

# Unbalanced Coordination and Resumptive Pronouns\*

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## 1. Introduction

A strong constraint on movement (e.g., question formation or relativization) is that it may not target an individual conjunct in a conjoined structure, as shown below:

- (1) a. \*[What sofa]<sub>i</sub> will he put the chair between [some table and t<sub>i</sub>]?  
b. \*[What table]<sub>i</sub> will he put the chair between [t<sub>i</sub> and some sofa]?  
c. \*What<sub>i</sub> did [Bill cook what and Fred eat t<sub>i</sub>]?  
d. \*What<sub>i</sub> did [Bill cook t<sub>i</sub> and Fred eat what]?

Rather, extraction must apply across-the-board (Williams 1977, 1978), affecting all of the conjuncts in a coordinate structure:

- (2) a. [What table and sofa]<sub>i</sub> will he put the chair between t<sub>i</sub>?  
b. What<sub>i</sub> did [Bill cook t<sub>i</sub> and Fred eat t<sub>i</sub>]?

Conjoined phrases thus constitute an island. Ross (1967:98–99) suggested the following constraint:

- (3) **Coordinate Structure Constraint:** In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

Some languages are able to violate this constraint more readily than English by allowing a resumptive pronoun to appear in the position where a gap (the trace of movement) would otherwise be expected.

Although resumptive pronouns have been said to be limited to conversational English (Pesetsky 1997:163 n. 24), in an earlier stage of modern English, resumptive pronouns could appear in coordinate structures, a construction in which present day English (PDE) would have a gap. This observation does not hitherto appear to have been made, and several such examples from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* are cited below (4–5, 9–12). The (a)

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sentences are Swift's, and the unexpected resumptive pronouns are indicated by boldface; the (b) sentences are their PDE equivalents (with respect to gaps, which are indicated by the symbol **e** and a subscript index):

- (4) a. The two great Streets which run cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five Foot wide. The Lanes and Alleys which [I could not enter, but only viewed **them** as I passed], are from Twelve to Eighteen Inches. (Bk. 1, Ch. 4: 32)
- b. The lanes and alleys which<sub>i</sub> [I could not enter **e<sub>i</sub>**, but only view **e<sub>i</sub>** as I passed...] (PDE)
- (5) a. The Captain said, that while we were at Supper, he observed me to look at every thing with a Sort of Wonder; and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my Laughter; which [he knew not well how to take, but imputed **it** to some Disorder in my Brain]. (Bk. 2, Ch. 8: 143)
- b. The captain said that while we were at supper, he observed me to look at everything with a sort of wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my laughter, which<sub>i</sub> [he knew not well how to take **e<sub>i</sub>**, but imputed **e<sub>i</sub>** to some disorder in my brain.] (PDE)

This article considers some synchronic and diachronic aspects of this phenomenon from the perspective of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). The Unbalanced Coordination theory of Johannessen 1996, 1998, which was intended by her to account for 'partial agreement' phenomena among conjuncts, is extended in Section 2 to an account of resumptive pronouns, which are similarly observed to display asymmetric behavior with respect to which conjunct they appear in. Two other recent analyses of coordination and resumptive pronouns are considered in Section 3—the Minimal Link Condition/'Shortest Move' account of Zoerner 1995, and the Optimality Theoretic account of Pesetsky 1997, 1998—neither of which draws the needed distinctions among conjuncts. Finally, Section 4 suggests how aspects of this analysis may be applied to stylistics, a realm of linguistics that has received only sporadic attention within formal syntax.

## 2. Unbalanced Coordination

Johannessen (1996, 1998) discusses languages in which agreement may occur with only one element of a series of conjoined phrases, a phenomenon called 'partial agreement', which appears to be sensitive to the direction of headedness in each language. Some examples are given below:

- (6) Standard Arabic
- a. Qaraʔa            ʔumar            wa            ʔaliyaaʔ            l-qišša  
 read.3MS        Omar(M)        and        Alia(F)        the-story  
 'Omar and Alia read the story.'

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- b. Qaraʔat      ʔaliyaaʔ      wa      ʔumar      l-qiṣṣa  
 read.3FS      Alia(F)      and      Omar(M)      the-story  
 'Alia and Omar read the story.'  
 (Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche 1994:207)

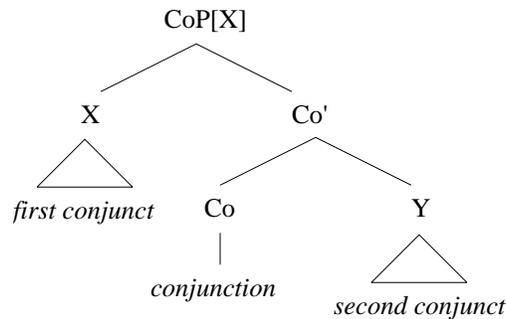
(7) Latin

- Populi              provinciae-que              liberatae              sunt  
 people.M.PL      province.F.PL-and      liberated.F.PL      are  
 'The people and the provinces are liberated.'      (Johannessen 1996:668)

Note that Standard Arabic, a head-initial language, shows gender agreement with the NP in the first conjunct, which is *Omar* in (6a), and *Alia* in (6b). The verb in Latin, on the other hand—a head-final language—agrees with the feminine NP *provinciae* 'province' in the second conjunct. Of the more than two dozen languages that Johannessen examined showing such partial agreement phenomena, nearly all of them exhibited the same correlation with the general orientation of headedness in each language.

