

## Functional Prominence in English Pronominalization

Kim kyong Hag

Dept. of English Language and Literature

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### 〈Abstract〉

Structural Prominence and Functional Prominence are very significant factors in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence with respect to Pronominalization. There are three elements in Structural Prominence, namely, "Precedence," "Higher Constituent," and "Case Hierarchy" and there are many elements in Functional Prominence, namely, "Predictability" which includes "Previous Mention," "Forewarning" and "Familiarity", "Theme" "Focus", "Presupposition," "Semantic Richness" "After thought Expression" and "Genericness."

This paper will examine the interaction between Structural Prominence and Functional Prominence and argue that Functional Prominence overrides Structural Prominence in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence with respect to Pronominalization.

### 영어 대명사화의 기능적 우월성

김 경 학

영어영문학과

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### 〈요 약〉

본 연구의 목표는 영어 대명사화 현상에 있어서 구조적 중요성(Structural Prominence)과 기능적 중요성(Functional Prominence)의 역할을 살펴 그들 상호간의 작용을 살펴보는 데 있다.

순수한 구문론적 입장에 근거를 둔 Structural Prominence 에 대해서는 선행(Precedence), 상위구조(Higher Constituent) 격지위 (Case Hierarchy)라는 세가지 개념에서 연구되었으며 특히 Precedence 와 Higher Constituent 는 Langacker(1969)의 Primacy Constraint 에 근거를 둔것이며, Case Hierarchy 도 대명사화 제약에 있어 중요한 역할을 함을 살폈다.

이상에 살핀 Structural Prominence 는 대명사화를 설명하는 좋은 도구는 되었으나 이것만으로는 설명할 수 없는 예외적인 현상이 많이 발견되었다. 이에 대해 기능문법적 입장에서 Delisle (1973) Kuno(1975), Bickerton(1975), Bolinger(1977)의 이론을 중심으로 예견성(Predictability), 주제(Theme), 와 전제(Presupposition)를 포함한 그밖의 관점에서 Functional Prominence 를 살폈다.

이상의 것을 근거로 어떤 경우에 Structural Prominence 로 설명할수 없는 것을 Functional Prominence 로 설명될수 있나를 세가지 관점에서 살펴 Functional Prominence 의 우월성을 주장하였으며 더 나아가 대명사화 현상은 구문론적 현상이 아니라 기능론적 현상이며 이 두요소를 포함하는 이론의 정립이 필요함을 시사했다.

### I. Introduction

This paper investigates the Structural and

Functional Prominence in English Pronominalization Construction and the interaction between them in English Pronominalization phenomena.

The former is an expanded version of Langacker's (1969) Primacy Constraint<sup>(1)</sup> in the point of pure Syntax and the latter is a functionally expanded version of constraint.

Langacker(1969) proposed the primacy constraint based on the notion "precedence" and "command". Yang(1979) proposed the notion "case hierarchy" in addition to the "precedence" and "command" as the primacy constraint<sup>(2)</sup>. These notions are referred to as Structural Prominence in chapter 2.

The Structural Prominence has proved to be very useful in accounting for the pronominalization but there have been found and discussed many cases of backward pronominalization that cannot be adequately accounted for only by that. Delisle (1973) proposed "Forward Pronominalization within Discourse hypothesis" kuno(1975) "Functional Sentence Perspective" Bickerton (1975) "Presupposition and Assertion" and Bolinger(1977) "The Tightness Condition and NP Reidentification." These notions are referred to as Functional Prominence in Chapter 3.

In chapter 4, the interaction between Structural and Functional Prominence is investigated in three ways, one of them, forward case and two of them, backward cases, and the Functional Prominence over Structural Prominence is shown up.

## II. Structural Prominence

### 1. Precedence

compare (1a) and (1b)

(1) a. In *Mary's* apartment, a thief assaulted *her*.

b. In *her* apartment, a thief assaulted *Mary*.

