

Theoretical and empirical issues in Russian ellipsis

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1. Introduction

Russian employs a wide range of elliptical devices in both its written and spoken registers. In this chapter, we review the major sorts of elliptical constructions that Russian displays, with particular emphasis on those that present typologically challenging puzzles for the analysis of ellipsis cross-linguistically. As we will see, however, when properly analyzed, there are not so many such puzzles – Russian displays the usual kinds of phrasal ellipsis (predicate ellipsis, clausal ellipsis and argument ellipsis), with the various additional devices that allow gapping and similar constructions to appear, and has a fairly typical set of restrictions on the licensing of elliptical constructions. We review these constructions in the chapter, emphasizing various Russian-specific properties, before turning at the end to what are possibly the most controversial puzzles in Russian (apparent) ellipsis constructions, namely the status of the missing material in verb-stranding constructions of the kind that languages like English do not allow at all.

The chapter is organized as follows – in section 2 we discuss NP-ellipsis in Russian. In Section 3, we present non-controversial cases of clausal ellipsis (sluicing, sprouting, polarity ellipsis), followed by a discussion of predicate/vP-ellipsis, including gapping in Section 4. We then turn to the controversial verb stranding constructions in Russian in Section 5, and in Section 6 briefly discuss comparative deletion, Right Node Raising and fragment answers before ending with a conclusion.

2. NP-Ellipsis in Russian

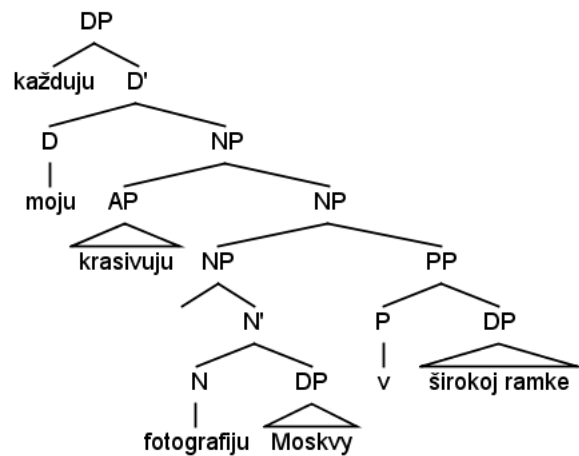
In this section we present basic facts about NP-ellipsis (NPE) phenomena in Russian.¹ Following Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007) and Bailyn (2012), we assume the functional structure of nominal phrases such as (1) in Russian is something like that shown in (2), where quantifiers and demonstratives

occupy Spec, DP position, possessive pronouns are in D, and adjectives and PP modifiers are adjuncts to NP, and the adnominal genitive is generated as the complement of the noun.

- (1) Oni vyvesili každuju moju krasivuju fotografiju Moskvyy
 they put up every my beautiful photo of Moscow
 v širokoj ramke.
 in wide frame

‘They put up every [one of] my beautiful photo[s] of Moscow in a wide frame.’

- (2) Functional structure of Russian DP:²



In contrast to English, Russian lacks articles, and it also doesn't have a nominal proform like English "one", but there is extensive evidence in favor of the DP projection (Pereltsvaig 2006, 2007). Russian has rich agreement morphology which appears on demonstratives, quantifiers, possessive pronouns and adjectives.

All NP-elements that show agreement (gender, number, case) can serve as remnants in NPE constructions in Russian.³ Thus agreeing demonstratives (3), possessives (4), and adjectives (5), can license NP-ellipsis:

- (3) My kupili tu knjigu po matematike posle toga, kak
 we bought that book about math after that how
 on kupil **ètu** [NP ~~knjigu~~ ~~po~~ ~~matematike~~].
 he bought **this**_{FemSg} **book**_{FemSg} ~~about~~ ~~math~~

‘We bought that book about math after he bought this [one].’

- (4) Saša pročitao moju stat’ju,
 Sasha read my article
 a Dima pročitao **tvoju** [NP ~~stat’ju~~].
 and Dima read **your**_{FemSg} **article**_{FemSg}

‘Sasha read my article and Dima read your[s].’

- (5) Petja uvidel belogo zajca posle toga, kak
 Petja saw white hare after that how
 Vasja uvidel **černogo** [NP ~~zajca~~].
 Vasja saw **black**_{MascSg} **hare**_{MascSg}

‘Petja saw a white hare after Vasja saw a black [one].’

Finally, bare nouns (Ns) in Russian can never be elided irrespective of whether other NP-material is retained (for example, possessive pronouns (6), adjectives (7)): if the complement of the noun (adnominal genitive) is present, the noun cannot be omitted (cf. (6a) and (6b), (7a) and (7b)):

- (6) a. *Vasja uvidel moju fotografiju [novogo prezidenta] posle toga, kak
 Vasja saw my photo [new president]_{Gen} after that how
 Petja kupil tvoju ~~fotografiju~~ starogo prezidenta.
 Petja bought your ~~photo~~ [former president]_{Gen}

Intended reading: ‘Vasja saw my photo of the new president after Petja bought your ~~photo~~ of the former president.’

b. Vasja uvidel moju [fotografiju [novogo prezidenta]] posle toga, kak

Vasja saw my [photo [new president]]_{Gen} after that how

Petja kupil tvoju [~~fotografiju [novogo prezidenta]]].~~

Petja bought your [~~photo [new — president]]]_{Gen}~~

‘Vasja saw my photo of the new president after Petja bought your[s] ~~photo of the new president.~~’

(7) a. * Odna novost’ vyzvala iskrennee udivlenie studentov,

one news evoked sincere astonishment student_{GenPl}

a drugaja novost’ vyzvala pritvornoe ~~udivlenie~~ professorov.

and other news evoked feigned ~~astonishment~~ professor_{GenPL}

Intended reading: ‘One piece of news evoked students’ sincere astonishment, and the other piece of news evoked the professors’ feigned ~~astonishment.~~’

b. Odna novost’ vyzvala iskrennee udivlenie studentov,

one news evoked sincere astonishment student_{GenPl}

a drugaja novost’ vyzvala pritvornoe [~~udivlenie studentov].~~

and other news evoked feigned ~~astonishment~~ student_{GenPl}

‘One piece of news evoked students’ sincere astonishment, and the other piece of news evoked ~~the students’~~ feigned ~~astonishment.~~’

To sum up, various NP-elements can become remnants in NPE constructions in Russian: elements in Spec, DP (demonstratives), in D (possessive pronouns), in Num (numerals) and modifiers to NP (adjectives). Whether adjunct PPs can serve as NPE remnants is not clear; perhaps, such constructions should be attributed to gapping.⁴ Bare nouns in Russian cannot be elided. We assume that agreement licensing is a promising explanation for Russian NPE (see note 1 for a list of possible analyses), but further investigation is required for a full analysis.

3. Clausal Ellipsis in Russian

3.1 Sluicing

Russian demonstrates sluicing constructions of various kinds. Any argument or adjunct can become a sluiced remnant:

Subjects:

- (8) Kto-to s'el vse pečen' e, no ja ne znaju kto [].
 somebody ate all biscuits but I not know who []
 'Somebody ate all the biscuits, but I don't know who ate all the biscuits.'

Direct Objects:

- (9) Marina uvidela čto-to neobyčnoe, no ja ne znaju čto [].
 Marina saw something strange but I not know what []
 'Marina saw something strange, but I don't know what Marina saw.'

Adjuncts:

- (10) Mitja gde-to budet praznovat' den' roždenija, no ja ne znaju gde [].
 Mitja somewhere will celebrate day of birth but I not know where []
 'Mitja will celebrate his birthday somewhere, but I don't know where Mitja will celebrate his

~~birthday.~~'

Sluicing in Russian can occur both in subordinate contexts, (as in the examples (8)-(10) above) and in matrix contexts:

Direct Question – Argument:

- (11) A: Kto-to s''el vse pečen'je. B: Kto []?
 somebody ate all biscuits who []
 'Somebody ate all the biscuits.' 'Who ~~ate all the biscuits?~~'

Direct Question – Adjunct:

- (12) A: Vova kogda-to pridet. B: Kogda []?
 Vova sometime will come when []
 'Vova will come sometime.' 'When ~~will Vova come?~~'

The sluiced material can either precede (14) or follow (13) the antecedent:

- (13) Marina uvidela čto-to, no ja ne znaju čto [].
 Marina saw something but I not know what []
 'Marina saw something, but I don't know what ~~Marina saw.~~'

- (14) Ja ne znaju čto [], no čto-to Marina uvidela.
 I not know what [] but something Marina saw
 'I don't know what ~~Marina saw~~, but Marina saw something.'

In other words, sluicing in Russian doesn't obey the Backward Anaphora Constraint (Langacker 1966), unlike some other types of Russian predicate ellipsis (see section 3.3. for further discussion).

Russian is a language that allows multiple wh-fronting, so it allows multiple sluicing (15) and multiple coordinated sluicing (16) as well:

Multiple Sluicing:

- (15) Maša komu-to što-to podarila, no ja ne pomnju komu što [].
 Masha to.somebody something gave but I not remember to.whom what []
 ‘Masha gave something to somebody, but I don’t remember what Masha gave to whom.’

