

Swedish *så* and the narrative domain

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Abstract

The Swedish particle *så* is attested in different usages. In one of these, *så* introduces assertive clauses forming the foreground, or the skeleton, of a narrative. It is argued that, if the distribution of this particular particle is to be captured in a theory of syntax, such a theory needs to incorporate notions relating to narrative discourse or, in other words, a theory in which grammatical statements can be made about a unit larger than what is traditionally understood as a clause. A locality domain is defined on the assumption that the clauses of a narrative sequence share features of Force, Topic, and Finiteness.

1 Introduction

A long-standing tradition assumes a principled distinction between the sentence and the discourse. Such an intuition has been spelled out in a variety of ways, as for instance in the manner of (1)-(3):

- (1) [the sentence is] an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form (Bloomfield, 1933: 170)
- (2) 'sentence' is the name given to the largest unit about which grammatical statements are to be made. (Halliday 1956: 182)
- (3) the sentence is the largest unit of grammatical description (Lyons 1968: 172)

Nevertheless, phenomena at the interface of syntax and discourse have attracted increasing interest in generative grammar in the last decades. This article is dedicated to one set of data which presumably can shed some light on such an interface, namely the Swedish narrative particle *så* which evidently is incorporated in the sentence structure while, at the same time, it relates to narrative discourse. It is argued that an adequate grammatical account of *så* needs to consider a locality domain larger than the sentence.

This article is structured as follows: In section 2, four different usages of *så* are defined. In section 3, it is shown that one of these, labelled SÅ4, occurs in narrative discourse, as once identified in seminal work on narrative, and in particular Reinhart (1984). In section 4, it is argued that the central properties of the narrative, and hence the distribution of SÅ4, can be accounted for in a cartographic approach to the left periphery, as proposed in Rizzi (1997) and much subsequent work. The discussion leads us to define a local domain overarching the

boundary between the clause and the discourse, that is larger than the sentence, which is defined the “narrative domain”. In section 5, it is argued that SÅ4 is to be analyzed as a syntactic head. The sections 6 and 7 are concerned with some consequences of the analysis for verb second patterns and coordination, respectively. In section 8, the discussion is extended to the remaining occurrences of SÅ. It is shown that their distribution, as well, can be captured on the assumption that such elements are realized at different heights of sentence structure in the left periphery. Finally, in section 9, it is argued that the narrative domain, as here defined, provides a locality domain for two different classes of discourse adverbials, referred to as *switch adverbials* and *linkage adverbials* by Klein & von Stutterheim (1991).

2 The four usages of Swedish SÅ

Modern Swedish *så*, deriving from Old Nordic *svá*, is attested with its original lexical meaning (4), equivalent to that of English *so*, *thus*, or *in such a way*. Moreover, it represents what has been defined a “weak consequential” interpretation in a case such as (5).¹ In (6), where *så* introduces the main clause after a preposed adverbial element, as for instance a subordinate clause, it has been defined a V3 particle (Holmberg 2018). Lastly, it introduces the main clause in a narrative sequence (7):

(4) Lexical SÅ (SÅ1)

Så har vi alltid gjort och så måste vi alltid göra.
 SÅ have we always done and SÅ must we always do
 ‘thus we have always done and thus will we always do’

(5) ”Weak consequential” SÅ + Subject + Verb (SÅ2)

Hon mådde dåligt så hon gick och la sig.
 She felt bad SÅ she went and lay self
 ‘She felt ill, so she went to bed’

(6) Preposed element + SÅ + Verb + Subject (SÅ3)

Om de vill det så gör vi det.
 if they want it SÅ do we it
 ‘if they want it, we’ll do it’

¹ The term *weak consequential* is suggested in Salvi’s (2002) work on Old Romance. In Teleman *et al.* (1999, vol. II: 730) the usage of *så* illustrated in (5) is labelled a “conclusive conjunction”. However, it appears from the treatment of Teleman *et al.* (1999) that such an element is in fact ambiguous between a coordinating and a subordinating function (as is obvious from the term “conclusive subjunction” (Teleman *et al.* 1999: 737). In the same work, the third usage of *så* in (6) is defined “adjunct *så*” (Teleman *et al.* 1999: 670), and the fourth one, exemplified in (7), is taken to be akin to “ordinative adverbs” (Teleman *et al.* 1999: 669).

(7) Narrative SÅ + Verb + Subject (SÅ4)

Vi kom fram och *så* tog vi in på hotell och *så* gick vi ut ...
 We came forth and SÅ took we in at hotel and SÅ went we out ...
 ‘we arrived and (then) we went to a hotel and (then) we went out ...’

Some semantic and grammatical differences between these four instances of *så* are obvious from the examples in (4)-(7). In particular, consider that, in (4) and (5), Swedish *så* can be translated with English *so* or *thus*, while in (6) no direct equivalent is available in English.² In example (7), *så* is not structurally equivalent to English *then*, but can be approximately glossed as *then* for present purposes. I return to this issue in section 9.

Such a distinction suggests that (5) is closer to the original lexical usage of (4), while (6) and (7) are the result of a grammaticalization process. The issue of diachronic change, however, is not at the heart of this study. Henceforth, the four usages illustrated in (4)-(7) are referred to as SÅ1 - SÅ4 in the text as well as in the glosses.

