

Enda

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This paper presents a detailed analysis of the behavior of the Icelandic conjunction *enda*. It turns out to be possible to explain all the puzzling facts about this conjunction by reinterpreting the traditional division between coordination and subordination by breaking it up into two binary features, [\pm CO] and [\pm SUB]. Furthermore, it is argued that this approach gives support for the analysis of Icelandic sentence structure proposed in Rögnvaldsson (1984) and elaborated in Thráinsson (1984, 1986).

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INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the Icelandic conjunction *enda*, which has no exact correlates in related languages, neither syntactic nor semantic.¹ It is difficult to translate it into English, so let us start by giving an example of its use:

- (1) Jón var svangur, *enda* hafði hann ekkert borðað allan daginn
John was hungry, *enda* had he nothing eaten the whole day
'John was hungry; he had not eaten anything the whole day'

Let me stress that *enda* does **not** mean 'because', although it often looks as if it did. It only indicates that there is some expected relationship between the two sentences it connects. Perhaps it is easiest to explain this by comparing *enda* to *en* 'but'. Fodor (1977:207) says that "Unlike *and*, the word *but* carries certain implications of contrast or unexpectedness — even though, in some strict sense, *and* and *but* seem to mean the same" (cf. also Rögnvaldsson (1981) on the meaning of *en*). I think we might say that *enda* is the **positive** counterpart of *en*; in this "strict sense", it means the same as *og* 'and', but it adds an indication of some expected or logical relationship, whereas *og* is neutral. In English written text, a semicolon often carries the same connotations as *enda* does.

Traditionally, *enda* has been analyzed as a coordinating conjunction, but it behaves very differently from the "ideal" ones such as *og* 'and', *en* 'but', and *eða* 'or'. In the most thorough

discussion of its behavior, Sigurðsson (1983) used several tests to try to determine whether it is really a coordinating conjunction. Although he admits that it has very few clear-cut characteristics of coordinating conjunctions, he finds it impossible to analyze it as subordinating.²

In section 1 of this paper, I look at several differences between *enda* and the typical coordinating conjunctions, and in section 2 I show that it cannot be analyzed as subordinating. Then in section 3 I review Sigurðsson's (1983) explanation of its behavior. I will argue that although his discussion contains much valuable insight, his analysis is not available in a GB-framework. In section 4, I propose two new features to account for the status of *enda* between subordination and coordination. Then in section 5, I show how the general framework of the paper, together with the two new features, enables us to account for all the special properties of *enda* in a simple and elegant manner. Section 6 contains some discussion of possible problems for this analysis, and finally the main points are summarized in section 7.

1. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF *ENDA*

There are several important differences between the behavior of *enda* on the one hand and *og* 'and', *en* 'but', and *eða* 'or', on the other. Most of them have been described by Sigurðsson (1983). We can first mention that it is impossible to use *enda* to conjoin two sentences that both have an overt complementizer. In this respect, it differs from the other three:

- (2) *Ég veit [[að Jón fer snemma] *enda* [að {^{er} hann / hann er} þreyttur]]

I know that John leaves early *enda* that is he/he is tired
'I know that John will leave early; he is tired'

- (3) Ég veit [[að Jón fer snemma] *og* [(að) hann er þreyttur]]
I know that John leaves early and (that) he is tired

- (4) Ég veit [[að Jón fer snemma] *en* [(að) Sveinn verður kyrr]]
I know that John leaves early but (that) Sveinn will be staying

- (5) Ég veit [[að Jón kemur í kvöld] *eða* [(að) hann kemur á morgun]]
I know that John comes tonight or (that) he comes tomorrow

And contrary to the other coordinating conjunctions, *enda* can only conjoin sentences, but not, e.g., subject noun phrases:

- (6) *Jón *enda* (ekki) Sveinn kom
John *enda* (not) Sveinn came
- (7) Jón og Sveinn komu
John and Sveinn came
- (8) Jón en ekki Sveinn kom
John but not Sveinn came
- (9) Jón eða Sveinn kom
John or Sveinn came