Multiple Coordinated Sluicing:

- (16) Kto-to što-to pel, no ja ne rasslyšal kto i što [].
 somebody something sang but I not get who and what []
 ‘Somebody sang something, but I didn’t get who [it was] and what [they] sang.’

In multiple sluicing (15) we see two wh-remnants without conjunction, while multiple coordinated sluicing has two wh-remnants which are linked by ‘and’ (*i*) conjunction.

Theoretical analyses of Russian sluicing (Grebenyova 2004, 2006, 2009; Scott 2012) all presuppose that in sluiced constructions wh-fronting takes place to the same positions as in wh-questions, followed by TP-ellipsis. However, since there are different approaches to wh-questions in Russian, approaches to sluicing constructions differ accordingly. There are two crucial aspects of wh-behavior that have been the source of disagreement. First, there is the issue of the nature of wh-fronting: whether Russian displays true wh-movement or is a wh-in-situ language which fronts wh-phrases for a different reason than English (and other wh-movement languages) and to another place in the structure. Second, there is a question of whether Russian exhibits superiority effects in structures with multiple wh-phrases, and if it does, what syntactic or semantic principles underlie this phenomenon. While superiority effects are crucial for the analyses of both Grebenyova (2009) and Scott (2012), they disagree on such basic empirical facts as whether there are superiority effects

in embedded wh-questions and matrix sluiced constructions. Due to this discrepancy, their analyses differ significantly.

Grebenyova (2006, 2009), following Stjepanović (1998) and Stepanov (1998), analyzes Russian as a wh-in-situ language, attributing wh-fronting to contrastive focalization. Stepanov (1998) and Grebenyova (2006, 2009) claim that wh-phrases in Russian are fronted to a focus position below CP, the specifier of a Foc projection. Grebenyova (2006) argues that it is the strong [+focus] feature on Foc⁰ that licenses TP-elision⁵ in Russian sluiced constructions (17) and that the focus-licensing is the right analysis for sluicing in general (e.g., for English as well).

(17) Ivan kupil čto-to, no ja ne pomnju [FocP čto [TP ~~Ivan kupil~~]].

Ivan bought something but I not remember what

‘Ivan bought something, but I don’t remember what.’ (p.6)

This approach has several weaknesses that are worth mentioning. First, it presupposes the existence of a Foc projection below CP in Russian, which was extensively argued against in Bailyn (1995), Neeleman et al. (2009) and Titov (2012).⁶ Second, it complicates the analysis of sluicing for languages like English, because it introduces at least two stipulations: (i) that there is a weak [+focus] feature on C⁰ in English which does not attract wh-phrases to its specifier, (ii) that wh-movement in English (still driven by a [+wh] feature on C⁰) simply happens to create the necessary configuration for TP-ellipsis to take place (when the specifier of C with a [+focus] feature is filled, the TP is deleted). What is more, as we will see below, this approach cannot easily account for the

superiority effects observed in Russian, which, contra Grebenyova (2006, 2009), appear not only in sluiced constructions, but in non-elliptical *wh*-questions as well.

According to Scott (2012), *wh*-fronting in Russian is a genuine case of *wh*-movement which, just like in English, relocates *wh*-phrases from their base positions to the specifier(s) of CP. In addition, Russian exhibits multiple *wh*-movement and, as Scott (2012) claims, it has superiority effects. In other words, *wh*-behavior in Russian is considered to be similar to that of Bulgarian. The only thing that distinguishes Russian from Bulgarian on this account is the presence of one more functional projection in the matrix clauses of the former – the higher operator phrase (HOP). The existence of this projection in matrix clauses and its absence in embedded clauses explains the following paradigm (adapted from Scott (2012)):

(18) **Gde** ty sejčas rabotaeš'?

where you now work

'Where do you work now?' (p. 43)

(19) Ty **gde** sejčas rabotaeš'?

you where now work

'Where do you work now?' (p. 43)

(20) Ja ne uveren, gde ty sejčas rabotaeš'.

I not sure where you now work

'I'm not sure where you work now' (p. 48)

(21) *Ja ne uveren, ty gde sejčas rabotaeš'.

I not sure you where now work

Intended reading: 'I'm not sure where you work now' (p. 48)

In matrix clauses, where the HOP is present, there is one additional position at the left periphery (Spec, HOP); and, as we can see from (19), a non-wh-phrase (*ty* – ‘you’) can move there. In embedded questions, however, there is no such position (21) and nothing can precede the wh-phrase(s).

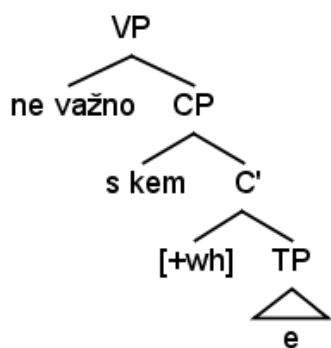
In sentences with sluicing wh-fronting works the same way: the wh-remnant moves to Spec,CP, and then the TP is elided (Scott 2012: 82). Russian sluicing is thus identical to sluicing in English.

(22) a. *Deti s kem-to podralis’, no mne [VP ne važno [CP s kem [TP]]].*

kids with sbmd. fought but me not important with who []

‘The kids fought with somebody but I don’t care with who ~~the kids fought.~~’ (p. 82)

b. Sluiced construction with a single wh-remnant (adapted from Scott (2012: 82))



The presence of the special functional projection (HOP) is justified by a range of phenomena (Scott 2012: 25-32, 65-73, 118-156); below we will show how it can neatly derive the multiple-wh-behavior and predict the contexts where superiority effects arise in Russian.

Multiple wh-fronting and the (non)existence of superiority effects in different contexts constitute the essential data for both Grebenyova’s and Scott’s analysis. According to Grebenyova (2006), in Russian there are no superiority effects in wh-questions (both matrix (23)-(24) and

embedded (25)-(26)), but there are superiority effects in sluicing (both matrix (27) and embedded (28)-(29)) (examples from Grebenyova (2006)):

(23) Kto₁ kogo₂ [t₁ ljubit t₂]?
 who whom loves
 ‘Who loves whom?’

(24) Kogo₂ kto₁ [t₁ ljubit t₂]?
 whom who loves
 ‘Who loves whom?’

(25) Ja ne znaju [kto kogo ljubit]
 I not know who whom loves
 ‘I don’t know who loves who.’

(26) Ja ne znaju [kogo kto ljubit]
 I not know whom who loves
 ‘I don’t know who loves who.’

(27) A: Každyj priglasil kogo-to na tanec.
 everyone invited someone to dance
 ‘Everyone invited someone to dance.’

B: Kto kogo? / *Kogo kto?
 who whom / whom who

(28) Každyj priglasil kogo-to na tanec, no ja ne pomnju **kto kogo** [].
 everyone invited someone to dance but I not remember who whom []
 ‘Everybody invited someone to a dance, but I don’t remember who ~~invited~~ whom.’

- (29) *Každyj priglasil kogo-to na tanec, no ja ne pomnju **kogo kto** [].
 everyone invited someone to dance but I not remember whom who[]

Grebenyova (2006), who considers superiority a diagnostic of movement, concludes from these data that there is no wh-movement in Russian and that something else should be responsible for the peculiar restrictions on the word order of wh-remnants in sluiced constructions (27)-(29). She proposes that it is semantic parallelism in the sense of Fiengo & May (1994) and that it requires the surface order of multiple sluices to be parallel to the order of quantifiers in the antecedent.

On the other hand, according to Scott (2012), superiority effects are present in both wh-questions and sluiced constructions, but due to the existence of the HOP projection we do not observe them in matrix clauses (30)-(31), whereas they emerge in matrix clauses where the movement of a non-wh-phrase to SpecHOP has taken place (32)-(33) and in embedded clauses (34)-(36) (examples adapted from Scott (2012)):

- (30) Kto što posovetoval Darii?
 wh_{NOM} what_{ACC} advised Daria_{DAT}
 ‘Who advised what to Daria?’ (p. 58)

- (31) Čto kto posovetoval Darii?
 what_{ACC} wh_{NOM} advised Daria_{DAT}
 ‘Who advised what to Daria?’ (p. 58)

- (32) Darii kto što posovetoval?
 Daria_{DAT} wh_{NOM} what_{ACC} advised
 ‘Who advised what to Daria?’ (p. 59)

- (33) *Darii što kto posovetoval?

Daria_{DAT} what_{ACC} who_{NOM} advised

‘Who advised what to Daria?’ (p. 59)

(34) Maria sprosila, kto što posovetoval Darii.

Maria asked who_{NOM} what_{ACC} advised Daria_{DAT}

‘Maria asked who advised what to Daria.’ (p. 60)

(35) *Maria sprosila, što kto posovetoval Darii.