Several studies have been dedicated to such elements in Scandinavian, as for instance Ekerot (1988), Teleman *et al.* (1999, vol. II: 667-670, 730, 737-738), Nordström (2010), Eide (2011), Salvesen (2013, 2020), Holmberg (2018). While most of these studies have been dedicated to SÅ3, that is the “V3 particle”, the purpose of this paper is to shed light on the distribution of SÅ4, which I define as “narrative” for reasons which will become obvious as we proceed.³

3 The distribution of SÅ4

The fourth usage of SÅ is attested in narrative contexts such as that of (8):

² Note that a sentence such as English *if they want to, then we'll do it*, is not strictly equivalent to Swedish (6). One difference lies in the fact that Swedish *så* is obligatorily unstressed in such a context (Eide 2011), while *then* can be focused (see section 5). Following the analysis of Salvesen (2020), English *then* is a specific resumptive while Swedish *så* in (6) rather is to be understood as a general resumptive.

³ There is an extensive literature on the Old Romance continuations of Latin *sic*, including van Reenen & Schøsler (1992), Salvi (2002, 2010), Borchì (2004), Poletto (2005), Ledgeway (2008), De Caprio (2010), Benincà (1995, 2010), and Wolfe (2018). The studies on Old Romance, too, have focused on the distribution of the equivalent of SÅ3 and its implications for the analysis of Old Romance V2. The comparison between Old Romance and Modern Scandinavian is discussed in Egerland & Falk (2010), Egerland (2012, 2021), Salvesen (2013, 2020). In Egerland (2021), a three-way distinction of *sic* is assumed, in the sense that what is here called SÅ1 and SÅ2 are taken to be instantiations of the same usage. The classification is a matter of definition.

(8) [He woke up early ...]

och så gick han ut med hunden

and Så went he out with dog.the

och så läste han dagstidningen

and Så read he newspaper.the

och så vattnade han blommorna

and Så watered he flowers.the

och så gjorde han kaffe

and Så made he coffee

'he woke up, and (then) he walked the dog, and (then) he read the newspaper, and (then) he watered the flowers, and (then) he made coffee.'

What makes the sequence of clauses in (8) a *narrative* sequence is the fact that each new clause describes an event following in time on the immediately preceding one. The example (8) illustrates what has been called the *narrative skeleton*, the *foreground*, or the *main event line* in numerous studies on narrative discourse (e.g. Labov & Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972, 1997; Hopper 1979; Hopper and Thompson 1980; Reinhart 1984; Tomlin 1985). One way of defining the sequence is that of Dahl (1985):

(9) ... a sentence occurs in a narrative context if the temporal point of reference (in Reichenbach's sense) is determined by the point in time at which the last event related in the preceding discourse took place. (Dahl 1985: 112)

The properties of the narrative sequence strictly relevant to the present discussion are listed under 3.1-3.4. A summary follows in 3.5.

3.1 A chain of reference points

The definition of (9) amounts to saying that, for each event in the sequence, a reference point is established in relation to which the subsequent event is interpreted. Crucially, then, the clauses in such a narrative sequence are not interchangeable: it is understood that the events took place in the order they are referred to, and switching the respective order of the clause will affect the truth conditions of the narrative: it is possible to object to (8) by saying *no, he didn't walk the dog until after he made coffee*.

Moreover, consider that SÅ₄ is spelled out from the second clause onwards in the narrative sequence. If, in fact, an utterance is introduced by SÅ₄, we get the impression that the narration starts, so to speak, in *medias res*:

(10) Så vaknade han.

så woke he

'and then he woke up'

In other words, (10) is naturally interpreted as the continuation of a narrative sequence in which a temporal point of reference has already been established. In this sense, an occurrence of SÅ4 is anaphoric in relation to the previous Event.

3.2 Assertion

The literature on this topic concurs on the fact that clauses included in a narrative context are assertive: interrogative clauses or imperatives do not make part of the narrative sequence.

3.3 Anchoring to the Speech Time

The clauses of the narrative sequence share the same anchoring to the Speech Time. This observation is formulated by Reinhart (1984):

- (11) A crucial property of narrative sequences ... is that they are not evaluated directly with respect to the speech time. While the first narrative clause of an oral narrative might be related to the speech time, subsequent events are related to the previous reference point. (Reinhart 1984: 786)

What moves the narration ahead temporally, then, is a sequence of reference times: if each clause is anchored independently in its own speech time, the narrative sequence reading would not be achieved.

3.4 Restriction on topicalization

The clauses included in the narrative sequence cannot host elements which are overtly topicalized, dislocated or otherwise preposed to the main verb. To illustrate this restriction, consider a sequence of SÅ3-clauses introduced by a preposed element, yielding the surface order XP + SÅ + Verb + Subject, as in example (12):

- (12) [He woke up early ...]
 Som alltid *så* gick han ut med hunden.
 as always SÅ went he out with dog.the
 Säkerligen *så* läste han dagstidningen.
 certainly SÅ read he newspaper.the
 Förvånansvärt nog *så* vattnade han blommorna
 surprisingly enough SÅ watered he flowers.the
 Sin vana trogen *så* gjorde han kaffe.
 his habit faithful SÅ made he coffee
 ‘As always, he went out with the dog. Certainly, he read the newspaper. Surprisingly, he watered the flowers. Faithful to his habit, he made coffee.’

