Surface properties of anaphoric *one*
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Claim: In their seminal paper, Hankamer & Sag (1976) propose a distinction between *surface* and *deep anaphora*. Surface anaphors are assumed to differ from deep anaphors in that they contain more complex structure and are derived by deletion. In other words, the surface vs. deep distinction also translates broadly into an ellipsis vs. pronoun dichotomy. Hankamer & Sag (1976) assume that anaphoric *one* in English is a deep anaphor, i.e. a simple pronoun (also see Payne *et al.* 2013, LaCara 2018). In this talk, I provide some new arguments that anaphoric *one* contains an elided NP (see Postal 1966, Elbourne 2001, Llombart-Huesca 2002) and is thus a surface anaphor.
Missing antecedents revisited: The argument that Hankamer & Sag (1967) (H&S) present in favour of anaphoric *one* as a deep anaphor comes from 'missing antecedents' for a pronoun. Grinder & Postal (1971) had reached the opposite conclusion on the basis of the data in (1), arguing that anaphor *one* contains a 'missing' antecedent *a gorilla$_j$* for the plural pronoun in (1b). This makes sense if *one* is a surface anaphor that contains an elided noun phrase (2).

(1) a. Harry sank a boat carrying a gorilla$_i$ and George sank a boat carrying a gorilla$_j$, and they$_{i,j}$ both drowned.
     b. Harry sank a boat carrying a gorilla$_i$ and George sank one too, and they$_{i,j}$ both drowned.

(2) ... sank [$_{NP}$ one ~~boat carrying a gorrila$_j$~~] too and they$_{i,j}$ both drowned

H&S take issue with this argument, however, because 'the pronoun is half-controlled from outside the anaphor'. Instead, they offer the following example, which fails the missing antecedent test:

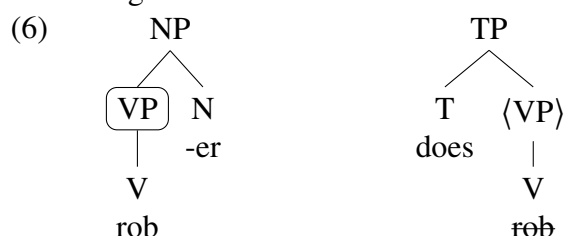(3) *Harry sank a boat carrying a gorilla$_i$ and George sank one too, and it$_j$ drowned.

H&S conclude that 'it is rather difficult to avoid reading *it* as referring to the boat'. I contend that this is an unfair confound introduced by H&S and that reference to a missing antecedent may be blocked by a more salient overt antecedent for independent reasons. If we modify the test again, we can make the overt antecedent a negative polarity item (*any gorillas*), which does not introduce a discourse referent that can be picked up by a pronoun (4a) (Giannakidou 2000:476). If we now apply the missing antecedent test again (4b), we see that *one* does introduce a missing plural antecedent for the pronoun *they*, which makes sense if there is an elided NP.

(4) a. *Harry didn't sink a boat with any gorillas$_i$ on it, they$_i$ all survived.
     b. Harry didn't sink a boat with any gorillas$_i$ on it, but George sank one and they$_j$ all drowned. (*one* = [$_{NP}$ one ~~boat carrying gorillas~~])

Phrase-marker identity: Another argument for assuming that anaphoric *one* contains an elided NP comes from what Merchant (2013) calls 'phrase marker identity'. Ordinarily, it is assumed that ellipsis processes such as VP- or NP-ellipsis require identity to some antecedent phrase. While this identity relation is often semantic in nature, there are cases in which it seems that a matching phrase marker inside a derived category can license ellipsis of a matching phrase marker. For example, the deverbal noun *robber* in (5a) can license VP ellipsis, despite the category mismatch.

(5) a. ?That man is a *robber*, and when he does [$_{VP}$ ~~rob~~], he tries not to make any noise.
     b. *That man is a *thief*, and when he does [$_{VP}$ ~~steal~~], he tries not to make any noise.

