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Short answers in Scottish Gaelic and their theoretical implications[*]

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Abstract

This article presents an analysis of a novel short answer strategy in Scottish Gaelic, called the *Verb-Answer*, which differs from standard fragment answers in allowing us to directly observe some of the clausal structure in which it is embedded. It is shown that the Verb-Answer is identical to the fragment answer in virtually all other respects, demanding a unified analysis, and it is demonstrated that pursuing a unified analysis is problematic for *Direct Interpretation* approaches to short answers, but straightforward for the *Silent Structure* approach of Morgan (1973) and Merchant (2004). The extended typology of short answer strategies therefore provides an argument in favour of the latter approach to elliptical phenomena.

1 Introduction

An important question in the study of interrogatives concern the status of fragment answers like B's response in (1) below.

(1)   A: Who did you vote for?
        B: Kodos.

Although B's utterance only amounts to a solitary NP, it is clear that this response communicates something like the proposition expressed by the full sentential response *I voted for Kodos*. How does the NP in B's short answers come to encode this full proposition? Attempts to answer this question in recent years may be divided into two broad approaches: the *direct interpretation* approach (Riemsdijk 1982, Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984, Barton 1990, Stainton 1995, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Carston 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005), and the *silent structure* (SS) approach (Morgan 1973, Hankamer 1979, Stanley 2000, Merchant 2004). These two approaches depart primarily on the kind of structure they assign to fragment answers like B's reply, with the different structures requiring different mechanisms for generating a full proposition.

For the direct interpretation (DI) approach, the slogan is "what you see is what you get:" B's reply is made up of a simple NP and nothing more, the NP being interpreted "directly." Within this camp there is a further split in how this direct interpretation is done: for some (e.g. Carston 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005) the propositional interpretation is derived by general processes of pragmatic inferencing, with grammar playing no role beyond the specification of the category of the answer itself. For others (e.g. Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984, Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Jacobson 2013), the answer is interpreted

by the use of a grammatical construction specific to the interpretation of question-answer pairs, called the *Qu-Ans schema*, which takes the short answer category and combines it with the question to provide a proposition. These strands of the WYSIWYG approach are united in proposing that the grammatical information encoded by B's answer is that encoded by the NP *Kodos*, but the latter strand, what we may call *grammatical WSIWYG*, goes further in proposing that grammatical information encoded by the antecedent questions is also relevant for the interpretation of the response, since both question and answer are required for the use of the Qu-Ans schema. Importantly, the grammatical WYSIWYG approach is committed to the existence of "constructions" as grammatical objects.

Things are different for the silent structure (SS) approach. According to SS, there is more to B's response than meets the ear: although all that is pronounced is the NP, B's reply is in fact a full sentence that has undergone ellipsis under identity with the antecedent provided by A's question. In this approach, the fact that the answer is interpreted as a proposition is trivial, at least when supplied with an adequate theory of the ellipsis identity relation; however, what is required in addition is a specific syntactic proposal as to how ellipsis applies to leave only the NP. In a recent defence of this approach in a Minimalist framework, Merchant (2004) proposes that the short answer (or "fragment answer") is derived by movement of the NP to the left periphery of the full clause followed by ellipsis of TP, an ellipsis process broadly similar to what he proposes in other work (e.g. Merchant 2001) for sluicing. Thus in this approach, B's reply would have a structure like (2).

(2)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{NP}$ Kodos]$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~I voted for t$_i$~~]]

Building substantially on Morgan (1973), Merchant (2004) provides numerous empirical arguments for silent structure and movement in the derivation of fragment answers, showing that fragments display form-identity, connectivity and movement restriction effects, many of which are also seen with similar ellipsis constructions like sluicing (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001). Many of these arguments (or their sluicing equivalents) have been challenged by proponents of the grammatical DI theory of fragments (Sag and Nykiel 2011, Nykiel 2013, Jacobson 2013; see also Griffiths and Lipták to appear), and these authors have argued that they do not in fact provide evidence for silent structure. Whether or not these challenges are substantial enough to undermine the SS theory is an open issue at the moment,[1] but at the very least it should be acknowledged that the argument for the right analysis of fragment answers is there to be won.

A big problem for proponents of the ellipsis approach to fragments is the very fact that they involve clausal ellipsis: this removes any visible sign of clausal structure, and also any of the usual signs of overt movement like changes to word order. This problem is compounded by the fact that the movements which are required to derive many fragment answers are often not possible when ellipsis does not apply:

(3)   A: Who did Kang eat?
        B: Everyone!
        B′: *Everyone, Kang ate!

The latter issue has generality beyond fragment answers, since there are other "ellipsis constructions" that also involve movements that would be illegal in the absence of ellipsis (see e.g. Merchant 2003, Jayaseelan 2002, Thoms to appear, Sailor and Thoms 2013), but it still serves to increase skepticism in those who are not wholly convinced by Morgan and Merchant's arguments for silent structure. After all, if we can't see the clausal structure, can't see the movement, and have our suspicions about the plausibility of the movement that is required, why should we believe that there is movement or ellipsis at all?

In this paper I address this skepticism by providing an analysis of a question-answering construction in Scottish Gaelic (SG), which I call the *Verb-Answer* (VA). The VA is demonstrated by B's answer in (4):

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[1]Merchant's argument from *that*-deletion (adapted from Morgan) has not yet been addressed in this literature; more such data is discussed below. For a defence of the P-stranding generalization, see van Craenenbroeck (2012); for a defence (and strengthening) of the islands argument, see Barros (to appear), Barros et al. (2014); for further discussion of Case-matching and related phenomena, see Chung (2013).

(4) A: Dè tha   thu ag ithe?
         what be-PRES 2SG PRT eat-VN
     "What are you eating?"

     B: Tha   feòil
        be-PRES meat

     "(I'm eating) meat"

The VA differs minimally from the regular short answer, which it varies with freely, in allowing us to directly observe the clausal structure which the answer originates in, as it is made up of the initial verbal cluster of the full clausal structure – here, the present auxiliary *tha* – followed immediately by the answer phrase – here, *feòil*, "meat" – with the rest of the structure omitted. But this kind of reduced structure containing only the verb and some focussed constituent is used only in reply to questions, so as such it falls squarely in the purview of any theory of short answers. In this article I describe and analyse the key properties of this construction and unpack its implications for the theory of ellipsis. As we will see, the analysis of this construction falls out of the SS approach to short answers in a straightforward fashion, since it is effectively a minor variation on the structure of a regular short answer, indeed a variation of the kind that we would expect to see given the relevant set of starting assumptions. On the other hand, such a structure is rather unexpected on the DI approach, and although the problem seems simple at first, we see that providing an account of its basic properties is difficult using the mechanisms that such theories use for short answers, or indeed other ellipsis processes. I thus argue that the slightly extended typology of short answers provides a compelling argument in favour of the SS approach more generally.

The paper is structured as follows. I begin in section 2 by outlining the basic properties of Scottish Gaelic clause structure, paying particular attention to the properties that will be important in the analysis to follow. In section 3 I describe the key properties of VA, and in section 4 I consider a number of possible analyses, arriving at the conclusion that an SS account is best equipped to deal with this particular construction and hence the typology of answer strategies more generally. Section 5 concludes.

2   Scottish Gaelic clause structure

Scottish Gaelic (SG) is a head-initial language with the basic order VSOX in finite clauses. It is now widely accepted in generative work that this basic structure is derived from underlying SVOX, with the finite verb moving to T and the subject either staying in situ in Spec,*v*P or moving to the specifier of some functional projection below T (see e.g. Adger 1994; 2000, Ramchand 1997; see also McCloskey 1991; 1996; 1997; 2011 for detailed arguments in favour of such an analysis for Irish, most of which can be replicated for SG).

Evidence for verb movement in the derivation of VSO comes from a comparison of simple past sentences like (5), where the lexical verb bears tense morphology in the initial position, and past imperfective ones like (6), where T is occupied by the past tense form of the auxiliary *bithe* "be" and the lexical verb occurs in an infinitive form (traditionally called the "verb-noun") in its base position between subject and object, with an aspectual particle to its left.[2]

(5) Phòg   Màiri Calum.
     kiss-PAST Màiri Calum
     "Màiri kissed Calum."

(6) Bha   Màiri a' pògadh Chaluim
     be-PAST Màiri PRT kiss-VN Calum-GEN

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[2]Abbreviations that will be used in the glosses throughout: *vn* = verbal noun (a form of the participle, see e.g. Ramchand 1997); C_{rel} = relativizing/wh-complementizer; C_{INTERR} = interrogative (yes/no) complementizer; *prt* = preverbal particle (appears with verbal noun); *def* = definiteness (agreement); *dep* = dependent form (verb alternation).

"Màiri was kissing Calum."

What examples like these show is that there is a general requirement in finite clauses for T to be filled by a verbal element of some sort, presumably in order to provide "support" for the bound tense morpheme in that position. In clauses like (5), T is given support by head movement of the lexical verb, deriving VSO; in clauses like (6), the lexical verb stays in situ and the auxiliary is inserted to support T, deriving AuxSVO. This "V-to-T" analysis of Goidelic clause structure has become quite widely accepted in the generative literature,[3] so I will adopt it in what follows to simplify presentation as the precise details of the position of the verb do not affect the main arguments developed here.

One aspect of the basic clause structure of SG that will be of significance in what follows is the position and licensing of the subject. As noted above, the fact that the subject appears after the verb in a finite clause is often taken to indicate that it has either stayed in situ in Spec,vP or just moved to some specifier position between vP and T. That the subject may vacate its base position in some cases is indicated by the fact that it must occur to the left of adverbs that can occur clause-internally, as in (7) (based on McCloskey 1997); on the assumption that such adverbs modify the vP or a larger constituent, this may be taken as an indication of movement of the subject.

(7) Cha tug   boireannach sam bith riamh roimhe   grèim láimhe   air
     NEG take-PAST-DEP woman   any   ever before-her grip hand-GEN on-him
     "No woman had ever before taken his hand."

One may counter that the subject is still in its base position and that the adverbs happen to be adjoined lower that the subject in these cases. However, Adger (2010) presents data from AuxSVO order clauses which indicates that this cannot be correct. He observes that while subjects can occur to the left of temporal adverbs like *gu tric* in sentences like (8a), they can also occur to the right, receiving an existential interpretation, as in (8b).

(8) a. Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsichean gu tric a'   briseadh nan sguaban   aca
         be-COND witches   often PRT break-VN the broomsticks at-them
         "Witches would often break their broomsticks"
     b. Bhiodh   gu tric bana-bhuidsichean a'   briseadh nan sguaban   aca   aig an àm sin
         be-COND often   witches   PRT break-VN the broomsticks at-them at the time that
         "There would often be witches breaking their broomsticks at that time"

This shows that the position to the left of the adverb is indeed a derived position, and the fact that subjects of VSO clauses must always precede clause-internal adverbs indicates that subjects always move in such clauses. One may be tempted to conclude that some version of the EPP is in effect in SG (and Irish), at least VSO clauses. This could not be the EPP as we know it in SVO languages like English: McCloskey (1997) and Adger (2000) have shown that there cannot be an EPP condition applying in Goidelic since the postverbal position which DP subjects occupy is always left unfilled when there is no subject present. Thus in subjectless clauses (and indeed in (8b)) we do not see expletive insertion, the "signature" of EPP in English, and no other categories are moved to this position to meet a filled specifier requirement. Rather, the subject movement rule in SG seems to be one reflex of a more general adjacency condition, as Adger (2000) notes that the verb-subject sequence cannot be broken up even by a parenthetical in regular (non-existential) VSO clauses.