In an example such as (12), the narrative sequence does not emerge as clearly as in (8), suggesting that the anteposition of overt elements somehow “disturbs” sequencing. The list of

events described by the main clauses in (12) tend to be chronologically unordered in the sense that the events did not have to have occurred in the sequence indicated by the surface ordering of the clauses. Of course, it could be the case that the subject watered the flowers after reading the newspaper and before making coffee, but (12) does not imply any such ordering. Rather, (12) is interpreted as a list of events having taken place in the past, without implications concerning their relative ordering. In other words, rearranging the order between the clauses in (12) will not affect truth conditions. This observation is captured by the generalization in (13):

(13) **Generalization on word order and narrative sequence**

If, in a sequence of assertive clauses introduced by SÅ, an element is overtly preposed to the SÅ + verb complex, the narrative sequence reading does not obtain.

The generalization in (13) captures the difference between the V3-particle, SÅ3, and the narrative particle, SÅ4. Following Reinhart's (1984) insight, I assume that in the SÅ3-structure in (12) each event is linked to its own speech time, unlike what we have seen for the narrative sequence in (8).

Things of course change if the introducing adverbial expression is itself of a kind that imposes a sequence reading, as in (14), where the preposed element *sedan* means 'subsequently', or 'then' as indicated in the English gloss. Henceforth, the colloquial short form *sen* will be used in the examples. As is obvious from example (14), *sen* can cooccur with *så*. We return to this fact in section 5.

(14) [He woke up early ...]

sen	så	gick han ut med hunden
then	SÅ	went he out with dog.the
sen	så	läste han dagstidningen
then	SÅ	read he newspaper.the
sen	så	vattnade han blommorna
then	SÅ	watered he flowers.the
sen	så	gjorde han kaffe.
then	SÅ	made he coffee

Clearly, in a narrative such as (14), the clauses are indeed chronologically ordered. In this sense, (14) has the temporal properties of a SÅ4-structure. Therefore, example (14) is an apparent exception to the generalization stated in (13). However, I will assume that the narrative sequence instantiating SÅ4, as in (8), actually equals the structure in (14). In other words, the clauses of the narrative sequence are introduced by adverbs such as *sen* 'then', 'later', which can be spelled out, as in (14), or remain covert, as in (8).

3.5 Summary

We are now in a position to summarize the properties of the narrative sequence as in (15):

- (15) A narrative sequence is a sequence of clauses such that
- i. each clause introduces an event providing a reference point for the subsequent event, creating a chain of reference points,
 - ii. all of the clauses in the sequence have assertive Force,
 - iii. the anchoring to speech time is common for all of the clauses in the sequence, and
 - iv. no element can be overtly topicalized, left dislocated or otherwise preposed to the finite verb within the sequence.

This definition of a narrative sequence is not exhaustive but will suffice for present purposes.⁴

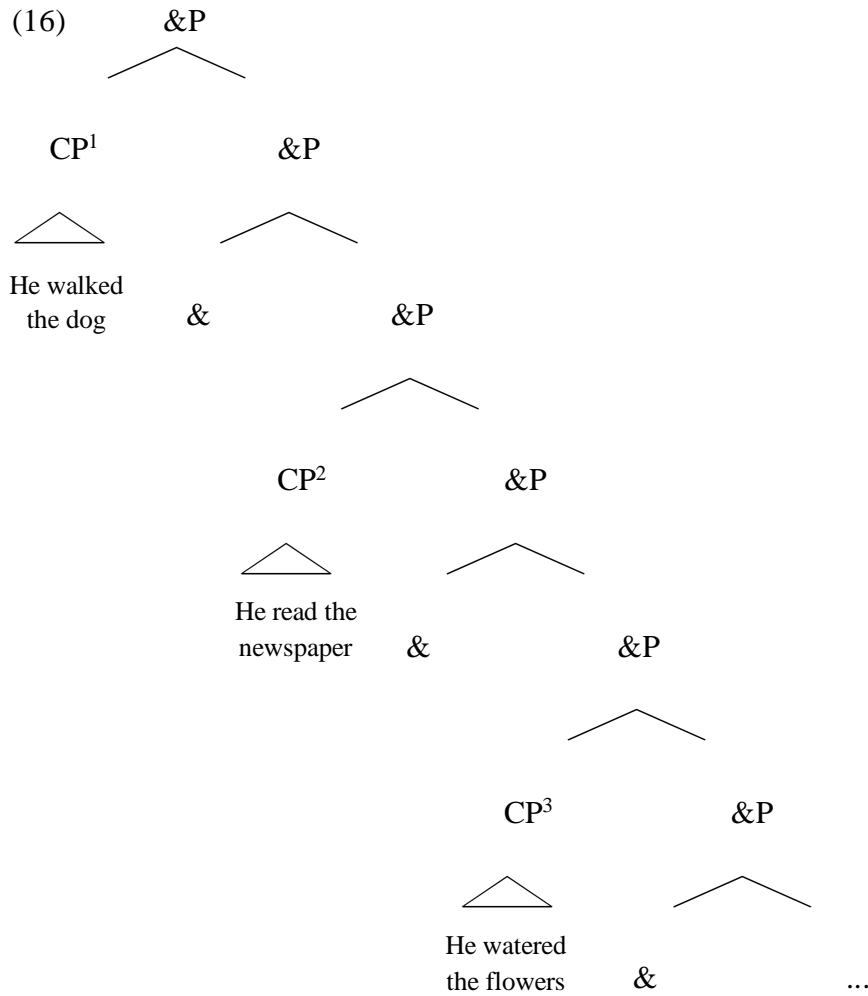
Intuitively speaking, the observations summarized in (15) suggest that the narrative sequence amounts to a series of clauses that share the same left periphery in the sense of Rizzi (1997). In the following section this intuition is spelled out in detail.