This generalization may be captured by assuming a binary-branching structure for coordination: Conjunction Phrase (CoP) is headed by a conjunction, while the specifier and complement positions are occupied by the individual conjuncts.<sup>1</sup> Following the assumptions of Chomsky 1995, the only relevant relation within CoP is specifier-head agreement. Such agreement is additionally assumed to project the features of Spec/CoP to the maximal projection. Thus, the maximal projection CoP bears the lexical features of its specifier, as schematized for head-initial and head-final languages in (8).<sup>2</sup>

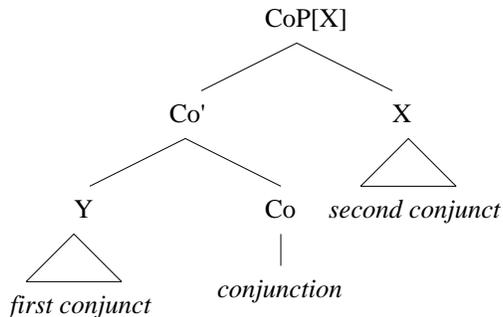
(8) a. **Head-initial language**



<sup>1</sup>Munn 1992:18 ff. proposes a similar, asymmetric structure for coordination.

<sup>2</sup> The specifier and complement are shown here on opposite sides of the head, although nothing seems to preclude other orders.

b. **Head-final language**



It is the inherited features borne by CoP that agree with elements outside of the coordinated constituent. Exactly as desired, the conjunct in complement position does not have its features projected to CoP, and so it does not take part in agreement with elements elsewhere in the sentence. The asymmetries observed in partial agreement between head-initial and head-final languages are thus related not to word order, but rather to the hierarchical relations among conjuncts, which will differ on whether CoP (like other phrases in the language) is left- or right-branching.

The grammar of Swift also exhibits unbalanced coordination, with respect to *wh*-movement and resumptive pronouns. In particular, as may be seen in the (a) sentences of (4–5) above, the gap of *wh*-movement is invariably in the first conjunct, while the resumptive pronoun appears in the second. Further such examples are given below:

- (9) a. The Board that made the Ceiling was to be lifted up and down by two Hinges, to put in a Bed readily furnished by her Majesty's Upholsterer; which [*Glumdalclitch* took out every Day to air, made **it** with her own Hands], and letting it down at Night, locked up the Roof over me. (Bk. 2, Ch. 3: 96)
- b. The board that made the ceiling was to be lifted up and down by two hinges, to put in a bed readily furnished by her majesty's upholsterer, which<sub>i</sub> [*Glumdalclitch* took out **e<sub>i</sub>** every day to air, made **e<sub>i</sub>** with her own hands,] and letting it down at night, locked up the roof over me. (PDE)
- (10) a. There was also another Kind of *Root* very *juicy*, but something rare and difficult to be found, which [the *Yahoos* sought for with much Eagerness, and would suck **it** with great Delight...] (Bk. 4, Ch. 7: 266)
- b. There was also another kind of root very juicy, but something rare and difficult to be found, which<sub>i</sub> [the *Yahoos* sought for **e<sub>i</sub>** with much eagerness, and would suck **e<sub>i</sub>** with great delight...] (PDE)

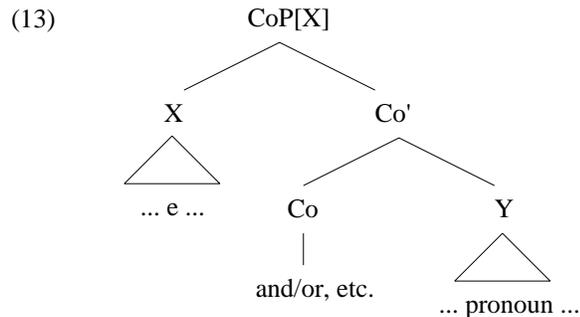
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- (11) a. I often got Honey out of hollow Trees, which [I mingled with Water, or eat **it** with my Bread]. (Bk. 4, Ch. 10: 283)
- b. I often got honey out of hollow trees, which<sub>i</sub> [I mingled **e<sub>i</sub>** with water, or ate **e<sub>i</sub>** with my bread]. (PDE)

And, as the following example shows, the asymmetry applies not just to *wh*-movement, but also to topicalization:

- (12) a. These [I heated before the Fire as well as I could, and rubbed **them** till the Husks came off...] (Bk. 4, Ch. 2: 234)
- b. These<sub>i</sub> [I heated **e<sub>i</sub>** before the fire as well as I could, and rubbed **e<sub>i</sub>** till the husks came off...] (PDE)