The third difference between *enda* and the other three is that Conjunction Reduction is (almost) impossible in the second conjunct, whereas it is quite normal and frequent with the other three above-mentioned conjunctions:³

- (10) *Jón fór snemma *enda* var — orðinn þreyttur
John left early *enda* was — become tired
'John left early; he was getting tired'
- (11) Jón kom snemma og — fór seint
John came early and — left late
- (12) Jón kom snemma en — fór seint
John came early but — left late
- (13) Jón kemur í kvöld eða — er væntanlegur á morgun
John comes tonight or — is expected tomorrow

It is also impossible to topicalize anything in the second conjunct in *enda*-sentences, whereas it is usually possible in sentences conjoined with other coordinating conjunctions.

All the above-mentioned properties have been thoroughly described by Sigurðsson (1983). But finally, a special feature of *enda* is that in the latter of the two sentences that it connects, the verb can have the subjunctive mood, even if the verb in the first sentence is in the indicative. Normally, the present subjunctive is limited to subordinate clauses (cf., e.g., Anderson 1986), but it is also possible to use it in main clauses in an optative sense, as in (14), or if the clause can be interpreted as indirect speech or the like; perhaps such sentences could be classified as "semantically subordinate" (see Sigurðsson (1986a) for a detailed account of this use of the subjunctive). But even under these circumstances,

it is impossible to have different moods in two coordinated sentences. This is illustrated in (15)–(16):

- (14) Guð blessi (*subj.*) kónginn
God save (*subj.*) the king
- (15) Jón_i segir að faðir sinn_i sé veikur. Hann_i verði (*subj.*) því að fara heim á morgun og geti (*subj.*) ekki tekið þátt í ráðstefnunni
John_i says that his_i father is ill. He_i must (*subj.*) therefore go home tomorrow and can (*subj.*) not participate in the conference
- (16) *Jón_i segir að faðir sinn_i sé veikur. Hann_i verður (*ind.*) því að fara heim á morgun og geti (*subj.*) ekki tekið þátt í ráðstefnunni
John_i says that his_i father is ill. He_i must (*ind.*) therefore go home tomorrow and can (*subj.*) not participate in the conference

However, this restriction is not valid for *enda*; sentences like (17) are common in the law, government statements and announcements etc.

- (17) Verðlagið verður (*ind.*) lækkað, enda verði (*subj.*) verkfallið stöðvað
The prices become (*ind.*) lowered, *enda* become (*subj.*) the strike stopped
'The prices will be lowered, on the condition that the strike will be stopped'

It is interesting to note that both Blöndal (1920–24) and Böðvarsson (1983) call *enda* in this sense a conditional conjunction.

2. COULD *ENDA* BE A SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION?

Given the above-mentioned facts, one might be led to think that *enda* is really a subordinating conjunction, contrary to what the grammar books say. But it does not fit very well into that group either. One reason is that subject-verb inversion is obligatory after *enda*, whereas after normal subordinating conjunctions, inversion is either extremely rare or quite impossible. This is shown in (18)–(20):

- (18) Jón fór snemma, enda $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{var hann} \\ * \text{hann var} \end{array} \right\}$ þreyttur

John left early, *enda was he/he was* tired

'John left early; he was tired'

- (19) Jón sagði að $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{hefði hann} \\ \text{hann hefði} \end{array} \right\}$ þá verið þreyttur

John said that *had he/he had* then been tired

'John said that then he had been tired'

- (20) Jón fór, þegar $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{var hann} \\ \text{hann var} \end{array} \right\}$ orðinn þreyttur

John left when *was he/he was* become tired

'John left when he was getting tired'

After the three coordinating conjunctions, inversion is either optional (after *og*) or impossible (after *en*, *eða*); so on this point, *enda* differs from both groups.