(9) *Dh'fhàg,   tha   mi cinnteach, Dàibhidh an dè
     left-PAST-DEP be-PRES 1sg sure   David   yesterday
     "David, I'm sure, left yesterday"

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[3]Though see Hendrick (2000) and Thoms (2014c,a) for arguments in favour of the "V1-analysis," where the verb is in fact above T and the subject is in Spec,TP.

Adger proposes that this is the effect of a morphological adjacency requirement for the licensing of Case on the subject; thus in cases where the subject occurs to the left of adverbs, it has moved to satisfy this morphological requirement. We will see that the data from VAs further supports this view of subject licensing in SG.

With these preliminaries established, we can now turn to the phenomenon in question, namely responses to *wh*-questions in SG.

3   Verb-Answers in Scottish Gaelic

In SG, *wh*-questions may be answered in three different ways. (11) demonstrates the three different ways of answering a question like (10).

(10)   Có bhuaithe a   fhuair   thu an sgeul seo?
       who from-DEF C-REL get-PAST you the story this
       "Who did you get this story from?"

(11)   a.   Fhuair   mi e bho Fheargais.
            get-PAST I   it from Fergus
            "I got it from Fergus"
       b.   Bho Fheargais.
            from Fergus
            "From Fergus"
       c.   Fhuair   bho Fheargais.
            get-PAST from Fergus
            "From Fergus"

(11a) is a full sentential response. (11b) is a standard fragment answer of the kind discussed above, where all that is pronounced in the answer is a phrase (here a PP) corresponding to the questioned phrase in the antecedent, yet it conveys exactly the same information as the full sentence response. These are response strategies that are familiar from the work on fragments and interrogatives, and it is implicit in the literature that they are available near-universally. (11c) is what I will call the *Verb-Answer* (VA), and it is this construction that we are concerned with here; this should be less familiar, in that no such answer strategy has been reported in the literature to date, to my knowledge.[4] On the surface, the VA looks like something between the full answer and the fragment answer, as it is constituted of the finite verb that occurs in the initial position in the full clause, *fhuair*, and the PP that is used in the fragment answer, *bho Fheargais*. The two parts of the VA form a single intonational unit, with no major break between the verb and the answer component, so it seems clear that they are not just paratactically combined but rather part of some single syntactic unit. VAs receive the same interpretation as the other two response strategies, and speakers report that the choice between them is merely a stylistic matter, with the two more brief options occurring in free variation.[5] The VA is wholly productive and common in Scottish Gaelic usage, in particular in dialects spoken in the western isles, so it is clearly something that any adequate theory of interrogatives should seek to explain.

In the rest of this section I will outline the syntactic properties of the VA, describing the properties of the component parts and restrictions on how it can be used. Throughout it will be compared with the standard fragment answer, which, we will see, turns out to parallel the VA in all crucial respects.

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[4]The SG construction was actually first discussed by Adger (2007) in passing, but Adger does not provide a full analysis of the VA as an answer strategy, focussing instead on its commonalities with SG "VP-ellipsis."

[5]Jacobson (2013) reports that there are subtle differences between the short and full answer in English. See section 4.3.1 for discussion.

3.1 Possible answer constituents

First, let us consider the range of possible constituents that may constitute the "answer" part of the VA. (11) shows that PP arguments can occur in this position when it is a PP that is fronted in the antecedent *wh*-question. It is not limited to this, however; rather, any category that can return an answer to a question as a fragment may occur in this position in the VA. Argument DPs of any grammatical role can fill this position, as shown by a subject answer in (12) and a direct object answer in (13). The brackets around the verb in each example indicate that the corresponding simple fragment is also grammatical.[6]

(12)   A: Cò phòg   Màiri?
           who kiss-PAST Màiri?

"Who kissed Màiri?"

        B: (Phòg)   Somhairle
           kiss-PAST Somhairle

"Somhairle."

(13)   A: Dè dh'ith   thu an-raoir?
           what eat-PAST you last-night

"What did you eat last night?"

        B: (Dh'ith) feòil.
           eat.PAST meat

"Meat"

Adjectives and adverbs may also occur in this position in answer to *how*-questions: in (14)B, the answer is an adjective, while in (14)C it is an adverb.

(14)   A: Ciamar a   tha   thu an-diugh?
           how   C-REL be-PRES you today

"How are you today?"

        B: (Tha)   sgìth.
           be-PRES tired

"I'm tired"

        C: (Tha)   gu math.
           be-PRES well

"I'm well."

Larger constituents can also be used as answers, for instance CPs in reply to questions of saying (15), small clauses in reply to questions with perception verbs (16) and even verbal constituent replies to predicate questions (17).

(15)   A: Dè thuirt   i?
           what say-PAST she

"What did she say?"

        B: (Thuirt) gu bheil   i a' tighinn
           say-PAST C be-PRES-DEP she PRT come-VN

"That she is coming"

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[6]See section 4.1 for arguments against a simple pro-drop analysis of these examples.

(16)   A: Dè   chunnaic iad?
           what see-PAST they

"What did they see?"

       B: (Chunnaic) Somhairle a'   bualadh   a'   chait
           see-PAST   Somhairle PRT strike-VN the cat-GEN

"Somhairle striking the cat"

(17)   A: Dè bha   thu a' smaointinn a   bha   i a'   deanamh?
           what be.PAST you PRT think-VN   C-REL be-PAST she PRT do-VN

"What did you think she was doing?"

       B: (Bha)   a'   sgrìobhadh aiste
           be-PAST PRT write-VN   essay

"Writing an essay"

In (17), the answer constituent contains the aspectual particle *a'*, the non-finite verb and the verb's object. Following Ramchand (1997), I will assume that the aspectual particle is the head of an "inner aspect" projection, a projection that occurs between VP and *v*P (the projection that introduces the external argument); hence I will analyse the fronted constituent here as as AspP.[7]

    VAs track fragment answers in a number of other respects as well. First, for some speakers the answer part of a VA or a fragment can be the DP complement to a PP, as seen in (18); that is, P-stranding is possible, just as it is with the question.[8] Pied-piping is also possible in response to a P-stranding question, as in (18)C, and the same range of answers is compatible with a pied-piping question.

(18)   A: Dè am program a   bha   iad ag eisteachd ris?
           what the program C_{rel} be-PAST they PRT listen-VN to-DEF

"Which program were they listening to?"

       B: (Bha)   *Spòrs na seachdainn.*
           be.PAST *The Week's Sport*

"*The Week's Sport*"

       C: (Bha)   ri *Spòrs na seachdainn.*
           be.PAST ri *The Week's Sport*

"to *The Week's Sport*"

In this respect, SG is like English and Norwegian, and unlike many other languages that disallow P-stranding in response to questions (Merchant 2004).

    Second, finite TPs are not possible answers in both VAs and fragments when they would originate as the complement of an overt C in an embedded position in the full clause.[9] I will call these *C-stranding answers*

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[7]Versions of the reply in (17) without the particle also seem to be possible, though it is unclear whether this is simply due to some phonological deletion process applying to the vowel under adjacency.

[8]Many speakers reject P-stranding outright, and those who I have consulted rejected it consistently for both fragments and VAs. It seems likely that this is due to a prescriptivist pressure to avoid an English calk, although the matter warrants further investigation.

[9]It is marginally possible to respond to (15)A with a sentential reply without the complementizer, as in (19); however, we can see here that this is only possible with the independent form of the verb, which is the finite verb form that occurs in the initial position in matrix contexts. The dependent form *bheil*, which occurs in embedded contexts, is not possible.

(19)   B: Tha   i a' tighinn
           be-PRES she PRT come-VN
       "she is coming" (as answer to (20)A)

for convenience, with no real commitment to a particular analysis.

(20)   A: Dè   thuirt   i?
          what say-PAST she
    "What did she say?"

    B: Thuirt   *(gu) bheil   i   a'   tighinn
          say-PAST C   be-PRES-DEP she PRT come-VN

    "That she is coming"

    C: *(Gu) bheil   i   a'   tighinn
          C   be-PRES-DEP she PRT come-VN

    "That she is coming"

Thus it is not the case that any XP can be the response to a question in either the VA or fragments, though most XPs can. Interestingly, as noted by Morgan (1973) and Merchant (2004) the same effect is seen with English fragments. The observation is that when a speaker utters a CP-fragment and does not believe its content, the complementizer cannot be omitted, as in (21). If the speaker did believe the content of the utterance, then B's utterance could correspond to an independent matrix-level sentence rather than a fragment derived from a structure where the TP is embedded under an attitude predicate, and so the lack of *that* in such cases would tell us nothing about fragments.

(21)   A: What does no one believe?
        B: #(That) I'm taller than I really am.

If it were possible to front a TP to the exclusion of the C head that dominates it, then it should be possible to derive the *that*-less fragment here. Thus it seems the same constraint is active with English fragments.

Regarding SG, it seems that the relevant generalization is that the XPs which can be answers are those which can be displaced. Thus DPs, PPs, APs, AspPs and CPs can be displaced by SG's highly productive clefting strategy, exemplified for DPs and CPs in (22) (see e.g. Adger 2011 for more discussion and examples). But TPs like those that are the putative targets for the answers in (20) cannot be clefted, as in (23).

(22)   a.   'S   e   [$_{DP}$ Màiri] a   phòg   e
            COP EX   Màiri C-REL kiss-PAST he
            "It's Màiri that he kissed."
    b.   'S   e   [$_{CP}$ gun robh   e tinn] a   thuirt   e
            COP EX   C   be-PRES-DEP he ill   C-REL say-PAST he
            "What he said was that he was ill," lit. "it's that he was ill that he said."

(23)   *'S   e   [$_{TP}$ robh   e tinn] a   thuirt   e gun
          COP EX   be-PRES-DEP he ill   C-REL say-PAST he C
          "What he said was he was ill," lit. "it's he was ill that he said that."

This is something that any analysis of VAs and fragments needs to capture.

Finally, an important aspect of the answer constituent is that it must be a phrasal category: a head X cannot fill the answer position on its own, but rather it must pied-pipe its complement. This is shown best by considering further instances of predicate answers, where the predicate is obligatorily transitive but the

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More significant still, the interpretation that is given to this response is different from that in **??**B, in that the speaker does not convey what was said, but rather she simply asserts that the person is coming. This all indicates that (19) is not a TP fragment which has stranded an overt C, but rather an independent matrix-like CP, with no C showing up because C is null in matrix contexts of this kind.

argument is recoverable in the context: in such cases, the object must occur in the answer constituent, even though repeating just the predicate would suffice to provide the information requested by the question.[10]

(24) A: Dè thuirt e a rinn e air a char?
       what say-PAST he C-REL do-PAST he on his car-GEN?
       "What did he say he did to his car?"

