

Hilde Hasselgård

Adjunct Adverbials in English

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In this original study, Hilde Hasselgård discusses the use of adverbials in English, through examining examples found in everyday texts. Adverbials – clause elements that typically refer to circumstances of time, space, reason and manner – cover a range of meanings and can be placed at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a sentence. The description of the frequency of meaning types and discussion of the reasons for selecting positions show that the use of adverbials differs across text types. Adverbial usage is often linked to the general build-up of a text and can reflect its content and purpose. In using real texts, Hasselgård identifies a challenge for the classification of adjuncts, and also highlights the fact that some adjuncts have uses that extend into the textual and interpersonal domains, obscuring the traditional divisions between adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts.

HILDE HASSELGÅRD is Professor of English Language at the University of Oslo. Her previous publications include *Introducing English Grammar* (with Magne Dypedahl and Berit Løken, 2006), *English Grammar: Theory and Use* (with Stig Johansson and Per Lysvåg, 1998) and a series of articles on word order, cohesion and information structure.

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HILDE HASSELGÅRD

University of Oslo



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Abbreviations

A	Adverbial
BNC	British National Corpus
CD	Communicative dynamism
E	End position
ENPC	English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus
FSP	Functional sentence perspective
I	Initial position
ICECUP	ICE Corpus Utility Program
ICE-GB	International Corpus of English, British component
LLC	London-Lund Corpus (of spoken British English)
M	Medial position
NP	Noun phrase
O	Object
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OMC	Oslo Multilingual Corpus
PP	Prepositional phrase
S	Subject
SEU	Survey of English Usage
SFG/SFL	Systemic-functional grammar / systemic-functional linguistics
V	Verb

Notational conventions

^	is used for indicating sequential order (space^time means that a space adjunct occurs directly before a time adjunct)
	is used for marking the boundary between adjacent adjuncts
#	has been inserted to mark boundaries between ‘sentences’ (parsing units) in longer excerpts from spoken texts from the ICE-GB
*	in front of an example marks it as unacceptable
?	in front of an example marks it as doubtful

xvi List of abbreviations

Lit	in front of a line following a corpus example in a language other than English indicates a literal, word-by-word, translation
<i>italics</i>	are used to highlight the part of an example that is most relevant to the discussion
overstrike	is used in corpus examples as in the ICE-GB, to represent corrections made by either the speaker/writer or the corpus annotators

Corpus examples are represented as in the corpora from which they are taken, including the prosodic mark-up found in the London-Lund Corpus.

For a complete list of *text codes* in the core corpus (from the ICE-GB), see the Appendix.

Preface

This book has grown out of many years of studying adverbials and other word order-related matters from a functional perspective. Adverbials are fascinating because of their enormous semantic and syntactic flexibility, as well as their elusiveness. In many ways a functional study of adverbials thus becomes a study of text and language in general.

During the work on this book I have had the advantage of two periods of research leave from the former Department of British and American Studies and the present Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages at the University of Oslo. Parts of chapters have been presented at various seminars and conferences in Oslo and elsewhere, and I am indebted to my various audiences for useful feedback. I would like to thank Merja Kytö for her encouragement during the early stages of this project. At later stages I received constructive and helpful responses from anonymous referees at Cambridge University Press. I am also grateful to colleagues in Oslo for useful discussions and for contributing to a fruitful research environment, and to my friends and family for a healthy mixture of support and distraction. In particular, I would like to thank my colleague, friend and mentor Stig Johansson for guiding me into corpus linguistics in the first place and for invaluable help, advice and encouragement during all my years of researching the English language.

Oslo, April 2009
Hilde Hasselgård

Part I

A framework for analysing adverbials

1 Studying adjunct adverbials

1.1 Introduction

Adverbials may be regarded as a rag-bag category in the linguistic system. They tend to be negatively defined as elements that are not verbs and that do not have a participant function in the clause. In terms of a positive definition, adverbials are often said to provide the answers to questions such as *how*, *where*, *when*, *why*? (e.g. Crystal 2008: 14). In some ways *how*, *where*, *when* and *why* adverbials appear to be prototypical, and they are often given as examples in brief definitions of adverbials such as the one in Crystal (2008) or the following from Sinclair *et al.* (1990: 281): ‘An adjunct is a word or a group of words which you add to a clause when you want to say something about the circumstances of an event or situation, for example when it occurs, how it occurs, how much it occurs, or where it occurs.’ Some idea of the frequency of adverbials can be had from the following example, in which the adverbials have been highlighted using italics and with added underlining if an adverbial occurs inside another.

- (1) Radio was, and *still is*, good *to me*. *As an actor*, I had appeared in *innumerable schools broadcasts*, *in Saturday Night Theatre* and *in The Dales*. *For seven years* I had been broadcasting *regularly on Monday morning from the archives*. I had been made a ‘regular’ *by Brian Cook*, *who later became Controller of Radio City in Liverpool*. Of all my broadcasting, the Monday morning spot was perhaps the best fun. *Not only* was there the pleasure of listening to old recordings and the great names of the past, but there was an opportunity to write *almost* anything one liked.

The programme had a biggish audience *(in radio terms)* *because it followed the Today programme*, and *because people listened to it in their cars on the way to work*. They either loved it or loathed it. I *once* had a fan letter *from Neil Kinnock* saying what a good way it was to start Monday morning and asking me how I got away with it. On the other hand, I got a letter *from a regular BBC correspondent who said he always turned the radio off immediately if it was my turn on the programme*, but he would like to take issue *with something I had said last week* . . . <ICE-GB W2B-001>

4 A framework for analysing adverbials

Readers may disagree with my identification of adjuncts in the above text, since definitions of adverbials vary (as will be discussed in [chapter 2](#)). However, two adverbials in (1) have not been highlighted on purpose; *perhaps*, and *on the other hand*. This is because they belong to the types of adverbials often referred to as disjuncts and conjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 593). These are often said to have a more peripheral connection with the clause than adverbial adjuncts (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999: 765). The italicised elements in example (1) are all adjuncts. As is clear from the example, adjuncts express a broad range of meanings; not only time, place, manner and reason, but also, for example, role, agent, focus and approximation. The main meanings of the adverbials investigated in this book, as well as the criteria for distinguishing adjuncts from other clause elements, are outlined in [chapter 2](#).

1.2 Research questions

The questions that will be explored in this book are connected with four main aspects of adjunct adverbials, namely: (i) **syntactic and semantic categories**; (ii) the **frequency** of such adverbials and their subcategories; (iii) the **placement** of such adverbials; and (iv) **discourse functions** of such adverbials.

The first point has to do with the range of meanings that can be identified in adjunct adverbials and the means by which these are realised. Secondly, having identified the syntactic and semantic categories, one may ask how often different types of adjuncts are used and in what sort of contexts. Frequencies must be seen in relation to running text, in comparison with other types of adverbials and in the context of text type/genre.

The third point, placement, is closely linked to the positional flexibility of many adverbials. It is interesting to investigate what positions in the clause are available to different types of adjuncts and what factors determine their placement whenever more than one position is possible. Is syntactic realisation more important than semantic category for selecting an adverbial position? To what extent does information structure influence adverbial placement? Furthermore, adverbial positions are expected to differ as regards their role in cohesion and information management. For example, (2)–(5) are all perfectly acceptable English sentences, but because of their differences in adverbial placement they will answer different questions and fit into different contexts. This investigation will be concerned with the placement of adverbials as well as the semantic and textual implications of positional variation.

- (2) I met a girl on the train today. <S1A-020>
- (3) Today I met a girl on the train.
- (4) On the train I met a girl today.
- (5) Today on the train I met a girl.

Related to the question of adverbial placement is the question of the order of adjacent adverbials. For example, it is often claimed that the usual order of adverbials is manner – space – time, as in (6); see, for example, Biber *et al.* (1999: 811). Quirk *et al.* (1999: 565) include more categories and claim that the usual order of adjuncts in a sequence is respect – process¹ – space – time – contingency. The study of corpus examples will reveal whether this is indeed the most common order and whether the same order can be found in sequences at the beginning as at the end of a sentence.

- (6) I say surprisingly, as while I was wandering *aimlessly around Grenoble on Sunday afternoon*, I got completely lost and didn't know where the hell I was. <W1B-002>

With respect to all these points it is relevant to compare the different categories of adverbials: do they differ from each other with respect to frequency, placement or other syntactic/semantic conditions for use? And further: how heterogeneous is the group of adjuncts? How much do the adjunct categories really have in common?

Discourse features of adverbials have not often been investigated thoroughly. Some exceptions are Virtanen (1992) and Hasselgård (1996), both of which were concerned with time and space adverbials, Altenberg's (1987) study of adverbials of cause and reason and Ford's (1993) study of adverbial clauses. Since the material for the present study contains six different text types (see [section 1.3.4](#)), it is possible to investigate the extent to which the use of adjunct adverbials varies according to text type. It is clear that the adverbials have a function at the ideational level, in specifying the circumstances in which processes take place (Halliday 2004: 175ff). But since most adjuncts are mobile in the sentence, their placement may be a reflection of thematic choice. In other words, adjunct adverbials also play a role at the textual level of language (Halliday 2004: 64). At clause level they may or may not be selected as clause theme (i.e. 'the point of departure of the message'), and their placement may furthermore reflect their status as given or new information. At text level adjuncts may be used by the speaker/writer as markers in the total build-up of the text (Virtanen 1992 and Hasselgård 2004a). In order to investigate such phenomena one must have access to the context of the sentences in which the adverbials occur. Ideally, one should also have access to sound recordings of the spoken material, in order to assess the function of prosody in addition to word order. Both of these possibilities are available with the corpus chosen for the investigation (see further, [section 1.3](#)).

¹ Process adjuncts include manner. See further, [table 2.1](#).

6 A framework for analysing adverbials

1.3 Material and method

1.3.1 *A corpus-based study*

The focus of this study is how adverbials are used in present-day English. The first step is to survey the types of adverbials that exist and the positions in the clause that may be filled by an adverbial, i.e. to establish what the possibilities are. But a more intriguing question is how the possibilities are exploited by native speakers of English. The adverbials thus need to be studied in their natural environment, i.e. in real text, and so it was decided to base the study on corpus material, more specifically, the British part of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB), compiled at the Survey of English Usage, University College, London.

A general problem in using electronic corpora for the study of a syntactic phenomenon is the difficulty of searching automatically for syntactic functions. The ICE-GB is both tagged and parsed to facilitate such searches. However, it does not distinguish adjuncts from other types of adverbials. A search for all occurrences of adverbials in the ICE-GB (using ICECUP 3.1; see Nelson *et al.* 2002) tells us that the corpus contains 110,970 adverbials distributed over 46,032 ‘text units’ (roughly corresponding to sentences). These are of course overwhelming numbers for most purposes and in this case prompted the decision to select a number of texts that could work as a ‘core corpus’ for the quantitative part of the study. These texts were then searched manually for adjunct adverbials.

Naturally, there are still advantages to working with a parsed corpus. The ability to search for specific syntactic structures is useful for finding supplementary examples of phenomena that are too rare in the core corpus to grant any kind of conclusions. Some examples of this are adverbials in cleft sentences (see [chapter 7](#)), sequences of adverbials in clause-initial position ([section 4.6](#)) and sentences in which an initial adverbial is followed by inversion ([section 9.2.5](#)). See further, Nelson (1998) and Nelson *et al.* (2002) for introductions to the ICE-GB corpus, the accompanying software and its search facilities.

1.3.2 *Corpora used*

As mentioned above, the main material for the present study is the ICE-GB. This implies that the main focus is on British English. However, other corpora have also been consulted. The British National Corpus (BNC, see further <http://info.ox.ac.uk/bnc/>) has been used for supplementary examples. Furthermore, some examples have been taken from the London-Lund Corpus (LLC), a prosodically annotated corpus of spoken British English.

Cross-linguistic sidelights can be illuminating also in a predominantly monolingual study. Thus, the multilingual resources compiled at the University of Oslo and its sister project in Lund and Göteborg have been consulted

when it seemed relevant to study how English adverbials have been translated into other languages. The English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC) contains original texts in both English and Norwegian with translations into the other language. The Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC) overlaps with the ENPC, but includes more languages. The English–Swedish Parallel Corpus (Lund/Göteborg) is built up in the same way as the ENPC, with mostly the same English original texts.²

1.3.3 *Qualitative and quantitative description*

There are both quantitative and qualitative aspects to the present study. In my opinion, observations of frequency have an important place in a description of usage because they display the linguistic choices made by speakers and writers. Qualitative statements are often of little value for generalisations about language use unless they can be corroborated by quantitative observations. In the words of Halliday (1991: 31): ‘... the linguistic *system* [is] inherently probabilistic, and ... frequency in text [is] the instantiation of probability in the grammar’. Furthermore, corpus studies provide ‘evidence of relative frequencies in the grammar, from which can be established the probability profiles of grammatical systems’ (*ibid.*: 41).

The major part of this book, however, contains discussions of the qualitative aspects of the use of adjunct adverbials. The meaning of the adverbials and the significance of adverbial placement can of course only be discovered by studying each instance in context. The quantitative information is nevertheless of importance even to this kind of discussion because it provides a basis for establishing default and marked choices.

Most of the quantitative information is based on a 60,000-word subcorpus of the ICE-GB (see section 1.3.1), henceforth referred to as the ‘core corpus’. The core corpus, in which the clauses containing adjunct adverbials have been analysed in great detail, also provides the main material for the qualitative part of the study. However, whenever additional material was needed for some parts of the discussion, the whole ICE-GB, as well as the other corpora mentioned in the previous section, was consulted for supplementary examples. These examples may represent other text types than those found in the core corpus and are not included in the quantitative part of the study.

1.3.4 *Text types included in the investigation*

The core corpus taken from the ICE-GB includes six text types: conversation, sports commentary, social letters, fiction, news and academic writing.

² For further information on the multilingual corpora, see www.hf.uio.no/ilos/OMC/.

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Previous studies have shown that text types may differ in grammatical structure or in the frequency with which a certain pattern occurs (Biber *et al.* 1999). The present study aims to investigate such differences in relation to adverbial usage.

Text types are defined according to external criteria, not according to linguistic features or discourse functions (unlike e.g. Virtanen 1992). The labels are taken over from the text classification in the ICE-GB (Nelson *et al.* 2002: 5ff) and are also well-known from, for example, Biber *et al.* (1999), where incidentally they are referred to as ‘registers’. The present study mainly uses the term ‘text type’, but ‘genre’ also occurs without any distinction of meaning.

For purposes of comparison, both spoken and written English have been included. There are two types of spoken English (conversation and sports commentaries), three types of published written English (news, fiction and academic writing) and one type of unpublished written English (social letters). The latter text type consists of personal letters to and from people who know each other. Such informal writing can be expected to constitute an intermediate between public/published written English and informal spoken English. It was considered important to have at least two text types of each medium to avoid confusing medium and text type.³

The choice of text types for the core corpus was influenced by choices made in both Biber *et al.* (1999) and Hasselgård (1996), to facilitate comparison with those studies. Five of the text types are thus the same as those found in Hasselgård (1996) (conversation, commentary, letters, news and fiction). Four of them are also found in Biber *et al.* (1999) (conversation, fiction, news and academic writing). The six text types differ from each other in many respects. One parameter is speech versus writing; another is public versus private. Furthermore, the text types differ as to the degree of interaction, the extent of planning and/or editing involved and the extent to which the speaker/writer is free to choose the topics.

On-line speech production typically allows little or no time for advance planning. However, conversation and sports commentaries differ somewhat in this respect. The differences can be described along Enkvist’s (1982: 15) variables for assessing the degree of ‘impromptuness’ of a text: (a) degree of scripting, (b) extent of planning and (c) degree of macrostructural boundness. Sports commentaries are likely to be planned but not scripted, and they involve a certain degree of macrostructural boundness; the sequence of events is to a large extent determined by the unfolding of a game or race, and speakers have to observe certain conventions for the form of broadcast commentaries. Listeners will also normally have quite strong expectations about what they

³ Biber (1986) demonstrated that many of the contradictory results in investigations of differences between speech and writing were due to the use of different text types to represent each mode.

are about to hear. Most of the words and expressions will be taken from the same lexical field. Sports commentaries are usually monologic in form; although there may be two speakers, they tend not to interact much. A conversation is obviously not scripted, nor does it normally involve a lot of planning. There is a minimum of macrostructural boundness, the most important factor being the presence of at least two speakers who interact and negotiate the topics being talked about.

The writing of a newspaper article involves a lot of constraints. Deadlines put the writer under severe time pressure. There may also be restrictions on the format of the article: a news item which is considered important is allotted a great deal of space, whereas another may be confined to a few lines. Genre conventions are also important: normally a newspaper article has to stick to a 'matter-of-fact' style in order to be taken seriously. In addition, a newspaper may have a 'house style', involving advice on spelling, grammar, paragraphing etc. Finally, the article may be edited by somebody other than the original writer.

Writers of fiction can determine the length as well as the contents of their texts. They also have more time at their disposal than journalists writing a news article, both for planning and editing, and can pay more attention to stylistic matters. Style is an important component of fiction, both for creating a frame of reference by means of language and in order to hold the reader's attention throughout the novel. One can thus expect the language of a novel to be carefully composed. Like news articles, however, fictional texts are written for a general audience, and they are not interactive. It may be noted that the fictional texts included in the ICE-GB vary in (sub)genre and in literary quality.

Academic writing differs from the other genres in being written by a specialist mainly for a specialist audience. It contains technical terms and other specialised vocabulary. Intertextuality is another feature of academic writing, in terms of references to, and quotations from, other people's work. Although the purpose of such texts is often to present new findings, there is also a great deal of common ground between writer and addressee. The 'academic writing' category in the ICE-GB is organised according to disciplines. The texts selected for close reading in the present study come from the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.

Letters differ from the other three written categories in that they are not written for publication. A personal letter is intended for a specific and specified addressee. Despite not being physically present during the writing of the letter, the addressee is very much present in the writer's mind. If the writer and the addressee know each other well and communicate with each other regularly, they have a fairly large pool of shared knowledge. Thus a personal letter comes close to being dialogic in form, e.g. in containing questions and reference to earlier letters in the correspondence, or showing clear expectations of a reply.

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Table 1.1 *Features of the text types in the material*

	Spoken	Participant interaction	Time constraint under production*	Planning and editing of text	Public
Conversation	+	+	+	—	—
Commentary	+	—	+	+ / —	+
Letters	—	+	—	+ / —	—
News	—	—	+ / —	+	+
Fiction	—	—	—	+	+
Academic writing	—	—	—	+	+

* For the spoken genres, ‘time constraint’ refers to the on-line speech production. As for the written news genre, this factor has a (partly) positive value because the journalist is under pressure to finish the text before a deadline.

The texts for the core corpus were chosen more or less at random within the selected text types in the ICE-GB. However, some adjustments were made. One of the texts originally selected from the ‘direct conversations’ in the ICE-GB had the character of an interview rather than a real conversation (text S1A-001), so it was replaced by another, more purely conversational text. The sports commentaries were selected so as to represent different sports. Similarly, the academic texts were selected from different disciplines. As for the news category, I aimed at a spread of different newspapers as well as texts that can be described as ‘press reportage’. In one of the corpus texts (W2C-002), however, subtext 1 may be classified as a feature article. For a full list of the texts included in the core corpus, see the Appendix.

As regards the supplementary material from the ICE-GB and other corpora, no selection has been made as regards text type. It should be noted, however, that text type can be identified in each of the corpora used in the investigation.

Some central features of the text types included in the material have been summarised in [table 1.1](#). These features bear on external or situational aspects of the text types, concerning conditions of text production as well as the final product. The table shows that the similarities and differences among the text types extend beyond the distinction between speech and writing.

1.3.5 Excerption, analysis, database

As mentioned in [section 1.3.1](#), a core corpus was selected in which all clauses containing at least one adjunct were analysed in detail. These clauses were stored in a database (FileMaker Pro) for ease of retrieval and further annotation. [Table 1.2](#) shows the features that were recorded in the database for each clause and each adjunct. See [chapter 2](#) for definitions and discussion of the categories.

Table 1.2 *Features of the analysis recorded in the database*

Category	Features
Text type	letter, conversation, commentary, fiction, news, academic writing
Sequence	single adverbial, cluster, combination, combination with cluster
Main category of adjunct	space, time, manner, contingency, respect, degree and extent, participant, situation, comparison/alternative, focus, viewpoint
Subcategory of adjunct	e.g. position, direction, distance, duration, frequency, relationship, manner/quality, comparison, accompaniment, means, method, instrument, attire, cause, purpose, result, condition, concession, matter, agent
Realisation	adverb phrase, single adverb, prepositional phrase, noun phrase, finite clause, non-finite clause, prepositional clause, verbless clause
Position	initial, M1, M2, M3, end, cleft focus
Scope of adjunct	sentential, predication
Obligatoriness	obligatory, optional
Length	number of words in adverbial phrase/clause
Number of adjuncts	number of adjunct adverbials in (matrix) clause
Verbal process	material, relational, mental, verbal, behavioural, existential
Clause type	main declarative (+/- subject), <i>yes/no</i> interrogative, <i>wh</i> -interrogative, imperative, adverbial clause, relative clause, <i>that</i> -clause, indirect question, nominal relative, <i>-ing</i> participle, <i>-ed</i> participle, infinitive
Transitivity of verb	monotransitive, intransitive, copular, ditransitive, complex transitive with predicative, complex transitive with adverbial
Voice	active, passive, middle
Subject-verb inversion	yes, no

1.4 Theoretical and classificatory framework

A corpus-based approach to adverbials carries with it a number of challenges, largely caused by the enormous range of meanings that adverbials can convey. Inevitably, meanings crop up in the corpus examples that seem to defy classification into established frameworks. Moreover, it is debatable what constitutes an established framework for the classification of adverbials. A consultation of the three major reference grammars of English⁴ reveals great variation in terminology as well as in the number of adverbial categories and their definitions (see further, [section 2.3](#)). The analyst thus faces the problem of striking the balance between a system that is sufficiently comprehensive and delicate and one that is manageable in the analysis as well as useful in generalisations about linguistic practice.

The classification scheme developed in this book is based mainly on those of Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999), but also borrows some terms and definitions from Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Halliday (2004). In addition, the nature of the corpus material calls for some less well-established

⁴ Quirk *et al.* (1985: ch. 8), Biber *et al.* (1999: ch. 10), and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: ch. 8).

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categories. The scheme is presented in [section 2.4](#) and summarised in [2.7](#). Since the main material for the study comes from the ICE-GB corpus, which is fully parsed, it should be noted that my analysis does not always follow that of the ICE tagger. The details of this are specified in [chapter 2](#).

The theoretical framework adopted is basically functional, due to the descriptive and empirical nature of the study. Apart from the descriptive approach taken over from Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999), Hallidayian systemic-functional grammar (SFG) will be visible in the analysis. Some inspiration also comes from functional sentence perspective (FSP) as developed by the Prague school (Firbas 1986) and the type of text linguistics developed at Åbo Akademi by Nils Erik Enkvist (e.g. Enkvist 1976 and 1981) and as applied by, for example, Virtanen (1992). The functional approach entails that adverbials are studied in their context and that discourse features are taken into account in the description of usage. Such discourse features include information structure, thematisation and genre.

It should be emphasised, however, that the study is data-oriented more than it is theory-oriented. The main aim is to give a description of the use of adjunct adverbials in present-day English (as represented in the corpora used). The choice of theoretical framework has thus been made out of considerations of the syntactic and contextual factors that govern adverbial usage and how they can best be described. It is also an aim to arrive at descriptions of, and explanations for, adverbial usage that can have predictive power and thus be useful in, for example, text production and language teaching.

1.5 Representation of examples

The examples in this book have been rendered as they appear in the corpus from which they have been taken. In the spoken material, pauses are marked by <,>, as shown in example (7); two commas mark a longer pause. In the written unpublished material (social letters), corrections occur (made by the writer or by the corpus compilers). These are marked in the corpus, and hence in this book, by strike-out, as in (8).

- (7) But uh there's a there's a relevance theory workshop the following week since Sperber is over <,> which I shall go to <,> anyway <S1A-005>
(8) I hope you haven't had any more ~~argument~~ arguments with Natalie since my departure!<? <W1B-002>

Examples from the ICE-GB corpus have reference tags in angle brackets indicating which corpus text they have been taken from. 'S' and 'W' in the reference tags indicate speech and writing respectively. <S1A-005> in (7) thus refers to spoken text, category 1A (dialogue, direct conversation) and text number 5 in this category. The full ICE-GB tag also includes reference to text unit, subtext, and in the case of spoken texts, speaker.

This information has been omitted from the tags given in the present book. For further information on text classification tags and text encoding in the ICE-GB, see Nelson *et al.* (2002). Examples taken from other sources have reference tags indicating which corpus (or other source) they have been taken from. Examples from the London-Lund Corpus have been rendered with prosodic mark-up. For a key to the conventions, see the manual to the corpus at <http://icame.uib.no/newcd.htm>.

1.6 Plan of the book

The book is organised in four parts: **Part I** (chapters 1–3) offers a general introduction to adjunct adverbials. The classification of adverbials is discussed in chapter 2, including the delimitation of adverbial adjuncts as against other clause elements. Chapter 3 outlines some aspects of the syntax and semantics of adjuncts, such as placement, obligatoriness and scope. **Part II** (chapters 4–8) devotes a chapter to each of the adverbial positions (initial, medial, end and cleft focus). Within each chapter there are surveys of the types of adjuncts that occur in that position, the frequency with which the position is used and the characteristics of the position in terms of, for example, cohesion and information structure. There is also a chapter on sequences of adverbials that combine two or more adverbial positions. In **Part III** (chapters 9–11), the semantic classes of adjuncts are discussed in more detail, with surveys of the distribution of subclasses of each type (e.g. types of contingency adjuncts), realisations of semantic categories, their co-occurrence with verbal process types, distribution across text types and other relevant features, such as metaphorical extensions, discourse functions and occurrence in sequences. **Part IV** draws together findings from previous chapters. Chapter 12 compares adverbial usage across text types and discusses some text-type-specific patterns. The final chapter gives an overview of findings. There is a survey of positions preferred by each adjunct type and an overview of factors that influence adverbial placement, as well as a review of adverbial categories in light of the findings of the study.

2.1 The delimitation of ‘adverbial’

2.1.1 *Adverbs and adverbials*

There is some vacillation in English grammars as to the use of the terms *adverb* and *adverbial*, presumably because many studies of adverbials, e.g. Jacobson (1964) and Ernst (2002), have focused on adverbials realised by adverbs. In this study ‘adverb’ refers to the word class and ‘adverbial’ to a syntactic clause element, following, for example, Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999).

Adverbs constitute a heterogeneous word class and can have a variety of functions at phrase level (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 445ff). Besides acting as head of an adverb phrase, an adverb can modify adjectives, other adverbs, prepositions, nominal elements and verbs. At clause level, an adverb (phrase) typically fills the syntactic function of adverbial. However, adverbials may also be realised by noun phrases, prepositional phrases and finite, non-finite and verbless clauses. While adverbial (or *adjunct*) is generally recognised as a clause element, there is no general agreement on its delimitation. The following sections discuss some of the problems of classification with a view to supporting the analysis used in the present study.

2.1.2 *Adverbial versus predicative (complement)*

A particular problem of classification concerns prepositional phrases or adverb phrases that complement lexical *be*. The problem is illustrated by examples 1–4 below.

- (1) Anne is Scottish.
- (2) Anne is a Scotswoman.
- (3) Anne is from Scotland.
- (4) Anne is in Scotland.

The postverbal elements in (1) and (2) ascribe a property to the subject referent and answer questions such as ‘What is Anne (like)?’. They are thus prototypical examples of subject predicative (Biber *et al.* 1999: 126). The

question to which (4) would be an appropriate answer is 'Where is Anne?', suggesting that *in Scotland* is an adverbial rather than a predicative. While (3) is at least partly synonymous with (1) and (2), it is formally very similar to (4). Syntactically, (1) and (2) are different from (3) and (4). In the former two, *be* is clearly copular, serving as a link between the subject referent and a class to which the subject referent can be assigned. In the latter two, the verb might be replaced by verbs with no linking function at all, such as *come* (*Anne comes from Scotland*) and *stay/live* (*Anne stays/lives in Scotland*). There is thus reason to distinguish between the copular and the intransitive use of *be*.

This distinction is, however, not upheld in all reference grammars of English, notably Greenbaum (1996) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002). Greenbaum (1996) assigns postverbal elements such as those in (3) and (4) to the class of predicative, along with such elements as those in (1) and (2). The parsing of the ICE-GB follows these principles, so that in (5) *here* is labelled 'subject complement' (see Nelson *et al.* 2002: 54).

(5) Someone is *here* <W2F-020>

Huddleston and Pullum use the term 'complement' for all elements that are 'part of the complementation of the verb' (2002: 680). Thus, an adverbial expression is seen as a complement (and hence not an adjunct) not only with copular verbs, but also with verbal expressions of appearance and existence, such as *occur* or *to be stored*, whose valency licenses adverbial complementation.¹ A copular verb such as *be* not only licenses, but *requires* complementation; thus the postverbal elements in (1)–(4) are termed 'internal complements' (2002: 222).

Halliday's definition of 'adjunct' is 'an element that has not got the potential of being Subject' (2004: 123). According to this definition, all the postverbal elements in (1)–(5) should be adjuncts. Nevertheless, adverbial expressions following lexical *be* are analysed as 'complement' and 'attribute' (rather than 'adjunct' and 'circumstantial') (2004: 240). However, the relational process marked by *be* is labelled 'intensive' in (1) and (2) and 'circumstantial' in (3) and (4), indicating the adjunct-like character of the latter two. Circumstantial attributes are also said to differ from intensive ones in that they are more easily thematised (2004: 241).

An argument for seeing *be* as intransitive rather than copular in sentences such as (3)–(5) comes from cross-linguistic evidence. In the Oslo Multilingual Corpus and the ESPC a good number of sentences with *be* complemented by a spatial expression have been translated by intransitive verbs meaning

¹ Complements need not be obligatory, though in the case of locative, temporal and manner expressions (which are the only adverbial types that can be required by the verb), the distinction between complements and adjuncts is determined by obligatoriness. The exception is agent *by*-phrases in passives, which are classified as complements since they are licensed by the (form of the) verb phrase (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 222).

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‘stand’, ‘lie’ etc. in German, Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch, see examples (6) and (7) below. Apart from the different choice of lexical verbs, all the translations in (6) and (7) are practically verbatim. ‘Stand’ and ‘lie’ are of course also possible in such contexts in English, as in (8), but seem to be more common in the other Germanic languages.

- (6) His big feet were on the table. (OMC: BO1)
 NORWEGIAN: De store føttene *låg* på bordet. (‘lay’)
 GERMAN: Seine großen Füße *lagen* auf dem Tisch. (‘lay’)
 SWEDISH: Hans stora fötter *vilade* på bordet. (‘rested’)
 DUTCH: Zijn grote voeten *rustten* op de tafel. (‘rested’)
- (7) On the table *were* three plates with food on them. (OMC: RR1)
 NORWEGIAN: På bordet *stod* tre tallerkener med mat. (‘stood’)
 GERMAN: Auf dem Tisch *standen* drei Teller mit Speisen. (‘stood’)
 SWEDISH: På bordet *stod* tre tallrikar med mat. (‘stood’)
- (8) Ailsa Craig *lies* ten miles west of Girvan. <W2C-015>

Although conclusions about one language arguably should not be drawn on the basis of evidence from another, the translations nevertheless back up an intransitive reading of *be*. In this study, then, I assume that *be* can have an intransitive use and be complemented by an adverbial. The adverbial is then obligatory, and is most frequently a space adverbial, though other adverbials too can complement the intransitive *be*.

Having established the distinction between the intransitive and a copular *be*, another problem arises with spatial expressions that are used metaphorically, i.e. the form of the adverbial may be that of a spatial expression, but its reference is abstract, not to any physical position, direction or distance. With phrases expressing a metaphorical concept of space, it is difficult to decide where to draw the line between adverbial and predicative.

- (9) Uhm he evidently mingled very freely and spent a almost all of his leisure time <,> with the European professional classes resident in Egypt <,> particularly the English with whom of course he felt most *at home* . . . <S2A-026>

In (9) the expression *at home* means ‘comfortable’ rather than ‘the place in which somebody lives’. The adjectival use of the expression is underlined by its co-occurrence with the copular *feel* and a marker of gradability before the preposition.

- (10) You are *in a very vulnerable position* here <S2A-054>

In (10) the italicised part has the form of a spatial expression, and the word *position* strongly suggests a spatial interpretation. On the other hand, the ‘position’ clearly does not refer to a physical location. It would thus be possible to see this kind of ‘spatial’ expression as a subject predicative on the grounds that it may be said to assign a quality to the referent of the

subject rather than locating it in space (cp. *You are vulnerable here*). On the other hand, the replacement of *be* by *feel* produces a less acceptable sentence (10a). And it is not possible to insert a marker of gradability in front of the prepositional phrase (10b).

(10a) ?I *felt* in a vulnerable position.

(10b) *I was *more* in a vulnerable position.

Although there are adverbials that allow qualification for degree, e.g. many manner adjuncts (as in ‘She dresses *very elegantly*’), space is not a gradable concept. It seems, then, that there is a continuum of ‘metaphoricity’ and that the spatial metaphors in (9) and (10) differ as to their placement on this continuum. The expression in (9) has been lexicalised and has acquired adjectival status, whereas the one in (10) has retained its adverbial character. In the present study, metaphorical space expressions like the one in (10) are analysed as adverbials, whereas those exemplified in (9) have been treated as predicatives. Other examples of spatial metaphors that have been considered adjectival include *be in love*, *be in a hurry*, *be/feel in a good mood*, *be/feel in need of sth*, *be/feel on edge*, *be/feel on top of things/the world*. See section 9.2.6 for more discussion of spatial expressions with metaphorical meanings.

2.1.3 *Adverbials versus particles in multiword verb constructions*

The analysis of adverbial particles may be problematic, in that they may be regarded either as part of the verb phrase or as adverbials. The problem is illustrated by (11) and (12).

(11) Soon the men were handing *out* chunks of meat to the crowd. <W2F-018>

(12) On that front, time is running *out*, . . . <W2E-006>

In (11) *out* can be shifted between pre- and post-object position. Consequently it has not been analysed as an adverbial, but as part of a phrasal verb construction. Particles in prepositional verb constructions and in intransitive verb constructions, such as (12), are more difficult to place in either category. Whenever the verb and the particle form a single idiomatic unit of meaning, as in both (11) and (12), the particle is classified, in the present analysis, as part of the verb phrase and not as an adverbial. Criteria for distinguishing multiword verbs from free combinations of verb and adverbial are outlined in Biber *et al.* (1999: 404ff) and in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1150ff). The criteria are partly syntactic but mostly semantic. The tagging system used for the ICE-GB, relying more consistently on syntactic criteria, marks all such particles as adverbials, whether or not they are followed by an NP.² Similarly,

² The particle in (11) has the subtag ‘phras’, indicating that it belongs with the verb (see Nelson *et al.* 2002: 26), and the NP following *out* is tagged as direct object.

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prepositional verbs, such as *come across* in (13), are tagged as verb plus adverbial in the ICE-GB, the adverbial consisting of the preposition plus a complement. In the present study, however, the preposition is considered part of the verb phrase. My analysis of (13) is thus SVO, unlike that of the ICE-GB tagger, which is SVA.

- (13) Uhm uh uhm crocodiles in the lavatories in the toilets you must have come *across* that <S1A-o63>

2.1.4 Adverbials versus modifiers

Many of the phrase types that can function as adverbials at clause level can also function as modifiers at phrase level. Example (14) contains two prepositional phrases with spatial meaning. The spatial expressions do not, however, specify the spatial circumstances of the process; rather they specify the referents of *people*. Obviously both phrases might function as space adverbials in different contexts, as in (15) and (16).

- (14) The people *in the wheelchairs in the group* are all very already very proficient dancers <S1A-001>
(15) The elderly pushed one another along the prom *in wheelchairs*. (BNC, HNK 0107)
(16) *In the group* Jenny started to recognise how she often put the needs of others first. (BNC, CAP 1022)
(17) The Foreign Office has rejected a call by the families of British hostages *in Lebanon* <, > for the restoration of diplomatic ties with Syria <, > <S2B-019>
(18) You could see the track-marks of Tootsie's fingers *in the cream in the cakes on the tray on the fridge behind the counter*. (Doyle 1993: 160)

The italicised prepositional phrase in (17) might possibly be interpreted as an adverbial, but it is more likely that the hostages were in Lebanon and the rejection was made elsewhere, making *in Lebanon* a modifier rather than an adverbial. As regards (18), the question is how many adverbials there are in the italicised part. The spatial expressions clearly modify each other progressively, i.e. the cream is in the cakes, which are on the tray, which is on the fridge, which is behind the counter. The fact that this paraphrase with relative clauses works at all suggests that each prepositional phrase following the first is a postmodifier of the nearest preceding noun. It is only the first, and possibly the second, of the phrases that could plausibly be left as the only positional circumstance of *you could see the track-marks of Tootsie's fingers*. The criterion used for considering a phrase as an adverbial in such structures is that it should be able to function independently as an adverbial in the context without the support of any preceding (adverbial) phrase. Thus, a sequence such as the one in (18) is regarded as a single adverbial.

- (19) remember last year, when you saw the Christmas lights *in the Kurfürstenda* [sic] for the first time? <W2F-016>
 (20) Luckily we hadn't lost our room *in the pension*. <W1B-009>
 (20a) We hadn't lost our money *in the pension*.

In (19) it may be a matter of interpretation whether the italicised expression is a modifier (the Christmas lights are those of Kurfürstendamm) or an adverbial (the place where the Christmas lights were seen). Such ambiguities can often be resolved by the context, linguistic or non-linguistic. For instance in (20), the italicised prepositional phrase must be a postmodifier of *room* simply because one cannot mislay a room somewhere, while in (20a) the same phrase is an adverbial referring to the place in which the money was lost.

It is no coincidence that all the phrases under discussion in this section are spatial. In general, spatial expressions seem more apt than other adverbial expressions to modify the nearest preceding noun phrase. However, time expressions, particularly *when*-clauses, may also function as noun modifiers (cf. Tottie and Lehmann 1999: 146).

2.2 Major classes of adverbials

At least since the publication of Greenbaum's (1969) study of adverbials, it has been common to distinguish three main classes in the description of adverbials in English. Greenbaum's terms *adjunct*, *disjunct* and *conjunct* were carried over to Quirk *et al.* (1972 and 1985). The corresponding terms in Biber *et al.* (1999: 763) are *circumstance*, *stance* and *linking adverbials*. The definitions of the categories, however, are the same as in Quirk *et al.* (1972: 421ff and 1985: 501). Halliday (2004: 123ff) has three similar categories of adverbials (in SFG terminology: adjuncts), namely *circumstantial*, *modal* and *conjunctive* adjuncts. Roughly, adverbials that contribute to referential meaning are called adjuncts or circumstantial adverbials; those that convey the speaker's evaluation of something in the proposition are called disjuncts or modal adverbials, and those that have mainly text-organising and connective functions are called conjuncts or conjunctive/linking adverbials. These classes generally have subcategories that reflect the various meanings that can be expressed by adverbials.

According to Greenbaum (1969), the three major classes of adverbials are distinguished on the basis of syntactic and semantic features, including considerations of the extent to which they are integrated in the clause structure. An adjunct should satisfy a set of 'diagnostic criteria': it must be unacceptable in an independent tone unit with a rising, falling-rising or level nuclear tone when the clause is negated; it must be able to serve as the focus of clause interrogation; and it must be able to serve as the focus of clause

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negation (Greenbaum 1969: 24). Adverbials which do not satisfy any of these criteria are disjuncts or conjuncts.

In Quirk *et al.* (1985), instead of the ‘diagnostic criteria’, we find a description of some features of adjuncts. An adjunct is said to ‘closely resemble other sentence elements such as S[ubject], C[omplement] and O[bject]’ (1985: 504). Accordingly, an adjunct can:

- (i) be the focus of a cleft sentence (It was *down the road* that they walked);
- (ii) serve as the focus of alternative interrogation or negation (Did they walk *down the road* or through the park?);
- (iii) be focused by a ‘focusing subjunct’ (1985: 504) (They walked just *down the road*);
- (iv) come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms, (They walked *down the road*, and so did I.);
- (v) be elicited by question forms (A: Where did they walk? B: *Down the road.*).

These features are not meant to be absolute criteria of adjunct status, but rather, characteristics that hold for most adjuncts. It is admitted in a note (1985: 505) that some adjuncts do not easily fit the description given, and that borderlines between classes of adverbials are fuzzy.

The defining criteria mentioned so far are mainly syntactic. However, adverbials probably illustrate better than any other grammatical category the interdependency between grammar and meaning. Syntactic criteria for ‘adjuncthood’ fail to capture all adverbials that ought to go in the adjunct category for semantic reasons. Nor can they distinguish different types of adjuncts or even suggest a line between disjuncts and conjuncts. Clearly, meaning needs to be taken into account in the classification of adverbials. In Biber *et al.* (1999) meaning is indeed the main basis for distinguishing the three classes of adverbials. Circumstantial adverbials thus ‘add information about the action or state described in the clause, answering questions such as “How, When, Where, How much, To what extent?” and “Why?”’. They include both obligatory . . . and optional adverbials’ (1999: 763ff). Meaning is also the basis for Halliday’s classification (2004: 124ff), where circumstantial adjuncts constitute the only type of adverbials that play a part in transitivity, i.e. that are associated with the experiential metafunction. This implies that they are the only type of adverbials that refer to (aspects of) things and relations in the world.

A *conjunct* adverbial is not an integrated part of the clause structure, and its primary function is connective. Conjuncts characteristically occur in clause-initial position, though some of them can occupy other positions as well, especially medial. Typical examples are *however*, *furthermore* and *to begin with*. Conjuncts set up contextualising relationships between portions of text and thus belong to the textual metafunction, according to Halliday (2004: 132).

‘Disjuncts can serve as a response to a *yes-no*-question, though some require to be accompanied by *yes* or *no*’ (Greenbaum 1969: 81). They are not integrated in the basic clause structure. The so-called attitudinal disjuncts ‘express the speaker’s attitude to what he is saying’ (1969: 94), while style disjuncts represent the speaker’s comment on the form he is giving his message. Halliday (2004: 126) associates disjuncts (modal adjuncts) with the interpersonal metafunction because their meanings belong to the domains of mood, modality and comment (modal assessment). Examples of disjuncts are *probably*, *fortunately* and *honestly speaking*.

In addition to adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts, a fourth class of adverbial is defined in Quirk *et al.* (1985), namely *subjuncts*. Subjuncts are ‘adverbials which have, to a greater or lesser degree, a subordinate role in comparison with other clause elements’ (1985: 566). The subjunct may be subordinate in relation to the clause in which it occurs, or to another constituent. A broad range of meanings can be expressed by subjuncts, e.g. viewpoint, courtesy, volition, subject-evaluation, time relationship, frequency, emphasis, intensification, approximation and focus. Subjuncts fall into a number of subcategories, depending on their meaning, their scope and on the kind of clause element they are subordinate to.

Ungerer (1988: 8ff) distinguishes only two classes of adverbials at the level of the clause: *scope adverbials* (‘Skopusadverbialien’) and *proposition adverbials* (‘Propositionaladverbialien’). The scope adverbials have affinities with mood, finiteness, polarity and aspect and include most disjuncts and conjuncts as well as a good number of adjuncts. Proposition adverbials are referential and resemble the nominal constituents of a clause. The adverbials in this category are all classified as adjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (1985), but not all adjuncts are proposition adverbials. The boundary between scope and proposition adverbials thus cuts across traditional, semantically based categories.

2.3 Different classification schemes

As demonstrated above, it is possible to distinguish (most) adjuncts from (most) disjuncts and conjuncts on syntactic grounds. The distinction between disjuncts and conjuncts, on the other hand, is semantic and discourse-functional (see also Huddleston 1988: 346). Furthermore, distinctions between different subtypes of adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts are purely semantic, although some of the semantic groupings may be associated with syntactic characteristics, as will be shown in the discussion of semantic categories of adjuncts in chapters 9–11.

A striking feature of descriptions of adverbials is that there are hardly any two grammars that use the same classification scheme and/or terminology. Table 2.1 gives an overview of the classification used in four grammars: Quirk *et al.* (1985: 479ff), Biber *et al.* (1999: 763ff), Huddleston and Pullum

Table 2.1 *The classification of adverbials in four grammars*

Quirk <i>et al.</i> (1985)	Biber <i>et al.</i> (1999)	Huddleston and Pullum (2002)	Halliday (2004)
Adjunct Space (position, direction, distance), Time (position, duration, frequency, relationship), Process (manner, means, instrument, agentive), Respect, Contingency (cause, reason, purpose, result, condition, concession), Modality (emphasis, approximation, restriction), Degree (amplification, diminution, measure)	Circumstantial adverbials Place (distance, direction, position), Time (position, duration, frequency, relationship), Process (manner, means, instrument, agent), Contingency (reason/cause, purpose, concession, condition, result), Extent/degree (amplifier, diminisher), Addition/ restriction, Recipient, 'Other'	Adjunct Manner, Instrument, Means, Act-related, Spatial Location, Source, Goal, Path, Direction, Extent, Temporal Location, Duration, Aspectuality, Frequency, Serial Order, Degree, Purpose, Reason, Result, Concession, Condition, Domain	Circumstantial adjuncts Extent (distance, duration, frequency), Location (place, time), Manner (means, quality, comparison, degree), Cause (reason, purpose, behalf), Contingency (condition, default, concession), Accompaniment (comitative, additive), Role (guise, product), Matter, Angle (source, viewpoint)
Disjunct Style, Content (degree of truth, value judgment)	Stance adverbials Epistemic stance (doubt and certainty, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint or perspective, imprecision), Attitude, Style	Adjunct Modality, Evaluation, Speech-act related	Modal adjuncts Mood (probability, usuality, typicality, obviousness), Comment (opinion, admission, persuasion, entreaty, presumption, desirability, reservation, validation, evaluation, prediction)
Conjunct Listing, Summative, Appositional, Resultive, Inferential, Contrastive, Transitional	Linking adverbials Enumeration and addition, Summation, Apposition, Result/inference, Contrast/ concession, Transition	Adjunct Connective	Conjunctive adjunct Appositive, Corrective, Dismissive, Summative, Verificative, Additive, Adversative, Variative, Temporal, Comparative, Causal, Conditional, Concessive, Respective
Subjunct Wide orientation (viewpoint, courtesy), Narrow orientation (item, emphasisers, intensifiers, focusing)			

(2002: 665f) and Halliday (2004: 262 and 82). Categories that are placed in blocks across from each other correspond roughly, but not entirely, as defining criteria may differ. Subcategories of meaning are placed in brackets after their superordinate.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) is the only grammar that does not make a distinction of adverbial types corresponding to adjunct, disjunct and conjunct. However, they do apply the kind of tests outlined by Quirk *et al.* (1985), thereby distinguishing semantic categories from each other in a similar way. Among these criteria are ‘focus potential’ and ‘questioning’ (2002: 666–7), which distinguish (mainly) adjuncts from other types of adverbial.³ Further, adverbials that have a ‘bearing on the truth of the utterance’ (2002: 667) are called ‘restrictive’ – again roughly corresponding to Quirk *et al.*’s category of adjuncts. The class of subjunct is found only in Quirk *et al.* (1985), but the same semantic categories are found among circumstantial and stance adverbials (Biber *et al.* 1999) and corresponding classes in the other two grammars. Halliday (2004) differs from the others in not having ‘time’ and ‘space’ as superordinates, but as subcategories of ‘extent’ and ‘location’.

The focus of the present study is on adjuncts. I will thus not venture into a discussion of disjuncts and conjuncts. A few words need, however, to be said on the class of subjuncts. Subjuncts have ‘a subordinate role . . . in comparison with other clause elements’ (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 566). This class comprises viewpoint, focus and degree adverbials, which do not fit the syntactic description of adjuncts outlined above. Some time adverbials are also classified by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 579ff) as subjuncts expressing temporal relationship, duration and frequency. Examples are *just, already, yet, still, seldom, never*. They are seen as subordinate in relation to the finite verb, since they seem to emphasise or specify the temporal orientation of the tense and/or aspect of the verb. The time subjuncts listed often overlap in meaning with other adverbials classified as adjuncts in preceding passages, and it is noted that it is often hard to draw a line between subjuncts and adjuncts of time (1985: 582, note). In the present study I choose to follow Biber *et al.* (1999) in disregarding the category of subjuncts and rather, include all time and degree adverbials along with focus and viewpoint adverbials among the adjuncts.

2.4 Semantic categories of adjuncts

Adverbial adjuncts span a wide range of meanings. Accordingly, several categories of these adverbials can be recognised. They will be presented briefly here and more thoroughly in chapters 9–11. The classification takes that of Quirk *et al.* (1985: 514ff), as its starting point, but some modifications

³ Some adjuncts do not meet these criteria, e.g. (indefinite) frequency adjuncts; see further, section 2.5.

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have been made. In this study adjuncts are divided into the following categories: space, time, manner, respect, contingency, degree and extent, participant, comparison/alternative, situation, viewpoint and focus. The category of ‘participant’ (section 2.4.7) is not found in Quirk *et al.* (1985), but most of its subcategories are familiar. Furthermore, not all the subcategories of the major types of adjuncts are the same as those of Quirk *et al.* (1985). Though the criteria for the classification are mainly semantic, the subcategories may differ with respect to syntactic features, as will be shown later.

2.4.1 Space adjuncts

Space adjuncts denote spatial location, motion or distance. They typically answer the questions *where* (position), or *where to/from* (direction). Space position adjuncts establish a spatial location for a situation or an event. Direction adjuncts indicate a movement in space, either *to* a location (goal) or *from* a location (source). They can also express general direction (path) without stating source or goal. All three types of direction adjunct can co-occur in the same clause, provided they are semantically compatible. Distance adjuncts refer to spatial extent and answer the question *how far*.

Space position		I’ve got a lemon <i>at home</i> <S1A-005>
Direction	Goal	Brett gasped and rushed <i>to the window</i> . <W2F-001>
	Source	It comes <i>from Marks and Spencer’s</i> <S1A-020>
	Path	But the route doesn’t run <i>through Ribble Valley</i> . <W2C-018>
Distance		Will it go <i>that far</i> <S2A-009>

Distance adjuncts are often syntactically indistinguishable from nominal complements, as their typical realisation is a noun phrase with a quantifier (cp. *He ran two races* and *He ran two miles*), although prepositional phrases are also found (*for two miles*). They are thus classified as adjuncts purely on the basis of their meaning.

Spatial expressions have many metaphorical uses, which may pose a problem for their classification. The problem of drawing the line between adverbials and predicatives was discussed in 2.1.2. A second problem is whether metaphorical spatial expressions should be classified as space adverbials or, for instance, adverbials of respect (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 563), which are ‘sometimes based upon spatial phrases’ (*ibid.*), as in (21) and (21a).

- (21) She’s advising them *on legal matters*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 563)
 (21a) She’s advising them *from a legal standpoint*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 563)

Expressions formally similar to spatial expressions are used here to convey the meaning of ‘with respect to X’, which is taken to be the basic meaning

carried by a respect adjunct. One may argue that this meaning is conveyed by means of a spatial expression used metaphorically, but in contrast to example (10) above, the concept of location is lost. In the present analysis, adverbials where the whole concept of spatial location is transferred from a concrete to an abstract level have been classified as space adjuncts. Adverbials where the form of spatial adverbials has been borrowed, but where the concept of spatial location is absent, have been classified as adjuncts of respect (see 2.4.5). Metaphorical uses are discussed in more detail in section 9.2.6.

2.4.2 Time adjuncts

Time adjuncts locate events and states in time (sometimes in relation to other events) or specify their duration or frequency. They are typically elicited by the questions *when* (time position and time relationship), (*for*) *how long* (time duration) or *how often* (time frequency). Time position adjuncts establish a temporal location for a situation or an event, which may be a point or a period in time. Duration adjuncts indicate a stretch of time, either by denoting the whole period or by stating the beginning or the end of it. Time frequency adjuncts indicate the frequency with which the action denoted by the verb occurs. Frequency adjuncts can be definite, answering the question *how many times* (e.g. *twice*, *20 times*), or indefinite, answering the question *how often* (e.g. *rarely*, *occasionally*). Time relationship adjuncts are defined in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 550) as ‘expressing a relationship between two time positions that are both being considered in an utterance’. They are thus often connective, bordering on conjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 631ff), but making connections between points on a time scale rather than functioning (primarily) as text organisers.

Time position		‘Besides he told me <i>this morning</i> .’ <W2F-001>
Time duration	Source	<i>As from tomorrow</i> I can get my MOT done <S1A-007>
	Goal	It’s not let us down <i>so far</i> <S2A-009>
	Span	It’s been running down <i>for years</i> . <W2F-007>
Time frequency	Definite	He’s scored <i>once or twice</i> with that in this round <S2A-009>
	Indefinite	Mum <i>sometimes</i> sat like that. <W2F-001>
Time relationship		Well I <i>just</i> read your letter over ... <W1B-003> I see you’ve heard of him <i>already</i> . <W2F-007>

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2.4.3 Manner adjuncts

The definition of manner adjuncts varies greatly among grammars and other descriptions of adverbials. In the present study a very broad view of manner adjuncts is taken, i.e. one that includes the categories of comparison, instrument, means and role/capacity. Adverbials in the categories listed below all somehow answer the question *how*, or *in what way*.

The prototypical manner adjuncts specify manner/quality, i.e. the way in which something is carried out. Similarity adjuncts specify how an action can be compared to another and is typically realised by a prepositional phrase with *(un)like*. Accompaniment adjuncts specify with whom the action was carried out. They may have features in common with space adjuncts: e.g. *She is with the artist* might mean ‘together with the artist’ (accompaniment) or ‘in the artist’s house’ (location). Means adjuncts specify by what means something was carried out. The meaning of ‘means’ can be quite literal, i.e. means of transportation, as in the example below. An instrument adjunct specifies an instrument used in carrying out an action. Method adjuncts are related to both instrument and means, but specify in somewhat greater detail the method by which something is attempted or achieved. Attire adjuncts specify the appearance, clothing, etc. of someone, while role/capacity adjuncts denote the role or capacity in which a participant – usually the subject – is involved in a process.

Manner/quality	‘Was it you?’ she asked <i>suspiciously</i> . <W2F-002>
Similarity	I don’t think I wrote <i>like a lawyer</i> at all. <W1B-004>
Accompaniment	If only young Daniel had come <i>with you</i> . . . <W2F-007>
Means	If you come <i>by No.38</i> , remember to get out at Haverhill . . . <W1B-009>
Instrument	How would you arrange these things <i>without a telephone</i> <S1A-020>
Method	They tried to improve conditions for prisoners <i>by building new jails</i> . <W2C-001>
Attire	Ladies are dressed <i>in nineteenth-century costumes</i> <S2B-027>
Role/capacity	Paul Mulvey, 19, acted <i>as a lookout</i> the night carriages were attacked . . . <W2C-020>

Although manner adjuncts are all classified as (circumstantial) adjuncts by Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999) as well as Halliday (2004), it may be noted that there is a somewhat fuzzy borderline between these and the category of subject-orientation subjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 572f), as in (22) and (23).

- (22) Leslie greeted the stranger *casually*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 573: ‘in a casual offhand manner’ → manner adjunct)
- (23) *Casually*, Leslie greeted the stranger. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 573: ‘Leslie was casual, offhand, when he greeted the stranger’ → subject-orientation subjunct)

Huddleston and Pullum make a distinction between ‘manner adjuncts’ and ‘act-related’ adjuncts (2002: 675ff), which may be similar in form, but different in scope and communicative function. The act-related ones are evaluative and occur among ‘value judgement disjuncts’ in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 621). They express a value judgment on the content of the clause as well as on the subject referent or agent. The difference may be illustrated by examples (24) and (25) from Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 675), of which the former contains a manner adjunct and the latter an act-related one. Act-related adjuncts (‘value judgement disjuncts’), as illustrated in (25), fall outside the scope of the present study (but see further, section 10.2.4).

- (24) He answered the question *foolishly*.
- (25) *Foolishly*, he answered the question.

2.4.4 Contingency adjuncts

Cause and purpose adjuncts, and to some extent result adjuncts, can be elicited by the question *why*. Condition and concession adjuncts have no prototypical probing question, though *under what circumstances* would cover most cases.

Cause	I couldn’t go out this morning <i>because I felt full of ‘flu</i> . <W1B-004>
Purpose	Hill runs off <i>to try and get the penalty</i> <,> <S2A-002>
Result	People would get full counselling before starting the process of buying <i>so that they were aware of the commitments of home ownership</i> . <W2C-018>
Condition	But <i>if Heseltine comes up with a poll tax solution</i> then it will mean nothing. <W2C-018>
Concession	She was innocent, he knew, <i>no matter what they would say</i> . <W2F-012>

Cause and reason are distinct categories in Quirk *et al.* (1985). While cause ‘is concerned with causation and motivation seen as established with some objectivity, reason involves a relatively personal and subjective assessment’ (1985: 484). However, the distinction is not clear-cut, as illustrated by (26), in which the italicised adjunct at the same time conveys an assessment and an objective fact. Thus, as in Biber *et al.* (1999: 779), the two categories have been conflated in the present system. For simplicity, only the term ‘cause’ is used.

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- (26) Our project is not getting very far very fast *as we can't understand ~~what~~ this Spanish guy*. <W1B-009>

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 484) 'result is closely related to purpose in frequently (though not necessarily) indicating the fulfilment of a purpose'. In general 'purpose' denotes the intended effect of the action while 'result' denotes an actual outcome, whether or not it was intended. In other words purpose adjuncts are often non-factive, while result adjuncts are factive. There may also be formal similarities between the two: as noted by Huddleston and Pullum, the conjunction *so (that)* is used to 'indicate either purpose or result' (2002: 726). This is illustrated in examples (27) and (28), of which the former indicates the purpose of being 'open with them', while the latter shows the result of setting 'it' in a 'stylized frame'.

- (27) I try and be kind of open with them *so that they don't feel excluded* <S1A-054>
(28) And then it's set into this very stylized frame <,> *so that he's also exhibited like a sort of specimen* <S2A-059>

There is also an affinity between purpose and cause (but notably not between result and cause). For example, the purpose of running off in the example *Hill runs off to try and get the penalty* (above) is probably also Hill's reason for doing it (cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 484). However, cause adjuncts typically refer to a present or past state of affairs, while purpose adjuncts refer to an as yet unrealised future. If the purpose adjunct in the above example were rephrased *because he wanted to try and get the penalty* it would become a cause adjunct, since the wish, if not the attempt, to get the penalty would be present in the situation. Again, the purpose category is distinguished by its non-factive nature.

2.4.5 Respect adjuncts

Respect adjuncts specify a circumstance of the action which is neither temporal nor spatial, though they often consist of a spatial expression used metaphorically. They can normally be elicited by the question *with respect to what?* In Quirk *et al.*'s framework (1985: 563) respect adjuncts are not subdivided. However, they convey such a spread of meanings that a sub-categorisation has been attempted here. Domain adjuncts convey quasi-spatial, and sometimes quasi-causal, circumstances. Regard adjuncts generally justify or clarify some aspect of the process. They are typically introduced by expressions such as *with regard to*, or *as to*. The term *matter*

adjunct has been borrowed from Halliday (2004: 276) to refer to an adjunct denoting a subject-matter that is being talked or thought about.

- Domain** *With the Dumfries inquiry moving into its second month, Mr Kreindler said that there was nothing his group could do.* <W2C-001>
- Regard** *back to the main field which mystifies me a little bit as to why Carrera are chasing so hard* <S2A-016>
- Matter** *Back in the Sixties, people talked about building a multiracial society . . .* <W2C-015>

2.4.6 Adjuncts of degree and extent

Degree adjuncts typically specify the intensity with which something is carried out and may be elicited by the question *to what extent*. Related to this is the function of intensifier, which includes amplifier and downtoner,⁴ though intensifiers tend to be less closely associated with the verb and more with a following constituent. The dimension group is on the borderline between direction (goal) and degree. As shown in the examples below, dimension adjuncts often have the same form as direction (goal) adjuncts, but are about scalar rather than spatial extent.

- Degree** *Brett's voice rose slightly.* <W2F-001>
- Intensifier** *And you get the impression that he rather fancies the job in these early stages* <S2A-009>
- Dimension** *By June this year, the number of redundancies had climbed to 4,840 dockers – more than half the former registered work-force.* <W2C-001>

2.4.7 Participant adjuncts

Some adjuncts include reference to a participant in a process. More precisely, they refer to an entity which might have been a participant – typically with subject or object function – in an agnate clause. The most frequent type is agent, which is subsumed under ‘process’ adjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (see table 2.1). There are, however, good reasons for regarding ‘agent’ as a category separate from the process adjuncts; it belongs to a specific grammatical construction (the passive) and offers an alternative way of expressing a participant which would have been realised as a grammatical subject in an agnate active clause. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 674) do not regard

⁴ Quirk *et al.* (1985: 567) regard intensifiers as a category of subjunct and Halliday (2004: 129) as a type of mood adjunct.

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an expressed agent in a passive construction as an adjunct, but as an ‘internalised complement’ – a kind of ‘oblique subject’ (2002: 241). However, the realisation of agent phrases as well as their peripheral syntactic status speak in favour of their being adjuncts.

Beneficiary adjuncts are superficially similar to the ‘goal’ type of direction adjuncts, but are semantically agnate to indirect objects.⁵ Typically, the beneficiary denotes somebody who receives goods or services. The opposite relation is expressed by ‘source’ adjuncts. ‘Behalf’ is perhaps less clearly a participant in the process. It is related to the beneficiary meaning, but rather than denoting a participant that benefits from the action, it denotes a participant (often a group) on whose behalf an action is performed. Product adjuncts are agnate to resultative objects or an attribute in a copular construction (see further, [section 11.2.1](#)). Participant adjuncts thus have the following subtypes:

Agent	Played back untidily <i>by Wright</i> though <S2A-001>
Beneficiary	Please pass on our thanks <i>to your Mum and Dad</i> . <W1B-004>
Source	You mean you’ve never borrowed one <i>off me</i> love never <S1A-013>
Behalf	... as Barnes has possession <i>for England</i> <S2A-001>
Product	This sulphide is then oxidised <i>to elemental sulphur or thiosulphate</i> <W2A-021>

2.4.8 Other adjunct categories

The adjuncts included in this section are not related to a superordinate, but represent categories of their own. Situation adjuncts refer to spatiotemporal location and are thus closely related to both time and space position adjuncts. As shown in the example, they characteristically refer to a location in time and space simultaneously. Comparison/alternative adjuncts present an alternative scenario to the one in the main proposition. The alternative scenario can be hypothetical (*as if*. . .) or real, as in the example given below (*instead of*. . ., *rather than*. . .). Focus and viewpoint adjuncts are among the categories comprised by ‘subjuncts’ in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 567). Focus adjuncts are often directly subordinate to one of the other elements in the clause. However, they may also have scope over more than one element, or even the whole clause, depending on such factors as intonation and placement. Viewpoint adjuncts are closely related to disjuncts in that they give a perspective on the clause. However, the perspective is usually not the speaker’s; in fact the function of viewpoint adjuncts is often to assign responsibility for the proposition to somebody other than the speaker.

⁵ The term ‘beneficiary’, like the SFG term, covers the roles ‘recipient’, ‘client’ and ‘receiver’ (cf. Halliday 2004: 293) and corresponds to that of ‘recipient’ in Biber *et al.* (1999: 781).

Situation	And I'll show you the type of current flow that we get <i>in different situations</i> <S2A-056>
Comparison / alternative	<i>Compared with London</i> , travel around Brussels is so amazingly hassle-free. <W1B-002>
Focus	I can <i>only</i> see the book being about a thousand pages long <S1A-020>
Viewpoint	<i>In their own estimation</i> their rule rested on right and not on mere force; <W2A-001>

2.4.9 Overlapping between categories – semantic blends

The categories of adverbials are seldom clear-cut, and the preceding sections have pointed to some of the problems of distinguishing between subcategories of meaning. The present section discusses some examples of blends of meaning that cut across superordinate categories. In the analysis I have looked to the context for the dominant interpretation of semantic blends. Meaning in context has thus been considered more important for the classification than surface form.

2.4.9.1 Time and space

Halliday (2004: 265) notes that 'there are close parallels between temporal and spatial expressions' as regards both form and meaning; thus the categories of location and extent both have space and time as subcategories. Quirk (1986: 58) points out that 'spatial measure may be expressed in terms of temporal measure' in phrases like *a two hours' drive from Vienna*. Although the 'spatio-temporal' expression in his example is a modifier rather than an adverbial, the point remains the same.

Apart from the cases where spatial and temporal location are expressed simultaneously (situation; see section 2.4.8), adjuncts may represent a blend of temporal and spatial meaning as in (29), from Hasselgård (1996: 33). The verb *stand* does not denote movement and thus disfavors an analysis of the final adverbial as a distance adjunct. The key to interpreting this adverbial is the contextual information that the 'standing' takes place on board a train; thus temporal and spatial extent clearly coincide, and the adverbial in (29) functions (mainly) as a duration adjunct.

- (29) He said other passengers are regularly forced to stand *for up to 70 miles*.
(30) You called on the man <,> and as it were exchange as many words as you could *on the way to the study door* <,> <S1A-020>
(31) With the Dumfries inquiry moving *into its second month*, Mr Kreindler said that there was nothing his group could do. <W2C-001>

Another example of the close association between temporal and spatial relations is given in (30). While the form of the adverbial suggests a spatial

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interpretation, the context indicates a durative one, i.e. ‘during the time it takes to go to the study door’. A similar kind of indeterminacy is seen in (31), where the word *month* indicates time, but *move into* suggests space. (Though indeterminate, this example has been classified in the material as ‘time’.)

2.4.9.2 Manner and space

The adverbials in (32) and (33) are blends of manner and space. In (32) the spatial meaning is perhaps the dominant one, but the adverbial also gives information about how the action was carried out and may be a better answer to a *how* than to a *where* question. In (33) both of the italicised adverbials have features of space and manner meaning. While *close* is indeterminate between spatial location and manner (quality), *by a long way* conveys both distance and degree. Considering the meaning of the latter adverbial in context, the most plausible analysis is that it is a degree adjunct, realised by a metaphorical spatial expression.

- (32) Roddy Johnson was carrying the body of a man *across his shoulders*, but he was moving easily as if the man weighed no more than a sailor’s kit bag. <W2F-002>
- (33) Mason having his best successes when they work *close* but he’s made to miss *by a long way* <S2A-009>

2.4.9.3 Time and manner

Adverbs such as *suddenly*, *quickly* and *fast* are known to be intermediate between time and manner interpretations. For instance, in (34) both interpretations are possible, depending on the scope of the adverbial: *He [turned suddenly]* or *[He turned suddenly]*. The first representation indicates a situation where ‘he’ turned in a certain way (manner); the second, one where he suddenly did something (time).

- (34) He turned *suddenly* and ran . . . <W2F-003>
- (35) We have some rice and cassava, but that is running out *fast*. <W2C-002>
- (36) But he didn’t question Roddy about it *any further*. <W2F-002>

Likewise, *fast* in (35) refers to how long something takes as well as the way in which it happens. Presumably, both meanings will usually be present, but one of them may dominate in a given context. In (36) the adverbial may be seen as a blend of time, space and manner at the same time, the form being clearly spatial and the meaning somewhere between degree and duration.

2.4.9.4 Time and reason

Adjuncts realised by *-ing* participle clauses are often ambiguous between a temporal and a contingency (particularly causative) reading (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1124). Possible paraphrases of the adjunct in (37) might be *after having* . . . or

because they had . . . In this case, a (mainly) causative reading is supported by the purpose adjunct at the end of the sentence.

- (37) *And having failed with a two man three man and four man line-outs England try seven man line to see if they can catch and tidy up*
<S2A-002>

2.4.9.5 Degree and frequency

Both degree and frequency adjuncts indicate some kind of quantification in the clause, and sometimes the two kinds of quantification combine. An example is given in (38), where the predominant meaning has been taken to be low frequency ('almost never'). However, there is also a hint of low degree ('almost not'). In (39), the quantifier *a lot* is potentially ambiguous between high frequency and high degree.

- (38) It's been <,> very much the <,> dominant punch so far and it's thrown with good speed as well so that Mason is *rarely* able to slip it
<S2A-009>
(39) I do it with magazines *a lot* quality magazines <S1A-013>

2.4.9.6 Manner and degree

Ungerer (1988: 219) notes a certain similarity between degree adjuncts ('Gradadverbien') and manner adjuncts ('Art und Weise'). With the classification criteria in the present study, the two categories have different probing questions; degree adjuncts are elicited by the question *to what extent*, or *how much*, and manner adjuncts are elicited by *how*. Even so, some adjuncts may be said to answer either of the two questions, as in (40) and (41).

- (40) There's something from there that *desperately* wants to get in here and make this place its own. <W2F-002>
(41) They were inspecting an identity card, and looking *closely* at Katherine.
<W2F-012>

Desperately can indicate manner, but also has a semantically bleached use as an intensifier. The *OED* definition of the intensifier meaning says 'to a desperate degree; extremely, excessively'. As a modifier of *want* the degree meaning of *desperately* prevails, while other verbs may favour a manner reading, e.g. 'say/do something desperately'. *Closely* in (41) certainly says something about the intensity (degree) as well as the manner of looking. This time the *OED* definition points towards a manner reading: 'by bringing the eyes or mind into close proximity with an object or matter'. In the example, the manner reading is supported by the context, viz. the juxtaposition of *inspecting* and *looking closely*. In the present analysis the adjunct in (40) has been classified as degree and the one in (41) as manner.

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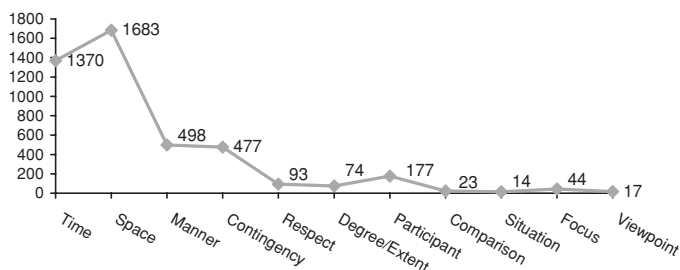


Figure 2.1 Frequency distribution of adjunct types in the core corpus (raw figures; $N = 4470$).