- (21) Jón vaknaði snemma, og $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{var hann} \\ \text{hann var} \end{array} \right\}$ því orðinn þreyttur

John woke up early, and *was he/he was* thus become tired

'John woke up early, and therefore he was getting tired'

- (22) Jón fór snemma, en $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{fór Sveinn} \\ \text{Sveinn fór} \end{array} \right\}$ seint

John left early, but *left Sveinn/Sveinn left* late

- (23) Jón kemur í kvöld eða $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \text{kemur hann} \\ \text{hann kemur} \end{array} \right\}$ í fyrramálið

John comes tonight or *comes he/he comes* tomorrow morning

Furthermore, it is not very plausible from the semantic point of view that *enda* can be a subordinating conjunction. When we have two sentences connected by a coordinating conjunction, it is usually more or less possible to reverse the order of the conjuncts, without any significant change in meaning. This is not always possible, of course, because the first sentence often provides some necessary background information for the second; but the main point is that changing the order does not affect the truth-value of the compound sentence. We can take (24) as an example of this:

- (24)a Jón vann lengi og var orðinn þreyttur
 John worked long and was become tired
 'John worked for a long time and was getting tired'
 b Jón var orðinn þreyttur og vann lengi
 John was become tired and worked long
 'John was getting tired and worked for a long time'

True, (24b) sounds a bit strange; but this is only because we feel that the governing factor should precede the result. In a strict sense, however, both sentences mean the same. This contrasts sharply with what we find when we consider subordinating conjunctions:

- (25)a Jón var þreyttur af því að hann vann lengi
 John was tired because he worked long
 'John was tired because he had been working for a long time'
 b Jón vann lengi af því að hann var þreyttur
 John worked long because he was tired
 'John had been working for a long time because he was tired'

(25b) not only sounds strange; it means something totally different from (25a). We would get the same results with other subordinating conjunctions, such as *ef* 'if', *þegar* 'when', etc.

But what about *enda*? I think there is no doubt that it should be grouped with the 'true' coordinating conjunctions on this point:

- (26)a Jón var þreyttur, enda hafði hann unnið lengi
 John was tired, *enda* had he worked long
 'John was tired; he had been working for a long time'
 b Jón hafði unnið lengi, enda var hann þreyttur
 John had worked long, *enda* was he tired
 'John had been working for a long time; he was tired'

We may speculate whether (26a) and (26b) have the same connotations etc., but the truth value remains the same.

Another test can also be used to show that *enda* does not behave like a subordinating conjunction.⁴ It is usually claimed that a quantifier can bind a pronoun inside an embedded clause but not across a coordinator:

- (27) Hver einasti maður_i vissi að hann_i hafði gert mistök

Each single man knew that he had made mistakes
 'Each man knew that he had made a mistake'

- (28) *Hver einasti maður_i gerði mistök en hann_i hætti samt ekki
 Each single man made mistakes but he stopped however
 not
 'Each man made a mistake; however, he didn't stop'

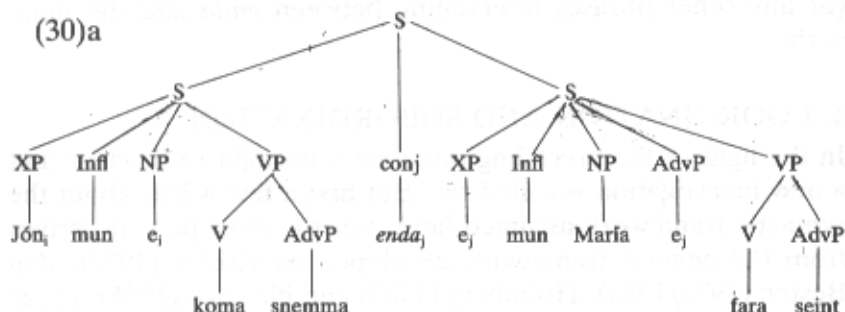
It is clear that on this point, *enda* patterns with the coordinators:

- (29) *Hver einasti maður_i hætti, enda hafði hann_i gert mistök
 Each single man stopped, *enda* had he made mistakes
 'Each man stopped; he had made a mistake'

It appears to be impossible to group *enda* with the subordinating conjunctions.

