand and be able to predict ellipsis patterns in R-P-C, we must understand not only what factors affect ellipsis judgments, but also their relative weights.

1.5 Ellipsis and Optimality Theory (OT)

The idea of reaching elliptability judgments by comparing the relative weights of ellipsis-promoting and ellipsis-impeding factors suggests a formalism of the type being developed in OT. In OT, differences in the grammars of natural languages reduce to differences in the ordering of universal violable constraints, many of which are conflicting. The ordering of these constraints determines which variant among a set of potential outcomes (the "reference set") is optimal.

Ellipsis in OT has been treated, for example, by Grimshaw and Samek-Lodovici (1998) (hereafter, G and S-L), who propose that the potential for subject *pro*-drop in the world's languages is based upon the relative ordering of three violable constraints:

- "SUBJECT: The highest A-specifier in an extended projection must be filled (Grimshaw 1997). Failed by clauses without a subject in the canonical position.
- PARSE: Parse input constituents. Failed by unparsed elements in the input.¹⁰
- DROPTOPIC: Leave arguments coreferent with the topic structurally unrealized. Failed by overt constituents which are coreferential with the topic." (G and S-L 1998: 194)

The constraints SUBJECT and PARSE favor the overt realization of subjects, while the constraint DROPTOPIC favors ellipting subjects that are coreferential with the topic. Thus, the impossibility of dropping subjects in English can be captured by ranking DROPTOPIC *below* SUBJECT and PARSE, while the preference for dropping topic-coreferential subjects in Italian can be captured by ranking DROPTOPIC *above* SUBJECT and PARSE.

G and S-L's approach is especially relevant for our purposes because it shows how pragmatic effects can be formally incorporated into the analysis of syntactically realized phenomena. While it would not be feasible to adopt a strictly OT framework for the material at hand (because syntactic applications of OT as well as work on Slavic ellipsis are still at early stages of development), this paper takes what might be called a pre-OT approach. That is, rather than posit constraints in the form of linguistic

¹⁰ 'Parse' here means 'realize overtly.'

primitives, I will posit generalizations that, in many instances, conflate numerous factors from different components of the language system. For example, one generalization about DO ellipsis in R-P-C is "In syndetic VP coordinate structures containing an ACC R-expression antecedent, Russian and Polish speakers consistently permit optional DO ellipsis but speakers of Czech vary in their judgments: some permit DO ellipsis quite liberally, while others severely restrict the employment of ellipsis." Here, it is the combination of the syntactic structure and the nature of the antecedent that produces elliptability judgments. In other instances, lexico-semantic and/or pragmatic factors play a role as well.

Converting a list of descriptive generalizations into ordered linguistic primitives presents both conceptual and practical difficulties. If, for example, we apply G and S-L's DROPTOPIC constraint to DOs, how do we then incorporate the fact that topic-DOs in VP coordinate structures are generally elliptable, while those in IP coordinate structures are generally not? It is clear that one or more primitives underlie this generalization, at the level of syntax and/or discourse. (For example, it might be the case that repeated DOs in IP structures are felt to be less highly thematic than those in VP structures.) Furthermore, lexico-semantic effects must be incorporated into the ellipsis-determining hierarchy of factors: e.g., in all of our languages, pronominal antecedents support DO ellipsis far better than R-expression antecedents. Again, the relevant primitives appear to cut across several components of the language system: lexico-semantics (the antecedent is a pronoun), discourse (pronouns have a special discourse function), and perhaps even phonology (it sounds bad in Russian and Polish to repeat pronominal DOs in close succession).

In sum, while the rigors of an OT approach will not be observed in this study, the basic approach undertaken here moves in the direction of OT. Continuing research on this topic will concentrate on extracting the relevant primitives and formulating them as constraints that can then be ordered to account for varying DO-ellipsis potential cross-linguistically.

1.5 Organization

The remainder of the paper is organized into generalizations regarding DO ellipsis in R-P-C. Some generalizations apply unchanged to all three languages, while others show cross-linguistic variation; some incorporate a range of native-speaker opinions, while others hold for all speakers; some are of the grammatical/ungrammatical type, while others reflect tendencies and preferences. The data, in short, will show that DO ellipsis is a relatively supple phenomenon that nevertheless has a principle-based core.

2. DO Ellipsis With an ACC Antecedent

We begin with configurations containing an ACC antecedent because ACC antecedents support DO ellipsis in R-P-C significantly better than any other type of antecedent.¹¹ Keeping the antecedent's case-marking constant will allow us to isolate how various syntactic configurations and lexico-semantic factors affect DO ellipsis in R-P-C.

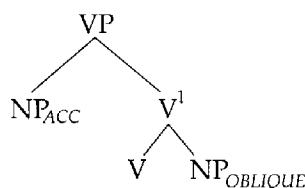
2.1 ACC Versus Oblique Antecedents

In R-P-C, the following generalization is strongly supported by data:

Generalization #1: ACC antecedents support DO ellipsis better than all other syntactically relevant antecedents.

This generalization can be considered in large part syntactically motivated if we accept the widespread assumption that ACC arguments occupy a different structural position than most oblique arguments. (I say "most oblique arguments" because certain configurationally case-marked Genitive arguments appear to occupy the same position as ACC arguments; cf. Bailyn 1995a and section 4.1 below.) While for our purposes it does not matter how the ACC/oblique contrast is realized, for simplicity's sake let us follow Bailyn 1995a and place configurational ACC arguments in spec-VP and oblique arguments in sister-of-V position.

Tree 1



This means that ACC, but not oblique, antecedents are structurally parallel to the ACC NPs whose ellipsis potential is in question. Since parallelism on all levels of the language system is a strong ellipsis-promoting factor, ACC antecedents naturally support DO ellipsis better than NPs

¹¹ Section 4 shows that a NOM antecedent can support DO ellipsis only if it is either selected by an unaccusative verb or presented as an independent discourse theme. Oblique antecedents, which are not discussed here for reasons of space, significantly restrict DO-ellipsis potential, as shown in McShane 1998 and 1999a.

with any other case-marking.¹² Throughout sections 2 and 3, all antecedents will be ACC NPs. In addition, in section 2 all antecedents will be referential expressions (R-expressions). Pronominal antecedents, which have special ellipsis-promoting properties, are discussed in section 3.1.

2.2 Syndetic VP-Coordinate Structures

The first syntactic structure under consideration is syndetic VP coordination, in which two VPs with a mutual subject are joined by an overt coordinating conjunction. Of course, for our purposes, the DOs must be coreferential as well:

Syndetic VP Coordination: NP_{SUBJECT} [VP [VP V_i NP_i] *and/but* [VP V_j NP_j]].¹³

This is an ellipsis-promoting syntactic configuration, as evidenced by Generalization #2 and examples (4–6).

Generalization #2: In syndetic VP coordinate structures containing an ACC R-expression antecedent,

- Russian and Polish speakers consistently permit optional DO ellipsis.¹⁴
- Speakers of Czech vary in their judgments: some permit DO ellipsis quite liberally, while others severely restrict the employment of ellipsis.

¹² See McShane 1998b for discussion of how various types of parallelism affect the ellipsis of DOs (as well as the reflexive/reciprocal particle *się* and the conditional particle *by*) in Polish. See Rögnvaldsson 1990 for treatment of DO ellipsis in modern Icelandic, which also requires parallelism between the antecedent and ellipsis clauses.

¹³ I analyze such structures as VP Coordination, rather than IP Coordination with *pro*-drop of the second subject, for two reasons:

(i) When conjuncts in R-P-C have the same subject, that subject generally cannot be repeated, regardless of whether the DO is overt or ellipted: e.g., R: *On vzjal mjač i [e]/*on brosil (ego)*. 'He took the ball and [e]/*he threw (it).' Expressing the second subject overtly in such structures would either be generally confusing or would imply that the second subject had a different referent than the first.

(ii) Different DO-ellipsis patterns obtain in syndetic coordinate structures whose clauses have the same subject than in those whose clauses have different subjects. This finds a natural explanation if we consider the former VP coordination and the latter IP coordination.

¹⁴ Having tested dozens of examples of this type drawn from Russian and Polish sources, I have yet to find any that block DO ellipsis. Conceivably, ellipsis might be avoided if the clauses were extremely long, but this would be a matter of memory capacity, not syntax.

- (4) R: On vzjal mjač i brosil (ego).
 P: Wziął piłkę i rzucił (ją).
 C: Vzal míč a hodil (ho).
 he_{NOM} took ball_{ACC} and threw (it)_{ACC}

'He took the ball and threw it.'