When the sentences(1) are uttered discourse-initially, matrix object *her* in (1a) can be under-

stood as *Mary* but the pronoun *her* in (1b) cannot. The only difference between (1a) and (1b) is that the full NP *Mary* in the former precedes its pronoun while in the latter follows. Therefore, we may thus formulate the Precedence Prominence: pronoun may not precede its antecedent. This Precedence Prominence is very significant in controlling the degree of the the acceptability of the sentence under the same environment. Note the following sentences.

- (2) a. *John* gives *Mary* pot to smoke in *his* apartment where *she* stays.  
 b. \**John* gives *her* pot to smoke in *his* apartment where *Mary* stays.  
 c. \**He* gives *May* pot to smoke in *John's* apartment where *she* stays.  
 d. \**He* gives *her* pot to smoke in *John's* apartment where *Mary* stays.

The sentence(2a) is grammatical because the full NP both *John* and *Mary* precede their respective pronouns while the sentences, (2b, c, d) are ungrammatical because one of them in(2b, c) don't precede its respective pronoun and neither in (2d). So Delisle(1973) proposed "The Forward Pronominalization within Discourse Hypothesis": pronominalization always operates forward intrasententially or extrasententially.

### 2. Higher Constituent (command)

compare the following sentences

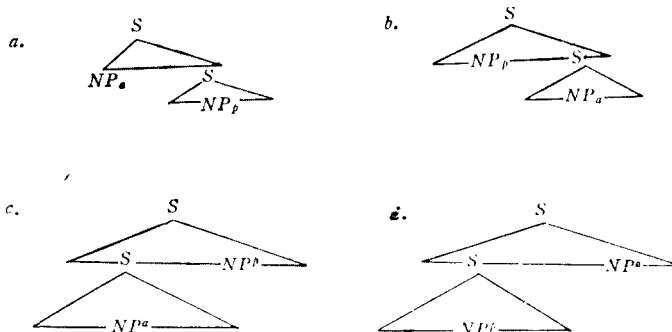
- (3) a. *Mary* visited *John* before *he* left town.  
 b. \**Mary* visited *him* before *John* left town.  
 c. Before *John* left town, *Mary* visited *him*.  
 d. Before *he* left town, *Mary* visited *John*.

The full NP *John* in both(3a) and(3c) precedes its respective pronoun *he* and *him* but not in both (3b) and (3d). Nevertheless (3d) is grammatical because the full NP *John* in (3d) is in

(1) Langacker (1969) defined the primacy constraint as follows: NP<sup>a</sup> may be used to pronominalize NP<sup>b</sup> unless NP<sup>a</sup> bears all relevant primacy relations to NP<sup>b</sup>

(2) Yang (1979) proposed the primacy constraint of five primary notions in Zero Anaphora in Korean.: "Precedence," "closeness", "command", "case hierarch" and "topicality."

(4)



the higher constituent while (3b) is ungrammatical. We may draw each sentence's tree as above.

According to Langacker (1969), the sentence (3d) is grammatical because the full NP *John* commands its pronoun *he* as shown up in (4d), while the sentence (3b) is ungrammatical because the pronoun *him* both precedes and commands its antecedent *John*. Therefore we may suppose that the higher constituent has a special priority for being an antecedent for pronominalization and the higher constituent prominence besides the precedence prominence is necessary one as structural prominence.

### 3. Case Hierarchy.

consider the following.

(5) a. John saw a snake near him.

b. \*Near John, he saw a snake.

Even though in both sentence (5), the full NP *John* precedes its pronoun, (5a) is grammatical because the case of the full NP *John* is subject while (5b) ungrammatical, because object of preposition. We may suppose that the (matrix) object has a special priority for being

an antecedent for pronominalization. In fact, the controllability of pronominalization is affected to some extent by the case hierarchy of the antecedent. Note the following.

(6) a. Girls who *he* has dated say that *Sam* is charming.

b. \*Girls who *he* has dated like *Sam*.