3. SIGURÐSSON'S EXPLANATION

As for one of the special features of *enda* mentioned above, namely that the subjunctive is possible in the second sentence, no one has, to my knowledge, proposed any explanation. But Sigurðsson (1983) has made an attempt at explaining most of the other above-mentioned properties. He claims that they can be explained by assuming that *enda* is an adverb at D-structure, and then moved into the place of the conjunction at S-structure. However, this is not a "one fell swoop" movement; Sigurðsson claims that there is first a sort of topicalization of *enda* to the initial position in its clause, thereby causing subject-verb inversion as topicalization always does. Then, *enda* moves further, out of its clause, and becomes a coordinating conjunction. Sigurðsson is working in a (modified) ST-framework; but in the present framework, the derivation would presumably look like this:



- b [Jón mun koma snemma] [mun María *enda* fara seint]
 c [Jón mun koma snemma] [*enda*_i mun María *e_j* fara seint]
 d [Jón mun koma snemma] [*enda*_i] [*e_j* mun María *e_j* fara seint]
 John will come early *enda* Mary will leave late
 'John will come early; Mary will leave late'

It would have to be assumed that the trace of *enda* occupies XP, thus making it impossible to move the subject to initial position. Sigurðsson (1983:91) also suggests that the movement of *enda* across a complementizer is impossible. This assumption is necessary to explain the impossibility of sentences like (2) above, where the second sentence has an overt complementizer.

Sigurðsson is not the first one to explain the inversion after *enda* by claiming that it is in fact an adverb, in some sense at least. This explanation has also been used to account for the (optional) inversion after *og* (cf. Sigurðsson 1983:92–93 and references cited there).

This analysis might very well be possible in the ST-framework, and I must stress that (30) is only my interpretation of what Sigurðsson's claims would amount to in the present framework. However, his solution is presumably untenable seen from the point of view of GB-theory. As I said above, we would have to assume that what prevents other phrases (such as the subject, for instance) from moving to the XP-position is the trace of *enda*. But it is not at all clear that adverbs leave traces in the same sense as arguments do (see, e.g., Lasnik & Saito 1984; Holmberg 1985). And even if they do, it ought to be possible to erase these traces, since they are not necessary for the Binding Theory nor any other theory of Grammar. Thus, when Sigurðsson's analysis is translated into the present framework, it turns out that he has no principled explanation for sentences like (18b), for instance, with the subject (or any other phrase) intervening between *enda* and the finite verb.

4. COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

In the light of the preceding discussion, it ought to be clear that a new investigation is called for. But first a few words about the syntactic framework assumed here. For the most part, it derives from the general framework developed by Koster (1975), den Besten (1977/1983), Holmberg (1983) and Platzack (1986); I thus

assume that the V/2 word order characteristic of the Germanic languages is derived by a movement of the finite verb from the VP to Infl, and also by a movement of the subject (or some other phrase) from its D-structure position to an initial "topic" or "theme" slot, which is usually labelled XP (or X^{\max}). But contrary to the above-mentioned people, I assume that in Icelandic, main and subordinate clauses have identical structure in all relevant respects; i.e., I do not assume that the finite verb moves on from Infl into Comp in main clauses. For a more detailed description of the differences between the two versions of the theory, see Rögnvaldsson (1984), Thráinsson (1984, 1986), Sigurðsson (1985, 1986b), and Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson (in preparation). I also claim that ordinary main clauses are only S, but not S'; i.e., that they do not have the S'-level and hence no slot for a complementizer at any point in the derivation. The PS-rules used here are thus like this:

- (31) a $S \rightarrow XP \text{ Infl NP (Adv) VP}$
 b $S' \rightarrow \text{Comp S}$

Before we take a closer look at the special properties of *enda*, it is also necessary to try to make clear what is meant by the traditional terms *subordination* and *coordination*. This is because *enda* seems to be somewhere between these two types, as should be evident by now.