- (5) R: Doktor Mortimer słožil gazetú i
 P: Doktor Mortimer złozył gazetę i
 C: Doktor Mortimer słožil noviny a
 Doctor Mortimer folded-up newspaper_{ACC} and
 položil (ee) v karman.
 schował (ją) do kieszeni (Pies: 22).¹⁵
 dał %je do kapsy.
 put it_{ACC} in pocket

'Doctor Mortimer folded up the newspaper and put it in his pocket.'

(6) [About rescuing a Jewish child in Poland during WWII]

- R: Spasti rebenka i vyrastit' (ego), èto
 P: Uratować dziecko i wychować (je), to
 C: Zachránit dítě a vychovat %je, je
 rescue_{INF} child_{ACC} and raise_{INF} it_{ACC} that(-is)
 bol'se, čem ego rodit'.
 naprawdę więcej, niż je urodzić.¹⁶
 víc než je porodit'.
 really more than it bear_{INF}

'Rescuing and raising a child really means more than giving birth to it.'

In all of these examples, Russian and Polish permit optional DO ellipsis. Note that the ellipsis judgments in these languages are not affected by the inclusion of additional arguments or adjuncts, or by the finite versus non-

¹⁵ All examples drawn from print sources are provided with an abbreviated reference to that source. A list of sources follows the body of the paper. When ellipsis in such examples is optional, a footnote indicates the status of the DO in the source. For (5), the DO was overt.

¹⁶ This example is adapted from the following Polish text: „Tak uratować dziecko i wychować je, to naprawdę więcej, niż je urodzić!” (Drzewo: 139). ‘To rescue a child like that and raise it really means more than giving birth to it.’ The edited variant presented here, which works better in Russian and Czech, omits *tak* ‘in that way.’

finite nature of the VP.¹⁷ As for Czech, speakers provide contradictory opinions: while all accept ellipsis in (4), there is disagreement about (5) and (6). For some Czech speakers, ellipsis is possible only if the conjuncts are finite and contain no additional arguments or adjuncts to complicate the structure.

2.3 Multi-Clause Syndetic VP Coordinate Structures

A syntactic configuration that even more strongly promotes DO ellipsis is multi-clause syndetic VP coordination. Sentences of this type are just like

¹⁷ The following are supplemental examples showing that various types of additional arguments and adjuncts do not affect DO-ellipsis potential in Russian and Polish. In (ii) and (v) the DO was overt in the source but may be ellipsed; in (i), (iii), and (iv), the DO was ellipsed in the source but may be overt.

- i) R: Kuzakov i Sajapin usaživajut **Zilova** na stul i privodjat
Kuzakov and Sajapin sit **Zilov**_{ACC} on chair and bring
(ego) v čuvstvo (*Oxota*: 229).
(him)_{ACC} to consciousness
'Kuzakov and Sajapin sit Zilov down on a chair and bring him to.'
- ii) R: On otvel **Kolumba** v gostinicu i poselil (ego)
he took **Columbus**_{ACC} to hotel and settled-in (him)_{ACC}
na tridcat' p'jatom ètaže (*Kolumb*: 125).
on thirty fifth floor
'He took Columbus to the hotel and settled him in on the thirty fifth floor.'
- iii) R: Ne stesnjajas' prisutstvija Kolesničenko i
not feeling-inhibited-by presence_{GEN} Kolesnichenko_{GEN} and
svoego sobutyl'nika, maršal obrjal **Kukušu**
self's drinking-buddy_{GEN} marshal_{NOM} hugged **Kukusha**_{ACC}
i krepko poceloval (ee) v guby (*Šapka*: 119).
and intensely kissed (her)_{ACC} on lips
'Not inhibited by the presence of Kolesnichenko and his drinking buddy, the marshal hugged Kukusha and gave her a big kiss on the lips.'
- iv) P: Upewniwszy się, że nikogo nie ma, zabrałam
having-convincd REFL that nobody NEG is-there took_{1.SG.FEM}
moje rzeczy i wrzuciłam (je) do walizki (*Drzewo*: 230).
my things_{ACC} and threw_{1.SG.FEM} (them)_{ACC} into suitcase
'Having checked that nobody was around, I took my things and threw them into my suitcase.'
- v) P: „Po chwili spytała: «Czy umie pan puszczać
after a-minute asked_{3.SG.FEM} INT know-how you_{NOM} skip_{INFIN}
kaczki?» Podniosłem **płaski kamyk** i rzuciłem
stones_{ACC} Picked-up_{1.SG.MASC} **smooth stone**_{ACC} and tossed_{1.SG.MASC}
(go) nad wodą" (*Tutka*: 62).
(it)_{ACC} over water
'A minute later she asked, 'Do you know how to skip stones?' I picked up a smooth stone and tossed it along the surface of the water.'

the ones discussed above except that they are composed of three or more conjuncts containing coreferential DOs:

Multi-Clause Syndetic VP Coordination:

[NP_{SUBJECT} [VP [VP V_i NP_i] [VP V_j NP_i] *and/but* [VP V_k NP_i]]].

Table 2 shows the four combinations of overt and ellipped DOs that could occur in three-clause examples. The antecedent, again, is held constant as an ACC R-expression.

Table 2

Label ¹⁸	Antecedent Clause	Clause #2	Clause #3
(a)	R-expression	pronoun	[e]
(b)	R-expression	[e]	[e]
(c)	R-expression	[e]	pronoun
(d)	R-expression	pronoun	pronoun

There is significant variation in the employment of these patterns, both between languages and between speakers of a given language. More important, however, is the fact that the ellipsis patterns that emerge fully support the cross-linguistic continuum proposed in Table 1: Russian > Polish > Czech. General tendencies of DO ellipsis in these languages are captured in Generalization #3.

Generalization #3: In multi-clause syndetic VP coordinate structures with an ACC R-expression antecedent,

- Russian speakers generally prefer that at least one DO be ellipped; pattern (a) is most preferred, (b) is generally acceptable, and (c) is often possible; (d) is considered excessively repetitive.
- Polish speakers differ in their judgments: while some prefer that at least one DO be ellipped (with preferences as in Russian), others consider pattern (d) fully acceptable as well.
- Czech speakers differ radically in their judgments: while some permit ellipsis as liberally as in Russian or Polish, others consistently and emphatically reject patterns (b) and (c).

¹⁸ The same labels will be used for all languages, further specified by subscripts: e.g., (a)_R stands for pattern (a) in Russian.

Before proceeding to the examples, several points about the above statements must be emphasized.

1. Overtly expressing a verbal argument is practically never ungrammatical per se, but it can produce a stylistically infelicitous utterance, indicated here by the symbol !.
2. While many Russian speakers (and some Polish and Czech speakers) consider pattern (d) to be overly repetitive, there are instances in which one does find extensive repetition of object pronouns in all three languages. This is most common in emphatic contexts, "unedited" colloquial speech, and contexts that are complex in some way, making pronoun repetition helpful to the listener.¹⁹
3. Although there is disagreement among Polish and Czech speakers regarding licit patterns of ellipsis, each speaker remains consistent in his/her judgments from example to example. Thus, while one speaker of Polish considers pattern (d) overly repetitive, another does not; and while one speaker of Czech permits only patterns (a) and (d), another permits (b) and (c) as well. This suggests that within an individual speaker's idiolect, the mechanisms for establishing elliptical judgments are quite fixed; the settings, however, can vary from speaker to speaker.

Examples (7-8) support Generalization #3.

- (7) a._R Mat' vykúpala **rebenka**, ubajukala **ego** i
 Mother bathed **child**_{ACC} lulled-to-sleep **it**_{ACC} and
 položila [e] spat'.
 put [e] to-bed
 'Mother bathed the child, lulled it to sleep, and put it to bed.'
- b._R Mat' vykúpala **rebenka**, ubajukala [e] i
 položila [e] spat'.
- c._R Mat' vykúpala **rebenka**, ubajukala [e] i
 položila **ego** spat'.

¹⁹ For example, in the following Russian minimal pair, (i) has DO ellipsis and is stylistically neutral; (ii) repeats the DO and is emphatic. Similar minimal pairs could be created for Polish and Czech.

- i) Papa očen' poljubil našego ščenka: on kormit **ego**,
 ii) Papa očen' poljubil našego ščenka: on kormit **ego**,
 Dad really came-to-love our puppy_{ACC} he feeds **it**_{ACC}
 vygulivaet [e], kupaet [e], dresiruet [e].
 vygulivaet **ego**, kupaet **ego**, dresiruet **ego**.
 walks **it**_{ACC} bathes **it**_{ACC} trains **it**_{ACC}

'Dad has fallen in love with our puppy: he feeds it, walks it, bathes it, trains it.'