Maria asked what_{ACC} who_{NOM} advised Daria_{DAT}

‘Maria asked who advised what to Daria.’ (p. 60)

(36) ?*Komu-to kto-to zvonit s utra,

somebody_{DAT} someone_{NOM} calls since morning

no ja ne znaju, komu kto.

but I not know who_{DAT} who_{NOM}

Intended reading: ‘Somebody has been calling someone since the morning, but I don’t know who [is calling] whom.’ (p. 83)

To sum up, the two leading approaches to multiple sluicing in Russian (Grebenyova (2006) and Scott (2012)) are based on conflicting sets of data. The data presented in Scott (2012) seems more extensive and reliable: it was collected from 76 participants. But even if there are no superiority effects in embedded wh-questions and there are superiority effects in matrix sluicing constructions, as Grebenyova (2006, 2009) claims, her analysis still has the problem of explaining the data in (32)-(33). If the principle of semantic parallelism is responsible for the superiority effects in the sluiced sentences, then the example in (36) should be grammatical, because it exhibits the required parallelism in variable binding. But as we see, it is not the case: the word order “wh.DAT >

wh.NOM” is ungrammatical in sluiced clauses irrespective of the order of the quantifiers in the antecedent (36). And if the wh-fronting in Russian is movement to the specifier of a focus projection (or, alternatively, if it is an TP-adjunction (Bošković 2001, 2002; Gribanova 2009a), then the emergence of superiority effects in (32)-(33) is very unexpected: why would scrambling of a non-wh-phrase to the left periphery evoke superiority effects in a matrix wh-question, where no semantic parallelism can take place? In conclusion, it seems that analyzing wh-fronting as wh-movement and a purely syntactic approach to sluicing give better coverage of the observed wh-behavior.

Multiple coordinated wh-sluicing (as well as multiple coordinated wh-questions) is possible with wh-adjuncts and wh-arguments as well as with a wh-argument plus wh-adjunct combination:

(37) Kto-to gde-to poet, no ja ne znaju, **kto i gde.**
 someone somewhere sings but I not know who and where
 ‘Someone is singing somewhere, but I don’t know who [is singing] and where.’

(38) **Kto i gde** budet spat’? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 who and where will sleep
 ‘Who will sleep and where?’ (p. 101)

In sluicing constructions with multiple coordinated wh-arguments, superiority effects emerge:

(39) Kogo-to kto-to parodiruet, no ja ne znaju,
 someone.ACC somebody.NOM parodies but I not know
kto i kogo.
 who.NOM and who.ACC
 ‘Somebody is parodying someone, but I don’t know who [is parodying] whom.’

- (40) *Kogo-to kto-to parodiruet, no ja ne znaju,
 someone.ACC somebody.NOM parodies but I not know
kogo i kto.
 who.ACC and who.NOM

‘Somebody is parodying someone, but I don’t know whom [is parodying] who.’

- (41) **Kto i kogo** obmanyvaet? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 who.NOM and who.ACC cheats

‘Who is cheating whom?’ (p. 98)

- (42) ***Kogo i kto** obmanyvaet?
 who.ACC and who.NOM cheats

‘Who is cheating whom?’ (p. 99)

Note that the facts in (39)-(40) cannot be explained by semantic parallelism, because the grammatical sentence in (39) violates the proposed semantic constraint, and the ungrammatical sentence in (40) obeys it.

As we see from the examples above, wh-fronting in multiple coordinated sluicing constructions ((37), (39)-(40)) behaves the same way as wh-fronting in multiple coordinated wh-questions ((38), (41)-(42)), suggesting that the analyses of the two should be the same. In Kazenin (2002) and Gribanova (2009a) a uniform monoclausal approach to coordinated multiple-wh constructions in Russian is argued for, according to which there is only one CP in the structure and the coordination happens between two wh-phrases:

- (43) [CP [&P wh1 and wh2] [TP t₁...t₂]]

Scott (2012), on the other hand, claims that a uniform approach to multiple coordinated wh-fronting is on the wrong track, and proposes a separate analysis for multiple coordinated wh-adjuncts, i.e. backwards sluicing (see, for example, Giannakidou & Merchant (1998); Camacho (2003)), while maintaining the monoclausal approach for multiple coordinated wh-arguments and the “mixed type” (coordination of wh-arguments and wh-adjuncts). However, none of the theoretical analyses gives a convincing explanation of why multiple wh-fronting is impossible when the two wh-phrases are adjuncts⁸, which remains an issue for further investigation⁹.

3.2 Sprouting

Sprouting is a widespread phenomenon in Russian: it is a subtype of sluicing in which the sluiced wh-phrase has no overt correlate in the antecedent clause (van Craenenbroeck & Merchant 2013; Chung et al. 1995 among others):

(44) Marina čto-to pela, no ja ne znaju čto []. (Sluicing)

Marina something sang but I not know what []

‘Marina sang something, but I don’t know what ~~Marina sang.~~’

(45) Marina pela, no ja ne znaju čto []. (Sprouting)

Marina sang but I not know what []

‘Marina sang, but I don’t know what ~~Marina sang.~~’

The sentence in (45) differs from (44) in that the antecedent for the wh-phrase (“something”) is absent. The former is sluicing, the latter sprouting. Sprouting is mostly widespread with adjunct remnants ((46), (47)) but is also possible with some argument remnants: sprouted remnants can be direct objects (45) and indirect objects (48):

(46) [Ja ne znaju **kogda** []], no Vova pridet. (adjunct sprouting)

I not know when [] but Vova will.come

‘I don’t know when ~~Vova will come~~, but Vova will come.’

(47) Mitja budet otmečat’ den’ roždenija, [no ja ne znaju **gde** []].

Mitja will celebrate day of birth but I not know where []

‘Mitja will celebrate his birthday, but I don’t know where ~~Mitja will celebrate his birthday~~.’

(48) Marina napisala pis’mo, [no ja ne znaju **komu** []]. (IO sprouting)

Marina wrote letter but I not know whom []

‘Marina wrote a letter, but I don’t know whom ~~Marina wrote a letter~~.’

In Russian, sprouting can never have a subject as a wh-remnant, possibly because subject drop is generally ungrammatical in matrix clauses (50): compare the sluiced subject in (49) with the ungrammatical sprouted one in (51):

(49) Tam kto-to smeetsja, no ja ne znaju kto []. (subject sluicing)

there somebody is.laughing but I not know who []

‘Somebody is laughing there, but I don’t know who ~~is laughing~~.’

(50) *Tam smeetsja.

there is.laughing

(51) *Tam smeetsja, no ja ne znaju kto []. (*subject sprouting)

there is.laughing but I not know who []

*‘There is laughing, but I don’t know who ~~is/are laughing~~.’

Sprouting shares many properties with sluicing: it can also occur in both direct and indirect questions, the clause with the sprouted material can either precede (46) or follow (47) the antecedent clause, multiple (52) and multiple coordinated (53) sprouting are also present:

(52) Marina otpravila, [no ja ne znaju **čto komu**¹⁰ []]. (multiple sprouting)

Marina sent but I not know what whom []

‘Marina sent [something] [to somebody], but I don’t know whom ~~Marina sent~~ what.’

(53) My budem sdavat’ ekzamen po matematike, [no ja ne znaju,

we will have exam in math but I not know

gde i kogda []]. (multiple coordinated sprouting)

where and when []

‘We will have an exam in math, but I don’t know where and when

~~we will have an exam in math.~~’

To sum up, there are no significant differences in Russian sluicing and sprouting vs. their English equivalents with the obvious exception of the availability of multiple wh-movement in Russian and the consequent availability of multiple sluicing and multiple sprouting.

3.3 Polarity Ellipsis in Russian

Kazenin (2006) labels Russian constructions with the polarity markers *da* (positive polarity marker) and *net* (negative polarity marker) – *da/net constructions*. We will call such constructions “polarity ellipsis”. Examples are given in (54) and (55) B:

(54) Petja v Moskvu priexal, a Vasja v Peterburg **net** []. (polarity ellipsis)

Petja in Moscow arrived but Vasja in St-Petersburg **no** []

‘Petja arrived in Moscow, but Vasja did not [arrive] in Saint-Petersburg.’

(55) A: Ty pogovoril i s Vasej, i s Petej?

you talked CONJ with Vasja CONJ with Petja

‘Have you talked both to Vasja and to Petja?’

B: S Vasej **da**, a s Petej **net** []. (polarity ellipsis)

with Vasja yes but with Petja no

‘I’ve talked to Vasja, but ~~I have not talked~~ to Petja.’ (p.7)

The remnants can originate both in the matrix clause as in (54) and (55) and in embedded infinitival clauses as in (56):

(56) V Moskvu ja xoču exat’, a v Peterburg net [].

to Moscow I want to.go but to St. Petersburg no []

‘I want to go to Moscow, but to St. Petersburg ~~I do not want to go~~.’ (p. 12)

Remnants cannot originate in adjunct clauses (57) or relative clauses (58), which are barriers for syntactic movement in Russian:

(57) *Kogda Petja prišel, ja obradovalsja, a Vasja net [].¹¹

when Petja came I was.glad but Vasja no

‘I was glad when Petja came, but ~~I was not glad when Vasja came~~.’ (p. 13)

(58) *Ja videl mašinu, kotoruju kupil Petja, a Vasja net [].³

I saw car which bought Petja but Vasja no

‘I saw the car which Petja bought but ~~I did not see the car which Vasja bought~~.’

These restrictions can be easily explained if we assume that remnants undergo movement from the TP they are generated in before the elision.

Kazenin (2006) argues that *da/net* constructions are cases of ellipsis. First of all, they are not restricted to coordinate constructions:

³ This sentence is grammatical under the reading where *Vasja* is the subject of the matrix clause: ‘I saw the car which Petja bought, but Vasja ~~did not see the car which Petja bought~~’.