It is fairly uncontroversial that true coordinate structures can be analyzed as generated by a rule (or rule schema) like (32):

- (32) $X^n \rightarrow X^n \text{ CONJ } X^n$

On the other hand, subordinate clauses can presumably be characterized as those that are either subcategorized for by a lexical category (i.e. sisters of an X^0 category) or those that are optional modifiers (i.e. sisters of an X^1 category).⁵

This means that there are at least two important differences between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions: The sentences (or phrases) on both sides of a coordinating conjunction are "equivalent" or "of the same type" in some sense, whereas what precedes and follows a subordinating conjunction is not; and what follows a subordinating conjunction is in some way subordinate to or dependent on what precedes it, whereas this is not the case with coordinating conjunctions.

It is customary to look at these two differences as inherently related. However, I will propose that the peculiar properties of *enda* are best explained by assuming that it is neither subordinating nor coordinating. I will argue that two features are actually involved; $[\pm\text{SUB}]$ and $[\pm\text{CO}]$. If a conjunction is marked $[\text{+CO}]$, it means that on both sides of it we find the same type of phrases or sentences, whereas if the conjunction is $[-\text{CO}]$, then what follows it is in some way different from what precedes it. $[\text{+SUB}]$ means that what follows the conjunction is subordinate to what precedes, but $[-\text{SUB}]$ means that neither part is subordinate to the other.

For the most part, the pluses and minuses of these two features are in complementary distribution. I claim, however, that as a marked option, *both* features can take the $-$ value, and that *enda* should be marked $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{CO} \\ -\text{SUB} \end{bmatrix}$. It is $[-\text{CO}]$, since the two sentences it connects cannot be said to be equivalent; however, it is also $[-\text{SUB}]$, since the second sentence is not subordinate to the first. Thus we have at least three actual feature combinations:

(33)

	CO	SUB
a <i>og</i>	+	-
b <i>að</i>	-	+
c <i>enda</i>	-	-
d ?	+	+

In (33a) we have ordinary coordination, in (33b) ordinary subordination, but (33c) is neither; it may be called a mixture of the other two, if we like.⁶

5. THE ANALYSIS OF *ENDA* SENTENCES

The analysis presented here rests on Kayne's (1982) proposal that the feature system originally presented in Chomsky (1970) could also be applied to clauses. Kayne pointed out the correspondence between arguments and nouns, predicates and verbs. He also argued that main clauses were predicates and thus should be marked $[\text{+V}]$, whereas subordinate clauses are $[-\text{V}]$. The features

are determined by the element that occupies the head position of the clause. The head of S is usually assumed to be Infl, whereas Comp is considered the head of S'. Complementizers are usually considered [-V], so that a clause with a base-generated complementizer in Comp will be [-V], i.e. subordinate. But if no complementizer is generated, the finite verb can be moved to Comp, thus making the clause verbal, i.e., a main clause.

This analysis has been adopted and adapted by several people (e.g. Holmberg 1983, Taraldsen 1986); most recently Holmberg (1986), whom I follow here. He claims that in the V/2 languages, Comp and Infl have the same default value, which is [-V]. If a finite verb is moved to Infl, the head of S, S becomes [+V], whereas S' remains [-V], since that is still the feature marking of Comp. Thus, if this clause has the S'-level, it cannot be a main clause. Therefore, the verb must be moved again, now from Infl to Comp. This movement will switch the features of Comp, and hence S', from [-V] to [+V], thus turning S' into a possible main clause.