      B: Thuirt   *(a) mhilleadh
         say-PAST it   destroy-VN

      "Destroyed it"

This indicates that the answer constituent cannot be just a head. Just like the other restrictions, this is also seen with SG fragments, in that the same result holds if the initial verb is omitted to leave just the answer part. And just like with the C-stranding answer facts, this is a property which is shared in common with the pivot position of clefts in SG: it cannot target the head of a VP to the exclusion of its complement. In (25) this is demonstrated with an attempt at clefting the verb-noun to the exclusion of the object.

(25)   *'S e mhilleadh a   tha   e a
        COP EX destroy-VN C-REL be-PRES he it
        "What he is did was destroy it", lit. "it's destroy that he did it"

And once more, it is also seen in English fragments (Hankamer 1979, 242, Merchant 2004, 698) and English topicalization.

(26)   A: What did he do to the car?
       B: Totaled *(it).

(27)   *Totaled, he did the car.

As Merchant notes, this indicates that answers to questions cannot just be words that would provide the information requested. Rather, the form of the answer is constrained syntactically, and these constraints are familiar from what see in overt movement regularly.

3.2   Usable as answers to long-distance questions

Another aspect of the VA that (17) demonstrates is that the questioned XP need not be contained in the same minimal clause as the matrix verb; that is, it can be used in response to long *wh*-questions, just like fragments. This is not just seen with predicate *wh*-questions, but others too, as (28)-(30) demonstrate for both DP and AP answers.

(28)   A: Dè tha   mam a' smaointinn a   tha   mi ag iarraidh airson na nollaig?
          what be-PRES mum PRT think-VN C-REL be-PRES I PRT want-VN for   the christmas
       "What does mum think that I want for Christmas?"

       B: (Tha)   bicycle.
          be-PRES bicycle

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[10]The object in (24) shows up in a preverbal position here because pronominal objects undergo object shift past the verbal noun in SG, showing up in genitive case. In the present continuous, the genitive pronominal object combines with the preverbal particle to create an syncretic form (here *ga*). See Adger (1994) and Ramchand (1997) for discussion. Recall from earlier that VPs can indeed be fronted to the exclusion of their preverbal particles, so the problem with these examples is not the omission of the preverbal particle. The inability to front the VP on its own may be for a variety of reasons, such as antilocality (Abels 2003), a ban on remnant movement (Saito 1985), or indeed a simple analysis where the shifted object is still within the VP (i.e. Spec,VP), with combination of the pronoun and the preverbal particle obligatory (perhaps for morphological reasons).

"A bicycle"

(29) A: Ciamar a   tha   iad a' smaointinn a   tha   i a' faireachdainn?
         How   C-REL be-PRES they PRT think-VN   C-REL be-PRES she PRT feel-VN

"How do they think she is feeling?"

B: (Tha)   sgìth
   be-PRES tired

"Tired"

(30) A: Dè thuirt   thu a   cheannaich i?
         what say-PAST you C-REL buy-PAST   she?

"What did you say she bought?"

B: (Thuirt)   bicycle
   say-PAST bicycle

"A bicycle"

Importantly, the answers here are interpreted with matrix scope, i.e. (28) means "she thinks that you want a bicycle" rather than "you want a bicycle"; that is, one can follow up the response in (29) with "but she is not in fact tired" without creating a contradiction. VA responses to long-distance questions show all of the same basic properties as the monoclausal responses, allowing either the substantive auxiliary or a lexical verb in the initial position and applying to all categories.

3.3   Possible and impossible initial material

As the preceding examples indicate, the initial "V-position" of a VA can be filled by any finite verb that may occur in the initial position in the matrix clause: examples like (11) show this for the synthetic form of the lexical verb in the past tense; examples like (14) and (17) show this for the finite auxiliary in the present and analytic past; and examples (28)-(30) show that both occur in the initial position of a VA to a long *wh*-question. (31) shows that the future form of the verb is also possible in the VA.

(31)   A: Dè   dh'itheas tu?
           what eat-FUT   you
        "What will you eat?"

B: (Ithidh) feòil
   eat-FUT meat

"Meat"

However it is not the case that *any* verbal form can occupy the initial position; rather, it can only be the finite verb that occupies the initial position in the corresponding full sentential response. (32) shows that answers with the non-finite verb in the verb position are ungrammatical as responses to argument *wh*-questions (whether or not the aspectual particle *ag* is included).

(32)   A: Dè   tha   thu ag ithe?
           what be-PRES you PRT eat-VN
        "What are you eating?"

B: *ag ithe   feòil.
   PRT eat-VN meat

"Meat"

In addition, it is not the case that any lexical verb can occupy the initial position, but rather it must be exactly the same lexical verb as the one in the antecedent question. Thus a verb with broadly the same interpretation, or indeed with a contrasted interpretation, will not work.

(33) A: Cò dh'ith an cèic?
      who eat-PAST the cake
      "Who ate the cake?

      B: Dh'ith Iain
      eat-PAST Iain

      "Iain ate it"

      C: *Shluig Iain
      scoff-PAST Iain

      "Iain scoffed it"

The same effect is seen in SG's garden variety VP-ellipsis construction, which involves omitting the constituent immediately dominated by the verb in the initial position, effectively like a VA without the answer component.

(34) A: An   dh'ith   Iain an cèic?
      C-INTERR eat-PAST-DEP Iain the cake
      "Did Iain eat the cake?

      B: Dh'ith
      eat.PAST

      "Yes" or "he did" (lit. "ate")

      C: *Shluig
      scoff-PAST

      "He scoffed it" (lit. "scoffed")

In Goldberg (2005) this effect is described as the *Verbal Identity Requirement*, and it is claimed that this follows from the fact that the base position of the lexical verb is within the ellipsis site, since the initial position is the verb's derived position.

Before moving on, it is important to emphasize that the initial position is not solely reserved for verbal predicates, but rather it can be occupied by any predicates that may occupy that position in SG clauses generally. A well-known property of SG and Goidelic more generally is that non-verbal predicates may also occupy the initial position in some circumstances (see Carnie 1995, Adger and Ramchand 2003, McCloskey 2005 and references cited therein). Thus in addition to the predicational structure that we've seen in all of the examples above, where the initial position is occupied by either the main verbal predicate or the substantive auxiliary *bith*, there is an additional predicational structure in which the copula *is/bu* occurs initial followed immediately by the non-verbal predicate and then the subject. This is known as the Inverse Copular Construction (ICC), and some examples are given below.

(35) Is   mòr an duine seo.
      COP big the man   this
      "This man is big."

(36) Is   leum   an cù
      COP with-me the dog
      "The dog belongs to me"

(37)   Is   fhèarr dhut   falbh
        COP better to-you leave-INF
        "You had better leave"

(38)   Is   urrainn do Mhairi   dràibheadh
        COP ability to Màiri-DAT drive-INF
        "Màiri can drive"

(39)   Is   toil   leis   cèic
        COP inclination with-him cake
        "He likes cake"

As these examples show, most uses of the ICC are idiomatic, and although the ICC is no longer wholly productive in the modern language, it is very common in SG usage and forms the basis for a number of very common constructions, such as modal expressions like (37)-(38).

There are many structural properties of ICCs that warrant close attention, but for our purposes here there is one that is particularly important, namely its behaviour in ellipsis contexts. Just like with verbal predicates, SG's "VP-ellipsis" process in sentences with non-verbal predicates deletes the constituent immediately dominated by the initial predicate, including the subject, which in many ICCs is occupied by a PP experiencer. Importantly, ellipsis may not retain the subject or any other material, as shown by the following examples of answers to yes-no questions.

(40)   A: An urrainn do Mhairi   dràibheadh
           COP ability to Màiri-DAT drive-INF
        "Can Màiri drive?"

        B: 'S   urrainn (*dhi)
           COP ability (with-her)
        "She can."

(41)   A: An toil   leis   cèic?
           COP inclination with-him cake
        "Does he like cake"

        B: 'S   toil   (*leis)
           COP inclination (with-him)
        "He does"

Given this, we may expect that *wh*-questions based on ICCs will be able to be answered with VAs comprised of the copula, the repeated initial predicate and then the answer component. This does indeed turn out to be the case, as the following show.[11]

(42)   A: Dè as toil   leat?
           what COP inclination with-you
        "What do you like?"

        B: 'S toil   cèic.
           COP inclination cake
        "I like cake."

(43)   A: Dè as toil   leat   a   fhuathachadh?
           what COP inclination with-you PRT hate-VN

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[11]As with the cases above, the initial copula+predicate part can be omitted to leave just the fragment.

"What do you like to hate?"

    B: 'S   toil   dannsa.
       COP inclination dancing

"I like to hate dancing."

(44)   A: Dè as urrainn do Chaluim   a   sheinn?
         what COP ability to Calum-DAT PRT sing-VN

"What can Calum sing?"

    B: 'S   urrainn òran Gàidhlig
       COP ability song Gaelic

"He can sing a Gaelic song"

Thus we see that the elements that can occur in the initial position in a VA are not just verbs, but any predicates that may appear in the initial position in the corresponding full clause.

3.4   Possible and impossible additional material

Typically, the basic template of "initial predicate + answer" in the VA cannot be disrupted. For instance, a variant of (11c) may not include the subject on either side of the answer, or indeed before the predicate.

(45)   A: Có bhuaithe a   fhuair   thu an sgeul seo?
         who from-DEF C-REL get-PAST you the story this
      "Who did you get this story from?"

    B: (*mi) fhuair   (*mi) bho Fheargais (*mi).   (as answer to (10))
       (I)   get-PAST (I)   from Fergus   (I)

"From Fergus"

This is not due to some general ban on subjects occurring in the VA, as (12) above shows that is possible to include a subject when it is itself the answer component. Rather what (45) demonstrates is a very general ban on including more than the finite verb and the answer. Similarly (46), a variant of (10) (from Adger 2007) shows that postposed object pronouns may not be retained, even though they may typically occur to the right of any other element in their minimal clause. (47) shows that other XPs that would normally follow the answer in its base position are not retained either. The same is seen with the standard fragment in SG (as in English, as can be seen by the translations).[12]

(46)   Fhuair   bho Fheargais (*e)
       get-PAST from Fergus   (it)

(47)   A: Dè tha   thu ag iarraidh airson na   nollaig?
         what be-PRES you PRT want-VN for   the-DAT Christmas

"What do you want for Christmas?"

    B: Tha   bicycle (* airson na   nollaig)
       be-PRES bicycle   for   the-DAT Christmas

"A bicycle (* for Christmas)"

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[12]These would be grammatical (but somewhat anomalous) on an interpretation where the present is "a bicycle for Christmas," i.e. a hire of a bicycle for the Christmas period, as a Christmas gift. On such an interpretation the PP would be a modifier of the NP, and it would not correspond to the PP in the antecedent; that is, the full version of the answer would be "I want [a bicycle for Christmas] [for Christmas]."