This is argued to follow from the fact that *robber* contains a VP node (see Fu et al. 2001; Johnson 2001) that can license VP-ellipsis (6). Non-deverbal nouns such as *thief* in (5b) cannot license VPE since they do not plausibly contain a VP such as *steal*. Thus, it seems that a property of (some kinds of) ellipsis is licensing by phrase marker identity. Importantly, we observe that

(6)

anaphoric *one* is also licensed by the NP in a denominal verb (Bresnan 1971; Webber 1978). For example, the verb *to knife* licenses anaphoric *one* (7a) in a way that *to stab* does not (7b)

(7) a. ?Max *knifed* me before I even realized he had [$_{DP}$ one [$_{NP}$ ~~knife~~]]
     b. *Max *stabbed* me before I even realized he had [$_{DP}$ one [$_{NP}$ ~~knife~~]]

The plausible reason for this is that the derivation of anaphoric *one* involves NP ellipsis, which is also licensed by phrase marker identity to the NP *knife* inside the denominal verb. The alternative approach would say that (7a) involves pronominal reference to the embedded NP. This is problematic, as NPs used in derivational morphology are anaphoric islands (8) (Postal 1969).

(8) *He took the [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *tea*]$_i$ pot] and poured *it*$_i$ into the cup.

Antipronominal contexts: Another argument comes from what Postal (1998) calls 'antipronominal contexts' (APCs). APCs are syntactic contexts in which pronouns (and some movement traces) are not permitted. These include *change-of-colour* verbs (9a), predicate nominals (9c) and the complement of temporal *in* (9e) (Stanton 2016). While genuine 'deep' pronouns such as *it* are banned in these contexts, anaphoric *one* is perfectly acceptable (9b,d,f).

(9) a. *Mary likes the colour green, so she painted her room *it*.
     b. Mary likes bright colours, so she painted her room *one*.
     c. *Sally had always admired the most famous actress, so she became *it*.
     d. Sally had always admired a famous actress, so she became *one*.
     e. *John got married in December and Mary got married in *it* too.
     f. John got married in a month with 30 days and Mary got married in *one* too.

This asymmetry regarding APCs is unexpected if anaphoric *one* is a pronoun (i.e. deep anaphor), but makes sense under the view that they are actually full NPs in which ellipsis has applied.
Further evidence: Another argument in favour of NP ellipsis involves so-called sloppy readings. It is well-known that an elided VP containing an anaphor can receive a different antecedent, i.e. *Peter* in (10) (e.g. Fiengo & May 1994).

(10) John$_i$ wrote a book about himself$_i$ and Peter$_j$ did [$_{VP}$ ~~write a book about himself$_{i/j}$~~] too

Ordinary pronouns do not seem to permit sloppy readings (an exception is 'paycheck pronouns', but these have been argued to involve NP ellipsis; see Elbourne 2001). For example, (11a) cannot have a sloppy reading where Mary heard a nasty rumour about herself. However, this anaphoric *one*, this reading is available (11b), which makes sense if it contains an elided NP with an anaphor.

(11) a. John heard a nasty rumour about himself and Mary heard it too.
          ≠ 'Mary heard a nasty rumour about herself'
      b. John heard a nasty rumour about himself and Mary heard one too.
          = 'Mary heard a nasty rumour about herself'

Furthermore, Bobaljik & Zocca (2011) show that certain nouns allow only one-way mismatches under ellipsis. For example, a *waitress~waiter* mismatch is only possible with a feminine antecedent (12a,b). Bobaljik & Zocca (2011) and Merchant (2014) show that this also holds for NP ellipsis. Anaphoric *one* shows the same behaviour, which makes sense if it involves NP ellipsis.

(12) *Gender mismatches*:
      a. ?Dave is waiter and Sally is ~~a waitress~~ too.
      b. *Sally is waitress and Dave is ~~a waiter~~ too.
      c. ?Dave is a good waiter, whereas Sally is a bad *one*.   (*one* = waitress)
      d. *Sally is a good waitress, whereas Dave is a bad *one*.   (*one* = waiter)