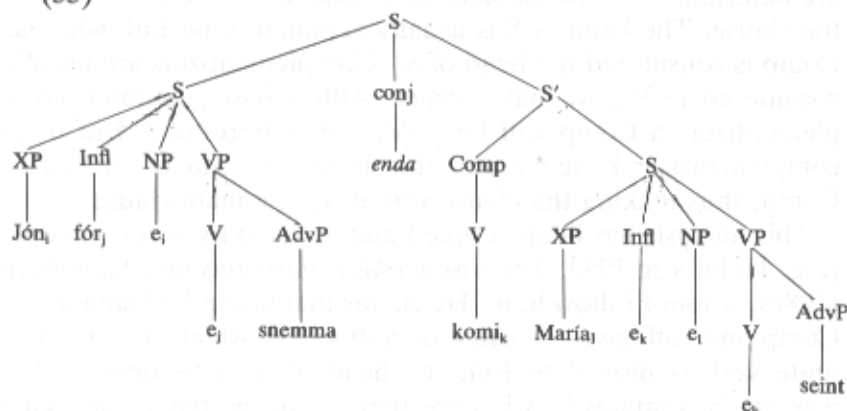
Remember now that in the general framework assumed here, ordinary main clauses in Icelandic are of the category S, but not S'. Hence, only one verb movement will be needed, i.e. from VP to Infl; this movement makes S [+V], and no [-V]-marked Comp is present to prevent this clause from being an independent main clause.

However, it is evident that **some** main clauses in Icelandic must have the S'-level, as shown by Thráinsson (1984, 1986); both exclamations beginning with *að* 'that', and also sentences beginning with words like *kannski* 'maybe', *bara* 'just, only', etc.; cf. below. It is also clear that under some special circumstances, the verb must move to Comp in subordinate clauses; e.g., in conditional sentences without a conjunction, as Platzack (1986) has argued (cf. Rögnvaldsson 1984):

- (34) Jón fer snemma, komi María seint
 John leaves early, comes Mary late
 'John will leave early, if Mary comes late'

Given these assumptions, I think we can solve most of the puzzles that *enda* presents us with by assuming that it subcategorizes for an S'. Thus, the structure of an *enda*-construction would be like this:

(35)



How can such a structure be possible? It is usually considered necessary that both conjuncts in a coordinate structure are of the same type — which is certainly not the case with S and S'. However, the crucial thing here is that although S and S' are not of the same type, they share the same categorial features, due to the verb movement to Comp in the second clause. I will claim that although the elements in a coordinate structure need not necessarily be of the same type, they must be **featurally nondistinct**.

After the verb has been moved to Comp, there is no way of getting SV-order, since Comp precedes XP in the present framework. The obligatory inversion is thus automatically explained; and so is the impossibility of topicalizing anything in the second sentence.

This approach also explains why the second sentence cannot have a base generated complementizer. Complementizers are usually considered [–verbal] (cf. Holmberg 1983, 1986; Taraldsen 1986). If a complementizer such as *að* 'that' were base generated in Comp, S and S' would not share the same features, and hence could not enter a coordinate structure.

The assumption that an S' must follow *enda*, even though no complementizer is present, is also compatible with the fact that Conjunction Reduction is impossible after *enda*. As Sigurðsson (1983) points out, Conjunction Reduction is always impossible if a coordinating conjunction conjoins S'-s, whereas it is fine if only S-s are conjoined (compare (11)–(13) above):

- (36) *Ég veit [[að Jón kom snemma] og [að — fer seint]]
 I know that John came early and that — leaves late
 (37) *Ég veit [[að Jón kom snemma] en [að — fer seint]]
 I know that John came early but that — leaves late
 (38) *Ég veit [[að Jón kemur snemma] eða [að — fer seint]]
 I know that John comes early or that — leaves late

If we accept the assumption that the sentences after *enda* are S'-s, whereas normal main clauses are not, this is also automatically explained. And if *enda* subcategorizes for an S', we also have an explanation of the fact that it cannot conjoin phrases, only sentences.⁷

Then it is left to account for the possibility of having a subjunctive verb in the second of the two sentences conjoined by *enda*. I believe that this is also related to the Comp-position that these sentences have. As mentioned above, Thráinsson (1984, 1986) has argued that although main clauses do not normally have the S'-level, they can have it under special circumstances. But as Thráinsson points out, such sentences can also have other characteristics of subordinate clauses, such as subjunctive verbs. Two examples are shown in (39)–(40) (taken from Thráinsson 1986:193):⁸

- (39) Að María skuli (*subj.*) elska Jón!
 That Mary shall (*subj.*) love John!
 'That Mary would love John!'
 (40) Kannski ég komi (*subj.*) á morgun
 Maybe I come (*subj.*) tomorrow

If there is a connection between having a verb in the subjunctive and having a Comp-node, the properties of *enda*-sentences can once more be explained by the suggestions above.

