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John Haiman
Sandra A. Thompson

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edited by John Haiman
and Sandra A. Thompson

John Benjamins Publishing Company
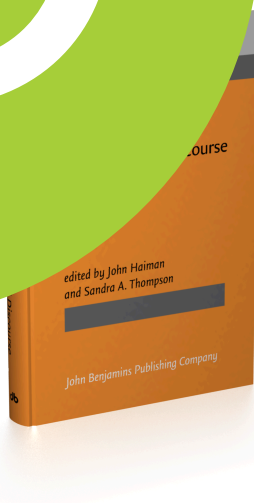
Introduction

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Traditional and modern grammarians alike have restricted what they call "syntax" to the study of what goes on within the boundaries of the prosodic sentence. This limitation is justified by the widespread belief that at the paragraph level and beyond, anything goes, the *ars obligatoria* of grammar yielding to the anarchy of personal style. The vast majority of syntacticians today continue to adhere to this view (as indeed do some of the contributors to the present volume).

On the other hand, the nature of clause combining *within* a prosodic sentence has always been a central concern of traditional syntax. One has only to glance through the monumental compendious grammars of languages like Latin, Greek, German, French, and English to be struck by the subtle, painstaking, and exhaustive treatment scholars like Schwyzer, Behaghel, and Jespersen have lavished on the definition, description, and exemplification of various kinds of coordination, parataxis, subordination, hypotaxis, and embedding. The importance of at least the coordination/subordination distinction is taken for granted in generative grammar, where it underlies important research on deletion and anaphora.

There has always been something a little dubious, however, about a research strategy which submits clause combinations to the most searching analysis when there is no pause or intonation break between them, and officially ignores virtually synonymous combinations which are separated by such a pause or break. Unquestionably, the pause is a universal icon of disassociation (for some examples of its function, see Mithun's article here). But the implicit claim that utterances separated by such a pause are mutually independent is an untenable one. It is, for example, a cliché that the distribution of a great many words — among them *now, well, why*, and a host of others — cannot be stated without reference to the content of sentences

other than the one in which they appear. Three of the papers in this volume, those by Genetti, Marchese, and Myhill and Hibiya, are attempts to define the distribution and the meanings of such morphemes. Genetti argues that in Newari the choice of nominative or ergative case marking on the first subject of a chain of both transitive and intransitive clauses with the same subject is determined by the clause in the chain which contains the most topical referent. Marchese shows that the *yi* "sequential auxiliary" in Godie occurs in clauses whose participants are highly topical (so that the focus is on the events described rather than on the participants), but also that a sequence of "*yi* clauses" signals the ending of a discourse unit and heralds either an imminent climax, a change of narrative pace, or an entirely new discourse unit to follow. Myhill and Hibiya's article deals with two unrelated clause-chaining languages, Soddo (a Semitic language of southern Ethiopia) and Japanese, and the distribution of non-final verb forms in multiclause constructions in these languages. Among their findings they report that there is some covariation between the non-final clause (in *-m* in Soddo, in *-te* in Japanese) and the degree of foregrounding of the following clause.

The very existence of clause chaining in a large number of (mostly verb-final) languages exposes the arbitrariness of the traditional limit on syntactic investigations of clause combining, for in these languages we encounter prosodic units whose syntax is as subject to grammatical constraints as the complex sentence in English, but whose semantic content is comparable to entire paragraphs. It may be claimed that languages like Soddo, Japanese, Newari, and Godie belong to the class of languages where the sentence/paragraph distinction is a pointless one, but that English, Latin, and German belong to the (much larger?) class of languages where the distinction is absolutely crucial.

But there is evidence, considered in many of the papers here, that such a typological distinction is an artificial one: or, if it is valid, it not only separates English from Soddo, but spoken English from written English, and Vulgar Latin from French. Either obliquely or directly, a substantial fraction of the papers in this volume deal with grammaticization and suggest that grammatical coordination and subordination arise as universal discourse structures become conventionalized, primarily in written registers.