Even if the full NP *Sam* in (6a) is a subordinate clause subject whereas in (6b), matrix object. (6a) is more acceptable than (6b). Therefore we may suppose that the subject case is prior to the object case for being an antecedent for pronominalization to the extent that the status of the subject overrides the precedence and higher constituent in the controllability of pronominalization. Yang (1979) proposed the Case Hierarchy as follows: The subject has the first priority in controlling an anaphor, the object and the dative have the second, and the possessive and the agentive have the lowest priority. (3)

This case hierarchy prominence is very significant in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence under the same environment. Note the following.

(3) This is adopted from Yang (1979) who proposed the following case-hierarchy constraint in the controllability of a zero anaphor in Korean: Subject > Object, Dative > ... > Possessive, Agentive. Keenan and Comrie (1972) proposed the following hierarchy for acceptability of noun phrases for relativization: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object of Preposition > Possessive NP > object of Comparative Particle. Kuno (1976) proposed the surface structure empathy hierarchy as follows: Subject > Object > ... > By-Agentive.

(7) a. Mary hit *him* before *John* left in his Rolls Royce for a dinner engagement at the Ritz.

b. \* *He* was hit by Mary, before *John* left in his Rolls Rolls Royce for a dinner engagement at the Ritz.

The case hierarchy prominence predicts the degree of the acceptability between (7a) and (7b) because the only difference between them is that the pronoun *him* in (7a) is in the object case while the pronoun *He* in (7b) is in the subject case. Therefore we may summarize that the highest structural prominence position is the preceding matrix subject of the sentence.

### III. Functional Prominence

#### 1. Predictability

Kuno(1975) proposed the Predictability Requirement on Backward Prenominalization as follows: Do not pronominalize the lefthand noun phrase unless its referent is determinable(predictable) from the preceding context. This Predictability Prominence is discussed in three ways: first, previous mention, second, forewarning, third, familiarity.

1) Previous mention.

Delisle (1973) proposed that all of pronominalization (a type of partial deletion) operates forward intra or extrasententially (Forward Prenominalization within Discourse Hypothesis). Compare the following.

(8) a. Who will visit Ralph tomorrow?

b. The woman who is to marry *him* will visit *Ralph* tomorrow.

(9) a. Who will visit him tomorrow?

b. \*The woman who is to marry *him* will visit *Ralph* tomorrow.

The sentence (8b) is both appropriate and grammatical whereas the same sentence (9b), both inappropriate and ungrammatical because the former has previous mention but the latter

not. This supported the argument that it is not the following occurrence of "Ralph" that pronominalizes the preceding occurrence but rather antecedent outside of and preceding that sentence in both (8b) and (9b). Therefore, Predictability Prominence can predict the grammaticality difference between (8b) and (9b).

2) Forewarning.

Kuno(1975) suggested the forewarning condition as one of the Predictability Requirements on backward pronominalization. Note the following.

(10) Tell me about Mary.

a. \*Although she dislikes *him*, she is still seeing *John*

b. She says she dislikes men, but I don't believe it.

As much as she criticized *him*, she is still seeing *her boyfriend*

The difference between (10a) and (10b) is that, in the latter, the listener is forewarned of what is in store (namely, the listener is ready to hear about Mary's boyfriend after having heard about her attitudes toward men). Whereas the former takes the listener by surprise. In another words, the appearance of the sentence about her attitudes toward men in the latter gives us enough of a clue to interpret *him* as her boyfriend while there is no such clue in the former. Note the another examples.

(11) a. According to Bakunin, *his* rifle is an *anarchist's* best weapon.

b. Are young people in America encouraged to finish school? *Their* parents try to encourage mostwould-be *dropouts* to finish school, but the society as a whole doesn't care about *them*.

These examples also involve the same type of forewarning. For example, the sentence(11a) is ungrammatical if the adverbial phrase, "according to Bakunin," is deleted Therefore we may argue that Predictability Constraint can predict the degree of the acceptability of the sentence.

## 3) Familiarity.

Bolinger(1977) suggested the familiarity condition as one of the predictability requirements on backward pronominalization. Note the following.