2.4.10 Frequency distribution of semantic types

The semantic types outlined above differ greatly in frequency. Figure 2.1 shows the frequency (raw figures) of each semantic type in the core corpus (60,000 words). Space and time adjuncts are vastly more frequent than any other type. Manner and contingency adjuncts are about equally frequent in third and fourth place, but less than half as frequent as time and space. Next in order of frequency are participant adjuncts. All the other types occur less than 100 times in the core corpus. The distribution of semantic types of adverbials is likely to vary across text types. So even if six different text types are represented in the corpus (see section 1.3.4), the relative frequencies of some adjunct types might look different if other text types were studied; the number of contingency and viewpoint adjuncts might for instance increase if argumentative text types were included. However, the predominance of time and space adjuncts has been noted in previous studies too, e.g. Tottie (1984: 307), Matthiessen (1999: 17) and Biber *et al.* (1999: 783f). For more on text type variation, see chapter 12.

2.5 More on the class membership of some time adverbials

Most time adverbials fit neatly into the categories of ‘adjunct’ (Quirk *et al.* 1972 and 1985) or ‘circumstantial adverbial/adjunct’ (Biber *et al.* 1999, Halliday 2004). There are, however, some exceptions. These reflect the great variety of meanings and functions that adverbials can have, and the fact that the set of criteria for ‘adjuncthood’ fails to distinguish all and only the adverbials that somehow ‘ought’ to go into that class.

It was noted above (section 2.3) that Quirk *et al.*’s (1985) category of ‘subjunct’ was found to be problematic. The problems can be related to both semantics and syntax. First of all, time subjuncts often overlap in meaning with adverbials classified as time adjuncts, which is awkward if the classification is based on meaning. From the point of view of semantics the need for the category of time subjuncts is thus not obvious; they can for

example often be rephrased by means of expressions that would fit neatly into some category of adjunct, as in (42) and (43), which must be considered synonymous.

- (42) John *just* arrived. (time subjunct)
- (43) John arrived *a short while ago*. (time adjunct)

Syntactic criteria also fail to draw a consistent line between time adjuncts and time subjuncts; for instance many frequency adverbials that cannot be the focus of a cleft construction are still classified as adjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 541ff).⁶ Moreover, some adverbials – in similar contexts – are discussed both as adjuncts and as subjuncts, e.g. *sometimes*, *rarely* and *never* (1985: 543–4 and 582). A further complication arises with adverbials which are analysed as adjuncts by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 504), but which fail to meet one or several of the criteria for adjuncthood. In example (44) the ‘adjuncthood’ of the time relationship adverb *then* is tested against the criteria.

- (44) (John put the phone down.) *Then* he looked up.
- (44a) ? It was *then* that he looked up. (‘focus of *it*-cleft’)
- (44b) ? Did he look up *then* or later? (‘focus of alternative question’)
- (44c) Only *then* did he look up. (‘focus of focus adjunct’)
- (44d) *Then* he looked up, and so did Peter. (‘within the scope of a predicate pro-form’)
- (44e) ? A: When did John look up? B: *Then*. (‘elicited by question form’)

The reason for questioning (44a), (44b) and (44e) is not that they are ungrammatical, but that the meaning of *then* is shifted from ‘next in a sequence of actions’ to ‘at that specific point’. The meaning of *then* in (44c) is ambiguous between the two. Another reason why (44e) is marked as doubtful is that it is not likely to elicit *then* as an answer, but rather *after he had put the phone down*. The only adjunct feature found with *then* unambiguously denoting ‘next in sequence’ is thus its ability to be covered by predicate pro-forms. The same feature is found with at least some of the time subjuncts listed above. The predicate pro-form clearly includes the meaning of the time adverbial in both (45) and (46). However, neither of the adverbials could be the focus of negation, clefting or an alternative question, or be the answer to a *when*-question.

- (45) John has *just* arrived, and *so* has Anne.
- (46) John has *already* arrived, and *so* has Anne.

⁶ It may indeed be impossible to apply the tests consistently; for example, the presence of negation will influence the possibility of clefting, as shown in the following example from the BNC and its non-negated paraphrase: *It's not often that someone can get paid for doing what they enjoy most.* (ADM 2007) / ? *It's often that someone can get paid for doing what they enjoy most.*

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As regards placement, the time subjuncts often differ from other temporal adverbials. To a great extent their position is fixed, even though their scope is the whole clause. Horová (1976: 115) describes their typical position as the ‘*not*-position’, since it defies a straightforward classification into pre- or postverbal. Rather, the placement of these adverbials varies with the complexity of the verb phrase they occur with. Like the negator *not*, they are placed after the operator in a complex verb phrase (e.g. *She has not/never/often complained*). With simple verb phrases they are placed in front of the verb unless the verb is lexical *be*, in which case the adverbial normally comes after the verb (e.g. *She is not/always nice to them*). It may be of some importance that the temporal subjuncts listed in Quirk *et al.* (1985) all belong to a set of closed-class adverbs. It is thus possible that word class membership can account for some of the syntactic peculiarities of these adverbs.

Many of the time subjuncts are classified by Halliday as modal adjuncts, a category said to ‘be most closely associated with the meanings construed by the mood system’ (Halliday 2004: 126), such as polarity, temporality and modality.⁷ Examples are *usually, always, never, yet, still, already*. One consequence of assigning time adverbials to different classes is that the group of frequency adverbials is split in two. Roughly speaking, the dividing line can be drawn between definite and indefinite frequency. The closed-class adverbs that can denote indefinite frequency (e.g. *often, never, always, usually*) have close semantic affinities with other markers of polarity and modality, as in (47).

- (47a) She is happy. (positive polarity, no adverbial, simple present indicates constancy)
- (47b) She is *always* happy. (adverbial enhances positive polarity and constancy)
- (47c) She is *definitely* happy. (disjunct modifies positive polarity)
- (47d) She is *often* happy. (adverbial slightly reduces positive polarity and constancy)
- (47e) She is *usually* happy. (adverbial indicates reduced degree of usuality/ validity)
- (47f) She is *probably* happy. (disjunct indicates reduced degree of probability/ validity)
- (47g) She is *never* happy. (adverbial indicates negative polarity and relative constancy)
- (47h) She is not happy. (negative polarity, no adverbial, constancy)

Another category that is split in two is that of time relationship. Some of these adverbials are classified as subjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (1985), e.g. *yet, already, just, still*. However, *then* is classified as a time relationship adjunct

⁷ In the SFG system, usuality is a modal category (see Halliday 2004: 147).

(1985: 550), although this can be problematic, as was illustrated in (44) above. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 710) classify some ‘time relationship’ expressions as aspectual adjuncts, reflecting their association with meanings such as ‘inception’ and ‘continuation’ and others as adjuncts of serial order, such as *for the third time* and *again* (2002: 719). Furthermore, Halliday’s category of conjunctive adjuncts (2004: 82) contains time adverbials, of which the prototypical example is *then* = ‘next in sequence’. Rather than drawing conclusions at this point about the class membership of the time adverbials that seem to defy the adjunct/disjunct/conjunct distinction, we simply note that time adverbials are a heterogeneous category that can do many types of discourse work (see further, sections 9.3.2 and 9.3.6). Thus all occurrences of time frequency and relationship have been included in the present investigation.

2.6 The realisation of adjuncts

Adjuncts are a heterogeneous category syntactically as well as semantically. In the present study the following realisation types have been noted:

Single adverb	Ring her <i>tomorrow</i> and invite her out <S1A-020>
Adverb phrase	If so, he must have loved her <i>very much</i> . <W2F-003>
Prepositional phrase	He has written <i>in the past for these occasions</i> . <W2C-020>
Prepositional clause	... they had hoped to escape <i>by joining the movement</i> . <W2A-012>
Noun phrase	Someone introduced it to me <i>the other day</i> <S1A-009>
Finite clause	Cassie’d be over the moon <i>if you let him go</i> . <W2F-001>
Non-finite clause	<i>If needed</i> , decoy puffins may be used <i>to encourage the real birds back</i> . <W2C-015>
Verbless clause	Go out on foot <i>whenever possible</i> . <W2B-022>

The categories of word classes and phrase/clause types have mainly been taken from Quirk *et al.* (1985), thus retaining the traditional distinctions between prepositions and subordinating conjunctions, and hence between prepositional phrases and dependent clauses introduced by a subordinator, unlike Huddleston and Pullum (2002). Some of the categories may need justification. First, ‘single adverbs’ and ‘adverb phrases’ are separated, following Biber *et al.* (1999: 767ff). This has been done because the realisation as a single word or a phrase of two or more words may have a bearing on the positional flexibility of the adverbial. The category of ‘prepositional clause’ has a similar justification: a preposition with a clausal complement is expected to have different positional restrictions from one with a phrasal complement. These distinctions are thus pragmatically rather than theoretically founded.

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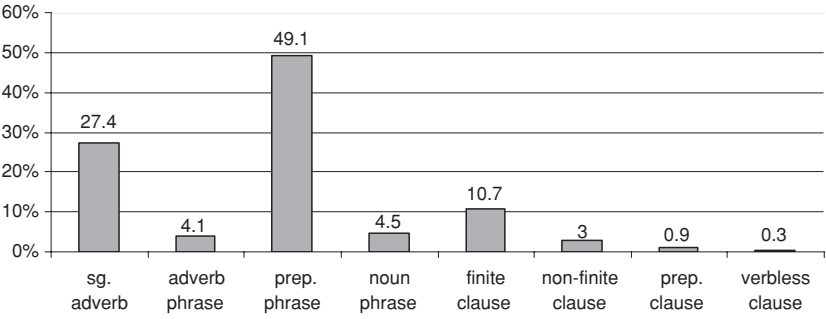


Figure 2.2 The overall distribution of realisation types across the material.

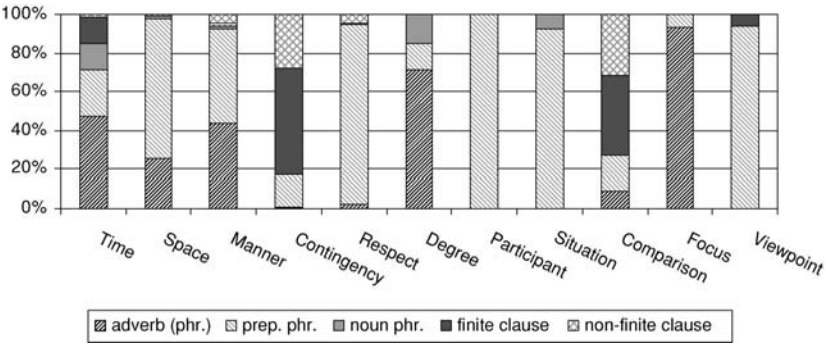


Figure 2.3 The realisation of semantic categories of adjunct.

As shown in figure 2.2, the most frequent realisation type by far is the prepositional phrase (49.1% of the total). Adverbs and adverb phrases together make up 31.5% and thus come second, followed by finite clauses (10.7%), noun phrases (4.5%) and non-finite clause types (altogether 4.2%). These figures agree fairly well with those presented in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 489f), though Quirk *et al.*'s figures include adjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts and subjuncts alike. The main difference is a greater proportion of adverbs and adverb phrases in Quirk *et al.* (1985) and a lower proportion of all the other categories. The explanation for this is that adverb phrases are more frequent in the non-adjunct categories, as shown by Biber *et al.* (1999: 769), whose distribution of realisation types for circumstantial adjuncts seems to agree with the one presented above.

Figure 2.3 shows the distribution of realisation types within each semantic category. The realisation types are not evenly distributed over the semantic categories of adjuncts. For example, finite clauses are more common among contingency adjuncts than in other categories; focus adjuncts are almost exclusively realised by adverbs, and participant adjuncts are found only

in the form of prepositional phrases in the present material. Prepositional phrases also dominate within the categories of space, respect, situation and viewpoint.

2.7 The classification of adjuncts – summary

While the present chapter may have done little in terms of clarifying the status of adjunct once and for all, it has hopefully contributed to an understanding of the view of ‘adjunct’ taken in the present study. The definitions are mainly meaning-based, as in Biber *et al.* (1999). Consequently, Quirk *et al.*’s (1985) subjunct category has been disregarded and adverbial expressions following lexical *be* have been included among adjuncts. The subcategories of adjuncts are also defined on the basis of meaning. Most of the terminology used comes from Quirk *et al.* (1985), Biber *et al.* (1999) and Halliday (2004). The categories have been summed up in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 *The semantic classification of adjuncts used in the present study*

Adjunct category	Meaning subcategories	
Space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • position • direction (goal, source, path) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • distance
Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • position • duration (beginning, end, span) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • frequency (definite, indefinite) • relationship
Manner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • manner/quality • similarity • accompaniment • means 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • instrument • method • attire • role/capacity
Contingency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cause • purpose • result 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • condition • concession
Respect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • domain • regard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • matter
Degree and extent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • degree • intensifier 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dimension
Participant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • agent • beneficiary • source 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • behalf • product
Situation Comparison/alternative Focus Viewpoint		

A special feature of adverbials, compared to other clause elements in English, is that they do not have a fixed position in the clause, but can occur at the beginning, middle or end. The various positions available to adverbials are surveyed in [section 3.1](#). Other features of the syntax of adverbials are also discussed here, such as obligatoriness and scope. While the former is tied to verb valency and is thus purely syntactic, the latter is partly syntactic and partly semantic. Adverbials are the only type of element that can occur in sequences within the same clause. The distribution and the order of adverbials in sequences are discussed briefly here and more thoroughly in [chapters 4–8](#). Finally, some discourse features that are believed to have a bearing on adverbial placement are reviewed at the end of the chapter.

3.1 Adverbial positions

3.1.1 *The clause*

Adverbial positions are most commonly described in relation to other clause elements. This implies that adverbial placement must be studied in the context of a clause. It is common to regard the clause as a structure with the verb as the nucleus (e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 50) even if the verb may be ellipsed in the case of verbless clauses. The (potential) presence of other clause elements is dependent on the transitivity or valency of the verb. For the study of adverbial placement it seems reasonable to require that the clause must contain a verb, finite or non-finite, so that the position of the adverbial can be defined relative to the verb phrase (see further, [section 3.1.2](#)). The subject, the operator, or other constituents may be ellipsed, but the lexical verb needs to be present in order to make a description of word order meaningful. These considerations allow the inclusion of subjectless clauses, such as imperatives and non-finite clauses, but not verbless clauses. It should be noted that the purpose of the above observations has been to arrive at a serviceable unit for the study of adverbial positions, not to give a definition of a clause.

An English clause has many 'slots' for adverbials. In a declarative main clause an adverbial can be placed (i) before the subject, (ii) between the subject and the verb phrase, (iii) between two auxiliaries, (iv) between an auxiliary and the main verb, (v) between the verb phrase and a following argument, or (vi) at the end of the clause, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) [i] they [ii] have [iii] been [iv] discussing [v] the choice of wallpaper [vi].

Circumstantial expressions which are not attached to a clause structure with a verb have not been considered to function as adverbials, as in (2), where the italicised spatial expressions belong to non-integrated verbless clauses, and in (3), where the *if*-clause is not obviously connected with any of the preceding or following clauses.

- (2) Back it comes to Woods # Woods *square then to uh* Dave Smith # Smith is slotted into a central midfield position at the moment # *to McGrath* # McGrath *slightly left on side* # McGrath *towards the edge of the box* # Paul Furlong # Furlong *wide towards the left fullback* Lee Hurst <S2A-017>
- (3) Well *if she sold the house they've got at the moment* # You see ~~they live in~~ she lives in her mother's house at the moment # <S1A-019>

3.1.2 The classification of adverbial positions

The present study follows common practice in distinguishing three main adverbial positions, defined in relation to the verb and its arguments. These positions are **initial** (before the subject/finite verb), **medial** (after the subject but before any object/predicative) and **end**.

The definitions of adverbial positions given by various linguists differ mainly in the names of the positions and the number of subdivisions that are considered relevant. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 490) divide medial position into three and end position into two. Biber *et al.* (1999) have three positions, initial, medial and final, and do not subdivide these although they note that there are variants of medial position (1999: 771). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 779f) also distinguish three adverbial positions (front, central and end) and note variants of central position with complex verb phrases. Jacobson (1964) subdivides the three main positions (front, mid and end) into 16 different variants. Swan (1988: 87) divides initial position into preposed and pre-subject. In the classification of adverbial positions used here, only medial position has been subdivided. Both initial and end position could certainly be subdivided on account of, for example, the relative positions of adjacent adverbials. However, the number of adverbial (sub)positions has been kept low in order to make the system economical enough to work with. The system is largely based on Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999: 771) with slight modifications.

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Initial position (I) designates the position(s) before the obligatory elements in the clause, as in (4). In practice, initial position usually means a position before the subject, or before the verb in cases of S–V inversion or subject ellipsis. An adverbial which is preceded only by optional elements will still be classified as initial, as in (5).

- (4) *Back in the Sixties*, people talked about building a multiracial society and it was almost chic to adopt a black child. <W2C-015>
(5) For example, *given technological change*, will managers have more or less flexible roles? <W2A-011>

Medial position (M), is a position between the subject and a postverbal valency-bound clause element. This could be between the subject and the (main) verb, as shown in (6) and (7), or between the verb and a following obligatory clause element, as shown in (8).

- (6) I *sometimes* wonder why you stay with him. <W2F-007>
(7) Apparently the B. Acad. is *massively* cutting down on its funding of the B. sch. . . <W1B-009>
(8) I hope you mentioned *to Prince Charles* that it was high time he had a go at the planners of our public infrastructure. <W1B-002>

If the verb phrase is complex, an adverbial can occur either before or after the (first) auxiliary. In order to keep the different variants of medial position apart, the following terms are proposed:

- M1** is the position between the subject and any part of the verb phrase, as in (6);
M2 is a position after the (first) auxiliary, but before the main verb, as in (7);
M3 is the position between the verb phrase and some other obligatory element, viz. an object, a predicative, or an obligatory adverbial, as in (8).

End position (E) is ‘the position in the clause following all obligatory elements; it is also the position of the obligatory adverbial when this follows the other obligatory elements’ (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 498). Examples are given in (9)–(11).

- (9) It seems strange that there is an ice-rink *in the middle of such a hot, dusty city*. <W1B-009>
(10) Does an artist have to live *with an artist* <S1A-020>
(11) He’s immediately tackled *by* <,> *Mike Teague* <S2A-002>

The subdivision of medial position proposed here is less delicate than that of Quirk *et al.* (1985) in that there is no distinction between a position between an auxiliary and the main verb and a position between two auxiliaries. The system from Quirk *et al.* (1985) was used in Hasselgård (1996), but it was

found in the course of this work that the distinction applies to very few clauses. More specifically, adverbials rarely occur between two auxiliaries. Thus, Quirk *et al.*'s positions 'medial Medial' and 'end Medial' have been conflated and correspond to M2 in the present study.¹

The position after the verb and before another obligatory element seems to be the position where there is most disagreement among linguists about classification. The position referred to in the present study as M3 is termed 'initial end position' in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 499). However, it is more common to classify it as medial; see, for instance, Jacobson (1964: 63) and Biber *et al.* (1999: 771). It is especially when the main verb of a clause is copular *be* that the concept of 'initial end position' seems misleading. The adverbials that occur between the main verb and the predicative in this type of construction are basically the same ones that are found in the other variants of medial position, such as short adverbials of time or manner. In both (12) and (13) the highlighted adverbials in postverbal position would be likely to occur before the main verb if the verb phrase were expanded, as indicated in (12a) and (13a). In order to account for this variability, Horová (1976: 115) proposes the so-called *not*-position in addition to medial and final position. The *not*-position is simply the place usually taken by the negative particle, viz. after an auxiliary (M2), or after the main verb (M3) in the case of lexical *be* if no auxiliary is present; cp. examples (12) and (13) and their variants.

- (12) and it's *always* safer to try and do that <S2A-016>
- (12a) and it has *always* been safer to try and do that
- (12b) and it will *not* be safer to try and do that.
- (12c) and it's *not* safer to try and do that.
- (13) Florenda Maria is *now* a local heroine. <W2C-002>
- (13a) Florenda Maria has *now* become a local heroine.

However, the M3 position also shares some features with end position. Hicks (1976: 121) suggests that the order of object and adjunct has been inverted in sentences such as (8) above, thus considering the adjunct to originate from clause-final position. Indeed, with a less complex object, the adverbial would be likely to occur in end position, as in (14):

- (14) She mentioned the matter *to Christopher, who showed some anger.*
(BNC-BW: 1923)

Thus, cases such as (8) can usually be explained by reference to syntactic weight. Nevertheless, the adjunct occurs in a position before a postverbal argument, just like the adjuncts in (12) and (13). It seems unnecessary to make a terminological distinction between the two uses of the same syntactic position, so M3 has been used for both.

¹ My definitions of M1 and M2 differ from those of Quirk *et al.* (1972: 426), where M1 also covers the position between two auxiliaries and M2 includes the position before the complement in copular constructions.

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One of the characteristics of an adjunct adverbial is its ability to be the focus of a cleft construction, as shown in (15):

- (15) Yet it will be *as a children's writer* he'll be remembered <S2B-011>

Strictly speaking, the adjunct then occurs in end position, according to the definitions given above, as there is no (independent) obligatory clause element after it. However, the construction would be incomplete without the part following the adjunct, thus suggesting that the position of the focused adjunct is a variant of medial. Since end and medial position seem equally unsatisfactory as names for this position, the **cleft focus** position has been added to the positions outlined so far. Although it is not common to include this as an adverbial position, it has been desirable to do so here, in order to account for the whole range of positions available to adjunct adverbials.

3.1.3 Problems with differentiating initial and medial position

The distinction between initial and medial position is neutralised in clauses without a subject. There are two main types of such subjectless clauses: finite clauses where the subject has been ellipted, and non-finite clauses, which regularly occur without a subject.

- (16) The post-office appears to have sat on the precious tome for several months, and *then* sent me a letter telling me so; <W1B-015>
(17) Had another good day's skiing but *this time* had the foresight to stick protective cream upon my face so didn't get burnt but turned a golden brown <W1B-002>
(18) The jeep, *already* defying the laws of the East Berlin authorities, now also seemed to defy the laws of gravity and leaped sharply into the air. <W2F-012>
(19) 'What do you mean?' she asked, sniffing, *then* dabbing her nose with the tissue. <W2F-002>

If a subject is added to the elliptical clauses in (16) and (17), the position of the italicised adverbials is likely to be initial. But although temporal *then* occurs most frequently in initial position (Jacobson 1964: 552) it is also perfectly acceptable in medial position, as in (16a). Even the adverbial in (17) might go into medial position, as in (17a).

- (16a) ... they *then* sent me a letter telling me so.
(17a) ... I *this time* had the foresight to stick protective cream upon my face...

However, rather than speculating what an expansion of an elliptical clause might look like, I decided to consistently view the position before any expressed obligatory clause element as initial. In clauses where the subject has been ellipted, the initial/medial position was thus classified as initial.

Subjectless non-finite clauses represent a slightly different problem, since they are complete structures. They may not even have a subject slot, in which case the addition of a subject might entail a reorganisation of other clause elements. It is often possible to expand a clause such as the one in (18) into a finite, relative one (. . . *which was already defying* . . .) with the adverbial in medial position. In contrast, the *-ing* participle in (19) does not correspond to a finite, progressive verb phrase. Generally, the same principles of analysis have been applied as with elliptical clauses, and preverbal adverbials have been assigned to initial position.

A related question concerns relative clauses where the relative pronoun represents the subject as in (20) and (21).

- (20) But the inquiry was told this would be a small expense if a satisfactory process of dealing with complaints and discipline reduced the risk of serious disorder, which *at Strangeways alone* cost £60m in structural damage. <W2C-001>
- (21) None the less, it constitutes a sanctuary that *occasionally* helps more than 1,000 refugees. <W2C-002>

Because it is impossible to put an adverbial in front of the relative pronoun, medial position is the only alternative to end position in clauses where the relative pronoun represents the subject. In clauses such as (20) and (21) the distinction between initial and medial position is thus neutralised. Turning (20) and (21) into declarative main clauses brings out a difference between them. While the adverbial in (20) looks odd in medial position in a main clause, as in (20a), the medial position of *occasionally* in (21a) is quite natural.

- (20a) ? Serious disorder *at Strangeways alone* cost £60m in structural damage.
- (21a) The sanctuary *occasionally* helps more than 1,000 refugees.

It would be possible to analyse the position of the adverbial in (20) as initial and the one in (21) as medial on the basis of their likely position in a corresponding main clause. But again, this would be a step in the direction of analysing constructs rather than actual language use. The relative pronoun has therefore been treated as an ordinary subject and the position of the adverbials in (20) and (21) classified as medial. This incidentally brings out a difference between clauses where the adverbial follows the relative pronoun and clauses in which the relative pronoun is part of an adverbial, as in (22).

- (22) You find me preparing for a concert organized by friends *at which* for half an hour I will be reading one of my poems to an audience 1000% the size of the normal audience for poetry. <W1B-015>

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3.2 Syntactic relations between the verb and the adverbial

Adverbials show different degrees of centrality in the clause structure. Sometimes the adverbial is required by the verb in order to make the clause grammatically acceptable. Such adverbials have been labelled *obligatory* (e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 505), *valency* adverbials (e.g. Enkvist 1976), or *complements* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 680). In examples (23)–(25) the adverbials are required in order to complete the clause (without changing the meaning of the verb).

- (23) Peter lives *in London*.
- (24) The meeting lasted *two hours*.
- (25) The meeting went *all right*.

Enkvist (1976), in a discussion of temporal and spatial adverbials, distinguishes two syntactic categories: ‘valency adverbials’ and ‘adverbials of setting’. The former type ‘can be treated as part of the semantic specification of the verb’ (1976: 54). The latter type consists of ‘those adverbials of time and place that do not describe features essential to the action itself, or features necessarily implied by the verb’ (1976: 55). Valency adverbials are said to have tighter bonds to the verb and belong deeper down in the syntactic tree than setting adverbials. Furthermore, setting adverbials are easy to topicalise (i.e. put in initial position), whereas the topicalisation of valency adverbials produces at best stylistically marked sentences. It may be noted that Enkvist’s category of valency adverbials covers all adverbials that complement the meaning of the verb, not only those that are syntactically obligatory.

Syntactically optional adverbials are often regarded as relatively peripheral, since their presence or absence does not affect the grammaticality of the clause, as shown by (26) and (26a).

- (26) Pat left *for Australia last February*.
- (26a) Pat left.

A difference between the two adverbials in (26) is that *last February* is easier to move to initial position, and it seems less closely connected to the meaning of the verb. Even if the first adverbial is not required by the valency of the verb, it seems to belong semantically to the predicate, since a motion verb is easily associated with space/direction. Thus the adjunct is closely tied to the verb; it gives a specification of the action. This can be represented in a tree diagram (figure 3.1), in which the first adverbial is part of the predicate phrase, while the second is an immediate constituent of the clause.

An optional adverbial which belongs to the predicate may be compared to a direct object.² Some verbs can occur with or without a direct object with

² Similarities between objects and adjuncts have been noted by e.g. Buysschaert (1982: 7) and Matthews (1981: 123ff).

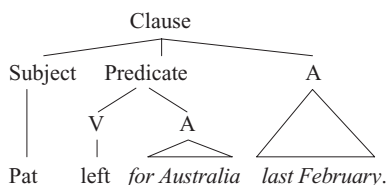


Figure 3.1 Syntactic integration of adjuncts.

no change in meaning, so that a direct object may complement a transitive verb without being obligatory, as in (27).

(27) Shirley was reading the paper.

(27a) Shirley was reading.

As argued in Huddleston and Pullum, clause elements ('complements') may be licensed by the verb without actually being present: 'The most important property of complements in clause structure is that they require the presence of an appropriate verb that licenses them' (2002: 220). This applies to nominal and adverbial complements alike. Thus some verbs require adverbial complementation, and some are optionally complemented by an adverbial belonging to the predicate, though in the latter case it is more difficult to define the syntactic relationship between the verb and the adverbial.

Many of the adjuncts that are thus indeterminate between obligatory and optional are space adjuncts, particularly of direction and position (see [section 2.4.1](#)). A feature of space adjuncts is that they can denote very different kinds of locations, i.e. the full range from local to global. Nilsen (2000: 115) describes this as follows:

First I would like to distinguish two different types of locatives. Consider (1):

- (1) a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back.
b. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the park.

Obviously, the semantic contribution of the PP in (1a) is very different from that in (1b). The PP in (1b) takes the whole event as argument, meaning that there was a stabbing that took place in the park. (1a) . . . means that there was an event that *culminated with*, or *the resulting state of which was* Caesar being stabbed in the back. . . . Henceforth I will call these PPs Culmination-locatives.

The culmination adjunct in Nilsen's example is not syntactically obligatory, but represents the culmination point of a telic event rather than the location of the event. A verb like *stab* licenses a position adjunct which denotes some part of the human body, i.e. it anticipates an adverbial from a certain lexical field (Hasselgård 1996: 60). Other such examples are direction

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adjuncts complementing a movement verb such as *come* or *go*, as shown in (28), or position adjuncts complementing a verb of posture, such as *sit*, *lie* and *stand*, as in example (29).

(28) And uh <,,> we didn't actually go *inside* <S1A-009>

(29) I don't know why but uh it's sitting *there* <S1A-009>

While the italicised adjunct in (28) marks the culmination point of the event and thereby makes it telic, it is debatable whether it is syntactically obligatory. In (29) telicity is not an issue since the verb is stative. However, the location is clearly more important than posture in the context, thus making the adjunct the most important part of the predicate; in fact the omission of the main verb would do less damage than the omission of the adjunct in this sentence. Adjuncts such as those shown in (28) and (29) have thus been left as 'indeterminate', marking an intermediate status between syntactically obligatory and optional.

3.3 The semantic scope of adverbials

As was seen in (26) above, adverbials can be more or less tightly connected to the verb phrase; they may be internal or external to the predicate. Adverbials thus differ with respect to *scope*, i.e. the stretch of language to which the adverbial applies. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 505) the scope of adjunct adverbials can be predicational or sentential. Generally speaking, predicationally adjuncts relate to the verbal and postverbal elements (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 511). Sentential adjuncts are more peripheral to the clause structure. They typically modify the whole clause in which they occur. Only predicationally adjuncts can be syntactically obligatory (*ibid.*). The more peripheral status of sentential adjuncts makes them inherently optional.

Due to the difference in centrality to the clause structure, sentential adjuncts are typically more mobile within the clause than predicationally ones, which must normally be placed in end position. Indeed it is a criterion for a sentential adjunct that it should be capable of being fronted (without any change in meaning). According to this criterion, the first adverbial in (30) is predicationally and the second is sentential, since (30a) is perfectly acceptable, while it is hard to think of a context that would make (30b) appropriate.

(30) She lied *easily this time*. <W2F-003>

(30a) *This time* she lied *easily*.

(30b) **Easily* she lied *this time*.

However, the difference between predicationally and sentential scope is far from clear-cut; in a number of cases, the sentence remains grammatically acceptable even if an adjunct originally belonging to the predicate is moved to initial position. Consider (31), in which the italicised adjunct belongs to the predicate.

- (31) He stopped *in front of Dave* and dumped Derek Cousins unceremoniously on the grass. <W2F-002>
 (31a) *In front of Dave* he stopped and dumped Derek Cousins unceremoniously on the grass.

When fronted, the predication adjunct in (31) simply assumes sentential scope. Moreover, as the adjunct in (31a) has become thematic in a compound sentence, the scope of the adverbial is extended beyond the clause to cover the whole sentence. In running text the scope of an initial adverbial may indeed extend across both clause and sentence boundaries (Longacre 1979). The classic opening of fairy tales, *Once upon a time*, is a good example of a time adjunct that includes in its scope the entire story that follows. However, since the focus of the present study is primarily on the clause, no distinction has been made between ‘sentential’ scope within and beyond the clause in which the adjunct occurs.

Not all adverbials seem capable of assuming sentential scope. When such predication adverbials are fronted, even if they are optional, inversion is often required,³ as illustrated by (32) and (33). This supports the claim that predication adverbials are more central to the clause structure than sentential adverbials, syntactically as well as semantically.

- (32) *Inside* was the engine – his engine. <W2F-007>
 (33) And *in* comes Geoff Thomas <S2A-001>

Enkvist (1976) relates the concept of *semantic scope* to that of *inclusiveness relations*. The scope of an adverbial can include the verb only, or the verb plus one or more additional clause elements. In a clause with two adverbials, the one with the wider scope will include the one with the narrower scope. This is most clearly demonstrated in so-called homosemantic sequences (sequences of adverbials of the same semantic subtype), as in (34).⁴ The inclusiveness relations are obvious: the chair is in the study, and the study is in the house:

- (34) John sat down *in his favourite chair* || *in his study* || *at Buckley House*.
 (Enkvist 1976: 58)

The concept of inclusiveness relations is related to Bolinger’s concept of *linear modification*. In his words, ‘elements as they are added one by one to form a sentence progressively limit the semantic range of all that has preceded. This causes beginning elements to have a wider semantic range than elements towards the end’ (1952: 279). Linear modification implies that an element at the beginning of a sentence ‘colours everything that follows’ (1952: 288), since the following elements will be interpreted in the light of the

³ Provided other conditions for inversion are fulfilled, i.e. a light verb phrase and a relatively heavy subject (Biber *et al.* 1999: 911). See further, section 9.2.5.

⁴ Adjacent adverbials are separated by means of a double bar (||) in this and following examples.

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initial element(s). For adverbial sequences this means that the first adverbial will influence the interpretation of the following one(s).

Buysschaert (1982) distinguishes between *complements* and *free modifiers*. The distinction is basically a syntactic one. Complements are 'inherent in the relation expressed by the verb' (1982: 39). They are necessary in order to complete the verb meaning. Free modifiers, by contrast, may be omitted from the clause without altering 'the meaning of the non-omitted part of the sentence' (1982: 40). Semantically, a free modifier is considered to originate from another proposition (1982: 79). Free modifiers and complements thus exhibit different degrees of inherence in the clause structure. Free modifiers and complements also differ as to their degree of freedom of positioning. Complements invariably go in end position; hence if an adverbial occurs in front or medial position, it is a free modifier.

There are two types of free modifiers: V[erb]-modifying and S[entence]-modifying. The former type adds 'information about the action, process or state described in the relation denoted by the verb. This information is not relevant to the rest of the proposition' (1982: 87). The latter type modifies the entire proposition. Front position is said to be reserved for S-modifiers; thus if an adverbial can be fronted, it is an S-modifying free modifier. However, according to Buysschaert, some S-modifiers are locked in medial position and cannot be fronted, e.g. *just*, *ever*, *still*. In such cases the distinguishing criterion is not mobility, but the semantic scope of the adverbial, i.e. it should modify the whole proposition, not just the relation expressed by the verb.

The terms *sentential* and *predicational* are used in this study with some reservations. Quirk *et al.*'s distinction seems to entail a great deal of overlapping and circular argument; sentential adjuncts are defined by their mobility, as opposed to predicational adjuncts, which are almost invariably to be found in end position. Such a definition implies that adjuncts in all other positions (except initial end position; see Quirk *et al.* (1985: 511) are sentential. However, the mobility criterion does not seem to apply to adverbials that typically occur in medial position, particularly frequency adverbials and manner adverbials realised by short adverb phrases. As regards frequency adverbials, their semantic scope is arguably sentential, in that they place a restriction on the general validity of the whole clause message. For example, in (35) below, *always* modifies the whole proposition 'he gets the job done'. Still, the adverb could not be moved to initial position and would be unusual in end position. By contrast, most manner adverbials in medial position seem to belong to the predicate even though they are rarely obligatory. In (36) it is hard to see how the italicised adverbial could modify any other clause elements than the verb phrase, even if it does not occur in end position.

(35) but he *always* gets the job done <S2A-009>

(36) Tommy woke up and looked *blearily* at his mother. <W2F-002>

A plausible test of 'sententiality' can be worked out from Buysschaert's (1982: 39) definition of a free modifier as a constituent that originates from another proposition. It should be possible to test the semantic scope of each adverbial in a sentence like (26) above by placing one of the adverbials in a separate clause, making the two propositions explicit. Presumably, the adverbial with the more peripheral status and the wider scope will be easier to extract, since its semantic function is to modify the whole clause. Example (26b) seems to be a more accurate rendering than (26c) of the original (26), which supports the claim that the first adjunct belongs semantically to the predicate, and the second does not.

(26b) Pat left *for Australia*. This happened *last February* / He did so *last February*.

(26c) ? Pat left *last February*. This was *for Australia* / He did so *for Australia*.

This test has an advantage over the mobility test outlined in Quirk *et al.* (1985); it is able to classify as sentential certain adverbials which are normally placed in medial position, and which cannot easily be moved around the sentence (i.e. they do not meet the mobility criterion). This is shown in (37), where *just*, although it cannot be moved from medial position, applies semantically to the whole clause. The extraction of *in Australia* in (37b) or *safely* in (37c) does not yield an acceptable representation of (37), which indicates that the adverbials are integrated at different levels of the clause structure.

(37) Pat *just* arrived *safely in Australia*.

(37a) Pat arrived *safely in Australia*. This *just* happened.

(37b) ? Pat *just* arrived *safely*. This happened *in Australia*.

(37c) ? Pat *just* arrived *in Australia*. This happened *safely*.

The criteria used for distinguishing between sentential and predicational adverbials relate to the syntactic and the semantic bonds between the verb and the adverbial and to the mobility of the adverbial within a clause. Thus, a sentential adjunct may be defined as follows:

- (a) the adverbial should be syntactically optional (and thus omissible);
- (b) it should be possible to extract it from the original clause and place it in a separate proposition;
- (c) it should be possible to front it without making additional word order changes and without altering the meaning of the verb or the adverbial.

Of these criteria, (a) and (b) are sufficient to classify an adverbial as sentential. The mobility criterion (c) may be a shortcut to distinguishing predicational and sentential adverbials, but as we have seen, it does not always work. On the whole it may be a bit doubtful to use mobility as a criterion for determining the scope of adverbials, because there are too many complicating factors. For example, it would follow from criterion (c) that a predication adjunct is one

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that cannot be moved out of end position. But as we have seen, a predication adjunct may simply assume sentential scope if it is moved; see (31) above. It is also possible to have a predication adjunct in medial position, as shown in (37). Furthermore, it would follow from the mobility criterion that adverbials that cannot be fronted are predication, which we have seen is untrue. This concerns particularly those adverbials that normally occur in medial position, but also adverbials that cannot be fronted for pragmatic reasons. It should be noted, however, that all the adverbials which satisfy (c) also satisfy (a) and (b).

A further difference between criteria (b) and (c) is that they apply to two different levels of language: word order (criterion (c)) is chiefly a matter of form (the textual metafunction), while semantic scope belongs to the content side of the sentence (the experiential metafunction). Whereas the experiential content of a sentence can be assumed to be constant, the surface structure is influenced by a number of contextual factors, such as thematic choice, cohesion, weight and focus. These factors clearly complicate the application of criterion (c).

It should also be pointed out that the distinction between sentential and predication seems insufficient to describe the scope of all types of adjunct. Focus adjuncts are a special case. Typically, their scope is the constituent(s) immediately following the adjuncts, as in (38), but there are also focus adjuncts which typically modify the preceding constituent, as in (39). In both cases the scope may be said to be predication, but in the sense that the adjunct modifies only a part of the predicate. Example (40) illustrates the familiar fact that a focus adjunct such as *only* is not always placed immediately in front of the constituent it is meant to modify, which may cause ambiguity in written language (and thus normative reactions from language teachers and language consultants). However, the ambiguity is often resolved by means of intonation in speech, as in (41).

(38) The children who know *only* war and starvation <W2C-002>

(39) ... "This result was a disaster for the Tory Government *in general* and John Major *in particular*." <W2C-018>

(40) You can *only* have showers on week-days after supper, and you have to pay 5 Francs each time <W1B-002>

(41) (^I 'have) I've ^only 'seen her: \once# ^since I !h\heard this 'news I 'think# (LLC S.1.4.1077)

Thus in (40) the scope of *only* is potentially ambiguous between the whole predicate and part of it (either *only showers...* or *only on week-days after supper*), although the context resolves the ambiguity in this case. In (41) the potential ambiguity is resolved by intonation, i.e. the nuclear accent makes it clear that *only* modifies *once* (and not *seen* or *her*).

A further distinction that can be made as regards the scope of adverbials is that between *propositional* (modifying some part of the proposition) and

Table 3.1 *The scope of adverbials*

Predicational → modification of	the whole predicate one or more constituents in the predicate the whole proposition (sentence)
Sentential → modification of	the whole proposition plus following sentence(s) the speech act

speech-act related (commenting on the utterance, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1072).⁵ Particularly contingency adverbials (e.g. reason and condition) can relate to aspects of the interaction rather than having a scope that can be defined within the sentence. For example, in (42) the italicised adjunct does not give a reason for the action in the matrix clause, but rather a reason why the speaker holds the opinion expressed.

- (42) He'll always have a go <,> and try and get to the finish *cos it's always easier* <,> *if you're a sprinter* <S2A-016 >
 (43) The work number is, *if you ever feel extravagant enough to call me at work*, (2)236.57.50. <W1B-002 >

Similarly, the adjunct in (43) does not give a condition for the phone number being what it is, but rather a reason for sharing the information. The condition applies to a pragmatic implicature along the lines of 'you might need my phone number, so I'll give it to you'. The distinction between propositional and speech-act-related scope will be made when relevant in the description of contingency adverbials (section 10.3.4).

Considerations of the scope of adverbials are important first and foremost in connection with the positional freedom of adverbials. Generally speaking, an adjunct with sentential scope is more mobile in the sentence than one with predicational scope. Adjuncts that have scope over only one constituent will normally be placed in the close vicinity of that constituent. Furthermore, the order of adverbials in sequences is greatly dependent on semantic scope, which in some cases may be interpreted as inclusiveness relations (cf. Enkvist 1976).

The two-way distinction between predicational and sentential represents a simplified view of the scope of adverbials. Table 3.1 surveys the various implications of predicational and sentential scope. In addition, it should also be noted that adverbials in sequence may modify each other progressively – a phenomenon which may be described in terms of linear modification (Bolinger 1952) or inclusiveness relations (Enkvist 1976).

⁵ Quirk *et al.* (1985) classify such adverbials as disjuncts and make a distinction between style disjuncts and content disjuncts: 'The style disjuncts implicitly refer to the circumstances of the speech act, while the content disjuncts refer to the content of the matrix clause' (1985: 1072f). In general, disjuncts are not included in the present study, but an exception has been made for adverbial clauses such as those in (42) and (43).

3.4 Adverbial sequences

In theory at least, a clause can contain any number of adverbials. It is possible for more than one adverbial position to be filled in the same clause and for two or more adverbials to co-occur in the same adverbial slot. In the present analysis a terminological distinction has been made between continuous and discontinuous sequences of adverbials; these are referred to as *clusters* and *combinations*, respectively; see Hasselgård (1996).

A cluster is a sequence in which two (or more) adverbials occur in the same position in the clause, as in (44), where two adverbials are placed in end position. Adverbials in a cluster are normally adjacent, but they may be separated by a peripheral clause element, e.g. a disjunct or conjunct adverbial or a discourse marker. The sequence in (45) thus qualifies as a cluster.

(44) He paused, *strumming on the table* || *with a thick finger*. <W2F-001>

(45) *As for whatever I said on the phone about our relationship*, || *well if you can remember any of it still* please forget it. <W1B-003>

(46) And we *very rarely* || *at that time* worked with disabled. <S1A-002>

Clusters can occur in all adverbial positions, but they are by far most frequent in end position (see further, section 6.1.4). In contrast, medial position very rarely accommodates more than one adverbial at a time. Clusters of adverbials in initial and medial position are shown in (45) and (46).

It has been debated whether a cluster of semantically related adverbials should be counted as one or more clause elements. Halliday (2004: 69) considers a continuous sequence of a spatial and a temporal adjunct to form a ‘phrase complex’ that functions as a single constituent. Likewise, Taglicht (1984: 21) suggests that a sequence of adjacent temporal and/or spatial adverbials should be treated as one constituent, as a ‘quasi-appositional structure’. One important reason for this is that it is possible to have more than one adverbial in initial position (as in (45) above), whereas the fronting of other types of clause element, such as the direct object, automatically blocks the fronting of any other clause element. However, it is quite possible to split up initially placed adverbial sequences, and either omit one of the adverbials or move it to another position. This indicates that a cluster represents more than one constituent. The possibility of having a sequence in initial position may simply be a reflection of the fact that the overall clause structure allows a practically unlimited number of adverbials, whereas other clause elements are unique. Furthermore, it is quite possible to have rather diverse adjuncts in adjacent positions, as in (44) and (45), which makes it more difficult to argue for the sequence being a ‘phrase complex’ or ‘quasi-appositional structure’.

Combinations are sequences where two or more adverbial slots have been filled. Example (47) shows a combination of initial and end position and (48) of medial and end position. The two types of sequence can also be combined

in the same clause, so that we may find for instance one adverbial in medial position and a cluster in end position, as in (49).

- (47) *In recent weeks* it rained *in some areas* <W2C-002 >
 (48) Mum *sometimes* sat *like that*. <W2F-001 >
 (49) These birds are *usually* found *on islands* || *because there are no predators*.
 <W2C-015>

To my knowledge the distinction between clusters and combinations has not been used systematically before Hasselgård (1996), although Horová (1976) treats clusters and combinations separately on account of the different word order patterns which arise from the use of one or the other type of adverbial sequence. There are, however, a number of good reasons for establishing the distinction between clusters and combinations in addition to mere word order patterns. One has to do with frequency. Clusters are far more frequent than combinations in most text types (see section 12.5 and Hasselgård 1996), and can tentatively be viewed as the default type of sequence. Furthermore, a cluster is often seen as a rather tight-woven unit, sometimes even as a unitary constituent. This makes it relevant to study the semantic relationship between the adjuncts in a cluster as well as the order they occur in.

In combinations, the distance between the adverbials makes them appear more genuinely as separate constituents. Still, it is of interest to examine possible motivations for splitting up the adverbial sequence. There are likely to be different principles at work in determining the structure of clusters and combinations. In clusters the unmarked order of adverbials seems to be laid down by conventions of sentence grammar, which is shown by the fact that a certain pattern is followed in the great majority of cases. The structure of combinations appears to be much more variable and may depend on textual factors – such as information dynamics, thematic structure and cohesion – to a greater extent than that of clusters (see further, section 8.9).

3.5 Favoured positions

Adjunct adverbials are found in all the adverbial positions outlined in section 3.1. Figure 3.2 shows the extent to which the different positions are used in the material. End position is by far the most frequent option for adjunct adverbials, with 77.4% of the occurrences. The least common position is cleft focus, which occurs only twice in the material. Initial position is second most common (12.4%), followed closely by medial (10.2%). As figure 3.2 shows, the three variants of medial position are about equally common.

The results presented in figure 3.2 agree fairly well with those of Biber *et al.* (1999: 772), in which circumstantial adverbials (= adjuncts) ‘occur in initial position in about 11–12% of the cases; in medial position in about 17–18% of the cases, and end position in just over 70% of the cases’. The

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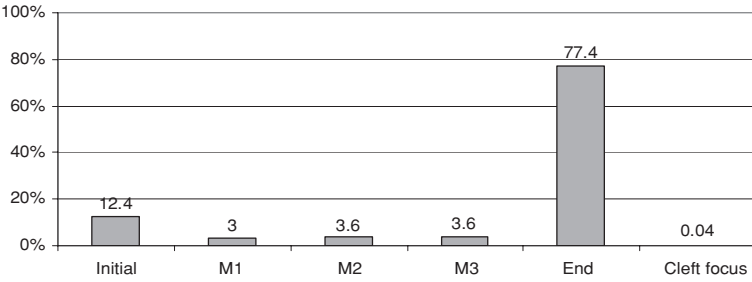


Figure 3.2 The positional distribution of adjuncts.

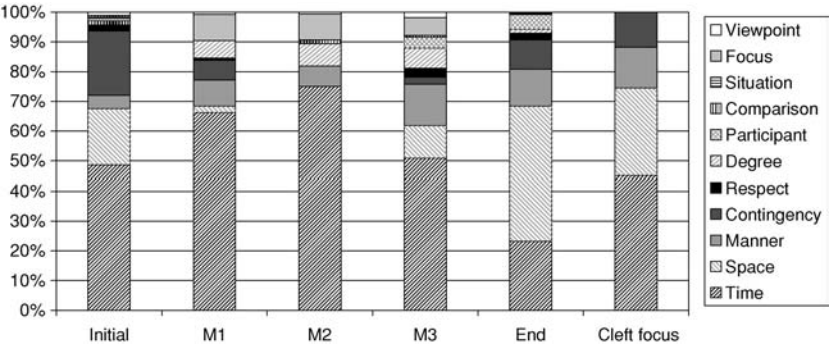


Figure 3.3 The distribution of semantic types of adjunct across adverbial positions.

fact that end position is slightly more dominant in the present material may be due to a different selection of genres for the study.

As will be clear from [chapters 4–8](#), not all semantic subcategories of adjuncts show the same positional preferences. For example, frequency adverbials such as *always* and *never*, most commonly occur in medial position; duration adjuncts (e.g. *for two weeks*) typically occur in end position; while condition adjuncts show a slight preference for initial position. The figures presented in [figure 3.2](#) thus represent a rough generalisation.

3.6 The relationship between semantics, realisation types and position of adverbials

As mentioned above, the semantic types of adjunct are not evenly distributed across positions. [Figure 3.3](#) shows the proportions in each position of the semantic types of adjunct.⁶ Only time adverbials occur in cleft focus position

⁶ The figures for the cleft focus position are based on searches of the whole ICE-GB, not just the core corpus.

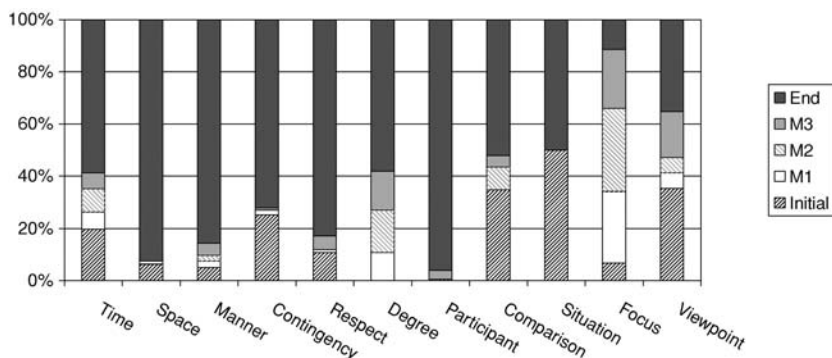


Figure 3.4 Positional preferences of semantic types of adjunct.

in the core corpus, but as shown in figure 3.3, the rest of the ICE-GB yielded examples of more adjunct types in this position. See examples (50) and (51) below, containing a space and a manner adjunct respectively, and further, chapter 7. However, as is also clear from figure 3.3, the cleft focus position does not seem to be equally open to all types of adjunct.

- (50) It is *on this marginal land* that some of the most damaging environmental degradation occurs. <W1A-013>
 (51) It is *with much regret* that I find it necessary to send you a copy of the enclosed letter which is self explanatory. <W1B-026>

Figure 3.4 illustrates the positional preferences of semantic types of adjunct from a different perspective. For most types of adjunct, end position is clearly the most frequent one; only focus and viewpoint adjuncts occur in end position in less than 50% of the cases. Initial position is the second most frequent one for most adjunct types, but it is far less common than end position, except for the small category of situation adjuncts.

The realisation of an adverbial will also influence its placement, judging from the findings of the present study as well as the surveys given in Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999). Table 3.2 gives an indication of the correlation between realisation and placement. All the realisation types occur most frequently in end position, but they differ as to their likelihood of occupying other positions. The realisation type with the greatest positional flexibility is single adverbs, which are well represented in all positions except cleft focus. The difference between single adverbs and adverb phrases of at least two words illustrates quite clearly that longer elements (phrases and clauses) do not fit easily into medial position but rather, tend to be assigned to the periphery of the clause, i.e. to initial or end position.

Table 3.2 may be compared to table 8.23 in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 501), which gives the positions of prepositional phrases, closed-class items, open-class adverbs, finite clauses and noun phrases. Their table shows the same

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Table 3.2 *The distribution of realisation types across adverbial positions (raw frequencies)*

	sg. adverb	adverb phrase	prep phrase	noun phrase	finite clause	non-finite clause	prep clause	verbless clause	TOTAL
Initial	168	11	191	27	136	13	3	6	555
M1	103	3	15	6	5	3	0	1	136
M2	146	6	6	2	0	0	0	0	160
M3	115	6	38	3	3	0	0	0	165
End	692	159	1943	161	334	119	39	5	3452
Cleft	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	1224	185	2193	200	479	135	42	12	4470

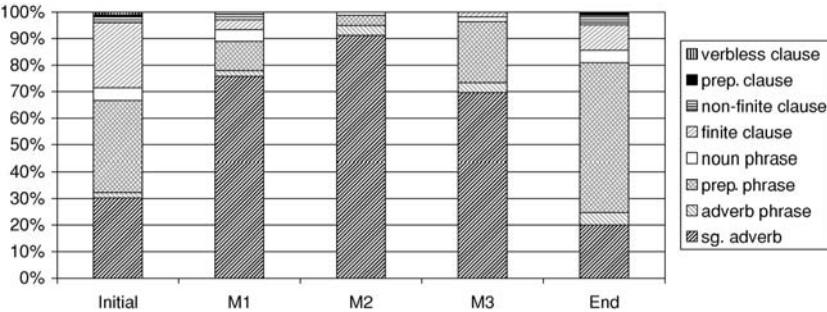


Figure 3.5 Realisation type and adverbial placement.

tendencies as our [table 3.2](#): only closed-class items and open-class adverbs occur frequently in medial position. These two realisation types are found in end position in slightly under half of the cases, and are thus more evenly distributed over the positions than in the present material. The distribution of noun phrases and prepositional phrases in Quirk *et al.*'s table is fairly similar to that of [table 3.2](#), while finite clauses are somewhat more common in initial position and less so in end position. Some of the differences are presumably due to the fact that Quirk *et al.*'s table 8.23 comprises all types of adverbials.

Biber *et al.* (1999: 807) report similar findings. Adverbials realised by adverbs are found in medial position more often than other grammatical forms. The vast majority of adverbials realised by prepositional phrases and noun phrases occur in end position. Adverbial clauses occur most frequently in end position but are not uncommon in initial position (1999: 834).

[Figure 3.5](#) shows the distribution of realisation types within each adverbial position. The cleft focus position has not been included since it is so rare in the core corpus, but see [section 7.2.2](#). The figure gives a different representation from [table 3.2](#), since the predominance of end position is neutralised.

It is immediately clear that single adverbs are the preferred realisation type in all variants of medial position, of which M2 is least welcoming to other realisations. Phrasal and clausal realisations dominate in end position, while initial position has the most even distribution of realisation types. Interestingly, finite clauses account for a higher proportion of adverbials in initial position than in end position. The order of dependent and main clause is a complex matter, closely related to information structure and cohesion (see e.g. Ford 1993). This discussion will be pursued in later chapters.

3.7 General principles for the placement of adverbials

Although English word order is to a great extent grammaticalised, there is room for some variation, particularly as regards the placement of adverbials. Jespersen (1949: 83ff) notes that the position of ‘tertiaries’ [i.e. adverbials] is flexible, but does not systematise the variation apart from stating that ‘Many advs can, according to circumstances, be placed now here, now there. Though there are certain strict rules, much depends on the speaker’s or writer’s individual fancy; he may desire to emphasise one element or to avoid crowding together several tertiaries’ (1949: 84).

Later studies have shown that the choice of adverbial position is somewhat more systematic than it may appear from Jespersen’s remark, but the system may be hard to pinpoint. The main reason for this is that the placement of adverbials is influenced by a number of factors (Hasselgård 1996: 256f). These factors can be clause-internal, or they can be related to the wider context of the clause, and the different factors may converge or conflict with each other. Important parameters at clause level are whether the adjunct is obligatory or optional and whether it is intended to have predication or sentential scope. Obligatory adjuncts are generally hard to move out of end position, as shown in (52) and (52a); see Hasselgård (1996: 255). Similarly, adjuncts with predication scope (section 3.3) are generally found in end position, together with the rest of the predicate, as in (53) and (53a). This tendency is even stronger with object-related adjuncts, as in (54). Initial placement of the adjunct in (54) would make the sentence hard to understand.

- (52) The guards hustled Harry *out of the car*. <W2F-012>
- (52a) ? *Out of the car* the guards hustled Harry.
- (53) Ben Retallick nodded *seriously* as he refilled his pipe. <W2F-007>
- (53a) ? *Seriously* Ben Retallick nodded as he refilled his pipe.
- (54) It gives me this gnawing feeling of trepidity *in my belly*. <W1B-015>

Some textual principles also operate at the level of clause grammar. One is the *weight principle* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1362), which predicts that heavy constituents will be placed after lighter constituents. Hasselgård (1996) found this principle to be particularly relevant for the relative order of adverbials in a cluster, as heavy adverbials can be found both in initial and in end

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position. Example (55) contains a cluster that adheres to the weight principle. Secondly, the *principle of end focus* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1357) predicts that a clause element constituting the focus of the clause tends to be placed in end position; an example is given in (56).

(55) And Mason follows it up *this time* || *with an attempted right to the body*
<S2A-009>

(56) Dave pointed *to the stain*. <W2F-002>

Thirdly, *thematic structure* may favour or disfavour initial position for an adjunct (Halliday 2004: 73). An adjunct that is intended as the ‘point of departure of the message’ (2004: 64) will be placed in initial position, while one that is not will occur in medial or end position.

On the basis of frequency, end position can be regarded as the default position for most types of adjunct; see figure 3.4 above, which shows that end position is by far the most frequent. However, some adjunct types favour different positions; this is also apparent when subgroups of the main adjunct types are considered. For instance, adjuncts of frequency and usuality are almost invariably placed in medial position (section 5.1.1).

Most adjunct types can, however, be placed in initial position even if they are obligatory and/or predicational. The result may be strong contrastive focus on the adjunct, as in (57a). Incidentally, Doherty (2003: 36) notes that an adverbial can be topicalised (i.e. placed initially) only if there is a final element that can carry focus.⁷ This topicalisation constraint may explain why (57a) is acceptable even if the adjunct is obligatory. Furthermore, clauses with an initial obligatory space adjunct and a verb denoting existence or appearance are often similar to a presentative construction, as illustrated by (58).

(57) And we’d you know we put cucumber and lemon and orange *in the Pimms* <S1A-005>

(57a) *In the Pimms* we put cucumber and lemon and orange.

(58) *Inside* was the engine – his engine. <W2F-007>

(59) She’d expended her anger *the previous night* and felt too tired to argue.
<W2F-001>

(59a) *The previous night* she’d expended her anger and felt too tired to argue.

Sometimes a finally placed adjunct that is most naturally interpreted as part of the predicate will change its scope to sentential if it is moved to initial position, as in (59a) where the fronted adverbial gets scope over the entire sentence. In the original (59) it only has scope over the predicate in the first main clause (and in fact the situation in the second clause takes place the day after). It is mainly optional, sentential adjuncts that occur in initial and

⁷ This also imposes an important constraint on topicalisation of adverbials, i.e. a clause with an initially placed adverbial must have a focus-worthy constituent left in end position.

medial position, but see (57a) and (58). However, since optional, sentential adjuncts too most commonly occur in end position, one must look for reasons why they should occur non-finally.

A pragmatic factor that may override most others is the *principle of clarity* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 649, Hasselgård 1996: 65): adjuncts must be placed where they are likely to be interpreted by the addressee as the speaker intended, or in the words of Doherty (2003: 32), 'Adjuncts are preferred in positions where they do not cause syntactic or semantic ambiguities.' For instance, in (60) initial placement of the adjunct ensures that it is not read as part of the *that*-clause (note the strangeness of 60a). Similarly, (61) would be harder to process correctly if the italicised adjunct were placed in end position, as in (61a) where the hearer might interpret it as a reference to the location of *police files* rather than of the whole situation. The use of initial position also ensures that the adjunct is interpreted as sentential.

- (60) But *in her heart of hearts* she knew that if she did so she would regret it later on. <W2F-003>
- (60a) But she knew that if she did so she would regret it later on *in her heart of hearts*.
- (61) Uh *in Suffolk* one in six members of the public are on police files <S1B-033>
- (61a) Uh one in six members of the public are on police files *in Suffolk*

At the level of text and discourse, the placement of adverbials may be determined by *information structure* (whether the adjunct conveys given or new information), *thematic structure* (whether the adjunct is chosen as the point of departure for the clause as message) and *cohesion* (whether the adjunct serves as a link to the preceding discourse). Certain adjuncts, such as *then* in (62), are by nature conjunctive and tend to favour initial position for that reason. Initial placement of *there* in (63) can be motivated by both information structure and cohesion, as it refers back to the adjunct *to the window* in the preceding clause. In (64) initial placement of the adjunct contributes to cohesion with the following discourse. End position (after *squeak*) is possible, but the adjunct would then interrupt the adjacency of *squeak* and the following verbiage, i.e. what the squeak consists in. Furthermore, the initial adjunct provides important background for interpreting the rest of the clause.

- (62) *Then* Jane and I are going to Camden and then to the cinema or to eat or something. <W1B-004>
- (63) Brett gasped and rushed to the window. No. *There* was his dog, statue-sque in the frozen night. <W2F-001>
- (64) He passed within inches, and *above the roar of the highly revved engine* he could just make out her high-pitched squeak: "Shoot him! Shoot him!" <W2F-012>

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Table 3.3 *Factors determining adverbial placement*

	Factors influencing position	Positional tendency
Clause-internal	obligatoriness scope (including linearity and inclusiveness)	Obligatory adjuncts are placed finally. Predicational adjuncts are placed finally. Adjuncts with a wide scope prefer a peripheral position (initial or end). Focus adjuncts with restricted scope are placed close to the element(s) they modify.
	principle of weight	In a sequence, more weighty adjuncts are placed after less weighty ones.
	principle of end focus	Adjuncts conveying new, focused information are placed clause-finally.
	principle of clarity	Adjuncts are placed where they have the greatest chance of being interpreted correctly.
Clause/text	thematic structure	Adjuncts that are intended as the point of departure of a message are placed initially. A series of related initial adverbials can mark the thematic development of a text.
Textual	information structure	Initial adjuncts can mark a shift/break in the text, denoting a new setting, or preparing the ground for a new topic/participant.
	cohesion	Anaphoric/conjunctive adjuncts are placed initially. Adjuncts can be moved out of end position to avoid breaking the continuity between two clauses.
	text strategy / thematic development	Adjuncts associated with a particular kind of thematic development or text strategy are placed initially.

Finally, a particular choice of *text-strategy* may favour initial placement of a particular type of adjunct; see Virtanen (1992: 86).⁸ The passage in (65) is a description of a landscape and contains a number of initial space adjuncts. We have the impression that the text is structured along spatial lines, which serves to give the reader an impression of the panorama that opens up in front of the men referred to in the first sentence.

- (65) *From where the men stood*, high Bodmin Moor fell away to the Marke valley. *Beyond the valley* the land unfolded in a breathtakingly spectacular fashion to the wide plains extending on either side of the Tamar river. *On the far horizon* the western heights of Dartmoor rose, an irregular mass, from the plain. A brief, early-summer storm seemed to be following the course of the river that separated Cornwall from the rest of England. *Behind the storm* a soft-hued rainbow promised a crock of gold on either side of Kit Hill. <W2F-007>

⁸ This phenomenon may also be described in terms of *thematic development* (see Fries 1995a: 8).

To sum up this section: most types of adjuncts are most commonly found in end position, which may thus be regarded as default. In some cases the placement of an adverbial in a certain position seems to be more or less obligatory. This is true of most obligatory adverbials (particularly when there is no other ‘focusable’ clause element in postverbal position, see Doherty 2003: 34). Further, many frequency adjuncts and manner adjuncts realised by adverbs are regularly found in medial position, while focus adjuncts typically occur adjacent to the element they focus. When several alternatives are possible, however, a range of factors contribute to determining the placement of the adjunct. These factors are partly clause-internal and partly textual. They are summed up in [table 3.3](#).

Part II

Adverbial positions: theme, cohesion and information dynamics

4 Initial position

4.1 Syntactic and semantic properties of adjuncts in initial position

4.1.1 *The distribution of semantic types*

Initial position is the second most common position for adjuncts, accounting for approximately 12% of the adjuncts comprised in the present study. The distribution of semantic types found in initial position is shown in [table 4.1](#).

The semantic types of adjunct differ greatly as to their frequency of occurrence in initial position, as shown in the second column of [table 4.1](#). The types most frequently found in initial position are time, contingency and space adjuncts. Other types are comparatively rare. The third column shows the probability for each semantic type to occur in initial position, i.e. the percentage of the total number of time adjuncts etc. that occur in initial position. This percentage is more clearly visualised in [figure 4.1](#), showing that situation adjuncts are most likely and degree adjuncts least likely to be thematised.¹ For most types of adjunct, initial position is a marked option, markedness being viewed here as a scalar property. It is thus less marked for situation, viewpoint, comparison/alternative, contingency and time adjuncts than it is for the other types.

4.1.2 *Obligatoriness and scope*

Only 22 out of the 553 adjuncts occurring in initial position (4%) are syntactically obligatory. With only one exception, these are space position adjuncts. In 19 out of the 22 cases, the adjunct triggers inversion of subject and verb, as shown in (1). In the remaining three, the conditions for inversion are not fulfilled, i.e. the subject is a pronoun, as in (2).²

- (1) Uh *not that far away* is Perjury in the pink and grey <S2A-006>
- (2) *Here* we are with Bruno Cenghialta at the front here <S2A-016>

¹ For definitions of *theme* and *thematization*, see [section 4.3](#).

² Locative inversion is discussed in more detail in [section 9.2.5](#).

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Table 4.1 *Semantic types found in initial position*

	No. of adjuncts at I	% of total no. of adjunct type	TOTAL
Time	270	19.7	1370
Space	105	6.2	1683
Manner	25	5.0	498
Contingency	120	25.2	477
Respect	10	10.8	93
Degree/extent	0	0	74
Participant	1	0.6	177
Comparison/alternative	8	34.8	23
Focus	3	6.8	44
Viewpoint	6	35.3	17
Situation	7	50.0	14
TOTAL	555	12.4	4470

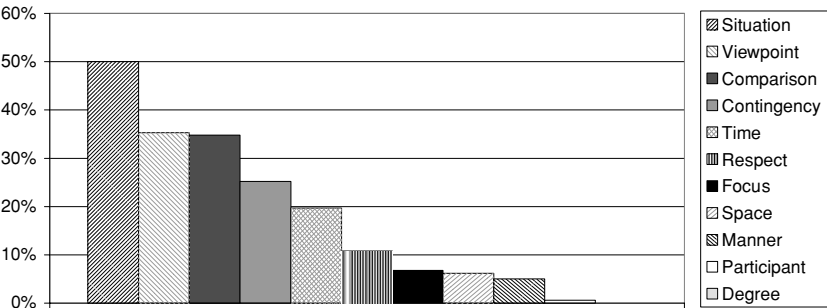


Figure 4.1 The probability for adjunct types to occur in initial position.

Not all the genres contain examples of the type shown in (1) and (2); 12 of the 22 examples come from sports commentary, while the rest come from fiction and letters. The only example of an obligatory manner adjunct in initial position is also from sports commentary and is shown in (3). The adjunct, analysed here as a manner attire adjunct (see [section 2.4.3](#)), is rather similar to a space adjunct. The example is from a TV commentary, so like a space adjunct it serves to locate and identify the participant referred to in subject position.

- (3) *and in the yellow jersey for the very first time in his career* <,> is Miguel Indurain of Spain <S2A-016 >

As expected, the vast majority (90%) of clause-initial adjuncts have sentential scope. Within the remaining 10%, we find adjuncts of space, time and manner, as well as one focus adjunct. The focus adjunct and most of the manner adjuncts occur in subjectless non-finite clauses, in which case the

distinction between medial and initial position is neutralised, as illustrated by (4) and its paraphrase (4a); see [section 3.1.3](#).

- (4) *Very neatly* done as he's been doing all season for Arsenal <S2A-001>
 (4a) This was *very neatly* done.

Place adjuncts are by far the most common semantic type of predication adjunct in initial position, with 38 out of 54 instances, which of course includes the obligatory space adjuncts discussed above. Optional predicate adjuncts in initial position have the same textual function as obligatory ones: they zoom in on a location, as shown in (5), and then specify what there is to look at. Inversion is quite common with thematised predication adjuncts; it is also found following clause-initial *then* when the verb is *come*, as shown in (6). A similar structure, though without inversion, is seen in (7), which has an initial adverb particle and a slightly longer space adjunct in end position. The two adjuncts reflect the movement of the subject referent (a football). It is no coincidence that (5)–(7) all represent sports commentaries; thematised predication adjuncts are most commonly found by far in this text type.

- (5) And then *behind these* comes Honey Church with Croupier in the violet colours sharing that third spot <S2A-006>
 (6) *Then* comes Eton Lad <S2A-006>
 (7) *Back* it goes to Galiamin <S2A-001>

The majority of adjuncts in initial position are thus syntactically optional and have sentential scope. The more common type is illustrated by (8)–(10) below, containing thematic adjuncts of time, space and contingency, respectively.

- (8) *In the third century* most senators were not Italians. <W2A-001>
 (9) *Round Trier* Celtic was spoken in the early fifth century. <W2A-001>
 (10) *If it breaks through to this side*, we're sunk. <W2F-002>

Constructions with thematised obligatory and/or predication adjuncts are heavily marked constructions, often accompanied by subject–verb inversion. Alternatively, they may occur in subjectless clauses in which the distinction between initial and medial position has been neutralised, as illustrated by (4) above.

4.1.3 *Clauses with thematised adjuncts*

It has been claimed that thematisation of adjuncts, like other types of marked word order, is mainly a main clause phenomenon (Givón 1979: 83). This is confirmed by the present material. [Figure 4.2](#) shows the clause types in which thematised adjuncts occur. In 88% of the cases the clause is a main clause, mostly declarative (less than 2% are non-declarative). By comparison, the

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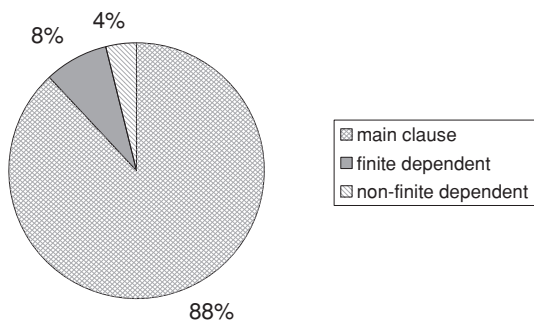


Figure 4.2 Clauses containing thematised adjuncts.

number of main clauses in the ICE-GB is only marginally higher than that of dependent clauses (69,624 vs. 66,020). There is thus a clear overrepresentation of main clauses in the material containing thematised adjuncts.