- (59) Do Peti moe pis'mo došlo, poètomu stranno, što do Koli ešče net [].
 to Petja my letter reached therefore strange that to Kolja still no []
 'My letter has reached Peter, therefore it is strange that it still has not [reached] Kolja.' (p.7)

Second, Kazenin observes that like some instances of English VP-Ellipsis (60)-(61), Russian polarity ellipsis (62)-(63) obeys the Backward Anaphora Constraint (initially proposed by Langacker (1966) for pronouns): backward ellipsis is typically impossible in coordinate structures and in matrix clause if the antecedent is in the subordinate clause:

- (60) *Sue didn't [e] but John ate meat. (p.5)
 (61) *John didn't [e] because Sue ate meat. (p. 5)
 (62) *Petja net [], a Kolja poedet v Peterburg.
 Petja no [] but Kolja will go to Petersburg
 lit. 'Petja will not ~~go to Petersburg~~, but Kolja will go to Petersburg.' (p.8)
 (63) *Do Peti moe pis'mo da [], poètomu stranno, što do Koli ešče ne došlo.
 to Petja my letter yes[] therefore strange that to Kolja still not reached
 lit. 'My letter [has reached] Peter, therefore it is strange that it still has not reached Kolja.' (p.8)

Based on this similarity to English VP-Ellipsis, Kazenin argues that Russian *da/net* constructions also involve ellipsis. However, note that sluicing constructions in Russian, which were claimed to involve TP-Ellipsis (Scott 2012; Grebenyova 2006), do not obey the BAC and can operate backwards in coordinate structures (as was shown in section 3.1.), which may indicate that not all types of ellipsis obey the BAC.

Finally, there is another parallelism between English VP-Ellipsis and Russian polarity constructions: both can have a non-linguistic antecedent (64)-(65), in contrast to constructions with gapping (66):

[context: the waiter takes out dessert menus]

(64) Ja da [e], a on net [e].

I yes but he no

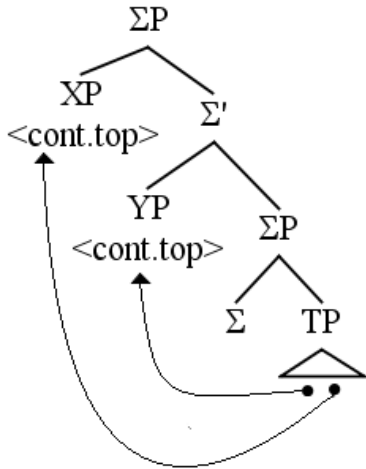
lit. 'I will [~~have dessert~~], but he won't [~~have dessert~~].'

(65) I will [e], if you do [e].

(66) *I [e] apples, and you [e] bananas.

Sentences (64) and (65) are possible when the inferred event is recoverable from the situation, but the sentence in (66) is ungrammatical even if the situation allows to unambiguously recover the verb as 'eat'. From these facts Kazenin draws the conclusion that *da/net* constructions involve constructions with ellipsis.

Kazenin (2006) argues that the polarity items are always focused in *da/net* constructions and that the remnant phrases (*s Vasej* and *s Petej* in (55) B) are always contrastive topics, which he claims undergo obligatory syntactic movement in Russian.¹² He argues that the polarity items in this construction are heads of their own functional projection (ΣP)¹³ and that they license the ellipsis of their complement TP¹⁴ (p.16):

(67) **Polarity Ellipsis construction in Russian**

Kazenin suggests that all remnants (contrastive topics) are adjoined to ΣP and that Σ licenses TP-ellipsis. Polarity ellipsis is common across languages, and involves TP ellipsis with a higher licensing head. Nothing about the construction in Russian is particularly unusual, except that there are some distinctions between the possibilities for positive and negative polarity ellipsis.

3.4 Stripping

3.4.1 Types of stripping in Russian

Stripping is an elliptical construction with just one remnant left behind; standard cases of stripping are presented in (68)-(69):

(68) Ja dolžen Miše pozvonit' ili ty []?

I should Misha call or you []

'Should I call Misha or should you call Misha?'

(69) Ona poprosila Mišu ostat'sja i Vasju tože [] .

she asked Misha to.stay and Vasja too []

'She asked Misha to stay and she asked Vasja to stay too.'

As many other languages, Russian also has *not*-stripping:

(70) Ja okazalsja prav, **ne** Mitja []. (not-stripping)

I turned.out right **not** Mitja []

‘I turned out to be right, not Mitja ~~turned out to be right.~~’

(71) Ona menja pozvala guljat’, **ne** tebja []. (not-stripping)

she me invited go.for.a.walk **not** you []

‘She invited me to go for a walk, not you.’

The elided material can be discontinuous in Russian stripping constructions, as is shown by (72):

(72) Storonniki ètoj teorii často ssylajutsja na ètu statju i
followers [this theory]_{GEN} often cite on this article and

protivniki [] tože [].

opponents [] too []

‘This theory’s followers often cite this article and the opponents ~~of this theory~~

~~often cite this article~~ too.’

(Testeleets 2011)

In (72) the elided material consists of the complement of the subject NP and of the finite clause excluding the subject, which do not form a constituent. Note also that in a non-elliptical clause *tože*

(‘too’) precedes the tensed verb:

(73) Protivniki ètoj teorii **tože** často ssylajutsja na ètu stat’ju.

opponents of.this of.theory **too** often cite on this article

‘Opponents of this theory often cite this article too.’

In stripping constructions both the remnant and its correlate in the first conjunct can be embedded:

(74) [Vanja skazal, što Vika poedet v Peterburg],

Vanja said that Vika will go to St. Petersburg

i [ja dumaju, što Maša tože []].

and I think that Masha too

‘Vanja said that Vika will go to St. Petersburg, and I think that Masha ~~will go to St.~~

~~Petersburg~~ too.’

(75) [Vanja skazal, što Vika tebjā pozvala guljat’],

Vanja said that Vika you invited go.for.a.walk

a [ja dumal, što menja []].

but I thought that me []

‘Vanja said that Vika invited you to go for a walk, but I thought that ~~Vika invited me to go~~

~~for a walk.~~’

3.4.2. Stripping as clausal ellipsis

Merchant (2003) argues that the conjunction involved in stripping is clausal conjunction and not DP conjunction. That is to say, in examples like (76) there is clausal ellipsis and not merely a movement of the string “and Ben” from a position next to “Abby” or vice versa.

(76) Abby speaks passable Dutch, and Ben, too.

Merchant (2003) provides several arguments for why stripping examples like (76) in English are cases of clausal ellipsis. Some of his arguments apply to Russian stripping (77) as well.

(77) Olja xorošo govorit po-nemecki, i Katja [] tože.

Olja well speaks German and Katja [] too

‘Olja speaks German well, and Katja ~~speaks German well~~, too.’

First of all, sloppy identity is possible in Russian stripping (78) and “the grammatical form of dependent elements in the pronounced clause are consistent only with singular, not plural, antecedents” (Merchant 2003:1):

(78) Olja uexala iz svojei strany v junom vozraste, i Katja [] tože.
 Olja left from her country in young age and Katja [] too
 ‘Olja_i left her_i country at a young age, and ~~Katja_k left her_k country at a young age too.~~’

(79) Olja i Katja uexali iz svoix stran v junom vozraste.
 Olja and Katja went.away(Pl) from their countries in young age
 ‘Olja and Katja left their (respective) countries at a young age.’

(80) *Olja uexali iz svoix stran v junom vozraste i Katja [] tože.
 Olja went.away(Pl) from their countries in young age and Katja [] too

Secondly, group predicates like “meet” can have conjoined DPs as their subject, but these predicates cannot occur in stripping (Merchant 2003, Depiante 2000):

(81) Olja i Katja vstretilis’ v magazine.
 Olja and Katja met in shop
 ‘Olja and Katja met in a shop.’

(82) *Olja vstretilis’ v magazine i Katja [].
 Olja met in shop and Katja []

So, it seems at least plausible that stripping in Russian is a case of clausal ellipsis.

Beyond these similarities, there are some minor differences between Russian and English stripping. For example, in English negation cannot be included in the stripped material, while in Russian it can.¹⁵

(83) *Fred didn't ask Susan out, and Bill too.

(84) Kirill ne pozval Ljubu v kino, i Vasja tože [].

Kirill not invite Ljuba to cinema and Vasja too []

'Kirill didn't invite Ljuba to the cinema and Vasja ~~didn't invite Ljuba to the cinema~~ either.'

This contrast might be due to the fact that English negative clauses in all (not just elliptical) contexts are incompatible with *too*, while Russian *tože* can freely occur in negative clauses:

(85) Vasja tože ne pozval Ljubu v kino.

Vasja too not invited Ljuba to cinema

'Vasja didn't invite Ljuba to the cinema as well.'

To sum up, there are three main kinds of clausal ellipsis in Russian: sluicing and sprouting constructions, polarity ellipsis with focused particles 'yes' and 'no', and stripping which often goes with the 'too' particle. It may turn out that stripping and polarity ellipsis have a similar or even identical structure: both these forms of TP-ellipsis have a focused particle and contrastivity in them; comparing them is an important area for further research.

