



The Data

PREDICATE WHICH APPOSITIVES (PWAs) are a class of nonrestrictive, parenthetical relative clauses (see Potts 2002).

- (1) Harvey brought a student to see me, which I don't think he should have.
- (2) The soldiers will remain should the villagers need help—which they will.
- (3) Harvey is stupid, which Mary really isn't.

PWAs look like they contain VERB PHRASE ELLIPSIS (VPE).

- ▶ There is missing material after VPE-licensing heads (Lobeck 1995). However, they also look like relative clauses (Potts 2002).
- ▶ They contain an overt relative pronoun, suggesting movement.
- ▶ The site of the missing material could be the origin of the pronoun.

Diagnostics provide evidence for both of these.

How do we reconcile A'-movement with apparent deletion?

PWAs are really relative clauses

PWAs contain gaps that look suspiciously like VPE.

- ▶ Are the gaps derived by movement or deletion?

Gaps in PWAs cannot occur in islands (Ross 1967).

- (4) Relative Clause Island:
PWA: *Sam eats quickly, which Sally met a man who also does *t*.
VPE: Sam eats quickly, and Sally met a man who also does __.
- (5) Subject Island:
PWA: *Sam eats quickly, which that Sally does *t* surprised Tom.
VPE: Sam eats quickly, but that Sally does __ surprised Tom.

VPE optionally deletes VPs. VPs must not be pronounced in PWAs.

- (6) VPE:
 - a. Mary met Sally, and Harvey might also __.
 - b. Mary met Sally, and Harvey might also meet Sally.
- (7) PWAs:
 - a. Mary met Sally, which Harvey might also *t*.
 - b. *Mary met Sally, which Harvey might also meet Sally.

Optional *do* in PWAs unavailable in VPE.

- (8) PWA: Harvey gesticulates wildly, which you shouldn't (do) *t*.
VPE: Harvey gesticulates wildly, and you shouldn't (*do) __.

Conclusions:

- ▶ PWA-gaps are not VPE-gaps.
- ▶ PWA-gaps are derived by movement.

PWAs contain surface anaphora

Is the anaphora in PWAs syntactically atomic or complex?

- ▶ That is, is this interpretive anaphora, or is the process more akin to surface deletion?

A-extraction from missing VPs is possible (Schuyler 2001).

- (9) *Unaccusatives*:
The submarine sank quickly, which the ship will not *t*.
- (10) *Tough Movement*:
The piano was tough to move, which the harpsichord was not *t*.

Missing antecedents can be introduced (Grinder & Postal 1971).

- ▶ Indefinites in scope of negation cannot introduce referents (Heim 1982).
- (11) Sally has never painted a whole house, which Mary has *t*. It was rather small, though.

No pragmatic licensing is possible (Hankamer & Sag 1976).

- ▶ If it were, this would be evidence for deep anaphora.
- (12) *Situation: Harvey is fighting a pig. Speaker A walks in:*
A: # Which Harvey shouldn't do!

Conclusion:

- ▶ The verbal anaphor in PWAs has internal syntactic structure.

VP anaphors in other languages

There are other phenomena we can look at to guide the analysis.

Irish *as* Clauses (McCloskey to appear):

- (13) Chuidh se 'un an aonaigh mar a dubhairt sé a rachadh __.
went he to the fair as C said he C go.COND
'He went to the fair as he had said he would.'

Gaps in Irish *as* clauses look like those left by VPE.

- ▶ The complementizer is the one associated with wh-movement.
- ▶ McCloskey suggests the moved element is a silent VP.
- ▶ The moved VP lands in Spec, CP.

Danish *det* anaphora (Houser et al. 2007):

- (14) Han siger han kan hække, men selvfølgelig kan han ikke det.
He says he can crochet, but of.course can he not DET
'He says he can crochet, but of course he can't.'

Det is a verbal anaphor in Danish.

- ▶ Permits A-extraction, missing antecedents.
- ▶ Not licenced by pragmatic control.
- ▶ Appears in the position of a VP.

Houser et al. argue that *det* is pronominalized via VERB PHRASE PRONOMINALIZATION (VPP).

- ▶ Like VPE, but VP spells out as a pronoun, not as silence.

Analysis

I adopt VPP to explain the set of facts detailed here.

- ▶ Under this analysis, *which* in PWAs is a pronominalized VP.
- ▶ First, the VP moves to Spec, CP as in the Irish *as*-clauses.
- ▶ The VP spells out as *which* post-syntactically.

(15) ... which ^{wh-movement} the ship will not _{A-movement} [VP sink *t* quickly].

Explains VPE-like properties.

- ▶ A-movement out of VP happens as in normal sentences, since VP is there in the structure, capturing (9) & (10).
- ▶ Indefinites in pronominalized VP still establish referents, as in (11).

Also accounts for observed movement effects.

- ▶ Obligatory movement of VP accounts for obligatory gap as in (7).
- ▶ Movement also explains the island effects in (4) & (5).

Conclusion

Diagnostics show evidence for both movement and deletion.

- ▶ Islands and obligatoriness suggest movement.
- ▶ Extraction and missing antecedents suggest deletion.

These facts can be reconciled with pronominalization.

- ▶ Pronominalization happens post-syntactically, like VPE (Merchant 2001).
- ▶ It thereby captures the VPE-like properties.

This provides an interesting result for the theory of anaphora.

- ▶ A (rare) instance of phonologically overt surface anaphora.
- ▶ Pronouns can be derived post-syntactically.

References

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