The same distribution has been observed in languages like Hebrew, which have a freer distribution of resumptive pronouns than does English (Demirdache 1991:67 ff., citing Sells 1984). Further evidence from English is presented below in (36–37). The theory of unbalanced coordination may be extended to these data, which have the abstract form schematized below:



Extraction is possible from the first conjunct, in Spec/CoP, which has its features projected to CoP by specifier-head agreement, as discussed in the previous section. It may be that the presence of these features on the maximal projection CoP is what renders this category transparent to extraction of elements from Spec/CoP, but opaque for extraction of elements from the second conjunct (which does not share its features with CoP). Alternatively, perhaps only Spec/CoP is regarded as equally close as CoP itself to Spec/CP, so that it may be targeted by *wh*-movement. Because movement from the second conjunct is thus barred, it constitutes an island. Since movement is not possible, the only remaining strategy to extract a constituent from the second conjunct is to insert a resumptive pronoun there—a 'last resort' to block an otherwise ungrammatical derivation (Shlonsky 1992; Pesetsky 1997, 1998).

But why doesn't extraction from conjoined phrases always trigger a resumptive pronoun? Swift also employs across-the-board movement, as in the following examples:

- (14) a. The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which<sub>i</sub> [I voided  $e_i$  in such a Quantity, and applied  $e_i$  so well to the proper Places], that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished; and the rest of that Noble Pile, which had cost so many Ages in erecting, preserved from Destruction. (Bk. 1, Ch. 5: 42–43)
- b. And lastly, that he observed every Animal in this Country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom<sub>i</sub> [the Weaker avoided  $e_i$ , and the Stronger drove  $e_i$  from them]. (Bk. 4, Ch. 4: 245)

Johannessen 1996:669 n. 8 suggests that variation between unbalanced coordination and ordinary, balanced coordination—as in (14) and PDE—is determined by the lexical entry for the conjunction. Unbalanced coordination is characterized by conjunctions whose arguments are unmarked for any features—as in (15a)—these being determined by specifier-head agreement, as per the discussion above. In balanced coordination, however, the lexical entry for the conjunction is enhanced—as in (15b)—so that both conjuncts share the same features; specifier-head agreement still obtains, but the conjunct in complement position will ultimately receive the same features as the specifier.

- (15) a. *and*, Co, <arg1, arg2>
- b. *and*, Co, <arg1 [ $\alpha$ received features], arg2 [ $\alpha$ received features]>

Johannessen observes that which lexical entry obtains may vary across language, and even across speakers. The data from Swift suggest that even a single speaker may have two lexical entries for a single conjunction; or, perhaps more accurately, that a single speaker may have homophonous conjunctions with different lexical entries.

It does not seem likely that Swift's variant usages are grammar-external 'viruses' (Sobin 1997), which characterize a speaker's attempt to control 'prestige' forms of language (e.g., *Mary and I left early*), since Swift's use of resumptive pronouns lack some of the properties of viruses. For example, their appearance is not lexically specific; in (4–5) and (9–12), a variety of conjunctions (*and*, *or*, *but*, and  $\emptyset$ ) appear. Rather, it seems more likely that the lexical entries for Swift's conjunctions were idiosyncratic. Indeed, Swift's usage of connectives has been regarded as unusual, and he was even castigated by contemporary grammarians for some of his pleonastic usages of them. Conjunctions that do not appear to play any role in the argument structure of the sentence appear most frequently sentence-initially, and Milic 1967:132 cites several such examples in which one or the other conjunction would suffice:

- (16) a. But however, such great Frenzies being artificially raised...
- b. But on the other side, whoever should mistake the Nature of things so far...

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- c. And, indeed, if the former Danger...
- d. And likewise because too great an Affectation of Secrecy...
- e. But still, there is in this Project a greater Mischief...
- f. Or perhaps they scare us...

There is ample evidence that the lexical entries of many words in Swift's time were different from today, and that these differences affected the syntax of English. (For discussion of this phenomenon in earlier stages of English, see Lumsden 1987.) The following examples—all of which are deviant to varying degrees in PDE—show that these differences included selection of thematic roles (17), tense (18), and prepositions (19), among other elements:

- (17) a. he...found the Natives in both those Kingdoms very hard to believe that the Fact was possible... (Bk. 3, Ch. 10: 211)
- b. ...I saw nothing in his Country to which I could resemble them. (Bk. 4, Ch. 4: 245)
- c. But I shall not anticipate the Reader with farther Descriptions of this Kind... (Bk. 1, Ch. 4:34)
- d. He doubted, it would be impossible for me to swim to another Country... (Bk. 4, Ch. 10: 287)
- e. ...or else he would continue me a Prisoner till we arrived at *Lisbon*. (Bk. 4, Ch. 11: 296)
- f. ...I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians*... (Bk. 4, Ch. 12: 301)
- g. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely whether I were not troubled in Mind... (Bk. 2, Ch. 8: 141)
- h. I...expressed a Desire to let me go and milk her. (Bk. 4, Ch. 2: 233)
- i. This Accident absolutely determined *Glumdalclitch* never to trust me abroad... (Bk. 2, Ch. 5: 109)
- j. I answered, (as I had before determined) that I was a Dutch Merchant... (Bk. 3, Ch. 11: 217)
- k. ...they put many Questions, and received such Answers, as I was able to return (Bk. 4, Ch. 3: 238)