4. Predicate Ellipsis

Kazenin (2006) argues that VP-Ellipsis (which we assume is in fact vP-ellipsis) is present in Russian, but it is not easily identified as such. For example, the following sentences are sentences with elided vPs:

(86) On skazal, što Katja budet čitat' ètu lekciju, a na samom dele

he said that Katja AUX give this lecture but on right affair

Sereža budet [].

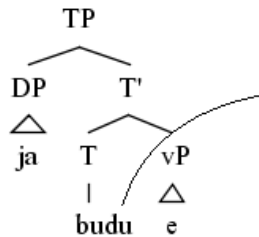
Sereža AUX []

‘He said that Katja will give this lecture, but actually Sereža will ~~give this lecture.~~’

- (87) a. Andrej sčitaet, čto nikto ne budet delat' èto domašnee zadanie,
 Andrej thinks that no one not AUX to.do this home work
 no ja budu [].
 but I AUX []

‘Andrej thinks that no one will do this homework, but I will ~~do this homework.~~’

- b. vP-ellipsis construction in Russian



Kazenin (2006) assumes that the future auxiliary *byť* ‘be’ in Russian is in T in (87) (contra, for example, Harves (2002). This view is shared by Bailyn (2012), who observes that adverbs can both precede and follow the future auxiliary (88), while they can only precede the tensed verbs (89) which do not raise to T in Russian (Bailyn 1995; Kallestinova 2007; Griбанова 2008):

- (88) Ivan (objazatel’no) budet (objazatel’no) smotret’ televizor.
 Ivan certainly will certainly watch TV
 ‘Ivan (certainly) will (certainly) watch TV.’

- (89) Ivan (objazatel’no) napišet (???objazatel’no) novuju pesnju.
 Ivan certainly will.write certainly new song
 ‘Ivan will certainly write a new song.’

Kazenin (2006) argues that in Russian constructions with vP-ellipsis the remnants can either be presentational or contrastive foci. For example, in (90) the phrase “only Petja” is interpreted as a presentational focus:

(90) A: Kto budet ezdit' v Moskvu?

who AUX travel to Moscow

‘Who will travel to Moscow?’

B: **Tol'ko Petja** budet []. (presentationally focused subject)

only Petja AUX []

‘Only Petja will travel to Moscow.’ (p.25)

It turns out that only subjects and some temporal / locative adjuncts can occur in this construction as presentational foci, whereas objects and PPs cannot:

(91) A: Kodga ty budeš' čitat' kurs tipologii?

when you AUX give course of typology

‘When will you give the course in typology?’

B: (Ja) v ètom godu (budu) []. (presentationally focused temporal adjunct)

I in this year AUX []

‘(I) (will) give the course in typology this year.’ (p.25)

(92) A: Kakoj kurs ty budeš' čitat' v ètom semestre?

which course you AUX give in this semester

‘What course will you give in this semester?’

B: **Kurs tipologii** (*budu) []. (presentationally focused object – ungrammatical)

course of typology AUX []

‘[I will give] the course in typology.’ (p.26)

(93) A: Kuda Vasja bol’še ne budet ezdit’?

where Vasja further not AUX go

‘Where will Vasja not travel anymore?’

B: **V Moskvu** (*ne budet) []. (presentationally focused PP – ungrammatical)

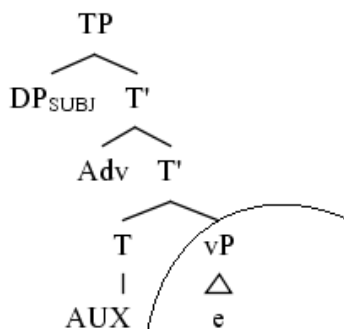
to Moscow not AUX []

‘[He will not travel] to Moscow. (p.26)

According to Kazenin (2006), phrases don’t need to move anywhere to be interpreted as presentational foci. The fact that the elements that are situated inside VP (he mentions objects and PPs) cannot be present in this construction as presentational foci, while subjects and some temporal/locative adjuncts can,¹⁶ suggests that this is a construction with vP-ellipsis: objects and PPs are elided if they are not moved out of vP, hence the ungrammaticality of (92)B and (93)B.

The structure of sentences with presentational foci is given in (94): as we see, vP-ellipsis doesn’t affect subjects in the Spec, TP and adjuncts to T.

(94) vP-ellipsis construction with presentational focus (adapted from Kazenin (2006: 32))^{17, 18}



Furthermore, it is possible in Russian to extract elements from the vP-ellipsis site, in cases of contrastive focus (96), as is known to be possible with English VP-ellipsis as well (95):

(95) Petersburg, John [loves *t*], but Moscow, he doesn't [~~love~~ *t*].

(96) A: Komu ty budeš' pomogat'?

whom you AUX help

'Who will you help?'

(Indirect Object as contrastive focus)

B: Ja vsem budu pomogat', **daže** **Pete** budu [].

I everyone will help even Petja AUX []

'I will help everyone, I will [help] even Petja.'

(97) A: Kakoj jazyk ty budeš' učit'?

what language you AUX study

'What language will you study?'

(Direct Object as contrastive focus)

B: Anglijskij ja ne budu učit', **tol'ko** **francuzskij** budu [].

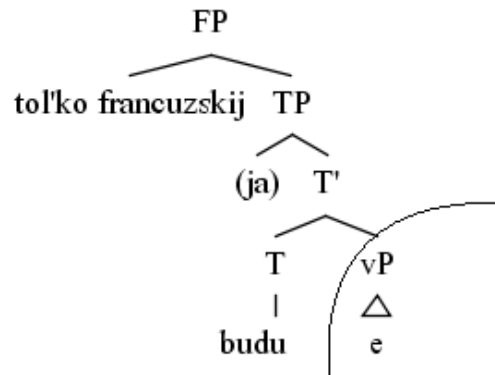
English I not will study only French AUX []

'I won't study English, I will ~~study~~ only French.'

Sentences (96)B and (97)B are sentences with contrastively focused remnants (*daže Pete, tol'ko francuzskij*). Kazenin adopts the minimalist approach of Lopez and Winkler (1999) and assumes that contrastive focus is a syntactic feature which selects for TP. If TP is present in (96)B and (97)B and what is elided is a vP, then it explains why contrastive focusing is possible in such sentences.

The following structure is proposed for the second clause of (97)B:

(98) vP-ellipsis construction with contrastive focus (adapted from Kazenin (2006: 33))



To sum up, true vP-ellipsis is found in Russian in constructions where the auxiliary is present and remnants are either presentationally focused ((90)B, (91)B) or contrastively focused ((96)B, (97)B) phrases.¹⁹ Russian doesn't seem to differ from English in licensing vP-ellipsis: in both languages T is the licensor in these constructions.

4.1. Gapping

Gapping is another type of predicational ellipsis attested in Russian. Some canonical examples are presented below:

(99) Mitja pil čaj, a Nadja [] kofe.

Mitja drank tea CONJ Nadja [] coffee

'Mitja drank tea and Nadja ~~drank~~ coffee.'

(100) Petja perestal vychodit' pokurit' po utram, a Vova

Petja stopped going out to.smoke on mornings CONJ Vova

[] po večeram.

[] on evenings

'Petja stopped going out to smoke mornings, and Vova ~~stopped going out to smoke~~

evenings.’

There are a number of similarities and differences between gapping in Russian and in English, some of which will be presented below. First of all, in both languages gapping is restricted to coordinate constructions; subordinate clauses disallow gapping (Kazenin 2009):

(101) *Some had eaten mussels because others ate shrimp.

(102) *Ja poedu v Moskvu, esli Petja [] v Peterburg.

I will.go to Moscow if Petja [] to St. Petersburg

‘I will go to Moscow if Petja [goes] to St. Petersburg.’

Second, gapping is impossible when the second conjunct is embedded under another predicate (Kazenin 2009):

(103) *Some had eaten mussels and she claims [that others [] shrimp].

(104) *Vasja poedet v Moskvu, i ja dumaju, [čto Petja [] v Peterburg].

Vasja will.go to Moscow and I think that Petja [] to St. Petersburg

*‘Vasja will go to Moscow, and I think that Petja [will go] to Petersburg.’

Third, when gapping affects multiple verbs, it has to affect the uppermost one (Kazenin 2009):

(105) Pete wants to begin to study French, and Bill ~~wants to begin to study~~ German.

(106) *Pete wants to begin to study French, and Bill tries ~~to begin to study~~ German.

(107) Petja xočet načat’ učit’ francuzskij, a Vasja [] nemeckij.

Petja wants to.begin to.study French CONJ Vasja [] German

‘Pete wants to begin to study French, and Vasja ~~wants to begin to study~~ German.’

- (108) *Petja xočet načat' učit' francuzskij, a Vasja
 Petja wants to.begin to.study French CONJ Vasja
 pytaetsja [] nemeckij.
 tries [] German

Fourth, the gap in both languages can be discontinuous:

- (109) Will John greet Mary first, or ~~will~~ Mary ~~greet~~ John ~~first~~?

- (110) Mitja predložil Kate pojti v kino, a Katja [] Mite
 Mitja suggested to.Katja to.go to cinema CONJ Katja [] to.Mitja
 [] v muzej.
 [] to museum

‘Mitja suggested to Katja to go to the cinema, and Katja [suggested] to Mitja
 [to go] to the museum.’