4 The narrative domain

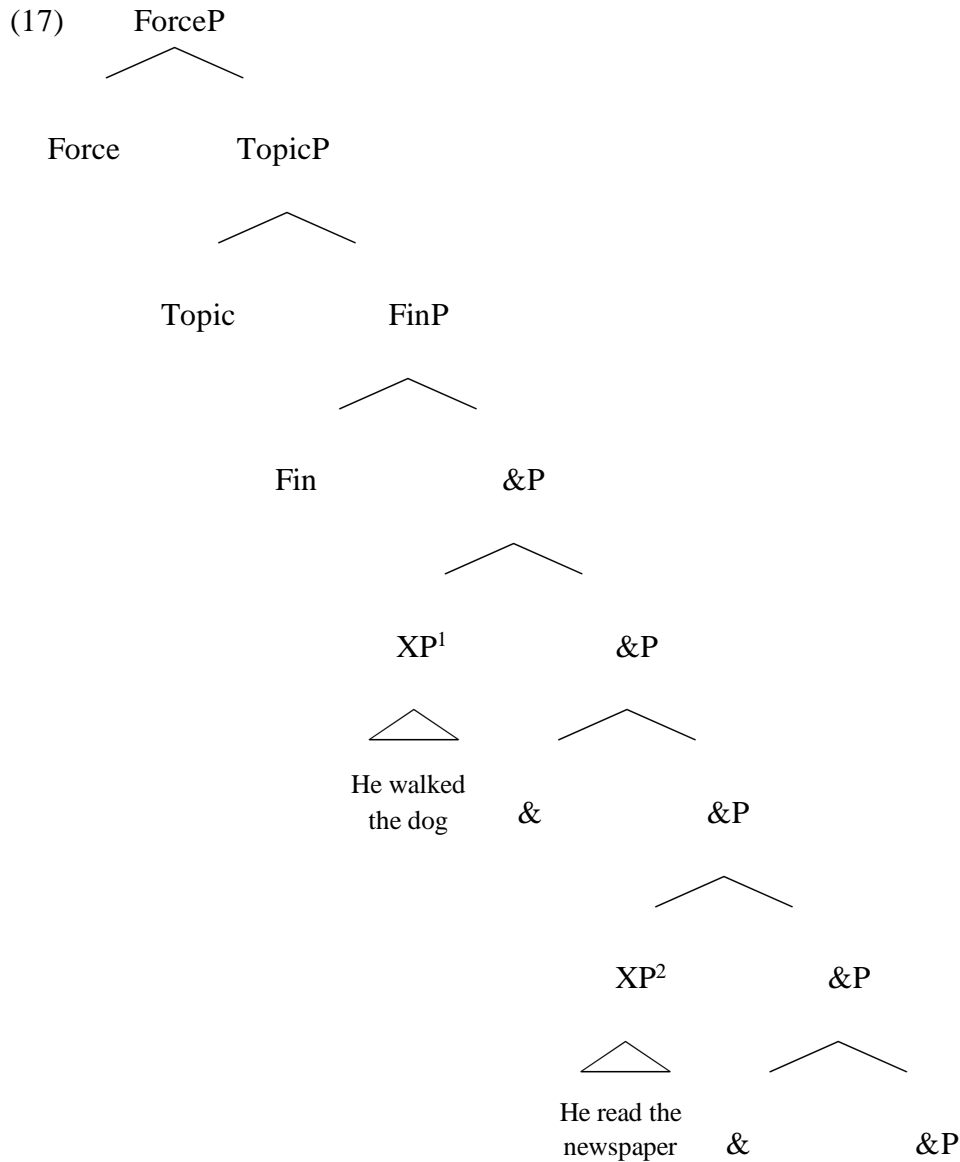
Consider that, in spoken style at least, the clauses of a narrative sequence are typically introduced by the conjunction. Suppose, then, that the narrative sequence is what it superficially looks like, namely an instance of coordination. The conjunction is not obligatorily spelled out, though in spoken style narration it often is. Assuming an antisymmetric approach to coordination (e.g. Kayne 1994; Wilder 1997; Johannessen 1998), the structure of a narrative sequence would be that of (16):⁵

⁴ In particular, the aspectual properties of the verbs included in the sequence should be made more precise. Generally speaking, the sequence reading hinges on the fact that the verbs describe events rather than processes or states. If the verbs of the sequence describe states, we achieve a description: *she was 30 years old, and (then) she lived in Stockholm, and (then) she had three kids*. Moreover, the narrative sequence as defined in (15), in Swedish as well as in other languages, is associated with a particular intonational contour, which will not be discussed in the present article.