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- (18) a. He...desired I would give him an Hour's Audience...(Bk. 1, Ch. 4: 34)
- b. ...they concluded me certainly dead... (Bk. 4, Ch. 11: 298)
- c. ...I here intreat those who have any Tincture of this absurd Vice, that they will not presume to appear in my Sight. (Bk. 4, Ch. 12: 305)
- d. ...I began to think myself in *Lilliput*. (Bk. 2, Ch. 8: 144)
- (19) a. ...because of the violent Hatred the *Houyhnhnms* as well as all other Animals, bore them... (Bk. 4, Ch. 9: 278)
- b. ...to lament the Brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own Country... (Bk. 4, Ch. 12: 304)

Different but coexisting lexical entries (similar to the kind proposed above for conjunctions) are also not hard to find, as in the verb *discover*, which for Swift had two variants: one in which the subject bears a 'source'-like theta-role, exemplified in (20), and the variant that survives into PDE, in which the subject bears a more agentive theta-role, exemplified in (21):

- (20) a. ...flying, or discovering Fear before a fierce Animal, is a certain Way to make it pursue or attack you... (Bk. 2, Ch. 1: 81)
- b. This conversation they are apt to run into with the same Temper that Boys discover, in delighting to hear terrible Stories of Sprites and Hobgoblins... (Bk. 3, Ch. 2: 161–162)
- c. It was in vain to discover my Resentments, which were always turned into Ridicule... (Bk. 2, Ch. 7)
- (21) a. He said, he could discover great Holes in my Skin... (Bk. 2, Ch. 1: 81)
- b. ...I discovered by my Pocket-Glass several Islands to the South-East. (Bk. 3, Ch. 1: 151)

In early modern English, *discover* was thus similar to PDE *reveal* (e.g., *I revealed my resentment* vs. *I revealed several planets with my telescope*). Interestingly, and perhaps because Swift had access to the now-obsolete use of *discover* illustrated in (20), he did not use *reveal* (at least, it does not appear in my 154,000-word corpus), although the word had indeed entered English before Swift's time.

A further advantage of the Unbalanced Coordination theory is that it permits coordination of unlike categories, another quirk for which Swift is well known (Milic 1967:Ch. 4):

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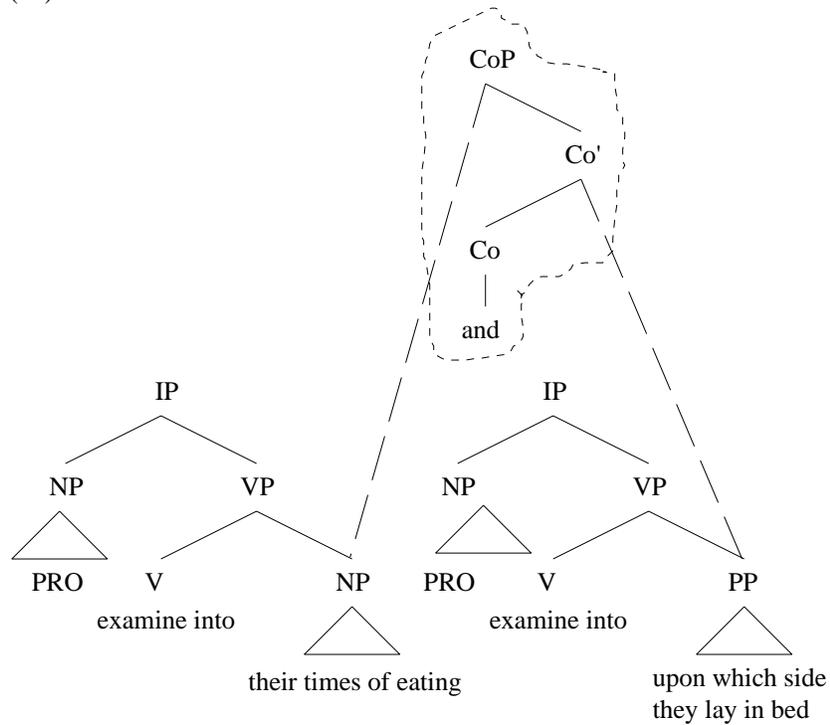
- (22) a. He advised great Statesmen to examine into the Dyet of all suspected Persons; their Times of eating; upon which Side they lay in Bed; with which Hand they wiped their Posteriors; to take a strict View of their Excrements, and from the Colour, the Odour, the Taste, the Consistence, the Crudeness, or Maturity of Digestion, form a Judgment of their Thoughts and Designs... (Bk. 3, Ch. 6: 190)
- b. For in such Conjectures, when he used merely as a Trial to consider which was the best Way of murdering the King, his Ordure would have a Tincture of Green; but quite different when he thought only of raising an Insurrection, or burning the Metropolis. (Bk. 3, Ch. 6: 191)
- c. ...we all three entered the Gate of the Palace between two Rows of Guards, armed and dressed after a very antick Manner, and something in their Countenances that made my Flesh creep with a Horror I cannot express. (Bk. 3, Ch. 7: 194)
- d. ...for this Posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their hind Feet. (Bk. 4, Ch. 1: 225)