(12) Hey Gus—would you marry *her* if *Jane* asked you to?

The sentence (12) is acceptable even if the utterance is not preceded by any reference to *Jane*. In(12), *Jane* is sufficiently up in the minds of both speakers that they can speak as if there were an anaphora. On the other hand if speaker utters(12) after a long silence and if *Jane* has not been topmost in listener's mind, the listener is surprised by the statement, and concludes that speaker has been preoccupied with thoughts about *Jane* and is assuming that listener has been sharing the same thoughts. In other words, (12) is acceptable if both speaker and listener are familiar with *Jane*.

Compare the following, in which a well-known person is matched with a nonentity.

(13) a. In *his* Memoirs, *Winston Churchill* tell us.....

b. \*In *his* termpaper, *Jerry Jones* tell us.....

(14) a. In one of *his* campaign speeches, *Nixon* expressed his desire to reunite the country.

b. \*In one of *his* letters to me, *my father* expressed his desire to retire.

The sentences, (13a) and (14a) are grammatical because both interlocutors are familiar with Churchill in (13a) and Nixon in (14a) whereas not Jerry in (13b) and my father in (14b).<sup>(4)</sup>

Note the following.

(15) a. Who killed Mary?

b. ?With a men *he* hired, *John* killed Mary.

If both interlocutors are familiar with John,

the listener in (15b) can relate the pronoun *he* to the following referent *John*, so that (15b) is grammatical but if not, the listener cannot relate *he* to *John*, so that (15b) is ungrammatical. Therefore predictability Prominence is said to explain the degree of the acceptability of the sentence (15b).

## 2. Theme and Fucus.

Kuno(1975) examined a set of discourse-oriented concepts such as old predictable information, new unpredictable information, theme, and exhaustive listing (fucus). A string in a given sentence represents old predictable information if the information is recoverable, with a high degree of reliability, from the preceding discourse context, and new unpredictable information if otherwise. Compare the following.

(16) a. What does your brother do for a living?

b. John teaches music at a high school.

(17) a. What do your brothers do for a living?

b. Well, John teaches music at a high school,

Bill works for an insurance company, and Tom is a free-lance consultant in management.

In (16b), *John* is the theme of the sentence because it is what the rest of the sentence is about and it also represents old predictable information. On the other hand, in (17b), *John*, *Bill* and *Tom*, although they are the themes of their respective clauses, do not represent old predictable information. So, *John* in (16b) is referred to predictable theme and *John*, *Bill* and *Tom* in (17b) unpredictable theme.

Now compare the another examples.

(18) a. I understand that John, Bill and Tom all teach high school

b. John does and Bill does, too but Tom doesn't.

(4) It is doubtful whether (13b) and (14b) are ungrammatical; compare the following.

a. ?\* In *her* apartment, a thief assaulted *Mary*.

b. In her apartment, Mary was assaulted by a thief.

- (19) a. Among John, Bill and Tom, who teaches high school?  
 b. John does.

In (18b), *John*, *Bill* and *Tom* are unpredictable themes of their respective clauses as explained above. In addition, these three noun phrases have the characteristic that they are used contrastively as marked by contrastive stress. These noun phrases are referred to contrastive theme which implies that the rest of the sentence is not true for some other members of the set. But in (19b) the speaker asserts that the rest of the sentence is true only with respect to the referent of that noun phrase and is false with all other members of the set that is under discussion. That noun phrase is referred to exhaustive listing (fucus).

1) Theme.

Kuno(1975) proposed the constraint on predictable Theme pronomization: A noun phrase that represents what the sentence is about, namely the theme of the sentence, cannot be pronominalized intrasententially. Note the following.

- (20) What did John do for Mary?  
 a. When *he* went to Boston, *John* took her out to dinner.  
 b. \*When *John* went to Boston, *he* took her out to dinner.
- (21) a. Who took Mary out to dinner?  
 b. When *John* went to Boston, *he* took her out to dinner.