C: Bicycle (* airson na   nollaig)
   bicycle   for   the-DAT Christmas

There are two classes of exceptions to the basic template for VAs: cases where the VA is accompanied by material that is normally found to the left of the finite verb, and cases where the VA is accompanied by material that occurs to the right of the verb.

Regarding material to the left of the verb, only non-operator material can occur in the left periphery of answers to questions; this narrows down the range of possibilities to complementizers, and there are only two contexts in which complementizers may legitimately appear in answers: embedded answers and answers to questions with negation.[13] First, consider embedded answers. (48) is a version of (10) embedded under *smaoinich* "think," which takes a finite CP complement; they are also possible with other embedding CP-embedding predicates like *cinnteach* "sure." (49) shows that the embedding in a non-elliptical version of the response is exactly the same as in the VA; the only difference between the two is that there is a large chunk of material missing in the latter. Embedded VAs have all the same properties as their unembedded counterparts.

(48)   A: Cò bhuaithe a   fhuair   thu an sgeul seo?
         who from-DEF C-REL get-PAST you the story this
      "Who did you get this story from?"

    B: Tha   mi a' smaointinn gun d' fhuair   bho Fheargais
       be-PRES I   PRT think-VN   C   get-PAST-DEP from Fergus

      "I think that he got it from Fergus" or "I think from Fergus"

(49)   Tha   mi a' smaointinn gun d' fhuair   e an sgeul seo bho Fheargais
     be-PRES I   PRT think-VN   C   get-PAST-DEP he the story this from Fergus
     "I think that he got this story from Fergus"

The possibility of embedding is one of the few properties which distinguish VAs from regular fragment answers. Regular fragments seem to resist embedding, or at least they are quite distinct from VA in this context as they require a comma intonation which separates the fragment from the embedding predicate. Moreover this is only possible when the complementizer *gun* is omitted, as examples retaining it are ungrammatical regardless of intonation.

(50)   a. Tha   mi a' smaointinn *(,) bho Fheargais
        be-PRES I   PRT think-VN   from Fergus
       "I think, from Fergus"   (as answer to (48)A)

     b. *Tha   mi a' smaointinn gun (,) bho Fheargais
        be-PRES I   PRT think-VN   that   from Fergus
       "I think, from Fergus"   (as answer to (48)A)

The comma intonation contour is not required for embedded VA, as it has broadly the same intonation contour at the point of embedding as regular embedded clauses. It seems, then, that examples like (50a) are not actual cases of embedded fragments but rather a bifurcated structure, with null complement anaphora in the apparent embedding clause and some sort of paratactic relation joining the two. In this regard SG seems to differ from Dutch (Temmerman 2013) and arguably English (Griffiths 2011), which both seem to allow for embedded fragments.

Now consider VAs with negative complementizers. The most natural type of VA with a negative complementizer is one where there is no negation in the antecedent question but the answer is negated, as in

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[13]Complementizers are zero or unprojected at the matrix level except in negative clauses, interrogatives and clauses with complementizer like *ma* "if." The latter two uses are incompatible with the VA.

(51).

(51)   A: Cò   dh'fhastaidheas iad?
        Who hire-FUT   they
        "Who will they hire?"

        B: Chan   fhastaidh   Somhairle
        C-NEG hire-FUT-DEP Somhairle

        "Not Somhairle"

As indicated by the translation, this conveys the same sort of interpretations that is conveyed by use of adjoined negation in English; SG lacks the option of adjoined negation, only expressing negation with complementizers.[14]

From the preceding one may expect that nothing may occur to the right of the finite verb in a VA, since we have already seen that subjects do not co-occur with the answer constituent of a VA (unless the subject is in fact the answer) and typically the only thing that may occur to the right of the finite verb in full structures is the subject. However in section 2 we saw that adverbs may occur between the subject and the finite verb in auxiliary-initial clauses in some contexts.

(52)   Bhiodh   gu tric bana-bhuidsichean a'   briseadh nan sguaban   aca   aig an àm sin
        be-COND often   witches   PRT break-VN the broomsticks at-them at   the time that
        "There would often be witches breaking their broomsticks at that time"

The following examples show that postverbal adverbs can also occur in VAs, where the answer constituent occurs to the right of the adverb, again to the exclusion of the subject.[15]

(53)   A: Cò   a   bhiodh   gu tric a'   briseadh nan sguaban   aca   aig an àm sin?
        who C-REL be-COND often   PRT break-VN the broomsticks at-them at   the time
        "Who would there often be breaking their broomsticks at that time?"

        B: Bhiodh   gu tric bana-bhuidsichean
        be-COND often   witches

        "Witches"

What all of this data indicates is that the non-answer material that occurs in the first part of the "verb+answer" template is not just some slot for repeating the main predicate of the preceding question, but rather it is a "peek" at the clause structure corresponding to the top of the matrix clause of the full sentential answer. In most regular cases this is made up of just the finite verb, which is initial in most matrix declaratives, but in circumstances where the initial cluster would be more elaborate we see more of the underlying clause.

3.5   Summary

In this section we have seen that the VA is a productive answer strategy in SG which tracks the fragment answer in virtually all respects. The basic form of the VA is "finite verb + answer," with the only possible departures from this template being the inclusion of material that would precede or immediately follow the finite verb in the full answer. The answer position can be filled by any potential answer to a *wh*-question, including long-distance *wh*-questions, and the finite verb position can be occupied by any finite verb form, so long as it corresponds to the one in the initial position in the matrix clause (the clause where the *wh*-

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[14]This means that (51) cannot be expressed with a regular fragment, as the negative complementizer cannot be realised independent of the finite verb.

[15]Thanks to a reviewer for pointing out this possibility. Note that the adverb may not accompany the solitary fragment answer.

phrase takes scope) in the antecedent question. And while the VA seems to have a templatic character, the data from VAs with more than just the verb and the answer provides a strong indication that the non-answer part is in fact the left periphery of a full but reduced clausal structure.

4   Towards an analysis

As noted above, the fact that the initial material in the VA (roughly, the "verb" part) always corresponds to the initial material in the full sentential response with the same meaning indicates that the VA is a reduced version of a full sentence, with the non-answer, non-initial material omitted somehow. The question, then, is what happens to the rest of the clausal material. Descriptively speaking, this omission of material may be regarded as a case of *ellipsis*, but as noted above, theories differ with regard to their analyses of so-called ellipsis phenomena. In particular, they depart on the issue of whether ellipsis involves deleting syntactically present material, generating null elements which get their content anaphorically or simply base-generating reduced structures where the "missing" material is not syntactically present at all.

In this section I consider the different possible analyses and show that only one analysis is compatible with the empirical profile of the VA, specifically what I call the *move-and-delete* analysis, which involves A′-movement of the answer constituent to a focus-related projection just below the surface position of the finite verb and then deleting the evacuated constituent below at PF. This is broadly similar to Merchant's analysis of fragment answers, with the only substantial difference being that the landing site for focus movement is a little lower, thus allowing a peek at the clausal structure of the answer.

(54)   (C) $[_{TP}$ V+T $[_{FocP}$ ZP$_i$ $[_{YP}$ ~~... t$_i$ ....~~ $]]]$

I show that all other approaches either fail to capture the empirical profile of the VA or can only do so by embracing the mechanisms used by the move-and-delete analysis while incorporating additional mechanisms. In effect, the VA is exactly the kind of variation on a fragment answer structure that is expected on the move-and-delete analysis, whereas with WYSIWYG approaches the VA is something of an outlier, falling into an analytical no man's land between "remnant-based" constructions like fragment answers on the one hand and "elliptical" constructions on the other.

4.1   Against an argument drop analysis

One analysis that we can immediately dismiss is that VAs are full clauses that are 'reduced' by the use of null arguments like *pro*, what we may call a *pro-drop analysis*. Putting to one side the question of whether SG is in fact pro-drop (see e.g. McCloskey and Hale 1984), the simplest reason for rejecting this analysis is that non-argument material which cannot be omitted in this manner can be omitted in a VA. (55), repeated from above, shows that verb-nouns, complementizers, pre-verbal particles, finite verbs in embedded clauses can all be omitted; this can be seen by comparing the VA with the full unreduced version, where the relevant non-argument elements are in bold.

(55)   A: Dè   tha   mam a'   smaointinn a   tha   mi ag iarraidh airson na nollaig?
            what be-PRES mum PRT think-VN C-REL be-PRES I   PRT want-VN for   the christmas
         "What does mum think that I want for Christmas?"

         B: Tha   bicycle.
            be-PRES bicycle

         "A bicycle"

         B′: Tha   i   **a' smaointinn a   tha**   thu **ag iarraidh** bicycle **airson na nollaig**.
             be-PRES she PRT think-VN   C-REL be-PRES you PRT want-VN bicycle for   the christmas

16

The pro-drop-based account would thus fail to account for many types of VAs, including (15)-(30) above.[16] Similar reasoning would also rule out analysing VAs as involving massive use of "topic drop" (as in e.g. Huang 1984), as this is also typically restricted to arguments.

An additional argument against the pro-drop analysis comes from the data in (33) above, which showed that VAs pattern with SG VP-ellipsis in displaying the Verbal Identity Requirement. As Goldberg (2005) notes, the VIR is only expected to hold when a VP, (or something larger containing the trace of the verb) is deleted. If the effect of ellipsis were derived by dropping individual DPs, there would be no discourse/anaphoric dependency involving a constituent containing the semantic content of the lexical verb, but rather only a number of other dependencies between pro-dropped DPs and their antecedents; thus, we would not expect the content of the "ellipsis" constituent to be dependent upon the antecedent discourse in such circumstances where the only dependency is between null DPs and their antecedents. Goldberg (2005) shows that this is indeed the case: in languages like Hebrew, in which both argument drop and ellipsis are possible for analysing cases of VP-ellipsis, the VIR holds only in those contexts where argument drop is not possible; but when argument drop is an analytical possibility, different verbs can be used in the two clauses. This shows that the dependency between sentences with argument drop and the antecedent clauses is not so strict as to restrict the meaning of predicate in the 'reduced' clause; but since this strictness is seen with VAs, we can thus conclude that these are not derived by argument drop.

Before moving on, it is worth emphasising that argument drop is not just inadequate for dealing with the broad sweep of the data discussed above, but rather it is also inadequate for dealing with even those cases which seem to be simple cases of pro-drop. That is, even those cases where just a pronoun subject goes missing cannot be analysed as cases of pro-drop, or indeed phonetic elision of phonetically light material in quick speech. The former point can be made by considering examples like (56), where the antecedent discourse makes the subject salient enough to be dropped but nevertheless missing it out is not possible. Compare this to the analogous question-answer pair, where the VA allows for dropping of the very same pronoun *e* with no difficulty.