The above sentences are not merely examples of unlike categories being coordinated. In (22a), for example, not all of the individual conjuncts would be grammatical on their own. The predicate *examine into* may take an NP, but not a PP, as its complement:

- (23) He advised great Statesmen to examine into
- a. [NP the Dyet of all suspected Persons]
- b. [NP their Times of eating]
- c. \*[PP upon which Side they lay in Bed]
- d. \*[PP with which Hand they wiped their Posteriors]

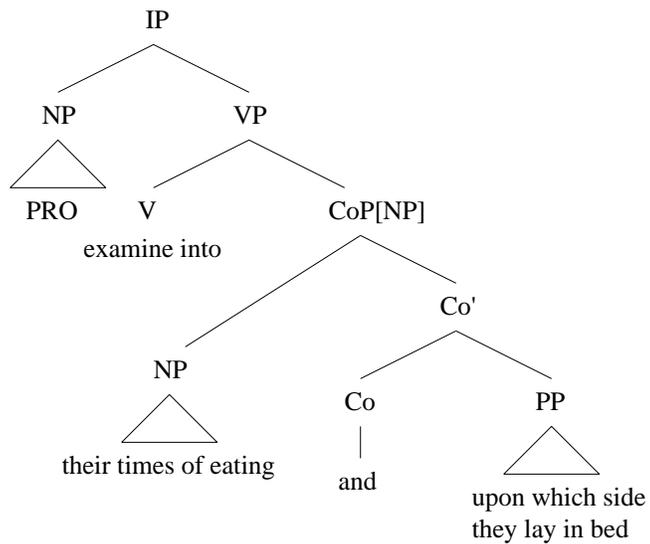
The fact that the PP conjuncts in (23c–d) become grammatical as complements of the matrix predicate only when they appear non-initially within a coordinated phrase is predicted by the theory of unbalanced coordination. Johannessen 1996:671 ff. posits a generalized transformation, Coordinate  $\alpha$ , which attaches any two propositions, at any stage of derivation, to CoP—one as its specifier, and the other as its complement. Any remaining material that is not attached is merged, if it is identical. Thus, a simplified version of (22a) would be derived by Coordinate  $\alpha$  attaching CoP to the NP and PP complements of two propositions:

(24)



After merging the identical elements, the following structure is derived:

(25)



Note that, by specifier-head agreement and projection of these features to the maximal projection, CoP bears the features of the NP, and hence may have these features checked by the verb. If instead the PP had been attached to Spec/CoP,

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its features could not have been checked by the verb, and the derivation would have crashed—exactly the desired result.

### 3. Other Analyses

#### 3.1. Minimal Link Condition

While the Minimal Link analysis of Zoerner 1995 also employs an asymmetric phrase structure for coordination, Zoerner suggests that Conjunction Phrase bears the features of all of its conjuncts, not just the conjunct in Spec/CoP. Coordination of like constituents, then, entails that the maximal projection CoP contains the categorical features of each conjunct, which in (26) are nominal. The verb is then able to successfully check off the nominal features of the complement CoP:

(26) Robin saw [<sub>CoP</sub> Kim and Pat]<sub>+N,+N</sub>

It is argued that this assumption, combined with the Minimal Link Condition, may replace the Coordinate Structure Constraint in (3).

(27) **Minimal Link Condition:**  $\alpha$  can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move  $\beta$  targeting K, where  $\beta$  is closer to K (Chomsky 1995:296)

The MLC formalizes the notion of 'shortest move', and its effect replaces that of the Coordinate Structure Constraint in accounting for the paradigm in (1–2) above, repeated below and annotated with relevant features:

(28) a. \*<sub>[What sofa]<sub>+WH</sub> will he put the chair between [<sub>CoP</sub> some table and t]<sub>+WH</sub>?</sub>

b. [<sub>CoP</sub> What table<sub>+WH</sub> and sofa]<sub>+WH</sub> will he put the chair between t?

