

STYLE AS SYNTACTIC IMMATURITY:
A STUDY ON ANAPHORIC SUBJECT *WHICH*

by

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Introductory Note

It was while reading a paperback edition of *The Investigation* (Uhnak 1978) every night at bedtime that I began to notice an excessive occurrence of the anaphoric subject *which* in this "No. 1 page-turner of the year" with "over 450,000 hardcovers sold!" Although the story itself was unrelievedly boring with its slow progress and almost ad-libbed violence and sex, the book interested me as evidence of the spreading use of the nonrestrictive relative pronoun that seemed virtually divorced from its preceding clause in spite of such a conservative view by some grammarians that "the non-restrictive relative clause with a previous clause or sentence as the antecedent of introductory *which* is sometimes made into a separate orthographic sentence" (Quirk et al 1972: 702).

Since relativization furnished the best possible topic for transformational generative grammar, during these past twenty years we have already had a long series of papers on relative pronouns and their syntax. One of the definitions early discussions suggested was that nonrestrictive relative clauses "derive from coordinate sentences in deep structure" (Ross 1967: 115) and that they are "derived from conjoined sentences; only, the second conjunct is not moved" (Jacobsen 1978: 345). According to these views, it seems not unnatural that a second conjunct sometimes separates from the first whenever there is a cause to claim a divorce, retaining *which* as evidence of its past wedlock. The matter, however, is not so simple even if we are going to deal only with the question as to whether or not the divorce claimed above is merely orthographic. Apart from the ongoing discussions about abstract underlying categories that bring out a difference to surface antecedent (Thomson 1971), the problem will inevitably involve that of style, which is usually interpreted as an inquiry into an allowable deviation from a syntactic obligato required to establish a grammatical sentence (Darbyshire 1971).

That is, as long as we give chase to the identity of nonrestrictive relative clauses, we are very often taken beyond the boundary between what is obligatory and what is optional. The abundance of anaphoric *which*'s in *The Investigaton* — thirty-six in total — will suffice to show explicitly the amplitude of the fluctuation. Therefore, although an inductive analysis through a cumbersome corpus has been completely out of fashion since the appearance of *Syntactic Structure* (Chomsky 1957), I will quote significant examples from the detective story in a way that may suit a person without a native intuition in the English language. Additionally, in an attempt to examine the range of possible fluctuation, I will also show the

results of tests in which native speakers supplied commas and periods to the same but depunctuated sentences, and the results of one of them trying to distinguish the period intonations from others on a tape that had been recorded by another informant. The backgrounds of the informants who cooperated on this task are as follows.

A: Male, 25, Midwest, MA in Japanese Studies, Language Instructor.

B: Male, 32, Midwest, MA in Far Eastern Languages and Literature (Japanese Literature) and a MBA, Businessman.

C: Female, 32, Mid-Atlantic Coast, PhD Candidate in Anthropology, Anthropological Researcher.

D: Male, 37, Mid-Atlantic Coast, PhD Candidate in Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations (Japanese Literature), Language Instructor.

Phonetic Identity

It might be thought that I should deal first with the issue of phonetic identity of so-called orthographically different sentence. That is, is it really possible to define a sentence with the introductory *which* as merely orthographic only because it always goes short of grammaticality on its surface? The first step in solving this question must be to identify sentences that are quite independent not only in their written forms but in phonetic reality. Nobody dares to call the following passage, for example, a phonetically single sentence, though it is composed of seven orthographic sentences.

- (1) "The time I told you about, ya know, two Puerto-Ricans? Well, *it was on April Fool's Day, ya know, April first.*"

"This April first?"

He nodded. "I remember that, because George made a Joke about it like 'Well, there goes my two April fools.' Meaning the two P.R.'s."

Which placed the .38 in George Keeler's possession as late as two weeks before the murder of his sons. (Ex. 20, p. 291)

I have italicized the appositive antecedent and its anaphora in the above as well as in all of the following examples, and given in parentheses the serial number of the example and its page reference.