6. SOME RESIDUAL PROBLEMS

Given this account, one serious question is bound to arise: Is it possible for other phrases than the subject NP to immediately follow the finite verb; i.e., to occupy the XP-slot? The answer is not very clear-cut, although it seems safe to say that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the subject is the only candidate. However, sentences like the following are good:

- (41). . . *enda* var þá Höskuldur nýlega farinn
 . . . *enda* was then Höskuldur just gone
 ' . . . Höskuldur was just gone'

In these sentences, it appears that the adverbs are in the XP-position, whereas the subject has not moved from its base-generated site. However, only a handful of "light" adverbs, such as *þá* 'then', *nú* 'now', *þar* 'there' etc., can precede a definite subject in such clauses. But if the subject is indefinite, it is possible to have PPs and even object NPs preceding Infl:

- (42) . . . *enda* hafa á þessari áætlun verið margir gallar
 . . . *enda* has on this plan been many faults
 ' . . . This plan has had several weak points'
 (43) Jón var hinn verstí maður, *enda* vildu honum fáir liðsinna
 John was the worst man, *enda* would him few assist
 'John was a bad person; few people wanted to assist him'

Admittedly, sentences like (43) are literary and rather stilted, but they do exist. The question is, then: Do the adverb in (41), the PP in (42) and the object NP in (43) occupy XP or any other slot?

Some people might perhaps claim that in (41)–(43) the movement is in fact not due to Topicalization, but rather to Stylistic Inversion, which has been said to move phrases into an empty subject position (cf. Platzack 1985:33). Note, however, that in Maling's (1980) original description of Stylistic Inversion in Icelandic, movement of NPs and PPs is subsumed under Topicalization, whereas Stylistic Inversion is only said to move past participles, particles, adjectives, and some adverbs. If Stylistic Inversion is allowed to move the same types of words or phrases as Topicalization does, it becomes extremely difficult to tell them apart. In fact, I have argued elsewhere that they must be considered as the same rule (cf. Rögnvaldsson (1982:84–96); see also Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson, in preparation). In any case, Stylistic Inversion is excluded in (41), since the subject in that sentence is definite, so that there is no independently motivated "Subject Gap", which is a necessary condition for Stylistic Inversion, according to both Maling (1980) and Platzack (1985).

It might also be possible to claim that (43) is not a case in point, since the pronoun *honum* 'him' might be cliticized to Comp, and

thus not in the XP. And admittedly, it is extremely difficult to find good examples of *enda*-sentences with a non-subject NP immediately following the finite verb. Special care must be taken to choose words whose semantic and functional value makes it possible for them to occupy this slot. And here we are coming right to the point, I think. The reasons for these difficulties are semantic and functional, rather than syntactic.

It has often been claimed that it is much easier to topicalize in subordinate clauses in Icelandic than in the "mainland" Scandinavian languages. But this is only true for *that*-clauses; for the most part, it is quite difficult and often impossible to topicalize anything in *ef* 'if' -clauses, *þegar* 'when' -clauses, etc.⁹ However, some such sentences can be found, indicating that it may be wrong to exclude them syntactically. It seems to me to be more realistic to say that these sentences are syntactically possible, but semantically or functionally ill-formed, except under some special circumstances.