⁵ Following Kayne (1994), I assume two levels of representation, heads and phrases. In (16) and the following structures there is no X' level.



However, following our previous intuition, these clauses share the same left periphery. In particular, suppose that speech act anchoring (understood as the *logophoric center* of the clause, as in e.g. Williams 1994) is established in a Finiteness Projection, following the suggestion of Bianchi (2003). If so, the FinP is projected on top of the structure in (16), given that such anchoring is common for the whole domain. Assuming the ordering of functional projections proposed in Rizzi (1997), TopicP and ForceP are higher in the structure than FinP. Such an assumption gives us the structure in (17):



The structure in (17) is simplified as it disregards FocusP as well as multiple Topic Phrases, which can be assumed but are not directly relevant for the present discussion.⁶ The single clauses in (17) are no longer assumed to be CPs but are marked as XP. The exact nature of this label remains to be defined.

With reference to the definition in (15), the structure in (17) captures the facts that

- the speech time anchoring is common for all of the events in the domain, given the assumption that such anchoring is provided by the Fin head,
- the clauses of the narrative domain share the same assertive Force, and
- anteposition of any kind of element, argumental or adverbial, is not possible within the domain, given that TopicP is projected higher than the narrative sequence.

⁶ Furthermore, the term “Topic” here is used to indicate the position of various preposed elements, not only topicalized ones in the pragmatic sense.

Moreover, the structure expresses the intuition that the narrative domain is endowed with a truth value relating to sequencing, which is realized in ForceP common for the whole sequence. Such a truth value goes beyond those of the single clauses it contains.⁷

At this point, the structural status of SÅ4 needs to be established. That is the topic of the following section 5.

5 The structural properties of SÅ4

Following the previous way of reasoning, SÅ4 is narrative particle of sorts (whereas SÅ3 was defined a Topic marker in Eide 2011). In the narrative domain, SÅ4 is the morphological spell out of a feature relating to the Reference point, anchored in the preceding event and to which the subsequent event is anchored (restating the observation of Dahl 1986 in (9))⁸. More precisely, I suggest that SÅ4 is realized in proclisis on the X head hosting the finite Verb in the structure (18):

(18) [_{ForceP} Force [_{TopicP} Topic [_{FinP} Fin [_{&P} XP¹ [_{&P} & [_{&P} [XP² SÅ⁴ V ...] & ...]]]]]]]]

A head analysis of SÅ (defended in e.g. Egerland & Falk 2010, Nordström 2010), is supported by the fact that SÅ can cooccur with time adverbials such as *sen* ‘then’, ‘subsequently/later’, as in example (14) in the previous section. The order is obligatorily *sen* > SÅ, that is, SÅ has to be adjacent to the verb.⁹

(19) Jag anlände till Rom och *sen* *så* tog jag in på hotell.
I arrived to Rome and then SÅ took I in at hotel

‘I arrived in Rome and then I went to a hotel’

⁷ From this viewpoint, the narrative kind of coordination could be considered a particular instance of so-called unbalanced coordination (Goodall 1987, Johannessen 1998: 52).

⁸ The present analysis, hence, turns SÅ4 into a narrative particle of sorts. In the literature on text and discourse, there are several analyses of morpho-syntactic markers relating to narrative. Many of these are attested in languages typologically quite distant from Swedish, as for instance the *júta* morpheme in Yagua (Payne 1992), signaling that the verb belongs to the main event line, the narrative particles in Hocak (Burley 1999), as well as the “developmental markers” *kat* in Ida’an (Moody 1991), and *jhanda* in Kisi (Nicolle *et al.* 2018). I ignore to what extent the analysis of the present paper can be extended to other languages.

⁹ The example (20) is marginally acceptable with a different reading of SÅ, rather corresponding to SÅ2. We will return to this issue in section 8.

- (20) *Jag anlände till Rom och så sen tog jag in på hotell.
 I arrived to Rome and SÅ then took I in at hotel

Furthermore, *sen* can be stressed, as in (21), and can appear in a cleft as in (22). SÅ4, on the contrary, cannot be stressed (23). In the cleft (24), the only available reading is the lexical one, which we have defined as SÅ1 (and which is slightly marginal in the given context):

- (21) Jag anlände till Rom och SEN tog jag in på hotell.
 I arrived to Rome and then_[focus] took I in at hotel
 ‘I arrived in Rome and THEN I went to a hotel’