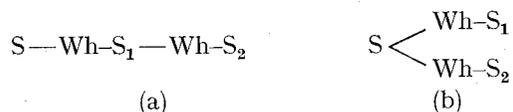
Again, what can we say about the following two passages where the second *which's* are undoubtedly neither appositive to their left side neighbor nor able to be included in the span of the sentences that obviously make their antecedents?

- (2) "What the hell's going on inside your head?" *He made it sound like treason.* *Which* is how Tim acts when he's satisfied with a solution and you don't agree with him with enthusiasm. *Which* could also mean he's just a little shaky and needs reassurance from everyone. (Ex. 6, 7, p. 105)

- (3) Tim stopped clowning abruptly and said in a deadly serious voice, "Well what do you think, Joe? The Keeler girl going to crack or what?"

"*I don't know, Tim.*" *Which* was exactly true; I don't know. *Which* wasn't exactly what Tim wanted to hear; which meant I wasn't being supportive, the way I'm supposed to be. (Ex. 11, 12, p. 182)

It was interesting to learn that in the punctuation test I have just mentioned D preferred commas before the two *which*'s in (2), and admitted neither a period nor a comma before the second *which* in (3) (I don't know which wasn't exactly what Tim wanted to hear), while he accepted a period before the first one in the same passage. Later, after listening to the tape recorded by another informant A, he put a period before the *which* in the parenthesized sentence above. Apart from the slight difference in syntactic interpretation shown in this example, here we can see a stylistic choice in which one is allowed to give a variety of punctuation to the same sentence or sentences, provided that the choice of this informant did not mean a strict negation of the grammaticality of Uhnak's version. What cannot be neglected is that his preference for the two commas in (2) showed an intuitive analysis where the second clause or sentence with an introductory *which* directly followed the italicized antecedent, bypassing the preceding one just like in (b) of the figures below.



Then, why did this informant unhesitatingly put a period before the first *which* in (3)? The question can be settled with the help of the following nine examples, in addition to (1), where *which*'s are uniformly placed at the beginning of a new paragraph.

- (4) Both patrolmen saluted and looked excited at having something to do. As we entered the building, Tim said to me, "*Twelve years old, for God's sake. They are taking them on the job at twelve years old.*"

Which is how you tell you're getting old on the job. A few years ago, the new cops looked fifteen. (Ex. 1, p. 28)

- (5) According to what's called "information received," the officers investigating the bombing learned that on the afternoon of the night that Ray Mogliano exploded, *someone called Kitty Keller and told her she was going to be sick that night and she better get right into bed and stay home and take care of herself.*

Which could mean, apparently, that Papa Veronne didn't blame Kitty for his son-in-law's behavior; in fact, that he thought enough of Kitty to do her a favor. (Ex. 8, p. 146)

- (6) Kitty's voice was excited. "I had forgotten all about it until now. But there were those women. And *they saw me, Joe, they saw me.*"

Which was terrific. We now had witness to the fact that Kitty had come to this apartment building in Jackson Heights. (Ex. 22, p. 300)

- (7) *There is just now, Joe. Just here and now. Just us. Just you and me. No yesterday, no tomorrow. Only now. Just now."*

Which is what, I suppose, is meant by the "now generattion": no promises, no commitments, no questions, no past and no future. Just now. (Ex. 29, p. 355)

- (8) Kitty, getting out of my car recalling exactly how it was that night, *the night her children were murdered.*

Which was a Wednesday night. (Ex. 30, p. 369)

- (9) Checked some more: I had met with Benjamin on a Thursday night. We waited together for Mrs. Deluca on a Thursday night. *And the garbage cans were set out for pickup on Friday morning.*

Which did not explain why—or if—there were in fact garbage cans set out along the edges of the sidewalk on the night the Keeler boys were murdered. (Ex. 32, p. 369)