Finally, gapping in both languages can't operate backwards:²⁰

- (111) *John [drank] tea, and Mary drank coffee.
 (112) *Nadja [] kofe, a Mitja pil čaj.
 Nadja [] coffee CONJ Mitja drank tea

‘Nadja [drank] coffee, and Mitja drank tea.’

However, there are also a few differences between gapping in the two languages. For example, in English gapping can't cut into a major constituent – the gap can't consist of a verb and a part of a noun phrase, while in Russian it can:

- (113) *I read the story about elves, and you [read the story] about dwarves.
 (114) Ja čital istoriju pro èl'fov, a ty [] pro gnomov.

I read story about elves CONJ you [] about dwarves

‘I read a story about elves, and you [read a story] about dwarves.’

Another difference is that, unlike in English (Siegel (1987); Johnson (2006/9)), negation on the antecedent predicate cannot take wide scope over the coordinate structure in Russian (adapted from Kazenin (2009)):

(115) Mrs. Smith can’t dance and Mr. Smith [] sing.

A: *‘Mrs. Smith can’t dance and Mr. Smith can’t dance.’

B: ‘It can’t be the case that Mrs. Smith dances and Mr. Smith sings.’ (p. 14)

(116) Petja ne mozet polučat’ \$3000, a ego zamestitel’ [] \$4000.

Petja not can earn \$3000, and his deputy \$4000.

A: ‘Petja cannot earn \$3000, and his deputy cannot earn \$4000.’

B: *‘It can’t be the case that Petja earns \$3000, and his deputy earns \$4000.’ (p. 14)

While in English the conjunction of two events is negated under gapping, in Russian two separately negated events are conjoined. In order to express the wide scope reading in Russian one has to extract the verb overtly in syntax:

(117) Ne mozet Petja polučat’ \$3000, a ego zamestitel’ [] \$4000.

not can Petja earn \$3000, and his deputy \$4000.

A: *‘Petja cannot earn \$3000, and his deputy cannot earn \$4000.’

B: ‘It can’t be the case that Petja earns \$3000, and his deputy earns \$4000.’ (p. 14)

In Johnson (2006/9) the wide scope of negation is accounted for via ATB-movement of the gapped modal, after which the modal takes scope over the conjunction. But as we see from (116), the same line of reasoning cannot be adopted in the case of Russian gapping. In other words, if gapping in

Russian is the result of ATB, it remains unexplained why the wide scope of negation in examples like (116) is impossible.

Kazenin mentions that another possible approach to Russian gapping is vP/VP-ellipsis with evacuation of retained material out of the vP/VP. For example, Jayaseelan's (1990) approach could be applied. Jayaseelan argues that gapping is VP-ellipsis that was preceded by rightward extraction of the VP-internal material that is retained. That would mean that for the gapped clause in (118) we would get a structure in (119) (Kazenin 2009):

- (118) *Biznesmen polučil dva ranenija, a ego voditel' tri ranenija.*
 Businessman got two injuries CONJ his driver three injuries
 'The businessman got two injuries, and his driver ~~got~~ three injuries.'

- (119) *Ego voditel' [VP polučil—t_i] [tri ranenija]_i*
 His driver ~~got~~ three injuries

Treating Russian gapping as vP/VP-ellipsis plus rightward extraction would explain the ungrammaticality of examples such as in (120) (Kazenin 2009):²¹

- (120) **Biznesmen polučil dva ranenija, a ego voditel'*
 Businessman got two injuries CONJ his driver
 [VP [VP₁[] tri ranenija]_i [VP₂ byl dostavlen v bol'nicu]].
 [] three injuries and was delivered to hospital

'The businessman got two injuries, and his driver ~~got~~ three injuries and was delivered to the hospital.'

If Russian gapping is vP-ellipsis plus rightward extraction and in the second conjunct of (120) we have conjoined VPs rather than sentences, and Kazenin argues that (120) is ungrammatical because

of the CSC violation: the rightward extraction of the phrase *tri ranenija* from the first of the conjoined VPs violates the CSC. Of course, in order to pursue this line of argumentation that treats gapping in Russian as a case of vP/VP-ellipsis seriously, one has to explain, for example, why this type of vP/VP-ellipsis is restricted to coordinate constructions, and other distributional differences. To our knowledge, such explanations have not been offered for Russian gapping.

To conclude, predicate ellipsis in Russian comes in two varieties: vP-ellipsis and gapping. Whether the two are really distinct phenomena or whether gapping in Russian represents just a subtype of vP-ellipsis (as speculated in Kazenin (2009)), remains an unsettled question.

5. Verb stranding phenomena

Russian is well-known for allowing normally transitive or ditransitive verbs to appear without any expressed internal arguments. We refer to this phenomenon as “Verb-Stranding”:

(121) A: Ty poznakomil Mašu s Petej?

you introduced Masha with Petya

‘Did you introduce Masha to Petya?’

B: Konečno, poznakomil [] [].

of course introduced [] []

‘Of course, I introduced [Masha to Petya].’

That this phenomenon probably involves ellipsis and not discourse drop was first argued by Gribanova (2011), who shows that the phenomenon is unavailable when 2 factors coincide: (i) there is no linguistic antecedent, (ii) the stranded verb is found within a syntactic island. The former is a known diagnostic for ellipsis (see Gribanova (2011) for discussion), the latter context rules out successful discourse-licensed argument drop.

(122) Situation: *A man with ripped jeans enters the room*

A. Ne volnujsja, babuška zaš'et []. (=argument drop; no linguistic antecedent)
not worry grandma will.sew []

‘Don’t worry, grandma will sew [them].’

B. *Ne volnujsja, sejčas pridjet [čelovek, kotoryj zaš'et []]. (*AD)
not worry now will.come [man who will.sew []] (*vPE)

*‘Don’t worry, [someone who will sew [them]] is coming.’

(ex. from Griбанова (2010)), (no linguistic antecedent and within an island)

C. Menja volnuet, čto nikto ne zašil džinsy.
me worries that no one not sewed jeans

‘It worries me that no one has sewed these jeans.’

D. Ne volnujsja, sejčas pridjet [čelovek, kotoryj zaš'et []]. (ellipsis)
not worry now will.come [man who will.sew []]

‘Don’t worry, [someone who will sew [them]] is coming.’

(ex (39) from Griбанова (2011))

(same island as (122) B but OK with linguistic antecedent)

Thus, it appears that ellipsis of some kind is involved in Russian verb stranding. However, there is disagreement in the current literature about what kind of ellipsis is involved. Griбанова (2009b, 2010, 2011) argues that such constructions, at least within islands, are the result of vP-ellipsis, where the verb raises to an Asp head outside of vP. Bailyn (2012, forthcoming) argues that the ellipsis involved must be something more akin to argument ellipsis, for a variety of syntactic reasons. Two such arguments are that the conditions on strict and sloppy identity appear to be different in verb-stranding

from standard vP-ellipsis, and that there is an unusual requirement that the subject also be elided in verb-stranding but not in vP-ellipsis (125), as shown here (123)-(124):

- (123) a. Čto Saša dumaet pro lingvistiku?
 what Sasha thinks about linguistics.Acc
 ‘What does Sasha think about linguistics?’
- b. Ja uveren, što (*on) **nenavidit** []. (V-stranding)
 I sure that (*he) hates []
 ‘I am sure that (he) hates [it]’.
- c. Menja udivljaet tot fakt, što (*on) **nenavidit** []. (V-stranding)
 me surprises that fact that (*he) hates []
 ‘The fact that (he) hates [it] surprises me’.
- (124) *Ja dumal, što nikto ne znaet etu pesnju, (V-stranding)
 I thought that no one not know this song
 a na samom dele Maša spela [].
 but on right affair Masha sang [].
 ‘I thought that no one knows this song, but Masha actually sang [this song]’.
- (125) Ja dumal, što Saša budet pet’ etu pesnju, (vP-ellipsis)
 I thought that Sasha will sing this song
 a na samom dele Maša budet [vP] .
 but on right affair Masha will []
 ‘I thought that Sasha will sing this song, but Masha actually will ~~sing this song~~’.

Other details of the debate will not be given here; the interested reader is referred to the works cited.

Regardless of the correct characterization of the kind of ellipsis involved, the question naturally arises as to why languages like English strongly disallow verb stranding of this kind. After all, neither language is a $V \rightarrow T$ raising language (a point agreed upon by both Gribanova and Bailyn), and therefore standard (extended) vP-ellipsis after verb raising to T cannot be invoked for such cases as it is for similar constructions in languages that do allow such raising (see Goldberg (2006)). Neither Gribanova nor Bailyn provides a solution for this typological puzzle, though Gribanova suggests it is related to the Russian aspectual system and the existence of additional functional structure between vP and TP (AspP) where the raised verb can be stranded after vP-ellipsis, but still remain lower than TP. The typological consequences of this claim for Russian are not explored by Gribanova.

6. Some other types of ellipsis present in Russian

In this section we'll briefly discuss three other types of ellipsis present in Russian – comparative deletion, fragment answers and Right-Node-Raising.

6.1. Comparative Deletion

There are two types of comparatives in Russian that involve comparative deletion (Pancheva 2006; Ionin & Matushansky 2013). In (1) we see an example of a clausal comparative and in (127) an example of a phrasal one:

(126) Georgij byl sil'nee čem Boris []. (clausal comparative)

Georgij was stronger than Boris_{NOM} []

'Georgij was stronger than Boris ~~was strong~~.'