In (28a), the *wh*-phrase that has moved to Spec/CP is able to have its +WH feature checked off by the corresponding interrogative feature in C<sub>0</sub>; however, this derivation violates the Minimal Link Condition, since *what sofa* is not the closest +WH element to Spec/CP. Rather, the nearest phrase bearing a +WH feature is the entire conjoined phrase, since it draws up the features of both conjuncts. The only licit derivation, then, is the one illustrated in (28b), in which the entire CoP has moved to Spec/CP. Thus, the Coordinate Structure Constraint does not have an independent role in such an analysis.

There are further advantages—or disadvantages, depending on one's perspective—in Zoerner's analysis. For example, the fact that CoP bears the features of both of its conjuncts entails that only like constituents may be coordinated, since otherwise a featural mismatch would occur at CoP. (But see the discussion of the sentences in (22) above, for why that may not be desirable.) Moreover, this analysis seems to face difficulties handling conjoined relative clauses of the following sort:

(29) I met the guy who Mary likes and Fred hates

As neither *Mary likes* nor *Fred hates* is a constituent, they should not be able to be conjoined. Another possibility, then, is that full clauses are conjoined, entailing a base structure as follows:

(30) I met [NP the guy [CP [CoP [TP Mary likes who]<sub>+WH</sub> and [TP Fred hates who]<sub>+WH</sub>]<sub>+WH</sub>]]

Across-the-board *wh*-movement to Spec/CP of the relative clause is needed to derive (29) from (30), but if CoP receives the +WH feature of each conjunct, the shortest move to Spec/CP is to move the entire CoP, yielding the same surface order, and resulting in ungrammaticality:

(31) \*I met the guy Mary likes who and Fred hates who

Aside from this difficulty, it is not clear how the Minimal Link Analysis would handle resumptive pronouns in conjuncts, and especially the asymmetry in their distribution with regard to gaps, which was schematized above in (13).

### 3.2. Optimality theory

The same considerations apply to an analysis in which resumptive pronouns are regarded as a phonological phenomenon (e.g., Goodall 1987). Pesetsky (1997, 1998) shows how the ranking of constraints in Optimality Theory may help to explain the 'last resort' nature of resumptive pronouns (i.e., that they serve to repair island violations). The relevant constraints are:

(32) SILENT TRACE: Do not pronounce traces

(33) ISLAND CONSTRAINTS: \* $\alpha$ ...[ISLAND ...  $\beta$  ...], where  $\beta$  is the trace of  $\alpha$  and unpronounced

By ranking (33) above (32), it becomes possible to save an island violation by minimally pronouncing the trace (i.e., as a pronoun):

(34) ISLAND CONSTRAINTS >>> SILENT TRACE

The tableau in (35) illustrates how a resumptive pronoun may save a conjunct island violation, in the sentence *Which wine would you never serve it/\*e and sushi together?* (from Pesetsky 1998:365–366 n. 28). It assumes the copy theory of movement, with unpronounced constituents (i.e., traces) indicated by a strike through them.

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(35)	Which wine would you never serve [ <sub>ISLAND</sub> which wine and sushi together]	ISLAND	SILENT TRACE
a.	... [ <sub>ISLAND</sub> which wine and sushi together]		* $\phi$ -features *! <i>wh</i> -features *!lexical features
b.	... [ <sub>ISLAND</sub> <del>which wine</del> and sushi together]	*!	
c.	<sup>☞</sup> ... [ <sub>ISLAND</sub> it <del>which wine</del> and sushi together]		* $\phi$ -features

In candidate (a), the *wh*-phrase is pronounced *in situ*, avoiding the ISLAND violation, but resulting in a fatal violation of SILENT TRACE. Candidate (b), on the other hand, does not pronounce the *wh*-phrase *in situ*, satisfying SILENT TRACE, but violating the higher-ranked ISLAND constraint. The optimal candidate is thus (c), which satisfies the ISLAND constraint by pronouncing a pronoun, *it*, in the position of the *in situ wh*-phrase. Although the pronoun violates SILENT TRACE, the violation is less severe than that in candidate (a), since the pronoun bears only  $\phi$ -features.

As with the Minimal Link Analysis, though, a semi-phonological analysis of resumptive pronouns does not capture the asymmetries between conjuncts. Note that while the optimal candidate in (35) appears to defy the earlier generalization—schematized in (13)—that the resumptive pronoun appears in the second (complement) conjunct, it does not indicate that having the resumptive pronoun in the first (specifier) conjunct is grammatical only when stressed (even mildly). As illustrated below, stressing the resumptive pronoun improves its grammaticality in the first (specifier) conjunct, whereas the degree of stress on the resumptive pronoun is irrelevant when it is in the second (complement) conjunct.

- (36) a. Which wine would you never serve **it** and sushi together?  
 b. \*Which wine would you never serve **it** and sushi together?

- (37) a. Which wine would you never serve sushi and **it** together?  
 b. Which wine would you never serve sushi and **it** together?