- (10) It took a few minutes to assure young Mrs. Arons that despite what had happened to the Keeler children and despite the wave of fear that seemed to permeate the area, *Fresh Meadows was still one of the safest neighborhoods in the city.*

Which isn't exactly saying much. (Ex. 33, p. 374)

- (11) Nadler shook his head emphatically. "*No way. Maybe two-twenty, somewhere around there.*"

Which didn't make much sense; Benjamin picked Kitty up about twelve-thirty. But then, may be Nadler had seen Kitty returning home; which had been closer to 3 A.M. (Ex. 34, p. 380)

- (12) "Well, so I parked my car in the parking lot and I walked toward *my building.*"

Which is the building adjoining the Keelers'. (Ex. 35, p. 380)

On the depunctuated texts, the same informant D chose a comma before every *which* in (5), (8), (9), and (10), respectively, and thus refused to set up a new paragraph. It was, however, simply because he had been given only a limited span of discourse that was certainly insufficient to pass any judgement on the problem. In witness whereof, he rewrote every one of these commas into a period after I had asked him to distinguish the period intonations from the comma intonations on the tape recorded by A. That is, although the rewrite work did not suffice to validate the independence of a paragraph, it was enough to prove the phonetic identity of the nonrestrictive relative clause as a sentence in these contexts above, providing *which* with accompanying productivity to form a new paragraph at times as well.

A problem left to be examined here is whether or not the inclination to lead a paragraph with *which* belongs to a peculiar propensity of the particular writer. I found the following three examples in *Overload* (1979) by Arthur Hailey.

- (13) *Laura Bo, who had met Birdsong a few times previously at outside meetings,*

equated him with "Jolly Swagman" in Waltzing Matilda.

Which was ridiculous, of course, and she knew it. (Overload, p. 131)

- (14) *O' Brien concluded in less than half an hour. He was followed by Holyoak, the commision counsel, and Roderick Pritchett, neither of whom gave Nim a hard time and both were mercifully brief.*

Which left Birdsong. (Do., p. 223)

- (15) *Some nights, lying awake besides Georgos in the darkness of that dreary Crocker Street house, she had fatasized that she could go back, back to the farm in Kansas where she had been born and lived as a child. Compared with here and now, those days seems bright and carefree.*

Which was bullshit, of course. (Do., p. 377)

Here, Hailey also violates the warning of school grammarians like Hodges (Hodges et al 1977) and Perrin (Perrin 1972) in not avoiding a general idea or a broad reference for a relative pronoun. Rather, the heaviness or lengthiness of the sentence antecedent, as well as a kind of sarcasm in the character's expression, seem to trigger the use of *which* at the beginning of a new paragraph. It is obvious, therefore, that Uhnak does not monopolize this style.

Change-of-Speaker Principle

It was very interesting to see that D admitted a period with only two exceptions before *which* when the relative pronoun began to lead a narration anew after a dialog segmented by double quotation marks. These I had been unable to eliminate from the text in order to avoid useless confusion. If there was a principle that made him choose a period in this environment, it was something like his judgement that a change of speaker had occurred. Thus he located a distinction between dialog and narration in syntactic entity as well as in hypothetical person. That is, the change of speaker may give *which* a qualification to lead a brand-new sentence simply because a speaker cannot share a sentence with another except when they are singing a song together in chorus. Whether or not the change-of-speaker principle can be applied to a given juncture between a dialog and a narration, however, seems mostly left to the interpretation of the reader. Actually, a Shakespearian play can be recited by a sole reciter. This presentiment was eventually validated by the punctuation test given to other informants.

To clarify, I will give three more examples with dialog before or after *which* from *The Investigation*, in addition to (1), (3), (4), (6), (7), and (11) that have been already quoted above.