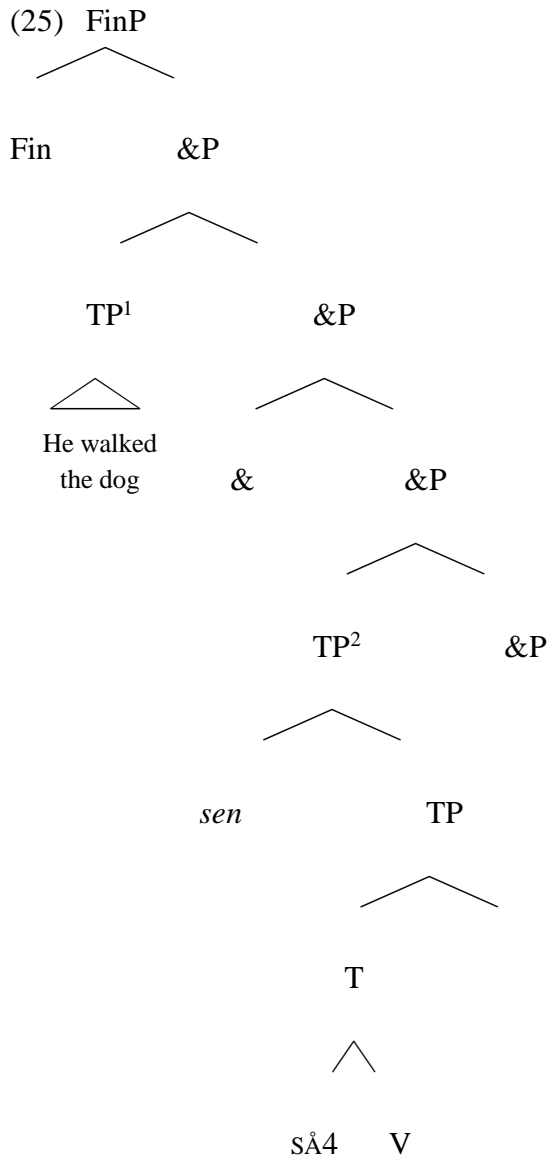
- (22) Det var först SEN hon insåg vad som hade hänt
 it was first then she realized what that had happened
 ‘it was only then that she realized what had happened’

- (23) *Jag anlände till Rom och SÅ tog jag in på hotell.
 I arrived to Rome and SÅ_[focus] took I in at hotel

- (24) ?Det var bara SÅ hon insåg vad som hade hänt
 it was only so she realized what that had happened
 ‘it was only in that way she realized what had happened’

If, then, SÅ4 is indeed realized in proclisis on the Verb, I assume that the adverb *sen* is situated in the corresponding Specifier. As I stated about example (14), the phonological realization of *sen* is optional: when *sen* is not spelled out, I assume a null copy is still present in the relevant Specifier. Moreover, considering that the complex *sen-så* provides the sequence reading, I assume that XP in the structure in (17), is in fact a high Tense Projection, hosting the time adverbial in its Specifier.¹⁰ The relevant portion of structure is given in (25):

¹⁰ If a split IP structure of some kind is assumed, it remains to establish specifically which projection of TP hosts such an adverbial. For Cinque (1999: 106), the adverb *then* is situated in the Tense *Future* Projection, though the data underlying such a hypothesis are different from those discussed in this article. It is true, of course, that the event introduced by *sen* lies in the future with respect to the preceding one, but I will not pursue this line of reasoning here.



Several issues arise from this proposal. I will address two of them in the following sections. First, the V2 patterns attested in the narrative sequence need to be accounted for (section 6). Second, the coordinative nature of the narrative domain should be put in relation to previous studies concerning coordination (section 7).

6 On V2 in the narrative domain

On this analysis, the word order patterns of a V2 language such as Swedish follow: the subject of the clauses embedded in the narrative domain is found in the inverted position because the subject position is blocked by the Time adverb regardless of whether such an adverb is overt or silent.

Importantly, however, such a line of reasoning is not compatible with a *symmetrical* approach to V2 (as in e.g. den Besten 1983, Thráinsson 1986, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, and much subsequent research). That is to say, the above analysis cannot be pursued under the assumption that the verb in a V2 language such as Swedish raises to Comp in all finite main clauses. On the other hand, the analysis is clearly compatible with the *asymmetrical* approach to V2, as in Travis (1984) and Zwart (1994): The verb raises to Comp only if the initial constituent is a non-subject, otherwise the verb raises to a lower functional projection which is here identified with (a high recursion of) TP.

Also, the present line of thought is compatible with recent cartographic approaches to V2. According to the Peripheral Criterion of Samo (2018: 87), elaborating on a suggestion by Poletto (2000), the V2 restriction follows from the requirement that the verb target the highest projection hosting an operator belonging to a given set. In (25), it is the time adverb *sen* which triggers overt movement of the verb to the matching head T.

7 On the coordination analysis of narrative

The question arises whether narrative sequences are actually instances of coordination. Certain properties of coordinated structures, which have been extensively discussed in the literature on coordination, are not attested in the narrative domain (e.g. Wilder 1997, Johannesen 1998).

However, there are independent differences between the narrative kind of coordination assumed here, and other cases of coordination, as for instance the one that creates the premises for ellipsis, or gapping, as in (26a-b):

- (26) a. John read the book and Mary read the newspaper.
 b. John read the book and Mary _ the newspaper.