(56)   Seo Iain. Tha   e a' dèanamh fiamh-ghàire. Tha   *(e) toilichte!
       here Iain be-PRES he PRT do-VN smile   be-PRES he happy
       "Here's Iain. He's smiling. He's happy!"

(57)   A: Ciamar a   tha   Iain?
          how   C-REL be-PRES Iain
       "How is Iain?"

       B: Tha   toilichte
          be-PRES happy
       "He's happy"

Note also that the pronoun which is dropped in the third sentence in (56) is the light monosyllable *e*, a sure a candidate for processes of phonetic elision, yet this is not possible here, as most speakers can clearly distinguish between strings with and without the *e*. This shows that it is something particular to the VA that is responsible for licensing the absence of pronouns, not just some general process of argument drop or phonetic elision.

4.2   Against a biclausal analysis

Another analysis which we can rule out is a biclausal one where the initial verb and answer XP do not form a single syntactic unit. Such an analysis may be encouraged by the fact that the two separate pieces could be

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[16]Note that this account would still fail if we were to propose that the inventory of null proforms in SG was much wider, including null VPs, CPs and so on, as the constituents that contain the answer constituent (for instance the embedded VP and CP in (55)B) could not be replaced by null proforms.

derived by independently available ellipsis processes: the initial verb could be an instance of SG "responsive ellipsis" or "VP-ellipsis," and the answer component could be a separate fragment answer XP. Thus our initial example (11c) would have an analysis roughly like in (58), where a PF-deletion representation of ellipsis is used for convenience. (In the "VP-ellipsis" chunk, the position corresponding to the gap in the question has been filled by the indefinite *cudeigin* "someone" for the sake of indicating an appropriate interpretation.)

(58) Fhuair ~~mi e bho cudeigin~~ (,) ~~Fhuair mi e~~ bho Fheargais.
        ↑ *VP-ellipsis*   ↑ fragment answer

Two problems present themselves immediately. First of all, VAs do not have the kind of comma intonation that would normally accompany a biclausal structure of this kind, as the initial verb and the answer form a prosodic constituent. Second, it would seem that an utterance with this analysis would translate as "yes, from Fergus," whereas this an unusual sort of response to a *wh*-question and is not how the VAs are translated by speakers; rather, they simply have the same interpretation as a single fragment. Indeed, speakers note that introducing a pause and thus making the separation of the two parts makes the utterance anomalous, much like the English variant "yes, from Fergus" would be anomalous.

   Pushing the biclausal analysis, one might propose that the VP-ellipsis component of the VA, which translates as an answer to a yes-no question, is somehow interpreted as committing to the presupposition of the question, namely that the addressee got the story from someone, with the fragment then specifying the answer. Besides its ad hoc nature, this analysis would be troubled by examples like (51) from above, repeated here, where the VA includes sentential negation not present in the antecedent.

(59) A: Cò dh'fhastaidheas iad?
         Who hire-FUT   they
      "Who will they hire?"

      B: Chan fhastaidh   Somhairle
         C-NEG hire-FUT-DEP Somhairle

      "Not Somhairle" or "They won't hire Somhairle"

Here the "VP-ellipsis" component of the answer would not commit to the presupposition; rather, it would seem to deny it, since it is negated and would presumably correspond to an interpretation like "they did not hire anyone." But this is not how (59) is interpreted: as indicated by the gloss "not Somhairle," this reply is compatible with a scenario where they hired someone other than Somhairle. It is not clear how the interpretation of examples like (59) could be created by the combination of two separate parts of this kind, so the biclausal analysis is clearly not going to work.

4.3   Against a WYSIWYG approach

As noted earlier, one approach to apparently elliptical phenomena like fragment answers that has been pursued in the literature is to propose that there is no missing structure at all, but rather that the remnant XP is simply a bare XP that is base-generated on its own; call this a *WYSIWYG* (what you see is what you get) approach. Thus for the answer in (1), repeated here as (60), the WYSIWYG structure for the answer is simply a sole NP *Kodos*, rather than a full clause.

(60)   A: Who did you vote for?
       B: Kodos.

This approach is pursued by Groenendijk and Stokhof (1984), Ginzburg and Sag (2000), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) and Jacobson (2013) for fragment answers, and a similar analysis is proposed for sluicing by Ginzburg and Sag (2000) and Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) as well as Sag and Nykiel (2011) and

Barker (to appear), where the single constituent that makes up the sluice, the *wh*-remnant, is base-generated with no movement or clausal material. All of these theories need to provide an account of how the NP comes to encode the propositional meaning of the full reply, and most assume that this is done grammatically, with only Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) of those listed above maintaining that this is done by pragmatic means. Given that there are various empirical arguments in favour of some sort of grammatical relation between the ellipsis remnant and some incarnation of the antecedent clause, such as case-matching and the P-stranding generalization (see especially Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Merchant 2004), it seems certain that the fully pragmatic WYSIWYG approach cannot be maintained.[17] Therefore I will focus upon the grammatical WYSIWYG approach, in particular the one proposed by Ginzburg and Sag (2000) and Jacobson (2013). The problem posed by VAs for the WYSIWYG is not obvious on the surface, so we need to delve into the details. However in doing this we will see that the WYSIWYG approach suffers from theoretical and empirical problems when it comes to VAs, and this serves to undermine the WYSIWYG approach to fragments and ellipsis more generally.

4.3.1 The Qu-Ans approach

In order to capture the fact that the single phrase in a fragment is interpreted as a propositional response to the question, Ginzburg and Sag (2000) and Jacobson (2013) posit the existence of a grammatical construction called the *Question-Answer Pair* (*Qu-Ans*). The syntax of Qu-Ans is that it takes a Question of category X and combines it with an answer of the same category (a bare XP) to return a larger syntactic object of category Qu-Ans, and the matching of categories ensures that a number of key connectivity effects are accounted for. The semantics is such that it applies the function defined by the question to the answer XP, returning an interpretation corresponding to the propositional meaning of the full sentential response.

The Qu-Ans is a grammatical construction which combines elements at the discourse level in a compositional fashion, and it can be thought of informally as a way of slotting the answer into the gap position of the question. It is crucial for this analysis that the question gap and the answer constituent match in category and semantic type. Thus in discourses where the response to a question is a larger category not corresponding to the gap, such as VP-ellipsis responses (61b) or full sentential responses (61c), Qu-Ans is not invoked, and the responses are not regarded as "answers" in the grammatical sense defined by the theory.

(61)   Which alien replaced Clinton?
     a.   Kodos.
     b.   Kodos did.
     c.   Kodos replaced Clinton.

The separation of VP-ellipsis and full responses from short answers is justified in the first place by the simple fact that the former two longer replies have independent uses in discourse, and that they are not dependent upon the antecedent discourse for their interpretation in the same way as the full fragment. They can therefore be reasonably considered responses rather than "answers" in a strictly defined sense, since only the short answers are so restricted to use in question-answer pairs.

Jacobson (2013) argues that there is additional empirical evidence to indicate that simple fragments are indeed different from larger responses like those in (61b)-(61c), since at least the full replies seem to allow for readings that are not available with the simple fragments. Specifically, with a particular intonation the full replies allow for what she calls a "best-I-can-do" reading, with which the XP corresponding to the *wh*P
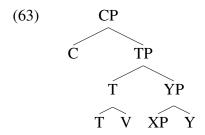
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[17]Indeed Merchant (to appear) quotes an earlier version of Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) where they concede that the presence of the kinds of connectivity effects would be "impressive evidence of the reality of invisible structure," though they then go on to dismiss such effects since they seem incompatible with some of the apparent island-insensitivity effects. Ginzburg and Sag (2000), Barker (to appear) and Jacobson (2013) offer different ways of capturing these connectivity effects without silent structure; whether they are as successful as the silent structure approach is a point that one may dispute, but the argument developed here is largely independent of this issue.

does not inherit the presuppositions of the *wh*P; thus a best-I-can-do interpretation for (61c) is one where Kodos is not presupposed to be an alien, an interpretation which is not possible with (61a). Jacobson (2013, 23) claims that this follows from the Qu-Ans analysis: the function of the Qu-Ans construction is to apply the partial function defined by the question and combine it with the answer component, and this will only work if the answer component is within the domain defined by the question presupposition. Thus for (61) the function is as in (62), and this can only be applied to [[Kodos]] if Kodos is in the domain of aliens.

(62) $\lambda x_{x \in [[alien]]}$ [[x replaced Clinton]]

Jacobson also claims that judgments are hazier with VP-ellipsis replies like (61b), with many speakers reporting that the reading is hard but not impossible to get and others reporting that it is possible. Jacobson suggests that the haziness of the data may follow from the fact that the VP-ellipsis response has a somewhat "inbetween" status, being neither a short reply or a full one; as such, speakers are torn on whether to analyse them as one or the other.

Now let us consider how the relevance of the Qu-Ans analysis for VAs. We saw above that these responses have a clausal structure, with the initial cluster of the finite verb and any other complementizer elements surfacing to the left of the answer constituent. For a WYSIWYG analysis, the answer constituent must be base-generated adjacent to the verb, and the verb must itself be base-generated in the initial position, since there is no "silent structure" from which it could have moved to its surface position. This structure requires allowing the answer XP to be base-generated in a position in which it cannot normally occur, since this is quite distinct from the surface position of the answer XPs in all except responses to subject questions.[18] I designate the base-generated position of the answer XP as Spec,YP with no great commitment.

(63)
```
              CP
            /    \
           C      TP
                /    \
               T      YP
              / \    /  \
             T   V  XP   Y
```

No structure of this kind could fit with the Qu-Ans schema, which can only combine with a category matching the open position in the Question. It is true that the system would independently require and make available ways of ensuring that CPs answers can combine with DP questions (*What did she say? That she's leaving*), but this would not have generality to cover cases where the questioned category is anything other than a DP (i.e. a PP, AP). More significantly, the semantics would also fail in all cases, since the function defined by the antecedent question would not readily apply to clausal structures of this kind. As things stand, then, VAs cannot be handled by the Qu-Ans theory. Basically, the Qu-Ans mechanism is defined so as to apply to just the bare XP answer constituent, integrating it directly with the question so as to ensure that connectivity effects that connect the answer and the gap in the question may be captured, so using it when the response is constituted of a larger constituent containing that answer constituent will ultimately fail. [19]

Importantly, it would not be sufficient to posit that SG has developed an additional Qu-Ans construction, or some other all-purpose custom-made construction that can deal with VAs, as there could not be a single schema that one could posit to deal with all the possible VAs. They are simply too varied: there is a vast number of possible combinations of answer components (arguments and adjuncts of all types) and initial clusters (lexical verbs of all valencies in different tenses, the auxiliary verb in different tenses, and combi-

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[18]Though note that the stipulation required to allow for this is restated in other terms in the alternative ellipsis approach, so this does not distinguish the two approaches.