The asymmetry in (36) suggests that when the resumptive pronoun is stressed/focused, it moves at LF (Culicover and Rochemont 1983:147 ff.), perhaps adjoining to IP, so that at a later level of representation, there is in fact a trace within the conjunct. Crucially, however, focus is relevant only when it affects the first (specifier) conjunct. When the resumptive pronoun is in the second (complement) conjunct, focus is irrelevant to the grammaticality of the pronoun. An additional oddity is that considerations of focus do not seem to apply to *wh*-extraction from conjoined relative clauses of the kind in (4–5) and (9–12). Unfortunately, these issues are beyond the scope of the present article.

#### 4. Coordination as an Aspect of Style

Understanding the properties of coordination is also important in making explicit the notion of 'style' in literature. Fabb and Durant (1987:10) note the trend in stylistics to employ functionalist approaches to language, since the structure of grammar in these frameworks is determined by its actual use, and literary texts are taken to be instances of language behavior. It has been argued that formalist approaches cannot be useful in stylistic analysis, since formalists typically do not relate their grammatical theories to language as it is used. Although such claims are not entirely convincing, they have largely remained unanswered, since many formalists themselves believe that literary language reflects linguistic performance, not competence, despite some excellent demonstrations to the contrary (e.g., Banfield 1982; Austin 1984; Collins and Branigan 1997).

The proposals in Section 2 regarding lexical entries for conjunctions suggest one area in which formal syntax might contribute to stylistics. The idiosyncratic lexical entries proposed there surely reflect the fact that 18th-century English was still very much in flux. Kelly (1988), for example, notes that Swift and his contemporaries were actually concerned about stabilizing English, for fear that their work would be lost to future generations. And according to Francus (1994), Swift

is always exploring ways to ensure the coherent transmission of his texts in the face of looming linguistic chaos.... [M]uch to Swift's dismay, meaning is translated into different forms over time, so that intralingual translation may be construed as a survival mechanism for meaning, even as particular linguistic constructs disappear from common usage. (xiii–xiv)

Near the conclusion of his quantitative study of parts of Swift's style, Milic (1967) suggests that Swift in fact may have been successful in his attempts to compose sentences that would survive the outcome of impending diachronic developments:

...if originality also means being ahead of one's time, Swift was more modern in his practice than in either his own preaching or in both the practice and preaching of his contemporaries. For these same characteristics—the colloquial tendency of his vocabulary and the dependence on connectives—as well as the predilection for verbals are all predictions of the future which make his prose more modern to the reader of the twentieth century than that of Addison or Gibbon or Johnson. (271)

Some of these syntactic idiosyncrasies (sentence-initial pleonastic conjunctions, and coordination of unlike constituents) have been inherited by two later satirists who admired Swift's writing—Mark Twain and Kurt Vonnegut—constituting a unique, grammatical aspect of these authors' style.

Another area that merits attention is these authors' use of asyndetic coordination: omitting conjunctions where they would appear in a less

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stylistically marked sentence. In the following examples, the symbol Ø marks the location in which a conjunction (e.g., *and*) would normally be expected:

- (38) a. I mentioned the prudent Management of our Treasury; [Ø] the Valour and Atchievements of our Forces by Sea and Land. (Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Bk. 2, Ch. 6: 122)
- b. Competent every day, [Ø] competent every night. Also, she *wants* that candle—yearns for it, longs for it, [Ø] hankers after it, as commanded by the law of God in her heart. (Mark Twain, "Letters from the Earth," 439)
- c. He lay down on the bed, [Ø] turned on the Magic Fingers. The mattress trembled, [Ø] drove a dog out from under the bed. (Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse-Five*, Ch. 8: 152)

Asyndetic coordination is used most frequently by Vonnegut, resulting in a large ratio of simplex sentences. It is also surely an aspect of his style that is easily detected and even unwittingly imitated, as was demonstrated recently when a *Chicago Tribune* writer found that someone had altered the byline of one of her columns and circulated it on the Internet as a commencement speech given by Vonnegut at MIT. Indeed, its lack of connectives is a hallmark of Vonnegut's prose:

- (39) Maybe you'll marry, maybe you won't. Maybe you'll have children, maybe you won't. Maybe you'll divorce at 40, maybe you'll dance the funky chicken on your 75th wedding anniversary. Whatever you do, don't congratulate yourself too much, or berate yourself either. Your choices are half chance. So are everybody else's. (Schmich 1997)

Thousands of readers, including Vonnegut's spouse, were fooled by the hoax.