As regards the transitivity of the verb, 36% of the adjuncts are associated with a transitive verb, 40% with an intransitive and 20% with a copular verb. Compared to figures for the whole of the ICE-GB, there seems to be an overrepresentation of intransitive clause patterns at the cost of monotransitive ones.³ (Monotransitive verbs in the ICE-GB account for 48% and intransitive and copular verbs for 24% each.)

4.1.4 Sequences involving adjuncts in initial position

Almost half of the adjuncts found in initial position are part of adverbial sequences. This is a much higher proportion than in the entire database of adverbials, where less than a third occur in sequences. The most common sequence type involving initial position is combinations (i.e. sequences in which two or more adverbial positions are filled; see section 3.4), which are in fact almost eight times as frequent as initial clusters. In the entire material, however, clusters are almost twice as frequent as combinations. Examples (11) and (12) show a cluster and a combination involving initial position.

- (11) ~~Its~~ It's just that *sometimes last thing at night* || *on the phone* I say things I shouldn't ~~thats~~ that's all. <W1B-003>
- (12) *Although overall strategy may be the preserve of senior management, such strategies only work through the development and implementation of sub-strategies at lower levels* (Clark *et al.*, 1988, p. 33). <W2A-011>

The high number of combinations involving initial position might suggest that initial position may be at the same time a 'dumping ground' for adjuncts

³ It may be remembered that 'be' followed by an adjunct is analysed as intransitive in the present study (section 2.1.2), while this use is marked as copular in ICE-GB. This difference in analysis should, however, increase the number of intransitive clauses in the present material at the cost of copular clauses, not monotransitive ones.

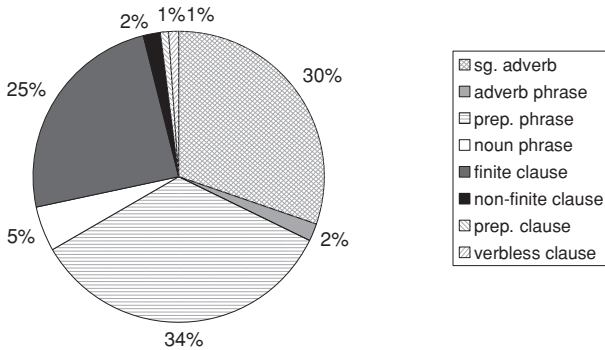


Figure 4.3 The realisation of adjuncts in initial position.

that are crowded out of end position and a strategic position for marking either continuities or breaks in the text. Such matters will be looked into in sections 8.4 and 12.6.3.

With respect to transitivity patterns, intransitive verbs are far more likely than transitive ones to contain a sequence of adverbials; of those clauses that contain only one adjunct in initial position (and none in other positions), the monotransitive pattern is almost twice as frequent as the intransitive one. This suggests again that initial position lends itself to adjuncts that cannot be accommodated in end position, for instance for reasons of clarity. One such example is (13), where the adjunct is blocked from end position because it would then seem to belong to the relative clause modifying the object NP, as in (13a).

(13) *At the moment* I'm doing Latin which I love but I would probably have to give that up as well. <W2C-002>

(13a) ? I'm doing Latin which I love *at the moment* . . .

4.1.5 The realisation of adjuncts in initial position

According to the weight principle and the principle of early immediate constituents (Hawkins 1994: 57), one would expect initial adjuncts to be relatively short. However, as was shown in section 3.7 (table 3.2), all realisation types of adjuncts can occur in initial position, not least clauses. Figure 4.3 gives an illustration of the distribution.

Figure 4.4 shows the length of adjuncts in initial position. The adjuncts fall into three roughly equal groups: those consisting of one word (30%), those consisting of two to four words (36%) and those consisting of five words or more (34%). Thus, initial position attracts light and heavy adjuncts alike. The number of long adjuncts is of course associated with the number of adjuncts realised by clauses shown in figure 4.3. Adjuncts realised

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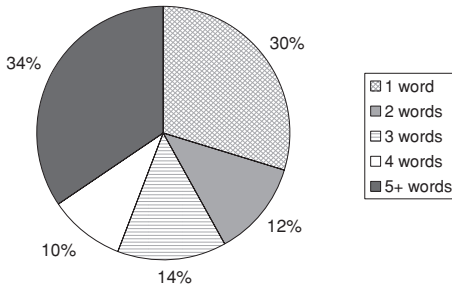


Figure 4.4 The length of adjuncts in initial position.

by clauses will be studied in more detail in [section 4.5](#) below. Other long adjuncts can be heavily modified phrases, as shown in (14) which contains an embedded prepositional phrase, and (15) with complex clausal modification.

- (14) *For the first time in their lives together* it was the moment to be honest with her. <W2F-012>
- (15) *Amid persistent reports that the Cabinet is split on alternative means of funding local government to replace the poll tax*, the pressure is mounting on Mr Major to bang heads together and come up with a final solution within the next few weeks. <W2C-018>

4.2 The factors influencing adverbial placement and their relevance for initial position

None of the adjunct types have initial position as their default, although initial position is available to most adjunct types even if their scope is predicational. As argued by Doherty (2003), there seem to be some restrictions on the thematisation of adjuncts which have to do with information balance. According to this parameter, placing an adjunct in initial position should only be possible if there is ‘sufficient relevant material at the right-hand side of the verb’ (2003: 35). In other words, it should be possible to assign end focus to an element that is part of the predicate (or that follows the predicate).

There are several reasons why adjuncts may be placed in initial rather than end position. In [section 3.6](#) a number of factors were identified which are believed to have a bearing on adverbial placement. As noted in [table 3.3](#), these factors do not all pull adjuncts in the same direction. Most of the clause-internal factors – obligatoriness, scope, the weight principle and the principle of end focus – seem to favour end over initial position. However, the weight principle does not prevent long adjuncts from occurring in initial position: figure 3.6 showed that initial position commonly accommodates

adjuncts realised by clauses. The principle of end focus would be a reason for placing an adjunct in initial position only if it would otherwise ‘steal’ end focus from some other constituent. Similarly, the principle of clarity favours initial position only under certain circumstances, for instance if initial placement can ensure the correct clause membership of an adjunct, as in (13) above.

The textual factors listed in table 3.3 may favour or disfavour initial placement of an adjunct. Depending on contextual factors, an adjunct can represent given or new information, thus presumably favouring initial and end position, respectively. Adjuncts in initial position can also mark cohesion and coherence in the text, e.g. if they contain anaphoric references (cohesion) or if they give necessary background information for the rest of the sentence (coherence). Adjuncts may also be placed in initial position for stylistic reasons such as syntactic parallelism, or because they take part in an overall text strategy (Enkvist 1987) giving a global structure to the text which is maximally suited to its purpose.

4.3 Theme and information structure

The use of initial position for an adjunct means that the adjunct functions as clause theme (Halliday 2004: 64). According to Halliday, the theme is ‘the element which serves as point of departure of the message; it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context’ (*ibid.*). In English, this function is realised by first position in the clause, or more precisely, the theme extends up to and includes the first participant, circumstance or process in the clause. In a declarative clause, the default theme is the subject, but ‘the most usual form of marked Theme’ is an adjunct (*ibid.*: 73).

In accordance with Hallidayian systemic-functional grammar, the use of initial position for an adjunct will be regarded here as a case of *thematization*. This term is chosen in preference to ‘fronting’ as it does not suggest that the adjunct has been moved from somewhere else in the clause. Nor does it suggest, as does the term ‘topicalisation’, that the adjunct becomes a topic in the sense of ‘what the clause is about’.

The Hallidayian theme is not to be equated with given information, as is often done within other schools of thought, such as the Prague school (e.g. Firbas 1986: 51, 54). The theme is speaker-oriented; it is where the speaker chooses to start from. Given information is what the speaker assumes is known to the hearer and is thus hearer-oriented (Halliday 2004: 93). In speech, theme is identified by word order and information by intonation. However, the fact that the unmarked information structure is given^new makes the given information more likely to be found within the theme and the new information within the rheme (*ibid.*). The association between theme

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and given on the one hand, and rheme and new on the other, is thus common but not necessary, according to Halliday.

Thematic status implies some degree of focus, particularly in the case of marked theme, in setting the scene for the clause as message and thus grounding what is going to follow (2004: 58). The focus will presumably increase if the adjunct conveys new information, as it will create markedness in information structure as well as in syntax (*ibid.*: 94). From the above considerations, one may assume that an adjunct will be thematised if the speaker wants it to be the point of departure for the clause as message, whether it conveys given or new information.

Regarding adjuncts in initial position as a case of thematisation does not, however, reveal all about the functions of themes, or more precisely, how an adjunct theme 'locates and orients' the clause in which it occurs. The functions vary according to such factors as the information load of the adjunct, the semantic type of the adjunct and to some extent its realisation. Furthermore, a succession of adjunct themes in a text may be viewed in terms of thematic development (Fries 1981) or text strategy (Enkvist 1981, Virtanen 1992). These functions will be looked into in the next few sections.

4.4 Functional motivations for thematising adjuncts

As mentioned above, the reasons for placing adjuncts in initial position are likely to be functional, or discourse-related, since most clause-internal principles favour end position.

4.4.1 *Given information first*

According to Firbas (1986) and Horová (1976), adjuncts may represent a setting for or a specification of the verbal action. In the former case, the adjunct is inherently low in *communicative dynamism* (CD) and thus thematic in the FSP sense, and in the latter it characteristically carries a high degree of CD and is thus rhematic.⁴ From these considerations, time and space position adjuncts and situation adjuncts should thus be commonly found in initial position, since they typically specify a setting. However, since English word order is determined not only by FSP but also by the grammatical word order principle, constituents are not always ordered according to their relative degree of CD, so setting adjuncts may be found in end position as well. Degree of communicative dynamism is thus not a sufficient predictor of placement.

⁴ Communicative dynamism 'refers to a quality displayed by the development of information toward a particular communicative goal. The degree of CD carried by a linguistic element is the relative extent to which this element contributes toward the further development of the communication' (Firbas 1986: 42).

However, adjuncts conveying information that is either given or anchored in the preceding context fit smoothly into initial position. Examples are given in (16) and (17).

- (16) He just looked in the Madrid phone book and *there* I am – ! Losada:
BALBONTIN J. M. <W1B-003>
(17) There are plans for the poison to be airlifted on to the island by
helicopter, but *if that fails*, several boats will ferry the Warfarin across.
<W2C-015>

In (16) the adjunct thematises information given at the end of the preceding clauses, thus providing linear thematic progression between the two clauses. However, there is no postverbal element in this clause, so according to Doherty's restriction that topicalisation of adjuncts only occurs in clauses with sufficient material at the right-hand side of the verb (2003: 35), this structure should not be possible. As the example shows clearly enough, the restriction needs to be reformulated; thematisation of an adjunct is indeed possible as long as something (else) in the predicate is selected for end focus, be it a postverbal argument or adjunct or the verb itself. In this case, the thematisation of the adjunct gives strong end focus to the subject–verb nexus. In (17) the information in the italicised adjunct is anchored in the preceding clause. In this case the cohesion is marked by means of a demonstrative with textual reference (see Halliday and Hasan 1976: 66ff).

4.4.2 Initial adjuncts with a low degree of communicative dynamism

It is relatively rare for an adjunct to consist entirely of given information (see also Kreyer 2007: 195). However, an adjunct can obviously be less important or newsworthy than other elements in the clause and for this reason be kept out of a position where it will receive end focus. Typical examples are clauses concerned with existence or appearance and beginning with space adjuncts which have a kind of presentative function, i.e. an ASV or AVS construction resembling a presentative clause with *there*. In fact, such a presentative function is the most frequently identified reason for having a space position adjunct in initial position in such clauses. This is particularly noticeable in the sports commentaries, e.g. (18). The initial adjunct draws attention to a location, and then a participant is mentioned. This participant typically represents new or important information and is a natural candidate for end focus. The presentative function was also found in other text types: example (19) comes from fiction. The initially placed adverbial delays the subject somewhat and gives it more focus. The alternative position of the adjunct would presumably be as in (19a), where the adjunct receives undue focus and furthermore creates a front-heavy clause structure.

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- (18) *On the outside* is Northern Howe <S2A-006>
(19) *Nearby* was the pumping-engine he had also built and installed . . . <W2F-007>
(19a) The pumping-engine he had also built and installed was *nearby* . . .

The presentative function of initial adverbials can be recognised also at the level of paragraph structure. Longacre (1979: 118) notes 'a certain reluctance on the part of the speaker to plunge immediately into a topic'. Thus a new paragraph launching a new topic may be introduced by 'something that indicates time, space, or circumstance or gives a broad hint of what is to come in the body of the paragraph' (*ibid.*). Longacre compares such paragraph-initial elements with 'ice-breakers' as they make a space in the discourse for a new topic. It is particularly time and space adjuncts that are used for presentative and ice-breaker functions, and the function is perhaps typical of narrative and descriptive text types. Chafe (1994: 135) claims that 'unless there is an initial summary, the narrative schema begins with an orientation that provides information essential to a well-ordered consciousness, including location in space and time'. Chafe's point makes it clear that orientation by means of initial adjuncts is for the benefit of the reader/hearer, who will have an easier time processing the text.

The ice-breaker function is evident in (20), where all the information is new as compared to the preceding discourse. The initial adverbial prepares the ground for a new topic, and at the same time directs the focus to the new participant. Example (21), in spite of the clause-initial *and*, is the first sentence in a commentary on the *Tour de France*. An initially placed adjunct gives the setting, i.e. the current location of the speaker and the ride of the day, before the speaker plunges into the actual commentary on the race.

- (20) *Outside a local orphanage, a remnant of the colonial era with peeling paint and empty rooms*, a child dressed in rags, his belly grotesquely distended, tugs at visitors' trousers, desperately miming the act of eating. <W2C-002>
(21) *And so in the town of Saint Godin* the field rolls away facing today a hundred and seventy-two kilometres <S2A-016>
(22) *In Ribble Valley* it is the Liberal Democrats who have dealt the killer blow to the poll tax. <W2C-018>

Sometimes an initial adjunct is used to prepare the ground for the re-introduction of a previous topic rather than a brand new one. The initial space adjunct will then serve as a signal of a juncture in the text. This is illustrated by (22), where the initial space adjunct brings the text back to the main topic, namely the results of a by-election in Ribble Valley, after a brief interlude of more general comments on the Liberal Democrats.

4.4.3 Crucial information first

As most clause-initial adjuncts do not convey given information, the principle of ‘given information first’ does not seem decisive to adverbial placement. Rather, if the circumstances are unchanged as compared to the previous clause, they will tend not to be mentioned at all. In the words of Brown and Yule (1983: 59), a hearer will assume ‘that the temporal setting will remain constant, that the locational setting will remain constant, unless the speaker indicates some change in any of these, in which case the hearer will minimally expand the context’.

A clause-initial adjunct containing new information may be seen as an instruction to the hearer/reader to adjust the frame of reference for interpreting what follows. Virtanen (1992: 308) calls this the ‘principle of crucial information first’. Adverbials that are placed in initial position according to this principle provide an appropriate point of departure for the interpretation of what follows.

To illustrate the principle of crucial information first, consider space adjuncts denoting a brand new setting, typically at the beginning of a paragraph or at other junctures in a text. The sentence in (23) is paragraph-initial, and the previous paragraph has a different setting. The main participant, however, is unchanged. The crucial information provided by the initial adjunct is thus that the participant has reached the beauty parlour and that this will be the setting for the subsequent discourse. In cases like (23) the scope of the adjunct often extends beyond the current sentence (see table 3.1).

- (23) *In the beauty parlour* she waited while they flicked through lists.
<W2F-003>

When an initial adjunct introduces a new setting or resumes one that has been given previously, an element of contrast may be involved and the sentence may have divided focus (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1372), i.e. on the initial adjunct as well as on the last lexical element. Position adjuncts are typically placed initially for contrastive purposes in texts where two settings are relevant at the same time, e.g. in a sports commentary where the speakers occasionally refer to other games being played elsewhere (24), or in a conversation about living in or going to different places (25).

- (24) *In Paris* it’s still in the second half there fourteen points to three
<S2A-002>
(25) *In England* it doesn’t matter because <,> he can get help as he’s uh
the only one allowed to drive that car <S1A-009>
(26) *Compared with London*, travel around Brussels is so amazingly hassle-free. <W1B-002>

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The text from which (24) is taken is mainly about a rugby match between Ireland and England, with occasional comments on another match being played in Paris between France and Wales. It is thus important to signal to the hearers which match is being talked about whenever the setting changes. There is focus both on *Paris* and *three*. Example (25) comes from a conversation about a holiday in France involving frequent comparison between France and England. In both (24) and (25) the contrast is implicit, or given in the context. The explicit contrast inherent in comparison/alternative adjuncts, as exemplified by (26), similarly makes such adjuncts good candidates for thematisation. The reason for this must be precisely to mark a contrast early on and thereby provide an adequate frame of reference for interpreting the rest of the sentence. In the case of (26), travel around Brussels might not be regarded as hassle-free by different standards.

The principle of crucial information first may seem to be the converse of the principle of end focus (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1365). However, an adjunct can be crucial for the interpretation of the clause without being the focus of information. There are thus two kinds of importance: one has to do with thematicity, or the foundation for the clause as message (Halliday 2004: 38); the other has to do with information structure. Thus, an initial adjunct is often ‘topic-worthy’ without being ‘focus-worthy’ (Doherty 2003: 36f), except in a few cases, where one must assume that the initial adjunct should have marked/contrastive focus.

Adjuncts can be topic-worthy without being focus-worthy, for instance when they contain background information for interpreting the rest of the sentence. They orient the reader/hearer to spatial, temporal or other circumstances that form a necessary backdrop to the message but are not the most important part of it. This type of initial adjunct is often found in newspaper texts, as in (27) where it may be a device for packaging information densely.

- (27) *Amid persistent reports that the Cabinet is split on alternative means of funding local government to replace the poll tax*, the pressure is mounting on Mr Major to bang heads together and come up with a final solution within the next few weeks. <W2C-018>
- (28) *Yesterday after the 80-acre farm became ‘unexpectedly available’*, moves were being made to ensure he gets the chance to buy it without fear of outside competition. <W2C-020>
- (29) *In her letters to Mum* it often seems that she has forgotten that she is writing to her daughter: <W1B-015>

There is nothing in the context of (27) to suggest that the italicised situation adjunct represents given information. However, the fact that it is placed in initial position suggests that it should be regarded as background information rather than as the focal point of the message. Similarly, in (28)

the cluster of time adjuncts represents information that is new, but downgraded in relation to the information in the predicate. This is shown also by the contexts following (27) and (28), in which the information at the end of the sentences is developed further. In (29), from a personal letter, the writer and the reader presumably share the knowledge that ‘she writes letters to Mum’, although it has not been mentioned earlier in this text. The information can be densely packed because further detail is unnecessary. The types of adjunct found with this function are mostly time (position) and situation adjuncts. However, as shown in (30), conditional adjuncts can also be crucial background information, allowing end focus to fall on the more important part of the sentence. This is particularly clear since (30) is a question to which the expected answer would be a list of books. (Incidentally, in this case it isn’t; the addressee of the question is no reader!)

- (30) *If you were a castaway on a desert island* which eight books would you take with you <StA-016>

A related function is found with viewpoint and respect adjuncts. Placed in initial position, such an adjunct fulfils the thematic function as ‘an orienter to the message. It orients the listener/reader to the message that is about to be perceived and provides a framework for the interpretation of that message’ (Fries 1995b: 318). Thematic adjuncts of viewpoint (31) or respect (32) give vital information about the validity of the message, namely that it is subjective (31) or that it only applies under certain circumstances (32).

- (31) *In their own estimation* their rule rested on right and not on mere force; <W2A-001>
 (32) For example, *in manufacturing*, the introduction of computer-integrated manufacturing (CIM) must involve both the technological system and an organisational approach. <W2A-011>

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 569) state that ‘viewpoint subjuncts, whatever their structure, tend to be put in I/[initial] position’. However, although the adjuncts contain information that can shed light on the interpretation of the rest of the sentence, it would be possible to place them in end position. It must thus be the writer’s desire to give them thematic rather than focal prominence that has motivated the choice of initial position; they are adequate points of departure for the rest of the message.

4.4.4 Cohesion

An adjunct that contains given information or reference to something that has been mentioned earlier (anaphoric or comparative) will very clearly contribute to cohesion if it is placed in initial position. The semantic type

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most eminently suited for this function is time relationship adjuncts, which by their nature relate different points in time. Particularly the adverb *then* frequently occurs in initial position, thus placing the event in the current clause at a point on a time axis following that of the previous clause. An example is given in (33).

- (33) And Othello of course calls on uh Desdemona's father doesn't he and *then* he tells her the story of his life <S1A-020>
(34) Yes, she could have her hair done at one by Michelle while Gina did her nails, and *before that* Velody could give her a cleanse and facial massage. <W2F-003>

The italicised adjunct in (34), like the one in (33), is anaphoric, but contrary to *then* places the event in the current clause *before* that of the preceding clause. Anteriority is probably an even stronger reason than sequentiality for thematising an adjunct; it is a case of 'crucial information first' since it is usually assumed that events happen after one another unless something is specified. A *then* can be presupposed (though it is very often expressed!), but not a *before that*.

Place adjuncts can also be anaphoric and thereby cohesive. This is the case in (35), where the adjunct repeats information from the preceding clause. In (36) the italicised adjunct makes explicit reference to the building referred to in the preceding clause.

- (35) He just looked in the Madrid phone book and *there* I am – ! Losada: BALBONTIN J. M. <W1B-003>
(36) A great cast-iron beam protruded through an opening high up in the building. *Inside* was the engine – his engine. <W2F-007>

In (35) and (36) the initial adjuncts themselves constitute cohesive ties by referring anaphorically to the preceding clauses. Initial adjuncts can, however, also contribute to cohesion in a more indirect way, namely by leaving end position for an element which will be pursued in the following discourse (and thus has some degree of 'topic persistence', according to Givón (1995: 66)). An example is given in (37), where the adjunct, by its initial placement, gets out of the way of the link to the following sentence, which starts with anaphoric reference to the Gauls and Spaniards who were contributing to Latin literature.

- (37) *As early as the first century A.D.* Gauls and Spaniards were contributing to Latin literature. These évolués sought citizenship and preferment, and the government, conscious of their merits and of Rome's traditions, gratified their ambitions. <W2A-001>

4.4.5 Thematic development/text strategy

As mentioned in section 3.6, initial position adjuncts can be part of a text strategy; see Enkvist (1987) and Virtanen (1992: 99). The text strategies that involve thematic adjuncts in Virtanen's study are temporal, as illustrated by (38), and spatial, as in (39). Other types of adjunct may also be used to structure the text, particularly contingency adjuncts (condition and reason) in argumentative-style texts or, as in example (42), an instructional text.

- (38) Turnover in recent weeks has come close to a standstill and *so far this year* has not approached the 500 million-a-day shares traded which is reckoned to be needed for securities houses to break even. In fact it has come nowhere near it.

Last week, the daily volume of equity trades peaked at 381 million and *on Monday this week* it had sunk to 267 million. *Yesterday* it recovered to a paltry 281 million and *throughout December* it rose above 500 million shares a day on only five occasions.

In current conditions, market makers are keeping their books completely flat, reluctant to take on stock from sellers in case the market plunges. The last thing they need is surplus stock in a falling market. *In these sensitive times*, even buyers are unwelcome in case, by some miracle, peace breaks out and a short position has to be filled in at a higher price.

So far, though, the impact on the City broking houses has been surprisingly small. Some people have left in dribs and drabs but there has not been anything like the mass cuts which some had predicted.
<W2C-013>

Example (38) is about trends in turnover in share trade, so a time axis is a natural structuring principle. The time axis is introduced non-thematically in the first sentence (*in recent weeks*) and continues as a similarity chain of related adjunct themes. Typically, an initial time adjunct indicates a move in the text (Virtanen 1992: 147); in (38) the initial adjuncts are crucial for navigating through the text, as the various facts presented in adjacent clauses apply to different times, which may be before or after the event in the preceding clause. The situation adjunct *in current conditions* participates in this temporal chain, being in this case pragmatically synonymous with the next initial time adjunct *in these sensitive times*.

Example (39) shows a spatial strategy.⁵ The various propositions are connected by means of a similarity chain of adjuncts, in this case space adjuncts that relate situations along a spatial dimension. For instance, the situations presented in the first two sentences are perceived as coherent because they are

⁵ The example has been taken from the BNC, as travel guides are not represented in the ICE-GB, and none of the texts in the core corpus used space as a global text strategy.

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found in the same room. Givón calls this ‘spatial coherence’ (1995: 82). The initial space adverbials relate the setting of the current clause to that of the preceding clause and thereby often imply a spatial reorientation (1995: 84f), though within a recognisable spatial framework. The pattern is also typical of guidebooks (Virtanen 1992: 99–100), which is the genre from which (39) has been taken.

- (39) *In the entrance to the gallery* is a copy of Adrian de Vries’s bust of Rudolf with his distinctive profile. *Here too* is Hans von Aachen’s portrait of this Maecenas, with his fleshy Habsburg lips. He is magnificently dressed in damask decorated with peacock feathers, and wears the Order of the Golden Fleece. Note also here the works of Bartholomeus Spranger and Cornelius van Haarlem, both important Mannerists. *On the left* is Adrian de Vries’s Adoration of Christ. (BNC: APT: 80–84)

Temporal and spatial text strategies are most common in the core corpus, but other types of adjuncts may also form a text-strategic chain. Within the core corpus, the sports commentaries sometimes come close to a spatial text structure, as shown in (40), from a radio commentary which displays a mixture of temporal and spatial structure. In these spontaneous commentaries, a temporal structure is always presupposed, but it need not be stated; the speaker and hearers share the ‘now’, but not the ‘here’. In this particular example, *then* is used as a connector along with the spatial structure.

- (40) And all of a sudden this uh race looks all over # For *inside the final furlong* it’s Filial striding clear and Mack the Knife trying to raise his gait # But Filial has all the answers # And *at the line* Filial just pushed out easily from Mack the Knife in second <,> # And then *through in third* was Magadir followed by Royal Prussia <S2A-006>

It may be noted that initial time and space adjuncts can mark a shift in the text even if they are *not* part of a temporal or spatial strategy, presumably because temporal and spatial settings are always presupposed. Thus, in (41), the initial space adverbial indicates a spatial reorientation and the introduction of a new topic.

- (41) *At the town of Cubal, close to Ganda*, a nutritional centre run by the Catholic church handles the worst cases. <W2C-002>

Example (42) has been taken from a text about conditions for getting an NHS sight test (outside the core corpus). The text runs through a wide range of potential patient categories, stating the conditions that apply and what the patient must do. Each paragraph is structured in much the same way as shown in (42). The structure is efficient, as it allows prospective patients to quickly find out if they fulfil the conditions for getting the sight test and to stop reading if they do not.

(42) **The registered blind and partially sighted**

You will be asked to put on the form the name and address of the local authority with whom you are registered. *If you do not give this information* the optician can refuse to test your sight.

Complex lenses

If you have to wear complex lenses then you must show the person who tests your sight a copy of your last glasses prescription. You would have been given it at your last sight test. *If you have not got it* the optician may be able to check your prescription from his or her records or by examining your present glasses. <W2D-001>

The text-strategic use of initial adjuncts does not only concern coherence between sentences. As shown in (43), it can also stitch together paragraphs. In this letter, as in the text in (38), the time axis is introduced in the first sentence (non-initially) and picked up by an initial adjunct in the second sentence. After that, all the paragraphs except the second start with an initial time adjunct, thus making the sequence of events explicit to the reader.

(43) **Hi again!**

It is now Wednesday – I think and exceedingly hot. Actually *today* I'm nursing a very bad hangover so I decided I had better stay at home rather than throw up on the metro!!

Our project is not getting very far very fast as we can't understand ~~what~~ this Spanish guy. I can get some of what he says but not everything and the other two can't understand a word at all. I have asked him for a written outline of the project so I can bring it home and translate it. They are also annoying because they keep asking this guy to speak English which is not what we are here for. Anyhow enough moaning and groaning.

On Monday I took my camera for a walk to the park near us and took loads of photos. We live very near to the bull-ring and not far from a skating rink would you believe it. It seems strange that there is an ice-rink in the middle of such a hot, dusty city.

Yesterday we went up another mountain on the tram – Mount Tibidales.

It was gorgeous up there because it was so cold ~~infact~~ in fact by the time I came home I was actually freezing cold and goose pimply.

<W1B-009>

A different kind of text strategy discussed by Enkvist (e.g. 1981) is *experiential iconicity*.⁶ It comprises the 'way in which elements of language [can be] ordered to make a text isomorphic with the universe it describes' (1981: 98). The linear order of elements of language is thus supposed to reflect

⁶ Enkvist (1981) uses the term 'experiential iconicism', but he replaces it by 'experiential iconicity' in his 1987 paper. The latter term has been adopted in the present study.

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temporal, spatial and causal relations, as perceived in the real world (1981: 108). In other words, the narrator's icon of experience is transferred to the reader, who in turn will be able to (re-)construct a textual universe similar to the one perceived by the narrator. This has also been described as 'the principle of natural order', e.g. Brown and Yule (1983), implying that 'a sequence of events . . . will often be presented in the order in which they happened' and that cause will often be presented before effect (1983: 144).

The principle of experiential iconicity can pull an adjunct to the beginning of the sentence if it contains reference to a proposition, as does the nominalised *introduction* in (44). The initial adjunct refers to an event that is prior to and causes the one conveyed by the main clause predicate, so it is natural to place it first. That is, 'the introduction of information technology into increasingly complex areas of the business' leads to a situation where 'the management of change becomes an intrinsic part of the management role'. The initial placement of the adjunct thus gives the sentence a logical structure of cause^effect.

- (44) *With the introduction of information technology into increasingly complex areas of the business*, the management of change becomes an intrinsic part of the management role, rather than being associated with one-off projects. <W2A-011>
- (45) *Since the start of the Industrial Revolution* air pollution has been creating biological deserts around industrial centres . . . <W2A-030>

The relationship between the event of the adjunct and that of the matrix clause can also be one of sequentiality, as shown in (45). The fact that the start of the Industrial Revolution would have to be prior to the beginnings of biological deserts around industrial centres is nicely mirrored by the iconic word order. The initial adjuncts in both (44) and (45) contain deverbal nouns. The principle of experiential iconicity is also relevant to the choice of initial or end position of adverbial clauses; see [section 4.5](#).

4.4.6 Idiomatic and context-specific uses

In a few examples the motivation for initial placement seems to be different from those discussed above. The choice may be particular to specific contexts or due to idiomatic usage. The clause-initial *there* in (46) is used idiomatically. Although it may be closer to a locative than an existential *there*, its meaning is bleached in this particular construction, i.e. it is not synonymous with 'a good boy is there'. Example (47) comes from a TV commentary. The initial *here* gives exophoric reference to what can be seen on the screen at the moment and is thus redundant. Although it serves a kind of presentative function, the main task of the initial *here* must be to signal that there is a new picture or scene that both the speaker and the hearers can see and that is now going to be the new focus of the commentary.

- (46) *there's* a good boy. <W2F-003>
 (47) *Here* he gets out of the saddle on the small drive through the town
 accelerating <,> pushing himself to the limit all the time <S2A-016>

4.4.7 Indirect motivation

In some cases it seems that adjuncts are placed in initial position simply because other positions are unavailable or awkward. It may be that end focus is reserved for some other element, or that initial placement of the adjunct may be a way of avoiding ambiguity. The choice of initial position for an adjunct may thus have a negative, or indirect, motivation (Enkvist 1980: 9). According to Enkvist (1978: 161) 'adverbials . . . do not always go where one might want to put them: they must go where they fit, if their most basic and "normal" positions have been occupied by other, more important constituents'. An example of this is (48), where the italicised adverbial might be more difficult to interpret correctly if it were placed in end position. Furthermore, the adjunct would obviously lose the competition for focal prominence to the final recipient adjunct.

- (48) and then a good right back from Lewis <,> as they talk to each other rather acrimoniously at the end of that first round which *on my scorecard* I'd have given to Lennox Lewis <S2A-009>
 (49) Its chief importance lay in the fact that *by luck or merit* citizens could rise to the chief posts in the government. Under Rome such men as Nehru or Nkrumah would have been eligible for the highest imperial offices. <W2A-001>
 (49a) . . . that citizens could rise to the chief posts in the government *by luck or merit*.
 (49b) . . . that citizens could rise *by luck or merit* to the chief posts in the government.

In (49) too, the italicised adjunct may have been simply crowded out of end position by another adjunct which was considered more relevant to the ensuing discourse. That is, even if there may be no particular reason to choose *by luck or merit* as a clause theme, the variant in (49a) would progress less smoothly over to the next sentence, given at the end of (49), while the order of adjuncts in (49b) creates a distance between the verb and the direction adjunct that marks the culmination point. Parenthetical insertion in M1 might have been an alternative placement, though that would break up the intonation contour of the clause.

As noted above, the distinction between initial and medial position may be neutralised, notably in subjectless main clauses and non-finite dependent clauses. In a clause such as (50), the position of the adjunct is initial because of the ellipted subject, and finite, while normally it would have taken the *not*-position – in this case M2 (see further, section 5.3). In (51), the adverbial

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is part of a non-finite clause with no subject; thus the adjunct is clause-initial, while in an agnate relative clause it would have been clause-medial.

(50) *Always* poking her damn nose in isn't she <S1A-007>

(51) The jeep, *already* defying the laws of the East Berlin authorities, now also seemed to defy the laws of gravity and leaped sharply into the air.
<W2F-012>

4.4.8 Summary

The choice of initial position for position adjuncts can usually be related to their function as 'ground, theme, or "scene-setting" for what follows' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 491). Initial adjuncts may contain information that is given or, more typically, downgraded in relation to the rest of the clause. However, clause-initial position adjuncts often contain new information, in which case they typically mark a new setting or introduce a new topic and simultaneously mark junctures in the text. Furthermore, initial adjuncts may serve as explicit signals of text strategy or thematic development over a stretch of text. The use of initial position may be directly motivated by a wish to give thematic prominence to an adjunct, in which case it can give a background for, or a perspective on, the rest of the message, or the motivation may be indirect. An inevitable result of placing an adjunct in initial position is that it becomes 'the point of departure of the message' (Halliday 2004: 64), but it may also point beyond the clause to which it belongs.

4.5 Adjuncts realised by clauses

According to the principle of early immediate constituents (Hawkins 1994: 57), one would expect adverbial clauses to be rare in initial position. However, adjuncts realised by clauses are more frequent in initial position in relation to end position than would be expected on the basis of the overall use of the two positions. Figure 4.5 shows the distribution of adjuncts realised by clauses across positions.

End position is less dominant for clauses than would be expected from the overall distribution of adjuncts (figure 3.2); adjuncts in general are about six times more frequent in end position than in initial position, while adverbial clauses (finite and non-finite) are only three times more frequent in end than in initial position. The percentage of adjuncts in initial position realised by clauses is 28.5, while the corresponding percentage for end position is 14.4 (figure 3.5). Medial position is a very infrequent option for adjuncts realised by clauses (2.6%).

The placement of adverbial clauses seems to be connected to the notions of centre and periphery, both syntactically and semantically. The 'centre' of the English clause normally does not allow long and heavy adjuncts (see

Table 4.2 *Types of adverbial clauses in initial position*

	finite clause	non-finite clause	prep. clause	verbless clause	TOTAL	
					N	%
Contingency	89	8	2	6	105	66.5
Time	39	1	0	0	40	25.3
Comparison/ alternative	3	3	0	0	6	3.8
Place	4	0	0	0	4	2.5
Viewpoint	1	0	0	0	1	0.6
Manner	0	1	1	0	2	1.3
TOTAL	136	13	3	6	158	

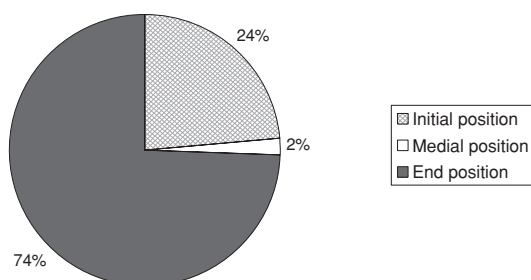


Figure 4.5 The positional distribution of adverbial clauses.

section 5.4), and so adverbial clauses are referred to the periphery of the clause, or ‘sentence margins’ (see Longacre 2007: 372). The relative unavailability of medial position may be one factor that pulls clausal adjuncts to initial position. Furthermore, the adverbial clauses also tend to belong to the sentence margins with regard to scope; the great majority of them have sentential scope and are therefore not very closely associated with the main clause predicate.⁷

Table 4.2 shows the syntactic and semantic types of adverbial clauses found in initial position. Finite clauses are the most frequent clause type (86% of the total), while contingency is by far the most common semantic type (66.5%), followed by time (25.3%). The other semantic types are either infrequent among the adverbial clauses in initial position (comparison/alternative, space, viewpoint and manner), or non-existent (respect, degree/extent, participant, situation and focus). Contingency clauses are not only the most frequently occurring semantic type found in initial position, but also the type that has the greatest proportion of initial placement

⁷ All the initial adverbial clauses, and roughly two-thirds of those in end position, have sentential scope. For the overall distribution of predicational and sentential adjuncts in end position, see table 6.2.

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compared to end position (27%), while 20% of the time clauses occur in initial position; compare table 6.3. For further comparison with end position, see below and section 6.3. We may, however, note here that the same semantic categories of adverbial clauses are found in end position with the exception of viewpoint adjuncts. On the other hand, end position contains adverbial clauses of respect, but no other categories in addition to those shown in table 4.2. Adverbial clauses thus do not seem able to express the whole gamut of semantic types of adjunct.

In contrast to most other realisation types, an adjunct realised by a clause contains a proposition that relates to the matrix clause proposition, not only by specifying some circumstance of the matrix clause event, but also by being syntactically and informationally dependent on the matrix clause. A study of motives for thematisation of adverbial clauses should thus include considerations of information structure as well as of clause relations.

As noted, for example by Biber *et al.* (1999: 835), a clausal adjunct is likely to occur in initial position if it contains given information or if it otherwise provides a cohesive link to the preceding context. In (52) the adverbial clause contains the anaphoric pronoun *that* referring to the previous sentence.

(52) Amid persistent reports that the Cabinet is split on alternative means of funding local government to replace the poll tax, the pressure is mounting on Mr Major to bang heads together and come up with a final solution within the next few weeks. *Once that is achieved*, he still faces the choice of whether to call a General Election in June or hang on until October or even the spring of next year. <W2C-018>

(53) Too often managers have doubts on what their strategic requirements actually are, and are therefore all the more likely to pursue the 'technological fix', hoping that expenditure on technology will of itself fill in the gap left by their lack of a coherent or forward-looking strategy.

Although overall strategy may be the preserve of senior management, such strategies only work through the development and implementation of sub-strategies at lower levels . . . The successful development and implementation of strategy relies on co-operation and communication at all levels. <W2A-011>

Thompson *et al.* (2007: 271ff) discuss initial adverbial clauses as a means of cohesion both within and across paragraphs. In both cases an initial adverbial clause is cohesive by means of back-reference to the previous sentence (52) or paragraph (53). However, initial adverbial clauses are also said to be 'bidirectional, linking what has gone before to what is to come' (2007: 296). Thus in (53) the concessive clause links up with the topic of the previous paragraph, but also introduces the notion of different levels of management, which is developed in both the main clause and the following sentence.

An initial adverbial clause can furthermore provide a frame within which the rest of the sentence will be interpreted, as pointed out by Biber *et al.*

(1999: 836). This is exemplified in (54). The italicised adjunct places an important restriction on the scope of the question in the main clause.

- (54) Oh you know *when you were in France* did you uh take any good photographs <S1A-009>

As noted above, in connection with adjuncts containing nominalisations, a principle of ‘natural order’ – or experiential iconicity – may determine the position of an adjunct vis-à-vis the matrix clause. Examples are given in (55) and (56), which show a temporal order and a cause–effect relationship, respectively. The same principle will place condition before consequence, as shown in (57).

- (55) *When he loses his temper with her* she runs off, taking young Jacob with her. <W2F-007>
 (56) *Since at eighteen I was an utterly different person from me at twelve*, I imagine that you too have no doubt changed a not inconsiderable amount. <W1B-015>
 (57) A judge told him and three other youths: ‘*If you had been older* you would have gone straight to prison.’ <W2C-020>

In table 4.1 and figure 4.1 above, contingency adjuncts were shown to be among the most frequent semantic types in initial position. Likewise, in table 4.2, contingency adjuncts are by far the most frequent category of adverbial clause in initial position. However, a more fine-grained study of contingency clauses shows that the semantic subcategories differ tremendously. Clauses of purpose and result are rare or non-existent in initial position, while causal clauses account for 11% of the clauses in initial position. Concession clauses are slightly more frequent, with 19%. Conditional adjuncts account for three-quarters of the contingency adjuncts in initial position. Moreover, of the conditional clauses in the core corpus, close to 60% occur initially. Their preference for initial position has been noted earlier by, for example, Ford (1993: 133), Årskaug (1992: 28) and Dissel (2001: 445).⁸ Dissel (2001: 433f) claims that the placement of adverbial clauses in languages that use both initial and final position varies with the meaning and function of the clauses: ‘conditional clauses usually precede the main clause/predicate; temporal clauses may precede or follow it; causal clauses tend to occur in sentence-final position, but occasionally they are preposed; and result and purpose clauses almost always follow the associated element’. This agrees with the tendencies found in the core corpus for this study.

Why do conditionals show such an unusual preference for initial placement? In Årskaug’s study (1992: 28) nearly two-thirds of the *if*-conditional

⁸ According to Dissel (2001: 445), the tendency to place conditional clauses in initial position applies cross-linguistically, i.e. to those languages that have preposed adverbial clauses at all.

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clauses in a material of fiction and editorials were found in initial position. Initial conditionals were seen as given and/or backgrounded in relation to the matrix clause (the ‘apodosis’, see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 738). Initial placement of conditionals could thus be seen as an effect of information structure with given before new information. Furthermore, the conditionals are said to provide ‘the relevant restrictive frame for the following information unit’ (Årskaug 1992: 108). Ford suggests that ‘the use of *if*-clauses in initial position has to do with the fact that their meaning lends itself inherently to discourse organizational work. *If*-clauses, at the content level alone, function primarily to limit the framework of interpretation for an associated main clause’ (1993: 133).

Conditions are commonly characterised as ‘open’ or ‘hypothetical’ (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999: 819), depending on whether the condition can be fulfilled or not. Although both types of conditionals occur in both initial and end position, the material suggests that real conditions have a greater chance of being expressed initially, while hypothetical conditions are more commonly found in end position. More precisely, 64% of the conditional adjuncts in initial position express an open condition and 17% express a hypothetical condition. The corresponding figures for end position are 49% and 34%.⁹ It makes sense that an open condition is both a relevant and a necessary restrictive frame for the apodosis, while a hypothetical condition is not. The condition in example (57) above is hypothetical; the condition is not fulfilled. This would have been clear even with the adjunct in end position, as the modalised verb phrase marks an irrealis mode. Example (58) contains an open condition.

- (58) Lee, who will also seek exemption from some curriculum subjects, said: “*If we continue to undermine the sciences at GCSE level*, fewer youngsters will go on to A-level and we will destroy the seeds of our future scientists.” <W2C-002>

The conditional clause in (58) expresses the condition for the prediction made in the apodosis. Had it occurred in end position, the reader would have had to adjust his/her interpretation of the apodosis, while initial placement restricts the validity of the prediction right away.

On the basis of the principle of natural order, one might expect causal clauses to be more frequent in initial position than they are shown to be in the core corpus (table 4.2). However, Altenberg (1987: 51) finds that although the cause–effect order and the effect–cause order occur with roughly the same frequency, causal adverbial clauses are relatively rare in initial position, particularly in conversation. Instead, the cause–effect (or cause–result) order is typically realised by a main clause where causality is left implicit and a

⁹ The percentages do not add up to 100% because some adjuncts do not fit into the ‘open’ versus ‘hypothetical’ division. See further, section 10.3.1.

following clause starting with *so* (1987: 56). The initially placed causal clauses in the core corpus seem mainly to provide a necessary frame of interpretation or background for the matrix clause, as illustrated by (59). Typically the causal clause contains given information or information that is anchored in the preceding context. (In this case the anchor is provided by the lexical link between ‘inflicting pain’ and ‘physical suffering’.)

- (59) In a strange way, as Dad closed the door behind him, his father seemed the smaller man for leaving him so, as if he’d ducked out at the last minute, couldn’t take the responsibility of inflicting pain. *Since Brett had been brought up to see physical suffering as a natural product of punishment*, the lack of it now seemed to him to be a weakness and a cause for anger at the same time. <W2F-001>

Like other adjuncts in initial position, adverbial clauses may provide ‘crucial information’ for the correct interpretation of the following matrix clause. However, as has been pointed out in a number of studies (Thompson 1987, Matthiessen and Thompson 1988, Ford 1993), the syntactic subordination entails a backgrounding of an initial clause in relation to the main (or matrix) clause. Furthermore, Thompson (1987: 445) finds that the ‘majority of subordinate clause predicates [are] not on the time line’ of a narrative text. In other words, the main story line is carried by main clauses, while dependent clauses do other discourse work in the process of text creation (1987: 451). Temporal clauses in initial position typically mark a new or adjusted time frame or a temporal background to the matrix clause event; see Ford (1993: 62). The proposition in the dependent clause is backgrounded in relation to that of the matrix clause. An example is given in (60). The italicised clause adjusts the temporal frame in relation to the preceding clause, while the main message comes in the main clause.

- (60) SNP leader Alex Salmond also reacted to the result, saying: ‘This will be the final death-knell for the poll tax. The Scottish people have spearheaded the resistance to this unjust and hated tax. *Now that the revolt has spread to their own English heartlands* the Tories have no choice but to ditch it.’ <W2C-018>

To conclude this section, it seems that adverbial clauses are placed initially if they do one or more of the following discourse jobs: (i) provide a setting/frame of reference for the following clause(s); (ii) provide a relevant and/or necessary restriction on the validity of the matrix clause proposition; (iii) provide a link to the preceding discourse by means of given information or cohesive devices. Furthermore, an adverbial clause can combine with the main clause according to the principle of natural order, or according to principles of information structure and cohesion. Although thematised, the proposition in an initial adverbial clause will be backgrounded in relation to that of the matrix clause.

4.6 The build-up of clusters in initial position

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 566) state that 'it is unusual to have more than one adjunct at *I* except where one is realized by a pro-form (especially *then*), but they would tend to be in the reverse order to that observed at *E*'. The present material contains 31 examples of initial clusters of two adjuncts and two containing three adjuncts. Most of the clusters involve either a time adjunct or a space adjunct. The most frequent pattern (occurring 11 times) is time^space, as shown in (61) and (62). Example (61), starting with *then*, fits the description given by Quirk *et al.*, and moreover, it is typical of a genre; most of the initial time^space clusters come from sports commentaries.

- (61) *The other day* || *at the beach* there was a lot of serious grinding going on. <W1B-009>
 (62) *And then* || *behind these* comes Zimbak <S2A-006>

Other patterns that occur more than twice in the core corpus are time^time (seven occurrences), space^space (four occurrences) and time^manner (four occurrences). These patterns are shown in (63)–(65). Most of the clusters involving a time adjunct contain a short time adverb, typically *then*. Time adjuncts occurring together may be of the same subtype, as in (63), with two time position adjuncts, or they may be different, typically one of time relationship in combination with time position, duration, or frequency.

- (63) *Yesterday*, || *during final public submissions to Lord Justice Woolf*, Mr Dunbar said that 1982 proposals for a minimum code had been shelved because at that stage, with poor facilities and overcrowding, it would have proved unworkable. <W2C-001>
 (64) *Behind her*, || *in the car*, her bags were packed, soiled linen neatly on one side, the plastic wallet sandwiched between her toilet bag and her hairdrier. <W2F-003>
 (65) The first chapter asks about your daydreams and *then* || *as an exercise* you have to write yourself an obituary one which in your wildest dreams you would love to have. <W1B-003>

In order to get more patterns of initial clusters, the rest of the ICE-GB was searched for clauses with two adverbials before the subject. As noted in section 2.1.2, the tagging of adverbials in the ICE-GB does not quite correspond to the classification of the present study, so I also searched for sequences of adverbial plus subject complement before the subject. The most frequent pattern by far in the resulting initial clusters was time^time. Other patterns often involve a cluster-initial time adjunct. Another category that enters into a number of patterns is focus adjuncts, which tend to be cluster-initial and thereby modify the following adjunct, as shown in (66). Focus adjuncts are found in combination with contingency, time and situation adjuncts. As in other positions, focus adjuncts generally need to precede the

constituent(s) they are meant to modify, so that their placement depends on their scope (see further, section 11.4).

- (66) There was a desire to settle amicably and *even* || *in formal court proceedings* a compromise solution was often reached. <W1A-003>

As contingency adjuncts are so frequent in initial position, it is somewhat surprising that they do not often occur as part of clusters. If they do, it is in examples like (71) below, or in combination with a time adjunct, which may precede or follow it. In (67) the order of the adjuncts seems to have been determined by considerations of cohesion; the cluster-initial adjunct links the sentence to the preceding context.

- (67) *Despite his Danish citizenship*, || *in November 1870* he was prepared to fight for the newly proclaimed Republic, but his mother urged him to put his family first. <W2B-002>

It may be noted that more unusual combinations, such as cause^viewpoint in (68), seem distinctly marked. The same applies to unusual orderings such as respect^time in (69). However, in both cases the initial adjunct links back to the preceding context.

- (68) Judaism is built on the idea of a covenant <, > that unites an entire group of people into a religious community <, > and *for that reason* || *historically* Judaism has been very opposed to elites <S1B-047>¹⁰
 (69) *In terms of sacred art and images of women generally* || *for a long time* that paradox did not seem to matter and the coexistence was fruitful in terms of art and architecture. <W1A-008>

Most clusters in initial position consist of two or more adjuncts with sentential scope. As sentential adjuncts are generally more mobile than predicational ones, it is possible that their placement relative to the verb as well as to other adverbials is less apt to correspond to a fixed pattern. Their order may thus be to a great extent determined on the basis of their cohesive and informational functions in the text. Most of the time^space and some of the space^space clusters in initial position contain a predicational adjunct, which may also be obligatory. These are all space adjuncts and are linked to a verb of existence or appearance. The tendency is for predicational adjuncts to be placed cluster-finally and thus closer to the core of the clause.

The principle of weight can be seen to operate locally in initial clusters. Typically, a shorter adjunct precedes a longer one, as in (62), (63) and (65) above. However, in some examples a shorter adjunct is placed cluster-finally, in which case it seems to repeat the information given in the initial adjunct. Examples are (70), where a cluster-final *so* repeats the information given

¹⁰ This is an example of slow, careful speech, and *historically* carries focal accent and thus marked focus.

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in the preceding adverbial clause and (71), where the conditional clause is reinforced by means of *then*. As shown by (72), *then* may also reinforce a temporal clause.

- (70) It is not safe to overindulge any instinct and, *just as the more overt appetites can be controlled for self-interest*, || *so* the identity dynamic can also be controlled. <W2A-017>
- (71) But *if Heseltine comes up with a poll tax solution* || *then* it will mean nothing. <W2C-018>

Hasselgård (1996: 144) found that initially placed clusters often contain a boundary marker such as a comma or a tone unit boundary. It is also quite common to find a boundary marker between an initial adverbial cluster and the rest of the clause. Such a tendency is not usually visible in the spoken part of the ICE-GB since it is not annotated for prosody (though it may be audible), but was seen in the written part, as shown in (67) and (69) above. However, in (72) there is a pause between the adverbial clause and the following adverb. The fact that clusters in initial position are often marked off from the nexus strongly suggests that they are perceived as peripheral. Furthermore, the boundary marker breaks up the structure in such a way as to suggest some degree of markedness, i.e. the clause does not run smoothly, but contains a break which marks the adverbial(s) as detached from the main body of the clause.

- (72) Of course everybody thought he was quite mad but *when he lifted a huge block of stone and lifted it above his head* <,> *then* they realised that he was inspired by a great force <S2B-027>

Virtanen (1992: 255) claims that adverbials which are important for the overall text strategy will precede other adverbials in initial position. If both adverbials in a cluster are important for text strategy, an adverbial that functions on a local level will precede one that belongs to the global text strategy. Although this is difficult to ascertain when most of the clusters in the material consists of homosemantic clusters, (73) gives an illustration. The cluster-initial adjuncts are similar, ordering events chronologically. Six sentences further down in the text another sentence starts with *soon after eleven*, thus reflecting a temporal strategy in this part of the text.

- (73) *At seven thirty* || *this morning* it's understood Margaret Thatcher made up her mind and *at nine o'clock* || *when senior ministers gathered around her at Number Ten* she told them what she'd do <S2B-020>

To sum up this section: most of the clusters in initial position involve time and/or space adjuncts. Clusters of two or more time adjuncts seem to be most common. However, clusters of time and space adjuncts are also common, in which case the time^space order is more frequent. In general, time adjuncts tend to precede other adjuncts in initial clusters. It is perhaps

even clearer in initial position than in other positions that the adjuncts in a cluster modify each other progressively; thus if the adjuncts differ in scope, the one with the wider scope is placed first. Sentential adjuncts thus precede predicational ones; predicational adjuncts like to be as close as possible to the core of the clause. Further, adjuncts with a strong link to the preceding context tend to occur cluster-initially, as do adjuncts which can be related to a local or global text strategy. The weight principle normally makes shorter adjuncts precede longer ones, although there are exceptions.

5 Medial position

As outlined in [chapter 3](#), medial position is defined as any position between the subject and a postverbal obligatory element, thus covering both medial and initial-end position as defined by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 491, 499). Three variants of medial are recognised: M₁ between the subject and the (first part of the) verb phrase, as in (1), M₂ after an auxiliary, but before the main verb, as in (2), and M₃ between the verb phrase and some other obligatory element, viz. an object, a predicative, or an obligatory adverbial, as in (3).

- (1) He *eventually* finds Heslop <S₂A-002>
- (2) Anyway you may *soon* be rid of me. <W₁B-003>
- (3) Patience suddenly realised *from the expressions of the others* that she would have to explain further. <W₂F-007>

5.1 Syntactic and semantic properties of adjuncts in medial position

5.1.1 The distribution of semantic types

As shown in [section 3.7](#), the medial positions are relatively restrictive as regards the adverbial meanings that are commonly expressed there, with M₃ allowing a slightly greater variety than M₁ and M₂. [Table 5.1](#) gives a more detailed picture. As shown by [table 5.1](#) nearly two-thirds of the adjuncts found in medial position are time adjuncts, which far outnumber any other semantic category. Next in order of frequency are manner adjuncts, with 46 occurrences (10% of the adjuncts in medial position), followed by focus and degree adjuncts. Space adjuncts, on the other hand, are particularly *infrequent* in medial position, as are contingency and situation adjuncts. The probability of each semantic category to occur in medial position is visualised in [figure 5.1](#).

It is interesting to compare [figures 4.1](#) and [5.1](#). Focus and degree adjuncts are relatively rare in initial position as they are not particularly suitable for thematic focus. They are, however, common in medial position. Some of the more content-heavy adjunct types, particularly contingency adjuncts, are common in initial position and rare in medial position. Viewpoint adjuncts

Table 5.1 *Semantic types found in medial position*

	M1	M2	M3	Total adjuncts at M	% of total no. of adjunct type	TOTAL
Time	90	120	84	294	21.5	1370
Space	3	0	18	21	1.2	1683
Manner	12	11	23	46	9.2	498
Contingency	9	0	4	13	2.7	477
Respect	1	0	5	6	6.5	93
Degree	8	12	11	31	41.9	74
Participant	0	0	6	6	3.4	177
Comparison	0	2	1	3	13.0	23
Focus	12	14	10	36	81.8	44
Viewpoint	1	1	3	5	29.4	17
Situation	0	0	0	0	0	14
TOTAL	136	160	165	461	10.3	4470

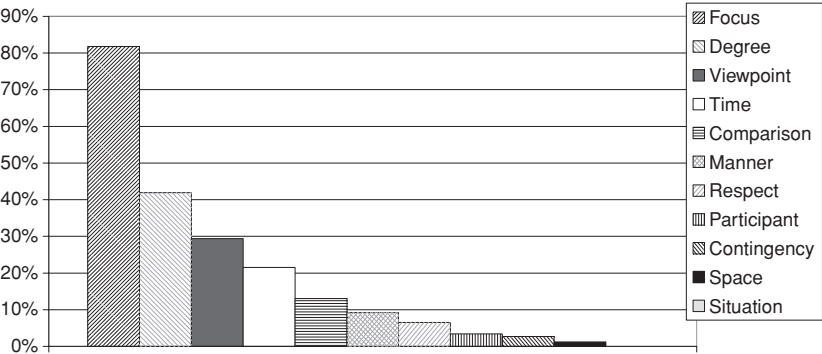


Figure 5.1 The probability for adjunct types to occur in medial position.

are relatively common in both initial (35%) and medial position (29%). These figures agree fairly well with those of Biber *et al.* (1999: 805), who note that ‘two semantic categories show a marked preference for medial position; additive/restrictive¹ and extent/degree. These categories have two characteristics in common: they often apply to a particular part of the clause, and they are often one- or two-word adverbials.’ It is further stated that ‘items marking a point in time (such as *now*, *today*, *yesterday*) and time frequency (e.g. *always*, *never*, *often*, *rarely*) often occur before the main verb’ (1999: 806).

It is often hard to imagine any alternative placement for some degree adjuncts, e.g. in (4). The same is the case for certain types of focus and time

¹ The category of additive/restrictive adjuncts in Biber *et al.* (1999: 780) includes the category of focus adjuncts in the present study (see section 2.3).

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adjuncts, exemplified in (5) and (6), while other types of adjunct that are common in medial position might have been placed in other positions too. This is the case for (7), where end position would have been possible.

- (4) I'm not *utterly* at the bottom of the road uhm <,> coconut <S1A-020>
- (5) You *even* have to pay extra if you want to have bread with your meal.
<W1B-002>
- (6) I've *never* borrowed a hardback <S1A-013>
- (7) He looked across to double-check, but it only confirmed what he had
already seen. <W2F-012>

Table 5.1 and figure 5.1 do not distinguish subtypes of the semantic categories. Note however that one type of time adjunct occurs predominantly in medial position, viz. adjuncts of indefinite frequency. In the core corpus, 77% of all adjuncts of indefinite frequency were found in medial position, making this semantic category one of the most likely to be medially placed. The most common positions are M1 and M2. See further, section 5.3.

5.1.2 Obligatoriness and scope

As a general rule, syntactically obligatory adjuncts do not occur in medial position. There are only four possible exceptions in the present material, all occurring at M3. These are given below as (8) to (11).

- (8) THE Prime Minister was last night facing two crucial decisions as the shock result of the Ribble Valley by-election brought *to an end* his honeymoon period as Mrs Thatcher's successor after only 100 days in office. <W2C-018>
- (9) And yet she has to put *on her form* you see that he she's living with him in that address <S1A-007>
- (10) I don't know that she's advised them but she's put it *in their minds* that it's going to be really tough <S1A-005>
- (11) 'I've got to take *out* the dog,' he said as finally as he could. <W2F-001>

Examples (8) to (10) are similar in that the verb is transitive and the direct object is heavier than the medially placed adjunct. Items (8) and (9) are good examples of what Hicks (1976: 121) refers to as 'inversion of object and adjunct' and Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1395) as 'postponement of object' in an SVOA clause. This type of shift occurs 'when the object is a long and complex phrase' (*ibid.*), or as here, when the object is realised by a clause. End position, before the final time adjunct, might have been an alternative for the space adjunct in (8), but this would blur the tight idiomatic association between verb and space adjunct. Medial position (M3) seems the only viable placement of the adjuncts in (9) and (10); their predication scope makes them unsuitable for initial position, while end position would make the adjunct look like a constituent of the object clause. In (10) it is debatable whether the position of

Table 5.2 *The scope of adjuncts in medial position*

	M1		M2		M3		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Predicational	22	16.2	34	21.3	66	40.0	122	26.5
Sentential	114	83.8	126	78.8	99	60.0	339	73.5
	136	100.0	160	100.1	165	100.0	461	100.0

the adjunct should be classified as medial or end, because of the anticipatory *it* occurring in front of the adjunct; thus the adjunct is placed before the ‘real’, extraposed direct object, but after the anticipatory one. This type of ‘extraposition of a clausal object’ is said by Quirk *et al.* to be obligatory when the object in an SVOA pattern is an infinitive clause or a *that*-clause (1985: 1393). In (11) it could be argued that *out* is part of the verb phrase in a phrasal verb construction. However, *out* has been analysed as an adverb and an adjunct on account of its literal meaning and because it is fully replaceable by other adjuncts such as *for a walk* or *into another room*. Clearly it is the relative weights of adjunct and object that allow the order shown in (11).

It was noted in section 3.3 that the predicational/sentential distinction is problematic with some types of adjuncts, such as focus adjuncts, which are frequent in medial position (see figure 5.1). Thus, table 5.2 represents a very inexact science, but still indicates that sentential adjuncts constitute an overwhelming majority at M1 and M2, while M3 is more open to predicational adjuncts. The figures in table 5.2 may be compared to those for initial position, presented in section 4.1.2. It appears that adjuncts have a greater chance of being interpreted as predicational the further to the right in the clause they occur; see the increasing proportion of predicational adjuncts.

The semantic types represented among predicational adjuncts differ somewhat across the three variants of medial position. In M1, the following types are found with approximately equal frequency: degree, focus and manner. In M2 the same types are found, but time adjuncts are equally common. M3 has a wider variety of semantic types, of which the most common are manner, space, degree, focus and participant.² Examples (12) and (13) show the most common type of predicational adjunct in each of the medial positions.

- (12) You *even* have to pay extra if you want to have bread with your meal. <W1B-002> (M1, focus)
- (13) Freud has been *much* praised for his reading of this story. <W2A-002> (M2, degree)
- (14) Tommy woke up and looked *blearily* at his mother. <W2F-002> (M3, manner)

² In addition, the following types are represented with three or fewer occurrences: space (M1), viewpoint (M2), comparison (M2 and M3), respect (M3), time (M3).

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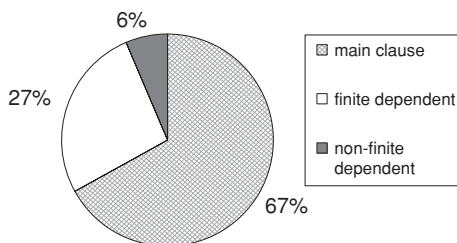


Figure 5.2 Clauses containing medial adjuncts.

Both focus and degree adjuncts seem to favour a position near or in the verb phrase, as indicated by figure 5.1. It may be noted that the position labelled M₁ in example (12) would have been M₂ if the verb phrase had been complex, viz. . . . *you would even have to pay* . . . It is thus no wonder that M₁ and M₂ are rather similar as regards both the semantic types and the scope of adjuncts. In M₃, manner adjuncts account for almost a third of the predication adjuncts; see (14) where the adjunct precedes the prepositional object. Space and participant adjuncts are rare in M₁ and M₂, but relatively common in M₃. In the clauses with space and participant adjuncts in M₃, the element following the adjunct tends to be realised by a long and complex phrase or a clause, as shown in (15) and also in (8)–(10) above.

- (15) Angola is said *by Africa Watch, the human rights group*, to have suffered the highest number of civilian land-mine casualties in the world – up to 50,000. <W2C-002>

5.1.3 Clauses containing adjuncts in medial position

It was pointed out in section 4.1.3 that the thematisation of adjuncts is chiefly a main clause phenomenon. As figure 5.2 shows, much the same can be said about medially placed adjuncts, although the dominance of main clauses over dependent clauses is not as great, with 67% vs. 33% (the ratio of main clauses to dependent clauses in the ICE-GB is 51% vs. 49%).

The transitivity patterns found in clauses with medial adjuncts are rather similar to the overall frequencies in the whole ICE-GB. There is thus no transitivity pattern that can be said to particularly favour medial position for adjuncts. The most frequent pattern is monotransitive (45%) followed by intransitive (29%) and copular (21%). This may be compared to corresponding frequencies for initial position (presented in section 4.1.3), where intransitive clauses were overrepresented and monotransitive verbs underrepresented in relation to the overall frequencies in the ICE-GB.

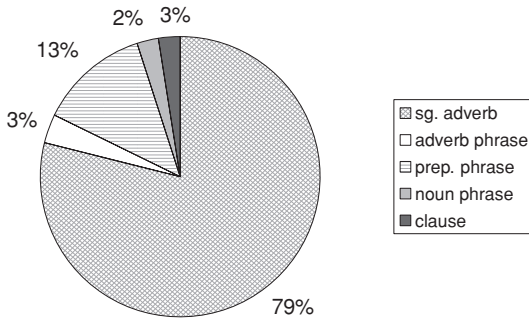


Figure 5.3 The realisation of adjuncts in medial position.

5.1.4 Sequences involving adjuncts in medial position

The majority of clauses containing adjuncts in medial position – about two-thirds – do not contain other adjuncts. This is close to the average for the core material, but higher than the proportion for initial position, where almost half of the adjuncts occurred in sequences. Very few clusters of adverbials occur in medial position. An example is given in (16). Most of the medial adjuncts that are part of a sequence occur in a combination of medial and end position (17); only about one in four of the combinations involve initial and medial position (18). See further, [chapter 8](#).

- (16) There was little point in trying to find words which could *never* ||
sufficiently explain or console. <W2F-012>
- (17) These birds are *usually* found *on islands because there are no predators*.
<W2C-015>
- (18) *Although overall strategy may be the preserve of senior management*, such
strategies *only* work through the development and implementation of
sub-strategies at lower levels (Clark *et al.*, 1988, p. 33). <W2A-011>

5.1.5 The realisation of adjuncts in medial position

While adjuncts in initial position are realised by a range of phrase and clause types, adjuncts in medial position are far more uniform. [Figure 5.3](#) shows that 79% of adjuncts in medial position are realised by single adverbs, 18% are realised by phrases and only 3% by clauses (finite and non-finite). According to Biber *et al.* (1999), adjuncts in medial position ‘interrupt the flow of obligatory components of the clause. For example, they may separate the subject from the verb, the auxiliary verb from the main verb, or the verb from its complement. It is thus not surprising that these positions have a strong preference for one-word adverbials’ (1999: 808). There is indeed a great predominance of adjuncts realised by one word in all three variants of medial position. While in initial position there were three similarly sized

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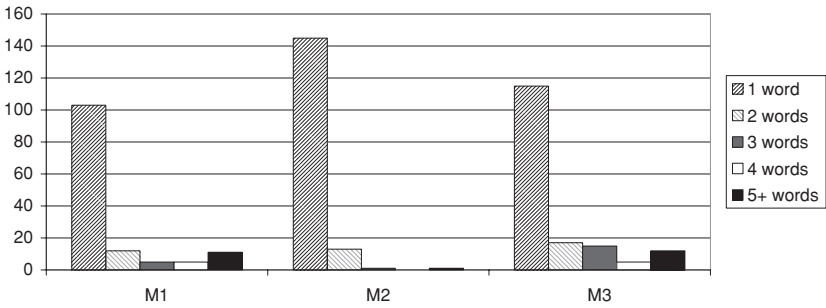


Figure 5.4 Length of adverbials in medial position.

groups of adjuncts of one word, two–four words and five words or more, the corresponding proportions for medial position are 79% (one word), 16% (two–four words) and 5% (five words or more). Figure 5.4 shows that the three adverbial positions differ somewhat, chiefly in that M2 is even more hostile to longer adjuncts than M1 and M3. This indicates that the verb phrase is very rarely split up by an adjunct of more than one word.

Long adjuncts in medial position thus appear as marked structures because they are in breach of the grammatical word order principle of early immediate constituents (Hawkins 1994: 57ff). As will be discussed in section 5.4, they are often ‘surrounded by terminal junctures’ (Jacobson 1964: 104), with the effect that the remaining part of the predicate is suspended, so that the clause-final constituent(s) receive extra focus; see further, section 5.2.3.

5.2 The factors influencing adverbial placement and their relevance for medial position

None of the factors believed to influence adverbial placement listed in section 3.6 seem primarily to attract adjuncts to medial position. On the contrary, most of them seem to pull them away from medial position. However, medial position may still be an option when other roads are barred. Both the weight principle and the principle of end focus may bar the possibility of clause-final placement for an adjunct which is not heavy or newsworthy enough and steer it into medial position.

5.2.1 Focus

As regards information structure, medial position is not associated with any kind of focus, in contrast to initial and end position which involve thematic and end focus, respectively. Probably for this reason, medial position has not received a great deal of attention in functionally oriented studies of adverbial

placement. Horová (1976: 115) associates the position with the transition part of the clause, with an intermediate degree of communicative dynamism; see also Firbas (1986: 52).

It is possible that medial position is used for adverbials that are simply not intended for any kind of focus (Hasselgård 1996: 166). Horová (1976: 111) notes that medial position can be used as an alternative to end position when either the main verb or the object is singled out for end focus (in FSP terminology as *rheme proper*; see Firbas 1986: 54). Furthermore, Taglicht (1984: 22) notes that adjuncts in medial position can be used to set off the subject from the rest of the clause; i.e. the use of marked syntax draws attention not only to the unusually placed adjunct itself, but also to other parts of the sentence. The use of a medially placed adjunct as a 'partition' in the clause is evidenced by the frequent use of commas on either side of it, which can make most types of adjuncts seem acceptable in clause-medial position. See further, section 5.2.3.

5.2.2 *Scope*

Biber *et al.* (1999: 805) claim that 'because they focus on a particular part of the clause, medial positions can be important to show clearly the scope of the adverbial'. This is evident in the case of focus adjuncts.

- (19) This was *only* the culmination of a long process. <W2A-001>
 (20) George Duffield *just* having to shake her up <S2A-006>

The intended scope of focus adjuncts, which predominantly occur in medial position, may determine not so much whether or not to place the adjunct in initial, medial or end position as which of the medial positions the adjunct should take. Focus adjuncts at M₃ presumably make it clear that the scope of the adjunct is the postverbal part of the predicate only, as illustrated by (19). In (20), by contrast, the focus adjunct clearly applies to the verb phrase as well. See further, section 11.6.