- (7) d._R! Mat' vykupała **rebenka**, ubajukala **ego** i položila **ego** spat'.
- a._P Matka wykupała **dziecko**, ululała **je** do snu, i položyla [e] spać.
- b._P Matka wykupała **dziecko**, ululała [e] do snu, i položyla [e] spać.
- c._P Matka wykupała **dziecko**, ululała [e] do snu, i položyla **je** spać.
- d._P% Matka wykupała **dziecko**, ululała **je** do snu, i položyla **je** spać.
- a._C Matka vykoupala **dítě**, uspala **je** a uložila [e] do postýlky.
- b._C% Matka vykoupala **dítě**, uspala [e] a uložila [e] do postýlky.²⁰
- c._C% Matka vykoupala **dítě**, uspala [e] a uložila **je** do postýlky.
- d._C% Matka vykoupala **dítě**, uspala **je** a uložila **je** do postýlky.
- (8) a._R «My možem sdelat' iz reziny **slona**, nakačat' **ego** vozduxom i postavit' [e] za ogradu». **it**_{ACC} air_{INSTR} and put [e] behind railing
 «We can make an elephant out of rubber, fill it with air and put it behind the railing.»²¹
- b._R «My možem sdelat' iz reziny **slona**, nakačat' [e] vozduxom i postavit' [e] za ogradu».
- c._R «My možem sdelat' iz reziny **slona**, nakačat' [e] vozduxom i postavit' **ego** za ogradu».

²⁰ Recall that although patterns (b), (c), and (d) all elicit disagreement among speakers of Czech, this disagreement is not random: speakers either consistently reject (b) and (c), or consistently permit all four patterns but consider (d) to be overly repetitive.

²¹ This example is a slightly modified version of a citation from *Sloň* (110): „Možemy wykonać **slonia** z gumy w odpowiedniej wielkości, napęlnić go powietrzem i wstawić [e] za ogrodzenie.” The phrase *w odpowiedniej wielkości* ‘of the right size’ was omitted because of translations problems for Czech.

(8) d._R! «My možem sdelat' iz reziny **slona**, nakačat' **ego** vozduxom i postavit' **ego** za ogradu».

a._P „Možemy wykonać **słonia** z gumy, napełnić **go** powietrzem i wstawić **[e]** za ogrodzenie.”

b._P „Možemy wykonać **słonia** z gumy, napełnić **[e]** powietrzem i wstawić **[e]** za ogrodzenie.”

c._P „Možemy wykonać **słonia** z gumy, napełnić **[e]** powietrzem i wstawić **go** za ogrodzenie.”

d._P% „Možemy wykonać **słonia** z gumy, napełnić **go** powietrzem i wstawić **go** za ogrodzenie.”

a._C „Můžeme udělat z gumy **slona**, naplnit **ho** vzduchem a dát **[e]** za ohradu.”

b._C% „Můžeme udělat z gumy **slona**, naplnit **[e]** vzduchem a dát **[e]** za ohradu.”

c._C% „Můžeme udělat z gumy **slona**, naplnit **[e]** vzduchem a dát **ho** za ohradu.”

d._C% „Můžeme udělat z gumy **slona**, naplnit **ho** vzduchem a dát **ho** za ohradu.”

The main point here is that the multi-faceted phenomenon of ellipsis represents a continuum of possibilities—a continuum not only spanning different languages, but different speakers of a given language.

2.4 Syndetic IP Coordinate Structures

The syntactic structures presented above represent VP coordination, since the conjoined phrases share a common subject. However, clauses with different subjects can also be syndetically coordinated. Let us call these “syndetic IP (Inflectional Phrase) coordinate structures.”²²

Syndetic IP Coordination:

[_{IP} [_{IP} Subj_i [_{VP} V_i NP_i]] *and/but* [_{IP} Subj_j [_{VP} V_j NP_i]]].

The introduction of a new subject significantly restricts DO-ellipsis potential on the basis of theme-rheme relations. When the verb in the

²² Referring to the coordinated elements as IPs emphasizes that they do not include a complementizer position.

second conjunct selects a new, rhematic subject, this implies a shift in the topic of discourse. As a result, the expectation that the DO will remain the same is significantly reduced—with “expectation” being an ellipsis-promoting factor. Therefore, if the DO in the second conjunct is thematic (i.e., repeated from the first conjunct) and we want to ellipsis it, we must provide both lexical and prosodic support to boost its perceived degree of thematicity, as indicated by Generalization #4.

Generalization #4: In syndetic IP coordinate structures containing an ACC R-expression antecedent,

- Russian and Polish permit DO ellipsis only if the clauses are joined by a contrastive conjunction and have clearly contrastive semantics and intonation.
- Czech does not permit DO ellipsis.

The effect of these constraints can be seen by comparing (9) and (10).²³

- (9) R: Ja snjala s nego plašč i Marija
 P: Zdjęłam mu płaszcz i Maria
 I took-off from him_{GEN}/him_{DAT} raincoat_{ACC} and_{COORD} Mary
 povесila ego/*[e] na vešalku.
 powiesiła go/*[e] na wieszaku.
 hung it_{ACC}/*[e] on hanger
 ‘I took his raincoat (off of him) and Mary hung it on a hanger.’

- (10) R: Ja snjala s nego plašč, a
 P: Zdjęłam mu płaszcz, a
 C: Sundala jsem mu plášt’ a
 I took-off AUX from him_{GEN}/him_{DAT} raincoat_{ACC} and_{CONTR}
 Marija povесila (ego) na vešalku.
 Maria powiesiła (go) na wieszaku.
 Marie pověsila ho/*[e] na věšák.
 Mary hung it_{ACC} on hanger
 I took his raincoat (off of him) and Mary hung it on a hanger.’

²³ It is impossible to posit a Czech variant for (9) because the Czech conjunction *i* is not used in such contexts; thus, (10) is the only possible translation.

In (9), two IPs are presented in series, joined by a coordinating conjunction. Since there are no lexical or prosodic means to boost the perceived thematicity of the DO, it may not be ellipled in Russian or Polish. In (10), by contrast, there *are* ellipsis-promoting lexical and prosodic means at work: **lexical**—the contrastive conjunction *a*; **prosodic**—a contrastive rising contour on the verb *took off*.²⁴ It is, thus, the heightened thematicity of the DO in (10) that makes it elliptable in Russian and Polish. Czech does not permit DO ellipsis in IP coordinate structures.

2.5 Asyndetic Coordinate Structures²⁵

Up to this point, all the coordinate structures under consideration have contained an overt coordinating conjunction and so were called “syndetic.” However, clauses can also be juxtaposed without a conjunction—a strategy that is much more common in R-P-C than in English. So-called “asyndetic coordination,” shown in (11), represents the same semantic relationship between clauses as syndetic coordination, there is simply no overt conjunction joining the clauses. Of course, a coordinating conjunction could be added to such structures and there would be little change in meaning; however there would be a change in formal structure and, often, in ellipsis preferences as well.²⁶

²⁴ See Yokoyama 1986 (312–16) for a discussion of contrast in Russian.

²⁵ Even though all the asyndetic structures discussed here have clauses with coreferential subjects, they cannot be called asyndetic VP coordinate structures because their underlying organization is unclear. On the one hand, they *might* be VP coordinate structures: [_s NP [VP_i] [VP_j]]; on the other hand, they might be composed of two separate sentences, the second of which has subject pro-drop [_s NP_i VP_i] [_s [e_j] VP_j]]. Of course, punctuation tells us nothing, since a period or a comma can interchangeably be used to separate such elements. Correct analysis of these clause complexes is an involved theoretical matter that will not be pursued here.

²⁶ The notion of asyndetic coordination raises at least two issues, the details of which lie beyond the scope of this paper: what is the difference between an asyndetic coordinate structure and two separate sentences, and what determines whether or not an overt conjunction is used in a coordinate structure? For our purposes, asyndetic coordination will be defined loosely as two successive clauses that are not joined by a coordinating conjunction but whose structural and semantic correlation makes possible the addition of such a conjunction. See Quirk *et al.* (1972: 918) for a description of asyndetic coordination. See Mithun 1988 for a cross-linguistic survey of coordination, which includes a discussion of languages with obligatory coordinating conjunctions, with morphological markers of coordination, with no syntactic markers of coordination, and with various combinations of syntactically overt and syntactically null means of indicating coordination.

- (11) R: Ja snjala s nego plašč.
 P: Zdjęłam mu płaszcz.
 C: Sundala jsem mu plášť'.
 I took-off AUX from him_{GEN}/him_{DAT} raincoat_{ACC}.
 Povesila (ego) na vešalku.
 Powiesiłam (go) na wieszaku.
 Pověsila jsem ho/*[e] na věšák.
 hung AUX it_{ACC} on hanger
 'I took his raincoat (off of him). I hung it on a hanger.'

Generalization #5 summarizes the basic patterns of ellipsis for asyndetic coordinate structures whose conjuncts have coreferential subjects.

Generalization #5: In asyndetic coordinate structures whose conjuncts have coreferential subjects and whose antecedent is an ACC R-expression,

- Russian and Polish regularly permit DO ellipsis but the elliptical variant may be stylistically marked.
- Czech does not permit DO ellipsis.

