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Vertical Ellipsis in Tsakhur and Adyghe

Most theories of ellipsis have been based on data from languages which disallow what we call here vertical ellipsis (in the subordinate clause with an antecedent in the main clause, or vice versa), but allow horizontal ellipsis (between coordinated clauses), cf. the well-known restriction on Gapping:

(1) John played piano, and (*whenever) Max ___ sax

In some languages of the Caucasus, however, left-, right-, up- and downward vertical ellipsis is normal, cf. temporal converb constructions in *-inGaI* and *-mē* in Tsakhur:

(2)   šit'ē-n   Xoče   a-w-q$_o$-inGaI, ___   o-p-xun-na
        bird-ERG   snake.3   3-catch.PF-CONV   eat.PF-ATTR
        When the bird caught the snake, (the bird) ate (the snake).

(3)   a.   s o   aXn-ē-qa   i-w-č'-u-mē, ___   gi-b-Rɨl-na
               bear.3 lair-IN-ALL   3-enter-PF-LIM   3-begin.PF-ATTR

               mɨr   hāʔ-a.
               growl   3-do-IPF

        b.   gi-b-Rɨl-na   mɨr   hāʔ-a,   aXn-ē-qa
               3-begin.PF-AA   growl   3-do-IPF   lair-IN-ALL

               sɟo   i-w-[ʻ-u-mE.
               bear.3 3-enter-PF-LIM
               When the bear got into the lair, it began to growl.

With clausal arguments, however, upward ellipsis is normally impossible:

(4)   a.   zābit-ē   amɨr   ha-w-ʔ-u   esker-ā-ši-s ___
               officer-ERG   order.3   3-do-PF   soldier-PL-OBLPL-DAT

               mašin-ē-qa   gi-w-ʔar-as.
               lorry-IN-ALL HPL-get-POT
               The officer ordered the soldiers to get in the lorry.

        b.   zābit-ē   amɨr   ha-w-ʔ-u,   esker-ā-r
               officer-ERG   order.3   3-do-PF   soldier-PL-NOMPL

               mašin-ē-qa   gi-w-ʔar-as.
               lorry-IN-ALL   HPL-get-POT
               The officer ordered someone that the soldiers should get in the lorry.
               *The officer ordered the soldiers to get in the lorry.

In Adyghe, with all kinds of subordinate clauses, both upward and downward vertical ellipsis is available:

1

(5)   a.   [pŝaŝe-m   wered   qə-ʔwe-n-ew]   Ø   faj
                 girl-ERG   song   DIR-sing-POT-ADV   Ø   want

        b.   Ø   faj   [pŝaŝe-m   wered   qə-ʔwe-n-ew]
                 Ø   want   girl-ERG   song   DIR-sing-POT-ADV
                 (She)$_{i,j}$ wants the girl$_i$ to sing a song.

(6)   a.   [pŝaŝe-m   ə-š   qə-ze-λeʁwə-m],   Ø   qe-ʁə-ʁ
                 girl-ERG   3SG-brother   DIR-REL-see-ERG   Ø   DIR-cry-PST
                 When the girl$_{i,j}$ saw her brother, (she)$_{i,j}$ cried.

        b.   Ø   qe-ʁə-ʁ   [pŝaŝe-m   ə-š   qə-ze-λeʁwə-m]
                 Ø   DIR-cry-PST   girl-ERG   3SG-brother   DIR-REL-see-ERG
                 (She)$_{i,j}$ cried, when the girl$_j$ saw her brother.

In this respect, no difference can be seen between adjunct, argument and relative subordinate clauses.

Contrary to the widely accepted generalization that semantic binding requires syntactic binding (i.e. that the binder be coindexed with and c-command the pronoun) [Reinhart 1983; Heim and Kratzer 1998: 264], cf. (6), pronominal arguments in Adyghe (and the corresponding ellipsis sites of noun phrases) in the main clauses can be easily bound from within a subordinate clause:

(7)   a.   The secretary *he$_i$* hired thinks that *Domingo$_i$* is despotic.
        b.   *The secretary *he$_i$* hired thinks that *each of the tenors$_i$* is despotic.
        c.   *Each of the tenors$_i$* thinks that the secretary *he$_i$* hired is despotic.

(8)   a.   Ø   me-gwəʁe   [sabəj pepč   ŝwəhaftən   qə-r-a-tə-n-ew]
                 (He)   DYN-hope   child   every   gift   DIR-3SG-3PL-give-POT-ADV

        b.   [sabəjə pepč   ŝ əhaftən   qə-r-a-tə-n-ew]   Ø   me-gwəʁe
                 child   every   gift   DIR-3SG-3PL-give-POT-ADV   (he)   DYN-hope
                 He$_{i,j}$ hopes, that every child$_j$ will be given a gift.

(9)   Ø   faj   a   zə-m   š'ətχwə-n-x-ew
                want   he   one-ERG   praise-POT-PL-ADV
           He wants only himself to be praised.
           Only he wants to be praised.

That in (8) the quantifier belongs to the subordinate clause is seen from its case (object ergative), whereas the matrix verb would require the absolutive. Several competing analytical and theoretical approaches to the phenomena of vertical ellipsis and upward binding, with their advantages and drawbacks, will be considered in the paper.

References
1.   Heim, Irene, and Angelika Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in Generative Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.
2.   Reinhart, Tanya. 1983. *Anaphora and Semantic Interpretation*. University of Chicago Press.