Chafe's paper reminds us of the vast abyss between spoken and written language and shows that in the former, clauses are connected by pauses far more often than by explicit connectives. Moreover, the explicit connectives include such unlikely "conjunctions" as *I mean*, *like*, *well*, *anyway*, and *of*

course. Mithun shows that the coordinating conjunction, both between phrases and between clauses, is absent in many languages, and, where it exists, is often derived from a hesitation marker, a perfective aspect marker, or a word meaning originally 'with' or 'also'. Noting the frequency with which coordination is expressed simply by asyndeton, she speculates that an explicit word like *and* may become necessary only when a language becomes written or comes into contact with languages that are written.

In a careful study of concessive relations in Romance languages, Harris shows that almost all the evidence indicates that Vulgar Latin, unlike Classical Latin, had no grammaticalized concessive construction. Rather, the modern Romance languages (like Classical Latin) grammaticalized various adverbs. Very much in the same spirit as Chafe and Mithun, he speculates that "the archetypal embedded structures are perhaps the reflex of a society in which literary registers develop and assume importance". A similar point is made in passing in König and van der Auwera's study of the integration of concessive clauses in German and Dutch. Since these are languages with the familiar Germanic Verb-second constraint, one would expect that complex sentences with an initial subordinate clause would force subject-verb inversion in the following matrix clause. Under certain circumstances initial concessive clauses (unlike initial conditionals) do not force this inversion, that is, they are not integrated into the matrix clause and do not "count" as constituents of the matrix sentence. While it is the description of these circumstances which they are mainly concerned with, König and van der Auwera also indicate that there was less integration of subordinate clauses in earlier stages of German and Dutch than there is presently, and that integration or incorporation, like many of the other indices of subordination discussed by Lehmann in his contribution to this volume, is a function of evolution like synthesis or conventionalization in general.

Matthiessen and Thompson's paper makes the parallel claim that "clause combining is a grammaticalization of the rhetorical organization of discourse" but they support this claim not by reference to spoken language or earlier stages of the same language, but by appeal to the parallelism between clause relations within prosodic sentences and sentence relationships within larger texts.

A very different motivation for clause combining and incorporation is suggested in the papers by Lambrecht and Nichols. Lambrecht's fine-grained study of colloquial French focusses on apparent complex sentences of the form *ya NP qui VP*, which, he argues, are in effect *expansions* of syntac-

tically well-formed but pragmatically unacceptable monoclausal *NP VP which are prohibited by a constraint which forbids lexical subjects (new information) in initial position. Another constraint which forbids the inversion of subjects in all but a small and highly marked class of clauses rules out the structure *VP NP which is used by languages like Italian. Not only does this result in biclausal structures, but the syntactically "main" clause is almost entirely empty semantically, while the 'subordinate" clause contains far more information. Nichols' article deals with expository scientific prose in modern Russian, which is characterized by nominalizations (heavy subordination, in terms of the indices discussed by Lehmann) of clauses which convey new, frequently focussed information. Such nominalizations correspond to full clauses in any acceptable idiomatic English translation. While this gives scientific Russian prose a gnomic flavour, it is motivated, in the final analysis, by a low-level morphological fact about Russian: the absence of an obligatory article on nouns and nominalizations. Nichols argues that it is this absence which allows nominalizations in Russian, unlike nominalizations in English, to be interpreted as possibly indefinite, and hence, as a vehicle for new information.

The papers by Haiman and MacDonald deal with clause-chaining languages of New Guinea, but focus on a possibly widespread but as yet unreported construction encountered in these languages: the inconsequential clause. In both Tauya and Hua, the inconsequential clause may function as an independent utterance: however, when combined with a following clause, it exhibits many of the properties (not to mention the morphology) of a canonical subordinate clause. This behaviour is paradoxical only in the context of a theory which assumes that a coherent definition of "subordination" exists which equates subordination with dependency.

No such equation is justified, of course, as many of the contributions in this volume make clear. What does emerge from these papers is that the motivations for clause creation and combination are semantically and pragmatically heterogeneous, that correlations between formal indices of subordination (as presented by Lehmann in particular) and pragmatic function are inconsistent, and that *by and large* (but note Lambrecht's paper on colloquial French) complex embedding constructions are a characteristic of literary registers. In other words, clause combining is an area of grammar where grammaticization is not as pervasive as it is elsewhere.

This is not to say, however, that it is of relatively little interest to the grammarian. Rather, clause combining structures, like pidgin languages,

provide a field of inquiry where functional motivation for grammatical structures are particularly transparent and thus provide new perspectives on universal grammar.