The reference to stylistic marking in Generalization #5 is crucial to a full understanding of ellipsis in R-P-C. Whereas the elliptical variant of (11) is stylistically neutral in Russian and Polish, the elliptical variant of (12) is not—it sounds too telegraphic for typical contexts, somehow overly elliptical; thus, it is restricted to stage directions and the like.

- (12) R: Stražnik protjagivaet meč, vručает ego![e]
 P: Strażnik wyciąga miecz, podaje go![e]
 guard holds-out sword_{ACC} hands it_{ACC}![e]
 Klavdiju.
 Klaudiuszowi²⁷ (*Imiona*: 283).
 Claudius_{DAT}

'The guard holds out the sword. He hands it to Claudius.'

The elliptical variant of (12) can be made stylistically neutral in both languages by adding an overt coordinating conjunction, as shown in (13).

²⁷ The DO was overt in the source.

This changes the coordinate structure from asyndetic to syndetic. Recall from Generalization #2 that syndetic VP coordinate structures always permit stylistically neutral DO ellipsis in Russian and Polish.

- (13) R: Stražnik protjagivaet **meč** i vručaet (**ego**)
 P: Stražnik wyciaga **miecz** i podaje (**go**)
 guard holds-out **sword_{ACC}** and hands (**it**)_{ACC}
 Klavdiju.
 Klaudiuszowi.
 Claudius_{DAT}
 'The guard holds out the sword and hands it to Claudius.'

Having an overt coordinating conjunction appears to promote DO ellipsis by clearly establishing the relationship between clauses and signalling that the next clause will conclude the sentence. This increases the predictability factor that universally supports ellipsis. While it is difficult to determine how lexico-semantic, rhythmic, and other factors interact to create stylistic markedness versus neutrality in asyndetic structures, one thing is clear: DOs are more freely ellipted in syndetic coordinate structures than in asyndetic ones.

2.6 The Assertion+Elaboration Strategy

Now we turn to a number of structures that do not involve coordination. The first is what I call the "assertion+elaboration" strategy—a clause complex in which the first clause asserts something and the second explains, embellishes, or otherwise comments upon it.²⁸

- (14) R: Ja s"ela **tri** **pirožka.** Sama (**ix**)
 P: Zjadłam **trzy** **pierogi.** Sama **je/*[e]**
 C: Sěndla jsem **tři** **pirohy.** Upekla jsem **je/*[e]**
 I ate AUX **three_{ACC}** **pirozski** self AUX **them_{ACC}**
 ispekla.
 zrobiłam.
 sama.
 baked/made
 'I ate three pirozhki. I made them myself.'

²⁸ *Assertion+elaboration* is my term, but *elaboration* is borrowed from Functional Grammar, where it is used to describe a clause that follows another clause in an integral way, but is

(15) R: Pered teatrom ja kupila bilet na spektakl':
 in-front-of theater I bought ticket_{ACC} to show:
 odna ženščina prodala (ego) mne za polceny.
 one woman_{NOM} sold (it)_{ACC} me_{DAT} for half-price
 'I bought a ticket to the show in front of the theater: a woman
 sold it to me for half price.'

P: Bilet na spektakl kupiłam przed teatrem.
 ticket_{ACC} to show bought_{1.F.SG} in-front-of theater
 Jakaś kobieta sprzedała mi go/*[e] za półceny.
 some woman_{NOM} sold me_{DAT} it_{ACC}/*[e] for half-price

C: Před divadlem jsem (si) koupila lístek na
 in-front-of theater AUX (self)_{DAT} bought_{F.SG} ticket_{ACC} to
 představení: jedna žena mi ho/*[e] prodala
 show one woman_{NOM} me_{DAT} it_{ACC}/*[e] sold
 za poloviční cenu.
 for half price

Structurally, such clause complexes look just like asyndetic coordinate structures: i.e., two clauses occur in series with no conjunction joining them. However, there is a crucial semantic difference: the assertion+elaboration strategy presents clauses that are functionally non-equivalent; in fact, such structures are often incompatible with a coordinating conjunction (**I ate three pirozhki and (I) made them myself*). Russian, Polish, and Czech differ significantly in their employment of DO ellipsis in this configuration, as summarized in Generalization #6 and corroborated by examples (14–15) above.

Generalization #6: In assertion+elaboration strategies with an ACC R-expression antecedent,

- Russian strongly promotes DO Ellipsis.
- Polish and Czech do not permit DO Ellipsis.

Especially puzzling here is the cross-linguistic divergence between Russian and Polish, since these languages show similar employment of DO ellipsis in so many other contexts. This is an instance in which the

semantically not in a coordinate relationship with it. See Halliday 1994 for discussion of elaboration and related concepts.

possibility of diachronic accident must be contemplated in parallel with the search for more insightful explanation.

2.7 Sentences Containing a Gerund Phrase (GP)

Sentences composed of a matrix clause plus a GP are also syntactically and functionally unbalanced: the matrix clause is primary and the GP depends upon it. Following the approach proposed by Babby and Franks 1998, I analyze GPs as nonclausal, nonfinite VP adjuncts that originate within the matrix VP then may or may not move up to clause-initial position.²⁹ I assume that the matrix clause is base generated to the left of (and higher in the X-bar structure than) the GP.

All sentences under consideration are presented without preceding context because if, for example, the given DO occurred in the preceding sentence, inter-sentential effects could complicate ellipsis judgments. In addition, the surface ordering of the antecedent and EC is always the same, with the antecedent preceding the EC. This is because in Russian, unlike in English, pronouns cannot precede their antecedents. So, while in English one can say *Having checked it over, he gave his professor the essay*, this is impossible in Russian, as shown by (16a-b).

- (16) a. *Ne proveriv **ego**, on otdal professoru
 b. *Ne proveriv **[e]**, on otdal professoru
 NEG having-checked **it_{ACC}/[e]** he_{NOM} gave professor_{DAT}
 èsse.
 èsse.
 essay_{ACC}

One final preliminary note: Czech blocks DO ellipsis in all sentences containing a GP. Therefore, while Czech examples will be cited as evidence, primary focus will be given to the more interesting Russian and Polish examples.

In Russian and Polish sentences containing a GP, DO ellipsis is possible if the main clause precedes the GP (17), but is blocked if the main clause follows the GP (18).³⁰

²⁹ The ellipsis data presented here, in fact, provide independent evidence for Babby and Franks' movement analysis of GPs.

³⁰ None of the natural Czech translations of this sentence contain a GP:

i) *Nezkontroloval si esež a dal jí!*[e] profesorovi.* 'He didn't check over the essay but gave it to his professor.'

- (17) R: On otdal professoru **èsse**, ne proveriv
 P: On oddał profesorowi **wypracowanie**, nie przeczytawszy
 he_{NOM} gave professor_{DAT} **essay**_{ACC} not having-checked
(ego).
(je).³¹
(it)_{ACC}
 'He gave his professor the essay, not having checked it over.'

- (18) R: Podnjav **okurok**, on brosil
 P: Podniósłszy **niedopałek**, wrzucił
 C: Zvednuv **nedopalek**, hodil
 having-picked-up **cigarette-butt**_{ACC} he_{NOM} threw
ego/*[e] v urnu.
go/*[e] do śmietnika.
ho/*[e] do popelnice.
it_{ACC}/*[e] into trash-can
 'Having picked up the cigarette butt, he threw it into the trash can.'

Consider the ellipsis-related properties of (17–18):

- In both examples, the R-expression precedes the pronoun/[e], which is the only acceptable order of antecedent and pronoun/[e].
- In both examples, the antecedent and pronoun/[e] are in the ACC case, which is a maximally ellipsis-promoting combination of case-markings.
- The only difference between the examples, and thus the only source of their differing ellipsis potential, involves the order of sentence components: in (17), the matrix clause comes first and contains the antecedent, while in (18) the GP comes first and contains the antecedent.

The question is, why does the order of matrix clause and GP so fundamentally affect DO-ellipsis potential? One possible answer involves move-

ii) *Dal profesorovi esej aniž by si jil*[e] zkontroloval.* 'He gave his professor the essay even though he hadn't checked it over.'

iii) *Nezkontrolovanou esej dal profesorovi.* 'He gave his professor the unchecked-over essay.'