5.2.3 *Information structure and weight*

Considerations of information structure and syntactic weight are generally reasons for keeping adjuncts *out of* medial position; if an adjunct is focus-worthy or syntactically weighty, it will be placed in initial or end position. However, adjuncts may be placed in medial position because end and initial position are reserved for other clause elements with a higher information value and/or more syntactic weight.

Adjuncts which are placed in medial position because of a weighty postverbal argument are usually found in M₃. This is shown in (21) and (22), in which the postverbal arguments are realised by clauses.

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- (21) and the tackle by Galiamin was <,> adjudged *by the referee* to be a foul <S2A-001>
- (22) Mr Bruce also said *at the weekend* that the trade and industry secretary, Peter Lilley, should use his powers to try to force BS to put Ravenscraig on the market. <W2C-015>

Initial position does not seem to be a viable alternative for the adjunct in (21); as was shown in section 4.1.1, participant adjuncts are extremely unlikely to occur in initial position, because a participant intended for thematic prominence is a natural candidate for subject function. However, in (22) initial position would have been possible, and it must be the low information value of the adjunct that prevents the writer from using it as a marked theme. Besides, the thematic subject marks thematic continuity with the preceding sentence.

Taglicht (1984: 23ff) explores the notion of *marked rheme*. One of the ways in which a marked rheme can be achieved, i.e. a rheme which attracts more than the usual amount of end focus, is to insert a 'partition' in front of it (1984: 25). The clause-final constituent, i.e. an object, predicative or obligatory adverbial, will thus be delayed by an optional adjunct and appear marked. Adverbials which go into medial position to allow a marked rheme in end position occupy M3, just like adjuncts that are shifted to medial position because of the weight of a postverbal argument. As evidenced by (23)–(25), marked rhemes need not carry end weight although they may be associated with *prosodic weight* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1377).³

- (23) The work number is, *if you ever feel extravagant enough to call me at work*, (2)236.57.50. <W1B-002>
- (24) books that are probably *to somebody* **priceless items** <S1A-013>
- (25) I don't really know why as there is plenty to do in the city but I am *for the first time ever* **a bit homesick**. <W1B-009>

Jacobson (1964) does not use the term marked rheme, but he notes that if an adjunct is inserted in front of a relatively short object the object 'must be made stronger in the pronunciation by means of extra stress and lengthening of the time it takes to pronounce it' (1964: 103). The extra stress that is required to balance the object (or other postverbal element) against the intervening adjunct must be what makes the rheme appear as marked.

Examples such as (23)–(25) violate Hawkins's principle of early immediate constituents, i.e. that the constituents should be ordered so that the 'syntactic groupings and their immediate constituents can be recognized (and produced) as rapidly and efficiently as possible in language performance' (1994: 57). Instead, the 'shifting' of adjunct and NP in fact delays the recognition of constituents. However, this is frequently the case with marked

³ Bold type has been used for the marked rheme and the adjunct functioning as a 'partition' is italicised.

structures; note Givón (1979: 88) who associates syntactic markedness with difficulty of processing and a ‘break from the communicative norm’.

It may be noted that news articles, typically reporting what happened the day before the newspaper is distributed, often have relatively self-evident adverbials such as *now*, *last night*, *yesterday* etc. in medial position, where they are backgrounded informationally. Examples of this are (26) and (27). Often, but not necessarily, such backgrounding of the adjunct is combined with end weight of an object or predicative.

- (26) POLICE hunting the killer of a bank manager’s ‘perfect’ son were *last night* looking for a mystery jogger. <W2C-020>
- (27) The alternatives *at that time* were bleaker for black children in care. <W2C-015>

In (26) and (27) initial position might have been an alternative to medial position. However, that would have implied thematic prominence for the adjunct, which would give the wrong starting point for the article in the case of (26) and break thematic continuity in the case of (27). End position does not seem to be appropriate for the adjuncts in either (26) or (27), since they are not suitable for end focus. It should be noted that in contrast to (23)–(25), where the adjunct was ‘shifted’ to M₃, the adjuncts in (26) and (27) are in M₂ and M₁, respectively. This seems to be the pattern when medial position is used as an alternative to initial position, i.e. when another element is selected for thematic focus; the adjunct is placed in M₁ or M₂ and is thereby backgrounded informationally.

- (28) But the Tory approach had led to a housing crisis and a solution which, *even after 10 years of selling*, ignored the housing needs of more than 81% of council house tenants. <W2C-018>
- (29) Intercepts it well in front of Kadzachuk and heads it back to Chris Woods who *at the moment* isn’t having too many touches <S2A-001>

In (28)–(29), too, M₁ is used instead of initial position. In these cases, initial position is unavailable because the subject is realised by a relative pronoun, and the distinction between initial and medial position is in fact neutralised; see section 3.1.3. It may thus be argued that the adjunct at M₁ retains some of the thematic flavour, the subject theme being structurally determined rather than speaker-selected (cf. Halliday 2004: 99–100).

5.3 *Not-position* adjuncts

As mentioned in section 3.1.2, the so-called *not-position* (Horová 1976: 115) is the place usually taken by the negative particle, viz. after an auxiliary (M₂), or after the main verb (M₃) if no auxiliary is present. The *not-position* thus neutralises the distinction between M₂ and M₃. For some adverbials,

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notably frequency adverbs, the *not*-position is the default. Examples (30) and (31) show the *not*-position as M2 and M3, respectively.

- (30) I've *never* borrowed a hardback <S1A-013>
- (31) and it's *always* safer to try and do that <S2A-016>
- (32) but he *always* gets the job done <S2A-009>

With lexical verbs other than *be*, the *not*-position adverbs most typically go in M1 position when no auxiliary verb is present, as shown in (32). Because of obligatory *do*-periphrasis accompanying negation of such verb phrases, M1 is obviously not the position of *not*. It may also be noted that the *not*-position adverbs do not oust *not* from medial position, but occur next to it, as shown in (33). The exception is *never*, which usually does not co-occur with *not* in medial position for semantic and/or stylistic reasons, though examples like (34) may occur, in which *not* would receive marked focus.

- (33) We haven't *yet* decided on what to see. <W1B-002>
- (34) And since then they had *never not* been together. (BNC: APR 204)

The *not*-position is unmarked/typical for some types of adjuncts, notably those of indefinite frequency (such as *always*, *sometimes*, *never*) and short adverbs of temporal relationship (such as *still*, *already*, *yet*). Horová (1976: 115) considers such adverbials to be 'closely related to the temporal exponent of the verb'. As such they are part of the transition proper on the communicative scale, i.e. an intermediate status between theme (= context-dependent) and rheme (= new/important information). They are thus suitable for a position within the SVO structure of the clause not just because of their realisation but also because of their communicative dynamism in relation to other clause elements. To assess this claim we shall look at some examples where *not*-position adverbials occur in initial and end position.

- (35) *Never* were slaves so numerous as in Italy during the first century B.C. <W2A-001>
- (36) *Sometimes* I think she deliberately sets out to anger Marcus. <W2F-007>
- (37) Matching technology to the needs of the business is not the only problem, however. *Too often* managers have doubts on what their strategic requirements actually are, and are therefore all the more likely to pursue the 'technological fix' . . . <W2A-011>

In (35), the initial position of the negative adverb is marked enough to produce inversion of subject and verb. It is however a good candidate for thematic prominence because it marks a contrast with the preceding sentence. In (36) the initial position of *sometimes* may be caused by a need to vary the syntax, as *I* has been used as a subject a few times already, but also because the sentence occurs in a passage about generalities and habits. In (37) the initial adjunct immediately reveals the nature of the problem referred to in the

previous sentence, thus creating cohesion and receiving marked focus at the same time.

- (38) Uhm my brother read to me <,> *always* <S1A-013>
 (39) Doug makes quince jelly *sometimes* doesn't he <S1A-009>
 (40) 'Sure he is, Tiger,' Sally said, 'and we'll find him *soon*.' <W2F-002>
 (41) I have been here 2 1/2 weeks, 1 1/2 in my flat, and I feel very settled *already*. <W1B-002>

In (38) the italicised adverbial occurs after a slight pause and thus appears as an afterthought. In (39) the conversation is about fruit, jams and jelly, and so *quince jelly* is given information and is less fit for end focus than the time adjunct. Similarly, in (40) and (41), *soon* and *already* carry the most newsworthy information in the message and are thus suitable for end focus.

Other adjuncts that typically occur in medial positions may also vary between M2 (with most types of verb) and M3 (when the lexical verb is *be*). According to Jacobson (1964: 83), degree and manner adjuncts that occur in medial position have the same positional preferences, i.e. the position defined by Jacobson (1964: 64) as M4, similar to Horová's 'not-position'. As noted above, the position of focus adjuncts depends above all on their intended scope. Thus the *not*-position is not relevant for these adjuncts. Nor is it relevant for viewpoint adjuncts, which tend to go in M1/M2 position, see Jacobson (1964: 80) and example (42), but may go in M3 for reasons of end weight or end focus, as seen in (24) above.

- (42) Anybody that's got an eye each side of their nose and can walk around to me ~~is-a~~ is a tremendous beauty he says <S1A-020 >

5.4 Long adjuncts in medial position: parenthetical insertion

Hawkins (1994: 282ff) argues that the English verb phrase can be split by an adverb or a short adverbial phrase, but not, for example, by a prepositional phrase. Further, according to Horová (1976: 120) the SVO sequence is not easily split by long, optional constituents. Thus most types of adjuncts, with the exception of the *not*-position adjuncts, appear marked in medial position, particularly if they are longer than one word. However, even if they are relatively rare, long adjuncts are found in all the medial positions, particularly in M1 and M3; see Figure 5.4 on page 102. Adjuncts in M1 and M3 do not, of course, split the verb phrase, but they do interrupt the SVO sequence. However, Hawkins's prediction about the awkwardness of long adjuncts within the VP seems to hold.

In light of what has been said above of the backgrounding properties of medial position (section 5.2.3) it is natural to assume that the long(ish) adverbials that occur in medial position may have been excluded from more focal positions. This seems to be the case with (43), for example, where

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thematic position is taken by the subject and end focus is reserved for a long and complex predicative which contains pointers to the next sentence in the text.

- (43) The unconscious – *whether expressed in terms of madness, desire, infantile wishes, humour or dream* – ceased to be trivial, meaningless, dominated by consciousness and absorbed into its interpretative modes. <W2A-002>

Like the adjunct in (43), adjuncts in medial position realised by clauses or long phrases are often marked off from the matrix clause by means of punctuation, usually commas or dashes. The fact that such adjuncts are marked typographically as parenthetical insertions strengthens the impression that they are backgrounded. However, the informational backgrounding does not mean that the information conveyed by these adverbials is unimportant; typically the adjunct contains information that is important for the interpretation of the rest of the clause. They are thus doing ‘thematic work’ in grounding the message given in the rheme, but without receiving thematic prominence. Another example is given in (44): the parenthetically inserted adjunct gives important background information for interpreting the predicate. At the same time, the subject is unequivocally stated as the clause theme.

- (44) A 19th-century ornithologist, Robert Gray, *when visiting the island in the 1860s*, described an occasion on Ailsa Craig when he disturbed the puffin population. <W2C-015>

A preverbal adjunct such as the one in (44) interrupts the connection between subject and verb phrase. Thus the subject in (44) receives extra focus even though it is not syntactically a marked theme. The separation of subject and predicate makes the theme informationally and prosodically prominent in the same way as marked rhemes that are separated from the verb phrase by means of a ‘partition’ occurring in M₃ (see [section 5.2.3](#)). Further examples are given in (45)–(47).

- (45) The Scottish Secretary, *in evidence to the trade and industry select committee looking into Ravenscraig*, indicated there were buyers. <W2C-015>
- (46) Your knowledge, *whether you are aware of it or not*, could put a lot of my friends at risk. <W2F-012>
- (47) Jean Claude Colotti the sprinter *if it came down to the sprint* would give a lot of these riders a good run for their money <S2A-016>

In (45) the subject theme carries new information, i.e. this referent is mentioned in the text for the first time. The adjunct conveys information that is anchored in the context and thus justifies the relevance of the new theme. *Buyers* answers a question that has been asked in the context and thus gets end

focus. In (46) the subject theme represents information that is given in the previous sentence while the clause-final elements lead into the next sentence.

The use of medial position for adverbials of five words or more is predominantly a written language phenomenon. This may have to do with the relative difficulty of processing such constructions (cf. Hawkins 1994: 57), which is presumably alleviated by the extra time offered to both writer and reader by the written medium. Excerpt (47) is one of the few examples of a long adjunct in M₁ position in speech. No pauses are marked in the transcription, but tone unit boundaries on either side of the adverbial are audible in the accompanying sound recording, corresponding to the commas enclosing the adjuncts in (45) and (46). It may be noted that the subject theme in such clauses is either a full noun phrase, as in (45)–(47), or a relative pronoun which does not allow any adjunct to occur in front of it, as in (28) above.

Long backgrounded adjuncts in medial position are not necessarily marked off by punctuation, particularly not when they are realised by phrases and occur in M₃. It seems that the core of the clause is less severely disrupted by an adjunct at M₃ than one at M₁/M₂, which is in keeping with the principle of early immediate constituents. However, Jacobson (1964: 143) seems to have a point when he remarks about adverbial phrases and clauses before the object (= in M₃): ‘The longer and heavier the adverbial phrase or clause is, the longer and heavier the object must be to balance it.’ The reason for medial placement of the adjuncts in (48)–(50) is thus presumably a mixture of end weight of the sentence-final constituent and the writer’s wish to thematise another constituent.

- (48) Their comments were described *by Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers*, as “the most encouraging batch of statements to come out of the prison department in decades”. <W2C-001>
- (49) Angola is said *by Africa Watch, the human rights group*, to have suffered the highest number of civilian land-mine casualties in the world – up to 50,000. <W2C-002>
- (50) and these settlements served to diffuse *among peoples of diverse race and speech* knowledge of the Latin language and of Roman institutions, which they were increasingly ready to adopt for themselves. <W2A-001>

In both (48) and (49) it would have been fully possible to upgrade the participant adjuncts to subjects, but the sentences in their present form are better suited to the context in terms of cohesion and thematic progression. Presumably the same concerns have made the writer choose an unmarked subject theme in (50), where the theme is anaphoric and thus cohesive.

The choice of M₃ for long adverbials can mostly be explained by reference to either end weight or marked rheme (see section 5.2.3). This is also true of (51) below, where the object is realised by a clause. In this case, however,

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it seems as if the adjunct retains some thematic properties like those in M₁ position in examples (43) and (47). Presumably, M₁ is not easily available for this adjunct, since the subject is realised by a pronoun.

- (51) She writes “my husband”, and I think, *though I may be mistaken on this point*, she even referred to Mum in the third person. <W1B-015>

5.5 A note on the split infinitive

A particular variety of medial position has not been mentioned so far, namely the position between an infinitive marker and the infinitive verb, resulting in the infamous split infinitive. This position is treated by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 496) as a variant of end medial (= M₃) position. Split infinitives are not frequent in the core corpus, for which reason the whole ICE-GB was searched. Many split-infinitive constructions involve a disjunct adverbial of the type *actually*, as shown in (52). Another adverbial that frequently occurs in the split-infinitive construction (though almost exclusively in speech) is *sort of* as shown in (53).

- (52) The only way of beating them is to *actually* organise the consumers
<S1B-005>
(53) I'm just trying to *sort of* <,,> protect myself almost <S1A-050>

The adverbials that split infinitives are typically realised by adverbs. As Peters (2004: 512) notes, ‘a single-word adverb runs in smoothly enough’. There were no instances in the ICE-GB of adverbials realised by prepositional phrases in this position. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 497f), the most common adverbials to appear in the construction are ‘subjuncts of narrow orientation’. Furthermore, ‘the split infinitive is frequently associated with a following focus’ which may involve intensification or comparison (1985: 498). This agrees with the findings of the present study: the semantic types are (in descending order of frequency) focus (17), time (14), manner (11) and degree (4). All these adjunct types are common in medial position (see section 5.1.1). In addition, adverbials of the type *sort of* occurred 21 times. It is doubtful whether *sort of* is an adjunct, though it sometimes indicates degree. But for the most part it does other discourse work. In (53) above it serves as both an approximation marker and a focus device in the split-infinitive construction. That is, the use of *sort of* signals that the word *protect* may not be exactly what the speaker means, and at the same time draws attention to the verb because it is delayed by the intervening adverbial as well as the pause.

The use of a split infinitive may resolve ambiguities as to the clause membership and scope of the adjunct, as in (54), where the position of the adjunct makes it clear that it applies to *assign* rather than *allow*. This

ambiguity-resolving use of the split infinitive has been found with manner, focus and degree adjuncts, as shown by examples (54)–(56).

- (54) The four Tone buttons located on the synth's angled System/Patch control panel, near the left-hand end of the synth's front panel, allow you to *very quickly* assign any Tone or combination of Tones to the knobs, sliders and switches for editing purposes. <W2B-031>
- (55) and I want to *just* describe to you a little bit about how it actually works <S2A-056>
- (56) The cleaned maggots will then be placed in clean trays and ground maize added to *further* clean and freshen them. <W2D-017>

In (55) the position of the adjunct makes its scope clear; i.e. that it applies to *describe* rather than *want to describe*. Similarly, the placement of the adjunct in (56) is the best for signalling that it belongs to the infinitive clause and not to the matrix clause. Moving the adjunct before the infinitive marker in a sentence like (56) would result in a structure so clumsy 'as to make obvious what the writer was trying not to do' (Peters 2004: 513).

The most common focus adjunct to occur in the split infinitive is *just*, as illustrated by (55) above. Time adjuncts in the split-infinitive constructions are often on the borderline with manner adjuncts, such as *suddenly* (57) and *constantly* (58). Other time adjuncts include frequency adjuncts (*ever* and *never*) and time relationship and position adjuncts marking sequence in time, as illustrated by (59) and (60).

- (57) Well if he's gone against the agent's advice already <,> and slapped another fifty <,> on top he's hardly likely to *suddenly* come right down again <S1A-023>
- (58) Well I'm sure that's not the case but uh I I'm also certain that it's a very unprofitable exercise uh though a tantalising one for the media to *constantly* speculate about the date of the next election <S2B-002>
- (59) So having done one year of Planning <,> what made you decide to *then* go into the Architecture <S1A-034>
- (60) I feel the most effective means of communicating the key results to respondents is to *now* enclose a survey summary which pinpoints what UCLi considered to be good practices from where we find ourselves at present. <W1B-029>

As the ICE-GB consists of 60% spoken and 40% written language, one might expect split infinitives with adjuncts to show approximately the same distribution. However, possibly as a result of the strong prescriptive tradition against the construction, it is rather more frequent in speech than in writing (with approximately 72% and 28%, respectively). Among examples of split infinitives with the disjuncts *actually* and *really*, only one out of 62 occurs in

writing. In the words of Quirk *et al.* (1985: 497), ‘the widespread prejudice against split infinitives must not be underestimated . . . and indeed there is no feature of usage on which critical native reaction more frequently focuses’. Nevertheless, Peters (2004: 512) gives the following advice: ‘Don’t split an infinitive if the result is an inelegant sentence.’ But ‘do split infinitives to avoid awkward wording, to preserve a natural rhythm and especially to achieve the intended emphasis and meaning’. By and large, the speakers and writers represented in the ICE-GB seem to be splitting their infinitives according to this advice.

5.6 The build-up of clusters in medial position

As pointed out in section 5.1.4, there are not many clusters in medial position, in fact only seven in the core material. This is related to the restrictions on separating the core elements of the clause by means of long constituents, as discussed above (section 5.4). Thus, examples from the rest of the ICE-GB have also been used for the current section.

Most of the clusters in medial position in the core corpus and supplementary examples from the rest of the ICE-GB seem to contain at least one of the typical *not*-position adjuncts, as shown in (61)–(63). Time adjuncts dominate in medial clusters, particularly adverbs of temporal frequency, position and relationship. Focus adjuncts are also common.

- (61) *I just* || *sort of* word process really <, > <S1A-005>
- (62) There was little point in trying to find words which could *never* || *sufficiently* explain or console. <W2F-012>
- (63) He would *never* || *thereafter* know precisely why he did what he did next. <W2F-012>

Example (61) contains a cluster of a focus adjunct and a degree adjunct in M1 position. Both adjuncts are placed so that their scope is clearly the predicate. Examples (62) and (63) show clusters in M2 position. The cluster in (62) contains a time (frequency) adjunct and a manner adjunct, both of which are realised by adverbs. In this case the manner adjunct might have been placed in end position had it not been for the conjoined verb phrase; the scope of *sufficiently* – over both verbs – is most clearly marked when it occurs in front of the first one. In (63), initial position might have been an alternative for *thereafter*. However, that would make the adjunct thematic, which would break the thematic continuity in the context, in which *he* – the main character of this part of the narrative – is the theme of most sentences in a fairly long passage.

Example (64) contains adjunct types that are not common in medial position (see sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.5). The cluster is followed by a pause and actually constitutes a separate tone unit with its own intonation contour.

The parenthetically inserted cluster sets the subject off from the rest of the clause and gives it prosodic focus (by means of a mid-level nuclear tone; see Cruttenden 1986: 102). The cluster thus functions as a ‘partition’ that makes a syntactically unmarked subject theme appear as prosodically marked.

- (64) But that *with a wet ball* || *on a slippery day* <, > wasn’t the sort of pass to be rocketing out although England did have an overlap <S2A-002>

It may be noted that disjunct adverbials are also regularly placed in the *not*-position, so that many clusters of adverbials in medial position will consist of an adjunct and a disjunct, as shown in (65).

- (65) I’ve *never* || *really* touched that stuff you know <S1A-019>
 (66) This is a chance to look *back* || *now* at the group that Kingsley Alta has led <S2A-016>
 (67) He said *yesterday* || *after he won the stage so brilliantly in the Pyrenees* that he felt he’d lost too much time in the time trial to uh Alain name the other week <S2A-016>

As noted in section 5.2.3, an adjunct in M3 may serve as a ‘partition’, producing a ‘marked rheme’ at the end of the sentence. This seems to be the case with the cluster placed at M3 in (66). In (67) the syntactic weight and complexity of the object clause clearly prevents the adjuncts from being placed in end position, and presumably considerations of thematic structure have barred them from initial position, leaving M3 as the only option.

In clusters in medial position the *not*-position adjuncts are generally placed before other adjuncts, as in (62) and (63). Manner and degree adjuncts tend to take the place closest to the main verb in M1 and M2 position, as in (62). Focus adjuncts may be placed either before or after other adjuncts, depending on their scope. Example (68) illustrates how even a *not*-adjunct may be preceded by a focus adjunct and thus subsumed in its scope. Note how the meaning would change if the order of the adjuncts were reversed (68a).

- (68) And then I *just* || *never* spoke about it <S1A-050>
 (68a) And then I *never* || *just* spoke about it

Most adjuncts in medial position are short (see section 5.1.5), but to the extent that they vary in length, shorter adjuncts tend to precede longer ones, as in (67). However, this need not be the case, as is shown by (69). The example is interesting because it contains a correction of adverbial placement; the writer has changed the original order of the adjuncts so that *often* will not have scope over the purpose adjunct, which ends up as the first adjunct in the cluster in spite of its length.

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- (69) Trade ~~often~~ *to maintain an energy balanced diet* || *often* imposes constraints on pastoralists because they don't have the technological capacity to store food since their products ~~are~~ are perishable and they are nomadic. <WIA-oII>

It is probably fair to say that scope is the over-arching factor determining the order of adjuncts in medial position, just as scope is often the reason for placing adjuncts in medial position at all (sections 5.2.2 and 5.5). Then follow positional preferences of semantic types and considerations of weight, as shown above.

6 End position

End position was defined in [section 3.1.2](#) (as in Quirk *et al.* 1985: 498) as ‘the position in the clause following all obligatory elements’ or ‘the position of the obligatory adverbial when this follows the other obligatory elements’. It may be noted that an adjunct is considered to be in end position even if it is followed by another (optional) adjunct. Example (1) shows an obligatory adjunct in end position, while example (2) shows a cluster of adjuncts in end position.

- (1) ‘Bring him *out here*,’ instructed Miss Pickerstaff. <W2F-012>
- (2) Eighty volumes of evidence, which include more than 1,000 depositions, have been gathered *by the American attorneys* || *in their law suit against Pan Am*. <W2C-001>

6.1 Syntactic and semantic properties of adjuncts in end position

6.1.1 *The distribution of semantic types*

End position is by far the most common position for adjuncts, accounting for 77% of the total number of adjuncts in the core corpus. Their distribution across different semantic types is shown in [table 6.1](#).

The most frequent types of adjunct in end position are space and time. These are about three times as frequent as manner and contingency adjuncts, which are number three and four in order of frequency. With the exception of focus and viewpoint, adjunct types occur in end position in at least 50% of occurrences in the core corpus. In the case of space adjuncts the percentage rises to 92.5. Time adjuncts, on the other hand, occur in end position only six times out of ten and are frequent in other positions too (see [sections 4.1.1](#) and [5.1.1](#)). An adjunct type that occurs almost exclusively in end position is participant adjuncts. This is not surprising, as many of these are agent adjuncts which would more naturally be rephrased as subjects if they were to occur thematically, and which are not easily accommodated in medial position because they are typically realised by prepositional phrases (see [section 5.1.5](#)). Other participant adjuncts may be agnate to objects and thus find a natural place in postverbal position (see further, [section 11.2.1](#)).

Table 6.1 *Semantic types of adjunct found in end position*

	No. of adjuncts at E	% of total no. of adjunct type	TOTAL
Time	804	58.7	1370
Space	1557	92.5	1683
Manner	427	85.7	498
Contingency	344	72.1	477
Respect	77	82.8	93
Degree	43	58.1	74
Participant	170	96.0	177
Comparison	12	52.2	23
Focus	5	11.4	44
Viewpoint	6	35.3	17
Situation	7	50.0	14
TOTAL	3452	77.2	4470

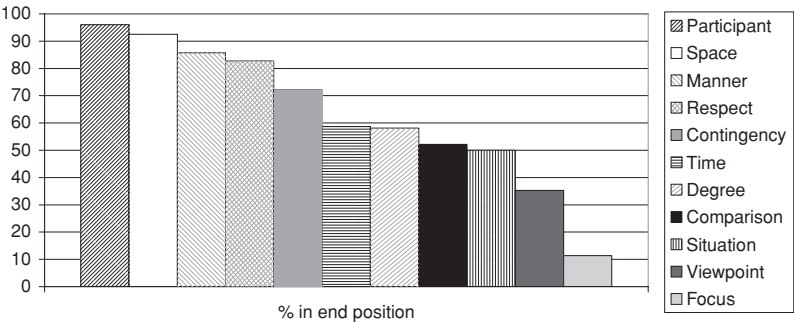


Figure 6.1 The probability for adjunct types to occur in end position.

The probability for each semantic type of adjunct of occurring in end position is visualised in figure 6.1. As noted above, participant and space adjuncts have the highest probabilities of occurring in end position, followed closely by manner and respect adjuncts.

The adjunct type that occurs in end position with the lowest frequency is focus, which tends to occur in medial position. As noted in section 5.2.2, a focus adjunct is generally placed in front of the section of the predicate over which it has scope. However, when a focus adjunct occurs in end position it is either placed before another optional adjunct in end position over which it has scope, as in (3), or it is realised by a prepositional phrase which has scope over the constituent immediately preceding it, as in (4).

- (3) She had been sustained *only* by the tension and the hope, by the reawakening of a dream she had never dared let die for twenty years: that her baby lived. <W2F-012>
- (4) . . . “This result was a disaster for the Tory Government *in general* and John Major *in particular*.” <W2C-018>

Viewpoint and situation adjuncts are just as frequent in initial as in end position. They seem to be realised in the same ways and express the same meanings regardless of position. Their meaning makes them suitable for the thematic position: viewpoint adjuncts because they signal whose perspective the clause message represents, and situation adjuncts because they typically represent a setting. Clause-final placement of viewpoint adjuncts may actually be a way of making them *less* prominent, as seen in (5).

- (5) The nature of managerial work, and therefore the skill requirements also, will change, from first-line supervisor to top management, *according to Boddy and Buchanan (1986, p. 181)*. <W2A-011>

In example (5), the subject theme is part of a chain of similar themes within the paragraph. This chain continues beyond the current sentence, thus making the viewpoint adjunct seem parenthetical. The parenthetical status is corroborated by the fact that there is no other reference to its content in the following context. Incidentally, when a viewpoint adjunct is presented at the end of a proposition, the speaker/writer appears to subscribe to that view.

As illustrated by (6), situation adjuncts typically get a predication reading when they occur in end position and thus, in FSP terms, they mark a *specification* of the action rather than a *setting* (Firbas 1986: 49).

- (6) He finally arrives in Pompeii, having forgotten his dream of Vesuvius, and when he apparently meets there the living original of Gradiva, he feels that he is dreaming, and invites her to lie down again as she had done *in his previous vision*. <W2A-002>

6.1.2 Obligatoriness and scope

Like initial and medial position, end position contains mostly optional adjuncts. However, the proportion of obligatory adjuncts is markedly higher than in the other positions (15%); see figure 6.2. In initial position only 4% of the adjuncts were obligatory, and in medial position only a handful of obligatory adjuncts were found in M3. Clauses with initial obligatory adjuncts were found to be highly marked structures, often involving inversion; see section 4.1.2. Obligatory adjuncts in end position, however, are not associated with markedness. Most of the obligatory adjuncts are space adjuncts, but other semantic types can also be an obligatory complement of the verb; see (7), where a manner adjunct (of accompaniment) complements the verb, and (8), where a time adjunct is obligatory.

- (7) Brow well uh Browning and uhm and Emily you see lived *together* <S1A-020>
 (8) The finest engine in the county, it had been built to last *a lifetime*. <W2F-007>

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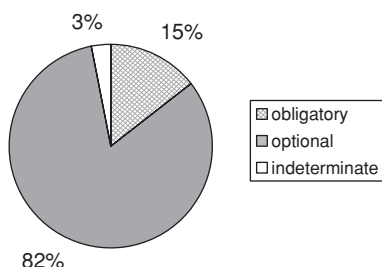


Figure 6.2 Syntactic status of adjuncts in end position.

Manner and time adjuncts are the main types of non-spatial obligatory adjuncts. Other types are situation and participant (beneficiary) adjuncts following verbs like *give*. The former type is of course related to space adjuncts and is typically found following intransitive *be*, as in (9).

- (9) Ganda, like most of southern Angola, is *in the grip of famine*, the bellies of its children swollen with kwashiorkor, an advanced stage of malnutrition. <W2C-002>

In figure 6.2 some adjuncts have been classified as ‘indeterminate’ in addition to the obligatory and optional ones (see section 3.2). This group consists mainly of space adjuncts (of direction and position). They are closely associated with the process and can mark the completion or some other important feature of it. Cases in point are verbs such as *come* and *go*, whose meaning may change depending on the presence or absence of an adjunct – even if the removal of the adjunct does not render the clause ungrammatical. For instance *go* with no adverbial specification is usually a (near) synonym of *leave*, as in (10).

- (10) Haven’t you seen these crises come and *go* before <S1B-022>

In order for *go* to mean ‘move from one place to another’ a goal or a source needs to be understood or specified, as in (11) and (12). In fact, the co-ordination of *leave* and *go* in (11) would be infelicitous if the direction adjunct were left out because they would be interpreted as synonymous. Similarly, unless the direction of *come* is towards an expressed or implied ‘here’, the adverbial specification seems to be necessary for completing the message even if its absence need not make the sentence ungrammatical. Thus the italicised adverbials in (13) and (14) seem to be necessary specifications of the verbal process – they may be described as culmination adjuncts (see section 3.2).

Table 6.2 *The scope of adjuncts in end position*

	N	%
Predicational	2516	72.9
Sentential	936	27.1
TOTAL	3452	100.0

- (11) Many are leaving Cornwall and going *to wherever there's work to be had*. <W2F-007>
 (12) Well he's just gone *off our picture* but that was uh Kingsley Alta of Italy <S2A-016>
 (13) 'I came *home* after a long shift.' <W2F-001>
 (14) Michalichenko again *comes forward* with his left foot <S2A-001>

A space adjunct may also be indeterminate between optional and obligatory following a verb of posture, particularly *sit*, *stand* and *lie*. These verbs presuppose a place for the sitting, standing, or lying, so that the spatial circumstance may be considered an integral part of the process. An example is (15), which would look incomplete without the adjunct, though perhaps not, strictly speaking, ungrammatical. When such verbs of posture are followed by a space adjunct, the activity denoted by the verb may be less important than the location denoted by the adjunct. Thus, in (16), the verb *sit* can be replaced by *be*, as in (16a). This makes the adjunct syntactically obligatory (see the discussion in section 3.2), but does not change the meaning of the clause much.

- (15) Cassie was sitting *on his bed*, her face puffy in the grey light. <W2F-001>
 (16) The company shuts down for 3 months over the summer and is too stingy to buy an answering machine so one of us is going to be lucky enough to *sit in an office* for 3 months alone. <W1B-004>
 (16a) ... *to be in an office* for 3 months alone.

Syntactically obligatory adjuncts as well as 'culmination adjuncts' belong to the predicate. In fact, three-quarters of the adjuncts occurring in end position are predicational. The distribution of sentential and predicational adjuncts is shown in table 6.2.

End position is the only position where predicational adjuncts dominate. As shown in table 6.2, 73% of the adjuncts have predicational scope. This is almost exactly the opposite of the proportions for adjuncts in medial position (section 5.1.2), while only 10% of the adjuncts in initial position had predicational scope (section 4.1.2).

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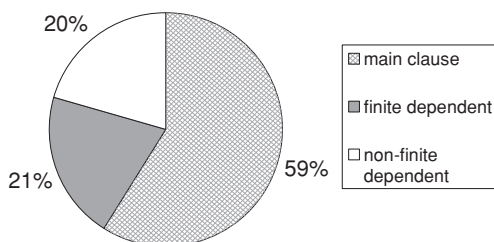


Figure 6.3 Clauses containing adjuncts in end position.

As noted in [section 3.4](#), an adjunct may get a predicational reading in end position, but a sentential reading if moved to initial position. One such example is (17). The removal of the adjunct to initial position in (17a) clearly widens its scope to encompass not only *squat* but the whole series of actions recounted in the sentence.

- (17) Dad squatted *by the gas fire*, flicked a Swan Vesta and held it to the jets. <W2F-001>
 (17a) *By the gas fire* Dad squatted, flicked a Swan Vesta and held it to the jets.

It is possible that end position simply encourages a predicational reading, since the adjunct is placed in, or adjacent to, the predicate part of the clause. However, chances for an adjunct in end position to assume sentential scope seem to increase if it comes second in a cluster; in this position the ratio of sentential and predicational adjuncts is approximately 50:50. Examples are shown in (18) and (19); the first adjunct in each of the clusters has predicational scope, and the second has been analysed as sentential.

- (18) I had it *in that garage* || *for nearly thirty years* <S1A-007>
 (19) Such information, however, provides little information *as to the relative proportions of total biomass*, || *since they are considerably larger than the other component microorganisms*. <W2A-021>

As noted by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 511f), the distinction between predicational and sentential scope is connected to the notions of centre and periphery. This seems to apply to centrality in relation to the verb meaning as well as placement in the vicinity of the verb. In other words, an adjunct that is placed close to the verb (in end position) is easily interpreted as part of the predicate while an adjunct that is separated from the verb by another adjunct more readily assumes sentential scope.

6.1.3 Clauses with adjuncts in end position

Of the clauses that contain adjuncts in end position, 59% are main clauses and 41% are dependent clauses; see [figure 6.3](#). This is fairly close to the

overall distribution of main and dependent clauses in the ICE-GB (51% vs. 49%). The figures for end position should be compared to those for initial and medial position (sections 4.1.3 and 5.1.3). In both cases it was pointed out that dependent clauses seemed to be underrepresented. This was most striking for clauses with initial adjuncts and somewhat less for those with medial adjuncts. The ratio of non-finite to finite dependent clauses is much higher among clauses with end-position adjuncts than with the other positions. As shown in figure 6.3, finite and non-finite clauses are about equally represented, while finite clauses with adjuncts in medial position were over four times as frequent as non-finite ones and twice as frequent in the case of initial position. It is evident from the comparisons of figures 4.2, 5.2 and 6.3 that dependent clauses, non-finite ones in particular, are less open than main clauses to adjuncts in positions other than end.

Clauses with adjuncts in end position most frequently have an intransitive clause pattern (56%), which is more than twice as high as the overall proportion of intransitive verbs in the whole ICE-GB (24%). This was somewhat surprising, given that the intransitive pattern was overrepresented among clauses with initially placed adjuncts too (see section 4.1.3). Apparently, adjuncts are more common with intransitive verbs than with transitive ones. However, the monotransitive pattern is the second most frequent one for clauses with adjuncts in end position (30%, as against 48% in the whole ICE-GB). The copular pattern accounts for 9%, which is considerably less than the overall figure in the ICE-GB (23%). As noted in section 4.3.1, some of this difference may be due to the different analysis of obligatory adjuncts following intransitive *be*.¹ The figures suggest that clauses without postverbal arguments are more likely to have adjuncts in end position, which may be expected in the light of Doherty's (2003: 35) claim that the thematisation of adjuncts is normally feasible only if the predicate contains a focus-worthy element. The ditransitive pattern is rare with adjuncts in end position (less than 1%) while the complex transitive pattern accounts for 5%, most of which represent the SVOA pattern.

6.1.4 Sequences involving adjuncts in end position

About a third of the adjuncts in end position are part of a sequence of adjuncts. Clusters are the most common sequence type, accounting for about 70% of the sequences. Combinations of initial and end position are more common than combinations of medial and end position (see further, chapter 8).

End position is the most common position of adjuncts in general and also the most common position of clusters. As noted in sections 4.1.4 and 5.1.4, clusters account for much smaller proportions of the sequences involving

¹ The pattern in, for example, *Ackford is back* <S2A-002> is analysed as copular in the ICE-GB and as intransitive in the present study. See section 2.1.2 for a discussion of this structure.

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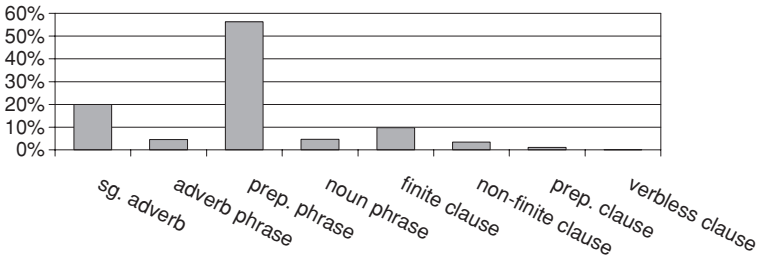


Figure 6.4 The realisation of adjuncts in end position.

adjuncts in initial and medial position. It may be noted that clusters in end position may also occur in clauses with an adjunct in initial and/or medial position, as shown in (20)–(22). The build-up of clusters in end position will be discussed in [section 6.4](#).

- (20) Thus all the Italians came to be Romans, and *by the time of Augustus* we might speak *with reason* || *of the Italians* || *as the imperial people*.
<W2A-001>
- (21) The guard *still* hadn't come *out of the blockhouse* || *with their papers*;
<W2F-012>
- (22) And *at the line* Filial just pushed out *easily* || *from Mack the Knife* || *in second* <,> <S2A-006>

6.1.5 The realisation of adjuncts in end position

End position accommodates all semantic types of adjunct. The same is true of realisation types. [Figure 6.4](#) shows the distribution (see also [table 3.2](#)). Prepositional phrases constitute the majority with 56%, followed by single adverbs and adverb phrases (25% in all). Clauses of various types account for 14% of the adjuncts in end position. These figures may be compared to those for initial position; see [figure 4.3](#). The most striking difference is the greater proportion of clauses in initial position, 29%, which is twice as high as the proportion in end position. At the same time the proportions of adverbs and prepositional phrases are higher in end position. However, comparing proportions is potentially misleading because end position is almost seven times more frequent than initial position. Thus most adjuncts realised by clauses are still found in end position. Adjuncts realised by an adverb, a prepositional phrase, or a clause are shown in (23)–(25), respectively.

- (23) I mean I actually think element theory handles it *better* <S1A-005>
- (24) and Mason getting a warning *from referee Larry O'Connell* <S2A-009>
- (25) SOCIAL workers in Lothian are trying to recruit ethnic foster parents *to avoid the problems of placing ethnic children with white families*. <W2C-015>

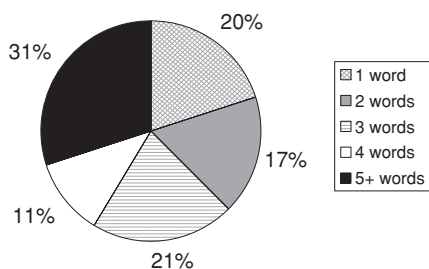


Figure 6.5 The length of adjuncts in end position.

According to the ‘principle of early immediate constituents’ (Hawkins 1994), adjuncts in end position can be expected to be longer than adjuncts in initial and medial position. As shown in figure 6.5, almost a third of the adjuncts in end position contain five words or more, while only a fifth of them consist of one word. The proportion of single-word adjuncts is smaller in end position than in initial position (20% vs. 30%). However, the proportion of long adjuncts is not greater than the corresponding proportion for initial position, cp. figure 4.4. Compared to medial position (figure 5.4), both initial and end position accommodate a much broader range of realisations and sizes of adjuncts; in medial position, single-word adjuncts dominate with a share of almost 80%. On closer inspection, it appears that the workings of the weight principle depend to some extent on clause type and clause pattern. This is discussed further in section 6.2.3. At this stage we may conclude that long adjuncts are referred to the sentence margins – either before or after the core.

6.2 The factors influencing adverbial placement and their relevance for end position

In section 3.6, a number of factors influencing adverbial placement were classified as clause-internal or textual. As pointed out in chapters 4 and 5, most of the clause-internal principles seem to pull adjuncts to end position, with the exception of the *not*-position adjuncts (section 5.3). As a consequence, adjuncts that are syntactically obligatory or are intended for predication scope have their default placement in end position (see section 6.1.2). According to the principle of end focus, adjuncts which convey new or important information are most aptly placed in end position, where they will receive focus. Doherty (2003: 34) claims that ‘an adjunct remains in its basic position [= end position] if it is the sole extension of the verb’ or ‘if it is preceded only by a given element’ (2003: 35). In other words, the use of other positions needs to be licensed by certain features of the clause.

Of the textual factors, most seem to pull adjuncts into initial position, particularly those related to cohesion and thematisation. However, the

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perspective can easily be reversed, i.e. an adjunct which is not selected for thematic status will keep its default position at the end of the clause. Further, an adjunct can contribute to cohesion in end position if it leads naturally on to the next sentence.

6.2.1 Obligatoriness and scope

End position is the typical and unmarked position of obligatory adjuncts; 95% of the obligatory adjuncts in the core corpus occur in end position, 4% in initial position and 1% in medial position. Thus, syntactic bonds with the verb are a factor that pulls an adjunct very strongly to end position, and as shown in sections 4.1.2 and 5.1.2, other positions are used only if there is a good (con)textual reason for doing so. Obligatory adjuncts can be seen as core elements of the clause, and so their placement in end position is in line with the grammatical word order principle in English (Biber *et al.* 1999: 899) which places all non-subject arguments after the subject and verb.

It was pointed out in section 6.1.2 that three-quarters of the adjuncts in end position have predication scope. Conversely, 93% of predication adjuncts are placed in end position, 2% in initial position and 5% in medial position. The picture is thus similar to that of obligatory adjuncts, except that predication adjuncts have a slightly greater chance than obligatory ones of being placed in medial position. The use of medial position for predication adjuncts was discussed in section 5.1.2. Predication adjuncts occur most naturally *in* the predicate, i.e. in most cases postverbally. Example (26) illustrates again how placement in end position favours a predication reading of an adjunct.

- (26) *On the other side of the checkpoint*, the shouts of alarm and sound of scorching rubber could be clearly heard. <W2F-012>
(26a) The shouts of alarm and sound of scorching rubber could be clearly heard *on the other side of the checkpoint*.

Although (26) and (26a) do not differ dramatically in meaning, the initial position of the adjunct in (26) gives it sentential scope so that it functions as a semantic frame for the whole proposition. With the shift to end position in (26a), the adjunct is more clearly connected to the verb (i.e. it has become part of the predicate), and it is now uncertain whether the sounds are emitted ‘on the other side of the checkpoint’, or if they are only heard there.

6.2.2 Semantic closeness to the verb

An adjunct may specify a ‘culmination’ of the verbal process, as noted in section 3.2; see Nilsen (2000: 115). Culmination adjuncts are by their nature strongly associated with the verb and are thus part of the predicate. Any position other than end would be marked for these adjuncts. Some verbs are,

for instance, strongly associated with location. There are plenty of examples of a verb of posture followed by a space adjunct, a combination which often serves to locate the subject in the same way as the combination intransitive *be* followed by a space adjunct. Examples are given in (27) and (28).

- (27) There were cars strewn on the shag-pile carpet and the baby sat *in a yellow high-chair*, a soiled bib around her neck and traces of breakfast around her mouth. <W2F-003>
 (28) I don't want great big life-size photographs of relatives hanging *on the wall* thank you <S1A-007>

Similarly, motion verbs are naturally followed by a direction adjunct marking the culmination of the process. Typically the culmination is a goal adjunct, as illustrated by (29) and (30). Example (31) shows another type of verb, *point*, which is also strongly associated with direction (goal).

- (29) I think I'll go *to most of them* <S1A-005>
 (30) 'I came *home* after a long shift.' <W2F-001>
 (31) Dave pointed *to the stain*. <W2F-002>

Other verbs are closely associated with time, e.g. *finish* in (32) or *start*. An adjunct marking the time at which something started or finished is usually placed in end position and would seem slightly marked in other positions.

- (32) Anyhow I haven't much more news so I'll finish this *in the week*. <W1B-009>

Respect adjuncts denoting matter (sections 2.4.5 and 11.3.1) are closely connected with the verbal process. Thus they are also part of the predicate and most aptly placed in end position, as exemplified by (33).

- (33) Will anyone congratulate me *on my cooking* <S1A-020>

Furthermore, some verbs are easily associated with a specification of degree/dimension, as in (34) and (35).

- (34) By June this year, the number of redundancies had climbed *to 4,840 dockers* – more than half the former registered work-force. <W2C-001>
 (35) This was enlarged *to frightening proportions* by the central planning beloved by the once-fervent Marxists. <W2C-002>

Some adjuncts of manner (particularly means, role and attire; see section 2.4.3) also tend to be closely associated with the process, to the extent that they are similar to nominal arguments. Example (36) contains a means adjunct which is similar to an oblique object (in an agnate clause with *give* instead of *reward*) and thus a natural part of the predicate. The manner adjunct in (37) is similar to a subject predicative in an agnate clause with *be* instead of *be regarded*. One might argue that examples such as (36) and (37) contain

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multi-word verbs and not verbs plus adverbials.² The possibility of such an analysis goes to show the tight connection between the verb and the following prepositional phrase.

- (36) But they said the ex-SDP leader could be rewarded *with an important public post* if he supported the Conservatives in the next election.
<W2C-020>
- (37) MP Nick Budgen said Dr Owen was regarded *as a difficult man*.
<W2C-020>
- (38) Once awakened from this dream, he seems to recognize the girl outside in the street, and rushes out clad only *in his dressing gown*. <W2A-002>

As exemplified by (38) verbs such as *clothe* or *dress* anticipate a following attire adjunct as part of the predicate. Furthermore, some combinations of verb and adjunct are idiomatic to the extent that they constitute a ‘variable expression’ (Sinclair 1993: 3) and therefore are not easily reordered. Examples are shown in (39)–(41).

- (39) I must thank you, Simon and your parents “officially” *for the slow cooker and table cloth you gave us for our wedding*. <W1B-004>
- (40) Say hello *to her for me!* <W1B-002>
- (41) And at this stage Mason just looking <,> noticeably slower <,,> although Lewis isn’t really getting *on his bike* at all <S2A-009>

The above examples differ in most respects except that the verb and the italicised adjunct form a more or less fixed expression, which makes it hard to imagine the adjunct in an alternative position. Example (39) contains a variable expression where the object of *thank* is chosen freely, but the idiomatic preposition for the matter adjunct is *for*. Dictionaries typically show the pattern as ‘thank sb for sth’ (*Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*). The expression in (40) is even more fixed and has a pragmatic meaning which is not obvious from the word meaning. Example (41) contains the idiomatic expression *get on one’s bike*, which is metaphorical and means ‘get on with it’. Funnily enough it is used here about a boxer in a fight.

6.2.3 The weight principle

The weight principle will be expected to pull long and heavy adjuncts to end position, although, as shown in section 4.5, initial position too can accommodate long adjuncts. However, there are some cases in which the weight principle may have caused an entity to be encoded as an adjunct in end position, particularly in the case of participant adjuncts, which usually have the alternative of being encoded as a nominal element elsewhere in the sentence. In (42) the syntactic weight of the agent is a good reason why it is

² See section 2.1.3 for a discussion of this point.

not encoded as a subject in an active construction. The example illustrates that an agent adjunct tends to be longer than the subject in the same clause, as found by Biber *et al.* (1999: 940).

- (42) Their comments were described *by Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers*, as “the most encouraging batch of statements to come out of the prison department in decades”. <W2C-001>

Although long adjuncts readily occur in initial position, it seems that space is less limited in end position. Initial position seems particularly awkward if the predicate (minus the adjunct) is rather short, or consists only of the verb (Doherty 2003: 34). For instance, a paraphrase of (43) with the adjunct in initial position would clearly make the sentence too front-heavy.

- (43) The Act was introduced *to end restrictive practices in the docks, under which companies were obliged to use permanently employed registered dockers*. <W2C-001>

It further seems that initial position in dependent clauses is slightly more restrictive as regards very long adjuncts than is initial position in main clauses. Examples are given in (44) and (45).

- (44) But the inquiry was told this would be a small expense *if a satisfactory process of dealing with complaints and discipline reduced the risk of serious disorder, which at Strangeways alone cost £60m in structural damage*. <W2C-001>
- (45) Cassie crouched forward, holding her arms tightly around her *as if suffering from stomach pain*. <W2F-001>

In a main clause, the conditional adjunct would be able to occur in initial position in spite of its length, but this seems impossible in the *that*-clause in (44). In the *-ing* participle clause in (45) it also seems impossible to place the adjunct in initial position. In fact, only 13 *-ing* clauses (out of 261) in the core corpus have an adverbial in initial position, and of these, 12 are realised by an adverb. The remaining one is realised by a three-word prepositional phrase in a clause which also has an expressed subject.

The dependent clause types that occur most often with initial adjuncts are *that*-clauses and adverbial clauses. These may occur with relatively long adjuncts, as shown in (46). In such cases, the predicate needs to be long and/or newsworthy, or as here, continued by a co-ordinate clause which is within the scope of the initial adjunct.

- (46) I say surprisingly, *as while I was wandering aimlessly around Grenoble on Sunday afternoon*, I got completely lost and didn't know where the hell I was. <W1B-002>

However, on the basis of the low frequency of long adjuncts in initial position in dependent clauses (see also figures 4.2 and 6.3), it seems safe to conclude that the weight principle tends to place long adjuncts at the end of dependent clauses, but not necessarily at the end of main clauses. Obviously the weight principle is closely connected to the information principle; information that is new, newsworthy, or important for other reasons, often needs to be stated more fully than information which is given or less important.

6.2.4 End focus

It is commonly assumed that clauses and sentences are organised so as to place given information before new, e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1361): ‘the new information in each case is the “focus” of the message, and . . . it seemed natural to place the new information after providing a context of given information’.

Systemic-functional grammar takes care not to conflate theme and given on the one hand, and rheme and new on the other. However, there is a clear correlation between the concepts, in that themes tend to convey given information, while the new information tends to be located in the rheme (Halliday 2004: 93). Fries (1994: 233) hypothesises that ‘writers use position at the end of the clause to indicate the newsworthy information to their readers’ and coins the term *N-rheme* for the last constituent of the clause (as a parallel to the term ‘theme’ for the *first* constituent), on the grounds that ‘New typically is associated with the last constituent of the clause’ (Fries 1994: 94).

New information is also commonly associated with prosodic focus. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1363) state that ‘the focus indicates where the new information lies’ and moreover, that the intonation nucleus falls on the last accented syllable of the focal item. According to the principle of end focus, this tends to be the constituent that occurs last in a clause or a tone unit, i.e. in cases of ‘unmarked focus’ (*ibid.*: 1365). The principle may be illustrated by example (47) from the London-Lund Corpus, which has prosodic mark-up.³

- (47) ^Hockey going \in 'there#. ^flicks the ball 'forward with his h\ead#. and ^now ((to 'lay [in])) :cl\aim to it#. ^comes [dhi] :Manchester U'nited k/eeper# that's ^Alec St\epney#. con^structively 'throws /out#. ^to !Bobby !Ch\arlington#. ^Charlton with a nice. !neat b\all# ^to !George B\est# – ^Best with a. a lovely fluent ball out to this near !s\ide# (LLC 10.2.40)

Example (47) shows that tone-unit-final constituents regularly receive prosodic accent. This football commentator places a number of adverbials

³ Accents are marked with \ for a falling tone and / for a rising tone. The end of a tone unit is marked by the # character. For more information on mark-up in the LLC, see khnt.hit.uib.no/icame/manuals/LONDLUND/.

in tone-unit-final position or in separate tone units, thus giving them focal accent.

Patterns like those illustrated in (47) are also used by speakers in the ICE-GB (as can be heard from the sound recordings). We may thus expect adjuncts which are particularly newsworthy or important to be placed at the end of the clause where they will receive tonic prominence.⁴ In spoken texts, the speaker is of course free to assign tonic prominence independently of syntactic structure, while in writing, position may be (even) more important as a signal of information status.

Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 discussed time and space adjuncts which provide a setting for the action when they are placed in initial position. However, such adjuncts may also provide a *specification* of the action (Firbas 1986: 49 and Horová 1976: 118), in which case they carry a higher degree of communicative dynamism (Firbas 1986: 50f) and are more aptly placed in end position. Examples are given in (48) and (49). Obviously, in (48) the place in which the birds can be found is a newsworthy item, while the time span is an important part of the message in (49), and it is therefore spoken with tonic accent.

- (48) These birds are usually found *on islands* because there are no predators.
 <W2C-015>
 (49) Can't keep on gassing on *for half an hour* <S1A-007>

Some adjunct types are characteristically placed in end position. Participant adjuncts are a case in point. As mentioned above, most participant adjuncts have agnate structures in which they are encoded as nominal constituents. When they are encoded as adjuncts they become more mobile in the sentence and can occur with end focus. This is of course a well-known reason for using the long passive with expressed agent (Biber *et al.* 1999: 941). Examples are given in (50)–(52). In example (50) the passive makes the sentence adhere to the given-new structure, with a given, anaphoric subject and a new agent adjunct, while it also illustrates the weight principle referred to above.

- (50) This was enlarged to frightening proportions *by the central planning beloved by the once-fervent Marxists*. <W2C-002>
 (51) Up to 250,000 pairs of puffins have been lost from the granite island off south-west Scotland, their chicks and eggs eaten *by thousands of brown rats*. <W2C-015>
 (52) And it's won *by Philip Matthews at the back* <S2A-002>

In (51) the adjunct does not entirely represent new information, as the rats have been mentioned before. However, their eating puffin eggs is the reason

⁴ Cruttenden (1986: 84) notes that particularly clause-final adverbials of time may be exceptions to the rule of accenting the final constituent. The nucleus may fall on the constituent before, in which case the adjunct is perceived as a 'minor addition to the preceding part of the sentence'.

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for putting down rat poison, which is the topic of the following sentence, so although (partly) given, the adjunct is a focus-worthy item in (51). Example (52) is included here to illustrate the use of the passive in play-by-play sports commentaries where it is often desirable to postpone the name of a player to the end of the sentence (see Green 1980: 585) – sometimes because of experiential iconicity; e.g. the player is mentioned only when he receives the ball, and sometimes to give the commentator time to check the player's number against a list of names.

- (53) But the referee says it was knocked on and he gives the scrum *to England* <,> fifteen metres in <S2A-002>
(54) And I brought these books *for for Sarah* thinking you know she's going to really <S1A-013>

A beneficiary adjunct often corresponds to an indirect object in an agnate structure, in which case it would precede the direct object. Thus the possibility of placing the beneficiary last and giving it end focus may be the reason for encoding it as an adjunct. In (53) 'the scrum' is less newsworthy than the team that gets it, and in (54) 'Sarah' is new information and therefore more newsworthy than the already given 'these books'.

Purpose adjuncts are another category that almost always occurs in end position. They express the point of doing something, i.e. they specify the goal of the action denoted by the matrix verb, so they are aptly given end focus. At the same time clause-final placement may reflect experiential iconicity, as the purpose adjunct typically expresses something that is subsequent to the matrix clause process. Thus, in (55) 'Mrs Dry pops out' is prior to her saying 'the weather has changed'. Likewise the dinner preparations in (56) would be subsequent to the subject referent's arrival.

- (55) It looked as though Mr Wet or Mrs Dry would pop out any moment *to say the weather had changed*. <W2F-003>
(56) my friend from Tokyo is coming here at Xmas, *to make me my Xmas dinner*. <W1B-002>
(57) Our project is not getting very far very fast *as we can't understand ~~what~~ this Spanish guy*. <W1B-009>

Cause adjuncts are also most common in end position, even though the iconic principle might predict a cause^effect order. Instead, the clause-final cause adjuncts give a justification for a situation, as in (58) where the adjunct explains the slowness of the writer's progress. As cause adjuncts are typically realised by clauses, they are discussed further in [section 6.3](#).

6.2.5 Cohesion

As pointed out in [section 4.4.4](#), adjuncts contributing to cohesion are typically placed in initial position. However, a clause-final adjunct may contribute to

cohesion by introducing an entity that will be re-used in the following context. Givón (1995: 65) uses the term ‘cataphoric grounding’ for an element that starts a chain of lexical cohesion. Entities show their *topic persistence*, and thus their degree of importance in the text, in terms of ‘their recurrence in the following 10 clauses of text’ (1995: 66). An example is shown in (58), where the cold introduced in the adverbial clause is taken up in the following main clause. In (59) there is even a pronoun in the second conjunct co-ordinated clause that has *people* in the preceding adjunct as its antecedent.

- (58) It was gorgeous up there *because it was so cold* ~~infact~~ in fact by the time I came home I was actually freezing cold and goose pimply.
<W1B-009>
- (59) But I’ve actually done that *in front of people* and they can’t cope with it at all <S1A-013>

The use of end position for adjuncts that establish a topic for the following discourse is related to information structure, with adjuncts conveying newsworthy information at the end of the clause. The fact that the information introduced by such adjuncts is re-used in the following discourse can be seen as further evidence of their newsworthiness.

6.2.6 Information structure (in text)

Fries (1994: 234) suggests that the content of N-rhemes (i.e. the new information at the end of a clause) is connected with the goals of a text or a text portion in the same way as the content of themes signals the method of development of the text (*ibid.*: 232). Although this hypothesis is unlikely to hold for all texts, it is nevertheless possible to find examples to support it. Example (60) comes from a text entitled ‘Steel plant union leader vows to fight on’.⁵ As the title suggests, plans and purposes are central in the text, and this surfaces linguistically through the use of future-referring expressions and clause-final purpose adjuncts.

- (60) (i) THE leader of the Ravenscraig workforce pledged yesterday to continue the fight *to ensure a future for the Motherwell steel plant*.
(ii) Tommy Brennan, the shop stewards’ convener, also accused British Steel of conducting a war of attrition *to destroy completely steelmaking at the plant*.
(iii) Mr Brennan, who was in London on Friday when BS announced that a further 1,100 jobs were to be axed along with one of the plant’s two furnaces, said: ‘I’m sure many people must be

⁵ The extract is text-initial in a newspaper article. The same structure is also found in the rest of the text.

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wondering just what the hell is going on within British Steel to do what they are doing to a plant of this nature.'

(iv) Speaking on the eve of a meeting of the full Ravenscraig works committee *to discuss this latest blow*, he said: 'What we have obviously got to do now is to devote all our energies in securing an economic one blast furnace operation *to take away any possibility of BS saying that it's uneconomic*.'

(v) He went on to say that rather than conducting a war of attrition, BS should release Ravenscraig *for sale*. <W2C-015>

The thematic development in (60) is one of 'constant theme' (Daneš 1974: 118), where the same participant is used as theme in most of the main clauses. Many of the sentences end with a purpose adjunct, mostly reflecting the plans and purposes of the steel union, of which the thematic referent is a spokesman. The exception is sentence (ii), in which the final adjunct reflects a conflicting purpose. The end of sentence (iii) has an interesting structure: the underlined infinitive clause structurally resembles a purpose adjunct, but semantically it is closer to a cause adjunct. This gives the sentence a parallel structure to the previous one: both of them end in a contingency adjunct expressing the (undesirable) actions of British Steel. The passage in (60) thus has a thematic structure which shows participant continuity (Virtanen 1992: 101), and a rhematic structure in which the new information denotes plans and purposes that reflect the 'fight' mentioned in the title of the article.

The passage in (60) also contains a number of time and space adjuncts. Most of these are in end position too, but they are not sentence-final; they are either followed by another adjunct, as in the participle clause in sentence (iv), or they are clause-final in a dependent clause which is not sentence-final, e.g. in sentence (iii). The time and space position adjuncts are thus not part of the chain of N-rhemes that show the over-arching purpose of this text. In FSP terms this also means that the contingency adjuncts in (60) have a higher degree of communicative dynamism than other adjuncts in the text and function as 'specifications' of the actions; see Firbas (1986: 49) and Horová (1976: 118).

6.2.7 Text strategy

According to Virtanen (1992: 85), adjuncts that belong to a particular text-strategic continuity are placed in initial position. Hence, adjuncts that are not part of the text-strategic continuity chain will be placed non-initially. The passage in (61) has participant continuity, and even if time and space are important in the text too, the time/space adjuncts occur in end position.

- (61) Anne was sitting up and crushing a tearful Tommy *to her bosom* || *by the time Dave and Sally sat down next to her*. Her head was buried *in Tommy's neck* and she was weeping. Both of them were covered in spatters of a clear substance that looked like Clearasil gel. Apparently, that and the doorway was all that was left of Bad Eddie and his beating heart dolly.

Anne looked up *when Sally touched her arm*. Her face was puffy and red and she looked tired. <W2F-002>

Another text strategy that may draw adjuncts to end position is that of natural order, or experiential iconicity (Enkvist 1981). That is, the placement of adjuncts may contribute to 'making the text isomorphic with the universe it describes' (1981: 98). A good example of this comes from play-by-play sports commentaries, where the speaker reports events as they unfold. The space adjuncts in example (62) allow the listener to follow the movement of the ball. They are obviously vital to the build-up of the events, but they do not structure the text (see further, Hasselgård 2004a); rather, they reflect the order of events on the football field. Note also the result adjunct at the end of this extract, which concludes this part of the game.

- (62) Wise with a corner # England's fifth # Aimed *for the near post* # Headed firmly *away* by Chernishkov this time # *Only back as far as Wise though* # Comes *inside his man* || *neatly on the corner of the area* # Right footed # Aimed *for the far post* # A little too strong for everyone # And uh Kuznecov watched it just drift *over his head* # And it's gone behind *away* || *to our right* || *for a goal kick to the Soviet Union* <S2A-001>

It was noted above that a purpose adjunct in end position often reflects experiential iconicity in that it expresses an intended outcome of the verbal action and thereby a situation that takes place subsequently to the matrix predicate. As example (63) shows, the purpose is not always achieved, in the same way as a 'future-in-the-past' expression (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 218f) need not refer to a realised action, as in (64).

- (63) It was cold and he went *to grab his pullover*, but his father pushed him round towards the door. <W2F-001>
- (64) Oops <,> Lost the transparency <,> Ah ha <,> disaster <,> Now what I *was going to show* you next *was going to be* a transparency <,> which I've <,> now lost <,> OK on the transparency I *was going to show* you basic uh <,> collision of an electron with a molecule <S2A-028>

The temporal sequence implicit in a matrix predicate followed by a purpose adjunct may be exploited to the extent that the purpose meaning of the adjunct is bleached. For example, in (65) the infinitive clause, formally a

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purpose adjunct, hardly expresses an intended purpose; instead it refers to an outcome of the matrix predicate that follows it in time, and which could also have been expressed by simple co-ordination, as in (65a). See further the discussion of the meanings of contingency adjuncts in [section 10.3.1](#).

- (65) And Hollywood Harry dropped out *to be last of all* <S2A-006>
(65a) And Hollywood Harry dropped out *and was last of all*

It may be noted that experiential iconicity need not be adhered to. Cases in point are cause adjuncts, as shown in example (57) above ([section 6.2.4](#)), and manner adjuncts denoting method, which are usually found in end position, as illustrated by (66) and (67).

- (66) Lord Chalmer at seven to two has won *by making all the running* <,>
under Steve Cauthen <S2A-006>
(67) In addition they aid in pathogen removal *by providing an elevated pH*
as a result of CO₂ stripping. <W2A-021>

Method adjuncts can be seen as the opposite of purpose adjuncts; they denote the method by which the situation in the matrix predicate is achieved instead of stating what this situation is supposed to lead to (see also [section 10.2.5](#)). Thus, clause-final placement of method adjuncts results in the opposite of experiential iconicity; in (66) ‘all the running’ was obviously prior to the actual winning, while in (67) the two situations are probably simultaneous.

6.2.8 Indirect motivation

End position is seen as the default position for most types of adjuncts. This implies that it may often be futile to look for reasons why an adjunct occurs clause-finally. It will simply occur clause-finally if there is no good reason to place it elsewhere.

Enkvist (1976: 63) points out that ‘a question that needs to be asked is to what extent the placing of an adverbial results from an active wish to have a particular adverbial in a particular place. A study of sentences in context in fact suggests that some adverbials are placed where they are, not so much because they ought to go there as because they have to be moved out of the way of another constituent with greater priorities.’ This is illustrated in (68). When the sentence is seen in isolation, it might seem a better idea to let the adjuncts change places. However, in the context, it is natural to thematise the space adjunct because it follows logically from the previous sentence and because the sentence is part of a passage that is structured along spatial lines. Thus, even if the time adjunct is not the element that contributes most to the communicative dynamism of the sentence, it is placed last because initial position is taken by another adjunct, and because the balance of information distribution prescribes that there must be ‘sufficient relevant material at

the right-hand side of the verb' (Doherty 2003: 35), thus preventing the thematisation of both adjuncts at the same time.

- (68) The process was a long one; round Trier Celtic was spoken *in the early fifth century*. <W2A-001>
 (69) Back comes Lewis again with a jab *this time* <,,> <S2A-009>

Similarly, the clause-final adjunct in (69) is probably the least important of all as regards communicative dynamism, partly because it repeats the information given in *again*, and partly because it is redundant in a direct radio commentary, where the events are reported as they are happening. However, in this type of text, where the speaker does not know how long it is before the next event to be reported takes place, the adjuncts may be ordered according to decreasing importance, so that adjuncts that may easily be left out come last.

- (70) With internal managers there may, however, be some benefit *in political terms*, since the same lack of awareness at higher levels that necessitates the use of guile on their part may consolidate their 'ownership' (see Pettigrew, 1973) of the technology concerned. <W2A-011>

The italicised adjunct in (70) is of a type that typically occurs early in the clause (viewpoint; see sections 4.1.1 and 5.1.1). In (70), however, the respect adjunct in initial position creates harmony between the theme of the present sentence and that of the previous one, thus relegating the viewpoint adjunct to (cluster-initial) end position.

6.2.9 Summary

The placement of adjuncts in end position can be related to a number of factors. Obligatory adjuncts are placed almost exclusively in end position, and predication adjuncts, particularly those with strong ties to the verb meaning, behave in a similar fashion. Since end position is the basic and unmarked position for most types of adjunct, it may be used by default, i.e. if there is no good reason for using initial or medial position instead. End weight was shown to play a more important role in dependent clauses than in main clauses: in main clauses, both initial and end position allow long adjuncts, but in dependent clauses long adjuncts occur predominantly in end position. In all clause types, end position is also a position for new information and items that are singled out for focal prominence. End focus is different from thematic focus in that it represents an informational highlight of the clause message instead of serving an orienting function. There are texts in which clause-final adjuncts participate in a chain of N-rhemes that reflect the over-arching purpose of the text, but this is not likely to be a general phenomenon.

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Table 6.3 *Types of adverbial clauses in end position*

	finite clause	non-finite clause	prep. clause	verbless clause	TOTAL	
					N	%
Contingency	161	111	5	2	279	56.1
Time	150	2	12	1	165	33.2
Comparison	7	4	0	1	12	2.4
Space	7	0	0	1	8	1.6
Manner	8	2	18	0	28	5.6
Respect	1	0	4	0	5	1.0
TOTAL	334	119	39	5	497	99.9

Cohesion is most commonly associated with adjuncts in initial position. However, a clause-final adjunct may be used for ‘cataphoric grounding’ (Givón 1995), in starting off a chain of reference for the following context, or simply by leading on to the next sentence. A text strategy entailing the use of end position is experiential iconicity, according to which adjuncts denoting a situation that follows that of the matrix predicate are often, but by no means always, placed in end position. Other types of text strategy may contribute indirectly to placing an adjunct in end position simply because it is unwanted in initial position, although it may not be the most newsworthy item in the clause.

6.3 Adjuncts realised by clauses

As shown in figure 4.4 (section 4.5), 75% of adjuncts realised by clauses are in end position. Table 6.3 shows their distribution across semantic types.

Table 6.3 shows that the adjunct type most frequently realised by a clause in end position is contingency, accounting for well over half of the total. We saw in table 4.2 that contingency clauses are the most frequent type in initial position too (see further, section 10.3.5). Temporal clauses are second most frequent in both positions. Numerically, all the semantic types in table 6.3 are more frequent in end position than in initial position. The category of respect clauses is only found in end position. Initial position, however, contained an example of a viewpoint clause. Otherwise the relative distribution of semantic types is fairly similar in the two positions, the possible exception being manner clauses, which account for a slightly greater proportion in end position. Examples of manner (method) adjuncts realised by clauses were shown in (66) and (67) above. A further example is given in (71).