- (16) Tim took a good look at my face and said quickly, "*All right, all right, Joe, for Christ's sake, don't you go getting touchy, too.*" *Which*, coming from Tim Neary, can be considered an apology; which is as close as I've ever known him to get. (Ex. 16, p. 207)
- (17) "You better believe it's another bunch of baloney. If you were to go on

trial tomorrow, with *the kind of publicity you've had, not to mention the fact that you've given your attorney nothing to work with....*" Which reminded me of another important question. (Ex. 21, p. 300)

- (18) "It's just that I hadn't thought of Vincent's death in just *that way*. *Our....responsibility.*" Which of course wasn't really true; I had thought of it; I just didn't give much of a damn, one way or the other. (Ex. 28, p. 352)

All four informants, including those who have already been referred to, were highly educated as their backgrounds showed to the full, above MA in their educational background, and thus immune to careless mistakes ascribable to insufficient literacy. Their choices of punctuation in this environment varied as given in the following table, where D' shows the results of the rewrite work after D heard the tape. Since narration in the novel is given in the form of Joe's monolog, a minus in the change-of-speaker column indicates the attribution of a given dialog to Joe whereas a plus shows it is not.

Table 1. Differences in Punctuation Between Dialog and *Which*

Ex.	Quot.	Change of Speaker	Informant					Sum				
			A	B	C	D	D'	.	,	—		
1	(4)	+	,	,	—	.	.			2	2	1
11	(3)	—	.	,	.	.	?			3	1	0
16	(16)	+	,	,	,	.	.			2	3	0
20	(1)	+	.	.	,	.	?			3	1	0
21	(17)	—			5	0	0
22	(6)	+	.	.	,	.	.			4	1	0
28	(18)	+	.	.	—	,	.			3	1	1
29	(7)	+	.	.	—	.	.			4	0	1
34	(11)	+	,	,	,	.	.			2	3	0
35	(12)	+	,	,	,	,	?			0	4	0
Sum	.		6	5	2	8	7			28		
	,		4	5	5	2	0				16	
	—		0	0	3	0	0					3

Although variation in selection of punctuation is evident in this case, too, the occurrence of period is far greater than in other environments where an antecedent neighbors on *which* without an intervening quotation mark. In the case of the choices shown in the table, the occurrence of period is a little less than twice that of comma, irrespective of dash, which may be considered an orthographic variant of period. Even if we eliminate 7 in the column of D' in order to hold the scale even, the ratio still remains 1.3, whereas it shows 0.18 for the whole sample in which a dialog does not precede or follow *which*. That is, the choice of period seems multiplied almost ten times between a dialog and the relative pronoun, though the increase does not necessarily put an end to a continuum of the arbitrariness in the choice between period and comma.

Non-sentence Antecedent

Another topic I would like to address is that of possible antecedents of the anaphoric subject *which*. According to Quirk et al, what is "sometimes made into a separate orthographic sentence" is limited to a clause with the introductory relative pronoun that takes "previous clause or sentence" as its antecedent (Quirk et al 1972: 702). We have already seen, however, that some of the examples I have quoted actually contain a non-sentence antecedent. The extracted antecedents are as follows:

- (8) *the night her children were murdered*
- (12) *my building*
- (17) *the kind of publicity you've had, not to mention the fact that you've given your attorney nothing to work with*
- (18) *that way. Our . . . responsibility*

In addition, we can quote three more examples from *The Investigation*.

- (19) They had been rehearsed as to the precise number and length—in inches—of the steps to take when approaching the Director for presentation of the diploma; the exact distance to maintain between them; how far to extend the left hand for the diploma and the right hand for *the handshake*. *Which* had been, Tim confided, warm, moist, loose, and heavy. (Ex. 3, p. 61)
- (20) There were built-in bookcases along one wall, filled with *what looked like real-leather-bound sets of lawbooks*. *Which* looked no one had touched them since the day they had been installed. (Ex. 4, p. 63)
- (21) When I arrived in Forest Hills Gardens, all I told Tim Neary was that I had flown back from Miami last night. *That things were not so great between Jen and me*. *Which* was true; that part of it anyway. (Ex. 25, p. 336)