³¹ Polish informants gave different judgments for this example: one considered DO ellipsis optional, another considered it highly preferred, and still another considered it impossible. Accepting the majority opinion, I consider it at least optional.

ment. Let us assume that ellipsis potential must be established prior to syntactic movement. This means that the DO located in the matrix clause will always be understood as the antecedent because it is always base-generated to the left of, and higher than, the DO located in the GP. Thus, when the GP remains in situ, its DO can be ellipted because it follows the matrix-clause antecedent. If, however, the GP is fronted, an illicit ordering of antecedent and EC obtains. If ellipsis were to be licensed in such a structure, the DO located in the GP would have to adopt the function of antecedent—which, the evidence shows, is impossible in Russian and Polish. One bit of independent evidence in favor of a movement analysis involves antecedents that are subjects of unaccusative verbs (discussed in section 4). Unaccusative subjects support DO ellipsis far better than all other subjects, which is explained if DO-ellipsis potential is established prior to syntactic movement.

The cross-linguistic patterns of ellipsis in sentences containing GPs are captured in Generalization #7.

Generalization #7: In sentences composed of a matrix clause and a GP, each of which contains an ACC DO and the first of which realizes that DO as an R-expression,

- Russian and Polish permit DO ellipsis only with the surface order [matrix + GP], suggesting that DO-ellipsis potential must be established prior to syntactic movement.
- Czech does not permit DO ellipsis.

One final point about sentences like (17) deserves mention. In Russian, GPs like *ne proveriv* may or may not be set off by a comma. If they are set off by a comma, they take the same complements as they would when used in finite forms—complements that can, in some contexts, be ellipted. If they are not set off by a comma, they lose some of their verbal properties and do not permit overt realization of a complement, even though their understood complement (here: *essay*) must be mentioned previously. Thus, in (17') there is no ellipsis.

- (17') R: On otdal professoru **esse** ne proveriv.
 he_{NOM} gave professor_{DAT} **essay**_{ACC} not read-over
 'He gave his professor the essay unchecked <the unproofread essay>.'

3.0 Lexico-Semantic Influences on DO Ellipsis

This section looks at how lexical selection affects ellipsis potential in the syntactic structures discussed above.

3.1 Pronominal Versus R-Expression Antecedents

Consider, for example, two-clause syndetic VP coordinate structures. As shown in (4–6), when the antecedent is an R-expression, Russian and Polish consistently permit DO ellipsis, while Czech may or may not, depending upon the context and the speaker. However, having a pronominal antecedent works as an ellipsis promoting factor in all three languages and for all speakers, as summarized in Table 3:

Table 3

Language	R-expression Antecedent	Pronominal Antecedent
Russian	Ellipsis is optional.	Ellipsis is (strongly) preferred.
Polish	Ellipsis is optional.	Ellipsis is often preferred.
Czech	Ellipsis is optional or impossible, depending upon the speaker and the context.	Ellipsis is possible for all speakers in most contexts, and preferred by some speakers in some contexts.

These cross-linguistic norms are reflected in Generalization #8 and supported by examples (19–20).

Generalization #8: In Russian, Polish and Czech, pronominal antecedents have stronger ellipsis-promoting properties than R-expression antecedents.

(19) [In reference to a ball, which is masculine in Russian and Czech, but feminine in Polish]

R: On vzjal **ego** i brosil [e]/!ego.

P: Wziął **ją** i rzucił [e]/!ją.

C: Vzal **ho** a hodil [e]/!ho.

he_{NOM} took it_{ACC} and threw [e]/!it_{ACC}

'He took it and threw it.'

- (20) R: Ona ... celuet **menja** v lob i kladet [e]/!**menja**
 P: Ona całuje **mnie** w czoło i sadza (**mnie**)
 C: Líba **mě** na čelo a bere (**mě**)
 she_{NOM} kisses **me**_{ACC} on forehead and puts **me**_{ACC}
 k sebe na koleni (*Detstvo*: 49).
 na kolanie.
 na klín.
 to self on knees
 'She kisses me on the forehead and sits me on her lap.'

Pronominal antecedents promote DO ellipsis in part because of their discourse function: in order for an NP to be expressed as a pronominal, it must either be an established discourse theme or it must be visible/audible in the surrounding real-world context. Thus, the lexico-semantic fact of having a pronominal antecedent reflects the discourse fact of having a thematic antecedent.

Phonological factors also promote ellipsis with a pronominal antecedent. When the antecedent and the potentially ellipted category are both ACC pronouns with the same referent, they inevitably match phonologically.³² Repeating identical categories tends to be perceived as overly redundant on the phonological level, which is one manifestation of the broader linguistic phenomenon known as "parallelism constraints." Thus, although for purposes of creating predictive generalizations about ellipsis it is most convenient to focus on the pronominal nature of the antecedent, pragmatic and phonological elements are at work as well.

3.2 Generic-Specific and Whole-Part Mismatches

In some instances, a DO and its antecedent have a generic-specific or whole-part relationship: e.g., *I like Ferraris and bought one*; *They were selling grapes and I bought some*. In English, the second DO in such contexts cannot be expressed by a pronoun like *it* or *them* because it does not match its antecedent in definiteness. Russian, Polish, and Czech handle such contexts in various ways, conveyed by Generalization #9.

³² I set aside contexts containing one long-form and one short-form (clitic) pronoun.

Generalization #9: Referent mismatches (generic-specific or whole-part) produce the following effects:

- In Russian, the second DO is realized by an inherently null anaphor that is lexically specified as nondefinite.
- In Polish, contexts with "one" and "some" have different properties. In "one" contexts, Polish uses *jeden*, which may be overt or ellipsed like a regular pronoun. In "some" contexts, Polish employs an inherently null anaphor that is lexically specified as nondefinite, nondiscrete.
- In Czech, the DO is always realized by an overt anaphor.

Consider, first, the example *Yesterday they were selling computers at the university and my brother bought one*, translated into R-P-C as follows:

- (21) R: Včera v universitete prodavali komp'jutery i
 P: Wczoraj na uniwersytecie sprzedawali komputery i
 C: Včera na univerzitě prodávali počítače a
 yesterday at university were-selling_{3,PL} computers_{ACC} and
 moj brat [e]/*odin kupil.
 mój brat (jeden) kupił.
 můj bratr jeden/*[e] koupil.
 my brother_{NOM} one_{ACC} bought

'Yesterday they were selling computers at the university and my brother bought one.'

English *one*, as used here, is an anaphoric pronoun with the features [nondefinite, discrete, singular].³³

Polish and Czech *jeden* have the same feature composition and thus can be used similarly. The fact that Polish permits ellipsis of this anaphor in DO position whereas English and Czech do not, derives from general properties of DO ellipsis in each of these languages. Russian lacks an anaphoric pronoun representing the feature bundle [nondefinite, discrete, singular]; in fact, it has no nondefinite anaphoric pronouns at all. To account for the impossibility of an overt anaphor in Russian sentences like (21), Channon (1983) includes among the inventory of Russian anaphors

³³ Here I follow the approach to pronominal feature composition described in Channon 1983.

one that is inherently null (syntactically and phonologically) and is specified simply as “nondefinite.” In sentences like (21), this null anaphor is pulled out of the Russian lexicon just like *one* or *jeden* would be in the other languages—its realization just happens to be obligatorily null at surface structure. So, while “to ellipt or not to ellipt” has a place in the analysis of (21) in English, Polish, and Czech, it has no place in the analysis of this sentence in Russian.

Now consider a sentence in which the DO refers to *some*, e.g., *They were selling oranges on the corner and I bought some*, translated in example (22).

- (22) R: Na uglu prodavali apel'siny, i ja
 P: Na rogu sprzedawali pomarańcze, więc
 C: Na rohu prodávali pomeranče a já
 on corner were-selling_{3.PL} oranges_{ACC} and/so I_{NOM}
 kupila neskol'ko štuk/[e].
 kupiłam parę/trochę/[e].³⁴
 jsem nějaké/*[e] koupila.
 AUX bought a-few_{ACC}/a-little_{ACC}/some_{ACC}/[e]
 'They were selling oranges on the corner and/so I bought some.'

English *some* and Czech *nějaké* have the feature specification [nondefinite, nondiscrete], which is precisely what is needed for the second DO in (22). These anaphors cannot be ellipted in DO position because of basic restrictions on ellipsis in these languages. Russian and Polish, by contrast, have no overt anaphor specified as [nondefinite, nondiscrete], which means they must use some other means of realizing the second DO in (22). One option is to use an appropriate R-expression, like *neskol'ko štuk*, *parę* or *trochę* ‘a few, a little.’ This strategy, of course, is possible in English and Czech as well. Alternatively, Russian and Polish permit null realization of the DO. For Russian, we already have an appropriate anaphor to cover this eventuality: the inherently null nondefinite anaphor proposed above, which was not specified for discrete/nondiscrete and thus works here as well. For Polish, we must add to the inventory of anaphors an inherently null one with the feature specification [nondefinite, nondiscrete].³⁵ Thus,

³⁴ The conjunction *i* is technically possible in this Polish example, but significantly worse than the conjunction *więc*.