[19]If it were possible to integrate the clausal structure with the question, one would then expect it to be possible with VP-ellipsis, for instance. This would undermine Jacobson's argument from "best-I-can-do" answers.

nations of verbs and the different complementizers) that can make up a VA, and each combination would require a different construction in order to compose with the antecedent question semantically (with most requiring complex type-shifting operations to allow this to happen) and syntactically (with concomitant difficulties modelling connectivity effects). All of these different constructions would need to be learned, but if they were learned we would expect to see accidental gaps in the SG profile, as well as other languages with similar syntactic properties allowing for some but not other combinations. Neither of these expectations are met (see section 4.5 below for discussion of the comparative context), so this approach has to be rejected on empirical grounds. Moreover, we also have cause to reject this on theoretical grounds: it is implausible that all of the different constructions could be learned by SG speakers, since almost all of them would be extremely low in the input for acquisition individually.

Given all this, we must reject a constructional approach to VAs and look elsewhere for an explanation. By the criteria set by Ginzburg and Sag (2000) and Jacobson (2013), this would mean that VAs would not be considered "answers" in the narrowly defined sense. Instead, VAs would be grouped with "responses" like the English (61b)-(61c). This is problematic with VAs, however, since they are *only* used in response to questions: they do not have distinct uses in other kinds of discourse like English VP-ellipsis responses or full responses, and as such they are squarely in the purview of any adequate theory of answers. There is also a concomitant empirical problem for the constructional approach from the distribution of "best-I-can-do" interpretations. Scottish Gaelic is like English in showing a clear contrast between fragments and full sentential responses with respect to best-I-can-do interpretations, in that the latter lack them while the former don't. However, VAs pattern with fragment answers in also lacking the best-I-can-do interpretation: that is, they are committed to the presupposition in the question just like the fragments are.

(64)   Cò an t-ollamh a   tha   thu a' smaointinn a   dh'fhastaidheas iad?
        who the professor C-REL be-PRES you PRT think-VN   C-REL hire-FUT-REL   they
        "Which professor do you think they will hire?"

(65)   a. Tha   mi a' smaointinn gum fasdaidh   iad Iain.... ach chan   eil   mi
            be-PRT I PRT think-VN   C-REL hire-FUT-DEP they Iain... but C-NEG be-PRES-DEP I
            a' smaointinn gur   e ollamh a th'ann
            PRT think-VN   C-REL EX professor C PRES-in-him
            "I think that they will hire Iain... but I don't think that he's a professor"
        b. Iain.... # ach chan   eil   mi a' smaointinn gur   e ollamh a
            Iain... but C-NEG be-PRES-DEP I   PRT think-VN   C-REL EX professor C-REL
            th'ann
            PRES-in-him
            "Iain... #but I don't think that he's a professor"
        c. Tha Iain.... # ach chan   eil   mi a' smaointinn gur   e ollamh a
            PRES Iain... but C-NEG be-PRES-DEP I   PRT think-VN   C-REL EX professor C-REL
            th'ann
            PRES-in-him
            "Iain... #but I don't think that he's a professor"

This indicates that something other than the Qu-Ans schema must be at stake in determining whether or not best-I-can-do interpretations are made available, thus undermining one of Jacobson's key arguments for this kind of analysis.[20]

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[20]See also Weir (2013), where it is shown that the distribution of best-I-can-do interpretations in English can also be derived by other means while working with a silent structure approach.

4.3.2 The XP-anaphora approach

Since VAs do not submit to a constructional analysis, we must then ask how the meaning of the missing material would be supplied to ensure that the reply receives the correct interpretation on a WYSIWYG approach. VAs bear a surface resemblance to VP-ellipsis in SG, so it is tempting to try to employ the mechanisms invoked by WYSIWYG approaches to VP-ellipsis, like those in Hardt (1993; 1999) and Jacobson (2008). Focusing on English and working within the framework of variable-free semantics (Jacobson 1999), Jacobson (2008, 57) proposes that sentences with VP-ellipsis are functions from properties to propositions (type $\langle et,t\rangle$), much like sentences containing pronouns are functions from individuals to propositions in the variable-free framework. This is done by introducing a rule, which I will call the *VP-anaphora rule*, which changes the category of the ellipsis-licensing auxiliary (i.e. *will* in *I read the book and John will too*) to that of a VP-proform which picks up the meaning of a VP in the discourse context.[21] The VP-proform picks up the meaning of a salient VP in the discourse, allowing the sentence to receive the interpretation where the relevant VP is effectively "filled in" at the empty position.

Importantly, Jacobson (2008) proposes that there is more that one way to assign a meaning to an "empty" VP that follows an auxiliary, as we also need to account for cases where the "missing" VP contains an extraction gap, as in cases of Antecedent-Contained Deletion (66a) and cases like (66b) where there is topicalization from the ellipsis site. A different rule is required to make the licensing auxiliary anaphoric in the right way because VPs which have been extracted from are of different category and different type from regular VPs (since they need to compose directly with the higher occurrence of the displaced XP).[22]

(66)   a.   John read every book which you will.
        b.   Bagels, I like. Donuts, I don't.

This requires generalizing the VP-anaphora rule to a rule which allows for anaphora to a verbal category of type $\langle\langle e,\langle e,t\rangle\rangle,t\rangle$; as Jacobson notes, this is simply a generalization of the rule employed for regular VP-ellipsis, so it is technically unproblematic.

Now consider how this approach would extend to VAs. First of all, we would need to designate a head in the VA structure which would do the job of the auxiliary verb in English VP-ellipsis, that is, undergoing some sort of generalized category-changing rule so that it could become an XP-anaphor and hence establish an anaphoric relation between the ellipsis clause and an antecedent. This could be done in a number of ways, for instance by saying that the (silent) Y head which hosts the XP answer in (63) is the relevant head; I will not dwell on this here, as it can be implemented without difficulty, and moreover the stipulation that certain heads license ellipsis is also found in other approaches and so won't be taken to distinguish theories here. However, what is important is that the semantic type of the "missing chunk" of a VA varies substantially, because there are so many different combinations for both the missing chunk and indeed the verb+answer part which makes up the VA itself. For instance in cases where the initial verb is an auxiliary and the answer XP is an adjunct, like (67) below, the type of the missing chunk will be a proposition (type $\langle t\rangle$), whereas if the answer component were a DP argument, like (68), the missing chunk would be $\langle e,t\rangle$.

(67)   A: Cuin a   tha   thu a' smaointinn a   chì   tu iad ?
        when C-REL be-PRES they PRT think-VN   C-REL see-FUT you they
        "When do you think you will see them?"

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[21]In this theory it is the auxiliary that functions as the proform and there is no silent pronoun in the VP-ellipsis site; cf. e.g. Chung et al. 1995.

[22]In Categorial Grammar, the type of the category is changed by the "Geach Rule," a general type-shifting rule which raises a function of type $\langle a,b\rangle$ to a higher order function $\langle\langle c,a\rangle,\langle c,b\rangle\rangle$; this ensures that the category can compose with the higher "extracted" XP. As Jacobson notes, this type-shifting rule is broadly similar to the lambda extraction rule that is invoked to ensure that variables get bound in model-theoretic semantic theories like Heim and Kratzer (1998), which effectively change the type and category of the constituent immediately dominated by extracted XPs.

B: Tha   Dimairt
   be.PRES on-Tuesday

"On Tuesday"

(68)   A: Dè   tha   thu ag ithe?
       what be-PRES you PRT eat-VN
"What are you eating?"

B: Tha   feòil
   be-PRES meat

"Meat"

Further combinations of different verbs (including lexical verbs) and answers in the initial position would require several other (high-order) types for the missing chunks. This would mean that the analysis of VAs would require allowing the XP-anaphora which is responsible for filling in the meaning to apply with a vast number of different categories. Generalizing the XP-anaphora rule to account for VAs thus gives our WYSIWYG theory of ellipsis substantial expressive power.[23]

While providing the theory with this additional expressive power may seem like an innocuous move that is justified by the empirical coverage, it has one particularly important side-effect: *it renders the Qu-Ans construction redundant*. This is because our analysis of VAs allows XP-anaphora to apply to missing chunks of all kinds, and by allowing this we allow an analogous ellipsis analysis of fragment answers. Specifically, the XP-anaphora rules which are formulated to handle VAs with auxiliaries in the initial position could also be employed with an ellipsis analysis of fragment answers with the same answer component; for instance, the analysis for (67) would be no different than the analysis for the fragment analogue, since both would involve anaphora to propositions and the type of the subconstituent dominated by the answer component in the VA would be the same as the type of the subconstituent dominated by the answer component in a fragment answer under a WYSIWYG ellipsis approach.[24] We could do exactly the same for all other fragment answers by employing the rules used for VAs with initial auxiliaries with the same answer component, deriving their propositional interpretations without Qu-Ans.[25] Note that generating the base structure for a fragment answer where the answer component is in CP is also unproblematic: because our WYSIWYG theory of VAs also requires us to allow for base-generating all types of arguments and adjuncts in a position other than their usual position (in VAs, the immediately postverbal position), so since we are allowing this with VAs we would also in principle allow for the same with fragments (i.e. base-generation in an initial position). Therefore providing VAs and fragments with a unified analysis leads us to the conclusion that the Qu-Ans is redundant, and this should encourage us to do without the Qu-Ans schema altogether.

However, even if we were to embrace the WSIWYG ellipsis approach as outlined above, dispensing with the Qu-Ans schema, we would still struggle to account for some of the key properties of VAs and indeed fragments. One of the key functions of the Qu-Ans schema in the account of fragment answers is to ensure that there is strict matching of the syntactic form of the answer component and the gap in the question, deriving connectivity effects like Case-matching and other grammatical dependencies between question and answer (I will generalize these effects as "connectivity effects" for convenience). These effects would not be guaranteed with a WYSIWYG ellipsis account of the kind outlined above, since for this approach the

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[23]See Goldberg (2005, 146-155) for discussion of very similar concerns regarding the ellipsis-as-proform analysis of V-stranding VP-ellipsis.

[24]The reason that the same rule can be used for VAs with auxiliaries and fragment answers with the same answer component is that the auxiliary in the VA will simply modify time parameters – on Jacobson's approach they are normally of type $\langle\langle$ i,t$\rangle$, $\langle$ i,t$\rangle\rangle$ – so no type mismatch will occur if the same XP-proform rule is applied in the VA and the fragment answer.

[25]Note that if we were to interpret VAs and fragments by the same XP-anaphora rule which is involved in the interpretation of VP-ellipsis responses, we would no longer predict that they would differ from VP-ellipsis with respect to the availability of best-I-can-do readings. Since fragments and VAs differ from VP-ellipsis in this respect, this would further undermine Jacobson's (2013) argument for the Qu-Ans approach.

relation that holds between ellipsis site and antecedent is semantic, and all that is required is that the missing XP which is anaphoric upon the discourse is able to pick up a referent of the same semantic type; this anaphora process would not normally distinguish between antecedents with different syntactic properties, just like a pronoun would not distinguish between antecedents with different specifications for Case. Given the wealth of evidence for connectivity with fragment answers (and other related ellipsis phenomena), this would not be a viable option, and so we would be faced with a number of equally unsatisfying alternatives, the most viable being to maintain the Qu-Ans analysis for fragments – predicting connectivity – but give VAs a distinct ellipsis analysis – not predicting connectivity, all the while tolerating the redundancy in using both mechanisms to recover meaning.