If we use the procedure of tree diagram analysis, where a noded triangle S covers a subordinate conjunction or any of other leading particles and a following sentence (Ex. that he is sick. Cf. Bach 1974), we may eliminate (8), (17), (20), and (21) from the examples with a N-antecedent nonrestrictive *which*. We must note here, however, that although the triangle has been laboriously devised to express a hierarchy among constituents in a sentence, we must not neglect the process through which a sentence is converted into a syntactic equivalent of, for instance, a noun or adjective. In other words, if the nonrestrictive *which* functions as a pronomializer of a foregoing message, then whether or not the message involved has already been nominalized in one way or another undoubtedly makes a significant difference for the mission assigned to the relative pronoun.

In order to make the observation easy, however, I first will take up the

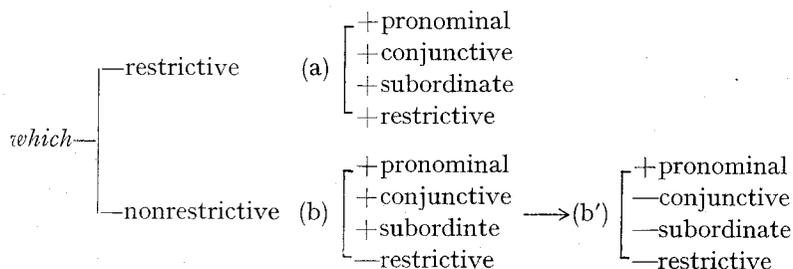
problem of a N-antecedent. Heretofore, the source of a sentence like "He is a thief, which is bad." has been analyzed as "He is a thief and his being a thief is bad.", where "his being a thief" was an S embedded in an NP. This was then turned into "He is a thief, *and that* is bad." for a relativization (Jacobsen 1978:345). If we try to see a deep structure for *my building* in (12) by this formula, what do we find there under the surface? "A building where I live" or "I live in the building." through Lee's way of depth interpretation (Lees 1963)? If this is admitted, we will find ourselves quite unable to avoid an excessive generalization where any semantically consistent word group composed of more than two words can be parsed into a sentence anytime we want. This kind of freedom in recategorization will do us great harm because of the possibility of throwing a whole grammatical system into a nebulous chaos. For example, although it is not impossible to rewrite *Our...responsibility* (18) or *the handshake* (19) into a sentence in an imaginary deep structure, the operation itself does not seem to help us in a significant way.

The S-embedded-in-a-NP theory seems applicable most adequately to the kind of nonrestrictive relativization which has recently been called "confirmative tag" (Darden 1973). It seems, however, rather hasty to broaden the definition of this kind of antecedent to the extent that Stockwell et al have tentatively done: "Appositive, but not restrictives, *may* modify an entire proposition" (Stockwell et al 1973:422). Even though this could be a definition for the antecedent in general for the nonrestrictive relative pronoun, it does not furnish a condition through which a relative clause becomes free from a given principal clause. That is, although the view of Quirk et al falls a little outside of reality, it has still sufficiently matured adequacy in a probabilistic sense at least.

A Tentative Feature Analysis

All of the confusion above is actually brought on by a simple bias that *which* turns into a nonrestrictive pronoun only if its antecedent is a sentence in coordinate relation with another sentence to which it belongs as an obligatory constituent. That is, an unconscious endeavor to doggedly seek a trigger for the particular relativization outside of the word *which* has disturbed a possible insight into a functional difference.

For example, we may include all functions of *which* in the following frameworks, where a difference in the making of antecedent is not called to account.



The difference between restrictive and nonrestrictive is regarded here only in function, just like that between *that* as a subordinate conjunction and *that* as a relative pronoun. What might have seemed tautological is the syntactic feature "restrictive", meaning that the resultant modification has a retroactive thrust with which a relative clause firmly restricts its antecedent, whereas "-restrictive" (appositive) brings no restriction whatever to any constituent in a given preceding clause. Although one may say that an antecedent inversely restricts the semantic content of *which* in the nonrestrictive use, it does not seem reasonable to emphasize this kind of commonplace because this is only an usual effect of pronominalization, where a foregoing element projects its meaning onto a following pronoun in accordance with the left-to-right flow of the English language, which is also recognized in a limited span between an antecedent and *which* even in the case of nonrestrictive relativization.