³⁵ While some speakers of Russian and Polish permit the pronouns *ix* and *je* ‘them’, respectively, to be used in examples like this, other speakers consider this sloppy to the point of being ungrammatical.

both in Polish and in Russian “to ellipt or not to ellipt” is not a relevant question in contexts like (22), since there is no potential overt realization of the necessary anaphor.

Generalization #9 is phrased carefully, making limited reference to ellipsis, since ellipsis per se plays a role only in a subset of the sentences under discussion. To summarize:

- Russian uses the same inherently null anaphoric pronoun for contexts with both “one” and “some.” This anaphor is lexically specified as nondefinite, with no further feature specification, meaning that it can refer both to discrete (“one”) and to nondiscrete (“some”) referents. Since this anaphor is inherently null, ellipsis is not applicable.
- In contexts expressing “one,” Polish uses the overt anaphor *jeden*, which may be ellipted under the same circumstances as any other pronoun. In contexts expressing “some,” Polish uses an inherently null anaphor that is lexically specified as nondefinite, nondiscrete. Since this anaphor is inherently null, ellipsis is not applicable.
- Czech uses overt anaphoric pronouns for both “one” and “some.” These anaphors, like most pronouns in Czech, cannot be ellipted in DO position.

3.3 Gender Agreement Quandaries

Another instance in which DOs in Russian and Polish are preferably ellipted on lexico-semantic grounds is when there are gender-related complications associated with expressing the DO overtly. Such complications most often occur when the biological gender of a person does not correspond to the grammatical gender of the word used to refer to that person in the context, as in (23).

(23) R: [Assume that the child is a girl]

Mat' pojmla **rebenka** i šlepnula [e]/!ego.
 mother_{NOM} caught **child**_{M.ACC} and slapped [e]/!him[here:her]
 'The mother caught the child and slapped her.'

In the first conjunct of (23), a biologically female girl is referred to by the grammatically masculine noun *rebenok* 'child.' The next reference to the girl is as the DO of *šlepnula* 'slap.' Biological gender suggests that the object of *šlepnula* be expressed using the feminine pronoun *ee*; however, this is grammatically impossible. Rules of Russian grammar require that

all pronouns agree in gender with their syntactic antecedents, if they have a syntactic antecedent. Therefore, if the object of *šlepnula* is to be expressed overtly, it must be by the masculine pronoun *ego*. However, since it is strange to refer to a girl using a masculine pronoun, the elliptical variant of this sentence is highly preferred.

Example (24) shows a similar case in Polish: a man is referred to in the first conjunct by the feminine noun *osoba* 'personage', and ellipsis of the following coreferential DO is highly preferred.

(24) P: [Assume that the person in question is a man]

Policjant schwycił **jedną osobę** i uderzył
 policeman grabbed **one_{FEM.ACC} person_{FEM.ACC}** and struck

[e]/!ja.

[e]/!her [here: him]

'The policeman grabbed one person and struck him.'

In Czech, some speakers permit DO ellipsis in contexts like these, while others do not. Those that do not must tolerate a lack of correspondence between grammatical gender and biological gender (however, in reality, such a gender mismatch would likely not arise because a problematic antecedent like the one in (25) would be avoided).

(25) C: [Assume that the person in question is a man]

Policista chytil **jednu osobu** a uhodil
 policeman grabbed **one_{FEM.ACC} person_{FEM.ACC}** and struck

%ji.

%her_{FEM} [here: him]

'The policeman grabbed one person and struck him.'

As suggested by the examples above, ellipsis-inducing gender quandaries most often occur in contexts in which a noun is grammatically masculine and its referent is biologically female or vice versa. Neuter nouns that refer to people do not present the same degree of gender-based incongruity and do not require ellipsis in corresponding contexts. Thus, in an example like (26), the DO referring to the child is unproblematically expressed by the neuter pronoun *je*, which takes its reference from the neuter noun *dítě* 'child.' (The DO happens to be obligatorily overt in this context for independent reasons.)

(26) [The children have just done something naughty]

P: „Wrażliwa dziewczynka... uciekła. Chciał za nią
 sensitive girl_{NOM} ran-away wanted_{MASC.SG} after her
 uciec chłopczyk... ale pani chwyciła
 run-away_{INF} boy_{NOM} but woman_{NOM} grabbed
 dziecko za kołnierz, porwała leżącą na biurku
 child_{NOM,NEUT} by collar snatched lying on desk
 linię i— była je/*[e]” (Tutka: 90).
 ruler and— hit_{FEM.SG.PAST.IMPV} it_{ACC,NEUT}/*[e] [here: him]
 “The sensitive girl ... ran away. The boy wanted to run away
 after her ... but the woman grabbed the child by the collar,
 snatched up the ruler lying on the desk, and kept hitting him.”

Cross-linguistic patterns of DO ellipsis in contexts presenting gender agreement quandaries are summarized in Generalization #10.

Generalization #10: Masculine versus feminine gender agreement quandaries in configurations containing an ACC R-Expression antecedent produce the following effects:

- In Russian and Polish they render DO ellipsis virtually mandatory.
- In Czech, some speakers permit optional DO ellipsis while others do not.

An associated lexico-semantic reason for preferring DO ellipsis is shown in Polish example (27). Here, the speaker of the last utterance would not refer to the woman as *ją* ‘her’ because she is standing right there, and he would not say *panią*, because then he would be addressing her, not the other man; so he conveniently ellipses the DO.

(27) P: „Witam pana!” „Pan Szmidt.— Narzeczoną moja
 welcome sir Mr. Szmidt fiancée_{ACC} my_{ACC}
 pan już zna...” „A miałem, miałem
 you_{NOM} already know... PARTICLE had_{1.SG} had_{1.SG}
 przyjemność poznać [e]” (Żeglarczyk: 48).
 pleasure_{ACC} to-meet [e]

“Welcome!” “Mr. Szmidt. You already know my fiancée.” “Ah, yes, I’ve had the pleasure <we’ve had the pleasure, we’ve had the pleasure of meeting>.”

In English, Czech, and Russian, this referent problem would be avoided by the use of an entirely different construction: E: *Ah, yes, I've had the pleasure, we've had the pleasure, we've had the pleasure of meeting*; R: *My uže poznamomilis'* 'We have already met', *My uže znakomy* 'We are already acquainted'; C: *Už jsme se seznámili* 'We have already met.'

4. Configurations With a NOM Antecedent

The discussion thus far has addressed only configurations containing an ACC antecedent, since this type of antecedent maximally supports DO ellipsis and affords significant power to predict DO-ellipsis potential in various configurations. However, as was noted earlier, other types of antecedents can, under certain circumstances, support DO ellipsis as well. Particularly interesting in this regard are NOM antecedents, since they support DO ellipsis in relatively predictable contexts in Russian and Polish (but never in Czech). NOM antecedents can function as subjects or as (relatively) independent discourse themes, each of which will be addressed in turn.

4.1 NOM Antecedents that Function as Subjects

The ability of a NOM subject to support DO ellipsis in Russian and Polish depends upon the nature of its selecting verb: subjects of lexical verbs generally cannot antecede DO ellipsis, while subjects of (quasi-)existential verbs often can.³⁶ Since Russian permits DO ellipsis in such configurations more liberally than Polish or Czech, let us use it as the basis for general discussion before proceeding to cross-linguistic comparisons.

Subjects of lexical verbs consistently block DO ellipsis in Russian, regardless of how logically obvious the intended DO might be, as shown by (28–29).

- (28) R: Zanimajut menja tože bukaški i žučki, ja
 occupy_{3,PL} me_{ACC} also bugs_{NOM} and beetles_{NOM} I_{NOM}
 ix/*[e] sbiraju, est' očen' narjadnye... (*Mužik*: 55).
 them/*[e]_{ACC} collect exist very fancy-ones_{3,PL}
 'Bugs and beetles also interest me, I collect them, there are some
 really fancy ones.'

³⁶ By quasi-existential verbs I mean verbs that have a lexical meaning but can be used existentially in some contexts—e.g., Russian *ležat'* 'lie' and *viset'* 'hang.' For discussion of the existential use of lexical verbs, see Babby 1980.

- (29) R: Èti **vospominanija** vstavali sami, ja redko
these memories_{NOM} arose selves I_{NOM} rarely
 vyzyval **ix/*[e]** po svoej vole. (Mužik: 54)
 summoned **them/*[e]**_{ACC} by self's will
 'These memories would arise by themselves, I rarely summoned
 them intentionally.'

Subjects of (quasi-)existential verbs, by contrast, often support DO ellipsis, as shown by examples (30–31). Note: all four of these sentences ((28–31)) represent the same syntactic configuration—the assertion+elaboration strategy. The difference in punctuation is merely orthographic and plays no role in ellipsis judgments.