- (71) ‘Fair enough, lad,’ he said, smiling *as if this had been his intention all along*. <W2F-001>
- (72) In addition, *by confiscating some of their lands*, the Romans were able to satisfy the land-hunger of their own peasantry. <W2A-001>

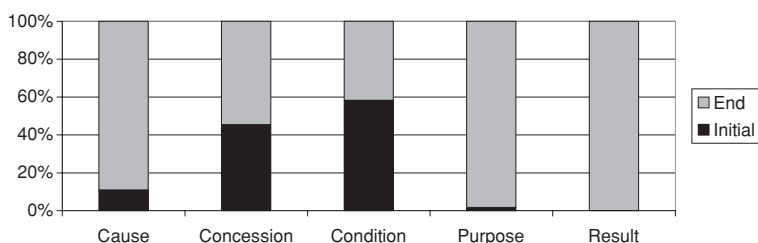


Figure 6.6 The relative distribution across initial and end positions of contingency clauses.

As shown in (72), manner clauses may occur in initial position too, but their very low frequency (see table 4.2) indicates that they go more naturally in end position, after the predication they modify. Both examples of initial manner clauses in the core corpus contain anaphoric elements.

As noted in section 4.5, the subcategories of contingency clauses vary considerably in their positional preferences. While conditional clauses are placed in initial position in the majority of cases, cause and purpose clauses dominate in end position. Concessive clauses occur initially and finally with roughly the same frequency. Figure 6.6 shows the occurrence in initial and end position of the various subcategories of contingency clauses. The findings match those of Ford (1993: 133f) for the distribution of causal and conditional clauses across initial and end position. (Ford's study does not include other types of contingency clauses.)

As shown by figure 6.6, result, purpose and cause clauses occur in end position in the great majority of cases. Both purpose and cause clauses are frequent, with 113 and 88 occurrences, respectively, so their positional behaviour in the core corpus is assumed to be representative. Result clauses, on the other hand, are rare in the core corpus (only four occurrences), but the positional tendency shown here agrees with the view taken by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 733) that 'result clauses cannot be fronted'. An example is shown in (73):

- (73) People would get full counselling before starting the process of buying *so that they were aware of the commitments of home ownership*. <W2C-018>

Purpose adjuncts are typically realised by infinitive clauses, but finite clauses and prepositional phrases also occur. All show a clear preference for end position. It was suggested above that experiential iconicity may be a reason for this; a purpose adjunct expresses the intended outcome of the situation expressed by the matrix predicate and will thus follow it in time. For illustrations, see (55) and (56) in section 6.2.4 and (63) in section 6.2.7. Although purpose adjuncts are rare in initial position in the genres

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represented in the core corpus, they may be quite common in other genres, such as instructions (74), in which case they resemble conditional clauses: *if you want to do this . . .*

- (74) *To test the belt tension, press the belt down at a point midway on the longest run between pulleys (Fig. A:25), using firm thumb pressure.* <W2D-018>

As pointed out by Altenberg (1987: 58), 'natural ordering rarely affects *because*-clauses'. Instead he finds that the iconic cause-effect order is more often expressed by a main clause with *so*, which is also the finding of Ford (1993: 90). The final placement of *because*-clauses may, however, agree with a pragmatic ordering principle, in that a *because*-clause 'expands the content of a pragmatically (topically) tied main clause' (Altenberg 1987: 63).

Cause clauses in initial position serve thematic functions; they give background information for interpreting the message or present (partly) given information, as in (75).

- (75) *As the functions of anaerobic, facultative and maturation ponds are quite different, then the microbial communities which inhabit these ponds, will also be quite different.* <W2A-02>

It may be noted that cause clauses in initial position tend to begin with *since* or *as*, or they are non-finite clauses with no conjunction. In end position, finite *because*-clauses dominate. Thus, initial clauses often display a certain ambiguity between a temporal and a causal interpretation, while those in end position are more clearly causal.

Causal relationships can be of different kinds. Lowe (1987: 37f) notes that causality can be 'law-like' (a necessary relationship between cause and effect) or 'enabling' (a possible, but not automatic, connection between cause and effect). Furthermore, adjuncts that specify *reason* give 'the speaker's justification for his action in terms of his beliefs and values' (*ibid.*), and thus also mark a weaker causal relationship than the law-like ones. However, as example (76) illustrates, the difference between cause and reason is not always clear-cut.

- (76) *German firms have an existing advantage as a greater number of their managers have technical or engineering degrees.* <W2A-011>

The relationship between the two parts of (76) might be seen as a law-like one ('managers with degrees give a firm an advantage') or as one of reason, where the writer justifies the claim that German firms have an advantage. Nevertheless, it may be useful to look at the relationships expressed by causal clauses. The core corpus gives few clear cases of the 'law-like' type of causal relationship, but (77) may be an example.

- (77) The provincials were worse off than the Italians *in that they had to pay taxes to Rome*. <W2A-001>

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 629) claim that ‘when the semantic relations of condition, concession, reason, and result are realized by clauses, the adverbials concerned are normally content disjuncts’. This seems to imply that most contingency clauses will fail the syntactic tests for adjuncthood (see [section 2.2](#)), and moreover, that the relationship between the adverbial clause and the matrix clause is rather loose. However, it is hard to see why most of the examples given in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 629) should differ much from adjuncts with sentential scope, apart from the syntactic criteria. Many of them do not at all seem to convey the speaker’s comment on or evaluation of the matrix clause, which is otherwise a common feature of disjuncts (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 615). However, the tightness of the relation between a causal clause and its matrix is clearly a scalar value, with the law-like relation at the one end, via speech-act-justifying reason clauses, to a practically non-causal relationship as evidenced by (78).

- (78) I mean I’ll see-s let’s see how we go *because we got we there’s about three talks after me* <,,> I think isn’t there or more <S1A-005>

For the purposes of the present study, all instances of cause clauses have been included, although some of them may fall outside a strict definition of adjunct, or indeed a strict definition of adverbial, in cases where *because/cos* is reduced ‘to a simple connector’ (Ford 1993: 90). See further, [section 10.3.4](#).

In the core corpus, final cause clauses show a causal relationship between the matrix clause proposition and that of the adverbial clause in a clear majority of cases. Example (79) illustrates a relatively straightforward causal relationship between the predications of the matrix and the adverbial clause, although one may argue the condition is not strictly ‘law-like’ (Lowe 1987: 38). Example (80) illustrates what Lowe (*ibid.*) characterises as an ‘enabling condition’. The causal relationship may also be weakened if it involves subjective evaluation as in (81), where many of the words denote gradable and/or debatable properties.

- (79) Also, we do need the money *considering we’ve just taken on a mortgage*. <W1B-004>
 (80) pluralism can reinforce itself *as it leads to the creation of further divisions, distinctions, distortions, and discoveries*. <W2A-012>
 (81) In the study of Hickson *et al.* decisions were identifiably of political importance *because they were seen to imply major changes for a wide range of different groups and for the functioning of the organisation as a whole*. <W2A-011>

Examples (82) and (83) illustrate the use of a speech-act-related causal clause to justify the proposition made in the matrix clause.

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- (82) I think sharing with Sarah may be a mistake *as she's very used to living on her own and it shows*. <W1B-009>
- (83) And uhm <, > he was fascinated by it *because he ~~not~~ sold them in Boots* <S1A-007>
- (84) But I mean it's it yeah it's even at a higher level than that though *because I mean Pete could do basic things on a computer but it wasn't enough* <S1A-005>

Example (84) illustrates another type of meaning relation by which the causal clause seems to elaborate on something in the matrix clause. Halliday (2004: 410) describes the typical relation between a causal clause and its matrix as one of *enhancement*, i.e. a clause 'enhances the meaning of another by qualifying it in one of a number of possible ways: by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition'. In a sense, the *because*-clause in (84) gives a reason for the claim made in the matrix proposition, but the relationship may also be seen as one of *elaboration* (Halliday 2004: 396), by which 'one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it'. Among the elaboration meanings are clarification and exemplification, which may be said to be the role of the *because*-clause in (84).

Finally, some clauses that are structurally causal actually do not mark a causal relation with the matrix at all. In (85) the *because*-clause certainly does not give the reason why something is not expensive, though it may be said to specify the reason why the speaker thinks so. But basically, *because* is used as a pure connector, showing that the clause following *because* is topically linked to the preceding discourse (see section 10.3.4).

- (85) <A> It's expensive
 It's not *because they bought a piece to go in their window* # I think it cost them three quid or something <S1A-007>

According to Thompson *et al.* (2007: 296), the information encoded in a postposed adverbial clause 'may be significant, closely parallel to that encoded in clauses in coordination'. Furthermore, an adverbial clause in end position may even 'convey globally crucial information and mark a turning point or peak' (*ibid.*). Causal clauses in end position typically bring something new into the discourse and are thus not well suited for any other position. It is possible that information structure is mostly responsible for the prevailing use of end position for causal clauses; they encode newsworthy information rather than background and often contribute to bringing the discourse forward, as is shown even in the quasi-causal structure in (85), where the topic of the *because*-clause is carried over to the next sentence.

It was noted in section 4.5 that conditional clauses in end position are somewhat more likely to express a hypothetical condition than those in initial position. Examples are given in (86) and (87).

- (86) It wasn't something you did every day, if ever . . . *unless you were the Duke of Windsor or Richard Burton.* <W2F-003>
- (87) 'You don't believe I would have survived so long *if every border guard along the Wall knew who I was, do you?* As far as these idiots are concerned I'm just another humble West Berlin businessman and politician.' <W2F-012>

In (86) the hypothetical condition is added as a parenthetical afterthought, which is not picked up in the further context, but which goes to show the unusual character of an action that is discussed both before and after the current sentence. In (87), however, the information in the conditional clause is elaborated in the following sentence. Most importantly, both conditional clauses contain information which is new and which does not place a restriction on the interpretation of the matrix clause.

Concessive clauses resemble conditional ones in that they place a more severe restriction on the interpretation of the matrix clause when they occur initially than when they occur finally. In end position they often appear as afterthoughts and may even be marked typographically as parenthetical, as shown in (88). Furthermore, a final concessive clause may be similar to a co-ordinate structure with *but*, as in (89) (see also Fraser 1998: 313f).

- (88) Market factors provide a link in the causal chain, leading to responses involving new technology (*although, as stated above and in Chapter 2.1, the process can work the other way round*). <W2A-011>
- (89) We saw some good sights & sites in the South, *altho' there wasn't enough time and money to visit a couple of obscure ones, Nestor's palace and the Bassae temple*, so will make a ~~forray~~ foray (strange Islamic spelling?) there another time. <W1B-009>

Temporal clauses are the second most frequent type of adverbial clause in end position. The temporal meanings expressed by these clauses are duration and position, of which position is by far the most frequent type, accounting for about 80%. Time frequency and relationship are not represented among temporal clauses. Duration clauses can mark the beginning or the end of a time span, as in (90), or the complete span. As shown in (91), it can also be on the borderline with time position, marking an interval as well as simultaneity with the matrix clause situation.

- (90) My aunt and uncle gave us a hover mower for our wedding but we didn't have that *until Daddy brought that to us on Monday evening.* <W1B-004>
- (91) He watched *as Schumacher's BMW meandered slowly through the chicane of concrete bollards and barriers designed to guide cars through the customs checks.* <W2F-012>

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Time position clauses may refer to a fairly specific time, as in (92), but mostly they denote time in the sense that a temporal order is established between the matrix predicate and the adverbial clause predication. The two predications may follow each other in time, as in (93) or be simultaneous, as in (94).

- (92) Trying to hide a smile, Miriam said, 'I seem to remember I did the same *when I was Lottie's age*.' <W2F-007>
- (93) He won a standing ovation *after telling conference that only one result was possible – a Labour victory*. <W2C-018>
- (94) I also discovered that Gary is one of these highly IRRITATING people who mutter *whilst they write*. <W1B-004>
- (95) Mason having his best successes *when they work close* but he's made to miss by a long way <S2A-009>

One reason for the high frequency of time position clauses may be that they can express a wide range of meanings. As shown in (95), the temporal reference can apply recursively, i.e. 'whenever they work close' he is successful. This meaning borders on frequency, though it does not indicate either definite frequency or a point on a scale between 'always' and 'never' (Halliday 2004: 264). The clause could also be said to border on conditional meaning: 'if they work close' he is successful. Another example of a time clause bordering on contingency is given in (96), where the time adjunct seems to justify the speech act, i.e. it explains why the writer finds it strange that people ask her advice.

- (96) why do people ask my advice *when I can't even sort my own life out?*
<W1B-003>
- (97) Dave swore *as Tommy Cousins skidded to a halt in front of Roddy*.
<W2F-002>

Example (97) shows the well-known affinity between temporal and causal relations. The conjunction *as* may express both time and cause – here it seems to express both at the same time. For other atypical uses of temporal clauses, see sections 9.3.5 and 9.3.6.

Ford (1993: 134) points out that adverbial clauses in initial and end position have different textual functions: 'Final adverbial clauses specify main clause meaning, but do not participate in information patterning strategies as do initial adverbials.' Furthermore, Thompson *et al.* (2007: 296) note that preposed clauses are 'bidirectional, linking what has gone before to what is to come', while a postposed clause is 'often unidirectional, primarily relating to its main clause'. This is also a finding of the present study. Adverbials in end position are not thematic, so they do not provide a framework for interpreting the matrix clause. Instead they provide an extension of the matrix clause meaning. They tend to convey new information and often lead into the following context. However, they may be backgrounded or made parenthetical by means of punctuation or prosody.

It also seems to be a common feature of adverbial clauses in end position that the semantic link signalled by the subordinating conjunction may be weakened so that the construction becomes similar to co-ordination. Ford (1993: 139ff) suggests that it is particularly when adverbial clauses follow a main clause with a final intonation contour that the semantic as well as the prosodic connection with the main clause becomes looser. In the core corpus, this loose semantic connection – possibly accompanied by prosodic features – was found particularly with causal, concessive and temporal clauses. See further, 10.3.4.

6.4 The build-up of clusters in end position

6.4.1 *The use and extent of clusters in end position*

Theoretically there is no limit to the number of adjuncts that can occur in end position at the same time, but in practice it is rare to find clusters of more than three adjuncts. Examples (98) and (99) have clusters of four adjuncts each. The core corpus did not contain any examples of clusters of five or more adjuncts.

- (98) Gary Mason and Lennox Lewis *squaring up to each other* || *threateningly* || *in the ring* || *beforehand* <S2A-009>
- (99) THE TIMING of an American television report that the United States Drug Enforcement Agency is investigating an undercover operation that may have been used to smuggle a bomb on to Pan Am flight 103 destroyed over Lockerbie, was described *yesterday* || *as very suspicious* || *by a senior American attorney* || *at the inquiry in Dumfries*. <W2C-001>

Longer sequences of adjuncts are found, but they are not realised purely as clusters. The use of more than one position presumably makes it easier to interpret a long sequence of adjuncts as belonging to the same clause; see (100), where both initial and end position are filled.

- (100) *Then*, || *when she had picked at her wound*, she would treat herself *to a hairdo and a good lunch* || *to raise her morale* || *before she saw Poppy and took out the sad clothes of mourning for another airing*. <W2F-003>

As will be shown in more detail below, clusters involving time and space adjuncts are most common, but in principle there is no restriction on the co-occurrence of semantic types in clusters as long as the adjuncts are not mutually contradictory.

6.4.2 *Order according to syntactic obligatoriness and scope*

The concepts of centre and periphery of the clause have been brought up repeatedly in connection with syntactic obligatoriness and the scope

of adjuncts. Obligatory and predicational adjuncts are more central to the syntax and semantics of the clause than sentential ones. This is reflected in the order of adjuncts in clusters: in the great majority of cases, obligatory adjuncts are placed before optional ones, as in (101), and predicational adjuncts are placed before sentential ones, as in (102); see Hasselgård (1996: 136). This tendency can be referred to as a principle of proximity, i.e. elements that belong together ‘functionally, conceptually, or cognitively will be placed close together at the code level’ (Givón 1990: 970). If an adjunct is obligatory it has a functional relationship with the verb; if it has predicational scope it has a conceptual relationship to the verb; and if the verb anticipates a certain kind of adverbial specification there is a cognitive relationship between the adverbial and the verb. Adverbials which are affected by the proximity principle will occur cluster-initially in end position.

- (101) Got *back to Athens* || *at 10 pm yesterday*, and went to this museum again today – <W1B-009>
 (102) ... it is rather a blessing in disguise to be working *freelance* || *for a while*. <W1B-015>

However, the proximity principle also influences our interpretation of adverbial clusters: we tend to read the one closer to the verb as more central. An example is given in (103). Either of the adjuncts might complement the verb, but it is the one next to the verb that comes across as more central to the process. (104) is an example of the reverse order of space and manner adjunct, where the manner adjunct takes the role as the more central element in the predicate.

- (103) I am missing you, keep thinking how good it would be to be *here* || *with you*. <W1B-015>
 (104) And yet she has to put on her form you see that he she’s living *with him* || *in that address* <S1A-007>

Finally, though the orders of obligatory^optional and predicationalsentential are by far the most common ones in clusters in end position, there are examples of the reverse order too. These are shown in (105) and (106).

- (105) Emma felt a quiver of excitement, of terror almost, the feeling you might get from probing *delicately* || *at a stitched wound*, wondering if the sutures would hold ... <W2F-003>
 (106) As Simon probably’s told you, we met *yesterday* || *at the Middlesex Cup Final (Southgate 9 Southgate Adelaide 0!)* where I was on ground and ball person duty. <W1B-004>

The sequence in (105) is a combination according to the definitions given in section 3.4; because the space adjunct is obligatory, the position of the time adjunct is defined as M3. Most of the sequences of this type have a *not-position* adjunct preceding the obligatory adjunct, which is usually one

of space. In (106) a space adjunct is more central to the meaning of *meet*, but the relative weight of the two adjuncts makes it awkward to put the predicational space adjunct in front of the sentential time adjunct.

6.4.3 Order according to weight and complexity

The weight principle tends to make shorter adjuncts precede longer ones in clusters in end position. This is not an absolute principle in the sense that an adjunct realised by two words always precedes one that is realised by three, as shown by (107); the syntactic complexity of the adjuncts is more important. Thus adjuncts realised by single adverbs tend to precede those realised by phrases, which in turn precede those realised by clauses, as illustrated by (108).

- (107) There are plans for the poison to be airlifted *on to the island* || *by helicopter*, but if that fails, several boats will ferry the Warfarin across. <W2C-015>
- (108) Cassie crouched forward, holding her arms *tightly* || *around her* || *as if suffering from stomach pain*. <W2F-001>

The difference in weight between the two adjuncts in (107) does not seem great enough for the weight principle to override the information principle. However, if one of the adjuncts in a cluster is realised by or contains a clause, this adjunct is almost invariably placed cluster-finally. This has to do with clarity as well as weight; if an adjunct belonging to the matrix clause is placed after a clausal adjunct, its clause membership will be obscured, or even changed; see (109) and (109a).

- (109) If organisations operated according to classical free-market theory, whereby firms are guided *by 'market forces'* || *to make appropriate decisions*, there would be no organisational problem. <W2A-011>
- (109a) ?... whereby firms are guided *to make appropriate decisions* || *by 'market forces'*, ...
- (110) He'd been at a fund-raising disco on Friday night and was jogging *back to his home in the suburbs at Collum End Rise, Leckhampton*, || *when he was attacked*. <W2C-020>

The tendency for clauses to be cluster-final may also place a short clause after a long phrase, as shown in (110). The reverse order, which might have taken better care of end weight and sentence balance, would have violated the principle of clarity.

6.4.4 Order according to semantic categories

According to Sinclair *et al.* (1990: 284), 'the meaning of the adjuncts can also affect their order. The usual order is adjunct of manner, then adjunct of place,

Table 6.4 *The most frequent types of two-adjunct clusters in end position*

Most common order	Reverse order
space^time (137)	time^space (10)
space^space (91)	n.a.
space^manner (44)	manner^space (35)
space^contingency (39)	contingency^space (2)
manner^time (24)	time^manner (6)
time^time (21)	n.a.

then adjunct of time’. Horová (1976: 101) considers this order a basic word order rule for English. Hasselgård’s study of time and space adverbials found that the space^time order is unmarked in end position (1996: 256). Quirk *et al.* (1985: 565), after stating that adjuncts tend to be ordered according to the principles of weight and information structure, claim that the ‘normal’ order of adjuncts in end position is respect – process – space – time – contingency. As noted in section 2.3, Quirk *et al.*’s process adjuncts include manner, means, instrument and agent adjuncts. Biber *et al.* (1999: 810ff) discuss series of manner, space and time adjuncts only and find that manner adjuncts tend to precede both space and time adjuncts, while space adjuncts tend to precede time adjuncts. However, the principles of information and weight are found to be decisive for the order as well as the ties between the adjunct and the verb.

The core corpus contains relatively few clusters of more than two adjuncts in end position; longer series occur in just over one out of ten cases. It is thus hard to find evidence for the manner^space^time order. Some ordering tendencies may, however, be found by studying clusters of two adjuncts. The types of cluster that occur more than 20 times in the core corpus are shown in table 6.4, with the number of occurrences in brackets. The frequencies of the reverse order are shown in the right-hand column.

The rest of this section will discuss the build-up of heterosemantic clusters, i.e. those in which two semantic categories are present. Homosemantic clusters of time, space, manner and contingency adjuncts will be discussed in chapters 9 and 10. As reported by Biber *et al.* (1999: 811), time, space and manner adjuncts are the types most commonly involved in clusters in end position. The fourth most frequent type to occur in clusters is contingency. There is a clear tendency for space adjuncts to precede time adjuncts. Moreover, manner adjuncts also precede time adjuncts in one out of five cases. Manner and space adjuncts do not follow a clear pattern; the orders space^manner and manner^space are both frequent. Contingency adjuncts have a clear tendency to occur last in clusters, presumably because they tend to be realised by clauses.

The tendency for space adjuncts to precede time adjuncts in clusters may be an effect of space adjuncts being more often obligatory (or near-obligatory)

than time adjuncts; see [section 6.1.2](#). However, even when the space and the time adjunct have the same scope, the space^time order dominates totally. For example, in (111) both adjuncts have sentential scope, and the space adjunct is slightly longer than the time adjunct.

- (111) He'd been like that when he'd approached them *outside the funfair* || *that day*. <W2F-002>

However, instances in which both adjuncts in a space^time cluster have the same type of semantic scope are rare; it is more natural to read the space adjunct as predication and the time adjunct as sentential when they occur together, as shown by (112).

- (112) The reason I have a new landlord is cos I'm starting work *in Finchley* || *today*. <W1B-009>
 (113) and he was second *this year* || *in the Paris Dubai stage race* uh *Paris Dubai Classic* rather breaking away to chase Marc name all the way home to the finish in Dubai <S2A-016>
 (114) And Greg Lemond I would think having to now reconstruct himself after that terrible bashing he took *yesterday* || *in the mountains* <S2A-016>

All the instances of the time^space order can in fact be explained by reference to the principles of weight and/or information. In (113) the space adjunct is much longer than the clause-initial time adjunct. In (114), the adjuncts occur in a relative clause which is spoken with no tonic accent. Both adjuncts presumably convey given information. However, the space adjunct must have been considered more important than the time adjunct. Semantically and informationally, the time adjuncts that occur in front of space adjuncts in clusters are the same types of adjunct that occur in medial position when end focus is reserved for another element; see [section 5.2.3](#). It may be noted that all ten examples of the time^space order are from the text types letter and sports commentaries.

Clusters of space and manner adjuncts are fairly frequent with both orders. Many of the space^manner clusters have an obligatory space adjunct, while the space adjunct is always optional in the manner^space clusters. Moreover, there is a difference as to the types of manner and space adjuncts that occur in the two kinds of cluster. Examples (115) and (116) are fairly typical.

- (115) 'She must know it goes *through me* || *like a knife*.' <W2F-003>
 (116) He stopped in front of Dave and dumped Derek Cousins *unceremoniously* || *on the grass*. <W2F-002>

With the space^manner order, direction adjuncts are the most common type of space adjunct and more than twice as frequent as position adjuncts. There is a good variety of manner adjuncts: the most frequent type is quality, but accompaniment, comparison, instrument, means and method all have three

or more occurrences. With the manner^space order, direction and position are equally frequent among the space adjuncts. Among the manner adjuncts, manner/quality dominates, but there are also five instances of accompaniment adjuncts. More importantly, the realisation of the manner adjuncts differs according to position in the cluster. The cluster-initial adjuncts tend to be single adverbs, but may be short adverbial or prepositional phrases. In cluster-final position, the most common realisation type of manner adjuncts is prepositional phrase (in 30 out of the 44 examples). If a cluster-final manner adjunct is realised by a single adverb, the preceding space adjunct is also short. Thus, it is mainly the principles of proximity, weight and clarity that determine the order of space and manner adjuncts in clusters.

As mentioned above, contingency adjuncts tend to be placed last in a cluster, regardless of their semantic subtype. More specifically, contingency adjuncts occur cluster-finally in 84% of the cases and cluster-initially in 16%. This may have to do with realisation, as 77% of the contingency adjuncts in end position are realised by clauses. Furthermore, contingency adjuncts realised by phrases can be clause-like in having a deverbal noun as head in the PP complement (117), or in containing an embedded clause (118).

(117) The scars inflicted on its people will take longer to heal, however, *even with the imminent arrival of food aid.* <W2C-002>

(118) As a result, consultants found themselves forced to play down some of these implications *in the early stages* || *for fear of losing the contract.* <W2A-011>

However, contingency adjuncts realised by prepositional phrases also tend to occur cluster-finally, unless they are closely connected with the predicate, or the other adjunct in the cluster is realised by or contains a clause, both of which situations are exemplified by (119).

(119) Happylands is being offered *for sale* || *by the family of two sisters who lived there – one died in 1988 and the second died about six months ago.* <W2C-020>

(120) Antonio is coming *to rescue me* || *on the 13th August.* <W1B-009>

Example (120) shows a cluster-initial purpose adjunct. The cluster-final time adjunct seems more newsworthy in the context. Moreover, it locates the matrix predicate and the dependent clause predicate in time simultaneously; thus the principle of clarity does not prevent it from occurring after the dependent clause. In (121) it is even clearer that the contingency adjunct precedes the time adjunct for reasons of weight and information dynamics.

(121) It is thus absurd to suggest that the empire was designed *to keep up the supply of slaves*, || *especially in the period after Augustus, when the policy was normally to defend the provinces already annexed without enlarging Roman dominions.* <W2A-001>

Table 6.5 *Types of three-adjunct clusters in end position that occur at least three times*

Type of cluster	N
manner^space^time	3
space^manner^time	6
space^space^space	6
space^space^time	9
space^time^contingency	3
space^time^space	5
space^time^time	11

Participant adjuncts also occur in a good number of clusters. They are cluster-initial in two-thirds of the cases; see (122) and (123). End weight and clarity may have played a role in the ordering of (122), but not in (123), where it is rather the degree of centrality to the predicate that has decided the order.

- (122) Augustus mobilized Italian prejudices against Antony, who had been seduced *by a barbarian concubine* || *into forgetting the gods and customs of Italy*. <W2A-001>
- (123) He's tackled by Crossan <,> winning his thirty-fifth <,> international cap *for Ireland* || *today* <S2A-002>

Participant adjuncts are typically part of the predicate, which explains why they tend to occur in cluster-initial position. However, as a third of the clusters involving participant adjuncts have these adjuncts cluster-finally, this is clearly a tendency that may be overruled by other factors. One such factor is weight; a considerable proportion of the cluster-final participant adjuncts are preceded by a manner adjunct realised by a single adverb, as shown in (124). Both the manner and the participant adjunct have predication scope, and their order is most likely determined by an interaction between the principles of weight and end focus.

- (124) Finds Smith who lays it off *neatly* || *to Barnes* <S2A-001>

As mentioned above, clusters of three or more adjuncts are relatively rare in the core corpus, and few of the sequence types occur more than once or twice. The sequences that occur three times or more are shown in table 6.5. Space and time adjuncts are the most frequent adjunct types occurring in three-adjunct clusters, as was the case for two-adjunct clusters (table 6.4). The most striking finding in table 6.5 is that the manner^space^time order shown in example (125) is only half as frequent as the space^manner^time order of example (126). The figures in table 6.5 are of course too small for any conclusion to be drawn, but the tendency was corroborated by an examination of all clusters of three adjuncts in the entire ICE-GB.

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- (125) A refugee who had fled *illegally* || *from East Berlin* || *many years ago* and who was now trying to get back in. <W2F-012>
- (126) Jenny Shovell was in the house and she came *from the kitchen* || *with flour halfway up her arms*, || *in time to hear Patience's last words*. <W2F-007>

As was found for two-adjunct clusters above, the order of manner and space adjuncts in these clusters has to do with the principles of proximity and weight. Predicational adjuncts are cluster-initial. Manner adjuncts realised by single adverbs tend to occur before space adjuncts, while those realised by prepositional phrases occur after space adjuncts in the core material.

Space adjuncts most commonly precede time adjuncts, but as table 6.5 shows, this does not always apply. In example (127) a time adjunct occurs between two space adjuncts. Clusters of this type are quite similar to those discussed above in which a time adjunct precedes a space adjunct; the interpolated time adjunct is short and low in information value. The last space adjunct is the focus of attention and is carried over to the next clause.

- (127) He plays it *infield* || *again* || *to Michalichenko* really the hub of all the Soviet attacks <S2A-001>
- (128) In fact I went *along* || *to the House of Commons* || *to watch an adjournment debate* || *on Wednesday night* || *last week* and uh I loved the way everybody postures and poses <S1B-024>

Contingency adjuncts tend to come last in three-adjunct clusters too, for the same reasons as they come last in two-adjunct clusters. However, there are some examples of contingency adjuncts being followed by time adjuncts, as in (128), which is from outside the core corpus. The time adjuncts seem to be less important informationally than the purpose adjunct, judging by the following context. However, the time adjuncts have sentential scope and are thus aptly placed cluster-finally; the alternative would have been clause-initial position.

An attempt at a reordering of the most common semantic types of adjuncts in clusters in end position might be *participant* – *space* – *manner* – *time* – *contingency*. However, this order is not likely to be particularly common; mainly it says something about the predicted relative order of adjuncts in clusters of two, and it may be overridden by the principles of proximity, weight and end focus.

6.4.5 Conflict and interaction between ordering principles

The discussion in the above section has shown that several word order principles interact to determine the order of adjuncts in clusters in end position; notably the principles of proximity, weight and end focus, possibly along with a preferred order of certain semantic categories. Such a preferred order was

most clearly visible with space and time adjuncts, where space adjuncts were almost always placed before time adjuncts in clusters. The order of manner and space adjuncts, however, seems to a great extent to depend on realisation and centrality to the predicate. The concept of centrality also seems to pull participant adjuncts to a place close to the verb. Contingency adjuncts are usually placed last in a cluster. This can be partly, but not exclusively, related to the principles of weight and clarity, as these adjuncts tend to be realised by clauses.

The word order principles may converge or conflict. When they conflict, the marking of syntactic relations and semantic scope prevail in cases where position is the only way of marking these functions, i.e. where the verb does not unambiguously select one of the adjuncts for obligatoriness or predication scope. If, on the other hand, the syntax and semantics of the verb make clear the functions of the individual adjuncts, the cluster may be adapted to meet the requirements of information structure and sentence balance. The word order principles which are related to information structure are thus secondary to those subsumed under the proximity principle.

7.1 The cleft focus position and the *it*-cleft construction

In contrast to conjuncts and disjuncts, adjuncts can be the focus of an *it*-cleft construction (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 504). As noted in section 3.1.2, the cleft focus position is not a commonly recognised adverbial position and might be considered a variant of either medial or end position. However, the cleft construction is in itself interesting, and adjuncts in cleft focus merit some examination. The interest lies in the nature of the focused adjunct as well as the discourse function of the whole *it*-cleft construction in context. Since adjuncts in cleft focus position are rare in the core corpus (see figure 3.2), the present chapter is based on the whole ICE-GB.¹ An example of an adjunct in cleft focus position is shown in (1).

- (1) Can we call a special meeting or something?
 Maybe just that it's *this week* that uhm there aren't enough people around <S1B-078>

The *it*-cleft construction has been characterised both as a focusing construction (e.g. Prince 1978, Gundel 2002) and as a thematising construction (e.g. Gómez-González 2001). The construction allows a speaker/writer to spread the information of a single proposition over two clauses and, consequently, two information units. Using the terminology of, for example, Gundel (2002) and Delin (1992), the *it*-cleft construction is described here in terms of a *clefted constituent* and a *cleft clause*. It is normally assumed that the *it*-cleft is a means of steering the focus towards the clefted constituent (e.g. Gundel 2002: 118). The *it*-cleft can have various types of phrases and clauses as its focus and can be outlined as follows:

it-cleft = *it* + BE + clefted constituent [NP, PP, AdvP, finite clause]
 + cleft clause²

¹ This chapter draws heavily on Hasselgård (2004b).

² No discussion of the syntactic status of the 'relative-like' dependent clause will be undertaken here.

Table 7.1 *Adjuncts in cleft focus position in the ICE-GB*

	N	%
Time	21	41.2
Space	11	21.6
Manner	7	13.7
Respect	5	9.8
Contingency	4	7.8
Situation	3	5.9
TOTAL	51	100

7.2 Syntactic and semantic properties of adjuncts in cleft focus position

7.2.1 *Semantic types*

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of different semantic types of adjunct in cleft focus position in the ICE-GB. Time and space adjuncts are the most common types, followed by manner, respect, contingency and situation. No other adjunct types were found.

The findings in table 7.1 may be compared to those for initial position (see table 4.1), since the cleft construction too may be seen as a thematisation device (see Halliday 2004: 95). The most striking difference is the low proportion of contingency adjuncts in cleft focus position, since this is the second most frequent semantic type in initial position. By contrast, manner adjuncts are relatively more frequent in cleft focus position. Cleft focus position seems to be more restrictive as to the kinds of semantic types it accommodates, but this is uncertain since the construction is so much rarer than adjuncts in initial position and since the figures for table 7.1 comprise a wider range of text types.

7.2.2 *Realisation of adjuncts in cleft focus position*

The most common realisation type for adjuncts in cleft focus position is the prepositional phrase (figure 7.1). As shown in the figure, the proportions of different realisation types differ from those for initial position in that prepositional phrases are far more dominant, particularly at the expense of adverbs and adverbial phrases (cp. figure 4.3). Clauses are also less common in cleft focus position than in initial position.

The length of the adjuncts in cleft focus position is shown in figure 7.2. Well over half of the adjuncts contain four words or more. Compared to initial position, the adjuncts in cleft focus position are on average longer; note the smaller proportion of single adverbs. An example of a single-word

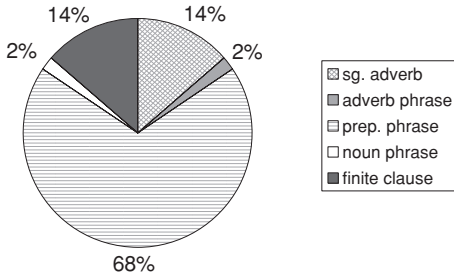


Figure 7.1 Realisation of adjuncts in cleft focus position.

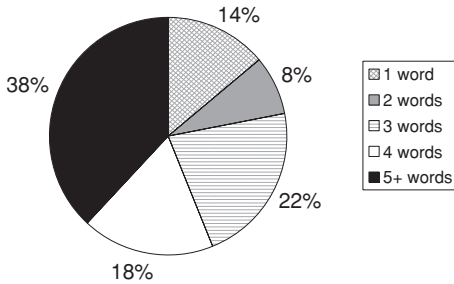


Figure 7.2 The length of adjuncts in cleft focus position.

adjunct in cleft focus position is given in (2), while (3) shows the longest adjunct found in this position.

- (2) And it was *then* that he felt a sharp pain <S2A-067>
 (3) It's *in the scenes when De Niro fighting against an on-rush of uncoordinated tics and twitches is beginning to relapse into the coma from which he'd been so recently aroused* that he and Williams are particularly impressive <S2B-033>

7.2.3 Obligatoriness and scope

An adjunct in cleft focus position is an integral part of the cleft construction. Thus the distinction between syntactically obligatory and optional makes little sense. The clefted adjunct cannot be taken out of the cleft construction without making it ungrammatical; on the other hand the cleft construction needn't have been chosen in the first place. The adjuncts that occur in cleft focus position are, however, adjuncts which would have been optional in a non-cleft agnate clause: see examples (2a) and (3a) which are paraphrases of (2) and (3) above. Both (2a) and (3a) have the adjuncts in initial position. Particularly in (2) this seems the best choice, while end position seems better for the long and complex adjunct in (3); compare (3a) and (3b).

Table 7.2 *Marked and unmarked information focus combined with unpredicated and predicated Theme (from Halliday 1994: 301)*

	Unmarked		Marked	
Non-nominalised	you <i>Theme</i> <i>Given</i>	were to blame <i>Rheme</i> <i>New (focus)</i>	you <i>Theme</i> <i>New</i>	were to blame <i>Rheme</i> <i>Given</i>
Nominalised (predicated Theme)	it's you <i>Theme</i> <i>New</i>	who were to blame <i>Rheme</i> <i>Given</i>	it's you <i>Theme</i> <i>Given</i>	who were to blame <i>Rheme</i> <i>New (focus)</i>

- (2a) and *then* he felt a sharp pain
 (3a) *in the scenes when De Niro fighting against an on-rush of uncoordinated tics and twitches is beginning to relapse into the coma from which he'd been so recently aroused* he and Williams are particularly impressive
 (3b) he and Williams are particularly impressive *in the scenes when De Niro fighting against an on-rush of uncoordinated tics and twitches is beginning to relapse into the coma from which he'd been so recently aroused*

This requires some reflection on the scope of adjuncts in cleft focus position. Since the proposition is split in two and the adjunct is placed in a matrix clause, the adjunct must have scope over the entire embedded cleft clause. The scope of a clefted adjunct is thus equivalent to sentential scope in a non-cleft agnate. This may in fact explain the choice of a cleft construction in (3) above; if the adjunct is intended for sentential scope, a cleft construction may offer a good alternative to initial placement of the adjunct as in (3a).

7.3 The information dynamics of *it*-clefts in general

The most common assumption about the information structure of *it*-clefts is that the clefted constituent represents new, often contrastive, information (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999: 959). The embedded clause typically conveys pre-supposed information (e.g. Prince 1978: 896). Prince uses the term 'stressed focus *it*-clefts' to indicate the discourse function of such clefts, namely to give special focus to the clefted constituent. Gundel (2002: 118) refers to this information structure in clefts as prototypical. Collins (1991: 84) follows Halliday in claiming that this information structure constitutes the unmarked type of *it*-cleft (or 'predicated theme', which is the SFL term for the construction; see Halliday 2004: 95): '... the theme/new combination is unmarked: the construction creates, through predication, a local structure – the superordinate clause – in which information focus is in its unmarked place, at the end'. This is illustrated in table 7.2, from Halliday (1994).

The term ‘unmarked’ here does not, however, reflect quantitative data. In Collins’s comprehensive study of cleft constructions, only 36% of the *it*-clefts have a new clefted constituent and a given cleft clause (1991: 111), although the clefted constituent is new in a clear majority of cases.

Prince (1978: 898) introduces the *informative presupposition cleft* to designate *it*-cleft constructions in which the cleft clause conveys new information. The clefted constituent may contain either given or new information in an informative presupposition cleft. In (4), both the clefted constituent and the cleft clause are new, since the sentence occurs text-initially.

- (4) It was *just about 50 years ago* that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.
(Prince 1978: 898)

This distinction of *it*-clefts has become established usage; see, for example, Collins (1991), Delin and Oberlander (1995) and Johansson (2002). According to Prince (1978: 898), the information in the cleft clause is encoded as (non-negotiable) fact. Although it is new, it is *presupposed* rather than asserted, i.e. it is marked as ‘known to some people although not yet known to the intended hearer’ (*ibid.*: 899). Prince says that ‘the whole point of these sentences is to inform the hearer of that very information’ (*ibid.*: 898). Delin (1992: 296), however, claims that ‘the information within an *it*-cleft presupposition appears to *remind* rather than *inform*’, even though it may not in actual fact be known to the hearer (*ibid.*: 297).

Halliday, as the name ‘predicated theme’ suggests, sees the *it*-cleft as a thematisation device. It has the special feature that the theme is characteristically new: ‘It is the mapping of New and Theme, in fact, that gives the predicated theme construction its special flavour’ (2004: 96). Gómez-González (2001: 303ff) describes the *it*-cleft as a ‘special theme construction’, i.e. one that marks off the theme of a sentence and gives it extra focus. Similarly, Collins (1991: 171) notes that ‘the theme in clefts carries a “textual” form of prominence’. If the *it*-cleft is seen as a thematisation device, it should follow that the theme in this construction, like other themes, can be given, new, contrastive or non-contrastive.

7.4 The information dynamics of *it*-clefts with clefted adjuncts

Descriptions of *it*-clefts in grammars and elsewhere are mostly concerned with nominal elements in cleft position. This may be partly because of the possibility of comparing *it*-clefts and *wh*-clefts,³ and partly because nominal

³ It is usually assumed that *wh*-clefts do not allow focus on adverbials. However, Johansson (2002: 96–7), gives examples of reversed *wh*-clefts with *where* and *why*, e.g. *Here is where I look like Marilyn Monroe*.

elements are the most frequent type of clefted constituent. In ICE-GB they are almost three times as frequent as clefted adjuncts.

There may be a correlation between the type of clefted constituent and the type of cleft construction. Both Collins (1991: 112) and Prince (1978: 899) note that the informative presupposition type of *it*-cleft is quite common when the clefted constituent is an adjunct. Conversely, the stressed focus cleft may be less apt to accommodate adjuncts than the clefted constituent. In this connection we may note that the most frequently quoted example of an informative presupposition cleft has an adjunct in cleft position, namely (4) above.

In the ICE-GB material it was indeed quite common to find new information in both the clefted constituent and in the cleft clause. It was also quite common for the clefted constituent to represent given information and for the information in the cleft clause to be new, as in (5). This is the reverse of the 'canonical' information structure in *it*-clefts.

- (5) However there are worrying signs for the Republicans in the contests for state governors. Because of the shift in population to the warmer parts of the country states like Florida Texas and California are to be given extra seats in Congress. The governors of those states will have a big say in redrawing the boundaries. And it's *here* that the Democrats have made significant headway. They have won the elections for governor in both Florida and Texas from the Republicans although Mr Bush's party appears to have held on to the biggest prize of all California.
<S2B-006>

Although this pattern is discussed as a variant of informative presupposition cleft by, for example, Prince (1978: 899) and Gundel (2002: 118f), its frequency was unexpected.⁴ The occurrence of clefted constituents conveying given information is briefly noted by Biber *et al.* (1999: 962): 'The focused element in an *it*-cleft is not infrequently a pronoun or some other form which expresses given information. . . . The early position of the focused element makes it suitable both for expressing a connection with the preceding text and for expressing contrast.' The examples given are of the type *it was me . . .*, *it was then . . .*, *it is these . . .*. In the material examined for the present study, just over half the clefted adjuncts were anaphoric: see examples (1), (2) and (7). The great majority of the *it*-clefts, close to 90%, were of the informative presupposition type.

Based on the distribution of given and new information over the clefted constituent and the cleft clause, Johansson (2002: 185ff) arrives at four patterns of *it*-clefts:

⁴ Delin (1992: 294) suggests that 'the reason that cleft presuppositions are so frequently assumed to specify information that is mutually known perhaps lies in the fact that much of the discussion of *it*-clefts has centred around decontextualized examples'.

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Table 7.3 *Information structure of it-clefts in the material*

	Adjunct	Cleft clause	N		%
Type A (all given)	given	given	1	5	10
	inferable	given	1		
	inferable	inferable	3		
Type B (given + new)	given	new	18	26	51
	inferable	new	8		
Type C (all new)	new	new	18	18	35
Type D (new + given)	new	given	0	2	4
	new	inferable	2		
TOTAL				51	100

Type A: Clefted constituent is given/inferable; cleft clause is given/inferable.

Type B: Clefted constituent is given/inferable; cleft clause is new.

Type C: Clefted constituent is new; cleft clause is new.

Type D: Clefted constituent is new; cleft clause is given/inferable.

Assessing the information status of adjuncts is difficult because they often contain some given and some new information; for example, the complement of a prepositional phrase may be given while the relation denoted by the preposition is new. Such phrases have been classified as inferable and grouped with given information, following the practice of Johansson (2002). Information patterns A–D were all found in the ICE-GB material. Their distribution is shown in table 7.3.

There are quite a few differences between the results given in table 7.3 and the corresponding results of Johansson (2002: 188), which embrace all types of clefted constituent. First and foremost, Johansson finds that Types A and B are equally frequent (38% each), while Type C is least frequent in his material (10%). Type D accounts for 14% in Johansson’s material of English original texts.

Although the number of *it*-clefts with adjuncts is rather too low to give definite results, the comparison of my material with Johansson’s (based on 240 examples) suggests that the information structure of clefts with adjuncts differs markedly from that of clefts with noun phrases. The most important difference is that the *it*-clefts with adjuncts in my material occur most commonly by far with cleft clauses conveying new information (86%), while the cleft clauses of *it*-clefts in general seem to be about equally divided between given and new information (Johansson 2002: 188). It may, however, be noted that Collins (1991: 111) reports that 63% of his *it*-clefts have new/contrastive

information in the cleft clause. As Collins's material, as well as the ICE-GB, comprises both speech and writing while Johansson's contains only writing, some of the different results may be due to the nature of the material studied.

7.5 Discourse functions of *it*-cleft constructions

When studied in context, *it*-clefts with adjuncts are found to have a range of textual functions in the organisation of the flow of information in the discourse. Collins (1991: 106) makes a similar observation: 'The use of adverbials in cleft focus position seems to have important textual functions, e.g. by acting as a bridge from one topic to another or launching a (new) discourse topic.' Returning to (5), for example, the *it*-cleft marks a transition between two sections of the text. The discourse topic before the cleft sentence is demographic and political features of Florida, Texas and California. After the cleft sentence, the text has moved on to the success of the Democratic Party, a topic that was introduced in the cleft clause.

Johansson (2002: 193) proposes four main discourse functions of *it*-clefts (irrespective of the type of clefted constituent). I used these categories in order to facilitate comparison with his results and was able to identify all of them in the ICE-GB material. The categories are the following:

Contrast (The clefted constituent marks a contrast to something previously mentioned/assumed.)

Topic-launching (The clefted constituent becomes the topic of the subsequent discourse.)

Topic-linking (The two parts of the cleft construction – clefted constituent and cleft clause – link together two discourse topics.)

Summative (The *it*-cleft concludes or rounds off a text or a section of a text.)

In the ICE-GB material the notion of *contrast* curiously did not seem to be a particularly prominent feature of the clefted adjuncts. On the other hand, the notion of *focus* is present in all the examples; after all, an *it*-cleft usually represents marked syntax as compared to its non-cleft agnate. The clefted constituent thus receives some extra attention, though this need not be contrastive; nor does it need to be associated with prosodic focus, according to Delin (1990: 5f). In what follows I shall give examples of the discourse functions found in the material, using Johansson's classification. It can sometimes be argued that a cleft construction represents a merger of two categories, so additional categories will be suggested.

7.5.1 Contrast

In the 'canonical' cleft (Gundel 2002: 118) the clefted constituent conveys new information which is explicitly contrasted with something mentioned in

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the preceding context. The cleft clause represents information that is known to the speaker. In (6) the subject of reading books at an early age has already been talked about, while the clefted constituent introduces a reader of a different age from those previously discussed.

- (6) I struggled terribly with them in my early teens and had no success at all. It wasn't *till I was perhaps twenty-five or thirty* that I read them and enjoyed them <S1A-013>

Contrast can also be expressed where the cleft clause conveys new information, in which case there is usually an additional discourse function associated with the *it*-cleft. For instance, the clefted constituent may launch a new discourse topic at the same time as marking a contrast (see the next section), or there may be a transition between two discourse topics (section 7.5.3).

7.5.2 Topic-launching

An *it*-cleft can introduce a discourse topic in the clefted constituent. This constituent may be brand new or inferable, but in any case it is made prominent by means of the clefted constituent and developed as a topic in the subsequent discourse. In (7) the clefted constituent introduces 'those men and women serving our country in the Middle East', which becomes a discourse topic in the section that follows. It also represents a shift in the speech, introducing a 'human angle'. Interestingly, the *you* in the next sentence refers only to this group, in contrast to the *you* in the sentence preceding the cleft, which has a much wider reference.

- (7) We must try to work out security arrangements for the future so that these terrible events are never repeated <,> and we shall I promise you <,> bring our own forces back home just as soon as it is safe to do so <,> It is to those men and women serving our country in the Middle East <,> that my thoughts go out most tonight # and to all of their families here at home <,> To you I know this is not a distant war. It is a close and ever present anxiety <,> I was privileged to meet many of our servicemen and women in the Gulf last week <S2B-030>

The cleft in example (8) represents a combination of two discourse functions 'topic-launching' and 'contrast'. The clefted constituent *to Africa* represents a contrast to the previous setting, Soviet, and at the same time introduces Africa as a new discourse topic in a text about the world's population. Clearly, the cleft clause does not convey given or presupposed information. Since all the information in the sentence is new, the *it*-cleft construction makes it possible to avoid placing new information sentence-initially, or to 'keep focal material out of surface subject position' (Gundel 2002: 126).

- (8) Shortages of food have been a repeated feature of recent Soviet experience <,> with heavy dependence on grain imported from the United States as the Soviets' own production has failed <,> But the spotlight has been on empty shops in the towns rather than empty larders in the countryside <,> It is to Africa that the television cameras go to show what happens when local natural resources are so inadequate for the population living off them that drought or continuous small-arms war causes famine for the people counted in millions and death for many of them <,> Apart from such disasters in succession in the same or in different places infant mortality is the main counter to the birth rate's effect in Africa <,> and in parts of the continent the heterosexual incidence of Aids may prove to have halted or even reversed the growth in the population of potential parents and condemned large numbers of children to early death <S2B-048>

7.5.3 Topic-linking: transition

The two-part structure of the *it*-cleft makes it suitable for linking together two discourse topics; i.e. the current discourse topic is referred to in the clefted constituent while a new topic is introduced in the cleft clause. This function may be referred to as *transition* since it not only links together two topics but also provides a bridge between two sections of a text. The cleft sentence thus becomes a vehicle for topic-shifting. Because the new topic is presented as 'known' or 'presupposed' (Prince 1978), it is an unobtrusive way of introducing new information which can in turn be the starting point for the next section of the text. In (5) the cleft clause *the Democrats have made significant headway* marks the beginning of a new section of the text. In (9) the idea of topic-shifting is even clearer, because C's attempt to shift the topic is rejected by A, who wants to spend more time on the previous topic. Thus, in (9), the transition does not fulfil its function, while in (5) and (8) the topic is successfully shifted.

- (9) C: But really what's happened with my sort of history is when I met uh did a little recording with Chandos Records uhm and the Ulster orchestra who was conducting there came up with enough money to do their first record and they got Chandos interested. It was then that uh I fell in love with music like Hamilton Harty and a bit of Stanford. and the Arn the Arnold Bax Saga became something quite uh excellent.

A: Well that's a day we certainly want to come back to a bit later. But if we could just for a moment concentrate on the latter years of the nineteenth century. <S1B-032>

Example (10) simultaneously marks a contrast with the clefted constituent and creates a transition by means of the cleft clause. The contrast is between

the Villa Somalia mentioned earlier and the office building. The introduction of *the letters* in the cleft clause starts off a new section of the discourse. The example is from the beginning of the text.

- (10) The Villa Somalia which was Siad Barre's official residence in Mogadishu still lies abandoned <,> guarded by a handful of young men from the United Somali Congress the rebel force which took control of Mogadishu at the end of January <,> But it was in one of the office buildings that I discovered the letters <,> thousands of them <,> addressed to His Excellency President Mohammed Siad Barre but all unopened <,> I picked up one from Britain <,> It had been posted in September nineteen eighty-eight and was signed by a retired schoolteacher from Guildford in Surrey <,> writing on behalf of Amnesty International to plead for the release of a blind Somali preacher who'd been imprisoned for his religious beliefs <,> <S2B-023>

7.5.4 Summative

Summative *it*-clefts tend to occur towards the end of a text or a section of a text and represent a kind of conclusion or rounding off. Example (11) occurs at the very end of a speech and contains two cleft constructions. They share a clefted constituent which is inferable. It is not contrastive, but may have the 'uniqueness feature' noted by Delin and Oberlander (1995: 469). The cleft clause in the second *it*-cleft is new. Although it is backgrounded by means of subordination (Delin and Oberlander 1995: 473), it represents a kind of punchline and cleverly softens the war-talk.

- (11) The purpose of war is to enforce international law. It is to uphold the rights of nations to be independent and of people to live without fear. It is in that spirit <,> that the men and women of our forces and our allies are going to win the war <,> And it is in that spirit that we must build the peace that follows. <S2B-030>

Example (12) combines the summative function with contrast, towards the end of an obituary. The clefted constituent resolves an 'either-or' relationship (Perzanowski and Gurney 1997: 218), i.e. a writer for children as opposed to adults, while the summative function is evident from the cleft clause.

- (12) Dahl's books often portrayed children battling against evil adults. . . . As an adult author Dahl's fame was to come much later when his *Tales of the Unexpected* were transferred to television. Yet it will be as a children's writer he'll be remembered. His lasting legacy includes another two books still to be published. Roald Dahl who's died at the age of seventy-four {END OF TEXT} <S2B-011>

7.5.5 *Thematisation*

Sometimes the main purpose of the cleft may be to mark unambiguously what should be understood as the theme and the rheme of a sentence. A good example is (13), which represents a complete text. There can thus be no contrast involved, nor any topic-linking, topic-launching, or summary. Rather, in this case, the writer wants to give thematic prominence to the regret he/she feels. It may be noted that a non-cleft agnate cannot easily have the same constituent in thematic position; see (13a) and (13b).

- (13) It is *with much regret* that I find it necessary to send you a copy of the enclosed letter which is self explanatory. <W1B-026> {= entire text}
- (13a) ? With much regret I find it necessary to send you a copy of the enclosed letter . . .
- (13b) ? I find it necessary with much regret to send you a copy of the enclosed letter . . .

Thematisation is an added discourse function as compared to Johansson's, although he mentions it as a variety of topic-linking (2002: 199). One reason why it seems appropriate to propose it as a separate category is the fact that some examples, such as (13) above, simply do not fall neatly into any of the other categories. On the other hand, thematisation seems to be an accompanying factor in most of the examples where the cleft can be assigned to one of the functional categories described above.

Perzanowski and Gurney (1997: 214) note that 'certain types of *it*-clefts . . . frequently occur in negative contexts'. This is also a finding of the present study, where three examples had *not until* . . . as the clefted constituent, as in (14). In such cases, a non-cleft version is problematic, given that the speaker wants a particular theme-rheme structure; i.e. a non-cleft agnate will require subject-verb inversion (14a). The *it*-cleft may thus be a way of avoiding a construction that will be perceived as even more marked.

- (14) However it wasn't *until his fourth album* that the instrument's capabilities were more fully explored <S2B-023>
- (14a) *Not until his fourth album* were the instrument's capabilities more fully explored.

Gundel (2002) and Johansson (2002) both document that *it*-clefts are more common in Norwegian/Swedish than in English. Looking for more examples similar to (14) above, I have, however, found several examples of English adjuncts in cleft focus position corresponding to other thematisation structures in Norwegian and German, where initial placement of adverbials is more common than in English and therefore perceived as less marked (Hassehgård 1997: 14). In example (15), from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus, the Norwegian original does not have a cleft, but an adjunct in initial position.

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The English translator, in order to keep the thematic structure intact, opts for a cleft – possibly to avoid a high degree of perceived markedness – while the German translator can copy the Norwegian clause pattern without producing much markedness at all.

- (15) *Først i vårt århundre kommer kvinnene ordentlig inn i filosofiens historie.* (OMC: JG₁) [lit. first in our century come the women really into the philosophy's history]

It was not until this century that women really made their mark on the history of philosophy.

Erst in unserem Jahrhundert treten die Frauen wirklich in die Geschichte der Philosophie ein. [lit. first in our century tread the women really into the history of the philosophy]

Conversely, example (16) has an English original with a space adjunct in cleft focus position, and the German translator has used a non-cleft with the adjunct in initial position.⁵ In this case the Norwegian translator has retained the English pattern and used a cleft construction.

- (16) *It was in this room* that Arthur did his books and added up his VAT, and where he retired when customers came in he couldn't stand the look of. (OMC: FW₁)

In diesem Zimmer machte Arthur seine Buchführung, berechnete die Mehrwertsteuer, und hierher zog er sich zurück, wenn Kunden kamen, deren Anblick er nicht ertragen konnte. [lit. in this room made Arthur his bookkeeping . . .]

Det var i dette rommet Arthur førte regnskapet og oppsummerte sin moms og trakk seg tilbake når det kom kunder han ikke kunne utstå synet av. [lit. it was in this room Arthur did the accounts . . .]

However, the thematising function of *it*-clefts does not only occur where a non-cleft alternative would be awkward. In (17), for example, a non-cleft agnate with an initial adjunct is quite acceptable (17a), although there may be slightly less focus on the adjunct. The clefted constituent does not mark any contrast, nor does it close or launch a topic. According to Collins (1991: 175), the *it*-cleft enables an 'unambiguous mapping of theme on to new information in the unmarked instance', as themes in *it*-clefts are likely to convey new information (Collins 1991: 111). In (14), (15) and (17) the clefted constituent is indeed new.

⁵ Ahlemeyer and Kohlhof (1999) found that English *it*-clefts are in fact translated into their German equivalent ('Spaltsatz') in only about a third of the cases. They suggest that the reason may be that 'German tends to avoid the syntactically cumbersome cleft construction where other – monoclausal – structures are available to render the same content and functions' (1999: 23), partly because of the freer word order of German.

- (17) It was *in nineteen hundred and six* that the Queen's great-grandfather King Edward the Seventh decreed that privates in the Household Cavalry should henceforth to be known as troopers <S2A-011>
- (17a) In nineteen hundred and six the Queen's great-grandfather King Edward the Seventh decreed that privates in the Household Cavalry should henceforth to be known as troopers
- (18) And the Field Officer Brigade waiting rides up to Her Majesty the Queen. He was not granted security for officer training when he joined the regiment in nineteen sixty-eight because of his Polish ancestry. It was as a Guardsman that he came to the Second Battalion which now he commands and eventually became a lance sergeant instructor at the Guards Depot. When he was finally accepted for Sandhurst he went on to win the Sword of Honour and has since served as an officer with every company of each battalion of the regiment. <S2A-011>

Delin and Oberlander (1995) suggest yet another discourse function of *it*-clefts, that of marking the content in cleft clause as prior in time to the main story line, which may be exemplified by (18). However, the content of the preceding sentence is also 'prior in time to the main story line', so I am not convinced this property is contributed by the *it*-cleft construction. The cleft in (18) is also topic-launching, in that it occurs early in a section concerned with stages in this person's military career. The discourse function of the *it*-cleft in (18) is thus better characterised as thematisation. As in (13)–(15), a non-cleft agnate could not easily have the same theme–rheme structure.

I would like to propose that thematisation is the basic function of *it*-clefts and that other functions are subsidiary to this. In other words, the marking of contrast with a preceding topic, the launching of a new topic and the preparation for a new topic may all be seen simply as functions of theme.

7.5.6 Discourse functions and information structure

Johansson (2002: 193) suggests that the discourse functions of clefts are associated with the different patterns of information structure I outlined in section 7.4. According to his findings, type A correlates with the discourse functions *contrast* and *summative*, type B with *topic-linking*, type C with *topic-launching* and type D with *contrast*. Table 7.4 presents a summary of the occurrence of the various discourse functions of *it*-clefts with adjuncts in the present material. This has been correlated with the type of information structure identified in each cleft sentence. Note that 'thematization' is seen as a default category and for this purpose comprises only those examples where none of the other functions were apparent.

Because few of the *it*-clefts with adjuncts were of the stressed focus type, there are few examples of contrast. There are thus not enough examples of this function to make a valid comparison with Johansson's results, although

Table 7.4 *Discourse functions identified – ranked according to frequency of occurrence and correlated with information structure*

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	
	all given	given + new	all new	new + given	TOTAL
Transition	1	18	4	—	23
Thematisation	—	5	7	—	12
Contrast	2	—	3	1	6
Summative	2	2	—	1	5
Topic launching	—	1	1	—	2
Contrast + transition	—	—	2	—	2
Contrast + topic launching	—	—	1	—	1
TOTAL	5	26	18	2	51

it is interesting that half of the contrast examples belong to type C (all new). It may be noted that when a clefted constituent conveying new information expresses contrast, the implication is ‘contrary to expectation’ rather than ‘contrary to what has been claimed’. Type B (given + new) seems to be a good indicator of topic-linking, or transition from one topic to another, as in Johansson’s material. Type C (all new) is a relatively good indicator of thematisation, although this type also has a range of other functions. Type D is too thinly represented to provide any basis for even tentative conclusions.

7.6 *It*-clefts in different genres

Collins (1991: 181) reports a slightly higher frequency of *it*-clefts in writing (the LOB Corpus) than in speech (the London-Lund Corpus). In the ICE-GB the difference between speech and writing showed the opposite as regards the frequency of *it*-clefts with adjuncts: approximately 0.6 vs. 0.4 occurrences per 10,000 words, respectively. However, when the spoken genres were divided into scripted versus unscripted, a further difference emerged (see table 7.5). The category of scripted speech, making up only 6% of the corpus, accounts for 24% of the adjuncts with clefts. The unscripted spoken genres and the written genres are then left with almost the same frequency of clefted adjuncts.

Table 7.5 *Frequency of it-clefts with adjuncts in different genres in the ICE-GB*

Genre/medium	No. of words in ICE-GB	No. of clefted adjuncts	No. of clefted adjuncts per 10,000 words
Spoken (unscripted)	572,464	24	0.42
Scripted speech	65,098	12	1.84
Writing	423,702	15	0.35
TOTAL	1,061,264	51	0.48

One may speculate that the discourse functions of clefts are well suited to the (rhetorical) purposes of the scripted speech genres. These genres are typically expository, such as lectures and broadcast narration, but there are also speeches. Possible reasons for the popularity of informative presupposition clefts with adjuncts may have to do with the possibility of assigning unambiguous thematic prominence to the clefted constituent, and with the possibility of presenting new information in the cleft clause without asserting it. Further, as Delin (1992: 300) claims, the information in the (presupposed) cleft clause is presented as a non-negotiable fact, which clearly has its rhetorical advantages. Further exploration of such rhetorical properties of clefts must, however, be left to a future study.

7.7 Concluding remarks

The starting point of this chapter was a hypothesis that the cleft focus position differs from other adverbial positions in being linked to a particular construction. Furthermore, *it*-clefts with adjuncts seemed to differ from other *it*-clefts in having an unexpected information structure; in particular there seemed to be an overrepresentation of the given+new pattern of informative presupposition clefts. The information structure and the discourse functions of clefts with adjuncts have also been identified and described with other types of clefted constituent (e.g. by Collins 1991 and Johansson 2002).

The typical information structure of *it*-clefts with adjuncts involves a clefted constituent carrying given information and a cleft clause carrying new information; alternatively, one in which both parts of the cleft construction are new. In both Collins (1991: 11) and Johansson (2002: 188) these two types are relatively less frequent than in my material. The *it*-clefts with adjuncts studied here tend to be informative presupposition clefts, while other *it*-clefts are more likely to be stressed focus clefts; hence the overrepresentation of the informative presupposition type in relation to other studies of clefts.

Clefts with adjuncts have a range of textual meanings, or discourse functions. Clearly, the construction must be studied in context in order to get at these functions. The material offered examples of *it*-clefts marking contrast, topic-launching, transition and summative. It was argued in section 7.5.5 that these discourse functions can all be regarded as ancillary to the function of theme (or to the theme–rheme nexus in the case of transition).

The use of an *it*-cleft enhances the textual prominence of the theme. Consequently, the construction is well-suited for signalling that the theme is new or contrastive. However, *it*-clefts are also used when the clefted constituent is neither new nor contrastive, in which case the construction may simply serve to make the theme–rheme division of the message extra clear. This may be the case in clefts marking transition as well as in clefts where none of the other discourse functions outlined in section 7.5 can be identified.

The function of transition seems particularly prominent with clefted adjuncts. Clefts with this function typically have a given, often anaphoric, adjunct in cleft focus position, while the cleft clause introduces a topic for the subsequent discourse. The speaker/writer thus achieves a smooth transition between two topics, juxtaposing them by means of a relational clause, and launching the new topic unobtrusively in a dependent clause.

It was also shown that *it*-clefts can be used for assigning thematic status to an adjunct that would not fit easily into clause-initial position. This was seen with negative adjuncts (e.g. *not until* . . .), which would have required subject–operator inversion in an agnate non-cleft sentence, and with adjuncts such as *with much regret* (example (13)), which probably could not have occurred as acceptably in initial position in a non-cleft sentence. Cleft focus position can also give sentential scope to adjuncts which would otherwise have been placed in end position and interpreted as predication, as in examples (3) and (18). Finally, the *it*-cleft can give extra thematic prominence to clefted constituents that would have come across as relatively unmarked themes in non-cleft sentences, particularly time adjuncts (e.g. example (17)).

8.1 Introduction

A combination of adjuncts is defined as a sequence in which at least two adverbial slots in a clause are filled; see [section 3.4](#). Combinations are thus discontinuous sequences, in contrast to clusters, which are sequences of adjacent adjuncts. The reasons for adverbial placement in combinations are more than likely to reflect those found with adverbials generally (see [chapters 4–7](#)). Hence, adjuncts will occur in initial position for reasons of, for example, cohesion and thematisation ([section 4.4](#)); medial position will favour short adjuncts of time and manner, and end position will be the default position for most adjuncts and certainly the unmarked choice for obligatory and/or predication adjuncts ([section 6.2.9](#)). However, combinations of adjuncts are interesting in a functional study of word order; as most adjuncts are not confined to a particular position, a combination can illustrate the competition between adjuncts for the ‘same’ position, and also how the various principles of adverbial placement may pull adjuncts in different directions ([section 3.6](#)).

8.2 Positional types of combinations

The combinations have been grouped according to the positions that the adjuncts occupy. This results in five combination types, exemplified by (1)–(5).

- (1) *Tomorrow* I’m meeting Sarah Duncan *for lunch* <W1B-004> (I+E)
- (2) *In her letters to Mum* it *often* seems that she has forgotten that she is writing to her daughter: <W1B-015> (I+M)
- (3) But citizenship *no longer* carried *with it* equal rights under the law; <W2A-001> (two types of medial)
- (4) Not a very big field but uh the race’s *usually* won *by a horse of moment* <S2A-006> (M+E)
- (5) In the Basque country and in Wales the indigenous languages have actually survived, whereas *in Gaul* Celtic *ultimately* disappeared *with few traces except in place names*. <W2A-001> (I+M+E)

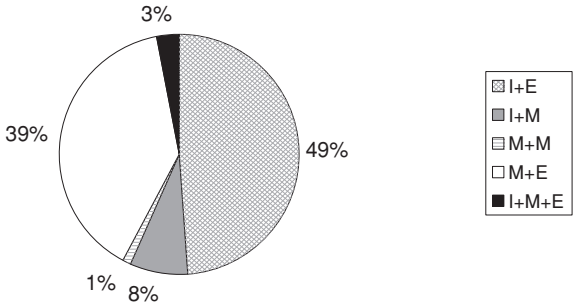


Figure 8.1 Positional types of combinations (N = 295).

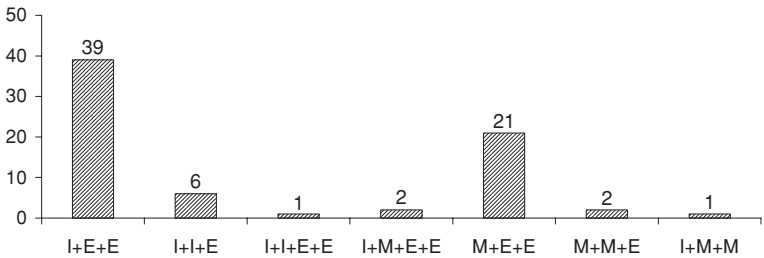


Figure 8.2 Positional types of combinations involving clusters (raw frequencies; N = 72).

Figure 8.1 shows that the great majority of combinations (91%) involve end position. This is not unexpected, given the strong preference for end position found with most adjuncts (section 6.1.1). Initial position is filled in 60% of the combinations and medial position in 51% of the cases. This is the same order of frequency as was found for the overall distribution of adverbial positions (see figure 3.2). The combinations involving initial and end position are most frequent, followed by those involving medial and end position. Combinations of initial and medial position are far less frequent, at 8%, while combinations of two different medial positions are rare (1%). In 3% of the cases, all three positions are filled.

8.3 Combinations involving clusters

A combination may contain a cluster in one of the positions. Not unexpectedly, the cluster is most frequently found in end position and is combined with an adjunct in initial or medial position. The distribution of positional types is shown in figure 8.2. Note that clusters may contain more than two adjuncts in spite of the notation. The positional types are illustrated in

examples (6)–(12). Since there are few clusters in medial position (see section 5.6), the types shown in (11) and (12) are understandably rare.

- (6) *Early in the third century* the citizenship was bestowed *on almost all the inhabitants of the empire* || *by a single edict*. <W2A-001> (I+E+E)
- (7) *This week*, || *for the first time since the war began*, lorries loaded with international aid will set out *to the worst-hit regions*. <W2C-002> (I+I+E)
- (8) *Then*, || *when she had picked at her wound*, she would treat herself to a hairdo and a good lunch *to raise her morale* || *before she saw Poppy and took out the sad clothes of mourning for another airing*. <W2F-003> (I+I+E+E)
- (9) *And at the line* Filial just pushed out easily || *from Mack the Knife in second* <S2A-006> (I+M+E+E)
- (10) The brown rat *first* appeared there || *in 1889*, || *after ships ferried materials and supplies to the newly built lighthouse*. <W2C-015> (M+E+E)
- (11) But that *with a wet ball* || *on a slippy day* <,> wasn't the sort of pass to be rocketing out *although England did have an overlap* <S2A-002> (M+M+E)
- (12) *In Paris* it's still || *in the second half* there fourteen points to three <S2A-002> (I+M+M)

The clusters involved in this type of sequence have been dealt with in preceding chapters and will therefore not be discussed further here. However, there are relatively clear patterns as to the types of adjuncts that are placed outside the clusters. In initial position, the vast majority of adjuncts are temporal, with roughly equal shares of time position and time relationship adjuncts. Example (6) is typical in this respect. Of space adjuncts, space position is the most common one in initial position in combinations. Furthermore, some contingency adjuncts, especially condition, may be initial in clauses that have adjuncts in other positions as well. Adjuncts in medial position combined with clusters in end position are typically time or focus adjuncts realised by adverbs, as shown in (9) and (10).