The sentence(20b) is unacceptable for some speakers because the subject of the matrix sentence, which is the theme of the whole sentence, has been pronominalized in violation of this constraint. On the other hand, the same sentence (21b) is acceptable because the underlying subject *John* of the matrix sentence is not a predictable theme and it doesn't involve pronominalization of a predictable theme. Therefore this Theme constraint is supposed to be very significant and necessary one as functional

prominence.

2) Fucus.

Kuno (1975) proposed the constraint on Fucus pronominalization: Noun phrases of exhaustive listing interpretation cannot be pronominalized intrasententially.<sup>(5)</sup>

Consider the following.

- (22) a. Who killed Mary?  
 b. \*With an accomplice that *John* hired, *he* killed Mary.

The matrix subject of (22b) is a noun phrase of exhaustive listing interpretation in that it implies that there is no one else among those under discussion who would fit the description. So the sentence (22b) is ungrammatical because the matrix subject has been pronominalized in violation of the proposed constraint.

Note the following.

- (23) Who will do it?  
 a. *John* will do it if *he* can.  
 b. If *John* can, *he* will do it.  
 c. If *he* can, *John* will do it.

It seems that all the three answers are acceptable. The answer (23a) can be interpreted either as "Only John will do it." (fucus interpretation) or as a noncommittal statement, "John will do it, but I don't know about other people". (Predictable theme interpretation due to its future tense in the question). The answer (23b) clearly contains no fucus (only new information). The answer (23c) implies "John will do it, but I don't know anything about others (predictable theme interpretation) These Theme and Fucus constraints are important and necessary as Functional Prominence to account for the degree of the acceptability of the subtle connotation like(23).

### 3. Another plausible factors of Functional Prominence.

1) Presupposition

Bickerton(1975) proposed the Presupposition

(5) Kuno(1975) also proposed the constraint on Fucus Pronominalization extra-sententially.

and Assertion Hypothesis: Pronominalization flows from presupposed NP to asserted NP.

Consider the following.

(24) a. What annoyed *Bill* was my punching him.

b. \*What annoyed *him* was my punching *Bill*.

In (24a), a pseudo-cleft construction, "What annoyed Bill" is usually a presupposed part and "my punching him" is an asserted one. Therefore (24a) is grammatical while (24b), ungrammatical.

Note the following.

(25) a. It was my punching *him* that annoyed *Bill*.

b. My punching *him* was what annoyed *Bill*.

In (25a), a cleft sentence *that annoyed Bill* and in (25b), a pseudo-cleft sentence, *what annoyed Bill* are the presupposed parts respectively, and full NPs appear in those parts, as this hypothesis predicts. Therefore both sentences are grammatical. We may suppose that presupposition is a necessary factor of Functional Prominence.

## 2) Semantic richness

Note the following

(26) a. \*In *John's* apartment, *he* smokes pot.

b. In *John's* apartment near the railroad tracks in *pamrapo* district of Bayonne N.J., *he* smokes pot.

*John* in (26b) is located in semantically more prominent position than *John* in (26a). We may argue that NP of semantically more prominent constituent has a special priority for being an antecedent for pronominalization.

Note the following.

(27) a. \*Mary visited *him*, before *John* left town.

b. Mary visited *him*, before *John* left in his Rolls Royce for a dinner engagement at the Ritz.

The sentence, (27b) is more acceptable than (27a) because the full NP *John* has much more

semantic richness in (27b) than in (27a). Therefore we may suppose that semantic richness is very significant in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence as Functional prominence.

## 3) Afterthought Expression.

Bolinger (1977) Suggested the offhand characteristic on backward pronominalization. Note the following.

(28) a. Hey Gus! Tell *him* to come in if you see *Tom* out there, will you?

b. Hey Gus! If you see *him* out there, tell *Tom* to come in, will you?

It is quite true that the referent would not be known if *Tom* did not appear to the right. But the full NP *Tom* is to the right because the pronoun is chosen for the left position for independent reason, and there has to be an identification somewhere in a position that serves only for identification. This is afterthought expression (offhand intent of the sentence). Therefore we may suppose that NP in the position of afterthought expression has a special priority for being an antecedent for pronominalization. Consider the following.