- (30) R: U nix ostalsja **naš komp'juter**. Zaberem
 at them remained **our**_{NOM} **computer**_{NOM} will-pick-up_{1.PL}
 (ego) na sledujuščej nedele.
 (it)_{ACC} on next week
 'Our computer remained at their house. We'll pick it up next
 week.'
- (31) R: Počemu **poduška** ležit na polu? Podnimi **(ee)**,
 why **pillow**_{NOM} lies on floor pick-up **(it)**_{ACC}
 požalujsta.
 please
 'Why is the pillow (lying) on the floor? Pick it up, please.'

The contrast in ellipsis-supporting potential between lexical verbs and (quasi-)existential verbs can best be seen in a minimal pair like (32–33): when the antecedent is the subject of the lexical verb *igrat* 'play', DO ellipsis is impossible, but when it is the subject of unaccusative *byt* 'be', DO ellipsis is possible.

- (32) R: **Moi vnuki** igrajut v podvale. Privedi
my grandchildren_{NOM} play in basement bring
ix/*[e] sjuda, požalujsta.
them_{ACC}/***[e]** here please
 'My grandchildren are playing in the basement. Bring them here,
 please.'

- (33) R: **Moi sapogi** v podvale. Prinesi (ix) sjuda,
my boots_{NOM} in basement bring **(them)**_{ACC} here
 požalujsta.
 please
 'My boots are in the basement. Bring them here, please.'

The obvious question is, what makes (quasi-)existential subjects fundamentally different from lexical subjects in terms of their ability to support DO ellipsis? (Quasi-)existential verbs are unaccusative verbs whose surface subjects occupy DO position at an early stage of the derivation.^{37 38} In other words, unaccusative subjects originate in the ideal position for a DO-ellipsis antecedent. Thus, if ellipsis potential is established prior to syntactic movement, as was suggested earlier for sentences containing GPs, the ability of existential subjects to antecede DO ellipsis is accounted for. In fact, it is possible that the ability of a surface subject to support DO ellipsis in the succeeding clause might be a good test for unaccusativity in Russian.

In Polish contexts containing a NOM subject antecedent, it is rather hard to predict when DO ellipsis will and will not be possible. This is because lexico-semantic and discourse factors play a significant role in determining DO elliptability. Consider in this regard the Russian versus

³⁷ The set of unaccusative verbs includes more than just the existential and quasi-existential verbs discussed here. More research is required to determine if a larger class of Russian unaccusative verbs has the DO-ellipsis properties that are attributed here to existential and quasi-existential verbs. For discussion of unaccusativity, see Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995.

³⁸ The similarity between DOs and existential subjects in Russian was perhaps first noted by Chvany 1975. Chvany showed that existential *byt'* constructions of the type in (i) could be paraphrased (in their possessional reading) by transitive constructions of the type in (ii). Note that the existential subject in (i) is the DO in (ii).

- (i) [*Assume a possessional, rather than a locational, reading*]
 R: U Ivana est' samovar (Chvany 1975: 97).
 at Ivan_{GEN} is samovar_{NOM}
 'Ivan has a samovar.'
- (ii) R: Ivan imeet samovar (Chvany 1975: 97).
 Ivan_{NOM} has samovar_{ACC}
 'Ivan has a samovar.'

Chvany argues that in existential sentences like (ii), both *Ivan* and *samovar* originate VP-internally, as complements of V. (She notes that although many speakers "feel uncomfortable about" the collocation *imet' samovar*—since *samovar* is concrete and *imet'* in this meaning is generally reserved for abstract nouns—this does not detract from the analysis because both variants are fine with abstract nouns (1975: 97).)

the Polish variants of examples (34–37). (Czech variants are presented simply for reference; they all block DO ellipsis).

- (34) R: **Moj učebnik** v klasie; sečas **(ego)**
 P: **Mój podręcznik** jest w klasie; zaraz **(go)**
 C: **Moje učebnice** je ve třídě. Hned **ji/*[e]**
my textbook_{NOM} is in classroom right-away **it_{ACC}**
 prinesu.
 przyniosę.
 přinesu.
 bring_{1.SG.PERF}
 'My textbook is in the classroom; I'll bring it right away.'
- (35) R: Počemu **poduška** ležit na polu? Podnimi
 P: Dlaczego **poduszka** leży na podłodze? Podnieś
 C: Proč **ten polštář** leží na podlaze? Zvedni
why this pillow_{NOM} lies on floor pick-up_{IMPER}
 (ee), požalujsta.
 (ja), proszę.
 ho/*[e], prosím.
 it_{ACC} please
 'Why is the pillow (lying) on the floor? Pick it up, please.'
- (36) R: **Moi sapogi** v podvale. Prinesi mne
 P: **Moje kalosze** są w piwnicy. Przynies mi
 C: **Moje boty** jsou ve sklepě. Přines mi
my boots_{NOM} are in basement bring me_{DAT}
 (ix), požalujsta.
 je/*[e], proszę.
 je/*[e], prosím.
 them_{ACC} please
 'My boots are in the basement. Bring them to me, please.'

- (37) R: U nix ostalsja na komp'juter. Zaberem (ego)
 at them remained our computer_{NOM} we'll-pick-up (it)_{ACC}
 na sledujušcej nedele.
 on next week
- P: Nasz komputer został u nich. Przyniosę
 C: Náš počítač zůstal u nich. Přineseme
 our computer_{NOM} remained at them we'll-pick-up
 go/*[e] w następnym tygodniu.
 ho/*[e] příští týden.
 it_{ACC}/*[e] on next week
- 'Our computer remained at their house. We'll pick it up next week.'

In all of these examples, Russian permits DO ellipsis and Czech blocks it. Polish, however, shows variation depending upon lexico-semantic and discourse aspects of the contexts. Polish informants explain that ellipsis is possible in (34) because the context is so perfectly clear and highly typical. In (35), ellipsis is possible because the DO in question must be visible to both the speaker and the interlocutor—a discourse factor that strongly promotes DO ellipsis. Without this kind of significant lexico-semantic/discourse support, DO ellipsis with a NOM subject antecedent is impossible in Polish, as shown by (36–37).

Cross-linguistic properties of DO ellipsis with a NOM subject antecedent are reflected in Generalization #11.

Generalization #11: When the antecedent is a NOM subject,

- Russian often permits DO ellipsis, but only if the verb selecting the NOM antecedent is unaccusative.
- Polish sometimes permits DO ellipsis, but only if the verb selecting the NOM antecedent is unaccusative *and* there are ellipsis-supporting lexico-semantic and/or discourse factors.
- Czech does not permit DO ellipsis.

4.2. The Antecedent is a (Relatively) Independent NOM Discourse Theme³⁹

Apart from functioning as subjects, NOM NPs can present a person or thing as a (relatively) independent discourse theme upon which the following sentence comments. I refer to such themes collectively as “(relatively) independent” because in some instances they appear as a bare NP, while in others they appear in sentences containing a minimal number of highly restricted other elements.⁴⁰ By singling out the NP as a discourse theme, such configurations promote DO-ellipsis potential in Russian and Polish on the level of discourse. Czech never permits DO ellipsis in such configurations.

Configurations in which (relatively) independent NOM discourse themes permit DO ellipsis in Russian and Polish include the following.

1. A bare NP_{NOM} presents a discourse theme that is commented upon by the same speaker’s following statement.

- (38) R: «**Večnyj student!** Uže dva raza uvol’njali
eternal student_{NOM} already two times expelled_{3.PL}
(ego) iz universiteta.» (Viš. sad: 587)
(him)_{ACC} from university
 “An eternal student! They’ve already expelled him from the university twice.”⁴¹

2. A bare NP_{NOM} presents a discourse theme that is commented upon by the listener’s following statement.

³⁹ I avoid the term ‘topic’ because of its potentially misleading polysemy. Apart from its discourse-oriented meaning (in which it is synonymous to ‘theme’), it can refer to a particular syntactic entity in topic-prominent languages, like Chinese. For example, the Chinese variant of *Fish*_{TOPIC} *I like to go there* would mean something like ‘I like to go there because of the fish.’ Slavic languages do not have topics in the Chinese sense of the word. See King 1995 for discussion of the types of topics that *are* found in Slavic.

⁴⁰ A fundamental syntactic analysis of these various types of themes lies outside the scope of this paper.

⁴¹ The DO was ellipped in the source. The Polish variant of this sentence does not permit ellipsis, but that could well be because of the rarity of the indefinite personal construction in Polish. The Czech variant, of course, does not permit ellipsis either.

P: „**Wieczny student.** Już dwa razy wyrzucili go/*[e] z uczelni.

C: „**Věčný student!** Již dvakrát ho/*[e] vyloučili z univerzity.