Combinations consisting of a cluster in initial or medial position and an adjunct in end position are rare, and there is no clear pattern as regards the clause-final adjunct. However, there is a slight tendency for the clause-final adjunct to be an obligatory space adjunct, as in (13), or an adjunct of manner, time or contingency that is picked up in the following context, as in (14), where *sitting at table* follows on from *one mealtime*.

- (13) *This week*, || *for the first time since the war began*, lorries loaded with international aid will set out *to the worst-hit regions*. <W2C-002>
- (14) But *sooner or later* || *there* she is *one mealtime*, sitting at table as large as life, just as though nothing's happened. <W2F-007>

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Example (11) above contains a cluster in medial position and an adjunct realised by a clause in end position. In this case the clause-final adjunct is only loosely connected to the matrix clause, functioning semantically almost as a co-ordinated clause, as was noted in [section 6.3](#) with some adverbial clauses in end position.

8.4 Combinations of initial and end position

8.4.1 Patterns in I+E combinations

During the discussion of adjuncts in initial and end position ([chapters 4 and 6](#)) it was shown that the two positions are associated with different syntactic and communicative functions. For this reason obligatory adjuncts and adjuncts with predication scope usually stay in end position, while optional, sentential adjuncts may be moved more freely without producing textually marked word order. Furthermore, initial position lends itself easily to discourse organisational work (cf. Ford 1993: 133), while end position is more closely associated with N-rheme (Fries 1994) and end focus.

- (15) *And now she was heading for Manchester and that executive des.res. with the untidy kitchen and immaculate study.* <W2F-003>

In (15), the second adjunct is obligatory and therefore hard to thematise. At the same time it is so long that the time adjunct is not easily accommodated in clause-final position to produce a 'standard' cluster with an obligatory space adjunct preceding an optional time adjunct (see [section 6.4](#)). However, the time adjunct is well suited for initial position, where it serves as a cohesive link and at the same time marks a slight change of temporal setting for the sentence in relation to the preceding context.

The semantic types that occur in initial position in combinations of initial and end position are most frequently temporal (time position and relationship) or conditional. Other semantic types that are sometimes thematised in combinations are space position, contingency concession and viewpoint. The following types occur infrequently in initial position in combinations: time duration, space direction, contingency cause, manner, respect and focus.

Compared to clusters in end position ([section 6.4](#)), there are few patterns to be detected in I+E combinations. However, the tendency of some semantic types to be thematic and for others to assume predication scope produces some recurrent combinations. The following occur more than five times in the core corpus (in descending order of frequency): time position + space position; time relationship + space direction; time position + space direction; space position + space direction. There is thus a tendency for the last adjunct to be one of direction, i.e. a predication adjunct that is usually

closely associated with the verb, as in (16). As illustrated by (17), the adjunct in end position need not be one of space; here a degree adjunct is in close association with the verb as part of the predicate.

- (16) *This time* they get it *out* but the referee Alain Chaconne says it wasn't straight <S2A-002>
 (17) *If so*, he must have loved her *very much*. <W2F-003>

Hasselgård (1996: 194) found that the structure of I+E combinations is governed chiefly by textual considerations, which could be subsumed under two main headings: cohesion and information structure (including thematisation). The material for the present study shows similar tendencies. In addition, I+E combinations should be viewed in the light of sentence balance, which may be a factor in choosing to divide the adverbial sequence between initial and end position.

8.4.2 Cohesion

By far the most common semantic types of adjunct in initial position in I+E combinations are time position and time relationship. Each of these is well over twice as frequent as conditional adjuncts, which constitute the third most frequent semantic type in initial position in I+E combinations. Especially, the high frequency of time relationship adjuncts suggests that cohesion is a particular concern in I+E combinations. Examples are given in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Again* Lewis has stepped up a gear *at the start of this round* <S2A-009>
 (19) For a moment his father looked as though he would leap across the room at him, but *then* he seemed to steady himself *with a huge effort of will*. <W2F-001>

In (18) the initial adjunct marks the relationship of this clause to the preceding context, i.e. that the action about to be recounted is a repetition of something that has happened earlier. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 719) categorise *again* as an adjunct of serial order, 'characteristically pick[ing] out one of a series of repeated events, indicating its temporal order relative to others in the series'. Other adjuncts of serial order are *first* and *for the second time*, but notably not the prototypical temporal connector *then*, although this adverb too may mark an action as one in a series. However, as shown in (19), in the case of *then* the series is one of different actions, not of identical or similar actions. *OED* defines *then* as a word that marks 'sequence in time, order, consequence, incidence, inference'. In the core corpus it is most often temporal, meaning 'at the moment immediately following the action, etc. just spoken of' (*OED*), or 'in the next place, next (in a series of any kind, or esp. in order of narration)' (*ibid.*). It may be noted that while temporal *then* is extremely common in the core corpus, inferential *then* is found only

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in connection with conditionals, as in (20), where it provides an explicit link between the matrix clause and the conditional clause.

- (20) But of course you see I mean if you say classical feature theory handles it *then* of course *then* you're back to all the old problems because I mean actually that's bad for ~~th~~ that in <,,> <S1A-005>
- (21) *On Wednesday* we went to Sitges – the most popular gay resort in Spain. <W1B-009>

Cohesion may also be signalled by time position adjuncts, especially in a narrative which is structured along a temporal axis. There is not always a clear difference between time relationship and time position adjuncts; as illustrated by (21), a time position adjunct may also mark a point in a series. The example is from a letter in which the writer recounts her activities during the days of the past week. The alternative position of the time adjunct – cluster-final end position – would be less apt in the context because it might give undue end focus to the temporal location and also because the adjunct is needed in initial position as a signpost that the narrative has moved to a new stage in the sequence of actions.

- (22) AN attempt to entice puffins back to Ailsa Craig is to be made next month, by poisoning the rat population which has destroyed the puffin colony over the past century. . . . But *in mid-March*, poison is to be placed *on the island* || *to rid the island of rats and encourage the puffins to return*. <W2C-015>

An initial time position adjunct can mark a new setting, thus relating the sentence to the previous discourse by means of contrast, as illustrated by (22). In this case, end position would have been an alternative (between the two adjuncts in the cluster), but it would have made the sentence less well-tailored to the context. Besides marking a contrast, the time adjunct acts as a buffer for the subject, which contains new information and might have seemed a bit abrupt in clause-initial position.

Although they are less frequent than time adjuncts in initial position, space adjuncts may also be thematised in order to mark cohesion, i.e. to mark a new or changed setting, as in (23), or to mark continuity by means of an anaphoric item (24) or comparative reference (25) (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 76). The initial placement of the space adjuncts in (23)–(25) makes clear not only their cohesive functions, but also the fact that they have sentential scope.

- (23) Beyond the valley the land unfolded in a breathtakingly spectacular fashion to the wide plains extending on either side of the Tamar river. *On the far horizon* the western heights of Dartmoor rose, an irregular mass, *from the plain*. <W2F-007>

- (24) Thus the upper classes in the East too were Romanized at least in sentiment; *here* the empire lasted *longest*, and the subjects of Byzantium were to call themselves Rhomaioi. <W2A-001>
- (25) Schumacher turned in his car seat to make out what was going on, and could scarcely comprehend what he saw. *Less than fifty feet away* a US military jeep was flying *through the air*, headed straight for him, with a demented Harry Benjamin as its pilot. <W2F-012>
- (26) *When it did so* it hit *with a force which tried to drive his whole body back through the chassis and scrambled his senses*. <W2F-012>
- (27) There are plans for the poison to be airlifted on to the island by helicopter, but *if that fails*, several boats will ferry the Warfarin *across*. <W2C-015>

Initial adverbial clauses may create cohesion through a mixture of cohesive ties and given information. In (26) the time position adjunct contains some given information, expressed by the anaphoric elements *it* and *so*, and thus marks a connection between the current sentence and the previous discourse. Similarly, the conditional clause in (27) contains given information that latches on to the previous discourse by means of the anaphoric demonstrative *that*, which takes the preceding infinitive clause as its antecedent.

8.4.3 Sentence balance and clarity

According to Doherty (2003), English word order is generally structured so as to achieve a balance of information distribution. According to this principle, adjuncts can be placed in initial position if there is 'sufficient relevant material at the right-hand side of the verb' (2003: 35). Thus, if a clause contains two adjuncts, one of them can be thematised if the other is placed in end position. The thematised adjunct should normally be 'topic-worthy' but not 'focus-worthy' (see Doherty 2003: 36f). A topic-worthy constituent is thus a suitable candidate for thematic prominence while a focus-worthy one represents the most important information in the message. Examples (23) and (25) above show how adjuncts that are not focus-worthy occupy initial (thematic) position, thus reserving end focus to the other adjunct.

The placement of an adjunct may furthermore disambiguate its syntactic and semantic status, i.e. clarify its clause membership, whether it is obligatory or optional, and whether its scope is sentential or predication. For instance, in (23) the space position adjunct might have been misread for predication in end position.

- (28) *In an effort to encourage more carers from minority communities*, the social work department and the Lothian Racial Equality Council held a seminar *yesterday* || *to explain the adoption and fostering process to volunteers*. <W2C-015>

Example (28) gives a good illustration of adverbial placement according to sentence balance and clarity. The initial adjunct conveys new, but backgrounded, information and is thus not focus-worthy. Moreover, end position is filled by two other adjuncts, of which the last one is realised by a clause. As the initial respect adjunct contains a clause, it would be difficult to fit it into the cluster in end position, where presumably it would have to be cluster-final on account of its sentential scope. Such a long cluster would be hard to interpret, and the respect adjunct might easily be misread as part of the infinitive clause realising the purpose adjunct.

8.4.4 Information structure and thematisation

The use of initial and end position in the same clause enables the speaker/writer to manipulate information structure in various ways, for example by using initial position for backgrounded elements and end position for foregrounded ones, so as to make the clause conform to the ‘basic distribution of CD’ (Horová 1976: 96), or by exploiting the possibility of giving focus simultaneously to both the thematic and the rhematic element in the clause. The use of initial position for adjuncts conveying given information was seen in examples (26) and (27) above.

- (29) *As unemployment rises and the hidden costs of owner-occupation become apparent*, tenants who have purchased under the rent-to-mortgage scheme may be *at a risk of losing their homes*; up to one in ten homeless families are in that position due to mortgage default. <W2C-015>

Example (29) illustrates a divided focus. The initial adjunct conveys new, but backgrounded, information. This adjunct sets up a framework for interpreting the message, i.e. it is made thematic because it provides a suitable starting point for the clause message (Halliday 2004: 64). The clause-final adjunct, on the other hand, marks the dramatic climax of the sentence and leads into the next clause.

- (30) But it’s ominous that <,> *with nearly ten minutes of the first half gone* the play’s all been *in the Irish half* <S2A-002>

Example (30) illustrates again the choice of initial position for an adjunct which is suitable as clause theme as it can provide a framework for interpreting the message, but which would be less appropriate as N-rheme (Fries 1994: 234). The example is from a radio commentary. For those who have listened to the whole match, all the information in (30) is probably known or inferable (see Prince 1981). However, as this is radio, the second adjunct may be less obvious than the first. Furthermore, at this point in the commentary a second speaker (visible in the extra-corpus material) picks up the thread from the clause-final adjunct and recounts one of the episodes – a penalty – that has taken place ‘within the Irish half’.

As noted in [section 4.4.7](#), adjuncts sometimes seem to be removed from end position into initial position so as to reserve end focus for another adjunct. This is the case in (31).

- (31) *In the summer months algae may form an extensive green covering on the surface of the filter.* <W2A-021>

There seems to be no particular reason why the first adjunct should be thematic. However, although it conveys new information, it is less important than the final adjunct, in a text entitled 'Trickling filters'. The next sentence is about the 'extensive green covering' and how this may impair ventilation through the filter. Thus, initial position for the time adjunct is a way of removing it from end focus and preventing it from interrupting the flow of information from the current sentence into the next.

8.5 Combinations of medial and end position

In combinations of medial and end position the medial adverbial must normally be syntactically and informationally light. If a longer and more complex adverbial occurs in mid-position, it will tend to be bracketed by means of commas or tone unit boundaries on both sides and usually needs to be balanced by enough material to its right. It was found in [chapter 5](#) (sections [5.1.1](#) and [5.1.5](#)) that there is a slight difference between M₁ and M₂ on the one hand and M₃ on the other as to the realisations and semantic types of adjunct they permit. These differences also show up in the way adjuncts in medial position combine with adjuncts in other positions.

- (32) Ian and I have *never* done things *because Daddy never encouraged us to do things* -<W1B-004>
 (33) Your knowledge, *whether you are aware of it or not*, could put a lot of my friends *at risk*. <W2F-012>

The M₁/M₂+E combinations are roughly of two types: the combinations in which one of the adjuncts selects medial position (32), and those in which one of the adjuncts is placed in medial position to remove it from thematic position or end focus (33). In the latter type, medial position is optional for the adjunct. Unlike initial and end position, medial position reduces the informational value of adjuncts because it does not imply any kind of focus. This is probably the reason why longer adjuncts in medial position must be intended and interpreted as parenthetical.

The majority of adjuncts in M₁ and M₂ position in M+E combinations are adjuncts of time (relationship, frequency and position) typically realised by adverbs. Other adjunct types occurring in M₁ and M₂ in combinations are adjuncts of focus, degree and manner (quality). Other types occur only sporadically, and then tend to be parenthetically inserted, as in (33) above. Some typical combinations are shown in (34)–(36). Quite often the adjunct

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in end position is a space adjunct (of direction or position), a contingency adjunct, or a participant adjunct. However, there is no clear pattern as regards the adjuncts in end position.

- (34) Are you *still* working in the English Dept.? <W₁B-009>
(35) You *even* have to pay extra if you want to have bread with your meal.
<W₁B-002>
(36) Freud has been *much* praised for his reading of this story. <W₂A-002>

There are two types of M₃+E combinations, depending on whether or not the main verb is lexical *be*. In cases of lexical *be*, M₃ represents the *not*-position, in which the criteria for adjunct placement are the same as for M₁ and M₂ position. Examples are given in (37) and (38).

- (37) So it's *still* no score *here* <S₂A-002>
(38) They're *already* || *over the line*, surrounded by border guards! <W₂F-012>

The sequence in (38) is similar to a cluster, but is defined as a combination because the space adjunct is obligatory, so that the position of the element preceding it is technically M₃. With M+E combinations such as the one shown in (38), the choice of adverbial sequence is virtually non-existent, i.e. the sequence consists of a typical mid-position adverbial in combination with one that favours end position for reasons of syntax or semantics.

When M₃ does not represent the *not*-position (i.e. with verbs other than *be*), it is considerations of weight and information structure that determine the reversal of the more usual order of obligatory and optional adjuncts. Adjuncts which are optionally placed in M₃ position are invariably non-focal. However, they may serve to set the following obligatory element off from the rest of the clause so as to make it a marked rheme, as shown in (39). In this case the word order has been determined by the syntactic weight and the newsworthiness of the direct object as compared to the adjunct in M₃. Moreover, the issue of time is important in the ensuing discourse; thus the time position adjunct is aptly placed in end position.

- (39) THE Prime Minister was last night facing two crucial decisions as the shock result of the Ribble Valley by-election brought *to an end* his honeymoon period as Mrs Thatcher's successor *after only 100 days in office*. <W₂C-018>

8.6 Combinations of initial and medial position

Some combinations do not involve end position. Presumably the motivations for the choice of positions other than end are the same in combinations as with adjuncts generally. It is, however, interesting to look at the elements that occur postverbally in clauses with I+M or M+M combinations; the

Table 8.1 *Clause-final constituents in clauses with an I+M combination*

	I+M ₁	I+M ₂	I+M ₃	TOTAL
Direct object	5	1	4	10
Subject predicative	—	1	3	4
Notional subject	—	—	2	2
(Auxiliary +) main verb	1	2	—	3
TOTAL	6	4	9	19

postverbal element in such combinations is likely to receive a lot of focus, since both adjuncts in the combination may be seen as moved out of their basic position.

Table 8.1 gives a survey of the clause-final constituents in I+M combinations. The numbers are of course so low that the results may be accidental. However, there seems to be a preponderance of direct objects as the clause-final constituent, most often one that is realised by or contains a clause. The combination of I + M₃ is the most frequent one in the material, and also the one that seems to be most clearly the result of a positional shift between an adjunct and a weighty object or predicative.

In example (40) a conditional adjunct occurs in initial position and a frequency adjunct in M₁. The object is realised by a complex noun phrase. The conditional adjunct expresses an open condition, and as such favours initial position (see section 4.5), while the frequency adjunct favours the *not*-position. The effect is that end focus falls on the object. In (41), on the other hand, there is no weighty last constituent; only a verb – and a pro-form at that. With the frequency adjunct in M₁ position, strong prosodic focus falls on the clause-final verb.

- (40) Consequently, *providing that the filter is not subjected to a high loading*, the lower reaches *often* harbour a large population of autotrophic nitrifying bacteria. <W2A-021>
- (41) ~~He does invari~~ *if I remember Boswell's London Journal* he almost *invariably* does <S1A-020>
- (42) *In some areas*, it states, as many as one third of homes have *already* been sold. <W2C-015>

Combinations of initial and M₂ position tend to resemble the pattern shown in (42): the clause-final constituent is not syntactically weighty, but is rendered prosodically weighty on account of its position.

- (43) And as *if to emphasise the point right at the end of the round* <,> fires home two more <S2A-009>
- (44) *In this attempt to find an artistic confirmation and hence consecration of his science*, Freud avoids *as far as possible* the erotic overtones of the recumbent Gradiva, the half-dressed Hanold, Venus's creaky bed-springs, and so on. <W2A-002>

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Examples (43) and (44) show combinations of initial and M₃ position, in which the final direct object is set off as a marked rheme by the adjunct in M₃ (see Taglicht 1984: 23). In example (43) this may be because of the close association between the verb and a direction adjunct, while in (44) it is clearly also related to the syntactic weight of the object. As shown by example (45), the adverbial in M₃ position can also set off an extraposed subject. The marked pause is almost imperceptible, and the prosodic accent is with the subject, not the adjunct.

- (45) *At three and six a time* it was quite easy <,> *in those days* to do so you know <S1A-013>
(46) *In Paris* it's still || *in the second half there* fourteen points to three <S2A-002>

Example (46) combines a cluster in medial position with an adjunct in initial position. The initial adjunct marks a complete change of setting from the previous discourse and is thus needed as a marked theme. The time relationship adjunct *still* favours the *not*-position, but the time position adjunct might fit snugly into end position. However, while the time adjunct is presumably given information for the listeners, the clause-final predicative is more newsworthy. It is separated from the adverbial cluster by means of a tone unit boundary and is thereby suspended and given marked focus.

8.7 Combinations of variants of medial position

As shown in figure 8.1, a combination may consist of different variants of medial position. There are only three examples of this in the core corpus, but they are interesting in that they are in many ways unlikely – filling two of the positions that are most restricted for most adjuncts while leaving initial and end position to nominal constituents.

- (47) But citizenship *no longer* carried *with it* equal rights under the law; <W2A-001>
(48) Patience *suddenly* realised *from the expressions of the others* that she would have to explain further. <W2F-007>
(49) I was *just* going to say *about my friend* I share this sort of sentimentality with books <S1A-013>

Examples (47)–(49) all have objects which are long and/or syntactically complex. In (47) the second adjunct is closely tied to the verb phrase and is less newsworthy than the object. The adjunct occurring in M₁ position is negative and would have caused inversion if it had been placed in initial position. Such a marked structure is normally used only for good reason; here there is good reason to make the subject thematic. Both examples (48) and (49) have embedded clauses as objects, which causes a reversal of the normal order of object and adjunct (see section 5.2.3). The first adjunct in

(48) denotes time relationship and could have been placed in initial position. However, it is inconspicuous in medial position where it receives less focus than it would have as clause theme in initial position. In (49), the first adjunct is of a type that most typically occurs in medial position, and for which initial position is not an alternative.

A search in the whole ICE-GB for M+M combinations gave a small handful of extra material, barely enough to confirm that one of the two adjuncts tends to be one that prefers medial position while the other may be shifted to M₃ in deference to a weightier or more focus-worthy object, and possibly also, as in (50), to give the speaker some time to think.

(50) you've *still* got *here* the uh reference to mythology <S2A-057>

8.8 Combinations of more than two positions

A small number of clauses contain adjuncts in three different positions. Not unexpectedly, their structure can be understood against the background of the preceding discussion. Combinations of initial, medial and end position are shown in (51)–(53).

- (51) there certainly is not room for you and Simon – unfortunately and all I can say is *much as I would love to see you* || *if it were me* I would rather spend the money *on something else* || *given what a cramped flat we have*. <W1B-009>
- (52) He said in Bristol: “It has been urgent ever since we did it, but *if you set up a review* you do not *immediately* announce its conclusions *despite everyone asking you to do so*.” <W2C-018>
- (53) Beyond him in the sky was Clamp floating like a cloud, his legs spread and his face calm and serene as if in death, but *before he could call him*, the ship bucketed *again* || *into the deep ocean* and there were sharks battering at the wreck to reach him – white sharks, their smooth heads ramming forward and their sudden jaws gaping. <W2F-001>

In such combinations the initial adverbial typically has a wider scope than the one in end position and provides a setting or a background for the rest of the sentence. In (51), the first adjunct in initial position is speech-act-related and the second marks a hypothetical condition that frames the rest of the utterance. The medial degree adjunct is short and carries little communicative dynamism. The first adjunct in end position belongs to the predicate, while the scope of the final one includes the matrix clause, though probably not the initial cluster of adjuncts.

Example (52) has a combination of initial, M₂ and end position. The adjuncts in both initial and end position are realised by clauses. These would not fit easily into the same cluster; nor are they typical candidates for medial position. The time adjunct in M₂, however, is of the type that commonly

occurs in medial position, being realised by an adverb and denoting time relationship. Example (53) shows a combination of initial, M₃ and end position and may serve as an illustration of its type. Since the last adjunct is obligatory, the position of *again* is defined as M₃ (see sections 3.4 and 6.4.2). The initial adjunct marks a temporal setting which thematises time – or the lack thereof – and thus serves to heighten the drama of this passage.

Example (54) combines two medial positions (M₂ and M₃) with end position. The adjunct in M₂ prefers medial placement, while the following space adjunct must have ended up in M₃ position because of the weighty object that follows it. Interestingly, the space adjunct is reinforced by the synonymous prepositional phrase that appears in end position almost as an afterthought, possibly because the first one did not give enough information, or simply because the speaker – a sports commentator – realises that there is time to be more specific.

- (54) and you can *almost* see *there* the fairing at the top of Colotti's bicycle
just underneath the seat tube there <S2A-016>

8.9 Order of semantic types of adjunct in combinations

In connection with clusters of adjuncts, especially in end position (section 6.4.4) it was found that some semantic categories tend to appear in a certain order. This was especially true of space and time adjuncts, which almost always have the order space^time. Space adjuncts tend to occur in a position close to the verb, while time adjuncts are commonly cluster-final unless the other adjunct in the cluster is realised by a clause. It is thus interesting that combinations of space and time adjuncts usually end up with the reverse order, time^space, because time adjuncts are mobile in the clause and can easily appear in initial and medial position, as illustrated by example (55).

- (55) *When she released her seat-belt* her dress clung *wetly* || *to the small of her back* and her thighs burned from contact with the seat. <W2F-003>

The time^space order is also predominant in M+E combinations containing both types of adjuncts, as many time adjuncts can be placed in medial position, while space adjuncts only rarely occur there. By and large, the structure of combinations is determined by the 'transportability range' (Enkvist 1976: 52) of its components. We have seen that adverbial clauses, especially of time and contingency, easily occur in initial position, which is also a pattern in combinations. In clusters in end position, contingency adjuncts tend to follow most other categories (section 6.4.4). However, the combination in (56) has the order contingency^manner; the reverse of the more common pattern in clusters in end position.

- (56) *Unless something's done about her* she'll end up *like her mother*. <W2F-007>

Thus, apart from the general reasons for thematising adjuncts and thus producing a combination, the choice of a combination with a thematised time or contingency adjunct may also be a way of achieving the desired order of semantic subcategories in a sequence with (relatively) unmarked word order.

8.10 Combinations: summary and concluding remarks

An interesting feature of combinations is the way in which they act as manifestations of different word order principles operating on a clause. From the preceding analysis it appears that the adverbial positions in the clause are associated with different syntactic and communicative functions. Thus, the characteristics of the positions can be summarised as follows:

Initial: thematic, potentially focal; cohesion; given information; new/changed setting; background; framework for interpretation of message.

Medial: *not*-position, realisation as adverb; non-focal; parenthetical; partition. M₃: inversion with following object/complement/adjunct because of weight/clarity.

End: obligatory/predicational adjuncts; foreground; focal (N-rheme); long/complex adjuncts; neutral/default position.

Evidently, no adjunct has all the qualities associated with a certain position at the same time. Still, using the above list it ought to be possible to predict the placement of most adjuncts. The cluster is by far the most frequent type of adverbial sequence. However, if the adverbials in the sequence are intended to serve different functions in the clause, a combination may be more serviceable in making the sentence fit into its context.

Part III

Semantic types of adverbials: subtypes, frequencies and usage

9.1 Introduction

Reference to space and time seem very basic to the process of relating things and situations to each other; according to Chafe ‘consciousness is unable to function without such an orientation’ so ‘it is typical for a speaker to begin representing a remembered topic with mention of space [and] time’ (1994: 202). The concepts of space and time are obviously related, not just in the concept of ‘setting’, but also on a logical level; what exists in space also exists in time (see Givón 1979: 314).

Space and time adjuncts are by far the most frequently occurring adjunct types. The present chapter discusses semantic features of space and time adjuncts more thoroughly than [chapter 2](#), and also looks into the occurrence of different types of space and time adjuncts in relation to process type and text type. The adjuncts are further discussed in terms of discourse functions beyond complementing a verb or modifying a clause, i.e. expressing interpersonal and textual meanings in addition to their basic function of expressing the experiential meanings of space and time.

9.2 Space adjuncts

9.2.1 Introduction

Space adjuncts constitute the most frequent type of adjunct in the material for the present study as well as for other quantitative studies of adverbials (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985, Biber *et al.* 1999, Tottie 1984, Matthiessen 1999). For reasons of frequency alone it might thus be natural to discuss space adverbials before the other types. Moreover, there is a certain ‘basicness’ about space adverbials. Many of the prepositions whose concrete meaning is spatial (e.g. *at*, *from*, *in*, *on*, *over*, *to*) are also used to express temporal meanings as well as a range of (other) abstract meanings. For example, in the *OED* entries for the prepositions *at* and *over*, the spatial meaning is said

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to be primary.¹ For other spatial/temporal prepositions, the spatial uses are generally listed before the temporal ones, though without claiming primacy of one or the other sense. The readiness of spatial expressions to take on non-literal meanings (see section 9.2.6) also indicates that the expression of spatial relations can be regarded as basic among circumstantial relations.

9.2.2 More on subtypes of space adjuncts

The types of spatial relations that are conveyed by space adjuncts were briefly noted in section 2.4.1. Three categories were established: position, direction and distance. Position and direction adjuncts are very frequent, with over 800 occurrences each, while distance adjuncts are rare in the core corpus. See further, sections 9.2.3 and 9.2.4.

Space position adjuncts refer to a spatial setting or location for the process (situation or event) and one or more of the participants in the process. A position adjunct can denote the location of the process and all its participants, as in (1). Alternatively, the position adjunct can denote the location of only one of the participants, as in (2), where *at home* indicates the location of the lemon only. Quirk *et al.* refer to these different scopes of adverbials as subject-related and object-related, respectively (1985: 512f). The scope of position adjuncts can thus be viewed as more fine-grained than the distinction between predicational and sentential (section 3.3).

- (1) And I I read them to her uh uh *at home* you know at bedtime <S1A-013>
(2) I've got a lemon *at home* <S1A-005>

Space position adjuncts can easily extend their meanings into other domains and thus be more or less metaphorical. A non-circumstantial use of *at home* was discussed in section 2.1.2. Circumstantial but non-spatial meanings will be discussed below, section 9.2.6.

Space direction adjuncts differ from position adjuncts in that they are associated with motion rather than rest; see Halliday's category of location in space:motion (2004: 266). They characteristically co-occur with verbs that indicate movement in space, such as *go*, *come*, *travel*, or *move*. In section 2.4.1 it was established that direction adjuncts can be divided into goal, source and path, as illustrated by examples (3)–(5), respectively.

- (3) I'll try to persuade her to come *here to Sharptor* to live. <W2F-007>
(4) He turned *away from Roddy* and pressed his hands over his ears. <W2F-002>

¹ '*At* is used to denote relations of so many kinds, and some of these so remote *from its primary local sense* [...]. The entry for *over* says that the sense 'during, all through' is *transferred from space* in its modern use. (*OED*, 2nd edn, accessed at <http://dictionary.oed.com/>, italics added).

- (5) It really was a simple goal in the end as it just <, > rolled *across the England line* to give the Soviet Union the lead after just nine minutes... <S2A-001>

In many cases, direction adjuncts are similar to culmination locatives (cf. section 3.2 and Nilsen 2000: 115), in that they are closely associated with the verbal process. For instance in (3), the direction of the movement is an essential feature of the unfolding of the process, and moreover, the adjunct indicates that the process is completed. This is less clear in (4): even if the adjunct denotes an important feature of the process, it does not specifically indicate the completion of it. A path adjunct may or may not mark culmination, depending on whether the adjunct makes the process telic. Example (5) shows a telic process with the adjunct as a culmination of it.

Direction adjuncts are usually part of the predicate, but may also take a wider scope, in which case they give a perspective on the process and its associated participants, as in (6).

- (6) He could see gaps in the timbers that should have protected him and *through them* the sea appeared like a monster's icy rolling green eye. <W2F-001>
- (7) Mr Major was trying to slide *away from his responsibility* and Mr Hattersley said: "I offer him this piece of simple advice – <W2C-018>

Finally, direction adjuncts can occur, though not as frequently as position adjuncts, with non-literal meanings, as illustrated by (7). It is notable, however, that in this and similar cases the verb as well as the adjunct needs to be interpreted metaphorically.

Space distance adjuncts refer to spatial extent (Halliday 2004: 264). A high proportion of distance adjuncts are realised by noun phrases, as in (8) and (9). Although there are few distance adjuncts in the core corpus, the tendencies are corroborated by findings in the rest of the ICE-GB: noun phrases are by far the most common realisation of distance adjuncts (44 out of 52 adjuncts), with low numbers of adverb and prepositional phrase realisations.²

- (8) Can you climb two or three flights of stairs, reasonably fast and taking the steps two at a time, and not end up breathless? Could you walk *two miles* in thirty minutes or run *a mile* in ten or twelve minutes? (BNC: ADo 931–932)
- (9) and he was second this year in the Paris Dubai stage race uh Paris Dubai Classic rather breaking away to chase Marc name *all the way home to the finish in Dubai* <S2A-016>
- (10) He knows he's just got to hang on *for another kilometre* <S2A-016>

² The entire ICE-GB was searched for instances of the word *way* and phrases containing 'units of measurement', such as *metre(s)*, *kilometre(s)*, *yard(s)*, or *mile(s)*. The BNC was also consulted.

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When realised by a noun phrase, distance adjuncts are syntactically similar to objects. Halliday (2004: 264) notes that ‘there is no very sharp line separating (circumstantial) expressions of Extent from (participant) expressions of Scope . . . ;³ but there is a distinction between them: Extent is expressed in terms of some unit of measurement, like yards, laps, rounds, years, whereas Scope is expressed in terms other than measure units’. According to these criteria, the italicised phrases in both (8) and (10) are distance adjuncts, while *two or three flights of stairs* in (8) is not. Arguably, distance need not be expressed in concrete units of measurements: see example (9). The defining feature must rather be an inherent possibility of measuring up the distance.

Spatial and temporal extent are expressed in similar ways and they are also pragmatically related: extent in space often implies extent in time. As a consequence, distance adjuncts may be hard to distinguish from duration adjuncts. For example, it would be possible to replace the space adjunct in (10) by a temporal one, thus changing the focus from the distance that is left to the time it takes to cover it; cp. *He knows he’s just got to hang on for another two minutes*.

A sequence of direction adjuncts denoting source and goal may be pragmatically equivalent to a distance adjunct; see example (11), in which a source^goal cluster is elaborated by means of reference to the distance. The sentence could thus be paraphrased with a distance adjunct as in (11a).

- (11) Yet he went to the office every day still, walking *from Hampstead and then Somers Town* || *to the Strand* (the distance from Hampstead being something like five miles). <W2B-006>

(11a) . . . walking (*for*) *something like five miles*.

9.2.3 Distribution of space adjuncts across process types

Like subtypes of space adjuncts, process types of verbs (Halliday 2004: 259f) are distinguished chiefly on the basis of meaning. It is thus natural that the types of space adjuncts should be distributed unevenly across process types, as shown in table 9.1. The table shows that material process verbs are most frequent by far in clauses with space adjuncts, particularly in those with direction and distance adjuncts. Distance adjuncts are found exclusively in clauses with material process verbs. The strong association of direction and distance adjuncts with material processes should not be surprising because these adjuncts presuppose movement in space. In example (12) the verb *stagger* is followed by both a distance and a direction adjunct.

- (12) He staggered *150 yards* || *into a police sergeant’s arms* saying: ‘I’ve been stabbed.’ <W2C-020>

³ Scope is a participant that is not affected (thus distinguishing it from the Goal of a material process), and which may be adverbial-like, as in *Mary crossed the street*; see Halliday (2004: 190).

Table 9.1 *Space adverbials distributed across process types*

	Position		Direction		Distance		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	453	53.3	779	94.8	12	100	1244	73.9
Relational	280	32.9	11	1.3	0	0	291	17.3
Mental	34	4.0	18	2.2	0	0	52	3.1
Verbal	21	2.5	5	0.6	0	0	26	1.5
Behavioural	10	1.2	6	0.7	0	0	16	1.0
Existential	52	6.1	2	0.2	0	0	54	3.2
TOTAL	850	100	821	99.9	12	100	1683	100

(13) Schumacher peered *through the window* and saw two of them gesticulating in their direction. <W2F-012>

(14) You'll not talk your way *out of this one*. <W2F-001>

Direction adjuncts sometimes co-occur with mental and verbal processes, as in (13) and (14). Interestingly, the co-ordinated clause in (13) contains the mental verb *see*, which is complemented by a phenomenon and is more stative than *peer*. It may be argued that verbs such as *peer* and *look* denote behavioural rather than mental processes (Halliday 2004: 248) when they are not followed by a phenomenon. In (14), the adjunct occurs in a verbal process and is part of a metaphorical expression meaning 'get out of a difficult situation by talking'. Thus in (14), *talk* does not have its basic meaning of ('produce language') but one where the talking has an instrumental role, so that the process itself borders on material.

(15) There are buses *from Cambridge to Haverhill* and I presume there are from Audley End Station too. <W1B-004>

The two cases of direction adjuncts with existential processes both occur in the same sentence, (15). Direction adjuncts in existential clauses can presumably occur only when the notional subject refers to something that moves.⁴ It may, however, be argued that the spatial expressions are postmodifiers, or that they represent adjuncts in an elliptical postmodifying clause ('buses that run from Cambridge to Haverhill').

Compared to distance and direction adjuncts, position adjuncts are more evenly distributed across the process types. Material processes are most frequent with position adjuncts too, but there are also a good number of relational verbs, as in (16)–(18). In (16) the adjunct is obligatory in a circumstantial relational process. In the intensive process in (17), the adjunct refers to the place where the proposition is claimed to be valid. Position adjuncts

⁴ A similar example was found in the BNC: ... *as there is nowadays only a summer ferry to the island from Glenelg*. (G1Y 986)

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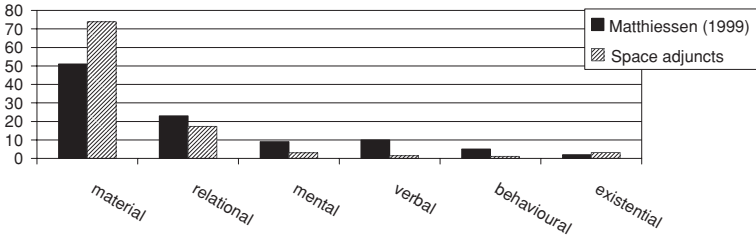


Figure 9.1 The distribution of process types in a general corpus and in clauses containing space adjuncts.

are also common with possessive relational processes, as in (18), specifying the location in which somebody has something.

- (16) I thought I was *in hell*,’ Anne said. <W2F-002>
 (17) He’s an important man *in that part of the world*. <W2F-007>
 (18) I’ve got her phone number *right here* <S1A-020>

The co-occurrence of space adjuncts with existential processes is fairly common.⁵ As shown in table 9.1, the space adjuncts in existentials are almost exclusively position adjuncts, as in (19), referring to the place where something exists. With other process types, the position adjuncts generally give the setting for the process and/or at least one of its participants, as in (20) with a mental process and (21) with a verbal process.

- (19) It seems strange that there is an ice-rink *in the middle of such a hot, dusty city*. <W1B-009>
 (20) And one rider in this breakaway which I’m very very surprised to see *here* <,> is Jean François Bernard <S2A-016>
 (21) That’s more than most can say, *hereabouts*. <W2F-007>

Material processes are overrepresented in clauses with space adjuncts, as becomes clear when the distribution of process types in these clauses (table 9.1) is compared to a more general distribution of process types. Figure 9.1 shows the percentage of process types distributed over a small mixed-genre corpus (Matthiessen 1999: 16), compared to the percentage of each process type in the clauses containing space adjuncts in the present material (see table 9.1). As figure 9.1 shows, material processes are markedly more frequent in clauses containing space adjuncts than they are in Matthiessen’s mixed-genre corpus (see Matthiessen 1999: 21f and 2006: 122ff). All other process types except existential are underrepresented. This should not be

⁵ Ebeling (2000: 59) finds that the locative element is absent from the construction in approximately two-thirds of the cases and thus not a necessary part of the existential *there* construction. Evidently, existentials without an adjunct have not been included in the material for the present study.

Table 9.2 *Space adjuncts and text type*

	Position		Direction		Distance		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	144	58.5	99	40.2	3	1.2	246	100
Fiction	197	46.1	228	53.4	2	0.5	427	100
News	112	64.0	62	35.4	1	0.6	175	100
Academic	90	72.0	35	28.0	0	0	125	100
Commentary	194	37.7	314	61.1	6	1.2	514	100
Conversation	113	57.7	83	42.3	0	0	196	100
	850	50.5	821	48.8	12	0.7	1683	100

surprising in view of the meanings carried by the different process types: it is more relevant to locate concrete actions (material) than states (relational) and abstract processes (mental and verbal). Space adjuncts are thus attracted to material and existential processes and are less frequent with processes with more abstract meanings.

9.2.4 *Distribution of space adjuncts across text types*

Table 9.2 shows how the three types of space adjuncts are distributed across the text types in the material. Since all the text types are represented by the same number of words, the raw frequencies as well as the percentages can be compared directly. As shown in table 9.2, the text types differ as regards the overall frequency of space adjuncts as well as the types of space adjuncts that occur in them. In most of the text types, position adjuncts are the most frequent type, while distance adjuncts are least frequent in all the text types. Academic writing contains the lowest number of space adjuncts overall, while the highest number is found in sports commentaries, followed by fiction. The tendency for distance adjuncts to be most common in commentary was confirmed by an examination of such adjuncts in the entire ICE-GB.

Direction adjuncts outnumber position adjuncts in the fictional texts and in the sports commentaries. The frequency of direction adjuncts is particularly conspicuous in the latter text type. This has to do with the content of the texts: sports commentaries are typically about movement in space. The passage in (22), where the direction adjuncts have been italicised, illustrates the point. The direction adjuncts all refer to the movement of the ball in a rugby match. Otherwise they may refer to the movements of the players.

- (22) England win this # But again it's bouncing *around* untidily # But they get it *out to* <, > Andrew # Andrew sends a pass a long pass and Guscott can't get his hands on it <, > # And it'll be a line-out to England cos it went *directly into touch* # But that with a wet ball on

a slippery day <,> wasn't the sort of pass to be rocketing *out* although England did have an overlap #

So Moore to throw *in* on his own ten metre line near-side of the field the English right # And this time first <,> touch is won by Ireland and they have much more control # They're playing a sweep but it tidies it up *out to Smith* <,> # Smith hoists it high *up* <,> *towards the English twenty-two* # Ackford is back # Dooley actually gets his hand on it <,> # And England win this # Hill scoops it *up to Andrew* # And right-footed Andrew sends again a superb kick under pressure <,> *downfield* and takes play *back to the English ten metre line near-side of the field* <,> <S2A-002>

The high frequency of space adjuncts in the fiction genre must also be related to content: the texts included in the core corpus seem to come mainly from popular fiction and are relatively action-oriented. Like the sports commentary described above, the passage given in (23) contains a lot of action and movement. Spatial circumstances need to be specified quite frequently, partly because the participants move around and the setting changes and partly because different things go on simultaneously in different places. Thus, (23) contains a good number of direction (underlined) as well as position adjuncts (italicised).

- (23) The jeep was *less than thirty feet away*, with the driver standing up *behind the wheel* to get a better view of the border post. Harry hurled himself *at the soldier*, knocking him *off his feet and right out of the vehicle*, leaving Harry as the sole occupant and *in the driving seat*. He was *only yards from the other guards* but he had the advantage of surprise. By the time they had heard the driver's shout of alarm and comprehended what was going on, Harry already had the jeep started and in gear. He released the handbrake and clutch together, and the squeal of tortured rubber drowned their shouts of protest as the tyres spun *on the ground* before gaining grip and propelling the vehicle *forward*. As the others rushed *towards him* one of the guards unholstered his gun and waved it *in his direction*, but couldn't get a clear line of fire. Harry found himself *hurtling towards the checkpoint*. The last thing he saw before he passed the first barrier was the look of astonishment on Miss Pickerstaff's face as she turned to see him *at the wheel of the jeep bearing directly down on her*. He passed *within inches*, and *above the roar of the highly revved engine* he could just make out her high-pitched squeak: "Shoot him! Shoot him!" <W2F-012>

Academic writing contains the lowest number of space adjuncts overall and also shows the least variation in terms of types of space adjunct. There are no distance adjuncts, and position adjuncts prevail with 72% of the occurrences. Of the few direction adjuncts that occur, many have abstract

meaning, as in (24), though some are concrete, as in (25). The latter type occurs in accounts of scientific processes and procedures, as in (25), or in narrative sections of the history and literature texts.

- (24) Those who enter *into a life of total commitment* are likely to be in their twenties; <W2A-012>
- (25) Consequently, microorganisms which are capable of rapid settlement in the sedimentation tank will be recirculated *back to the aerator*, allowing further division. <W2A-021>

Biber (1988: 102) includes time and space adverbials as factors of his 'Dimension 3, Explicit versus Situation-Dependent Reference'. The presence of time and space adverbials is interpreted as evidence of 'situation-dependence'. In Biber's investigation broadcasts come out as highly situation-dependent. Fiction and face-to-face conversation, with the same scores along Factor 3, are also shown to be situation-dependent, though to a lesser degree than broadcasts (1988: 143), while press reportage appears as rather neutral between explicit and situation-dependent. On the other hand, 'genres such as official documents, professional letters and academic prose require highly explicit, text-internal reference' (1988: 142), thus not containing 'extensive reference to the physical and temporal situation of discourse' (1988: 144).

9.2.5 *Locative inversion*

Although English is basically an SVO language with no verb-second constraint (unlike all other Germanic languages), an initial space adverbial may cause inversion of subject and verb, as shown in examples (26) and (27). This phenomenon is often referred to as locative inversion (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999: 954).

- (26) *Nearby* was the pumping-engine he had also built and installed.
<W2F-007>
- (27) And then *behind these* comes Zimbak <S2A-006>

The AVS word order is non-canonical, the construction being characterised by a preposed adjunct as well as a postposed subject. Presumably, the motivation for choosing the AVS pattern can be related to either of these phenomena. For example, in both (26) and (27) above, the initial adjuncts depend on the preceding context for their interpretation and thus function as cohesive ties.

There are 27 examples of locative inversion in the core corpus. In all cases the verb is either *be* or *come* – thus a verb of existence or appearance on the scene; see Horová (1976: 110). According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1389), the verb in a locative inversion construction should 'represent information that is evoked or inferable in the context of the preceding discourse or the inversion itself'. A verb such as *come* or *go* may be said to be inferable from an initial direction adjunct, as in (28).

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- (28) And *in* comes Geoff Thomas <S2A-001>
- (29) *On the outside* is Northern Howe <S2A-006>
- (30) Anyway, *here's* a reply to your recent letter. <W1B-015>

The initial adjunct in a locative inversion construction typically conveys given information, as shown in (26) and (27) above. In (28)–(30), the initial adjunct is given in the situational context rather than in the previous discourse. The initial adverbials in (28) and (29) refer to parts of the sports arena, which the listener must be assumed to have in his consciousness. *Here* in (30) refers to a text-external 'here-and-now'.

Incidentally, Green (1980: 583) dismisses the adequacy of the principle of old information first as a general explanation for inversion. Instead she argues that the motivation for using inversion varies across genres. She notes (1980: 584) the striking use of locative inversion by sports commentators, including the observation that individual commentators may favour one or two constructions with inversion, e.g. *Here is...* or *In comes...* These constructions are amply represented in the ICE-GB, for example, (28). In all cases the locative inversion construction steers the focus to the postponed subject. This may well be the main motivation for the locative inversion construction, but the fact remains that the initial locative tends to convey information that is linked to the preceding context (cf. Kreyer 2007: 195)

Among the conditions for subject–verb inversion after a locative phrase is that the postponed subject should be realised by a full noun phrase (i.e. not a pronoun) and that the verb phrase should be simple (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1381). All the examples of locative inversion in the core corpus follow these conventions. However, in the whole ICE-GB there were some examples (8 out of 141) which had a complex verb phrase, but there were none with a pronominal subject: see examples (31) to (33).

- (31) At the wheel for these last thirty laps or so *will be* Joe Bloggs Britain's favourite racing driver of course <S2A-012>
- (32) and on her right *is standing* the Lord Mayor of London <S2A-019>
- (33) Among the targets of these attacks *have been* the existing layout and buildings of Paternoster Square (adjacent to St Paul's Cathedral) and proposed designs for the redevelopment of the site. <W2A-005>

A more common way of accommodating a complex verb phrase in an inverted clause structure is to have a participle in postmodifier position within the subject, as in (34).

- (34) And there is the big field *rolling into town* <S2A-016>

The examples of locative inversion in the core corpus do not suggest that locative inversion is used for postponing lengthy subjects. The subject is longer than the adjunct in approximately the same number of cases as vice

versa. Furthermore, when the subject is longer than the adjunct, the difference is most often small: one to three words. Although inversions of the type shown in examples (31)–(33) seem to depend on a heavy subject NP, the more common type in the corpus has a short and given (or inferable) space adjunct and the name of a participant as subject, as in examples (27)–(29).⁶

9.2.6 Metaphorical uses of space adjuncts

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 689) note that ‘there are conceptual and linguistic similarities between the domain of space and various other domains, such as time’. The linguistic similarity pertains particularly to adjuncts realised by prepositional phrases, where the same prepositions are used for both meanings. The other semantic categories do not have the same degree of semantic versatility as spatial expressions. According to Halliday (1994: 153) ‘there is a well-developed notion of abstract space, as seen in expressions such as *condemned them to poverty*, *saved them from extinction*, *my own views would be somewhere in between*, which is not paralleled in the Time function’. Givón (1979: 316) also notes that ‘the hierarchic, implicational relation of our concepts of space, time, and being involve diachronic change, most specifically the process of *semantic bleaching* via which spatial concepts develop into temporal concepts but never vice versa’ (original emphasis). More than any other semantic category of adjuncts, space adjuncts lend themselves to metaphorical meaning extensions. This appears to be universal, according to Tyler and Evans (2003: 27): ‘In language after language, spatio-relational morphemes are regularly exploited to describe non-spatial relations and domains. . . . Their use and ubiquity are testimony to the far-reaching influence of the human experience of spatio-relational configurations on more complex conceptualization.’

The occasional overlap between temporal and spatial reference was discussed in section 2.4.9. Examples (35) and (36) illustrate spatial expressions conveying temporal meanings.

- (35) not that I managed to read one that often *in London*! <W1B-002>
 (36) You called on the man <,> and as it were exchange as many words as you could *on the way to the study door* <S1A-020>

The italicised adjuncts may be understood as small clauses (Aarts 2001: 56), conveying separate predications. For instance, *in London* can be understood as shorthand for *when I was in London*. In (36) it would be possible to use the conjunction *while* to introduce the adjunct. However, whether the adjuncts

⁶ Biber *et al.* (1999: 914) state that ‘inversion is most typically found with long and/or indefinite noun phrases in subject position’, and Kreyer (2007: 194) finds that the postverbal element in an inverted construction is on average much longer than the preverbal one. The findings of the present study may be skewed by the frequency of inversion in sports commentaries, a genre that is not included in either of the two above-mentioned studies.

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in (35) and (36) are understood as small clauses or not, the fact remains that people have no trouble understanding time expressed as space (or vice versa, as in *a two hours' drive from Vienna* (see Quirk 1986: 58).

The present study introduced a category of situation adjuncts (section 2.4.8), to cover an area where spatial and temporal meanings blend into each other. Situation adjuncts are indistinguishable in form from space adjuncts, as shown in (37). Likewise, many respect adjuncts are derived from space adjuncts, as exemplified by (38). See further, section 11.3.

- (37) So, *in many situations, and not only in manufacturing*, the use of new, potentially more flexible technologies makes economic, strategic and technical sense. <W2A-011>
- (38) The Italian peoples were bound to fight in Rome's wars at their own charge, but they paid no tribute, and retained self-government *in their local affairs*. <W2A-001>

The core corpus also contains examples of spatial expressions with manner meanings, as shown in (39). Although the adjunct refers to the place where the speech sound was emitted, the point of the phrase is to indicate the manner of speaking.

- (39) 'Your bird has flown,' she muttered *between gritted teeth*. <W2F-012>
- (40) Steve checks *over his uh shoulder* to see if there are any dangers <S2A-006>
- (41) They're working *close* again <S2A-009>

The adjunct in (40) refers simultaneously to *where* the subject referent looked and *how* the checking was done. A similar blend of spatial and manner meanings is seen in (41), from a commentary on a boxing match. *Working close* describes the manner of fighting as well as the physical proximity of the opponents.

- (42) But he didn't question Roddy about it *any further*. <W2F-002>
- (43) I went and stood in the sitting room doorway, but I couldn't get *any further* –; my legs wouldn't move. (BNC: BMS 3782)
- (44) We ran it and he turned round to me and said: "The second one is *miles* better." (BNC: HRF 804)

The extension of spatial meaning into the domain of degree and extent was commented on in section 2.4.6. A further example is given in (42). It is the meaning of the verb or the wider context that determines whether the adjunct should be interpreted as degree or as distance; cp. (43). In (44) a distance expression is used as a degree modifier in a non-spatial domain. This use was not found in the ICE-GB, but it is not uncommon in colloquial (British) English.

As argued in section 2.1.2, some spatial expressions also occur with non-adverbial and non-spatial meanings. Some of these are shown in (45) and

(46) below. The italicised prepositional phrases are spatial in form but have abstract meanings. They have adjectival rather than adverbial functions, in both cases referring to a quality of the subject referent.

- (45) The speech he had been given was *way off the mark*, and he would like the truth. (BNC: A7H 1460)
- (46) Naturally, those poor, deluded idiots thought that somehow I was *in the know* as to what was happening. (BNC: FR9 1326)

9.2.7 Discourse functions of space adjuncts

As information-bearing elements, space adverbials ‘perform the dynamic function of expressing the setting’ (Firbas 1986: 48) or that of expressing an essential specification of the verbal action (1986: 49). This is the primary function of space adjuncts in discourse. Space adjuncts are thus part of the experiential metafunction of language (Halliday 2004: 169ff).

However, space adjuncts may have subsidiary functions at the textual level. I have pointed out that space adjuncts can be part of a text strategy (section 4.4.5) or otherwise contribute to cohesion (sections 4.4.4 and 8.4.2). Another discourse function that has to do with organising the clause in theme and rheme is that of setting off a marked rheme by means of an informationally light adjunct in M3 position, as illustrated by (47); see also section 5.2.3.

- (47) He finally arrives in Pompeii, having forgotten his dream of Vesuvius, and when he apparently meets *there* the living original of Gradiva, he feels that he is dreaming, and invites her to lie down again as she had done in his previous vision. <W2A-002>

Furthermore, initial space adverbials can be used instead of the existential *there* in presentative constructions (‘bare presentatives’, Ebeling 2000: 157). This function can probably only be served in initial position with a reduction of the information value of the adverbials. Particularly sports commentaries are rich in such constructions, exemplified by (28) above and (48) below.

- (48) And *here’s* the information <S2A-016>

The spatial meaning of initial adjuncts in bare presentatives may be reduced, but usually not bleached to the point of grammaticalisation, as happened to the existential *there*. However, the space adverb *here* is sometimes bleached to the extent that it no longer gives a clear spatial reference. This is well illustrated by (49), from the London-Lund Corpus: the speaker apparently finds it necessary to reinforce the spatial reference in clause-final position where it appears as more prominent.

- (49) *here’s* some \MORE / *HERE* but # they’re not \WALLABY {\ARE they#}# (LLC: S.10.8.814)

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Space adverbials with an interpersonal function are rare, but the adverb *there* may be ‘used to express sympathy or satisfaction’ (*Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary*), thus having an interpersonal function, particularly in expressions like *there now* or *there, there*, as in (50).

- (50) ‘*There now*, you were wondering when Auntie Emma was coming back’
<W2F-003>.

9.2.8 Spatial clauses

Very few space adjuncts are realised by clauses. An example can be seen in (51). No instances of non-finite clauses functioning as space adjuncts were found in the core corpus. Biber *et al.* (1999: 821), though they do not distinguish between finite and non-finite clauses, also find clauses to be a rare realisation of space adjuncts.

- (51) *Where a company went bust*, however, the Government agreed to pay all the compensation costs to redundant workers. <W2C-001>
(52) After a brief period of studying uh mechanics <,> Hekeleyan then spent some time *travelling around the rest of Britain* <,> and lived between Liverpool Manchester and Glasgow <,> uh visiting textile factories and uh other uhm uhm work places <S2A-026>

A search in the ICE-GB for *-ing* participle clauses shows that these generally do not function as space adjuncts, although some may come close, as in (52), where the italicised clause could have been replaced by a space adjunct (*... spent some time in the north of Britain*). However, if the space adjunct is taken out of the non-finite clause, the clause seems to indicate *how* rather than *where* the time was spent.⁷ Such *-ing* participle clauses are notoriously indeterminate as to the kind of semantic relation they hold to their matrix clause. Incidentally, Kortmann’s (1991) study does not distinguish spatial relation as one of the meanings of free adjuncts and absolutes.

Like bare participle clauses, non-finite clauses preceded by a conjunction or preposition tend not to express spatial relationships. Even a typically spatial preposition such as *upon* seems to assume a different meaning when complemented by a clause, as in (53), where the italicised adjunct must be interpreted as temporal. *Where* followed by an infinitive clause retains spatial meaning, but is nominal rather than adverbial as in (54).

- (53) *Upon reading the enclosed*, should you wish to follow-up any good practices, it would be necessary for you to directly contact the university concerned... <W1B-029>
(54) I didn’t know *where to look*!! <W1B-009>

⁷ Behrens (1998: 189) concludes that the main function of the ‘spend time + ING’ construction is to denote an interval during which the event specified in the *-ing* clause is said to hold.

- (55) It was a fundamental part of the policy to increase freedom of choice in housing matters, and as part of that policy to widen opportunities and encourage diversification of tenure *wherever possible*. <W2C-018>

The core material contained one space position adjunct realised by a verbless clause, namely (55). As verbless clauses are elliptical structures, they can be related to a finite, rather than a non-finite, clause (i.e. *wherever it was possible*).

Finite clauses expressing a spatial relation are not uncommon, but they tend to be attached to noun phrases and function as adverbial relative clauses (Tottie and Lehmann 1999). For example the *where*-clause in (56) is embedded in the noun phrase headed by *farmhouse* and does not function as a clause-level adjunct.

- (56) Uhm <, > the best cheese was probably the brie at the farmhouse *where we were staying* because uhm it was the local one <S1A-009>

9.2.9 Sequences of space adjuncts

Space position adjuncts can vary widely as regards the kind of location they denote. This can be illustrated by example (57).

- (57) Puffins nest *in burrows three or four feet deep* || *in the soil* || *on the slopes of the rock*. <W2C-015>

The tendency is for the adjunct denoting the more local location to be placed closer to the verb, while the adjunct denoting the more global location takes a more peripheral position, towards the end or the beginning of the clause (Hasselgård 1996: 77ff and 147). Enkvist (1976: 58) notes that the order of adjuncts in a homosemantic sequence (a sequence of adjuncts of the same semantic subtype, see section 2.7.2) 'is obviously affected by our knowledge of the structure of the physical world'. In other words, the order of the adjuncts in (57) is determined by the fact that the reference of the adjuncts is progressively more inclusive; the burrows are located 'in the soil', which in turn is located 'on the slopes of the rock'.

As remarked by Halliday (2004: 496), a series of spatial expressions showing inclusiveness relations resembles a series of modifiers in a nominal group, and it is often possible to replace a spatial preposition by *of* (e.g. *in burrows three or four feet deep in the soil of the slopes of the rock*). Alternatively, the series of spatial expressions could be paraphrased by a series of relative clauses, making the inclusiveness relations explicit, as demonstrated in (58a). As the example illustrates, the order according to inclusiveness relations generally overrides syntactic weight as an ordering principle in spatial clusters.

- (58) Dad slowly rolled the belt round his wrist and pulled at the other end as if it were the old razor strop used *in Perkins the barber's* || *down the road*. <W2F-001>

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- (58a) ... the old razor strop used *in Perkins the barber's* which is *down the road*.

At the pragmatic level, in the progression from local to global – or included to inclusive – spatial reference reflects a gradual widening of the perspective from that which is closest to that which is further away. The nearest, more local, position is apparently felt to be more central to the verbal action than the larger, more distant, global one. This centrality in turn favours placement close to the verb, as part of the predicate.

A different pattern is shown in (59), where both adjuncts refer to the same position. The tendency is then to place the adjunct with the more general reference before the one with the more specific reference.

- (59) it's a win for number five Filial in the colours of the Cheevely Park Stud the six to four favourite trained *here* || *at Newmarket* by Michael Stud and ridden by George Duffield <S2A-006>

In clusters of direction adjuncts, the principle of experiential iconicity (Enkvist 1981) would predict that the order of adjuncts follows the trajectory of the movement, i.e. that the order would be source^path^goal. No cluster in the core material has all three types of direction adjunct, although (60) shows this order in a combination. The most frequent pattern in clusters of direction adjuncts is that of path^goal, represented here by (61). The source^goal order is shown in (62).

- (60) *From where the men stood*, high Bodmin Moor fell *away* || *to the Marke valley*. <W2F-007>
(61) Headed *back out* || *to Wise* <S2A-001>
(62) He has to fly *from Brindisi* || *to Rome*, Rome to Milan and then Milan to Barcelona. <W1B-009>

However, path^source and goal^source are also found, as shown in examples (63) and (64). In both cases the cluster-initial adjunct is closely associated with the verb and is also shorter than the second adjunct. The goal^source order may also be motivated by a notion of centre before periphery as illustrated by (65), where the location closer to the speaker/hearer is mentioned before a more remote one.

- (63) England playing from left to right as we look *out* || *from the halfway line* <S2A-002>
(64) Sent *home* || *from work* early because the offices had no power ... <W1B-015>
(65) Uhm nature basically means your genetics your hereditary what is passed *down to you* || *from your parents* <S1B-016>

As regards different types of space adjuncts in a cluster, their order tends to be distance^direction^position; see Hasselgård (1996: 101). No cluster in the

core corpus contains all three types of space adjuncts, but a distance adjunct precedes two direction adjuncts in (66) and a direction adjunct precedes a position adjunct in (67).

- (66) and he was second this year in the Paris Dubai stage race uh Paris Dubai Classic rather breaking away to chase Marc name *all the way* || *home* || *to the finish in Dubai* <,> <S2A-016>
 (67) She swayed *back and forth* || *on the spot*, her shoulders shuddering. <W2F-002>

The core corpus contains only a handful of clusters of space adjuncts in initial position. All are clusters of space position adjuncts. Compared to distance and direction adjuncts, position adjuncts more readily take a peripheral role in relation to the predicate; although they are frequently obligatory and/or predicational, they are also the space adjunct type that most commonly takes sentential scope and can occur in the periphery of the clause, either thematically or cluster-finally in end position.

9.2.10 *Space adjuncts: summary*

The three types of space adjuncts have rather different syntactic and semantic characteristics. Furthermore, they differ as to the way in which they are distributed over both process types and text types. On most accounts, position adjuncts are more flexible than the other two types of space adjuncts, being less dependent on the type of verb and also more apt to take on a wider scope. Although direction and distance adjuncts may have pragmatic meanings approaching temporal extent, space position adjuncts seem to be more versatile as regards metaphorical meaning extensions. These extensions include circumstantial meanings, particularly time, manner and respect, as well as non-circumstantial ones. Space adjuncts may play a role in the structuring of texts, particularly by means of anaphoric reference, but they do not seem to have been grammaticalised into other functions, with the exception of the existential *there*, which has not been regarded as a space adjunct at all in the present study.

9.3 Time adjuncts

9.3.1 *Introduction*

Time adjuncts are the second most frequent semantic category. Like space adjuncts they seem basic to cognition and to the structuring of experience. Time adjuncts also interact with verb categories in situating events temporally: time position adjuncts may share features of tense, while some relationship adjuncts share features of aspect, and frequency adjuncts of modality

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(usuality; see Halliday 2004: 264). Time adjuncts do not have the same potential as space adjuncts for metaphorical meaning extensions. However, some of them have pragmatic extensions and may function as discourse markers; see section 9.3.6. Furthermore, as shown in section 4.4.5, time adverbials can be used to structure texts.

9.3.2 More on subtypes of time adjuncts

Time adjuncts were divided into four types in section 2.4.2: position, duration, frequency and relationship. Of these, time position adjuncts are by far the most frequent type; they are twice as frequent as time relationship adjuncts, which are in turn just over twice as frequent as time duration and time frequency adjuncts. See further, sections 9.3.3 and 9.4.4.

Time position adjuncts establish a temporal location for a situation or an event. Halliday (2004: 265) refers to this meaning as ‘location in time’, i.e. a temporal variant of location circumstantials of which ‘space’ is the other category. Time position adjuncts may refer to a point in time, as in (68), to an interval in the course of which an event takes place (69), or to a time span, as in (70).

(68) Got to get up *at 6.30 am tomorrow* tomorrow. <W1B-003>

(69) I’ve got to see John <, > *on the Wednesday* <S1A-005>

(70) “It was one of those protest by-elections we have seen so many of *in recent years*”, he said. <W2C-018>

However, on the basis of the material these distinctions seem to be scalar rather than absolute, as many time position adjuncts may be interpreted either way. For example, in (71) *in 1903* could be interpreted as an interval or a time span depending on whether the proposition ‘write a story’ is interpreted as a completed or durative process.

(71) Jensen’s charming, witty, richly suggestive story, written *in 1903*, has many features which suggest the active presence of a specifically Freudian unconscious. <W2A-002>

(72) Mr Kreindler added: ‘There is no doubt the DEA is looking into something, as they would do *at any time* if evidence was presented to them. <W2C-001>

Many time position adjuncts give a fairly vague time reference, such as the one in (72), thus also obscuring any borderlines between point, interval and span. Clearly the aktionsart of the verb influences the interpretation of the time adjunct. As pointed out by Shaer (2004: 321), hearers use ‘syntactic, lexical, and conceptual information in determining compatibilities between temporal adverbials and VPs and thus licit interpretations for these pairings’.

There is furthermore a fine line (if any) between time position adjuncts denoting a span and **time duration adjuncts**, which refer to ‘span and

duration'; see Quirk *et al.* (1985: 533). Duration adjuncts indicate a stretch of time, either by denoting the whole period or by stating the beginning or the end of it. They are both formally and semantically similar to direction adjuncts. Like adjuncts of direction, duration adjuncts can be subdivided into *source* (73), *goal* (74) and *span* (75) (roughly corresponding to path; see section 9.2.2).

- (73) *From the third century B.C.* Rome was enlarging her dominions beyond the seas. <W2A-001>
- (74) I'll just have to suffer a bit I guess *till I get used to the Idea . . .* <W1B-003>
- (75) I shall regret this *for the rest of my life!* <W1B-015>
- (76) Two guards examined the BMW, *while a third took their various documents inside the ugly concrete guard house.* <W2F-012>

The similarity between time position and duration is particularly conspicuous with adverbial clauses introduced by *while* or *when*, as shown in (76). There are two potential interpretations of the *while*-clause: 'for the time it took the third to take . . .' and 'at the same time as a third took . ..'. Usually the context resolves any such ambiguity, and here the latter interpretation is clearly more plausible.

Duration adjuncts denoting span are also similar to distance adjuncts (section 9.2.2). It may be noted that Halliday classifies source and goal adjuncts as location:motion, and thus together with direction adjuncts (2004: 266), and span adjuncts as extent, and thus together with distance adjuncts (2004: 264). The parallelism between adjuncts of spatial and temporal extent commented on in section 9.2.2 involved duration adjuncts denoting span rather than source or goal. The parallelism between a sequence of direction adjuncts and a reference to distance is matched in the expression of temporal extent, as in (77), where the combination of start and end point of a period indicates a time span equivalent to that in (77a).

- (77) My time there lasted *from the rhododendron season at the end of May || to the chrysanthemums fading on their stalks in October.* <W2F-010>
- (77a) My time there lasted *for five months.*

The problematic classification of **time frequency** and **time relationship** adverbials as adjuncts was commented on in section 2.5. Halliday (2004: 82) places adjuncts of indefinite frequency (usuality) in the category of modal adjuncts, while those of definite frequency are circumstantial adjuncts of extent: 'usuality is a modal assessment referring to position on a scale between positive and negative (always/never), whereas frequency is the extent of repetition of the occurrence of the process' (2004: 264). In the discussion of the placement of adjuncts, it was shown that adjuncts of indefinite frequency have different positional preferences from other adjuncts, i.e. they tend to favour the *not*-position.

Table 9.3 *Distribution of time adjuncts across process types*

	Position		Duration		Relationship		Frequency		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	407	55.5	77	52.7	201	57.1	62	44.6	747	54.5
Relational	172	23.5	42	28.8	83	23.6	41	29.5	338	24.7
Mental	57	7.8	15	10.3	36	10.2	17	12.2	125	9.1
Verbal	61	8.3	5	3.4	21	6.0	14	10.1	101	7.4
Behavioural	15	2.0	7	4.8	5	1.4	0	0	27	2.0
Existential	21	2.9	0	0	6	1.7	5	3.6	32	2.3
TOTAL	733	100	146	100	352	100	139	100	1370	100

Time relationship adjuncts are not distinguished as a separate category in Halliday (2004). Instead they are divided between the categories of circumstantial adjuncts of temporal location and temporal conjunctive adjuncts (2004: 82). This illustrates the dual character of time relationship adjuncts; on the one hand they resemble time position adjuncts in that they generally place an event at a point of time, and on the other hand they serve as cohesive ties, anchoring a clause temporally to the preceding context. Relationship adjuncts may be endophoric or exophoric. When endophoric, as in (78), they are conjunctive (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976: 227), while also referring to a temporal feature of the proposition, but when exophoric, as in (79), they chiefly establish a time reference in relation to the here-and-now of the speaker, much like verbal tense.

- (78) The post-office appears to have sat on the precious tome for several months, and *then* sent me a letter telling me so; <W1B-015>
(79) I thought it was the same thing that you were wearing *before* <S1A-007>

9.3.3 *Distribution of time adjuncts across process types*

Compared to space adjuncts (table 9.1), time adjuncts are more evenly distributed across process types; see table 9.3. All types of time adjunct occur most frequently in material processes, but relational processes are also very common, with between 24% and 30% of the adjuncts in each type.

The core corpus did not give any examples of duration adjuncts with existential processes or frequency adjuncts with behavioural processes. This is not to say that such combinations are impossible; something can exist for a specified period of time, and behaviour can occur with a specified regularity, as indeed shown by examples (80) and (81). However, such examples seem to be rare.

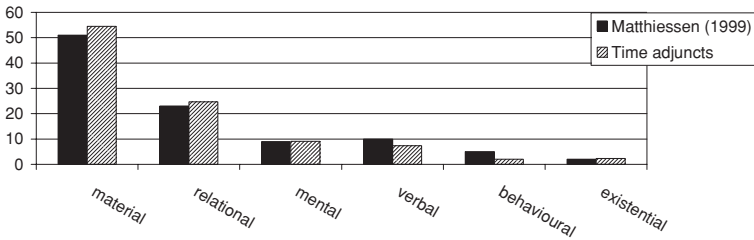


Figure 9.2 The distribution of process types in a general corpus and in clauses containing time adjuncts.

- (80) there was conspiracy and conflict *throughout the reigns*. <W1A-003>
 (81) From the time I brought her out of hospital she *never* slept <, >
 <S1B-049>

Table 9.3 does not seem to suggest that there is any particular process type that strongly favours certain types of temporal adjuncts or vice versa. This impression is strengthened when the distribution of process types in clauses containing time adjuncts is compared to the general distribution reported in Matthiessen (1999). Figure 9.2 shows that there is indeed very little difference in the distribution of process types in clauses containing time adjuncts and in the general corpus used by Matthiessen (1999). There is a slight preference for material processes, but this is not nearly as great as the findings for space adjuncts (see figure 9.1). Matthiessen (1999: 44) too finds that time adjuncts are slightly overrepresented in material clauses, but that their frequency is close to the predicted one with most other process types. The reason why time adjuncts seem to go better with all process types is probably that temporal relationships may be more abstract than spatial relationships, which were shown (section 9.2.3) to occur predominantly with processes with fairly concrete meanings.