First, consider that the elided verb in (26b) is identical to its antecedent. In narrative sequences, however, the verbs are typically not identical. Second, in an elliptic structure, there is typically a contrast between the two subjects. In a non-contrastive context, when the second subject is a pronoun coreferential with the preceding subject, ellipsis is barred, as in (27b) (Winkler 2005: 193).

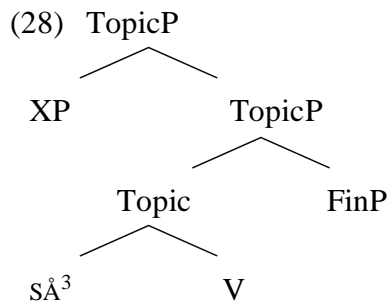
- (27) a. John read the book and he read the newspaper.
 b. *John read the book and he _ the newspaper.

In brief, ellipsis is typically possible when the verbs are identical and the subjects are not. In a narrative sequence normally the opposite holds: the verbs are not identical while the subjects are.

I conclude that the absence of ellipsis in the narrative domain can be accounted for on independent grounds, and hence does not constitute an argument against the coordination approach to narrative.

8. The distribution of SÅ2 and SÅ3

At this point, we turn to the analysis of SÅ2, the “weak consequential”, and SÅ3, the “V3 particle”, which need to be accommodated in the present framework. Beginning with the latter, I assume that SÅ3 is indeed a topic marker as suggested by Eide (2011). We have seen (as in example (12)), that narrative sequencing does not obtain in SÅ3-contexts. This implies that the verb in SÅ3-contexts is realized higher than FinP, given the assumption that Fin represents anchoring to the Speech Time. Since SÅ3 is spelled out after a preposed element, I assume that the landing site of V is in fact Topic, while the preposed element is collocated in [Spec, Topic]. The relevant portion of structure is the one given in (28):



This analysis captures the fact that narrative sequencing is not attested when an element is preposed to the verb, stated as a generalization on word order in (13).

SÅ2, on the other hand, is distinctly different from the functional usages of SÅ3 and SÅ4. Intuitively speaking, it is closer to the lexical SÅ1, as we have seen, and this is evident already from the fact that it can be translated in English ‘so’ or ‘thus’ in a fairly uncomplicated fashion. There are several reasons to believe that SÅ2 is realized higher in the structure than the functional instantiations of SÅ.

First, SÅ2 is typically followed by subject-verb word order, as in (29):¹¹

- (29) Det blev sent, så jag gick.
 it became late so I went
 ‘it was late, so I left’

Second, SÅ2 can cooccur with elements preposed to the Verb, which SÅ2 obligatorily precedes:

- (30) Så den boken vill jag gärna läsa.
 SÅ2 that book want I willingly read
 ‘so, that book, I would like to read’

¹¹ This, I take it, is the main reason why traditional treatments assume the SÅ2 is itself a conjunction (Teleman *et al.* 1999, vol. II: 730). In fact, in a case such as (29), SÅ2 cannot felicitously be preceded by the conjunction *och* ‘and’.

(i) *Det blev sent, och så jag gick.
 it became late and so I went

Third, SÅ2 can cooccur with SÅ3, as in (31):

- (31) Hon kom fram sent *så* förmodligen *så* tog hon en taxi.
 she arrived late SÅ probably SÅ took she a cab
 ‘she arrived late so probably she got a cab’

Fourth, SÅ2 can introduce a question, as in (32):

- (32) SÅ när kom du fram?
 SÅ when came you forth
 ‘so when did you arrive?’

Such evidence shows that SÅ2 is higher in the structure than the other functional instances of SÅ. In particular, SÅ2 can take ForceP as its complement. The structure in (33) summarizes the positions of SÅ2 and SÅ3.

- (33) SÅ² [_{ForceP} Force [_{TopicP} XP] SÅ³ Topic [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} TP ...]]]

9 Further speculations on the narrative sequence as a locality domain: switching and linkage adverbials

Returning to our initial claim, the narrative sequence provides a locality domain larger than the single sentence. We have argued that the assumption of such a domain is required to account for the distribution of certain particles and adverbials. In this section, the perspective is broadened to some Germanic and Romance languages.

Consider a short non-authentic narrative such as the one in (34a-e), exemplified in English, French, German, Italian, and Swedish:

- (34) a. Eng. Then I arrived, and then I took a cab to the hotel, and then I went to the reception, and then I said I had booked a room.
 b. Fr. Alors je suis arrivé et *puis* j'ai pris un taxi jusqu'à l'hôtel, *puis* je suis allé à la réception et *puis* j'ai dit que j'avais réservé une chambre.
 c. Ger. Da bin ich angekommen, und *dann* nahm ich ein Taxi zum Hotel, und *dann* ging ich zur Rezeption, und *dann* sagte ich, ich hätte ein Zimmer gebucht.
 d. It. Allora sono arrivato e *poi* ho preso un taxi per l'hotel e *poi* sono andato alla reception e *poi* ho detto che avevo prenotato una stanza.
 e. Sw. Då kom jag fram och *sen* tog jag en taxi till hotellet och *sen* gick jag till receptionen och *sen* sa jag att jag hade reserverat ett rum.

