
An Argument against Pronominalization

Author(s): Joan Bresnan

Source: *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan., 1970), pp. 122-123

Published by: [The MIT Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177531>

Accessed: 12/05/2011 20:52

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=mitpress>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



The MIT Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Linguistic Inquiry*.

syntactic way and preserving the idea that the pronominalized NP may contain a relative clause). Note also that if we do not include the relative under this account we have to somehow prevent sentences like this:

*The man_i who lives next door said that he_i who lives next door would mow my lawn during vacation.

Other examples of *reductio ad infinitum*:

I gave the book that he wanted to the man who asked for it.

The girl who was asking for him finally found the man she wanted.

One conclusion might be that there is no such thing as pronominalization except as a name for a semantic relation between independently chosen NPs and pronouns (from the base), a relation which must then be determined (at least) on the basis of surface structure relations. This conclusion must obviously stand or fall together with other such putatively surface-structurally determined semantic relations. This would destroy the relevance of the *Oscar + realizing* sentence² for the question of whether or not there is a cycle, but would leave possibly a harder question to answer; namely, how would the semantic theory account for the interpretations of *that* sentence?

AN ARGUMENT AGAINST
PRONOMINALIZATION
Joan Bresnan,
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology

This argument presupposes a cyclic rule of There-Insertion, a transformation with a regrettable derived structure. Nevertheless, it is implausible that *there* is present in deep structure, and there are arguments that There-Insertion is cyclic. For example, consider the sentences (due to Haj Ross):

There was believed to have been a tiger shot.

There was a tiger believed to have been shot.

and the awkward but apparently grammatical

There's a man from Berkeley believed to be proving there to be no real numbers.

There-Insertion, as usually formulated, precedes Adverb-Preposing, because the latter destroys its environment; and Adverb-Preposing precedes Pronominalization, for otherwise one can't get:

If Tom_i can go, he_i will go.

Finally, it is useful to note that There-Insertion occurs before

² See John R. Ross (1967) "On the Cyclic Nature of English Pronominalization," in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, Mouton and Co., The Hague, reprinted in D. Reibel and S. Schane, eds. (1969), *Modern Studies in English*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

SQUIBS AND DISCUSSION

any nondefinite subject NP followed by *be*, regardless of stress-factors or semantic variation:

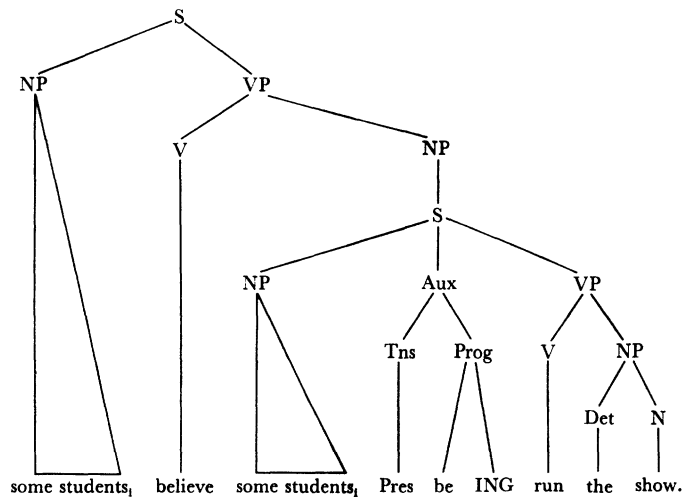
There are ³ some smart ¹ students there.

There are ¹ some smart ³ students there.

Now consider the sentence:

Some students believe that they are running the show.

If there is a rule of Pronominalization applying to such sentences, it must operate on a deep structure something like the following:



There-Insertion may apply on the embedded S (cf. *He said that there were some students running the show*). On the next cycle Pronominalization will apply to the coreferential *some students_i*, yielding

*Some students believe that there are they running the show.

If the pronoun *they* had already been in deep structure, There-Insertion could not have applied:

*There are they in the room.

This seems to be a clear indication that *they* should appear in deep structure.