When the feature has its restrictive power taken away, it prepares the relative pronoun for a possible docking with a lengthy sentence antecedent, putting a given subordinate clause substantially on a slant to coordination, though a coming sentence will still assume the form of complex sentence with a usual subordination in it by the feature "+subordinate". Here, although the interaction between an antecedent and the feature supports the traditional view, it nevertheless does not prohibit *which* from taking a word or phrase as an antecedent in a substantial coordination to the relative clause. The prevalence of sentence antecedent seems to occur simply because it easily attains a well balanced coordination to another sentence.

What must be noted here is that once the feature "restrictive" has become minus, it has a kind of falling-dominoes effect in other features as we have already seen in the emasculation of "subordinate" at the very beginning of this drift. When the rush for minus has temporarily ceased, leaving the only remnant feature "pronominal" for *which* as shown in (b'), the anaphoric subject gains its ground perhaps as an immaturity that can be left to another metamorphosis into *that*.

The underlying mechanism of this peculiar falling-dominoes or landslide effect may be found in the hierarchy of those features given in the framework: "restrictive" may belong to "subordinate" which is undoubtedly at the command of "conjunctive". That is, the former two "restrictive" and "subordinate" do not stand on an equality with "conjunctive" that is a real match for "pronominal" in its syntactic value. It may be, therefore, that I will be suspected of framing up a false logic where inequalities are unfairly treated as equals. We can easily see in phonological theory, however, that the distinctive feature "nasal" occurs if only a given sound is "consonantal". In fact, it is more important to see these features in their own hierarchy than to pretend that nothing is amiss on their respective equalities in the paradigm. In this case, too, the hierarchical system rather helps us to recognize a gradience of this phenomenon that develops from the most specific feature "restrictive" to an upper or more generalized one.

Stylistic Choice

Although we have just regarded the anaphoric subject as an immaturity because there was still a little scope left for further rewriting in syntactic treatment, it did not mean a negation of the grammatical identity of *which* as a simple pronoun deprived of connective function. Even if it only blinks or twinkles in the narrow gap between a relative pronoun and its descendant *that*, it cannot be denied fundamental grammatical status. Now that the inner factors for the functional change of *which* have been examined, we have to look for the trigger that really gives it a thrust for separation, as well as the reason why the pronoun remains unchanged after the divorce. Let us have a glimpse at the following examples, where the status of *which* seems more dependent on a writer's or speaker's choice than those I have quoted so far.

- (22) The informant is generally the scum of the earth, and *when his usefulness is over, any cop would throw him to wolves without a blink. Which* is not exactly the cute relationship of the television-series Homicide Squad hero who sleuths out of solutions week after week, using ten bucks' worth of information and a head full of clever ideas. (Ex. 2, p. 59)
- (23) "*She could have been calling around, trying to get someone since she didn't connect with George.*" I lit a cigarette and then added, "*Which* could narrow down the time of first killing to somewhere before eleven-twenty, if that's why she called George. (Ex. 5, p. 78)
- (24) Before I had time to search for some Gelusil or Tums, *Tim opened the door to his office and signaled to me. Which* surprised me. (Ex. 9, p. 164)
- (25) I just sent Geraldini out to pick up Donlevy; Kelleher caught up with him at his golf club in Westchester. Soon as he finishes his game, *he's going to come in and sign the necessary papers. Which* is where you come in, Joe. (Ex. 10, p. 167)
- (26) *I like to deliver more than I promised instead of the other way around. Which* is just one of my many trade secrets. (Ex. 13, p. 184)
- (27) *Williams and his chief New York assistant, a sixfoot-five former N.Y.U. basketball star named Jeff Weinstein, got to the Madison Avenue hotel before Kitty Keeler and her escorts. Which* almost seemed like good timing, by the time Keeler arrived, Williams had established himself in the large sitting room and acted as host. (Ex. 14, p. 197)
- (28) Gorgeous Jerry Kelleher, of course, had appoplexy at being addressed by name by this mushmouthed phony bullshit artist, and *he had Tim Neary up and at attention by 9 A.M. the day Jaytee's campaign hit the newspapers. Which* put Tim Neary into one of his front-line, down-to-earth, we're-all-in-this-together moods. (Ex. 15, p. 205)
- (29) He'll be able to save our Marvin, but *he'll also order him to take a long,*