Despite appearances, however, omission of conjunctions is not optional. In the following passages from *Gulliver's Travels*, it is easy to see that their omission can render a sharp effect of ungrammaticality, as is expected of any phenomenon that reflects linguistic competence:

- (40) a. I desired Leave of this Prince to see the Curiosities of the Island; which he was graciously pleased to grant, **\*(and)** ordered my Tutor to attend me. (Bk. 3, Ch. 3: 164)
- b. This Magnet is sustained by a very strong Axle of Adamant, passing through its Middle, upon which it plays, **\*(and)** is poised so exactly that the weakest Hand can turn it. It is hooped round with an hollow Cylinder of Adamant, four Foot deep, as many thick, **(and)** twelve Yards in Diameter, placed horizontally, **(and)** supported by Eight Adamantine Feet, each Six Yards high.... This Stone cannot be moved from its Place by any Force, because the Hoop **\*(and)** its Feet are one continued Piece... (Bk. 3, Ch. 3: 165)

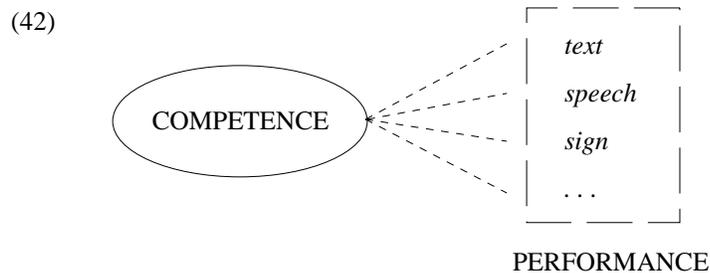
These facts may be explained by positing a phonologically null conjunction having a lexical entry of the same sort that overt conjunctions do—as in (15) above—with the appropriate restrictions on its arguments that will determine the patterns of grammaticality illustrated in (40). Such an analysis would accord with similar treatments of the null complementizer in English, which does not induce *that*-trace effects:

- (41) a. Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [<sub>CP</sub> Ø [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> likes Fred]]  
 b. \*Who<sub>i</sub> do you think [<sub>CP</sub> that [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> likes Fred]]

To say that two or more authors have a similar style, then, amounts to saying that their texts evince common lexical entries. A similar (but less explicit) observation is made when a speaker who uses a high ratio of foreign vocabulary is characterized variously as 'learned' or 'pompous'; such descriptions are often contradictory, and as uninformative as describing the Vonnegutian style in (39) as 'sweet-and-sour' (Fisher 1997:B1). The most explicit approach to characterizing style, then, is to characterize the properties of lexical items used by an author.

The general theory of syntax independently posits that it is the idiosyncratic properties of lexical items that yield particular syntactic structures (Chomsky 1995:169–170), and so nothing specific needs to be said about 'texts'. Readers share these lexical entries with authors, which is why readers can offer grammaticality judgments on sentences differing from those actually used in a text; again, note that nothing special needs to be said about the nature of a text as an object of language distinct from the sort of language more commonly studied in syntax.

Under this view of literature, a text is indeed an instance of linguistic performance, with the author as its performer. But linguistic competence is as necessary for assessing the grammaticality of a text as it is for introspecting about one's own knowledge of language. In the same way that sign languages are a modality distinct from speech that nevertheless reflects the same knowledge imputed to users of spoken language, so too should texts be regarded (as schematized below):



None of the relations posited in (42) are an innovation in any way; they accord with the formalist idea that text is performance, and they even coincide with the same claim by functionalists. The crucial (and pedestrian) point is simply that knowledge of language underlies both text and speech.

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This is not to say that there are no uniquely literary constructions, though it is suggestive that such constructions are difficult to find; some candidates include quotative inversion (Collins and Branigan 1997), seriation (Milic 1967:Ch. 4), and playful typography. Inasmuch as such phenomena may indeed be uniquely literary, perhaps there is a need for a distinct level of representation akin to the level of Verse Form (VF) proposed by McKay (1997:14), on a par with the more familiar levels of Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). At present, however, it is difficult to know how such a component might interact with other levels of the grammar.

There is clearly a need for more empirical research in this domain, and it seems likely that pursuing the notion of style—characterizing and explaining how authors share similar lexical entries—might yield results. While there are many good studies of thematic influence between authors, generative syntax has lagged considerably behind in characterizing authorial influence on the forms of sentences, a linguistic phenomenon to which even non-linguist readers of literature are sensitive.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the best approach to literary language may be, it cannot be the case that literature is the sole domain of functionalist theories. If the hypothesis of Universal Grammar is viable as an account of the language faculty, then literature needs to comprise one such part of it. As Kiparsky (1987:195–196) puts it: "... literature is universal .... There is no tribe on earth so wretched that it does not express its memories and desires in stories and poems ..."

### 5. Conclusion

The Unbalanced Coordination theory proposed by Johannessen for partial agreement phenomena yields a better account of resumptive pronouns than other recent theories that do not recognize the asymmetric status of conjuncts. Aside from their value in explaining diachronic properties of coordination, the lexical entries for individual conjunctions may be extended to a characterization of literary style, without the need to elaborate syntactic theory, nor to challenge the traditional competence/performance distinction.

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<sup>3</sup>Although there do not seem to be grammatical studies comparing Swift, Mark Twain, and Vonnegut, there have been enough thematic comparisons to suggest that such a project would be fruitful. On Swift and Mark Twain, see Goldman 1983 and Walsh 1988; on Swift and Vonnegut, see Visconsi 1994 and the tongue-in-cheek Shaw 1976; on Mark Twain and Vonnegut, see Cook 1982, Ancone 1983, and Brown 1996.

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