(29) a. *He* lied to me... something that *John* was rather fond of doing.

b. *He* was quite a guy, if *John* doesn't mind my saying so.

c. *He* didn't do as he was told, so *John* had to take the consequence.

The sentences (29) are all acceptable in spite of their violations of the so-called Backward Constraint because the full NP *John* appears in the position of afterthought expression. It is also natural that the lower the pitch of afterthought expression is, the more acceptable the sentences (29) become. Therefore we may suppose that afterthought expression is very important factor of Functional Prominence.

## 4) Genericness.

Compare the following.

(30) a. \*I caught *it* when the *virus* came

along.

- b. I always catch *it* when a *virus* comes along.

(31) a. <sup>2</sup> \*I saw *him* in the park before *John* noticed me.

- b. I'll see *him* in hell before I give *John* that satisfaction.

The sentences (30a) and (31a) are unacceptable as expected whereas the sentences (30b) and (31b) are all acceptable in spite of their violations of the so-called Backward Constraint because the latter are generic sentences\*<sup>(6)</sup>

Now, Let's compare more sentences.

(32) a. \* *He* flunked when *John* cheated.

- b. He usually flunked when John tries to cheat.

(33) a. \*Naturally *she* appealed to John last night when *Mary* wore that dress.

- b. Naturally *she* appeals to men when *Mary* wears that dress.

(34) a. <sup>2</sup> I answered *him* as soon as *John* spoke.

- b. I recognized *him* as *John* spoke.

The sentences, (32b), (33b) and (34b) which are generic sentences are all acceptable whereas (32a), (33a) and (34a) not. Therefore we may suppose that genericness is very important factor in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence as Functional Prominence.

## Ⅶ. Interaction between Structural and Functional Prominence.

Compare the following sentences.

- (35) a. *John* was hungry when *he* woke up.  
 b. When *John* woke up, *he* was hungry.  
 c. \*He was hungry when *John* woke up.  
 d. When *he* woke up, *John* was hungry.

The examples (35a, b) are forward pronom-

inalization cases and(35c, d) are backward pronominalization cases. According to Langacker (1969), the sentences (25a, b, d) are all grammatical because the full NP *John* in (35a) both precedes and commands its pronoun *he*, in(35b) only precedes and in (35d) only commands but the sentence(25c) is ungrammatical because the pronoun *he* both precedes and commands its antecedent reversely. According to Delisle(1975), (35a) can be uttered both discourse-initially and non-discourse initially, (35b), only discourse-initially and (35d), only nondiscourse initially because the full NP *John* in (35d) is a reidentification noun phrase, but(35c) is inappropriate and ungrammatical.

We need to investigate the interaction between Structural and Functional Prominence in three ways: first, forward case like (35b), second, backward case 1 like (35d) and third backward case 2 like (35c).

### 1. Forward Case

Note the following.

(36) What will *John* do this sunday?

- a. \*If *John* can, *he* will go to see a movie.  
 b. If *he* can, *John* will go to see a movie.  
 c. If *he* can, *he* will go to see a movie.

In spite of the fact that the full NP *John* precedes its pronoun *he* in (36a), (36a) is unacceptable<sup>(7)</sup> because it violates the Theme Constraint.

Note the another example.

(37) a\* It was *John's* dog that *he* hit.

- b. It was *his* dog that *John* hit.

As the same way, (37a) is unacceptable because it violates Bickerton's(1975) Presupposition and Assertion Hypothesis even if the full

(6) There are two types of statements or sentences: one is the type of statement or sentence describing a particular occurrence of an event or state of affairs as it is, and the other is the generalizing statement or sentence, like the ones about a general, habitual or constant state of affairs of some sort. The latter represents a generic sentence.

(7) If (36a) is uttered discourse-initially the sentence (36a) is grammatical because it only represents new information and violates neither Theme nor Focus Constraint.