(127) Georgij byl sil'nee Borisa []. (phrasal comparative)

Georgij was stronger Boris_{GEN} []

'Georgij was stronger than Boris ~~was strong~~.'

The comparatives in (1) and (127) differ in many important ways. First of all, while clausal comparatives can be used either with synthetic (1) or analytic forms (128), phrasal comparatives can be formed only with synthetic ones (128):

(128) Georgij byl bolee sil'nym čem Boris [].

Georgij was more strong than Boris_{NOM} []

'Georgij was stronger than Boris ~~was strong~~.'

(129) *Georgij byl bolee sil'nym Borisa [].

Georgij was more strong Boris_{GEN} []

Secondly, the remnant in clausal comparatives can have different case markings which correspond to different arguments ((130),(131)), while in phrasal comparatives the only possible case-marking is genitive (132):

(130) Ja ljublju Mišu bol'she čem [] **Pet'u.**

I love Misha more than [] **Petya_{ACC}**

'I love Misha more than ~~I love~~ Petya.'

(131) Ja ljublju Mišu bol'she čem **Petya** [].

I love Misha more than **Petya_{NOM}** []

'I love Misha more than Petya does.'

(132) Ja ljublju Mišu bol'she **Pet'i.**

I love Misha more **Petya_{GEN}**

'I love Misha more than ~~I love~~ Petya.' or 'I love Misha more than Petya does.'

Thirdly, clause-level elements such as temporal adjuncts and tensed verbs can occur only in clausal comparatives ((133),(135)), but not in phrasal ones ((134),(136)):

- (133) Katja probežala segodnja stometrovku bystree, [čem Lena **včera**].
 Katja ran today 100 meters faster than Lena **yesterday**
 ‘Today Katja ran 100 meters faster than Lena did yesterday.’
- (134) *Katja probežala segodnja stometrovku bystree [Leny **včera**].
 Katja ran today 100 meters faster Lena_{GEN} **yesterday**
- (135) Miša srisovyval kartinku akkuratnee, [čem **srisovyval** Saša]
 Misha copied picture more accurately than **copied** Sasha_{NOM}
 ‘Misha copied the picture more accurately than Sasha did.’
- (136) *Miša srisovyval kartinku akkuratnee [srisovyval Saši]
 Misha copied picture more accurately **copied** Sasha_{GEN}

Finally, binding also shows that the amount of structure in two comparatives is different: while in clausal comparatives remnants’ possessors are expressed by pronouns (137), in phrasal comparatives they are expressed by reflexives (138) (Pancheva 2006):

- (137) German_k byl sil’nee, čem **ego_k** / ***svoj_k** protivnik [].
 German was stronger than his / his_{REFL} adversary []
 ‘German was stronger than his adversary ~~was strong~~.’
- (138) German_k byl sil’nee ***ego_k** / **svojego_k** protivnika [].
 German was stronger his / his_{REFL} adversary_{GEN} []
 ‘German was stronger than his adversary ~~was strong~~.’

The difference between (137) and (138) suggests that clausal comparatives have more structure than phrasal ones.

Pancheva (2006) argues that phrasal and clausal comparatives shouldn’t be analyzed as

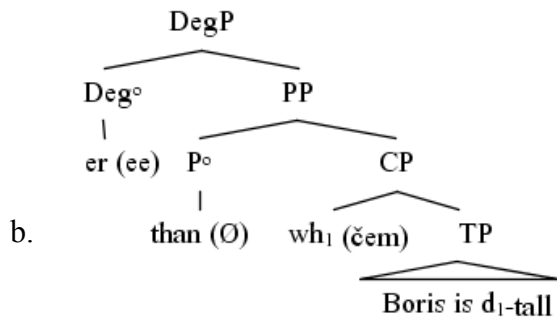
having the same underlying structure. While clausal comparatives take CP-complements (139), phrasal comparatives take small clause complements (140):

(139) Clausal comparatives in Russian: CP-complements

a. Miša vyše čem Boris [].

Misha is taller than Boris_{NOM} []

‘Misha is taller than Boris ~~is tall.~~’

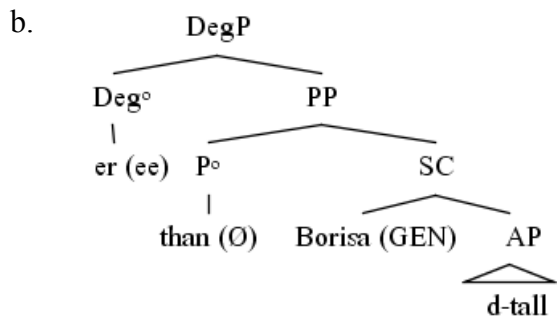


(140) Phrasal comparatives in Russian: SC-complements

a. Miša vyše Borisa [].

Misha is taller Boris_{GEN} []

‘Misha is taller than Boris ~~is tall.~~’



In clausal comparatives the remnant DP moves out of the TP, and then either the whole TP or just the part below the tensed verb is elided (Pancheva 2006):

(141) [_{CP} wh₁ Boris is d₁-tall] → [_{CP} wh₁ [_{TP} t₂ is d₁-tall] [_{DP} Boris]₂]

In phrasal comparatives it seems like we have a case of AP-ellipsis:

(142) [_{SC} Borisa [_{AP} d-tall]] → [_{SC} Borisa [_{AP} ~~d-tall~~]]

To sum up, there are two different constructions in Russian which display comparative deletion.

One is best analyzed as an instance of clausal ellipsis, while in the other the elision of the complement of a small clause (AP) takes place.

6.2. Right-Node-Raising and Fragment answers

Russian exhibits two other kinds of ellipsis: Right-Node-Raising and fragment answers.

6.2.1 Right-Node-Raising

(143) Andrej napisal [], a Maša otpravila pis'mo. (Right-Node-Raising)

Andrej wrote [] CONJ Masha sent letter

‘Andrej wrote ~~the letter~~, and Masha sent the letter.’

An interesting feature of Right-Node-Raising is that it is ungrammatical if the two predicates mark their arguments differently: compare (144), where the case of the elided noun phrase (ACC) is the same as the case of the overt one, with (145), where two noun phrases receive different cases.

(144) Učitel'nica xvalit [ACC], a mama rugaet Mašu.

teacher praises [ACC] CONJ mother criticizes Masha_{ACC}

(145) *Učitel'nica xvalit [ACC], a mama gorditsja Mašej.

teacher praises [ACC] CONJ mother is.proud.of Masha_{INSTR}

6.2.2 Fragment Answers

As for fragment answers, as in (146), they display puzzling behavior with respect to island constraints.

(146) A: Kto napisal `eto pis'mo?
 who wrote this letter
 'Who wrote this letter?'

B: Andrej [].
 'Andrej ~~wrote this letter.~~'

For example, (147) and (148) suggest that fragment answers obey island constraints (in this particular examples – the Complex NP Constraint and the Factive Island constraint respectively), but the grammatical example in (149) (Adjunct Island) suggests that in some cases island effects do not obtain.

(147) A: Ljuba pytaetsja vyučit' tot že papuasskij jazyk, što i Katja?
 Ljuba tries to.learn the same Papuan language that CONJ Katya
 'Does Ljuba try to learn the same Papuan language that Katya does?'

B: *Net, Maša [].
 no Masha []
 'No, ~~Ljuba tries to learn the same Papuan language as Masha.~~'

(148) A: On vspomnil, što Lena uže podpisala pismo?
 he recall that Lena already signed letter
 'Did he recall that Lena has already signed the letter?'

B: *Net, [] zjavlenije.

no [] application

~~‘No, he recalled that Lena has already signed the application.~~

(149) A: Saša ušel posle togo kak Lena podpisala zjavlenije?

Sasha left -----after----- Lena signed application

‘Did Sasha leave after Lena signed the application?’

B: Net, [] dogovor.

no [] contract

~~‘No, Sasha left after Lena signed the contract.’~~

Both fragment answers and RNR in Russian haven’t received much attention and require further research.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reviewed the major elliptical constructions in Russian. Much work remains to be done to determine to what degree various of these construction types share the same properties with those of other languages, but the overall range of Russian ellipsis types should be clear from what we have seen here as should their remarkable similarity, with several notable exceptions such as verb-stranding constructions, to their English counterparts.

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¹ In this survey of NPE, we do not consider various theoretical possibilities (such as the pronominalization strategy discussed in Corver & Van Koppen (2011), the potential absence of an NP complement (Werner 2011), licensing by focus (Corver & Van Koppen 2009) or by classifiers (Alexiadou & Gengel 2008) which, to our knowledge, haven’t been examined with respect to Russian.

² We also assume that numerals in Russian are not head nouns taking nominal complements (see Babby (1987), Bailyn (2004), Pereltsvaig (2007)), but rather head an intermediate projection NumP between NP and DP (Bailyn 2012), which is absent in nominal phrases without numerals. Numerals in Russian have peculiar morphosyntactic behavior (see Babby (1987), Bailyn (2004), Pereltsvaig (2007) among others). We do not discuss the interaction of numeral phrases and ellipsis here.