- (39) R: «**Kakoj sil'nyj moroz!**»— «Pravda? A ja sovsem ne
 what hard frost_{NOM} really but I entirely NEG
 čuvstvuju **(ego)**»!
 feel (it)_{ACC}
- P: „Ale **ostrý mróz.**“ „Naprawdę? Wcale **(go)**
 PARTICLE strong frost_{NOM} really entirely **(it)**_{GEN.NEG}
 nie poczułam.”⁴²
 NEG felt_{1.SG}
- C: Not applicable⁴³
 “What a hard frost!” “Really? I don’t feel it at all <I didn’t notice
 it>.”

3. A NP_{NOM} is introduced by a word or phrase that points it out or draws attention to it: R: *vot* ‘here is’, R: *von* ‘there is’, C: *jé* ‘here is’ P: *to jest* ‘this is’, P: *o* ‘oh!’, R: *smotri* ‘look’, P: *spójrz* ‘look’, etc.

- (40) R: *Vot bumažnik.* Dolžno byt', kto-to
 P: O! **Portfel.** Pewnie ktoś
 here-is/oh wallet_{NOM} certainly someone_{NOM}
(ego) poterjal.
(go) zgubił.
it_{ACC} lost
- C: *Jé, peněženka!* Někdo **ji**/*[e] musel ztratit.
 here-is wallet_{NOM} someone_{NOM} **it**_{ACC}/*[e] must-have lost
 ‘Here’s/Oh, a wallet. Someone must have lost it.’
- (41) R: *Von naš dom.* Muž sam **(ego)** postroil.
 there-is our house_{NOM} husband_{NOM} self **(it)**_{ACC} built
- P: *To (jest) nasz dom.* Maż sam **(go)** zbudował.
 this (is) our house_{NOM} husband_{NOM} self **(it)**_{ACC} built

⁴² The EC in Polish is GEN here because Polish imposes GEN of negation on all DOs that are ACC in affirmative sentences. This surface case-marking wrinkle does not, however, affect the point in question.

⁴³ The Czech requires a verb in the first sentence.

i) „To je zima!” „Opravdu? Já **to**/*[e] vůbec necítím.”
 that is cold! — Really? I **that** at-all NEG feel

- (41) C: To je **náš dům**. Manžel **ho/*[e]** postavil sám.
 this is **our house**_{NOM} husband_{NOM} **it/*[e]**_{ACC} built self
 'There's/This is our house. My husband built it himself.'
- (42) R: Smotri, **bumažnik**. Dolžno byt', kto-to **(ego)** poterjal.
 P: Spójrz, **portfel**. Pewnie ktoś **(go)** zgubił.
 look **wallet**_{NOM} certainly someone_{NOM} **(it)**_{ACC} lost
 C: Podívej, peněženka. Někdo **ji/*[e]** musel ztratit.
 look **wallet**_{NOM} someone_{NOM} **it/*[e]**_{ACC} must-have lost
 'Look, a wallet. Someone must have lost it.'

4. The NP_{NOM} is the response to a question of the type R: *Čto èto?* P: *Co to?*
 C: *Co je to?* 'What's that?'

- (43) R: «Čto èto?»— «Zajac. Moj brat **(ego)** pojmal».
 P: „Co to?“ „Zajac. Mój brat **(go)** złapał.”
 C: „Co je to?“ „Zajíc. Bratr **ho/*[e]** chytil.”
 what is that hare_{NOM} my brother_{NOM} **it**_{ACC} caught
 "What's that?" "A hare. My brother caught it."

5. The NP_{NOM} is in the first remark of a dialogue of the type R: *Na čto tebe X?* P: *Na co ci X* 'What do you want X for?'⁴⁴

- (44) R: «Na čto tebe **televizor?**»— «Smotret' [e]/**ego** budu».
 for what you_{DAT} **television**_{NOM} watch_{INF} [e]/**ego**_{ACC} will_{1.SG}
 P: „Na co ci **televizor?**” „Žeby ogladać
 for what you_{DAT} **television-set**_{NOM} in-order-to watch
 [e]/***go**”⁴⁵
 [e]/***it**_{ACC}
 "What do you want a TV for?" "I'm going to watch it."

⁴⁴ The Czech variant is not applicable for two reasons: first, it uses the transitive verb 'want' in the first clause, which makes the antecedent ACC rather than NOM; second, the verb 'watch' in the second clause takes a PP complement rather than an NP_{ACC} complement.

„Proč chceš televizi?” „Budu se na ni dívat.”
 why want_{2.SG} television_{ACC} will_{1.SG} REFL PREP it_{ACC} watch

⁴⁵ The Polish variant requires DO ellipsis for a lexically idiosyncratic reason: whereas in Polish one buys or has a *televizor*, one watches *telewizję*_{ACC}. This lexical difference can be likened to English *television set* versus *television*. Since the antecedent and the EC do not precisely match in reference, DO ellipsis is obligatory.

The DO-ellipsis potential of Russian, Polish, and Czech in contexts whose antecedent is a NOM discourse theme is stated in Generalization #12.

Generalization #12: When the antecedent is a (relatively) independent NOM discourse theme, it has a high degree of discourse prominence and a correspondingly increased ability to support DO ellipsis. In configurations containing such an antecedent:

- Russian and Polish often permit DO ellipsis.
- Czech does not permit DO ellipsis.

4.3 The Antecedent Has Oblique Case-Marking

DO ellipsis with an oblique antecedent is the next natural topic in this line of investigation, but one that is too complex to be handled concisely. McShane 1998 and 1999a explore this topic with respect to Russian and provide extensive evidence in support of the main proposal put forth here: that DO ellipsis in Slavic must be dealt with in an integrated theoretical manner—one that combines syntactic, morpho-lexical, semantic, discourse, and even phonological components. In fact, the abovementioned work concludes that *the* strongest ellipsis-promoting factor in contexts with an oblique antecedent is for the antecedent to be a pronoun—a factor that cuts across the lexico-semantic, discourse, and phonological aspects of the language system.

5.0 Conclusions

Table 4 on the opposite page summarizes DO-ellipsis potential in the configurations discussed here. A number of typographic conventions are used to make the table easier to comprehend at a glance: the grey boxes indicate that Russian and Polish have virtually the same ellipsis judgments; the **X** indicates that ellipsis is blocked; the % indicates that Czech speakers vary in their judgments.

Table 4

Configuration	Russian	Polish	Czech
Syndetic VP coordination with an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.2)	optional ellipsis	optional ellipsis	%
Multi-clause syndetic VP coordination with an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.3)	ellipsis is highly preferred	ellipsis is usually preferred	%
Syndetic IP coordination with an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.4)	ellipsis is possible with contrastive conjunction and intonation	ellipsis is possible with contrastive conjunction and intonation	×
Asyndetic coordination with same-subject conjuncts and an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.5)	ellipsis is permitted but may be stylistically marked	ellipsis is permitted but may be stylistically marked	×
The assertion + elaboration strategy with an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.6)	ellipsis is strongly promoted	×	×
Sentences containing a GP with an ACC R-expression antecedent (2.7)	ellipsis is possible only if [main + GP] order of elements	ellipsis is possible only if [main + GP] order of elements	×
Syndetic VP coordination with an ACC pronominal antecedent (3.1)	ellipsis is (highly) preferred	ellipsis is often preferred	ellipsis is usually possible, sometimes preferred
Generic-specific and whole-part mismatches occur in structures with an ACC R-Expression antecedent (3.2)	the DO must be unexpressed	the DO must be unexpressed in some contexts but may be overt in others	the DO is always overt
Gender agreement quandaries occur in structures with an ACC R-Expression antecedent (3.3)	ellipsis is highly preferred	ellipsis is highly preferred	%
The antecedent is the NOM subject of an unaccusative verb (4.1)	ellipsis is often possible	ellipsis is sometimes possible	×
The antecedent is a (relatively) independent NOM discourse theme (4.2)	ellipsis is often possible	ellipsis is often possible	×

Some of these patterns of ellipsis derive from self-evident properties of language. For example, the more times a given DO is repeated in

sequence, the higher its level of thematicity and the more likely ellipsis will be possible/preferred. On the other hand, certain cross-linguistic differences in ellipsis potential between these three typologically similar languages remain largely unexplained.

One final point deserves mention. Although DO ellipsis with an extra-linguistic antecedent was not pursued here (for reasons of space), Russian, Polish and Czech employ it to the same relative extent as DO ellipsis with a syntactically overt antecedent—i.e., Russian is most permissive of such ellipsis, Polish is slightly less so, and Czech severely restricts it. This provides further evidence for a relatively stable cross-linguistic continuum of ellipsis thresholds.

In conclusion, this paper has shown that DO-ellipsis potential in Russian, Polish, and Czech is in large part predictable based on the interaction of syntactic, lexico-semantic, and discourse factors. In addition, it has proposed that ellipsis potential be viewed not in terms of absolute parameters, but rather in terms of various types of continua.

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