As can be seen in (34a-e), all languages except for English make a lexical distinction between two different discourse adverbials: Fr. *alors/puis*, Ger. *da/dann*, It. *allora/poi*, Sw. *då/sen*. These elements have distinct and only partially overlapping distribution: Fr. *puis*, Ger. *dann*, It.

poi, and Sw. *sen*, signaled in italics, can introduce each and every main clause of the narrative sequence, as in (34b-e). On the contrary, Fr. *alors*, Ger. *da*, It. *allora*, and Sw. *då*, cannot be felicitously repeated in such a way. In fact, if each and every sentence is introduced by such adverbs, the result is highly marked, as in (35b-e):

- (35) a. Eng. Then I arrived, and then I took a cab to the hotel, and then I went to the reception, and then I said I had booked a room. (=34a)
- b. Fr. #Alors je suis arrivé et alors j'ai pris un taxi jusqu'à l'hôtel, alors je suis allé à la réception et alors j'ai dit que j'avais réservé une chambre.
- c. Ger. #Da bin ich angekommen, und da nahm ich ein Taxi zum Hotel, und da ging ich zur Rezeption, und da sagte ich, ich hätte ein Zimmer gebucht.
- d. It. #Allora sono arrivato e allora ho preso un taxi per l'hotel e allora sono andato alla reception e allora ho detto che avevo prenotato una stanza.
- e. Sw. #Då kom jag fram och då tog jag en taxi till hotellet och då gick jag till receptionen och då sa jag att jag hade reserverat ett rum.

The distinction between the two classes of discourse adverbials is captured by the terminology proposed by Klein & von Stutterheim (1991: 27): while *alors/da/allora/då* express “switch” from one domain to another, *puis/dann/poi/sen* express “linkage” within the domain.

Such a distinction is not visible in English, where adverbials of both categories are spelled out as *then*.¹² In (35b-e), the repetition of the adverbials yields a deviant sort of narrative, because each occurrence of the adverb creates a “switch reading”. Intuitively speaking, the marked effect of the narrative in (35b-e) stems from the impression that the narrative domain starts all over at each occurrence of the switch adverbial.

A distinction is made between these two categories of discourse elements across Romance and Germanic languages, with the exception of English, as summarized in the Table in (36).

(36) **Classification of discourse adverbials**

	Switch between narrative domains	Linkage within the narrative domain
English	then	<i>then</i>
French	alors	<i>puis</i>
German	da	<i>dann</i>
Italian	allora	<i>poi</i>
Swedish	då	<i>sen</i>

¹² There are independent differences in distribution between these adverbials in different languages which need not concern us here. For analyses of English *then* and Italian *poi*, see Thompson (2005, chapter 5), Cruschina & Cognola (2021).

Again, if we want to account for the difference in distribution between such elements, we need to make reference to a structural unit larger than the single clause. Assuming the narrative domain as defined in sections 3 and 4, the generalization can be expressed as in (37):

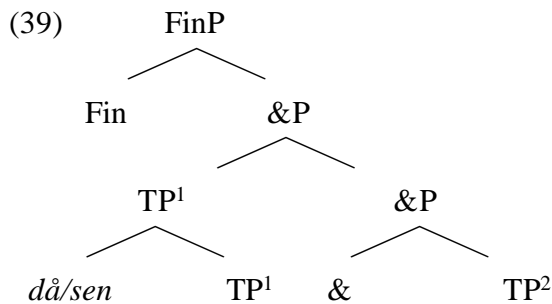
(37) **Generalization on the distribution of discourse adverbials (1st version)**

- i. Switch adverbials can only occur initially in the narrative domain.
- ii. Linkage adverbials can introduce each single clause within the narrative domain.

Furthermore, the generalization stated in (37) can follow from binding theory assuming the antisymmetric approach to c-command, as stated in (38) (Kayne 1994: 24)

(38) X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y.

For Kayne (1994: 22-24), only categories enter into c-command relations, whereas segments do not. In a structure such as (39), both of TP and &P are dominated by FinP. However, *dâ/sen* are not dominated by TP since they are not dominated by every segment of TP1. Furthermore, TP1 is not dominated by &P, given that TP1 is not dominated by every segment of &P. It follows that the adverbials *dâ/sen* in (39) c-command TP², that is, everything contained in the continuation of the narrative domain.



In other words, an occurrence of *dâ/sen* c-commands all following occurrences of *dâ/sen*. If so, the crucial restrictions on distribution can be stated in the terms of binding theory as in (40):

(40) **Generalization on the distribution of discourse adverbials (2nd version)**

- i. The linkage adverbial is bound within the narrative domain.
- ii. The switching adverbial is free within the narrative domain.

Further implications of such an analysis are left for future research.

8 Conclusion

The analysis of certain syntactic phenomena requires a theory that overarches clausal boundaries, that is, a theory in which grammatical statements can be made about a unit larger

than what is traditionally understood as a clause. The present proposal achieves this by assuming a syntactic domain which includes sequences of clauses. The distribution of various usages of Swedish *så* can be captured in such an approach. Furthermore, the narrative sequence defines a narrative domain for the distribution of certain discourse adverbials. It has been shown that such a result can be obtained within a cartographic approach to sentence structure.

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