³ It's not obvious whether quantifiers, which also show agreement with the noun in Russian, can be remnants of NPE, because it is difficult to find appropriate antecedents and pragmatically plausible contexts for them. But the following example suggests that they, just like demonstratives, are generally possible NPE remnants:

- i. Posle togo, kak Vasja kupil každyju knigu [ètogo avtora],
 after that how Vasja bought every book [this author]_{Gen}
 on mozet podarit' tebe **ljubuju** [_{NP} knigu [ètogo avtora].
 he can give you **any**_{FemSg} book_{FemSg} [this author]_{Gen}
 'After Vasja bought every book of this author, he can give you any [~~book of this author~~].'

⁴ Adjunct PPs can be retained as remnants only in clauses with coordination (ii), which is not required in sentences with agreeing NP-remnants. PP remnants (unlike, for example, adjectives (iii), (5)) cannot appear within subordinate clauses (i):

- i. *Nadja kupila knigi v tverdyx obložkax posle togo, kak
 Nadja bought book in hard covers after that how
 my kupili ~~knigi~~ v **mjagkix obložkax**.
 we bought books **in paper covers**
 Intended reading: 'Nadja bought books in hardback after we bought [books] in paperback.'
- ii. Nadja kupila knigi v tverdyx obložkax, a
 Nadja bought book in hard covers CONJ
 my kupili ~~knigi~~ v **mjagkix obložkax**.
 we bought books in paper covers
 'Nadja bought books in hardback, and we bought [books] in paperback.'
- iii. Nadja kupila starye knigi posle togo, kak
 Nadja bought old books after that how
 my kupili **novye** ~~knigi~~.
 we bought **new**_{Pl} book_{Pl}
 'Nadja bought old books after we bought new [ones].'

The fact that adjunct PP remnants are possible only in constructions with coordination (ii) might indicate that the sentences like (ii) with stranded PP adjuncts are actually instances of gapping, not NPE. In addition, PP adjuncts in the construction at hand are always contrastive foci, just like the remnants in gapped clauses (Kazenin 2006). All other NP-remnants are possible in sentences with subordination, even numerals that don't agree with the noun.

⁵ Note that Russian doesn't exhibit TP-deletion with non-interrogative focused remnants in embedded clauses:

- i. *Petja uvidel kogo-to, i Vasja skazal, što MAŠU.
 Petja saw someone and Vasja said that Masha
 Intended: 'Petja saw someone, and Vasja said that MASHA_i [~~Petja saw t_i].'~~

This is unexpected under Grebenyova (2006, 2009)'s approach.

⁶ Bailyn (1995), Neeleman et al. (2009), and Titov (2012) have claimed that there is no Focus projection in the left periphery in Russian. In Bailyn (1995) it is argued that Russian doesn't have a position for focused elements at all, while Neeleman et al. (2009) and Titov (2012) claim that all focused constituents in Russian share an underlying clause-final position.

⁸ Another peculiar property of Russian is that multiple wh-fronting in both questions (i-ii) and sluiced constructions (iii-iv) is ungrammatical when both wh-phrases are adjuncts (for a similar phenomenon in Croatian see Citko & Gračanin-Yukseš (2010)):

- i. ***Kogda gde** vy vystupaete? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 when where you perform
 'When do you perform where?' (p. 100)
- ii. *?**Gde kogda** vy vystupaete? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 where when you perform
 'Where do you perform when?' (p. 100)
- iii. *My gde-to kogda-to budem sdavat' èkzamen po matematike,
 we somewhere sometime will have exam in math
 no ja ne znaju, **gde kogda**.
 but I not know where when
 'We will have an exam in math somewhere sometime, but I don't know where when.'
- iv. *My gde-to kogda-to budem sdavat' èkzamen po matematike,
 we somewhere sometime will have exam in math
 no ja ne znaju, **kogda gde**.
 but I not know when where
 'We will have an exam in math somewhere sometime, but I don't know when where.'

Multiple wh-adjuncts can be fronted only if they are coordinated (v-viii)

- v. **Kogda i gde** vy vystupaete? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 when and where you perform
 'When do you perform and where?' (p. 100)

-
- vi. **Gde i kogda** vy vystupaete? (adapted from Scott (2012))
 where and when you perform
 ‘Where do you perform and when?’ (p. 100)
- vii. My gde-to kogda-to budem sdavat’ èkzamen po matematike,
 we somewhere sometime will have exam in math
 no ja ne znaju, **gde i kogda**.
 but I not know where and when
 ‘We will have an exam in math somewhere sometime, but I don’t know where and when.’
- viii. ?My gde-to kogda-to budem sdavat’ èkzamen po matematike,
 we somewhere sometime will have exam in math
 no ja ne znaju, **kogda i gde**.
 but I not know when and where
 ‘We will have an exam in math somewhere sometime, but I don’t know when and where.’

We leave the explanation for this restriction open.

⁹ See the suggestion in Scott (2012: 61-62, where this restriction is explained by the lack of proper government of adjunct traces.

¹⁰ Note that this sentence with two wh-phrases can have only a Pair-List (PL) reading, so it is possible only under the following scenario: Marina has sent several letters to different people, the speaker knows that Marina has sent these letters, but he doesn’t know what letter has Marina sent to what person. The Single-Pair (SP) reading is not available: this sentence can’t be uttered if there was only one letter and one addressee.

¹¹ This sentence is grammatical under the reading where *Vasja* is the subject of the matrix clause: ‘I was glad when Petja came, but Vasja was not glad when Petja came’.

¹² It is controversial whether contrastively topicalized elements must always front in Russian, as Kazenin assumes they do. See Bailyn (2012), and Neeleman et al (2012) for relevant discussion.

¹³ Note that Kazenin’s (2006) view is at odds with the view expressed in Merchant (2006): Merchant argues that words like Russian *net* ‘no’ are phrasal negative adverbs and not heads. For the arguments in favor of viewing polarity items *net* and *da* as heads, see Kazenin (2006: 8-9).

¹⁴ Kazenin assumes split-Infl for Russian, so what elides in sentences like (55) B is actually AgrsP – a projection which is above TP and which hosts the subject in its specifier.

¹⁵ Note that in Russian negation can be included in gapped material too (which contrasts with English: “*Fred didn’t ask Susan out, and Susan Fred”):

-
- i. Miša ne pozval Dimu v banju, a Dima Mišu.
 Misha not invite Dima to bathhouse and Dima Misha
 ‘Misha didn’t invite Dima to the bathhouse and Dima ~~didn’t invite Misha to the bathhouse.~~’

¹⁶ Note that under Kazenin (2006)’s analysis, subjects move out of vP in order to receive case, not in order to receive a presentational focus interpretation.

¹⁷ Kazenin assumes that in (94) and other cases of vP-ellipsis there is a proform in the place of vP - *PRO_{PRED}*. We don’t share his assumption because it gives rise to several problems including case and theta-role assignment for the remnants and their moving out of the ellipsis site.

¹⁸ Kazenin (2006) assumes that subjects in Russian actually move not into the specifier of TP but into the specifier of AgrSP – a projection above TP responsible for subject agreement. This adjustment doesn’t affect the argumentation.

¹⁹ There are other sentences in Russian which retain the auxiliary as constructions with vP-ellipsis do (Kazenin 2006):

- i. A: Kakoj kurs ty budeš’ čitat’ v ètom semestre?
 which course you AUX give in this semester
 ‘What course will you give this semester?’ (polarity ellipsis with auxiliary)
- B: Kurs tipologii **budu**, a kurs sintaksisa ne **budu** [].
 course of.typology AUX but course of.syntax not AUX []
 ‘I will ~~give~~ a course in typology, but I will not ~~give~~ a course in syntax.’ (p. 26)

Despite their resemblance with vP-ellipsis constructions, Kazenin (2006) argues that sentences like (i)B are actually cases of clausal ellipsis and have almost the same structure as sentences with da/net constructions ((55)B). Both constructions have contrastively topicalized remnants (*kurs tipologii* and *kurs sintaksisa* in (i)B) and focused auxiliaries. On Kazenin’s (2006) analysis, the only difference between the two is that in sentences like (i)B the auxiliary verb (*budu*) head-adjoints to Σ (where the polarity marker *ne* resides). The head-adjunction of the focused auxiliary to Σ explains why backgrounded remnants (*Petja* in (ii)B) are not possible in such sentences:

- ii. A: Kakie kursy Petja budet čitat’?
 what courses Petja AUX give
 ‘Which courses will Petja give?’

B: (*Petja) Kurs tipologii (*Petja) budet, a kurs sintaksisa ne budet [].
 Petja course of.typology Petja AUX but course of.syntax not will []
 ‘(Petja) will (give) the course of typology, but will not give the course of syntax.’
 (p. 31)

If (ii)B was an instance of vP-ellipsis, then the ungrammaticality of the backgrounded subject would be unexplained. Under the clausal ellipsis analysis, however, it is predictable: the subject position belongs inside the ellipsis site (TP), so if the subject hasn’t moved to some higher position, we don’t expect to see it.

²⁰ The apparent ‘backward-gapping’ cases that have been found in languages have been argued to involve some other process than gapping (for example, Citko (2015) claims that ‘backward-gapping’ is best analyzed as Right Node Raising).

²¹ As has been noted by a reviewer, the grammaticality of (120) seems to improve when the parallel conjunct is added into the antecedent clause. We don’t have an explanation for this fact.