Why should this be so? I tend to believe that the explanation lies in the differing "themehood" of subordinate conjunctions (complementizers). *að* 'that' is the neutral complementizer and can be said to be almost without any semantic content at all (cf., e.g., Sigurðsson 1981:23). Other subordinating conjunctions may be said to have some "meaning" of their own; it has even been claimed that they usually qualify as "themes" of their clause (Brown & Miller 1980:375). I think this is the reason why topicalization is so rare in such clauses. The "purpose" of topicalization is usually said to be to establish the fronted phrase as the theme of its clause. We could then say that the reason why topicalization is usually impossible in most subordinate clauses is that no clause can have two themes. It may also be pointed out that it is easier to topicalize in those subordinate *wh*-clauses that begin with the complementizer *hvort* 'whether' than it is in clauses that begin with, e.g., *hvar* 'where' or *hvenær* 'when'. We could perhaps explain this in the same manner by pointing out that *hvort* is the most neutral of these words; it only carries an interrogative meaning, whereas the others carry in addition some reference to place or time.

I am not claiming that a finite verb in Comp should be considered a (or the) 'theme' of its clause — nor should a word like *kannski* 'maybe', which also prevents topicalization in its clause.

My point is this: It seems that the more 'neutral' the element in Comp is, the more easy is it to topicalize in the clause.

Obviously, most of what has been said in this section is rather speculative. A thorough discussion of these matters would be outside the scope of this paper; but a more detailed account of some of them will be found in Rögnvaldsson & Thráinsson (in preparation). See also Sigurðsson (1986b) for an interesting attempt at developing a theory of word order semantics.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have tried to explain in a coherent manner the characteristics of the Icelandic conjunction *enda*. I think that all its peculiarities can easily be explained by assuming that it is a conjunction that so to speak enters a coordinate structure, but subcategorizes for a clause with subordinate syntax, i.e., S'. I have also proposed to account for its status between subordination and coordination by making use of two new features, [\pm CO] and [\pm SUB]. Furthermore, I have proposed to reinterpret the traditional claim that the elements in a coordinate structure must be of the same type in such a way that they must be featurally nondistinct, but not necessarily of the same category type. If this analysis proves to be tenable, it might shed some light on the nature of coordination and subordination in general.

NOTES

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² The conjunction *heldur* 'rather' behaves like *enda* in many ways; it causes obligatory inversion, topicalization is impossible in the second sentence, etc. However, there are some differences; Conjunction Reduction appears to be better after *heldur* than after *enda*, *heldur* can sometimes be used to conjoin phrases, etc. All the same, I believe that the present analysis could be applied to *heldur*, but it remains to work this out.

³ Sigurðsson (1983:84–85) gives some examples of Conjunction Reduction after *enda*. However, I think that for the great majority of speakers, these sentences would be ungrammatical.

⁴ This test was pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer.

⁵ I owe this formulation to an anonymous reviewer.

⁶ If two features are actually involved, we might expect to find the fourth logically possible combination; the one with two pluses in (33d). I think this might be

the correct feature combination for conjunctions like *while*, *if*, *because*, *since* etc. when they introduce "E-adverbials" in the sense of Haegeman (1984); i.e., adverbials that "are not within the c-command domain of Comp" (Haegeman 1984:714). Obviously, more research is needed to support this, but that falls outside the scope of this paper.

⁷ An anonymous reviewer points out that "The lack of conjunction reduction in the clause introduced by *enda* could be due to the fact that it is not conjoined with an "equivalent" phrase [...] rather than to it being an instance of S". This is true; but note that one of my main points is exactly that *enda* does not conjoin equivalent sentences as traditionally claimed. Although the behavior of Conjunction Reduction does not show conclusively the character of the difference, it is at least compatible with the claim that the second conjunct is an S'.

⁸ As a matter of fact, sentences like (39) should not be possible as main clauses, as Holmberg (1986:162) points out, since *að* 'that', which must be [-V], is in their head position. But just as Holmberg, I have no explanation of the existence of such sentences.

⁹ According to the theory of Icelandic sentence structure advocated here, all subordinate clauses are topicalized, strictly speaking (except for those that have the dummy *það* 'there, it' in subject position. Nevertheless, since moving the subject from its base-generated place to the XP is the unmarked option, I will only regard clauses with some other phrase in the XP as topicalized.

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