9.3.4 Distribution of time adjuncts across text types

It was shown above (section 9.2.4) that the use of space adjuncts varies across text types. The same is true of time adjuncts, as shown in table 9.4. Time position adjuncts are the most frequent in all the text types. However, the frequency varies, from 38.3% in academic writing to 70.8% in news. In terms of raw frequencies, letters have the highest number of time position adjuncts, corresponding to 28.2 per 10,000 words, while academic writing has a frequency of only 7.3 per 10,000 words. The high frequency in letters can probably be explained by the fact that the letter writers typically recount their actions or discuss a time schedule which may be structured along a temporal axis, as in (82).

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Table 9.4 *The distribution of time adjuncts across text types*

	Position		Duration		Relationship		Frequency		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	169	56.7	33	11.1	74	24.8	22	7.4	298	100
Fiction	105	43.4	39	16.1	70	28.9	28	11.6	242	100
News	165	70.8	19	8.2	42	18.0	7	3.0	233	100
Academic	44	38.3	16	13.9	32	27.8	23	20.0	115	100
Comment	165	54.1	18	5.9	102	33.4	20	6.6	305	100
Conversation	85	48.6	20	11.4	31	17.7	39	22.3	175	100
TOTAL	733	53.6	145	19.6	351	25.7	139	10.2	1368	100.1

- (82) I'm sorry about Thursday night – mother has v. kindly offered to buy me a few items for Spain and is only available *then*. However it will be nice to have lunch *on Friday*. *On Saturday* I'm off to a fireworks & classical music evening at Leeds Castle which should be good. If you're not doing anything *on Thursday 4th July* me, Jane & Angie + anyone else who may appear are going to the Mexican restaurant in Leicester Sq. (will cost about £14/£15) as a last celebration before I go. <W1B-004>

Time position adjuncts are also highly frequent in press reportage which, like letters, is often about recounting events, characteristically the events of the previous day, and possibly relating them to previous and upcoming events. An example is given in (83).

- (83) THE Prime Minister was *last night* facing two crucial decisions as the shock result of the Ribble Valley by-election brought to an end his honeymoon period as Mrs Thatcher's successor *after only 100 days in office*. Amid persistent reports that the Cabinet is split on alternative means of funding local government to replace the poll tax, the pressure is mounting on Mr Major to bang heads together and come up with a final solution *within the next few weeks*. <W2C-018>

Academic writing has a strikingly low number of time position adjuncts, not only as a reflection of the general low frequency of time adjuncts in this text type, but also considering the proportional distribution of semantic subtypes, with the lowest percentage of time adjuncts (38%) denoting position. Unsurprisingly, many of the time position adjuncts in academic writing are found in the history text (W2A-001), represented here by (84). Across the academic texts, it seems that time position adjuncts are to a great extent used for relating events to each other, as illustrated by (85), which tallies with the relatively high proportion of time relationship adjuncts found in this text type.

- (84) *By the end of the pre-Christian era*, the local communities had become responsible for collecting the imperial direct taxes. <W2A-001>
- (85) Such statistics obviously question the so-called ‘brainwashing thesis’, which claims that *once such a movement has got a victim into its clutches*, he or she will never be able to escape. <W2A-012>

Time relationship adjuncts are most frequent in commentaries, represented here by (86). The adjuncts are used for marking new stages in the course of events, especially clause-initial *now* and *then*, but also *again* (in initial or medial position) which simultaneously marks a new stage and relates it to a previous one. Letters and fiction also use time relationship adjuncts to structure the course of events along a time axis, as illustrated by (87) and (88).

- (86) He’s played it back to Svaba the sweeper and he plays it *again* square across his own eighteen yard line and *eventually* inevitably it goes back to Michalichenko <S2A-001>
- (87) But, of course, I’m *still* at the stage where I’m *just* beginning to explore Brussels. <W1B-002>
- (88) Dad’s voice was quiet, sounded reasonable as if he were considering the possibility *for the first time*, but *then* he shook his head. <W2F-001>
- (89) I’ve *never* been a reader you know a reader of novels <S1A-013>

Conversation has a markedly higher proportion of time frequency adjuncts than the other genres, suggesting that people like to talk about generalities, what *never*, *sometimes* or *always* happens, as illustrated by (89). The tendency to use frequency adjuncts in conversation agrees with the frequent use of modal expressions in this text type too; see Biber *et al.* (1999: 486).

Academic writing does not seem very preoccupied with time at all, which again places this text type at the explicit end of Biber’s Factor 3 (1988: 102) Explicit versus Situation-Dependent reference; see the discussion of the scarcity of space adjuncts in academic writing in [section 9.2.4](#). Although frequency adjuncts are not very numerous in academic writing, they account for a relatively high proportion of the time adjuncts in this genre. Most of the frequency adjuncts in academic writing carry a median to high degree of usuality (see Halliday 2004: 620), such as *often*, *usually*, *frequently* and *normally*, in contrast to conversation, which contains a great number of adjuncts like *always*, *never* and equivalent expressions conveying the outer values of modal usuality. Frequency adjuncts are thus part of the hedging expressions typically used by academics (see Vold 2006: 80). Example (90) illustrates this: the use of *frequently* reduces the modal value of the proposition from ‘yes’ to ‘almost yes’.

- (90) After 5 days biofilm will comprise a diverse assemblage of bacteria, of which filamentous types *frequently* predominate. <W2A-021>

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9.3.5 Metaphorical uses of time adjuncts

Time adjuncts do not have the same potential as space adjuncts for metaphorical extensions; see Halliday (1994: 153). However, there are some cases in which time expressions partly or entirely lose their temporal meaning. In particular, there is a glide from temporal to contingency meanings.⁸

- (91) The first (the pluralist) solution has both the strengths and the weaknesses of ambiguity and uncertainty. *While it enables there to be constant checks, balancing, and flexibility in dealing with problems as they arise*, many people find the lack of absolute certainties psychologically uncomfortable. It is possible that these people will seek an ideology that espouses unambiguous truths and a community of like-minded believers. This is, indeed, what many of the new religions offer their members – a haven of certainty within the shifting sands of modern pluralism. *At the same time*, there are new religions that offer their member release from those constraints which exist in a complex, impersonal society, and which extend the promise of enriched relationships, self-development, heightened spirituality, and unbridled explorations into the true, inner being of consciousness (or whatever). <W2A-012>

In (91) the clause introduced by *while* may have the form of a temporal clause, but it functions as a concessive adjunct. Furthermore, the expression *at the same time* has acquired a non-temporal meaning, or rather, its temporal meaning has been bleached; it marks a relationship of co-existence – possibly in time and space – and thus functions more or less as an additive conjunct (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 635). However, it is doubtful that the additive use of *at the same time* is a pure metaphorical extension; rather it is an instance of grammaticalisation, from temporal to connective meaning (see Traugott and König 1991: 208). Further extensions of time adjuncts into textual and interpersonal domains are explored in section 9.3.6. Other examples of time expressions having acquired contingency meanings in the experiential domain are *so/as long as*, which has conditional meaning in (92), and *when*-clauses, which may be interpreted as causal or conditional, depending on the context.

- (92) The Government, under the Act, agreed to pay half the costs of compensating compulsorily laid-off dockers, with employers making up the rest, *so long as the dockers were made redundant within three years of the Act being passed*. <W2C-001>

Furthermore, *rather*, now used only as a modifier or an adjunct of degree or alternative/contrast, originated as a time expression denoting precedence

⁸ The issue of temporality and causality has been much debated in philosophy as well as linguistics and will not be pursued here.

in time (*OED*, 2nd edn). In present-day English, *sooner* can either be a time adverb or one of alternative/contrast, as in (93), thus seemingly following in the wake of *rather*.

- (93) I'd *far sooner* read a comic <,,> and get far more entertainment out of that <S1A-013>

9.3.6 Discourse functions of time adjuncts

It was noted in sections 2.5 and 9.3.2 that certain time adverbials do not fit neatly into the category of adjunct and have indeed been classified otherwise by some grammarians. In SFG, time adjuncts feature in all three meta-functions of language, as circumstantial, modal and conjunctive adjuncts; Halliday (2004: 82 and 258ff).

Textual functions are served particularly by time relationship adjuncts which explicitly link the temporal location of its matrix clause to that of another event. The prime example is *then*, which often functions chiefly as a connector. An example is given in (94).

- (94) And Othello of course calls on uh Desdemona's father doesn't he and *then* he tells her the story of his life <S1A-020>

While *then* retains its meaning of sequence in time, it is redundant in the context, where the simple co-ordination of events will tell the hearer that the two events are consecutive. Interestingly, the sports commentaries have a parallel use of *now*, as shown in (95). Clearly the main meaning of *now* is to mark a new stage in the ongoing series of events, as its temporal meaning is redundant in a direct broadcast.

- (95) And *now* got himself into the breakaway along with Luc Leblanc <,,> <S2A-016>

The time adverbs *then* and *now* are known to function as discourse markers (see Hasselgård 2006, Aijmer 2002, Schifffrin 1987), in which case they may lack temporal meaning entirely. As discourse markers, both *then* and *now* signal a (minor) topic shift. *Then* indicates a link between the preceding and the following text, referring to 'prior discourse time as a source of information for upcoming talk' (Schifffrin 1987: 250). *Now*, on the other hand, signals a break in topic continuity, as in (96).

- (96) And I just thought well *now* where shall I poke him to wake him up <S1A-018>
 (97) In all uh <,,> situations where you're measuring blood pressure there should be uh several cups a standard cup width and *then* a bigger one for obese subjects <S1B-004>
 (98) What's happened to him *then* <S1A-019>

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It may be noted that the italicised adverbs in (96)–(98) are all tagged as discourse markers in the ICE-GB. As a discourse marker, *now* is a connector (or a ‘continuative’, in the terminology of Halliday 2004: 81), typically used for marking a shift in ‘idea structure, orientation and participant footing’ (Schiffrin 1987: 244). *Then* may mark a simple addition of a new topic or item, as in (97), or be even further removed from temporal/sequential meaning as in (98), where it marks a relation of inference.

When *now* and *then* function purely as discourse markers, they have been discarded from the material for the present study, where the focus is on circumstantial meanings. However, there are cases where the temporal meaning of *now* and *then* co-exists with the discourse marker meaning, as in (99) and (100).

- (99) We started farming here, but *now* Unita has stolen our farming implements and taken all the food we had. <W2C-002>
(100) The first chapter asks about your daydreams and *then* as an exercise you have to write yourself an obituary one which in your wildest dreams you would love to have. <W1B-003>

In spite of the intact temporal meaning of *now* in (99), the function of the adjunct is mainly textual, marking a new stage in the course of events. That is, *now* does not locate the theft temporally, but rather indicates a present state of affairs as opposed to a previous one. In example (100), *then* marks the succession of items in a book rather than actual temporal sequence; the temporal sequence is only inferred from the fact that people normally read books from the beginning.

Other time expressions may also function as connectors. It was pointed out in connection with (91) above that *at the same time* has grammaticalised into a connector. The same is true of e.g. *meanwhile* and *at the end of the day*, the former marking addition or transition and the latter being used as a summative conjunct (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 635). Moreover, *yet* and *still* have temporal meanings as adjuncts and concessive meanings as conjuncts. Such temporal connectors are an interesting area of study, but unfortunately beyond the scope of the present investigation.

Time adjuncts that carry a low information value are sometimes used as pause-fillers in speech, particularly in sports commentaries, where the speaker has to keep talking and avoid long breaks. Example (101) may serve as an illustration.

- (101) We’ve met *today* a lot of English holiday-makers enjoying the hot sun down in the Midi <,,> <S2A-016>

In a sense the whole utterance is filling a pause, as there seems to be nothing to report from the *Tour de France* at that particular moment. There is no reason to set off the direct object as a marked rheme, as the information about

the holiday-makers begins and ends here. Thus the time adverb may simply be a way of filling the air with sound.

As mentioned in [section 9.3.2](#), frequency adjuncts are classified by Halliday (2004: 82) as modal. Clearly, adjuncts of indefinite frequency may affect the polarity or modality of a clause and thus have interpersonal meanings. In example (102) the frequency adjunct *never* gives the clause negative polarity, in the same way as the insertion of *not* would have done. In (103) the frequency adjunct gives the clause a median value on a scale of usuality (Halliday 2004: 620), equivalent to *Life can be a hoot*.

(102) I *never* got through the whole <,> list <S1A-013>

(103) Life's a hoot *sometimes!* <W1B-002>

9.3.7 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses that convey new information express a temporal relationship with the main clause, though often without establishing a real time reference. The same is true of phrases which express a (new) proposition. As shown by examples (104) and (105), such temporal clauses and phrases may have other functions in the text.

(104) The latest controversy over the national curriculum comes *as the NCC is considering the results of a study into the working of the curriculum in 2,500 state schools*. <W2C-002>

(105) A PLANNED anti-poll tax march in Brent was cancelled *after the rallying cry fell on deaf ears*. <W2C-009>

The temporal clause in (104) marks simultaneity between the events in the matrix clause and the dependent clause. However, it does not locate the event in the matrix clause on a time scale – this function is taken care of by the simple present tense in the matrix verb. In (105), which is the first sentence in a text, the temporal clause gives the cause (by implicature: see Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 699) rather than the time of the cancellation. In both (104) and (105), the introduction of new information in a dependent clause thus seems to be a space-saving device, a way of packing information densely while keeping a distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded information. As noted in [section 6.3](#), the meaning relation normally expressed by the conjunction in a final adverbial clause may be weakened to approach co-ordination, or perhaps rather, a very general kind of circumstantial meaning.

(106) Well Woods has a chance again to re-establish himself <,> *as Barnes has possession for England* <S2A-001>

(107) It's a most beautiful part of France now *as the riders go over only one small climb today on the road to Castra* <S2A-016>

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Another example of a weakened temporal meaning is particularly frequent in sports commentaries, as shown in examples (106) and (107). While the conjunction *as* may express a temporal relationship in both examples, the relationship is not that of simultaneity with the matrix clause event. Rather, the conjunction seems to signal immediacy, i.e. the *as*-clause refers to events that are unfolding right before the speaker's eyes. In (107) this meaning of *as* is reinforced by the combination with *now*, which was also found in other cases.

9.3.8 Sequences of time adjuncts

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 551), the order of time adjuncts which occur in the same clause tends to be time duration – time frequency – time position. Time relationship adjuncts are not mentioned. In Hasselgård (1996: 104), however, the most frequent order was found to be frequency – duration (–relationship) – position. The same ordering seems to apply in the present study, although there is a scarcity of clusters involving both a duration and a frequency adjunct. Moreover, there are no clusters of three or more time adjuncts. However, in all temporal clusters in end position, time position adjuncts follow other adjuncts. Examples (108)–(110) show clusters of time adjuncts whose structure agrees with the proposed basic pattern.

- (108) Mason skipping backwards showing a bit more mobility than I've seen of him *sometimes* || *in his career* <S2A-009> (frequency + position)
- (109) I'm planning to go to Berlin *for a week* || *in May or June*. <W1B-002> (duration + position)
- (110) She did it *again* || *last night*. <W2F-007> (relationship + position)

In initial position, the pattern seems to be more or less the reverse, i.e. time position adjuncts tend to precede other adjuncts, as in (111) and (112). This probably has to do with the perception of time position adjuncts as more peripheral to the process than other adjuncts. The exception is time relationship adjuncts with cohesive functions, particularly *then*, which tend to precede time position adjuncts too; see (113).

- (111) *Now*, || *in an instant*, it was all gone. <W2F-012> (position + duration)
- (112) but uh sort of *in my late teens and twenties* I suppose *every Saturday* one of my pleasures was to go to the local bookshop and buy another volume in the Everyman Library <, > or whatever <S1A-013> (position + frequency)
- (113) *Then*, || *when she had picked at her wound*, she would treat herself to a hairdo and a good lunch to raise her morale before she saw Poppy and took out the sad clothes of mourning for another airing. <W2F-003> (relationship + position)

There are few clusters of two duration adjuncts in the core corpus, but some additional ones were found elsewhere in the ICE-GB. They seem to be ordered according to experiential iconicity (Enkvist 1981) with the pattern source^span^goal. Example (114) shows span^goal and (115) source^goal. The pattern is the same in end and initial position.

- (114) You're then meant to wait *a couple of days* || *before you ring them up*
or else it appears uncool you know <S1A-020>
(115) *From 1974 || to 1978* he worked for Granada Television in Manchester. <W2B-005>

The tendency for less inclusive adjuncts to precede the more inclusive adjuncts observed in space position clusters (see section 9.2.9) does not seem to apply to time position clusters. On the contrary, clusters in which the more inclusive precedes the less inclusive adjunct are more frequent than those with the reverse order; see (116). There seems to be an exception for adjuncts specifying the hour, which tend to precede other adjuncts regardless of inclusiveness, as shown in (117).

- (116) You can only have showers *on week-days* || *after supper*, and you have to pay 5 Francs each time – <W1B-002>
(117) I suppose I could ring Mercedes and tell her to come *at one o'clock* || *tomorrow* <,,> <S1A-083>

It is, however, more difficult to determine inclusiveness relations with temporal than with spatial adjuncts. The problem may be due to time being an abstract concept. Many of the adjuncts refer to some indefinite point or period of time, such as *sometime*, *one day*. Sometimes the interpretation of a time expression is ambiguous between a point of time and a time span, such as *after dinner*, *two years ago*. Finally there are a number of adverbials, usually realised as finite clauses, with a very vague time reference which is to a large extent dependent on context, i.e. the time reference presupposes either the addressee's familiarity with the information contained in the adverbial clause, or some other temporal specification in the text, as in (118).

- (118) I was quite pleased because he ~~promise~~ promised to *write 2 yrs ago* || *when we both went on camp to America*. <W1B-009>

Another complicating factor is the fact that many time position clusters contain an adverbial which is realised as a dependent clause, and which thus favours cluster-final position regardless of inclusiveness relations, as in (118) above. It thus seems that the weight principle is the chief organising principle in clusters of time position adjuncts.

In initial position, adjuncts doing discourse-organisational work are generally placed before others. Thus, the adjuncts most frequently doubling as discourse markers, *now* and *then*, typically occur as the first item in an initial

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cluster. An example is given in (119). It may be noted that the discourse marker function of *now* and *then* is not found in end position.

(119) *Now*, || *at last*, applications started to appear and the Windows movement gained momentum. <S2B-004>

(120) He would *never* || *thereafter* know precisely why he did what he did next. <W2F-012>

Clusters in medial position are rare. As noted in [section 5.6](#), adjuncts in a cluster in medial position tend to be ordered according to their syntactic weight, and *not*-position adjuncts tend to precede other adjuncts, as in (120).

9.3.9 Time adjuncts: summary

Time adjuncts are relatively frequent in all text types and also have a fairly even distribution across process types. They have highly diverse meanings, spanning the whole set of metafunctions of language. Frequency adjuncts differ most from the other types in that they do not provide a temporal frame or setting for the process, but rather place the validity of the proposition on the scale between always and never (Halliday 2004: 264). The meanings and functions of frequency adjuncts were brought out rather differently in the text types conversation and academic writing.

To a greater extent than space adjuncts, time adjuncts have discourse-organising functions. This is particularly visible in narrative passages where events may be structured along a time axis. Although time adjuncts have fewer clearly metaphorical uses than space adjuncts, they are by their nature more abstract and thus have meaning extensions into other domains. At the experiential, circumstantial level, there are overlaps and fuzzy borderlines between temporal and contingency meanings. Furthermore, some temporal meanings slide into the domain of modality, while yet others are more or less grammaticalised into discourse connectives (see further, [section 13.4](#)).

9.4 Space and time adjuncts: concluding remarks

The present chapter has shown similarities between space and time adjuncts, particularly in the domain of spatial and temporal extent. Furthermore, there is an abstract sense of location in space that may blend into location in time. Space and time adjuncts differ in the ways in which they are extended into other domains of meaning and use. Space adjuncts easily take on a wide range of metaphorical meanings, both circumstantial and non-circumstantial. Time adjuncts, possibly by dint of being more abstract in the first place, tend not to extend into other circumstantial meaning domains – with the exception of contingency – while they are more apt than space adjuncts to grammaticalise into modal and conjunctive markers.

As a point of curiosity, the Norwegian novelist Erlend Loe compares space and time in the following way: ‘... we remember where, but not when, for where sets its mark on us, where is visual, where is places that we can make a note of and remember, but when does not set its mark in the same way, when is only visual and sets its mark when something quite out of the ordinary happens, something that changes our direction, and that is rare, thank God, that is rare ...’.⁹

⁹ My translation from the Norwegian: ‘... vi husker hvor, men ikke når, for hvor setter et merke i oss, hvor er visuelt, hvor er steder, som vi kan feste oss ved og huske, men når setter ikke merker på samme måten, når blir bare visuelt og setter merker når det skjer noe helt spesielt, noe som forandrer retningen vår, og det er sjelden, det er gudskjelov sjelden ...’ (Loe 2001:141–2)

10 Adjuncts of manner and contingency

10.1 Introduction

While the juxtaposition of space and time adjuncts in the previous chapter could be justified on the basis of semantic affinities between the two types, manner and contingency adjuncts are discussed in the same chapter for purely practical reasons. Manner and contingency adjuncts are the third and fourth most common types in the core corpus, as well as in Biber *et al.* (1999: 783ff). Both types were subdivided into a range of subcategories (see sections 2.4.3 and 2.4.4). It is thus of interest to see how these types of adjuncts are used in context. In the case of manner adjuncts, it is also relevant to discuss the extent to which the subcategories really express manner, as the manner adjuncts in the present framework are defined and categorised somewhat differently from the systems found in the reference grammars consulted.

Manner and contingency adjuncts do not have the same potential as space and time adjuncts for metaphorical extension, but some types, notably those denoting quality, cause and condition, have clear parallels in the interpersonal domain, as disjuncts.

10.2 Manner adjuncts

10.2.1 *More on subtypes of manner adjuncts*

Manner adjuncts are a highly diverse category, with as many as eight subtypes (see table 2.2). The most frequent by far is manner:quality; compared to this all the others are relatively rare, the second most frequent one – accompaniment – being almost five times less common.

When comparing reference grammars for their classification of manner adjuncts, it was striking how little agreement there was (see table 2.1). Manner, means and instrument are separate categories in Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 670), but the three types are discussed under the same heading, the differences between them ‘being far from sharp’. Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Biber *et al.* (1999) classify them all as subtypes of process adjunct. The classification scheme used in the present study takes a comprehensive view of manner adjuncts: manner is seen as a major category, which includes

instrument and means. The present definition of manner adjunct thus approaches that of Halliday (2004: 262) except that it does not include degree. Degree has instead been grouped in the same category as intensifiers, as both can answer the question *how much*, rather than *how*, which is the typical probing question of manner adjuncts.

Method adjuncts have not been found elsewhere as a separate category. Ungerer (1988: 197) has a category of 'Methode', which includes means adjuncts. By contrast, examples of the 'method' type are classified as means in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 559) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 675). In their prototypical forms, means and method are easy to distinguish, e.g. when the means adjunct refers to a means of transportation, as in (1), or when a method of achieving the situation referred to in the matrix predicate is given in a prepositional clause, as in (2). However, (3) represents a borderline case; it has been classified as method because the (deverbal) noun *jab* refers to an action.

- (1) There are plans for the poison to be airlifted on to the island *by helicopter*, . . . <W2C-015>
- (2) another is to try to eliminate any inconsistency *by adhering to a single truth that excludes all competition*. <W2A-012>
- (3) Mason comes back to work and lands *with a left jab* <S2A-009>

Means adjuncts sometimes share features with cause adjuncts, especially when they refer to something abstract. For example, in (4) the adjunct could be paraphrased by either 'by means of a miracle' or 'because of a miracle'.

- (4) But *by some miracle* I get a seat. <W1B-003>
- (5) How did men arrange to be *with women* whether they were unmarried or married <S1A-020>
- (6) Brow well uh Browning and uhm and Emily you see lived *together* <S1A-020>
- (7) How could he be a man *without his dog*? <W2F-001>

The occasional similarity between space and accompaniment adjuncts was briefly commented on in section 2.4.3: in examples such as (5), the adjunct refers to accompaniment as well as co-existence in the same place. However, in (6), location is not implied by the adjunct. It may be noted that accompaniment adjuncts also include those that specify non-accompaniment, as in (7). Other such examples include the adverb *alone*.

The category of similarity adjuncts is paralleled by Ungerer's (1988: 197) category of 'ADV des Vergleichs'. Prototypically, similarity adjuncts are introduced by *like* (8), but they may also be introduced by, for example, *as*, or *as if* (9), or be realised by an adverb (phrase) with suffixes such as *-wise*, *-style* or *-fashion*, as in (10).

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- (8) *Like all ancient peoples*, the Romans had always had slaves, and their wars increased the supply. <W2A-001>
- (9) 'Fair enough, lad,' he said, smiling *as if this had been his intention all along*. <W2F-001>
- (10) He said it reluctantly, repeating it *parrot-fashion*. (BNC: CEH)
- (11) They made their own jams typically *runny like French jams* <,> <S1A-009>

Similarity adjuncts may have scope over only one constituent in the matrix clause, in which case they are rather like complements or modifiers at phrase level. In (8) above, the adjunct might alternatively be analysed as part of the subject NP, while in (11), the adjunct might be seen as embedded in the adjective phrase. Note, however, that the adjunct in (11) is not dependent on the preceding adjective as head of a phrase in order to be grammatical in the clause; thus the adjunct reading is reasonable.

Similarity adjuncts may resemble role/capacity adjuncts in form. However, they are semantically distinct; example (12) contains a similarity adjunct with *like*, saying that Edward's group *resemble* tourists. However, if *like* were replaced by *as*, the adjunct would be turned into a role/capacity adjunct, implying that Edward's group *are* tourists.

The category of attire adjuncts is not found in reference grammars of English; see table 2.1. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 572ff) have a category of 'subject-orientation subjuncts' which are said to effect 'a characterization of the referent of the subject with respect to the process or state denoted by the verb. Most of the subjuncts concerned are manner adverbials.' No example is given that involves attire, but the description fits the category well enough. Such adjuncts are rare in the core corpus, but may be more frequent in other text types. The adjunct in (13) does not indicate a manner of driving; nevertheless it specifies a feature of the situation. Attire adjuncts are typically subject-related, as in (13), and thus marginal as manner adjuncts.

- (12) Turning up *like tourists*, Edward? <W2F-012>
- (13) I paid up and went back to the hotel to collect my bag and briefcase (although the room was still reserved for me), then drove off *in suit and sober dark overcoat*. <W2F-004>

10.2.2 Distribution of manner adjuncts across process types

Manner adjuncts are predominantly associated with material process verbs. This is true of all semantic subtypes of manner, as shown in table 10.1. It is thus clear that specification of manner is particularly relevant in 'figures of doing and happening' (Halliday 2004: 181).

Table 10.1 *Distribution of manner adjuncts across process types*

	quality		instrument		means		method		accomp.		similarity		other*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	211	70.3	22	91.7	22	81.5	28	82.4	45	72.6	21	70	11	64.0	360	72.3
Relational	14	4.7	1	4.2	2	7.4	3	8.8	11	17.7	5	16.7	6	20	42	8.4
Mental	26	8.7	1	4.2	1	3.7	3	8.8	2	3.2	3	10	3	12.0	39	7.8
Verbal	39	13.0	0	0	2	7.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	42	8.4
Behavioural	10	3.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.2	1	3.3	0	2	13	2.6
Existential	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3.2	0	0	0	0	2	0.4
TOTAL	300	100	24	100.1	27	100	34	100	62	99.9	30	100	21	100	498	99.9

* The category 'other' comprises attire and role/capacity; cf. [section 2.7](#).

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Relational, verbal and mental processes are accompanied by manner adjuncts with approximately the same frequency. Examples are given in (14)–(17).

- (14) Free subjects of Rome could not *legally* be made slaves. <W2A-001>
- (15) Uhm and they're sort of lovely objects *in their own way* <S1A-013>
- (16) Nobody knows *for certain* how many have died of hunger in southern Angola. <W2C-002>
- (17) I straightened it out,' Brett said *sulkily, warily*. <W2F-001>

The relational process in (14) borders on a material clause in being dynamic and implying an assigner (Halliday 2004: 237) of the identification between *free subjects* and *slaves*. In (15) the manner adjunct could be said to be subordinate to the attribute *lovely*; in fact it seems typical of manner adjuncts in relational processes that they have scope over only a part of the clause. There are also cases of manner adjuncts being obligatory constituents with intransitive *be*; see section 2.1.2. Mental processes may be specified for manner as shown in (16), typically with expressions blending elements of quality and degree. Verbal processes are often specified for quality in dialogue sequences in fiction, as shown in (17), but rarely occur with other types of manner adjunct.

Behavioural processes resemble material ones in many ways (Halliday 2004: 250). However, as they denote physical and psychological behaviour rather than directed actions, it is natural that they do not occur with adjuncts of instrument, means and method. In the present study, however, processes on the borderline between behavioural and mental meaning, such as *look at*, have been classified as mental, and these occur with manner adjuncts.

Manner adjuncts hardly ever combine with existential processes. The exception is accompaniment, which was found in two cases, both from academic writing; see (18). Example (19), from outside the core corpus, gives a more straightforward example.

- (18) Yet *coexisting with this indirect and private system*, there is in Freud's dream theory an entailment that dream images of erotic desire (however enigmatic and circumstantial the narrative which embeds them) partake of a universal symbolism . . . <W2A-002>
- (19) And unfortunately there isn't a ~~me~~ representative from the Arts Council *with us* tonight so we can't ask the question direct <S1B-022>

According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 561), 'adverbials that function only as process adjuncts cannot cooccur with verbs in stative use'. It is not quite clear what is meant by 'adverbials that function only as process adjuncts', but as shown by examples such as (15), (16), (18) and (19) above, some manner adjuncts may indeed co-occur with stative verbs. Nevertheless, the main tendency is for actions rather than states to be specified for manner.

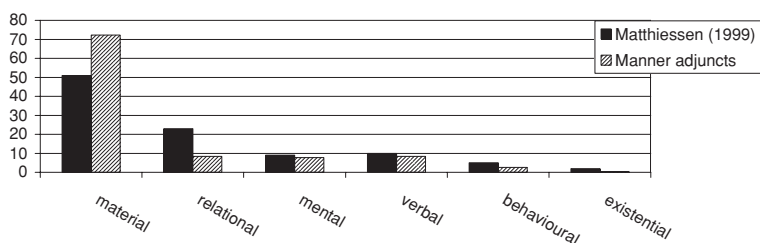


Figure 10.1 The distribution of process types in a general corpus and in clauses containing manner adjuncts.

What seemed to be an overrepresentation of material processes in [table 10.1](#) is confirmed in [figure 10.1](#), where the frequency of process types in clauses with manner adjuncts is compared to the frequency of process types in Matthiessen's (1999) corpus (see [section 9.2.3](#)).

[Figure 10.1](#) shows that material clauses are markedly more frequent in clauses with manner adjuncts than their normal distribution would predict. On the other hand, relational clauses are massively underrepresented. Behavioural and existential clauses are also less frequent with manner adjuncts than predicted by their general distribution. The frequencies of mental and verbal clauses are rather similar across the two studies, indicating that they have no particular bias for or against manner adjuncts. Like the present study, Matthiessen (1999: 45) finds a greater than expected frequency of manner and accompaniment adjuncts in material clauses and a lower frequency in relational clauses (with the exception of similarity adjuncts).

10.2.3 *Distribution of manner adjuncts across text types*

Like space and time adjuncts, manner adjuncts are unevenly distributed across text types. [Table 10.2](#) shows the distribution. Manner quality adjuncts are by far the most frequent type in all the text types, ranging from 45% of the total in conversation to 71% in fiction. Only news, academic writing and sports commentaries contain all the semantic subcategories of manner adjuncts, while the other three lack one or two types.

The frequency of manner adjuncts shown in [table 10.2](#) divides the text types into three groups: fiction has a high number, corresponding to 30 per 10,000 words; sports commentaries and academic writing are intermediate, with frequencies of 21 and 18 per 10,000 words respectively, while letters, conversation and news have only about half that frequency.

Manner adjuncts are not among the linguistic features included in Biber's (1988) factor analysis. However, process adjuncts discussed in Biber *et al.* (1999: 783) and are found to be among the most frequent types of adjunct in the four registers studied. Like the present study, Biber *et al.* find manner quality to be the most common type of process adjunct (1999: 783), while

Table 10.2 *Distribution of manner adjuncts across text types*

	quality		instrument		means		method		accomp.		similarity		other*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	32	60.4	0	0	6	11.3	2	3.8	8	15.1	2	3.8	3	5.7	53	100
Fiction	107	71.3	9	6.0	0	0	1	0.7	16	10.7	17	11.3	0	0	150	100
News	24	50.0	1	2.1	4	8.3	7	14.6	4	8.3	3	6.3	5	10.4	48	100
Academic	50	54.9	1	1.1	11	12.1	8	8.8	9	9.9	3	3.3	9	9.9	91	100
Comment	65	60.7	9	8.4	6	5.6	15	14.0	7	6.5	2	1.9	3	2.8	107	100
Conversation	22	44.9	4	8.2	0	0	1	2.0	18	36.7	3	6.1	1	2.0	49	100
TOTAL	300	60.2	24	4.8	27	5.4	34	6.8	62	12.4	30	6.0	21	4.2	498	100

* The category ‘other’ comprises attire and role/capacity; cf. [section 2.7](#).

means and instrument adjuncts are less frequent in all text types. However, the conversation material of Biber *et al.* shows a much higher frequency of manner adjuncts than that of the present study (1999: 784), surpassing the number found in fiction. Furthermore, academic prose is found to have fewer manner adjuncts than news (*ibid.*). The great discrepancy between Biber *et al.*'s results and my own is surprising, but must be explained by variation in content and style in the text samples included.

In the present material, the two more interactive text types (letters and conversation) have the highest proportion of accompaniment adjuncts – they thus seem to be more concerned with the number of people involved in the actions that are recounted.

Fiction has the highest number and proportion of manner quality adjuncts of all the text types. Furthermore, it has the highest proportion of similarity adjuncts, thus reflecting a descriptive style, emphasising qualities of actions and making comparisons. Example (20) shows an extract with a clustering of manner adjuncts, clearly contributing to a descriptive style along with the many adjectives and (other) noun modifiers.

- (20) The surviving children were all under five years of age. They played *with the Gilmore girls* in the garden, their clothes contrasting *painfully*. Nell and Anne were wearing new, good quality dresses, while the clothes of Miriam's nieces would not have been accepted *for cleaning-rags* by a fussy woman.

Patience was aware of the contrast in the children's clothing and she said *apologetically*, 'It's difficult keeping them *decently* clad with things being *the way they are*. I can get bal-work on the mines sometimes – but Marcus couldn't get steady work, even when all the mines were working.'

'Would that be Marcus Hooper?'

Josh put the question *sharply* and Patience looked at him *quickly* before shrugging her shoulders *in a gesture of resignation*. <W2F-007>

News is the genre with the highest proportion of method adjuncts, as illustrated by (21). A possible reason for this may be that method adjuncts are typically realised by non-finite structures which are well suited to giving backgrounded information in a condensed form in a text type where space is precious. Another type which is relatively more frequent in news than in the other text types is role/capacity, as exemplified by (22).

- (21) HEAD TEACHERS are planning to challenge a key part of the government's education reforms *by opting out of the national curriculum which lays down what children should learn*. <W2C-002>
- (22) Prosecutor Howard Vagg said there was a "whole spray paint culture" with gangs using trains *as "canvasses"*. <W2C-020>

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10.2.4 Manner adjuncts versus act-related disjuncts

As pointed out by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 675), many adverbs that can function as manner adjuncts can also belong to an ‘act-related category’, evaluating the whole event rather than describing the way in which it is carried out. Typically, manner adjuncts can be rephrased by ‘in a ____ manner’, and act-related disjuncts as ‘[the subject] was ____ to ...’.

There is often no sharp dividing line between pure manner adjuncts and act-related disjuncts, especially when ‘judgment is passed on the wisdom or manner of what is described’ (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 621). This is particularly clear with adverbs in medial position, as illustrated by examples (23)–(25). By contrast, initial position favours a disjunct reading and end position a manner reading; see (25a) and (25b).

- (23) They *foolishly* overlooked his consistently abysmal record on human rights, on the naive principle that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”. <W2E-001>
- (24) Towler does not claim that his typology was exhaustive – he might, for example, have added mysticism or millenarianism – but he *convincingly* demonstrates that assumptions that only one type of religiousness represents ‘real’ Christianity or even ‘real’ Anglicanism are unwarranted. <W2A-012>
- (25) The architect has *cleverly* preserved the integrity of the lofty space by restricting an inserted upper level to the central section of the room. (BNC A79: 902)
- (25a) *Cleverly* the architect has preserved the integrity of the lofty space . . .
- (25b) The architect has preserved the integrity of the lofty space *cleverly* . . .

The italicised adverb in (23) most likely conveys the writer’s evaluation of the situation: the message is ‘they were foolish’ rather than ‘they overlooked his record in a foolish manner’ since it is hard to imagine a ‘foolish’ manner of overlooking something. The adverbs in (24) and (25), however, may be ambiguous between a disjunct and a manner adjunct reading. In the former, *convincingly* may apply to either the writer’s evaluation or the subject’s manner of presentation. Most likely there are elements of both. Similarly, *cleverly* in (25) might be an evaluation of the subject – thus a disjunct – or a description of the way in which the architect has managed to preserve the integrity of the space, a reading which is supported by the final method adjunct. Again, the expression probably carries elements of both meanings, the adverb being in itself evaluative. However, there is nothing in the form of the adverbials that favours one or the other reading – rather the interpretation is arrived at via semantics and pragmatics. Thus, a manner reading is supported if it is possible to see the adjunct as a manner specification of the verb in the context; if not, the disjunct reading prevails.

10.2.5 *Manner clauses*

Only a small proportion of the manner adjuncts in the core corpus (6%) are realised by clauses. The categories most frequently realised by clauses are method and similarity, with 17 and 9 occurrences respectively. Accompaniment, attire and quality adjuncts are realised by clauses once or twice each. Method and similarity clauses are exemplified in (26) and (27).

- (26) The dominant species is generally a motile algae which is better able to exploit the available surface light *by forming dense bands*; <W2A-021>
 (27) He finally arrives in Pompeii, having forgotten his dream of Vesuvius, and when he apparently meets there the living original of Gradiva, he feels that he is dreaming, and invites her to lie down again *as she had done in his previous vision*. <W2A-002>

Method clauses are typically prepositional clauses with *by*, as in (26). Similarity clauses are more typically finite, introduced by *as* (*if/though*), as in (27). Example (27) compares the matrix predicate to a factual situation, unlike example (9) above, where *as if* marks the comparable situation as counterfactual. As noted in section 6.2.7, there is a converse relationship between method clauses and purpose clauses. While the purpose clause specifies the goal of the action described in the matrix clause, the method clause specifies the way in which the matrix clause situation is achieved. Thus, (26) could be paraphrased as in (26a).

- (26a) The algae form dense bands *in order to be better able to exploit the available surface light*;

10.2.6 *Sequences of manner adjuncts*

Although manner adjuncts are frequent, they do not often occur in sequences; the core corpus has only 11 sequences of manner adjuncts, of which nine are clusters in end position and two are combinations of initial and end position. Eight of the examples involve a manner:quality adjunct. To the extent that anything can be said about patterns on the basis of so few examples, it seems that quality adjuncts precede others. Examples are given in (28)–(30).

- (28) All he could focus on was the haunted look in her eyes, and know he would never be able to live *in peace* || *with that memory*. <W2F-012>
 (29) You have to love another human being *the way God loves us* || *without expecting us to change first*. <W1B-003>
 (30) These forces can be known and expressed *only indirectly*, || *through the condensations and displacements of dream imagery*. <W2A-002>

The quality adjuncts in (28)–(30) are followed by adjuncts of accompaniment, method and means, respectively. The clusters shown in these examples also agree with the weight principle, which is typical of the clusters in this group.

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Possibly, quality adjuncts tend to be placed closer to the verb on account of a semantic association with the verb as well as on account of their realisation, which is often a relatively short phrase.

10.2.7 Manner adjuncts: concluding remarks

The prototypical manner adjuncts are those denoting quality, which can be rephrased by ‘in a ___ way’. However, an action can be qualified in other ways, notably by comparing it to something else, or by specifying the instrument, means or method by which it was carried out. Accompaniment is a less central type of manner adjunct; in some cases an accompaniment adjunct obviously specifies manner, as in (31) below, while other accompaniment adjuncts may border on space or respect specification, as noted above.

(31) but this rider has gone out *on his own* <,> <S2A-016>

To sum up, the use of manner adjuncts varies across process types as well as text types. As regards process types, it is quite clear that manner specification is most frequent with material process verbs, i.e. with dynamic action verbs.

Manner adjuncts sometimes overlap with act-related disjuncts, but apart from this, they are not found with discourse functions other than their basic, experiential ones. Unlike adjuncts of time and space they are thus not frequently transferred metaphorically to other domains or grammaticalised into other metafunctions.

Clausal expressions of manner are relatively rare except with specifications of method and similarity, which tend to be realised by non-finite and finite structures, respectively. Sequences of manner adjuncts are also scarce in the core corpus. Clusters of manner adjuncts seem to be organised mainly according to the weight principle. In addition, quality adjuncts tend to precede other types of manner adjunct.

10.3 Contingency adjuncts

10.3.1 More on subtypes of contingency adjuncts

Contingency adjuncts are the fourth most frequent semantic category in the present study. They were also found to be among the most frequently occurring adjunct types by Biber *et al.* (1999: 783). The following semantic subtypes of contingency adjuncts were distinguished in table 2.2: cause, purpose, result, condition and concession. Of these, cause, purpose and condition are most frequent, result is rare, and concession has a frequency in between these.

As pointed out in section 2.4.4, purpose and cause meanings may overlap, although purpose adjuncts tend to be non-factive while cause adjuncts are factive. It seems, however, that the dynamicity of the matrix verb plays a role

in the construal of purpose adjuncts. Purpose adjuncts typically occur with dynamic verbs which represent directed actions rather than states, but with stative verbs they become more similar to cause adjuncts.

- (32) I think there's an attachment to the frame *to try and cut down on the wind resistance* <S2A-016>
 (33) Against all the cosmic rules and forces that are there *to prevent interference*, Fred has opened the way. <W2F-002>

In (32) the purpose of the 'attachment to the frame' is also the reason for its being there. Similarly, the purpose adjunct in (33) gives the reason for the existence of the 'cosmic rules and forces' referred to in the matrix clause. Since a typical purpose meaning seems to presuppose a directed action with an agent, the distinction between cause and purpose remains unclear in (32) and (33) unless a purposeful agent is inferred.

Purpose adjuncts may also blend into temporal meaning. In example (34) a purpose clause is used to mark temporal sequence, i.e. it marks a subsequent action, rather than one that is necessarily the purpose of carrying out the first part. The paraphrase with co-ordination in (34a) has roughly the same meaning, thus showing that there is very little, if any, purpose meaning in (34). The temporal sequence meaning of purpose constructions must be due to the temporal sequence inherent in such constructions (see also [section 6.2.7](#)).

- (34) He turned suddenly and ran, *to reappear a moment later with a bright yellow racing car*. <W2F-003>
 (34a) He turned suddenly and ran, *and reappeared* a moment later . . .
 (35) I scoffed at such nonsense, and leapt up the beach, lanyard in hand, *only to fall flat in the surf*, as the waves turned sand from firm to quick. (BNC: A15 369)

Example (35) also has a purpose adjunct with temporal sequence meaning. The purpose clauses in (34) and (35) differ from more typical purpose clauses in being factive and also in not necessarily denoting the intended outcome of the action referred to in the matrix predicate, as is clearly the case in (35). The lack of intentionality is emphasised by the modification of the adjunct by means of *only*.

Conditional adjuncts are generally divided into 'open' and 'hypothetical', as pointed out in [section 4.5](#) (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999: 819). However, not all conditional adjuncts fit neatly into this distinction; thus the diagrams in [figure 10.2](#) include a category of 'other'. This category contains conditionals that are related to the proposition or the speech-act, or that are subject-like. Proposition-related adjuncts 'specify the condition under which the speaker makes the utterance' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1096); i.e. they do not specify a condition under which the proposition in the matrix clause is true or valid, but rather a condition under which the proposition or proposal in the matrix

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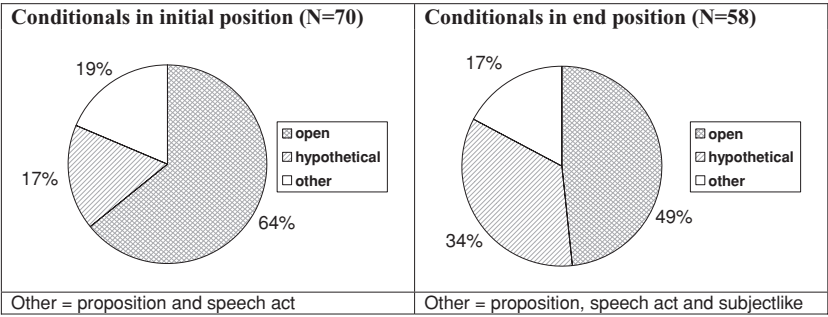


Figure 10.2 Conditional meanings in initial and end position.

clause applies. An example is given in (36); the instruction not to be surprised applies only ‘if Charles is the new owner’.

- (36) A member of the vendors’ camp said: “It has not yet been sold but don’t be surprised *if Charles is the new owner*. <W2C-020>

Speech-act-related conditionals correspond roughly to those that are said to represent ‘indirect conditions’ in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1089), often representing hedges or metalinguistic comments (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1096). An example is given in (37). As such adverbials can be viewed as disjuncts, further examples are discussed in section 10.3.4.

- (37) ‘We got you away from Bad Eddie, *if that’s what you mean*,’ he said. <W2F-002>

Figure 10.2 shows that the meanings of conditionals vary according to position in the clause. Notably, the label ‘subject-like’ occurs only in end position. The way in which a conditional clause can be subject-like is shown in example (38), which may be paraphrased as (38a) with an extraposed *that*-clause as subject. While (38) is ambiguous between a nominal and an adverbial interpretation of the *if*-clause, the use of initial position in (38b) makes the clause unambiguously conditional, expressing an open condition.

- (38) Uhm well it’s not his fault is it *if he hasn’t uh been sent the forms* <S1A-007>
(38a) Uhm well it’s not his fault is it *that he hasn’t uh been sent the forms*
(38b) Uhm well *if he hasn’t uh been sent the forms* it’s not his fault is it

Cause adjuncts also have proposition and speech-act related uses, as shown in (39) and (40). These will be discussed further in section 10.3.4.

- (39) watch the cats *because I’ve left the bits of duck* <,> <S1A-039>
(40) Annie said, “*Since you mention it*, I am taking a holiday. (BNC: FP7 534)

Table 10.3 *Distribution of contingency adjuncts across process types*

	cause		purpose		result		condition		concession		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	48	32.4	108	78.3	3	60	46	35.7	19	33.3	224	47.0
Relational	67	45.3	17	12.3	1	20	57	44.2	22	38.6	164	34.4
Mental	19	12.8	6	4.3	1	20	16	12.4	13	22.8	55	11.5
Verbal	5	3.4	2	1.4	0	0	7	5.4	1	1.8	15	3.1
Behavioural	3	2.0	4	2.9	0	0	1	0.8	1	1.8	9	1.9
Existential	6	4.1	1	0.7	0	0	2	1.6	1	1.8	10	2.1
TOTAL	148	100	138	99.9	5	100	129	100	57	100.1	477	100

10.3.2 *Distribution of contingency adjuncts across process types*

Considering the distribution of time, space and manner adjuncts across process types, it is only to be expected that various types of contingency adjuncts are also distributed unevenly, as shown in [table 10.3](#). Cause and condition adjuncts seem to have a fairly even distribution across process types in relation to the overall frequency of processes (see [Matthiessen 1999: 16](#)). However, it is striking that these two types of adjunct, as well as concessive adjuncts, are rather more frequent with relational than with material process verbs. This means that claims made in relational clauses are often justified by means of a causal adjunct, as in (41). Similarly, such claims are also often hedged by means of a concessive or conditional adjunct, as in (42).

- (41) German firms have an existing advantage *as a greater number of their managers have technical or engineering degrees*. <W2A-011>
 (42) *Properly run* it could be the best little mine in the area. <W2F-007>

Purpose adjuncts, on the other hand, occur chiefly with material process verbs and less commonly with other process types. However, as shown in (33) above, purpose adjuncts occur with relational verbs too. In (43), a purpose adjunct is used with a mental verb. As in (32) and (33) above, the adjunct takes sentential scope, justifying the whole process referred to in the matrix clause and representing a blend of cause and purpose meaning.

- (43) The gangsters are manoeuvring for a majority that will categorise drug trafficking as a political offence – equating narco-terrorism with guerrilla violence *for the purposes of a free pardon* – and that will outlaw extradition and confiscation of profits and other assets. <W2C-001>

Result adjuncts are rare in the core corpus, and little can be said about them on the basis of [table 10.3](#). However, a search in the ICE-GB for *so that* produced more examples, most of which had a material process verb in the matrix. Many also had a relational process verb, while other types were not found. Result adjuncts thus seem to behave much like purpose adjuncts with respect to the types of verb they co-occur with.

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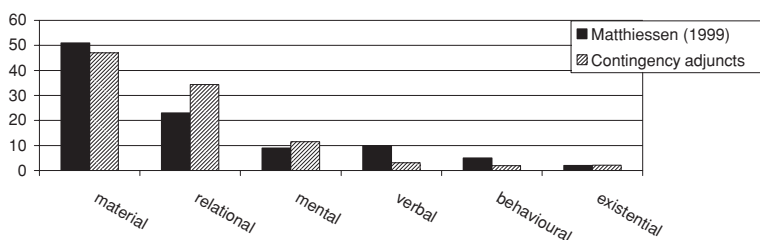


Figure 10.3 The distribution of process types in a general corpus and in clauses containing contingency adjuncts.

Verbal, behavioural and existential processes occur only rarely with contingency adjuncts in the core corpus. This is perhaps most unexpected in the case of verbal processes which represent actions that can be carried out for reasons, with a purpose and on condition, as indeed shown in examples (44)–(46). It is possible that such qualifications of verbal processes are more common in other text types than those included in the core corpus.

- (44) I have indeed dwelt on the unification of Italy *because in many respects it set the pattern for the wider unity that was to follow*. <W2A-001>
- (45) Apparently the B. Acad. is massively cutting ~~downs~~ down on its funding of the B. sch, (so much so that milk is whisked away off the table after breakfast, and you have to haggle *to make a cup of coffee*)... <W1B-009>
- (46) *If you rang her now* she'd say yes Louis <S1A-020>

The co-occurrence of contingency adjuncts with various process types follows a rather different pattern from those of space, time and manner adjuncts when compared to the general distribution of process types, as shown in figure 10.3. Contingency adjuncts are slightly underrepresented with material processes while they occur with a greater than expected frequency in relational and mental processes. Verbal and behavioural processes are also underrepresented. Again the findings seem to agree with those of Matthiessen (1999: 44), except that he has a slightly greater frequency of contingency adjuncts with material processes and also a higher than expected frequency of contingency adjuncts with behavioural processes. In the case of behavioural processes, the numbers are so small in both studies that any differences are easily due to chance.

10.3.3 Distribution of contingency adjuncts across text types

The text types included in the core corpus differ with respect to the number of contingency adjuncts they contain and also the frequency of the different categories of contingency. The distribution is shown in table 10.4.

Table 10.4 *Distribution of contingency adjuncts across text types*

	cause		purpose		result		condition		concession		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	36	35.6	18	17.8	0	0	35	34.7	12	11.9	101	100
Fiction	10	13.5	37	50	1	1.4	21	28.4	5	6.8	74	100.1
News	17	20.5	34	41.0	1	1.2	24	28.9	7	8.4	83	100
Academic	42	41.2	14	13.7	3	2.9	19	18.6	24	23.5	102	99.9
Commentary	8	17.4	24	52.2	0	0	9	19.6	5	10.9	46	100.1
Conversation	35	49.3	11	15.5	0	0	21	29.6	4	5.6	71	100
TOTAL	148	31.0	138	28.9	5	1.0	129	27.0	57	11.9	477	99.8

Biber *et al.* (1999) find adjuncts of cause, purpose and condition to be the most frequent types of contingency adjunct in all the text types investigated. The proportional use is found to vary across registers, as is also the case in the present study, but the variation described gives a different picture than does table 10.4. The findings of Biber *et al.* (1999: 784) are the following:

- In conversation, cause/reason and condition dominate.
- In fiction and news, cause/reason and purpose are most common.
- In academic prose, purpose is most common, followed equally by cause/reason and condition.

As shown in table 10.4, the present investigation shows similar results for conversation. However, in fiction and news, purpose and condition are more common than cause adjuncts. Furthermore, both cause and concession adjuncts outnumber purpose and condition in academic writing. As suggested for manner adjuncts in section 10.2.3, it may be the content and style of the sample texts of the two studies that account for the difference. Personal letters, not included as one of Biber *et al.*'s registers, roughly follow the pattern of conversation, as was the case with manner adjuncts. Sports commentaries have a great predominance of purpose adjuncts, followed equally by cause and condition. Result adjuncts are infrequent in all the text types, but the extended search referred to in section 10.3.2 indicated that they are more common in natural science texts than in other text types.

The text types that rely most heavily on contingency adjuncts are letters and academic writing, while fiction, news and conversation have slightly lower frequencies. Commentary stands out by having markedly fewer contingency adjuncts than the other text types. Those that do occur typically denote purpose, as shown in (47).

- (47) And Loretson used that sprint <,> to springboard to an attack...
<S2A-016>

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In letters, cause and condition adjuncts are most frequent. Academic writing is also concerned with causal relationships and is the only genre in which concessive adjuncts are relatively frequent. Example (48) illustrates how contingency may prevail in a piece of academic writing. In addition to the italicised adjuncts, note the causal connector *as a result* as well as phrases with contingency meaning occurring as modifiers of deverbal nouns (e.g. 'the adjustment of strategy to *derive the full benefits available from its use*').

- (48) *Although senior management reserve the power to make strategic decisions, those lower down, if they have an awareness of the strategic dimensions of systems-related decisions, may exercise a hidden influence. This potential will clearly be pronounced to the extent that senior management lack such an awareness* (Campbell *et al.* 1988). The lack of such an awareness at higher levels may, however, suffocate strategically appropriate use of new technology, or the adjustment of strategy to derive the full benefits available from its use. A survey of consultants' views on systems implementation (Campbell 1989) revealed this lack of awareness to be a recurrent problem in terms of effective choice and implementation of systems. Senior managers in many firms were said to fail to comprehend the scope of changes implied by a move into or up-grading of information technology. As a result, consultants found themselves forced to play down some of these implications in the early stages *for fear of losing the contract*. Where internal managers rather than external consultants play the leading role in initiating change of this type, a similar sequence of events is not uncommon. With internal managers there may, however, be some benefit in political terms, *since the same lack of awareness at higher levels that necessitates the use of guile on their part may consolidate their 'ownership'* (see Pettigrew, 1973) *of the technology concerned*. <W2A-011>

Biber (1988: 102 and 108) includes causative and conditional subordination as linguistic features in 'Factor 1' (involved vs. information production). Their presence is typical of texts at the involved end of the scale. Conditional subordination is also a feature in 'Factor 4' (overt expression of persuasion); see Biber (1988: 111). The presumably most 'involved' text types in the core corpus are letters and conversation, both of which indeed have high proportions of causative adjuncts. However, it seems odd that academic writing should be more involved than informational. One must remember that causative subordination is only one of the features along Biber's Factor 1 that can distinguish texts, and that the other features have not been investigated in the present study. None of the text types in the core corpus would seem to be particularly persuasive in nature; however, it is interesting that letters have the highest proportion of conditional adjuncts. There are passages in the letters that give instructions to the receiver, as shown in (49). Although

the writer may not be said to try to *persuade* the addressees, at least she is doing her best to direct their future actions.

- (49) Dear Laura & Simon,
 Enclosed is a bus timetable for London to Haverhill. Hope it's useful. Are you going to stay over? You know you're welcome & the last No.38 leaves Haverhill at 3 pm! Alternative route is to get National Express to Cambridge & then Cambus (of which I can give you details *if necessary*). *If you come by No.38*, remember to get out at Haverhill or you'll go to prison.

If possible, could we please have our Locoscript 2 disc back? I must remember to give you your linguistics books back, Laura. See you next week,

Lots of love,

Ruthie & Chris <W1B-009>

10.3.4 Discourse functions of contingency adjuncts

Causal and conditional adverbials may take a peripheral role with respect to the core of the clause, i.e. they need not express the cause of or condition for the situation in the matrix clause, but rather comment on the whole proposition or the act of making it, as noted in [section 10.3.1](#). Examples (50) and (51) show such peripheral uses of conditionals.

- (50) The work number is, *if you ever feel extravagant enough to call me at work*, (2)236.57.50. <W1B-002>
 (51) I've just thought something else you can get for me *if you don't mind*. <W1B-002>

Conditionals such as those in (50) and (51) are described by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1095ff) as disjuncts. Unlike other conditionals, they do not limit or influence the truth or validity of the matrix clause proposition; they only add some extra information. Obviously, the phone number referred to in (50) does not depend on the addressee's potential extravagance, and whether the addressee of (51) minds or not is not really a condition for the matrix clause situation. The conditionals in (50) and (51) are thus doing interpersonal work: in (50) it gives a reason for conveying this piece of information, and in (51) it hedges the writer's request for a favour from the addressee.

Peripheral cause adverbials are exemplified in (52)–(54). The highlighted adverbials do not refer to the actual causes of the situation described in the matrix clause; in this they are parallel to (50) and (51) above. In (52) the adverbial refers to the speaker's grounds for thinking that society was simplistic, and in (53) it hedges and justifies the whole utterance by means of a metalinguistic comment. In (54) the adverbial gives the speaker's reason for making the offer in the matrix clause.

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- (52) If I'm sort of you know pigged off with things at school I will pick up Pride and Prejudice and immerse myself in this you know sort of uhm society where everything was simplistic <,> *because all all a woman wants is a man to marry her* <S1A-013>
- (53) Well *as you asked* I'd like to be softer, quieter . . . <W1B-003>
- (54) So why don't you have my one *cos I think I might nip off shortly* <S1A-042>

It may be noted that adverbials such as the one in (52) are related to the matrix by means of *elaboration* (Halliday 2004: 396) rather than *enhancement*, which is the typical relation of cause adjuncts to their matrix (2004: 262). Thus the adverbial in (52) explicates the way in which society was simplistic rather than postulating a reason for it. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1104) describe this use as *indirect reason* and classify adverbials such as those in (52)–(54) as disjuncts: 'the reason is not related to the situation in the matrix clause but is a motivation for the implicit speech act of the utterance'. Similarly, Ford (1993: 103) describes the function of causal clauses that are loosely connected to their matrix as introducing 'background, motivating, or explanatory material'. Again, the function of the cause adverbials is interpersonal.

Stenström (1998), among others, points out that a *because*-clause, or rather, *because* itself, can also have a connector function parallel to conjunct adverbials. According to Stenström, *because*, particularly when pronounced as *cos* in colloquial speech, has a 'non-subordinating use' (1998: 138). This non-subordinating use is described as 'a continuation signal, introducing information that is loosely or not obviously connected to what was said before' (1998: 143). An example is given in (55).

- (55) A: It's very sensible actually
B: Yeah
A: *Cos* I was just thinking about Pete at Edinburgh the AI thing
<S1A-005>

The *cos*-clause, far from specifying a reason for anything in A's previous talk, introduces a new topic into the discourse. The use of *cos* serves to connect the utterance to the previous discourse even if the apparent causal relationship does not hold. Stenström concludes that the main function of *cos* as a discourse-marker 'is ultimately to serve as a take-off for further talk' (1998: 144). In other words, the meaning of *cos* is bleached to the extent that it simply signals that the upcoming talk is in some way relevant to the previous discourse. It is possible, in a process of grammaticalisation, that the indirect reason meanings of *because* have paved the way for the even less specific connective use of *cos*. We can thus see a cline from experiential to textual meaning whereby the causal meaning of *because* is gradually reduced. The uses and meanings of *because/cos* can be summed up as in figure 10.4.

	EXPERIENTIAL	➡	INTERPERSONAL	➡	TEXTUAL
SYNTACTIC FUNCTION	introducing cause adjunct	➡	introducing disjunct	➡	continuative
MEANING	direct reason	➡	indirect reason	➡	loose (quasi-) causal connection
DISCOURSE FUNCTION	cause–effect relationship with matrix clause	➡	background for utterance or speech-act / metalinguistic comment	➡	take-off for further talk; possibly non-causal link with previous discourse

Figure 10.4 Uses of *because/cos*.

Concession adjuncts may also be indirectly related to the matrix clause, as shown in example (56). The contradiction and disfluencies in the passage make it difficult to ascertain the relation between the concessive clause and the rest of the utterance, but the meaning of *although* seems to be close to a co-ordinator marking a contrastive relation to the preceding talk. At the same time, the *although*-clause functions as a hedge for the following part of the utterance.

- (56) I mean we would have been <,> we would have both been very unhappier # *Although* I don't think we would have been unhappy actually but I think perhaps <,,> for me # I don't know how Jeremy felt inside # but for me I would have felt unhappy enough <S1A-050>

No purpose clause with an indirect purpose relation to the matrix clause was found. However, some infinitive clauses that are formally identical to purpose clauses may function as disjuncts and conjuncts, as shown in (57) and (58).

- (57) *To be fair* you used to come when your Mum and Dad were still living in Portland Road but you haven't been since <,,> <S1A-027>
 (58) *To sum up*, I see no reason yet to be too concerned. <W1B-029>

The adverbial in (57) is a comment on the speaker's attitude, not on the subject referent's purpose in coming to visit. In (58) the adverbial signposts a stage in the discourse. The infinitive marker in these examples cannot be expanded into *in order to*, thus showing that the infinitives in (57) and (58) are different from purpose clauses. Moreover there seems to be a relatively limited range of *to*-infinitives that can have these functions. It was noted above, however, that the relationship between a purpose clause and its matrix may approach that of co-ordination, as discussed in connection with examples (34) and (35) above. This move from a hypotactic to a paratactic relationship may also be seen as a glide in the direction of textual meaning for the *to*-infinitive.

10.3.5 Realisations of contingency adjuncts

Contingency adjuncts differ from other adjunct types in their preferred realisation. As shown in figure 2.3, over 80% of contingency adjuncts are realised by clauses (55% finite and 28% non-finite). This has consequences

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for the placement of contingency adjuncts, as discussed in sections 4.5 and 6.3. It is noteworthy that the preference for clausal realisation applies to all subcategories of contingency adjunct, even if different clause types may be preferred. Causal adjuncts are typically realised by finite clauses, but are also rather commonly realised by prepositional phrases, as illustrated by (59).

- (59) Uh sometimes books bought deliberately *for their archive value* <S1A-013>
(60) Brett opened his mouth *to protest*, but Dad raised his hand *to stop him*. <W2F-001>
(61) She nodded and smiled, pushing him forward to hold up his face *for a kiss*. <W2F-003>

The preferred realisation type of purpose adjuncts is an infinitive clause, as in (60), but occasionally a prepositional phrase, typically introduced by *for*, is used, as in (61). Conditional adjuncts are usually realised by finite clauses and only rarely by phrases; an example is given in (62). Notably, the head noun in the PP complement is eventive and thus verb-like.

- (62) Labour Opposition leader Roy Hattersley denounced the charges and said they would be repealed *in the event of a Labour election victory*. <W2C-020>
(63) The Claw is not omniscient, *much as it would like us to believe it is*. <W2F-002>

Concessive adjuncts are also most commonly realised by finite clauses introduced by *although*, (*even*) *though* etc. Some other subordinators also occur, for example *much as* in (63), and PP realisations with *despite* and *in spite of*.

10.3.6 Sequences of contingency adjuncts

There are few sequences of contingency adjuncts in the material. Just over half of them are combinations, mostly of initial and end position. This is due to contingency adjuncts being realised mainly by clauses; clusters of clausal adjuncts in the same position may be difficult to interpret correctly. Most of the combinations of contingency adjuncts involve a conditional adjunct in initial position, as shown in (64).

- (64) *If needed*, decoy puffins may be used *to encourage the real birds back*. <W2C-015>

No pattern of semantic subcategories could be identified in the eight clusters of contingency adjuncts in end position. Instead it seems that the organisation of the clusters is determined on the basis of syntactic weight. An example is given in (65).

- (65) and Lewis would do well *not to get involved in any close-quarter brawling* || *because he's got this superior height and reach advantage and looks good when he's working behind the jab* <S2A-009>
- (66) Every guard on duty in the East turned *to see the cause of the commotion*, || *to discover a US military vehicle racing through the check-point and away from a group of US soldiers, one of whom was waving a gun in protest.* <W2F-012>

Furthermore, scope is clearly a factor, as in (66), where the second adjunct has scope over the first. It may also be noted that the second adjunct in (66) has the kind of temporal meaning described in [section 10.3.1](#) above which attracts it to cluster-final position. As found with respect to other sequences of adjuncts, those with the most peripheral meanings in relation to the core of the clause take the most peripheral positions. Thus, adverbials bordering on or functioning as disjuncts will be placed either clause-initially or cluster-finally in end position.

10.3.7 Contingency adjuncts: concluding remarks

The frequency of contingency adjuncts varies across text types and they were found to be most frequent in academic writing and letters and least frequent in sports commentaries. Adjuncts of cause, purpose and condition are most frequent, while result adjuncts are rare. Concessive adjuncts are rare in all genres except academic writing. In contrast with space, time and manner adjuncts, contingency adjuncts are slightly underused in material clauses, but overrepresented in relational clauses.

Purpose and cause clauses in end position may blend into temporal meaning, as the causal link may be weakened. This was particularly clear with purpose clauses expressing a factive event. Furthermore, cause and condition adjuncts were found to have interpersonal uses, i.e. a causal or conditional adjunct may be related to the proposition or the speech act instead of relating directly to the content of the matrix clause. Moreover, the conjunction *because*, particularly in its reduced form *cos*, was found to have a discourse marker use, expressing a loose connection with the preceding context and functioning as a take-off for further talk (see Stenström 1998). Similarly, some instances of concession and purpose clauses were found to display an almost paratactic relationship with their matrix clause.

Contingency adjuncts are predominantly realised by clauses. This has implications for their placement and for their potential to occur in sequences. Sequences of manner adjuncts tend to be combinations of initial and end position, typically with an initial conditional adjunct. Clusters in end position seem to be organised according to weight and scope.

11

Other adjunct types: participant, respect, focus, degree, situation, comparison and viewpoint

11.1 Introduction

The present chapter deals with the less frequent adjunct categories: participant, respect, focus, degree, situation, comparison and viewpoint. Participant and respect adjuncts are presented relatively fully as regards their subtypes and their distribution across text types. The presentation of the remaining adjunct types is somewhat different. With the exception of degree adjuncts, they are not divided into subcategories and they are too infrequent in the core corpus for a study of their distribution to be meaningful. The discussion of these types thus focuses on frequency and co-occurrence with process types. In addition, focus, degree and viewpoint adjuncts are discussed with respect to placement, scope and adjunct status. There is a separate section on the placement and scope of focus and intensifier adjuncts.

11.2 Participant adjuncts

11.2.1 *The category and the subtypes of participant adjuncts*

Participant adjuncts are not a commonly recognised category of adjuncts; see sections 2.3 and 2.4.7. As the label suggests, they are a hybrid between adjunct function at the syntactic level and participant function at the semantic level. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 559) and Biber *et al.* (1999: 778) view agent adjuncts as a subtype of process adjunct together with manner, means, instrument and comparison. However, Biber *et al.*'s category of recipient adjuncts (1999: 781) roughly corresponds to that of beneficiary in the present classification.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 674) describe an expressed agent as an internalised complement rather than an adjunct (see also section 2.4.7). Similarly, Halliday classifies the roles of agent ('Actor'), beneficiary ('Recipient' and 'Client') and product ('resultative Attribute') as participants rather than circumstantials (2004: 182, 190 and 195). Such participants are described as *indirect*, as they are 'linked into the process via some preposition or other' (2004: 261). But even though they are not circumstantials in the transitivity structure, indirect participants are labelled adjuncts in the syntactic analysis

Table 11.1 Participant adjuncts with nominal counterparts in agnate structures

Semantic role	Participant adjunct	Agnate structure	Agnate function
Agent	It wasn't cleared properly <i>by the Soviet defence</i> <S2A-001>	<i>The Soviet defence</i> didn't clear it properly	Subject
Beneficiary	I lent a book <i>to Jill Yeats's daughter</i> <S1A-013>	I lent <i>Jill Yeats's daughter</i> a book.	Indirect object
Source	He robbed her life-savings <i>from her.</i>	... he robbed <i>her</i> of her life-savings ... (BNC: CKF 2303)	Direct object
Behalf	But Jason Leonard tidies it up <i>for <,,> England</i> <S2A-002>	(But <i>England</i> tidies it up)	(Subject)
Product	It would be a pity to turn it <i>into firewood</i> (BNC: BM4 1618)	It would be a pity to make <i>firewood</i> out of it.	Direct object

(e.g. 2004: 182). It is this dual nature of prepositional phrases with participant roles that led me to establish the participant adjunct category. Most of these roles (possibly except behalf) can be served by nominal constituents in agnate structures, as shown in table 11.1.

Behalf adjuncts are considered a category of cause adjuncts in Halliday (2004: 262). The probing question is *who for*, and typical realisations are said to include *for*, *for the sake of*, *in favour of*, *against*, *on behalf of*. Although doing something on behalf of somebody else can be the reason for doing it, the behalf category is closer to the beneficiary meaning than to causal meaning. However, as (1) may indicate, some adjuncts are on the borderline between behalf and cause; the excitement may be seen as something that happens 'on behalf of Jeremy' or 'because of Jeremy'.

- (1) I bet you're all excited *for Jeremy!* <W1B-002>
- (2) Comfort her *for God's sake.* <W2F-002>
- (3) He is also expected to recommend abolishing many existing county or district authorities *in favour of a one-tier system of local government.* <W2C-020>

The adjunct in (2) is, however, considered causal; it is closer to saying *why* 'she' should be comforted than that the addressee should comfort 'her' on behalf or for the benefit of God.¹ Similarly, the adjunct in (3) is closer to denoting a *purpose* of abolishing existing authorities than a participant for whom this is carried out.

¹ A third possibility is to regard such expressions as *for God's sake* as peripheral 'inserts' (see Biber *et al.* 1999: 1082ff), thus not belonging to the category of adjuncts at all.

