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—whether 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 1993). 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).

- Relative Clause Island: PWAs: Sam eats quickly, which Sally met a man who also does t.
  - VPE: Sam eats quickly, and Sally met a man who also does __.
- Subject Island: PWAs: Sam eats quickly, which 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.**

- PWAs: a. Mary met Sally, and Harvey might also __.
  - VPE: Mary met Sally, and Harvey might also meet Sally.
- PWAs: a. Mary met Sally, which Harvey might also t.
  - VPE: a. Mary met Sally, which Harvey might also meet Sally.

**Optional do in PWAs unavailable in VPE.**

- PWAs: Harvey gesticulates wildly, which you shouldn’t (do) t.
  - VPE: Harvey gesticulates wildly, and you shouldn’t (do) __.

**Conclusions:**

- PWAs-gaps are not VPE-gaps.
- PWAs-gaps are derived by movement.

**VP anaphors in other languages**

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

**Irish as Clauses** (McCloskey to appear):

(13) Chuaidh ùn an aonaigh mar a dhabhair 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.

**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 he can 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 pragramatic 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.

**Explanations 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 (9).
- Movement also explains the island effects in (4) & (5).

**Conclusion**

Diagnostics show evidence for both movement and deletion.

- Islands and obligatoryness 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 (real) instance of phonological overt surface anaphora.
- Pronouns can be derived post-syntactically.

**References**


http://people.umass.edu/~nlacara/