What would be the empirical consequences with respect to the analysis of VAs? At the very least we would fail to predict that VAs and fragments track each other in every way in SG with respect to possible answer components, since they would have distinct analyses. Beyond this, there are restrictions on the answer component of VAs and fragment answers in SG which may be described as connectivity effects, and which would therefore represent a challenge to the WYSIWYG if no independent explanation is provided, with the scope for independent explanations being limited to stating restrictions on possible anaphoric relations that could hold between the ellipsis site and its antecedents. For instance, recall the restriction on C-stranding answers from section 3.1, demonstrated by (20) and repeated here as (69).

(69)   A: Dè   thuirt   i?
          what say-PAST she
      "What did she say?"

      B: Thuirt   *(gu) bheil   i a' tighinn
         say-PAST C   be-PRES-DEP she PRT come-VN

      "That she is coming"

      C: *(Gu) bheil   i a' tighinn
         C   be-PRES-DEP she PRT comeVN

      "That she is coming"

Recall that this could be described as a connectivity effect as it seems to be an instantiation of a more general ban on separating C from finite T by movement, seen in the clefting data in (73) above.

It is not clear how this effect could be derived by the WYSIWYG theory, since it could only be blocked if the anaphoric process that "fills in" the material in the VA were somehow unable to pick up a referent that could combine with a structure with an answer component of type $\langle t \rangle$ (the type of the TP answer). But this doesn't seem right given that small clauses can be answers to questions, as shown by (16) above, repeated here as (70).

(70)   A: Dè chunnaic iad?
          what see-PAST they
      "What did they see?"

      B: (Chunnaic) Somhairle a'   bualadh a' chait
         see.PAST   Somhairle PRT strike-VN the cat-GEN

      "Somhairle striking the cat"

If small clauses like this are of type $\langle t \rangle$ just like finite TPs as is standardly assumed, this indicates that there is no restriction on anaphora of the kind required to explain (69). In the absence of a more fine-grained analysis, the combination of these two data points poses a challenge to the WYSIWYG approach.

The same problem would recur with the facts from predicate answers, where we saw that the answer component of either a fragment or a VA cannot be a verb form to the exclusion of its arguments:

(71) A: Dè thuirt   e a   rinn   e air a char?
         what say-PAST he C-REL do-PAST he to his car-GEN?
      "What did he say he did to his car?"

      B: Thuirt   *(a) mhilleadh
         say-PAST it destroy-VN

      "Destroyed it"

      C′: *(a) mhilleadh
          it   destroy-VN

      "Destroyed it"

As noted by Merchant (2004, 699), such examples pose a serious challenge to direct interpretation approaches that do not ensure connectivity, since there is no way beyond stipulation to ensure that the predicate should be phrasal. In the terms we are using here, the anaphoric relation that would need to hold for a bare V answer component in these examples would need to be made available to account for other well-formed verb-answer combinations (e.g. an answer to a yes/no question with a transitive verb). Jacobson (2013) dismisses this challenge as a problem that categorial matching derives for the Qu-Ans theory of fragments, but this is not available for the account of VAs, as we have seen.

4.3.3 Summary

To summarize, we have seen that the WYSIWYG approach to elliptical phenomena runs into a variety of problems in accounting with VAs. The key problem is that the VA is somewhere between a reduced clausal structure and a short answer, and as such it does not fit with the WYSIWYG approach to either phenomenon. VAs are built from a variety of different clausal structures, and as such they resist a constructionist analysis where they are simple constituents that combine with the gap in an antecedent question to derive the correct interpretation. This forces us to choose between adopting a mixed approach to VAs and fragments – WYSIWYG ellipsis for VAs and Qu-Ans analysis for fragments – and a unified approach for the two – WYSIWYG ellipsis only. Both options run into serious difficulties: the mixed approach misses the fact that VAs are clearly closely related to fragment answers, the two running parallel in virtually all respects; the unified approach is incompatible with the wealth of evidence for connectivity in fragments in SG and beyond. More importantly, whether we go for the unified or mixed approach we still fail to account for connectivity effects in VAs. The WYSIWYG approach thus fails to provide us with a satisfactory account of VAs.

It is important to stress that the problems identified in this subsection are not just technicalities which we run into when getting the WYSIWYG theory to work with an exotic ellipsis construction. Rather, I would argue that these are deep issues which show that this theory fails to predict the existence of the VA and which are ultimately revealing of a fundamental problem with this approach to ellipsis. As noted above, the WYSIWYG generally predicts a minimal role for linguistic structure in the interpretation of "elliptical" structures, and so this means that the default assumption is that the meaning of apparently incomplete structures like VPs are "filled in" by general mechanisms of discourse anaphora, rather than by mechanisms that make reference to structure. This is taken to be advantageous for the WYSIWYG theory, since it is therefore compatible with a Directly Compositional approach to semantics: the so-called elliptical structure is interpretable without making reference to the structure of a linguistic antecedent. This may work straightforwardly for what we might call *missing constituent-based ellipsis processes* like English VP-ellipsis, where the meaning of the missing part of a clausal structure is of a prototypical semantic type. However, it is less easy for what we might call *remnant-based ellipsis processes* like fragments or sluicing, which are typically made up of just a remnant XP (i.e. the *wh*-phrase in a sluice), where there is a quite tight syntactic connection between the remnant constituent. With the latter, it seems clear that one cannot

get away with having no role for structure, and so the WYSIWYG response is to propose a minimal role for structure by way of a stipulated grammatical construction which will directly integrate the remnant with an antecedent structure. Crucially, this theory must maintain that the two different kinds of ellipsis process are still suitably distinct, as collapsing them into one would ultimately be an admission that all make reference to structural properties of antecedents, effectively giving up on the idea that structure plays little or no role.

The problem posed by the VA is that it is simultaneously a remnant-based ellipsis process, since it involves an answer constituent which varies depending on the form of the antecedent, and a missing constituent-based ellipsis, since it is visibly a clausal structure which is missing a constituent of a pre-dictable category. The existence of such a "hybrid" ellipsis process is simply not expected. The VA there-fore poses a direct challenge to any attempt to divide up ellipsis constructions along those lines, and to the WYSIWYG approach to ellipsis more generally.

4.4 A silent structure analysis

Since the other analyses have been shown to be unsuccessful, let us now turn to the matter of spelling out a silent structure analysis of VAs. In particular, I will be arguing in favour of a "move-and-delete" structure like (54) above, repeated here as (72).

(72)   (C) $[_{TP}$ V+T $[_{FocP}$ ZP$_i$ $\cancel{[_{YP} \ ... \ t_i \ .... \ ]}]]$

On this analysis, the answer component ZP undergoes overt A$'$-movement to the specifier of a focus pro-jection, FocP, which is located above the subject position but below TP; to account for the data involving adverbs, the exact position of FocP in an articulated IP field would need to be low enough to be below the highest adjunction position for adverbs like *gu tric* "often," which I take to be reasonably high (since such adverbs can occur between TP and other auxiliaries in languages like English: *he would often be wait-ing there*). At PF the complement of FocP is deleted by a process broadly similar to the one involved in "VP-ellipsis" in SG. This is broadly similar to Merchant's (2004) analysis of fragment answers, the only difference being the position of the FocP to which the answer component is moved: with fragments it is above all other material in the clause, whereas in VAs it is just below the position of the finite verb.

Let us walk through how the analysis in (72) captures the empirical profile of VAs. The proposal that VAs involve ellipsis of a constituent broadly similar to the one targeted by V-stranding VP-ellipsis in SG accounts for the fact that the subject and various other constituents go missing in VAs, and it also account for the effect of the Verbal Identity Requirement, which should follow from the fact that the ellipsis site must have an antecedent with the appropriate semantic content just like with V-stranding VP-ellipsis.[26] The position for the FocP projection allows us to capture the templatic character of VAs, in particular the fact that the initial position may be occupied by any element that can occupy the initial position in the corresponding full clause. The fact that VAs can occur in embedded clauses is captured as well, since the embedding involved is ordinary embedding of a finite CP, with the FocP projection occurring in the same context as it does in unembedded VAs (immediately dominated by XP, which hosts the verb and is projected in all finite clauses). The difference between VAs and SG fragments with respect to embedding could then be described in terms of selectional properties of the embedding clause structure: YP can always selects for the lower FocP hosting VA answers, whereas the CP-projection which hosts regular fragments, which is above YP, is not selected by embedding verbs, thus only occurring in matrix contexts. The proposal that the answer is A$'$-moved to its surface position allows us to capture the fact that it survives ellipsis without relying upon some undesirable process of string deletion to retain the relevant strings (Wilder 1997, cf. Sailor and Thoms 2013), and the proposal that this is *leftward* movement allows us to capture the fact that the answer component may originate in an embedded clause, as an alternative in terms of rightward extraposition (in the spirit of e.g. Jayaseelan 1990) would not be able to generate such cases.

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[26]The fact that the lexical verb must be interpreted in its base position within the VP follows from the fact that the moved verbal predicate would reconstruct obligatorily. See Goldberg (2005, ch.4) for more discussion of the Verbal Identity Requirement and Lipták (2012) for interesting complications.

Importantly, the A′-movement component of the analysis also allows us to account for the restrictions on the answer component. First, it allows us to account for the fact that the answer constituent must be phrasal, since A′-movement only targets phrases (shown by (25) for SG); this accounts for the predicate answer data in (24), just like Merchant's proposal deals with the analogous fragment data. Second, it also allows us to account for the restriction on C-stranding answers. Recall from section 3.1 that this restriction is also seen with clefting in SG even though clefting is highly productive and may target most other categories.

(73) *'S   e   [$_{TP}$ robh   e tinn] a   thuirt   e gu
       COP EX   be-PRES-DEP he ill   C-REL say-PAST he C
       "What he said was he was ill," lit. "it's he was ill that he said that."

Abels (2003) reports that it is generally the case that C-stranding movement is impossible. (74) demonstrates this for topicalization in English, with (b) showing that fronting of the full CP is fine.

(74)   a.   *He's ill, he won't admit that.
       b.   That he's ill, he won't admit.

Abels argues that the restriction follows from *antilocality*, a condition which prevents movement of complements to the specifiers of the heads that immediately dominate them, and he proposes that this constraint follows from economy, since complements need not move to the specifier of the immediately dominating head to enter into a configuration in which they can check features with that head (they are already in a head-complement relation). Antilocal movement is required with fronting of finite TPs, Abels argues, because CP is a cyclic node for movement (i.e. a phase), and so TP complements of C must pass through Spec,CP on their way to higher positions in the clause. Abels' analysis thus provides us with an independent explanation for the restriction on VAs and fragments, one that is dependent upon analysing these as involving movement of the answer component to its surface position. As such, this provides an argument against non-movement silent structure approaches to deriving fragments and related phenomena, such as the "LF Copy" theory of sluicing in Chung et al. (1995) and the "in-situ string deletion" theory of fragments in Wilder (1997) (see also Sailor and Thoms 2013 for further criticisms of the latter approach).