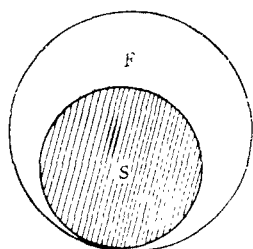
NP *John* precedes its pronoun *he*.

Now, let's consider the example (26) again.

- (26) a. \*In *John's* apartment, *he* smokes pot.
- b. In *John's* apartment near the railroad tracks in pamrapo district of Bayonne N. J, *he* smokes pot.

(26a) is unacceptable because it has no semantic richness even if the full NP *John* precedes its pronoun *he*. Therefore we may argue that Functional Prominence overrides Structural Prominence in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence even in the forward case. We may draw this scheme as follows:

$$(38) \quad F > S \text{ where } S \supset P$$



F: Functional Prominence  
 S: Structural Prominence  
 P: Precedence.

**2. Backward Case 1.**

Note the following.

- (39) Tell me about Mary.
  - a. Although she dislikes *John*, she is still seeing *him*.
  - b. \*Although she dislikes *him*, she is still seeing *John*.

(39b) is unacceptable in spite of the fact that the full NP *John* in (39b) is located in higher constituent (commands its pronoun *him*) only because *John* is not a theme of whole sentence. Well let's see the following more carefully.

- (40) a: Tell me about John.
- b: Although I dislike *him*, I am still seeing *John*.

The same type of sentence(40b) is acceptable because *John* is a theme of whole sentence.

Compare the following examples.

- (41) a. Who is hated by this woman?
- b. The man who wronged *her* is hated by *this woman*.

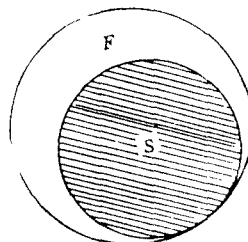
- (42) a. Who is hated by her?
- b. \*The man who wronged *her* is hated by *this woman*.

The sentence (41b) is acceptable but the same sentence (42b) is unacceptable because it violates Functional Prominence (namely the previous mentioning of Predictability). Now, let's see more examples which violates this kind of Functional Prominence.

- (43) a. \* If *she* aske you, would you marry *a widow* with five children?
- b. I guess I'm enough of pushover to take any woman who was reasonably willing.... If *she* ask you, would you marry *a widow* with five children?
- c. Jock, I called because I want you to tell me some. If *she* ask you, would you marry Joan.

(43a) is unacceptable because it violates Functional Prominence whereas the same type of sentence (43b), in which the speaker forewarns the appearance of the woman like *widow with five children*, is acceptable and (43c) which predicts both interlocutors are familiar with *Joan* is acceptable. Therefore we may argue that Functional Prominence which includes Predictability and Theme overrides Structural Prominence which includes Higher Constituent and Precedence. We may draw this scheme as follows:

$$(44) \quad F > S \text{ where } S \supset H \text{ and } S \supset P$$



F: Functional Prominence  
 S: Structural Prominence  
 H: Higher Constituent  
 P: Precedence

**3. Backward Case 2.**

Note the following.

- (45) a. What do you suppose I did when I saw Harry getting mad?

- b. ?I calmed *him* before *Harry* did something rash.

Lakoff (1968) has observed that backward pronominalization from a subordinated clause to a main clause is possible if the derived pronominal form is not a subject. Let's compare the following example.

- (46) a. Who do you suppose I calmed when I saw him getting mad.  
 b. \*I calmed *him* before *Harry* did something rash.  
 (47) a. Which of the two, Harry or Bill, do you suppose I calmed before I saw them getting mad.  
 b. \*I calmed *him* before *Harry* did something rash.

The same sentence(45b) is awkward in (45) but it seems to be much better than in (46) and (47), which are totally unacceptable. The difference in contexts between (45) and (46), (47) is that in the former, *Harry* represents old predictable information, while in the latter, it represents new unpredictable information. Let's see more example.