long rest. Maybe in Florida. Which means he'll have to withdraw from the primary. (Ex. 17, p. 242)

- (30) *Jerry Kelleher was under the impression that the second reel to hit the water was the tape from Ken Sweeny's recorder. Which is just what Ken Sweeny wanted him to think.* (Ex. 18, p. 249)
- (31) *By being late with this information, Sam Catalano would lose the backing of his only supporter, the D.A. And, best of all, Sam would never know why. Which goes to prove, if you're going to be a spy, you damned well better be a good one.* (Ex. 19, p. 252)
- (32) *Until I run some ballistic tests, I have no way of knowing whether or not this is the gun I'm looking for. Which is why, at this point, I want to keep the whole thing just between you and me.* (Ex. 23, p. 327)
- (33) *Harry Sullivan was the kind of guy who people said didn't look like a cop. Which had been one of his greatest assets when he had done undercover work.* (Ex. 24, p. 335)
- (34) *Jerry opened the meeting by informing Captain Chris Wise of Homicide that he was to feel free to call upon the services of the office of the Queens District Attorney and his staff at any time, in any capacity, to assist in his handling of this homicide. Which was a very nice way of telling Wise it was all his.* (Ex. 26, p. 340)
- (35) *Pickup for that neighborhood, according to the alternate-side-of-the-street-parking signs, was scheduled for Tuesday and Friday mornings. Which would mean, normally, that the janitors of the various buildings would set out the cans on Monday and Thursday nights.* (Ex. 31, p. 369)

A glimpse at these examples gives us the impression that they unexceptionally have a lengthy sentence antecedent ranging from twelve to thirty-eight in the number of words, with a period or comma included as a quantitative equivalent for a word. This is fairly in accord with the traditional view, though it does not necessarily provide a sufficient supply for a triggering effect for a following relative clause to split as shown in the following table of the results obtained from a punctuation test for this sample like the ones described above.

The informants unexceptionally showed a reluctance in adopting a period before *which*, though they had to put it there sometimes as an antecedent grew in length. The only possible cause for this reluctance must be the educational background or literacy of the informants, which unconditionally stands above that of Joe, the fictitious narrator of *The Investigation*. Conversely, the informants do not need the vulgarity Uhnak tried to impose on her hero in order to pass him off as a cop. Here we see a stylistic choice of speech level or class dialect that would have a due effect on a given reader.

Table 2. Length of Antecedent and Punctuation before *Which*

Ex.	Quot.	Length of Antecedent (words)	Informant				Sum . ,
			A	B	C	D	
2	(22)	17	.	,	,	,	1 3
5	(23)	18	,	,	,	,	0 4
9	(24)	12	,	,	,	,	0 4
10	(25)	12	,	.	,	,	1 3
13	(26)	15	,	,	,	,	0 4
14	(27)	32	,	,	,	,	0 4
15	(28)	19	.	.	,	,	2 2
17	(29)	18	,	,	,	,	0 4
18	(30)	22	,	,	,	,	0 4
19	(31)	32	.	.	,	,	2 2
23	(32)	25	,	,	,	,	0 4
24	(33)	17	,	,	,	,	0 4
26	(34)	38	.	.	,	.	3 1
31	(35)	12	,	.	,	,	1 3
Sum			4	5	0	1	10
			10	9	14	13	46

Remainders

Finally, I would like to deal with a few remaining issues. For one thing, we have to notice that the status of *which* as an anaphoric subject is, though prevailing, a mere coincidence in the sense that a word that occupies initial position of a sentence happens to be a subject in the English language. That is, since the relative pronoun represents either nominative or accusative in terms of case, its objective variant is also allowed to take up the same position whenever it is inverted in word order for the purpose of laying emphasis on it, as we can see frequently in confirmative tags (Darden 1973). We have two examples of the anaphoric object in *The Investigation*.