Thus the movement component of the analysis in (72) is able to capture the fact that some XPs but not others are able to be the answer component in VAs. Interestingly, we can gather an additional argument for the role of movement in deriving the answer component by considering the morphological form of the answer component's case. In many dialects of SG, objects that follow the verb-noun within the VP bear genitive case, while they show up in the unmarked nominative case when they appear anywhere else in the clause, for instance when they are moved by *wh*-extraction or clefting (see Ramchand 1997).

(75)   a.   Bha   thu a' geàrradh { na   craoibhe / *a' chraobh   }
            be-PAST you prt cut-VN   the-GEN tree-GEN   the tree-NOM
            "You were cutting the tree"
       b.   Dè   { *na craoibhe / a' chraobh } a   bha   thu a' geàrradh?
            what the tree-GEN   the tree-NOM C-REL be-PAST-INF you PRT cut-VN
            "Which tree were you cutting?"
       c.   'S e { *na craoibhe / a' chraobh } a   bha   thu a' geàrradh
            COP EX the tree-GEN   the tree-NOM C-REL be-PAST you PRT cut-VN
            "It's the tree that you were you cutting."

Now consider questions where the answer constituent corresponds to an object that follows the verb-noun: the object is in the genitive in the full answer, but in the VA, it is nominative, as seen in (76)C. Note that fragments pattern with VAs in showing up in nominative case, a shown by (76)D.

(76)   A: Dè   bha   thu a' geàrradh?
          what be-PAST you PRT cut-VN

"What were you cutting?"

B: Bha   mi a' geàrradh { na craoibhe / *a' chraobh }
    be-PAST I   PRT cut-VN   the tree-GEN   the tree-NOM

"You were cutting the tree"

C: Bha   { *na craoibhe / a' chraobh   }
    be.PAST   the tree-GEN   the tree-NOM

"the tree"

D: { *na craoibhe / a' chraobh   }
    the tree-GEN   the tree-NOM

"the tree"

This indicates that the answer component is moved from its base position in both VAs and fragments. If the answer component had not been moved, there would be no reason not to expect to see the answer showing up in the genitive.
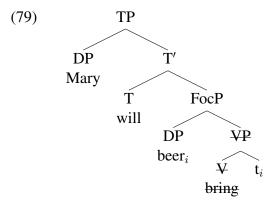
4.5 VAs and pseudogapping

Let us return to the structure proposed for VAs in (54), repeated once more in (77).

(77)   (C) [$_{TP}$ V+T [$_{FocP}$ ZP$_i$ [$_{YP}$ ... t$_i$ ....]]]

The proposal that there is a clause-internal focus position of this kind is not new, as Jayaseelan (2002) posits such a projection to account an ellipsis construction which shares a lot of properties in common with the VA: Germanic pseudogapping. (78) gives an example from English, and (79) is the analysis proposed by Jayaseelan (2002), Gengel (2007) and Thoms (to appear), according to which the focussed remnant XP undergoes leftward A′-movement to a FocP projection just below TP and ellipsis of the complement of FocP.

(78)   Rab will bring wine to the party, and Mary will beer.

(79)

```
                TP
             /      \
          DP          T′
          Mary      /    \
                   T      FocP
                   will   /    \
                        DP      VP
                        beerᵢ  /  \
                              V    tᵢ
                             bring
```

Since the proposed structures are so similar, a pertinent question to consider is whether the VA can be considered as just another instance of pseudogapping.

    There are a number of differences between Germanic pseudogapping and VAs which indicate that it is not possible to collapse the two entirely. First, the two constructions are useable in complementary discourse conditions. VAs are only ever used in response to *wh*-questions; as shown by (80), they cannot be used in coordinations like pseudogapping.

(80)   *Tha   iad a' smaointinn gun dh'fhuair   mi e bho Sheamais, ach fhuair bho Fheargais
       be-PRES they PRT think-VN   that get-PST-DEP I   it from Seamus   but get-PST from Fergus

"They think that I got it from Seamus, but I got it from Fergus"

On the other hand, pseudogapping is completely incompatible with a *wh*-question antecedent (Jayaseelan 2002), working only with declarative antecedents with narrow focus on an appropriate correlate.

(81)   A: What will John eat?
        B: *He will steak.

Second, the focus remnant of pseudogapping is unable to cross clause boundaries (Johnson 2001), but we have seen already that no such restriction holds of VAs.

(82)   *Kathy thinks she should study FRENCH, but she doesn't GERMAN ~~think she should study t~~.

Third, while the remnant in a VA can be any category that can be moved, including APs, CPs and verbal projections, pseudogapping allows for a much more restricted range of remnants, typically only DPs and PPs (Gengel 2007); for instance, APs are usually impossible in pseudogapping:

(83)   *John is feeling HAPPY, but you should SAD.

Considering all these differences, we can conclude that the VA and pseudogapping are two quite different constructions and thus dismiss reducing one to the other.

    This difference between the two constructions could be encoded in different featural specifications for the FocP projections in the different languages, or perhaps different featural specifications for the E-feature, the morphosyntactic feature which Merchant (2001, 2004) is responsible for ellipsis licensing. Ideally, though, this difference would fall out of independent differences between the languages in question, since encoding these differences in this way would seem to be a way to sneak the notion of the grammatical construction (rejected as a solution to VAs earlier) back in through the backdoor. However pursuing this would take us too far afield here.[27]

4.6   More on focus movement in Scottish Gaelic

One more issue to be addressed regarding the analysis of VAs is that the focus movement rule involved is never possible in the absence of ellipsis, as the following altered version of the original example (11c) demonstrates.

(84)   *Fhuair   bho Fheargais mi e.
        get-PAST-IDN from Fergus   I   it
        "I got it from Fergus"

This may cast doubt upon the proposed landing site for movement, but it happens to be quite a common issue that comes up again and again in the analysis of similar elliptical phenomena, as alluded to above. Recall that it was pointed out that the movement proposed for simple fragments is often degraded in the absence of ellipsis:

(85)   A: Who did Kang eat?
        B: Everyone!
        B′: *Everyone, Kang ate!

(85) is arguably distinct from cases like the VA in that in (85) what we see is the application of a legitimate movement rule in English which can occur in the absence of ellipsis in many contexts, namely focus fronting to the left periphery; in contrast, in an example like (84) the movement rule invoked is never possible in the absence of ellipsis. Thoms (2014b) draws a distinction between these different classes of movement rules

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[27]For such an account see Thoms (2012).

and describes the latter as "exceptional" movements, since the movements only occur in the exceptional circumstances whereby ellipsis applies to delete the structure immediately below them, and he notes that a number of ellipsis constructions that involve exceptional movements. Once more pseudogapping is similar to the VA in this respect:

(86)   *Mary will beer bring to the party.

In Thoms' terms, the movement in VAs would be another case of an "exceptional" movement that is somehow repaired by ellipsis. The fact that this movement falls into a larger class of cases of exceptional movements in related elliptical constructions in other languages should thus give us cause to worry less about this issue for the analysis of VAs, since the issue is a broader one.

Two additional points should be made here. First, it is not necessarily the case that the exceptional movement posited for the move-and-delete analysis of VAs would necessarily distinguish it unfavourably from alternative analyses. All other proposals would require a similar stipulation to account for the fact that the position immediately following the initial cluster can be occupied by non-subject just in case the subject and the rest of the clause is missing due to ellipsis however construed. For instance, it was noted above that any variant of the WYSIWYG approach would need to include some stipulation whereby non-subjects could be base-generated in this position just in VAs; otherwise these theories would overgenerate just as much as a move-and-delete theory.

Second, the fact that the movement invoked by the proposed analysis of VAs is repaired by ellipsis is not so surprising given what we know about SG clause structure: in general, no material may intervene between the subject and the initial cluster, whether or not it has been moved there. As noted in section 2, even parentheticals cannot occur there, a fact that lead Adger (2000) to conclude that subject licensing is typically conditioned by morphological adjacency (with existentials being principled exceptions). Furthermore, we know from examples like (53), where the VA focus occurs to the right of an adverb that normally occurs to the left of the subject, that the landing site for the VA answer constituent must be above the base position of the subject and below its typical derived position above clause-internal adverbs.

(87)   A: Cò   a   bhiodh   gu tric a'   briseadh nan sguaban   aca   aig an àm   sin?
           who C-REL be-COND often   PRT break-VN the broomsticks at-them at   the time that
        "Who would there often be breaking their broomsticks at that time?"

        B: Bhiodh   gu tric bana-bhuidsichean
           be-COND often   witches

        "Witches"

Data like this indicate that the FocP position is below the typical landing site for the subject in (non-existential) finite clauses, and from this we may conclude that the reason that the subject does not occur to the left of the VA focus is that subject movement, which is morphologically driven, is bled by ellipsis (Merchant 2001 and van Craenenbroeck and den Dikken 2006 on subject islands), which is able to repair whatever issue it is which drives nominative subjects to move in this manner. This makes the exceptionality of the movement in VAs look not so exceptional.

All these points considered, I conclude that the "exceptionality" of the movement in VAs is not a particularly troublesome issue for the present analysis

4.7   Summary

In this section we have seen how different theories of ellipsis fare in accounting for VAs. Two non-deletion analyses – a pro-drop analysis and a WYSIWYG analysis – were reviewed. The pro-drop analysis was quickly shown to be a non-starter, being unable to account for the fact that many non-argument constituents may be omitted in VAs. Then we saw that the WYSIWYG theory also suffered from a number of theoretical

and empirical problems in accounting for VAs, most of these borne of the fact that VAs are clearly clausal structures that cannot be accounted for with the all-purpose "construction" employed for fragment answers by such theories. It was then demonstrated that a "move-and-delete" analysis broadly similar to Merchant's 2004 analysis of fragments was capable of capturing the empirical profile of VAs, accounting for the distribution of possible and impossible answer components, the templatic character of the VA structure and other key properties.

5   Conclusion

In this article I have introduced a previously undiscussed answer strategy in Scottish Gaelic, the Verb-Answer, which is identical to the standard fragment answer construction in virtually all respects. The distinctive property of relevance here is that the VA allow us to have a "peek" at the clausal structure that underlies short answers generally, and as such it allows us to address one of the problematic aspects of this approach, namely the fact that we cannot directly observe the clausal structure in the vast majority of cases. I have shown that a "move-and-delete" analysis similar to Merchant's (2004) analysis for regular fragments is capable of accounting for many of the key properties of VAs, such as the constraints on the form of the answer and the Verbal Identity Requirement, and I have argued that WYSIWYG approaches encounter serious difficulties when it tries to do the same thing. Ultimately, the argument that has been presented in favour of the SS approach to short answers is that SG provides evidence for a wider range of short answer strategies than has previously been described in the literature, and only the SS approach is compatible with this wider typology of answer strategies.

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