- (48) a. Tell me about John.  
 b. Well. *his* brother thinks that *John* is a genius. But...

Even if the full NP *John* in(48b) violates structural prominence, the answer (48b) is acceptable because the full NP *John* (can be regarded as the theme of the whole sentence.

Consider the following.

- (49) a. \*Mary hit *him*, before *John* got up.  
 b. Mary hit *him*, before *John* had a chance to get up.

In order to explain the grammaticality of (49b), Lakoff(1968) proposed "Length Theory": The longer the verb phrase of subordinate clause, the relatively more acceptable these sentences become, the shorter, the less acceptable they become. Compare the following.

- (50) a. \*Mary hit him before John left.  
 b. ?Mary hit him before John left in his

Rolls Royce.

- c. Mary hit him before John left in his Rolls Royce for a dinner engagement at the Ritz.

Lakoff's (1968) Length Theory seems to predict correctly the difference of the acceptability of the sentences (50). But his theory is a fuzzy concept and has less linguistic universality than the semantic richness factor of Functional prominence so we may suppose that (50b,c) are acceptable because they have semantic richness, in spite of the fact that they violate Structural Prominence.

Bolinger(1977) proposed The Tightness Condition and NP Reidentification in order to explain the acceptability of the sentence like above. Note the following.

- (51) a. \**He* choked when *John* swallowed the bone  
 b. He choked... When John swallowed the bone

According to Bolinger (1977), the relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause in (51a) is very tight, while the same kind of relation in (51b) is very loose. And to avoid the unacceptability of (51a), the sentence (51b) must be uttered with a wide disjuncture between the clause, a uniformly low pitch from when on, head lowered and nodded slightly, and eyebrow raised. But the core of his inquiry is what reason the speaker has for reidentifying referent with a full NP at a given point.

Compare the following.

- (52) a. \*She said that *June* was ready.  
 b. ? *She* could pass for my sister, before *June* had her facelift.  
 c. *She* could pass for my sister, though *June* wasn't related to me at all.

Bolinger's (1977) Theory seems to predict correctly the degree of the acceptability of the sentences, (52). But without his tightness theory Functional Prominence can easily explain the acceptability of the sentences (51b) and (52b,c)

by assuming that the subordinate clause of each sentence, reidentifying referent with a full NP, can be regarded as a afterthought expression and also a presupposed part. Therefore we may argue that Functional Prominence overrides Structural Prominence in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentences because these sentences all violate Structural Prominence which includes Precedence, Higher constituent and Case Hierarchy.

Note the another example.

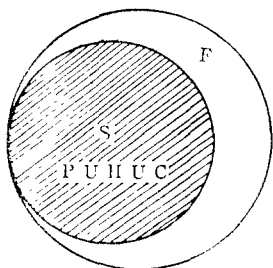
- (53) a. \*I introduced *them* when *the twins* came in.  
 b. *They* are hard to tell apart when *twins* wear identical garb.

Even if the pronoun *they* in (53b) violates all factors of Structural Prominence (namely, Precedence, Higher Constituent and Case Hierarchy), (53b) is acceptable because it is a generic sentence. On the other hand, (53a) is unacceptable even though it only violates two factors of Structural Prominence (namely, Precedence, and Higher Constituent).

Therefore we can argue that Functional Prominence overrides all of the structural pronunce in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence with respect to pronominalization. We may draw this scheme as follows.

(54)

$F > S$   
 where  $S = \{P, H, C\}$



(8) Yang (1980) proposed "Topicality" which includes almost the same feature as Structural and Functional Promnence in Topicality in Anaphora.

## V. Conclusion.

We have observed the degree of the acceptability of the sentence with respect to pronominalization is determined in terms of Structural Prominence and Functional Prominence. By now, we can conclude the former is necessary but not sufficient and that the latter is more prominent than the former in that the latter overrides the former in controlling the degree of the acceptability of the sentence with respect to pronominalization.

This paper will suggest the investigation of the universal feature<sup>(8)</sup> which includes both Structural and Functional Prominence.

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