(36) *It was the job of the District Attorney's office to obtain an indictment in the Keeler case. Which he did.* (Ex. 27, pp. 340-1)

(37) *"You played good guys pretty good. You were easy, Joe. You were a pushover. You went for everything, Joe. Everything I told you; every little trick, every little story. Exactly, exactly the way Papa said you would."*

Which by now I realized all by myself. (Ex. 36, p. 406)

In these cases, the stylistic mechanism in the choice of *which* is exactly the same as in the case of anaphoric subject: the emphasis of pronominality. Then, how can the pronominality be emphasized by this choice?

To return to the main point, the length of antecedent was, though only in a probabilistic way, an issue that makes an environment for the occurrence of introductory *which* in a detached ex-subordinate clause. Another question about the same environment must be asked on an indirect correlative that is nor-

mally qualified as the legitimate successor to *which*, i.e. *that*. That is, one may suppose that if there is a deficiency in an expected function of *that* in the eyes of a slang aficionado, it would trigger the preservation of *which*, too.

For example, the semantic emptiness of the subordinate conjunction *that* may be associated even with its pronominal use so much that, whenever a speaker wants to emphasize pronominality, he would be unconsciously tempted to prefer *which*, provided that it has already been given or suggested to appear as a non-restrictive relative pronoun in a given context. If the supposition above can be justified with a dash of linguistic ground, it must be that *which* never loses a positive value on the feature "pronominal", whereas *that* does so quite easily in exchange for the status of a subordinate conjunction. In this respect at least, *which* is undoubtedly stabler than *that* in pronominality.

It is needless to say that pronominality means that the word is qualified enough to convey the semantic substance of a preceding word or sentence, which is usually effectuated by a demonstrative pronoun as shown by the substitution of *that* for *which*. If *which* has sneakily taken over the referring function from *that* in this way, it will be necessary to see whether the pronominality also pervades the determinative variant of *which* to make it a semantic equivalent of *that* as a demonstrative adjective especially at the beginning of a sentence just like the anaphoric subject. We know that the relative pronoun is frequently used in the determinative position with its usual linking function.

- (38) The silence lasted precisely *five seconds*, during *which* time eyes roamed other eyes, several throats were cleared, and no one moved in his chair.
(The Bourne Identity, p. 238)

Accordingly, we can also see a derived variant of this kind of *which* that makes the core of an introductory adverbial phrase of a divorced clause as in the following example from Hailey.

- (39) Were there degree of lying? Nim didn't believe so. As we saw it, *a lie was a lie*. Priod. In *which* case, wasn't GSP & L— in the person of Eric Humphrey, who authorized a public falsehood, and Nim, who endorsed it by his silence—equally culpable as Paul Sherman Yale?
(Overload, p. 416)

It seems unavoidable, therefore, to add one more feature "determinative" to the distinctive feature framework for *which*, which can be turned into positive whenever the word is used as a demonstrative adjective in the same way as *that* should. Here, however, we had better not extend the battle line but restrict the discussion to show that the everlasting pronominality of *which* contributes toward a colloquial emphasis of nominal reference no matter what function the word carries out grammatically, though we will have to deal sooner or later with some problems of hierarchy among the distinctive features where one or two features that are exact matches for one or two different parts of speech respectively coexist with a

set of other features that are ready to deteriorate partially or altogether as we have seen so far in a few types of non-relative *which*.

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