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Table 11.2 *The distribution of participant adjuncts across process types*

	agent		beneficiary		source		behalf		product		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	95	81.2	34	75.6	3	100	5	50	2	100	139	78.5
Relational	5	4.3	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	7	4.0
Mental	9	7.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	5.1
Verbal	8	6.8	11	24.4	0	0	3	30	0	0	22	12.4
Behavioural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Existential	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	117	100	45	100	3	100	10	100	2	11.8	177	100

- (4) Say hello to her *for me!* <W1B-002>
(5) Well twenty-seven goals Allan Smith has scored *for Arsenal* this season . . . <S2A-001>

The italicised adjunct (4) is on the borderline between beneficiary and behalf; the addressee is asked to say hello as a favour to the writer (beneficiary) or instead of her (behalf). However, an example such as (5) clearly denotes behalf; the scoring is not a favour to the team, but something a player does as part of – on behalf of – his team.

11.2.2 *The placement of participant adjuncts*

Participant adjuncts are overwhelmingly placed in end position, as noted in section 6.1.1. The explanation offered for this is that they have agnate realisations as participants, in which case they might have taken subject position if they were wanted as clause themes. The few participant adjuncts that are not placed in end position are mostly found in M3 position, setting off a long and complex direct object.

11.2.3 *Distribution of participant adjuncts across process types*

Table 11.2 shows the distribution of participant adjuncts across process types. Agent adjuncts are most frequent, followed by beneficiary. Source, behalf and product are so rare in the core corpus that no conclusions can be drawn about their co-occurrence with process types.

Participant adjuncts occur predominantly with material processes. This should come as no surprise. Agent adjuncts occur only with passive constructions, which are mainly restricted to dynamic verbs. There are severe restrictions on the passivisation of verbs of ‘being and having’ (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 162), i.e. relational processes. It may be noted that agent adjuncts have a preference for main declarative clauses (44%) and past participle clauses (31%).

Beneficiary adjuncts, too, must occur with dynamic (causative) verbs or verbs of saying, as it is mainly such processes that logically imply a receiver/beneficiary (Halliday 2004: 260). In the core corpus, source adjuncts occur only with material processes, but they may also occur with verbal and mental processes, as shown in (6) and (7).

- (6) They'd have heard it *from Mary Donovan*. (BNC: CDY 1558)
- (7) No one knows whether they discovered the technique for themselves, or learnt it *from others*. (BNC: B7J 483)

The core corpus gives no examples of relational and existential processes with beneficiary adjuncts, but (8) and (9) illustrate the possibility of such combinations.

- (8) The vacancy we have is *for an experienced member of staff who can work Monday-Friday 9am-6pm* . . . <W1B-016>
- (9) But return home they must for there's no life *for them* in exile neither in Turkey nor Iran <S2B-040>
- (10) She met Mr Carter, and married him, thinking he'd be a good father *for the children*, but Hayley hated him from the start. (BNC: JY0 3063)

According to Halliday (2004: 293), relational processes too may occur with beneficiary participants in clauses like *she made him a good wife*. Such clauses have agnate structures with a beneficiary adjunct (*she was/became a good wife to him*). This type did not occur in the core corpus, but an example is given in (10).

11.2.4 Distribution of participant adjuncts across text types

Participant adjuncts occur most commonly in academic writing. This is expected, given the predominance of agent adjuncts in this category and the frequency of the passive in academic texts; see Biber *et al.* (1999: 937). Sports commentaries have the second highest frequency of participant adjuncts, but only just over half that of academic writing. Participant adjuncts are least frequent in fiction and conversation.

As shown by table 11.3, agent adjuncts are the most frequent type of participant adjunct in fiction, news, academic writing and sports commentaries. In letters and conversation, however, the most frequent type is beneficiary, indicating that the passive is less frequent in these text types (see also Biber *et al.* 1999: 937), and possibly, that these text types are more concerned with people who give and receive goods and services, as in example (11).

- (11) Please pass on our thanks *to your Mum and Dad*. <W1B-004>
- (12) and the throw taken *by Gary Stevens of Rangers* <S2A-001>

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Table 11.3 *The distribution of participant adjuncts across text types*

	agent		beneficiary		source		behalf		product		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	6	26.1	14	60.9	0	0	3	13.0	0	0	23	100
Fiction	6	75	1	12.5	0	0	1	12.5	0	0	8	100
News	27	90	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	100
Academic	53	81.5	8	12.3	1	1.5	1	1.5	2	3.1	65	100
Comment	21	58.3	9	25	1	2.8	5	13.9	0	0	36	100
Conversation	4	26.7	10	66.7	1	6.7	0	0	0	0	15	100
TOTAL	117	66.1	45	25.4	3	1.7	10	5.6	2	1.1	177	100

There is a striking difference between the two spoken text types as regards the use of participant adjuncts. In sports commentaries, passive constructions such as the one shown in (12) are common, allowing the name of a player or contestant to be mentioned at the end of the clause. Behalf adjuncts are also more common in sports commentaries than in other genres, obviously because some of the texts in the core corpus are about team sports.

Finally, the low frequency of participant adjuncts in letters, fiction and conversation may be an indicator that participants tend not to be expressed as adjuncts in these text types, but rather as nominal constituents.

11.3 Respect adjuncts

11.3.1 *The category and subtypes of respect adjuncts*

The definition of respect adjunct in the present study is wider than the one found in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 563) in that it includes matter adjuncts. This category is taken from Halliday and is ‘the circumstantial equivalent of the Verbiage, “that which is described, referred to, narrated, etc”’ (2004: 276); see (17) below. The other subcategories are ‘domain’ and ‘regard’. Domain adjuncts may be similar to both space and cause adjuncts, as shown in (13) and (14).²

- (13) For example, *in manufacturing*, the introduction of computer-integrated manufacturing (CIM) must involve both the technological system and an organisational approach. <W2A-011>
- (14) Africa is again falling victim to a cycle of tragedy, *with drought and famine threatening a heavy toll in Sudan, Ethiopia and Mozambique*. <W2C-002>

² Some regard and domain adjuncts are classified as ‘viewpoint subjuncts’ in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 568).

Regard adjuncts characteristically restrict the validity of the matrix clause proposition by means of expressions such as *with regard/respect to*, *as to/for* and the prepositions *in*, *on*, *with* and *for*. Examples are given in (15) and (16).

- (15) What are you going to do *with all those evenings after the show*? <W1B-003>
 (16) Thus before looking at the implications of new technology for management, it is important to emphasise that management attitudes are crucial *in terms of whether (or how) such changes take place*. <W2A-011>

Admittedly, there is no sharp dividing line between domain and regard adjuncts. However, domain adjuncts typically have a wide scope while regard adjuncts tend to specify a part of the predicate, either the verb, as in (15), or a complement of the verb, as in (16). In SFG terms, the logical relation between a domain adjunct and the matrix predicate is enhancement, i.e. the adjunct expands on the matrix predicate by ‘qualifying it with some circumstantial feature’ (Halliday 2004: 378). The relation of a regard adjunct to the matrix predicate frequently approaches elaboration, i.e. the adjunct further specifies or describes the matrix predicate (2004: 396). For instance, in (14) above the adjunct elaborates on the ‘cycle of tragedy’ and in (16) the adjunct clarifies the exact sense of ‘crucial’ in this context. Matter adjuncts, on the other hand, are related to the matrix predicate by means of projection, i.e. the adjunct represents an idea or a locution (2004: 263 and 278).

- (17) . . . I know you know *about coaches to Cambridge*. <W1B-004>
 (18) I don’t know what you want to do *about coming to visit* as I can only say you would not be having a holiday but a course in survival. <W1B-009>

Examples (17) and (18) show that matter and regard adjuncts can be similar in form. However, they are distinguished by their semantic relationship with the process; matter adjuncts are more participant-like, being reminiscent of verbiage in verbal processes and phenomenon in mental processes (Halliday 2004: 260), while regard adjuncts are more similar to contingency adjuncts. For example, the regard adjunct in (16) may be said to express a loose kind of causal relationship while the one in (18) is more like a condition adjunct.

11.3.2 The placement of respect adjuncts

Respect adjuncts were found (section 6.1.1) to occur in end position in over 80% of the cases. Respect adjuncts denoting regard or domain may be thematised, as shown in (13) above. Furthermore, a small handful occur in medial position, mainly as a consequence of the syntactic weight of a following obligatory constituent.

Table 11.4 *The distribution of respect adjuncts across process types*

	domain		regard		matter		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Material	10	40	21	42	0	0	31	33.3
Relational	7	28	18	36	0	0	25	26.9
Mental	5	20	9	18	8	44.4	22	23.7
Verbal	2	8	2	4	10	55.6	14	15.1
Behavioural	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Existential	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	1.1
TOTAL	25	100	50	100	18	100	93	100.1

11.3.3 *Distribution of respect adjuncts across process types*

The number of respect adjuncts in the core corpus is relatively low, so statements about their co-occurrence with various process types can only be tentative. Regard adjuncts are most frequent, having twice as many occurrences as domain adjuncts. The distribution is shown in [table 11.4](#).

Compared to the overall distribution of process types identified by Matthiessen (1999: 16), material processes are somewhat underrepresented with respect adjuncts, while verbal and mental processes are overrepresented. The frequency of verbal and mental processes are partly, but not entirely, due to the category of matter adjuncts, which by definition occur only with mental and verbal processes ([section 2.4.5](#)). Examples (19) and (20) show matter adjuncts with a verbal and a mental process verb, respectively.

- (19) I've been meaning to ask Zix *about this* nearer the time, ... <W1B-015>
 (20) He worries unduly *over whether Hanold's hallucinations are realistic*. <W2A-002>

As shown in [table 11.4](#), mental processes also frequently co-occur with regard adjuncts. The regard adjunct then specifies the process. In the case of (21) the specification is partly causal and partly an elaboration of the proposition 'the main field mystifies me'.

- (21) back to the main field which mystifies me a little bit *as to why Carrera are chasing so hard* <S2A-016>
 (22) But, as has already been suggested, the pluralism of modern society also embraces options that are internally monolithic *in belief and/or practice*. <W2A-012>

Domain and regard adjuncts occur more frequently with relational processes than the overall frequency of such processes would predict. One example was given in (16) above, and (22) is another. Respect adjuncts are used above

Table 11.5 *The distribution of respect adjuncts across text types*

	domain		regard		matter		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	0	0	10	62.5	6	37.5	16	100
Fiction	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0	4	100
News	6	60.0	3	30.0	1	10.0	10	100
Academic	16	31.4	27	52.9	8	15.7	51	100
Comment	0	0	2	100.0	0	0	2	100
Conversation	2	20.0	5	50.0	3	30.0	10	100
TOTAL	25	26.9	50	53.8	18	19.4	93	100

all with abstract relationships, possibly to narrow down the otherwise vague meaning of the predicate in a relational process.

11.3.4 *Distribution of respect adjuncts across text types*

As stated above, the low number of respect adjuncts in the core corpus does not warrant any firm conclusions about their occurrence. However [table 11.5](#) gives some indications of the distribution of respect adjuncts across text types. The most striking finding is that academic writing contains more than half of the respect adjuncts in the entire material. Letters, where respect adjuncts are second most frequent, have only a third the frequency of academic writing. Fiction and sports commentaries have very few instances of respect adjuncts.

All types of respect adjunct are frequent in academic writing. Example (23) comes from this text type and illustrates a clustering of respect adjuncts, with two regard adjuncts and one matter adjunct.

- (23) The findings of Rothwell (1985, p. 375) are not encouraging *in this regard*, showing decisions on technology to be usually ‘top-down’ *in character*, to the extent that supervisors and end-users are often the last to know *about the nature of the changes proposed*. <W2A-011>
- (24) *In this attempt to find an artistic confirmation and hence consecration of his science*, Freud avoids as far as possible the erotic overtones of the recumbent Gradiva, the half-dressed Hanold, Venus’s creaky bedsprings, and so on. <W2A-002>

Domain adjuncts are found only in news and academic writing in the core corpus. Example (24) comes from academic writing, while use in the news genre is illustrated by (14) above. It is possible that the distribution of domain and regard adjuncts across text types can be linked to their expressing abstract relationships. They are thus needed most in text types that deal with abstract matters, of which academic writing is a typical representative.

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Table 11.6 *Distribution of minor adjunct types across process types*

	Degree	Situation	Comparison	Focus	Viewpoint	TOTAL
Material	36	7	12	23	1	79
Relational	13	6	8	14	11	52
Mental	18	1	0	6	3	28
Verbal	4	0	1	1	0	6
Behavioural	3	0	2	0	0	5
Existential	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	74	14	23	44	17	172

11.4 Other adjunct categories across process types

The remaining adjunct types (degree, situation, comparison, focus and viewpoint) are relatively infrequent in the material, ranging from 74 (degree) to only 14 (situation). Table 11.6 shows their distribution across process types.³ Material processes account for approximately half of the occurrences of all these adjunct types except viewpoint, which most frequently combines with relational processes. Degree adjuncts are more frequent with mental processes than would be predicted from the general frequencies of process types, while situation and comparison adjuncts are *less* frequent than expected with mental processes. Apart from this the adjuncts seem to be relatively evenly spread across process types, considering their general frequency (see Matthiessen 1999).

It is particularly affective mental process verbs that combine with degree adjuncts, as illustrated by (25), which is typical also in that the degree adjunct is an intensifier indicating a high degree. With material processes degree adjuncts indicate both high and low degree (26), and a number of them indicate extent and/or dimension as well, as in (27).

- (25) If so, he must have loved her *very much*. <W2F-003>
- (26) Brett's voice rose *slightly*. <W2F-001>
- (27) The Ribble Valley result, in which the Liberal Democrats snatched the 10th safest Tory seat in the country *with a 25% swing*, has stunned Tory MPs. <W2C-018>
- (28) Anybody that's got an eye each side of their nose and can walk around *to me* is a is a tremendous beauty he says <,,> <S1A-020>

The combination of viewpoint adjuncts with relational processes marks the relation construed by the clause as subjective. As shown by (28), the relational clause represents somebody's subjective opinion, as is made clear by the adjunct. The same effect is achieved when viewpoint adjuncts combine with existential process verbs.

³ The distribution of these adjunct types across text types will be discussed in section 12.2 (see figure 12.4).

11.5 Adjuncts of degree and extent

Degree adjuncts are divided into the subcategories degree, intensifier and dimension (see [section 2.4.6](#)). The three types are illustrated in (29), (30) and (31), respectively.

- (29) Uhm <,> that one actually worries me *a little bit* <S1A-005>
- (30) . . . they're *almost* like the introductory lectures . . . <S1A-005>
- (31) This was enlarged *to frightening proportions* by the central planning beloved by the once-fervent Marxists. <W2C-002>
- (32) I'm not *utterly* at the bottom of the road uhm <,> coconut <,,> <S1A-020>

Degree adjuncts occur either in medial (42%) or end position (48%) but not in initial position (see also [figure 3.4](#)).⁴ This emphasises that degree adjuncts are closely connected with the verb phrase or the predicate. That is, they may modify the whole predicate, as in (29) and (30), the verb, as in (31), or the complement of the verb, as in (32).

Most degree specifications mark the meaning of the verb or predicate they modify as scalar or approximate (cf. Paradis 2008: 325), although they can also mark a value as total (e.g. *entirely*). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 721ff) divide degree modification into the following values: maximal (e.g. *completely*), multal ('a range on the scale from above the midpoint to the top end'), moderate (e.g. *rather, somewhat*), paucal (e.g. *a little*) and minimal ('non-affirmative'). In addition, there are approximating (e.g. *almost*) and relative modifiers (e.g. *enough, less*). In the material for the present study, multal, relative and approximating modifiers were most frequent. Almost as frequent was a merged group of moderate and paucal modifiers, of which (26) above is an example. On the whole, adjuncts indicating a higher degree were more frequent than those indicating a lower degree.

It was noted in [section 2.4.9](#) that degree and frequency adjuncts both indicate a kind of quantification in the clause. Sometimes degree and frequency meanings overlap. In the present material this is particularly clear with minimal degree, which may approach the negative polarity meaning of 'not' or 'never'. Examples are given in (33) and (34). In (33), *hardly* has been classified as frequency on account of the time adjunct in end position, but the more stative context of (34) gives *hardly* a degree meaning.

- (33) I *hardly* see him, except at weekends. <W2F-003>
- (34) But there is *hardly* a hint in the texts that any war was prompted by the need for slaves. <W2A-001>

Finally, the group of 'dimension' adjuncts do not easily fit into the categories of scale outlined in Huddleston and Pullum (2002). They are less 'modal', in

⁴ The placement of intensifier adjuncts is further discussed in [section 11.6](#).

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that they often indicate a defined point on a scale, as shown in (27) above – rather like adjuncts of definite frequency.

11.6 Focus and intensifier adjuncts

Focus and intensifier adverbs may belong to either clause or phrase level. Only those at clause level have been included in the present study. Thus, examples such as (35), where *only* modifies the numeral *two* rather than functioning as a clause-level adjunct, have been disregarded. However, the distinction is not easy to make, as even adjuncts at clause level may have scope over only one of the constituents of the clause, as in (36), where *only* puts restrictive focus on the direct object. Note that *only* is slightly more mobile in (36) than in (35) in spite of the prescriptive rules for the placement of this word discussed in [section 11.6.2](#).

(35) Now *only* two were occupied: hers, and the one belonging to Mr and Mrs Watson next door. <W2F-009>

(36) The children who know *only* war and starvation <W2C-002>

Similar examples can be found with intensifiers such as *almost* and *nearly*, as shown in (37) and (38). In (37) *almost* has been taken as a modifier of the following adverb at phrase level, while in (38) it is an adjunct with scope over the predicative phrase.⁵

(37) Well well I tend to repeat *almost* exactly the same stories to my friends <S1A-063>

(38) It was *almost* conveniency or something <S1A-050>

11.6.1 Overview of placement

Focus and intensifier adjuncts are distinguished from most other adjunct types by their great preference for medial positions, as shown in [figure 11.1](#). The three medial positions are almost equally frequent, while both initial and end position are rare.

In order to obtain a better basis for conclusions about the placement of focus and intensifier adjuncts, the whole ICE-GB was searched for some individual adverbs, as shown in [figure 11.2](#). Only those tagged as adverbial at clause level were searched for. In the case of *only* and *just* a random 100 hits were selected (using WordSmith Tools), but some of the occurrences were excluded because they seemed to be wrongly tagged. In the case of *just* there is the additional problem of separating all the meanings of this word,

⁵ The often ambiguous syntactic status of such adverbs is illustrated by the fact that they are not tagged consistently in the ICE-GB; in (38) *almost* is tagged as adverbial at clause level, while in the similar *it's almost a road in fact* <S1A-021> it is tagged as part of the predicative and thus subordinate to the noun phrase.

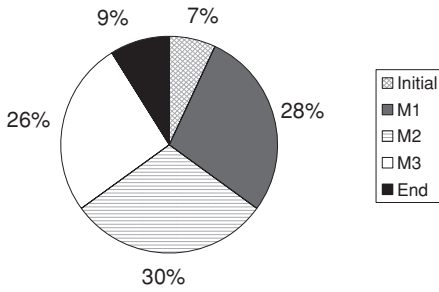


Figure 11.1 The placement of focus and intensifier adjuncts in the core corpus (N = 57).

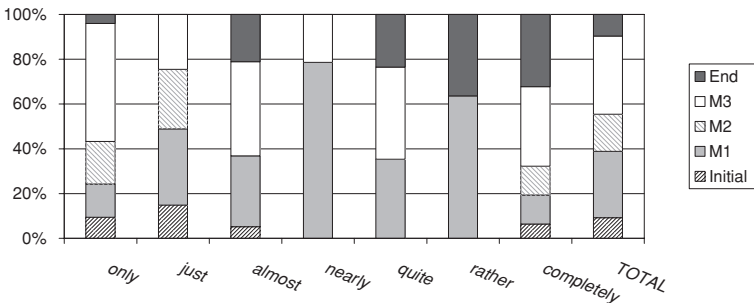


Figure 11.2 The placement of some focus and intensifier adverbs in the ICE-GB.

classified by Jacobson (1964: 285f) as Time: ‘at the present moment’, ‘not long ago’; Restriction: ‘only’, ‘merely’; Particularization ‘exactly’; and Mood ‘really’, ‘indeed’. However, the word class feature ‘exclusive’ in the ICECUP mark-up distinguishes the focus meaning of *just* from the other meanings (see Nelson *et al.* 2002: 25). It should be noted that the numbers are low for some of the adverbs. The ‘total’ column is thus biased in favour of the most frequent adverbs, *only* (N = 74) and *just* (N = 94). The frequencies of the remaining adverbs range from 11 (*rather*) to 31 (*completely*).

There is fairly good agreement between figures 11.1 and 11.2 as regards the general positional tendencies of focus and intensifier adjuncts. Medial positions are greatly preferred, while both initial and end position are rare for most of the adverbs. Uses of initial and end position for individual adverbs will be commented on below. The M2 position (between an auxiliary and the main verb) is more frequent in figure 11.1. However, as the distinction between M1 and M2 depends largely on the complexity of the verb phrase, this difference is not too important.

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11.6.2 The placement of the focus adjuncts *only* and *just*

The placement of focus and intensifier adjuncts may have a bearing on the interpretation of a sentence, and so this area is often commented on in usage books. Peters (2004) may serve as an example:

[*Only*] puts a spotlight on its neighbors in a sentence. It usually focuses on the one following, and the point of the sentence changes according to where it's placed. . . . In conversation the placement of *only* is less critical, because intonation can extend the 'spotlight' over several words to the one which matters. . . . But in writing, *only* must be adjacent to the crucial word or phrase to ensure its full effectiveness. (2004: 394)

As shown in figure 11.2, *only* occurs mostly in medial position, and most commonly in M₃. The three variants of medial position for *only* are shown in (39) to (41). The focus is potentially on the verb in (39) and (40) while it is unambiguously on the postverbal constituent in (41).

- (39) . . . such strategies *only* work through the development and implementation of sub-strategies at lower levels . . . <W2A-011>
(40) 'And until now it could *only* do it in a small way,' Dave added. <W2F-002>
(41) Oh it was *only* an idea Laura <S1A-007>

Nevalainen (1987: 146) finds that the (prosodic) focus of *only* is clause-final in the majority of cases, whether it is placed pre- or post-verbally. Her material is the prosodically marked London-Lund Corpus, where it is possible to see how intonation may resolve any potential ambiguity of the scope of *only*. However, it seems that the 'spotlight' provided by *only* (Peters 2004: 394) can also be steered by pragmatic interpretation in written language. For example, it seems that the scope of *only* in all three examples (39)–(41) is the postverbal constituent. Thus in both (39) and (40), *only* might have been moved to M₃ with no change in meaning.

- (42) You should *only* tell DVLA that a vehicle has been scrapped if you have actually broken it up or destroyed it yourself. <W2D-010>

An example such as (42) is in theory ambiguous, as the scope of *only* might be the verb ('you should *only* tell them – not abuse them') or a later constituent. However, on pragmatic principles, the spotlight of *only* is moved over to the conditional clause, and there is little chance that (42) would be misunderstood. Nevertheless, it seems that the use of M₃ to specify the scope of *only* is more common in writing than in speech, probably as a precaution against ambiguity and also in accordance with style manuals.

Initial position can be used for *only* in order to avoid ambiguity. For example in (43), any other placement of *only* would have been misleading; placement in M₁ position would clearly move the scope from the subject to

the predicate. A special variety of *only* in initial position is found with its negated form, as shown in (44). The combination of *not only* and *but (also)* is close to being a purely conjunctive expression. However, the adjunct function of *not only* is shown in that it requires inversion of subject and finite verb. It may be noted that 10 out of 15 instances of *not only* in initial position were found in the written part of the ICE-GB.

- (43) Then, *only* the sounds above this dynamic threshold need to be registered. <W2B-038>
 (44) *Not only* was it a new and smart coupé style, but it also had front-wheel-drive. <W2B-037>

Jacobson (1964: 310) notes that *only* can occupy a position after its focused constituent in constructions without a predicate: 'this is especially the case in public notices, e.g. "METER PARKING ONLY", "STAFF ONLY", "READERS ONLY".' This 'backward-looking' scope of *only* was also found in post-subject position in a public notice containing a predicate; see example (45). In this case, initial position of *only* would have given the same meaning, while medial position would have changed it. Example (46) shows another post-nominal use of *only* in a clause with a predicate. The clause-final placement of *only* gives it extra emphasis and most likely focal accent. Medial placement would have been possible, but less emphatic.

- (45) LEAD PENCILS *ONLY* ARE ALLOWED IN THE NORTH LIBRARY WHEN WRITING OR MAKING NOTES. <W2D-006>
 (46) No woman is one person *only*. <W2F-019>

Just occurs in medial position 85% of the time. However, it is relatively frequent in initial position in imperatives, where it focuses on the verb. This is noted also by Jacobson (1964: 286). According to Biber *et al.* (1999: 798), initial *just* in an imperative conveys 'a strong sense of "I'm not asking so much, only this one thing" or "don't argue; simply do as I say"'. This is close to an intensifying function, as shown in (47). The example comes from parliamentary debates, and the speaker is interrupted by audience noise and breaks off what he is saying to admonish the audience.

- (47) and when he talks about insurance companies yes insurance companies
 <audience noise> yes ~~insur~~ *just* listen to what I'm saying <S2B-036>
 (48) *Just* try it and see what happens <,,> <S1B-002>
 (49) *Just* design yourself a new man <,> <S1A-080>

However, in the ICE-GB material (which does not contain much conflict talk) *just* in imperatives more commonly has a softening function, namely to make it seem a small and easy thing to carry out the instruction. As noted by De Clerck (2006: 458), *just* 'decreases the imposition involved in the directive utterance'. This function is illustrated in (48) and (49). Note how

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the softening function of *just* + imperative is exploited for humorous effect in (49).

- (50) *Just* never got round to it <S1A-015>

In declarative clauses, initial position of *just* is rare and mostly occurs in subjectless clauses (neutralised between initial and M1 position), as shown in (50). End position for *just* does not occur at all. It may finally be noted that *just* does not occur with backward-looking scope, unlike *only*; see examples (45) and (46).

11.6.3 The placement of intensifier adjuncts

The placement of intensifier adjuncts is similar to that of the focus adjuncts *only* and *just*, with medial position being the most common alternative. However, intensifier adjuncts occur in end position much more frequently than focus adjuncts, i.e. in 23% of the cases (see figure 11.2). Initial position is even more rare for intensifiers than for focus adjuncts. Moreover, all the clause-initial intensifiers occur in clauses where the distinction between initial and medial position is neutralised because of subject ellipsis, as in (51).

- (51) *Almost* thought it was such a <S1A-084>
(52) Not all of this income will be taken into account and some kinds of income are ignored *completely*. <W2D-005>
(53) It's just that all the indications of temperature had been rubbed off it *completely* <S1A-056>

Intensifiers in end position may be vague between intensifier and degree/extent meaning (see section 2.4.6). This can be illustrated by *completely* in (52) and (53). Since it is possible to estimate the intensity of ignoring, the adjunct in (52) may well be an intensifier, but it may also denote extent. In (53), however, *completely* does not denote the intensity of rubbing but the extent of the accomplishment and is thus an adjunct of degree.

Similar examples can be found with *quite* in end position, as in (54) where both degree and intensification may be implied. With *rather* in end position, however, as in (55), the intensification blends into a hedging (disjunctive) function. The intensification meaning of both *rather* and *quite* is particularly clear in M1 position, as in (56) and (57). As the examples indicate, most of the intensifier adjuncts were found in the spoken genres of the ICE-GB.

- (54) I don't know *quite* <S1A-093>
(55) It does, *rather*, doesn't it yes yes <S1A-095>
(56) I then *rather* forgot about it though ~~then~~ I remember <S1B-040>
(57) and I *quite* like that <S1B-045>

11.7 Viewpoint adjuncts

Viewpoint adjuncts are relatively infrequent in the core corpus. However, about half of them occur in academic writing, a text type where attribution of opinions and findings is important. This ties in with the finding of Biber *et al.* (1999: 860) that stance adverbials in general are more frequent in academic prose than in the other written registers in their corpus. More surprisingly perhaps, the text type with the second highest frequency of viewpoint adjuncts is conversation. It was suggested in connection with the frequency of participant adjuncts (section 11.2.4) that conversation is preoccupied with people, which might also explain the overt marking of people's opinions. There are also some viewpoint adjuncts in the news texts, possibly as an alternative to direct speech, as exemplified by (58). In commentary, letters and fiction, viewpoint adjuncts occurred only once or not at all in the core corpus.

- (58) *According to Shelter (Scotland)*, the take-up of the scheme, due to come into effect on 1 April, is likely to be higher in rural areas than elsewhere because wages are traditionally low while employment is relatively secure. <W2C-015>
- (59) *Numerically* the ciliates are the most abundant type with from 500 to 10000 ml -1 mixed liquor routinely observed. <W2A-021>

It may be noted that some adjuncts that are sometimes classified as viewpoint (e.g. by Quirk *et al.* 1985: 568f), such as the one in (59), have been subsumed under respect adjuncts (regard) in the present study.

Viewpoint adjuncts may be said to be on the borderline between disjuncts and adjuncts. Syntactically they meet Quirk *et al.*'s criteria for adjunct status (1985: 504). However, their discourse function is rather in the interpersonal domain, assigning a viewpoint and thereby responsibility for the proposition conveyed. Because viewpoint adverbials 'can mark the viewpoint or perspective from which the proposition is true', they are classified as a sub-type of 'epistemic stance adverbials' in Biber *et al.* (1999: 855), a category corresponding to disjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (1985); see table 2.1.

- (60) What they're doing is they're working on the <,> Pascal thing which they'll have to <,> uhm do at Cambridge because <,> *from Agnieszka's point of view* it was so difficult despite the fact that she's <,> really good <S1A-005>
- (61) books that are probably *to somebody* priceless items <unclear-words> <S1A-013>
- (62) *In their own estimation* their rule rested on right and not on mere force; <W2A-001>

In (60) the adjunct refers to a person's point of view, according to which the matrix proposition is true or valid, although it may not be so from other

perspectives. Syntactically it is an adjunct: it can be the focus of a cleft sentence and an alternative question (*it was from A's point of view that it was so difficult; was it so difficult from A's point of view or from other people's as well?*); it can be focused by a focus adverbial (*this was so difficult just from A's point of view*). It can also come within the scope of a pro-form (*... and so was the Java thing*), although it is hard to think of a question that will elicit a viewpoint adjunct (see [section 2.2](#) and Quirk *et al.* 1985: 504). The adjunct in (61) also falls neatly into the category of adjunct according to syntactic criteria. The adjunct in (62) may not fit all of the criteria, but can certainly be the focus of an alternative question or a focus adverbial and may also come within the scope of a pro-form.

Pragmatically, most viewpoint adverbials function as hedges of the matrix proposition by making clear that the proposition represents an opinion rather than an objective fact. This is evident in (58) and in (60)–(62) above. If these adverbials are to be classified as adjuncts, it will be on the basis of syntax. On the basis of meaning and pragmatics, a viewpoint adverbial such as *in my opinion* is little different from expressions such as *honestly (speaking)*, *presumably* or *allegedly*, which are all good examples of disjuncts. As will be further discussed in [section 13.4](#), viewpoint adjuncts may be said to be intermediate between adjuncts and disjuncts.

Part IV

Adjunct adverbials in English

12 Adverbial usage across text types

12.1 Introduction

The material in the core corpus contains four written and two spoken text types: personal letters, fiction, news reportage, academic writing, conversation and sports commentaries. As stated in [section 1.3.4](#), these were selected because they were considered to represent different areas of language use. The text types differ along a number of variables, as was indicated in [table 1.1](#): the spoken/written dimension, (degree of) participant interaction, time constraint under production, planning and editing of the text and private versus public. They also differ as to level of formality, with the two spoken text types and personal letters representing (relatively) informal language and news reportage and academic writing being more formal. The fiction texts vary in their degree of formality. As regards subject matter, there is great variation both within and across text types. For example, the sports commentaries texts comprise different sports, and the academic writing texts have been taken from different academic disciplines. (See the Appendix for a list of the texts included in the core corpus.)

The text types do not contain equal numbers of adjuncts, as visualised in [figure 12.1](#). The highest frequency of adjuncts is found in commentaries, followed by fiction. The lowest frequencies are found in conversation, academic writing and news. The present chapter investigates variation in adjunct use across text types. The text types are compared for the distribution of different semantic and syntactic types of adjuncts as well as the use of adverbial positions and the occurrence of adjuncts in sequence. Furthermore, some features of adverbial usage seem to be text-type-specific: particular lexicogrammatical forms as well as certain discourse functions. Such differences of usage will be presented and discussed more thoroughly below.

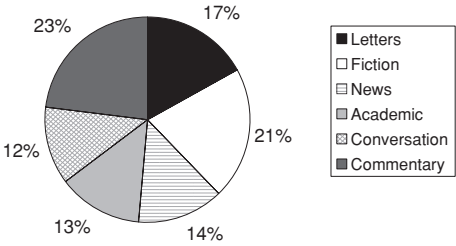


Figure 12.1 The distribution of adjuncts across text types.

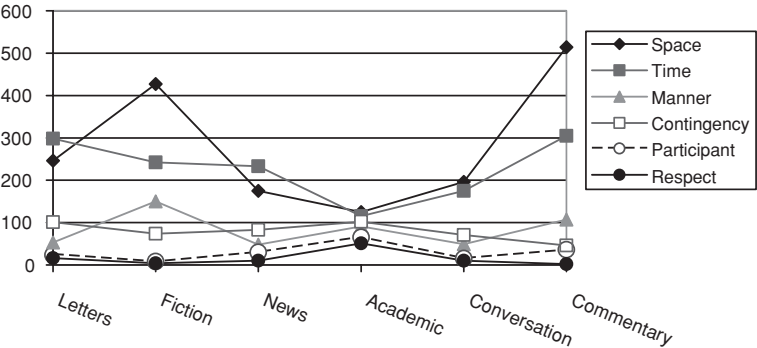


Figure 12.2 Frequencies of adjunct types across text types (raw frequencies).

12.2 Semantic types

The distribution of semantic types of adjunct is to some extent connected with the subject-matter of a text.¹ However, there also seems to be some correlation between text type and the choice of adjunct types. Figure 12.2 shows the frequencies of the six most common types of adjunct. The frequencies are given in absolute numbers, which are comparable because the samples from each text type have the same size (10,000 words). For the less frequent types, see figure 12.4.

Figure 12.2 shows that space and time adjuncts are most frequent in all the text types, space being more frequent in fiction, conversation and commentary and time being more frequent in letters and news. In academic writing, space and time adjuncts are about equally frequent. Note, however, that the actual frequency of these adjuncts varies greatly across the text types. Contingency and manner adjuncts are the third and fourth most frequent groups. Contingency adjuncts are more frequent than manner in letters,

¹ The present section discusses the distribution across genres of the semantic types. For a discussion of the text-type distribution of semantic subcategories of adjuncts, see chapters 9–11.

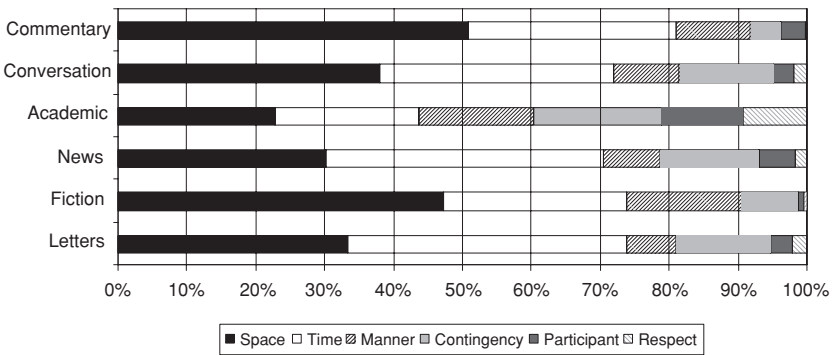


Figure 12.3 Proportional text-type distribution of the most frequent adjunct types.

news, academic writing and conversation, while manner adjuncts are more frequent in fiction and commentary. Participant and respect adjuncts are less frequent in all the genres, but both types are more frequent in academic writing than anywhere else.

The findings reported in figure 12.2 agree fairly well with those of Biber *et al.* (1999: 784) for conversation, fiction, news and academic writing. It is, however, interesting to note that the two text types represented only in the present study have their distinct patterns of adverbial usage. The pattern of personal letters is more similar to conversation than to the other written genres, except for a more frequent use of time and space adjuncts, which could be due to the fact that the writer and reader do not share the 'here and now'. Furthermore, the great differences between conversation and commentary point to great diversity across spoken genres. The inclusion of a third, more formal, spoken genre (such as lectures or public debates) might have shown yet another pattern of adverbial usage.

Figure 12.3 shows the distribution of semantic types of adjuncts in relative terms. The predominance of space and time adjuncts is clearly visible in all text types except academic writing, but most pronouncedly so in sports commentaries. The proportion of manner adjuncts is greater in fiction than in other text types, while contingency adjuncts are most frequent in academic writing and least frequent in commentaries. Space adjuncts abound in sports commentaries, a genre typically preoccupied with movement in space. The high frequency of space adjuncts in commentaries also shows up in individual examples, with sequences of space adjuncts being rather common, as illustrated by (1).

- (1) And they're coming *round Tattenham Hill* || *down towards Tattenham Corner* <,> <S2A-006>

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Fiction, too, has a high proportion of space adjuncts. This is partly due to some of the texts being concerned with action and movement, as exemplified by (2), and partly with descriptive passages and passages that are concerned with establishing a setting and thereby a fictional world, as in (3).

- (2) Harry hurled himself *at the soldier*, knocking him *off his feet and right out of the vehicle*, leaving Harry as the sole occupant and in the driving seat. <W2F-012>
- (3) *From where the men stood*, high Bodmin Moor fell *away to the Marke valley*. <W2F-007>

Letters have more time than space adjuncts. As shown in [table 9.4](#), most of these denote time position and time relationship. Letters sometimes exhibit a temporal text strategy, using time adjuncts to create an explicit order in the narration of events. An example is given in (4). However, there is also ample evidence of explicit navigation between the ‘now’ of the writing and recent and forthcoming events, often by means of deictic expressions such as *today*, *tomorrow*, *now*, *just*, *still*, *yet* and *soon*, as in (5).

- (4) *Tomorrow* I’m meeting Sarah Duncan *for lunch* – she’s back from New Zealand. *Then* Jane and I are going to Camden and *then* to the cinema or to eat or something. <W1B-004>
- (5) And how are you two? Both studying hard by the sound of it. How many essays left *now*? Have you got a job sorted out for the Summer *yet*? I’ve applied for some jobs, mainly senior secretarial. *Last week* I had an interview for the IPM (Institute of Personnel Management) course (one afternoon and evening a week) at Anglia College in Cambridge. To do the course (I won’t know *for another couple of months* whether or not I have a place) I really need a job in personnel and so I’m writing speculative letters for that. However, I don’t have much hope for getting anything there with the *current* employment situation and if a decent secretarial job comes up then I’ll take it and not do the course *this year*. I can’t afford to waste any opportunities; I’ve only been unemployed *for a few weeks* and am sick of it and there are so many people without jobs *at the moment* it’s ridiculous not to take a job if it’s OK. <W1B-004>

Manner adjuncts are proportionally most frequent in academic writing and fiction.² However, as shown in [section 10.2.3](#), the two genres do not use the same types of manner adjunct; in fiction the great majority (71%) are adjuncts of manner/quality, such as the one in (6), while in academic writing these account for 55%. Means and method adjuncts account for 21% of the manner adjuncts in academic writing and only 1% in fiction; see (7).

² Manner adjuncts are numerically more frequent in commentaries than in academic writing ([table 10.2](#)), but take up a greater share of the total number of adjuncts in academic writing.

- (6) 'Zoë seems fine,' she said *aloud*. <W2F-003>
 (7) These forces can be known and expressed only indirectly, *through the condensations and displacements of dream imagery*. <W2A-002>

Other categories that differ are role (9% of the manner adjuncts in academic writing and none in fiction), comparison (3% in academic writing and 11% in fiction) and unexpectedly, instrument (1% in academic writing and 6% in fiction).³ While the instrument adjunct shown in (8) is typical of those occurring in fiction, instrument adjuncts in academic writing are generally related to a scientific procedure, as in (9), which is from the 'natural sciences' part of the academic writing in the ICE-GB.

- (8) 'What do you mean?' she asked, sniffing, then dabbing her nose *with the tissue*. <W2F-002>
 (9) Release studies are conveniently performed *in vitro using either small slices of brain, or synapto-somal preparations (pinched-off nerve endings)*. <W2A-027>

Participant adjuncts are most frequent in academic writing, but are also relatively common in news and sports commentaries. As stated in [section 11.2.3](#), most of the participant adjuncts in these text types are agent adjuncts and are thus linked to the use of the passive; as in (10).

- (10) This anxiety dream is the more striking for not being transformed *by the dreamer* into an erudite classical model, as the first two dreams were. <W2A-002>

According to Biber's interpretations of linguistic features (1988: 102ff), causative subordination ('Factor 1') is characteristic of involved (vs. informational) text types. In the core corpus, cause adjuncts are most frequent in academic writing and personal letters;⁴ two text types that are placed very differently along Biber's scale of involved versus informational (1988: 128). This is a clear illustration of how a single feature cannot be taken as symptomatic of a text type. Time and space adverbials are characteristic of situation-dependent reference ('Factor 3'). As shown in [figure 12.1](#), they are most frequent in fiction and commentaries. Again, there is some distance between these two text types in Biber's study (1988: 143), although they are both at the situation-dependent end of the 'Explicit vs. Situation-Dependent' dimension.

Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 108) found space and time adverbials to be most frequent in letters and least frequent in academic papers. This is consistent with the findings of the present study. Chafe and Danielewicz

³ Because most of the academic texts in the core corpus come from humanities and social sciences, instrument adjuncts may be underrepresented. A few more examples were found by searching for *with* and *using* in natural sciences texts.

⁴ For the distribution of subtypes of contingency adjuncts, see [section 10.3.3](#).

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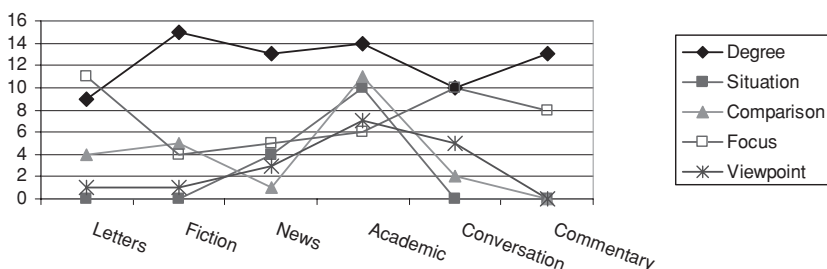


Figure 12.4 The distribution of less frequent adjunct types across text types (raw frequencies).

interpret the presence of space and time adverbials as a feature of *involvement* and their absence as a feature of *detachment*: ‘instead of showing a concern for the concrete aspects of language interaction and for concrete reality, features of detachment show an interest in ideas that are not tied to specific people, events, times, or places, but which are abstract and timeless’ (*ibid.*). Another feature of detachment is the use of the passive, which is most frequent in academic papers (1987: 109). This corroborates the finding of the present study that participant adjuncts, of which agent adjuncts are the most frequent type (section 11.2.3), are by far the most frequent in academic writing. Furthermore, figure 12.3 shows that the text types with the highest proportions of time and space adjuncts generally have the lowest proportions of participant adjuncts. The exception is sports commentaries, in which all three types of adjunct are frequent.

So far the distribution of only the most frequent adjunct types has been discussed. Figure 12.4 shows the text type distribution of the less frequent adjunct types. As none of them occur above 15 times in any text type in the core corpus, the interpretation of figure 12.4 must of course be very tentative. Degree adjuncts and focus adjuncts are fairly evenly distributed, although focus adjuncts seem to be slightly more common in the two spoken genres and in personal letters than in the three more formal written genres. Furthermore, situation adjuncts are found only in news and academic writing. As these denote abstract settings (see section 2.4.8) it is perhaps natural that they would occur most commonly in the texts that are about abstract matters. Viewpoint adjuncts show a similar pattern, but are in addition relatively common in conversation. Comparison/alternative adjuncts also have a peak in academic writing, as exemplified by (11) and (12). These adjuncts are reminiscent of contingency adjuncts (concession), which are also frequent in academic writing; see above and section 10.3.3.⁵

⁵ It may be noted that Biber’s dimension of abstract versus non-abstract information (1988: 103, 152) contains the feature ‘other adverbial subordinators’, i.e. subordinators other than temporal, spatial, causal and conditional.

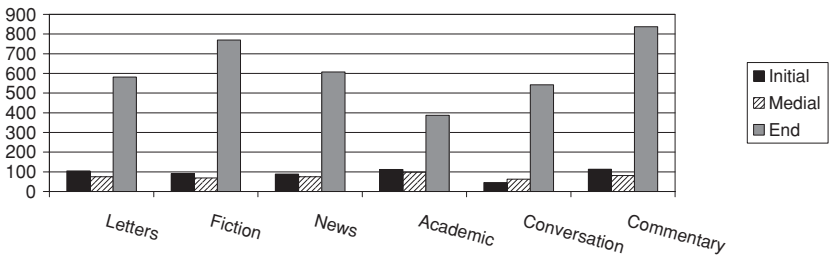


Figure 12.5 The use of adverbial positions across text types (raw frequencies).

- (11) The surface of trickling filters shows a restricted protozoal fauna, comprising mainly the holozoic amoebae and flagellates, *whereas a greater variety are found in the lower regions and these are predominantly carnivorous*. <W2A-021>
- (12) To switch the metaphor: *rather than producing a melting-pot in which differences disappear*, the increased input has resulted in an ever-expanding smorgasbord. <W2A-012>

12.3 Use of adverbial positions

The positions available to adjuncts differ not only as to frequency of use and thus in degree of markedness, but also as to the kind of adjuncts they accommodate and the discourse functions they are associated with; see chapters 4–7. Figure 12.5 shows that the frequencies of initial and medial position are remarkably similar across text types; only conversation has visibly fewer instances of initial position than the rest.⁶ The frequency of adjuncts in end position, however, varies greatly across text types. Commentary and fiction have the highest numbers and academic writing the lowest. The main conclusion to be drawn from figure 12.5 is that a greater number of adjuncts in a text generally means a greater number in end position.

The numbers underlying figure 12.5 are given in table 12.1 with the variants of medial position shown separately. Although figure 12.5 shows initial and medial positions to be about equally frequent across most of the text types, the proportional distribution varies greatly because of the great variation in the total number of adjuncts. This can be seen from the percentage columns of table 12.1. For example, while initial position is numerically over twice as frequent in fiction as in conversation, the proportional frequency is about the same.

⁶ The cleft focus position has not been included in the surveys in this section, as there were only two examples of it in the core corpus. See, however, section 7.6 for the text type distribution of *it*-clefts with focused adjuncts.

Table 12.1 *The use of adverbial positions across text types*

	Initial		M1		M2		M3		End		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Letters	105	13.8	15	2.0	36	4.7	24	3.2	581	76.3	761	100.0
Fiction	91	9.8	20	2.2	28	3.0	21	2.3	770	82.8	930	100.1
News	88	14.5	17	2.8	30	4.9	28	4.6	444	73.1	607	99.9
Academic	112	18.8	28	4.7	25	4.2	45	7.5	387	64.8	597	100.0
Conversation	46	8.5	21	3.9	27	5.0	15	2.8	433	79.9	542	100.1
Commentary	113	11.0	35	3.4	14	1.4	32	3.1	837	81.2	1031	100.1
TOTAL	554	12.4	136	3.0	160	3.6	165	3.7	3452	77.3	4468	100.0

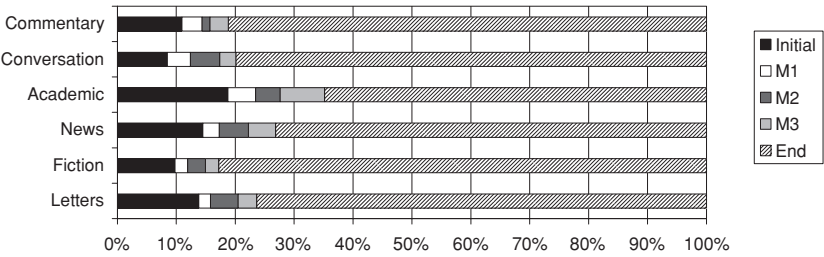


Figure 12.6 The relative frequencies of adverbial positions across text types.

According to a ‘null hypothesis’ all the text types should have a distribution pattern similar to the one given for the whole material. The text types that deviate most from such a norm are fiction and academic writing. Fiction has lower than average proportions of both initial and medial position, and correspondingly the highest proportion of end position. Academic writing, on the other hand, has the lowest proportion of end position. Interestingly, it has the highest proportions of both initial and M3 position. Both of these positions have been found to have important text-strategic functions in information management, initial position by marking some information as backgrounded, and M3 by creating marked rhemes (see section 5.2.3). Note that the (relatively) even distribution of adverbial positions in academic writing goes hand in hand with an even distribution of semantic types (figure 12.3).

The proportional use of positions is visualised in figure 12.6. The figure illustrates clearly that the proportion of initial position is highest in academic writing, followed by news, letters, commentary, fiction and conversation. The discourse functions that are associated with initial position (see section 4.4.8) are exploited to varying degrees among text types.

In academic writing the most common adjunct type in initial position is contingency. These adjuncts generally contain backgrounded information,

often something that either ties the current sentence to the preceding context or provides a necessary restriction on the validity of the matrix clause message (see section 4.5). An example is given in (13). Time adjuncts are second most frequent in initial position in academic writing. They are typically used for cohesive purposes or for discourse organisation, as exemplified by (14).

- (13) *Although fungi are routinely observed in ponds in small numbers*, little is known of their role and ecology. <W2A-021>
 (14) *As early as the first century A.D.* Gauls and Spaniards were contributing to Latin literature. <W2A-001>

The second highest proportional frequency of initial position is found in news, where time adjuncts dominate. These adjuncts often thematise the current relevance of the topic to be introduced, as in (15), or relate events to each other, as in (16).

- (15) *Last night* the head of the British Transport police squad set up to deal with the craze said a number of college art courses included graffiti. <W2C-020>
 (16) In fact, *within 10 weeks of the Act coming into force*, some 40 per cent of registered dock workers – 3,756 men – were made redundant. <W2C-001>

The use of initial position in commentary – like the use of end position – correlates with the predominance of space and time adjuncts, both of which are easily thematised (see table 4.1). We may note that the use of initial adjuncts in commentary is relatively stereotyped. As was shown in section 4.1.2, initial space adjuncts can be used for introducing topics in a clause, sometimes in a similar fashion to existential *there*, which is a typical feature of adjunct-initial clauses in sports commentaries; see example (28) below. Altenberg (1987: 51) suggests that the processing features of unplanned speech may ‘make stylistic variation superfluous or impossible’. This comment about conversational material may also explain the low frequencies of marked word order choices in conversation.

In fiction and letters the use of initial position serves a variety of functions. Time and space adjuncts are commonly used to mark a setting or text strategy, as shown in (3) and (4) above. The extent of temporal text strategies is shown in that time adjuncts are twice as frequent as space adjuncts in initial position in fiction and almost six times as frequent in letters. Contingency adjuncts account for almost a third of the initial adjuncts in letters. They are often conditionals which have a connective function, at the same time giving a necessary restriction on the interpretation of the matrix clause, as shown in (17).

- (17) *If you’re going to be Euro*, you may as well go all the way. <W1B-002>

Table 12.2 Preferred adjunct types in initial position across text types

	Space	Time	Contingency
Commentary	**	***	
Conversation		***	**
Academic	*	**	***
News	*	***	**
Fiction	**	***	*
Letters	*	***	**

According to Fries (1981: 4), ‘thematic content correlates with the method of development of a text’.⁷ Fries also hypothesises that ‘the experiential content of Themes correlates with different genres’ (1995b: 319). Table 12.2 shows the most frequent types of adjuncts in initial position across genres, with three stars showing the highest frequency. Since low-frequency phenomena cannot reveal patterns of thematic development, only adjuncts with a frequency of ten or more have been included, leaving space, time and contingency adjuncts as potentially text-structuring elements. The two spoken genres had only two adjunct types with a frequency above ten in initial position. Initial space adjuncts are particularly infrequent in conversation (only one occurrence). To the extent that the choice of adjunct themes reveals the method of development of the texts, table 12.2 indicates that a temporal development is the most common pattern in all the genres except academic writing, where contingency adjuncts are slightly more frequent. The second most frequent choice of adjunct theme is space adjuncts in commentary and fiction and contingency adjuncts in conversation, news and letters.

Medial position is used most frequently in academic writing and news. It is also frequent in conversation (see figure 12.6). But while academic writing and news prefer M3 for information management, conversation typically uses M1 and M2 for adjuncts of time and focus. The great majority of adjuncts in medial position in all text types are time adjuncts (64% in total; see table 5.1). Medial manner adjuncts are relatively frequent in academic writing and fiction (see example (18)), but rare in the spoken genres and in letters. Focus adjuncts are fairly common in both conversation and letters. On the whole, there is a striking similarity between conversation and social letters as regards the use of medial position.

The M3 position is relatively frequent in news as well as in academic writing (see table 12.1). In these text types an adjunct in M3 position often precedes a heavy object, as in (19). In other text types the most typical use of M3 is in front of a predicative or obligatory adjunct following lexical *be*, as in (20).

⁷ This idea has been explored further elsewhere, e.g. Fries (1994, 1995a, 1995b).

Table 12.3 Preferred adjunct types in end position across text types

	Space	Time	Manner	Contingency	Participant	Degree	Respect
Commentary	*****	*****	***	**	*		
Conversation	*****	*****	**	***	*		
Academic	*****	*****	***	****	****		*
News	****(*)	****	**	***	*		
Fiction	*****	***(*)	**	**		*	
Letters	*****	*****	**	***	*		

- (18) In addition to horizontal gradients of nutrient depletion across a biofilm, there will also be a steep vertical gradient as BOD is *progressively* removed. <W2A-021>
- (19) Sir Michael Marshall, Mr Wallace's MP, told the House *during a short debate* that the MoD must have known that the appeal board had been 'nobbled'. <W2C-001>
- (20) Is he *still* as tight as ever? <W1B-002>

End position is the position for end weight and information focus, but it is also the unmarked position for most types of adjuncts. End position is predominant in all the text types, with percentages ranging from 65 in academic writing to 83 in fiction (see [table 12.1](#)). Commentary has the second highest proportion of end position adjuncts. This can be linked to the high frequency in sports commentaries of space adjuncts which belong to the predicate, particularly in combination with verbs of movement ([figure 12.3](#)). In fiction there is also a correlation between a high percentage of space adjuncts and the use of end position (see also [section 9.2.4](#)). As noted by Hasselgård (1996: 231), fiction writers seem to a great extent to avoid marked patterns, and the predominant use of end position may be an effect of this. The lowest percentages of end position are found in academic writing and news. These text types also had the highest proportions of initial position, which indicates that both text types use adjuncts for information management.

As a corollary to his hypothesis that the choice of themes correlates with the method of development of a text (Fries 1981: 4), Fries suggests that 'the content of the N-Rheme⁸ [should] correlate with the goals of the text as a whole' (1994: 234). If this is correct, the use of end position is likely to reflect differences in the concerns of the text types. A closer look at the adjuncts in end position indeed indicates rather different concerns. These concerns, as they appear from the selection of adjuncts in focal end position, are summarised in [table 12.3](#), where five stars indicate the most frequent type and one star the fifth most frequent.

⁸ The N-rheme is identified as the last constituent of a clause, expected to be the unmarked locus of new information; see Fries (1994: 234).

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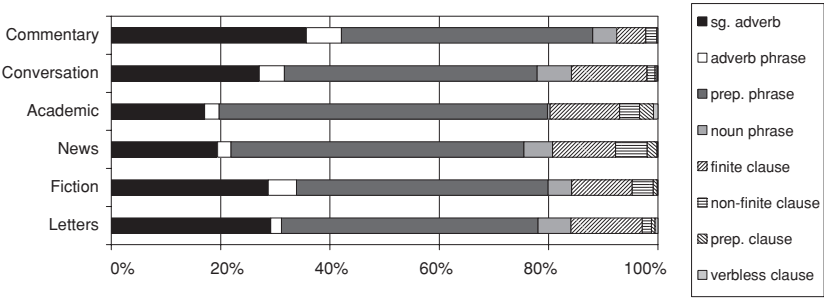


Figure 12.7 Proportional distribution of adjunct realisations across text types.

As the table shows, letters and conversation are very similar as regards the relative frequencies of adjunct types in end position. Space adjuncts are also most frequent, followed by time, though time adjuncts are slightly less common in conversation than in letters. Contingency is third most frequent, followed by manner. Participant adjuncts come fifth, but are less than half as frequent as manner adjuncts in both text types. Fiction is rather similar to letters and conversation. However, the predominance of space adjuncts is far greater in fiction, with over twice as many occurrences as time adjuncts, which are the second most frequent type. Manner comes third and is almost as frequent as time. Contingency adjuncts are far less frequent, but still in fourth place. Degree adjuncts come fifth, but are very infrequent.

In commentaries, space adjuncts are more than twice as common as the next type, time. Then follow manner, contingency and participant. In news, space adjuncts are also most frequent, but only slightly more so than time. The next three places are taken by contingency, manner and participant. In academic writing, the most frequent adjunct type is also space. However, the second most common types are participant, contingency and manner, which are about equally frequent. Then follows respect, while time is only sixth most common in end position in academic writing. We may conclude that the main concern of sports commentaries is space and spatial movement, while news texts are equally concerned with time and space. The academic writing texts are concerned with space, though not as much as commentaries and news are. On the other hand, they are preoccupied with participants (mostly agents), contingency relations and manner.

12.4 Realisation types

The text types differ not only in their distribution of semantic types of adjuncts, but also in realisation types. Figure 12.7 shows the proportional distribution. Sports commentaries stand out in having a high proportion of single adverbs and adverb phrases, matched by a low proportion of clausal

realisations. Academic writing and news have the lowest proportions of adverbs and adverb phrases and the highest proportion of clausal adjuncts.

To some extent the distribution of realisation types can be linked to the distribution of semantic types (see figure 12.2). Academic writing has few adjuncts realised by noun phrases. This is clearly linked to the general low frequency of time and degree adjuncts in this text type, as most noun phrase adjuncts denote time or degree (see figures 12.2 and 12.3). The high proportion of clausal adjuncts in academic writing correlates with the most common realisation of contingency adjuncts (see figure 2.3), which are frequent in this text type.

Non-finite clauses are most frequent in news. The majority of them are infinitive clauses realising purpose adjuncts, as shown in (21). The same tendency is found in fiction and academic writing, where non-finite clauses are also relatively frequent; see example (22). Academic writing also contains the highest proportion of prepositional clauses. The most common semantic type among these is manner method adjuncts, as exemplified by (23).

- (21) He is urging the Scottish Office to intervene *to prevent the dismemberment of the Scottish steel industry* and for pressure to be brought to bear on BS to sell its Scottish assets to any potential buyers. <W2C-015>
- (22) The censorious ego uses these narrative paths, based on association, *to bestow acceptable formulation on the basically unknowable and unformulable latent dream thoughts*. <W2A-002>
- (23) another is to try to eliminate any inconsistency *by adhering to a single truth that excludes all competition*. <W2A-012>

Another realisation type that distinguishes text types is adverbs and adverb phrases. They are most common in commentary, fiction and letters, and notably least common in news and academic writing. They are thus associated with text types where information is less densely packed and perhaps where deictics like *here*, *now* and *just* are most common; see Biber *et al.* (1999: 796).

Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 98) find that prepositional phrases (irrespective of syntactic function) are more typical of academic writing and lectures than of conversation and personal letters. On the other hand, co-ordinated clauses are more common in their two spoken genres (1987: 103), probably implying that subordination is more common in the written genres, again irrespective of the syntactic function of dependent clauses. Figure 12.7 supports such a hypothesis; the proportions of both prepositional phrase adjuncts and clausal adjuncts are indeed slightly higher in academic writing than in the other text types.

It is also interesting to look at the length of phrases and clauses that function as adjuncts. Figure 12.8 shows that there are considerable differences across text types. Particularly academic writing stands out, in that close to half of the adjuncts consist of five or more words. At the same time, this genre has the lowest percentage of single-word realisations. News texts are similar to

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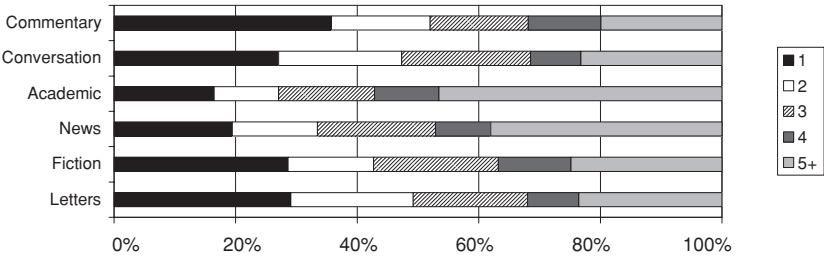


Figure 12.8 The length of adjuncts across text types.

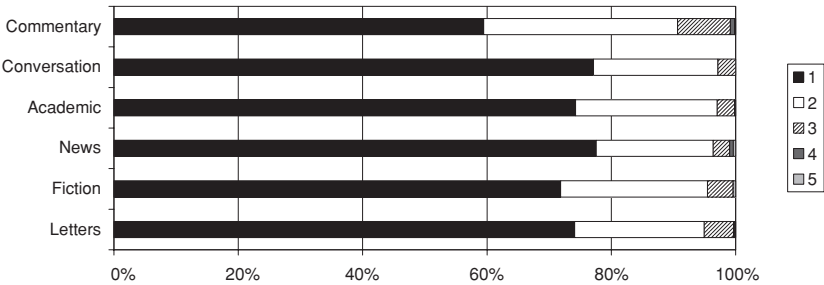


Figure 12.9 The number of adjuncts per clause across text types.

academic writing, but have fewer of the longest adjuncts and more of the shortest ones. Commentary, conversation, fiction and letters are relatively similar as to the length of adjuncts. The similarity between conversation and letters is striking. By comparison, commentary has more single-word adjuncts, while fiction has fewer two-word and more four-word adjuncts.

The findings shown in figure 12.8 may be compared to those of Biber *et al.* (1999: 791), in which prepositional phrases are reported to be longer and more complex in written than in spoken English. That is, the distribution of the longest realisations of prepositional phrases is approximately as in figure 12.8, with academic writing having the highest proportion of long adjuncts, followed by news and fiction. The difference between fiction and conversation, however, is much greater in Biber *et al.* than in figure 12.8. One reason may be that Biber *et al.* only report the length of adjuncts realised by prepositional phrases; another that most of the literary texts in the present core corpus are rather informal in flavour (see the Appendix).

12.5 Frequency and types of sequences

The number of adjuncts per clause gives an indication of the complexity of the clause structure within a text or a text type. Figure 12.9 shows the relative frequencies of adverbial sequences versus single adjuncts in different

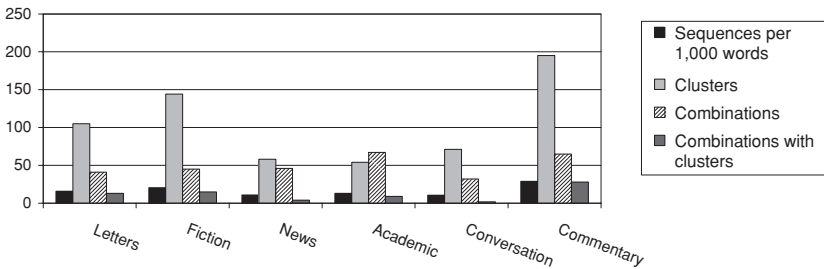


Figure 12.10 The distribution of sequences of adjuncts across text types (raw frequencies).

text types. Most clauses (between 60% and 80%) contain one adjunct only.⁹ As shown in Figure 12.9, sports commentaries clearly have the highest proportion of adverbial sequences. About 30% of the clauses in this text type contain two adjuncts, and close to 10% have three or more. The remaining genres are relatively similar as regards proportions of adverbial sequences. The lowest percentage is found in news, followed by conversation. Sequences of four or more adjuncts are rare in all text types, but particularly in letters, conversation and academic writing. In the latter case this can be correlated with the average length of adjuncts (figure 12.8): long adjuncts are less likely to be a part of a long sequence. Thus, while figure 12.9 would suggest a similar degree of syntactic complexity at clause level between academic writing and fiction, the length of the adjuncts suggests a higher degree of complexity at phrase level in the more formal written genres.

Figure 12.10 shows the distribution of sequences of adjuncts across text types. Sports commentaries contain far more adjunct sequences than any other text type with 28.8 sequences per 1,000 words, followed by fiction with 20.4 sequences per 1,000 words. News and conversation have the lowest frequencies of sequences, with 10.8 and 10.5 occurrences per 1,000 words, respectively. Clusters are the most common sequence type, more than twice as frequent as combinations. The only text type in which combinations are more frequent than clusters is academic writing. Combinations containing clusters are the least frequent sequence type in all the genres, but are most common in sports commentaries.

The high frequency of combinations in academic writing can be linked both to the realisation of adjuncts in this genre and to discourse structure. As indicated in figures 12.7 and 12.8, academic writing favours long, often clausal, realisations of adjuncts, which tend not to occur in clusters very often. Furthermore, it seems that academic writers commonly exploit the different adverbial positions for purposes of discourse organisation, as was

⁹ Note that clauses without adjuncts are not included in the material and thus not in figure 12.9.

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also evident from the overall use of adverbial positions in academic writing (table 12.1).

- (24) *During its passage down the filter*, organic material in the wastewater together with oxygen and nutrients, will diffuse *into the biofilm* and be oxidised by the heterotrophic microorganisms. <W2A-021>
- (25) *In this attempt to find an artistic confirmation and hence consecration of his science*, Freud avoids *as far as possible* the erotic overtones of the recumbent Gradiva, the half-dressed Hanold, Venus's creaky bed-springs, and so on. <W2A-002>

In both (24) and (25) above the initial adjuncts refer to information in the preceding context and thus secure cohesion as well as a background for interpreting the rest of the clause. In (24) the second adverbial constitutes the informational peak of the clause as message, while in (25) the peak comes after the second adjunct. In the latter case the degree adjunct sets off the object noun phrase as a marked rheme (see section 5.2.3). Both examples illustrate how academic writers use adjuncts in different positions in the service of information management, i.e. as backgrounded themes, information focus or informational 'hedge', typically preceding a long, information-heavy nominal constituent.

Combinations of initial and end position are the most common type in academic writing, followed by combinations of medial and end position. No particular pattern can be identified of semantic categories that enter into combinations in academic writing, but time, space and contingency adjuncts are the most frequent types found in initial position.

Sports commentaries show a clear preference for clusters of adjuncts. Most of the clusters (about 90%) occur in end position, as illustrated by (26)–(28). Typically, as this is live commentary which is spoken simultaneously with the unfolding of the event, the adjuncts successively describe the movement of a contestant, as in (26), or the ball, as in (27).

- (26) Made Lewis kind of fall *backwards* || *off balance* || *into the ropes* <S2A-009>
- (27) This time plays it *square* || *onto the halfway line* || *to* <,> *Derigo* <S2A-001>
- (28) *And then* || *behind these* comes Zimbak <S2A-006>
- (29) and have to think carefully now about how if indeed he can come *back into this race* || *in a big way* || *as we go on towards the Alps* <,> <S2A-016>

The pattern shown in (28) is relatively common in sports commentaries, as commented on in section 4.1.2, namely an obligatory adjunct or a cluster of adjuncts in initial position directing the attention to the whereabouts of

the subject referent. Finally, the pattern in (29) seems to be due to the unpredictability of a live commentary. The sentence is a side comment of the type that will be interrupted if something happens in the race. Such side comments can have an information structure with a gradual decrease in communicative dynamism (Firbas 1986: 47), i.e. the reverse of the expected order. Thus the last two adjuncts in the cluster are rather empty of meaning and serve mainly to fill out the clause and fill the air with sound.

The semantic categories represented in examples (26)–(29) are typical in that most of the clusters in sports commentaries involve space and/or time adjuncts. The most frequent clusters are homosemantic clusters of space adjuncts, followed closely by space^time. There are in fact very few clusters in sports commentaries that do *not* involve at least one adjunct of manner, space or time.

Clusters in letters and conversation are fairly similar. In both text types space^time clusters in end position predominate, with more than four times as many occurrences than any other type; see example (30). Other cluster types that occur with a frequency of five or more are space^contingency (31) and space^space (32). In addition, letters have time^time and space^manner, as illustrated by (33) and (34). In both conversation and letters the space^manner order is more frequent than the reverse, which might be predicted on the basis of Quirk *et al.* (1985: 565). See also section 6.4.4.

- (30) If it continues I'll be able to have my first shorts and burgers Bar-B-Q
on my balcony || in no time at all. <W1B-002>
- (31) I'd go to the Robins one || because I mean that like kicks it off <S1A-005>
- (32) Sitting at the Spanish Embassy || in London having just spoken to the
Consul. <W1B-003>
- (33) I was quite pleased because he ~~promise~~ promised to write 2 yrs ago ||
when we both went on camp to America. <W1B-009>
- (34) It is also always surrounded by tourists blocking the pavement, staring
heaven-wards || with their mouths open!!! <W1B-009>

12.6 Pragmatic uses of adjuncts in discourse

As noted in previous sections, many adjuncts can serve discourse functions besides referring to circumstantial relations; they may double as discourse markers, pause-fillers and partitions, as well as markers of cohesion, text strategy and shifts and breaks in the text. Some of these functions are closely linked to text type, such as pause-fillers, which are naturally limited to the spoken genres, and partitions (before marked rhemes; see section 5.2.3), which are characteristic of writing. To some extent the pragmatic uses correlate with adverbial position. In particular, discourse-organising functions are associated with initial position (see section 4.4.8).

12.6.1 *Pause-fillers and partitions*

Due to the on-line planning and production of speech, there will have to be occasional pauses between the main chunks of information (Stenström 1990: 211). To avoid a complete break in the flow of speech the speaker may choose to use a 'filler' (Brown and Yule 1983: 18). When such fillers are verbalised, they are typically expressions which are (relatively) devoid of ideational content, such as *kind of*, *you know*, *well*, *anyway* (Stenström 1990: 215).

As noted in section 9.3.6, space and time adjuncts with a low information value are sometimes used in speech to fill pauses. This is particularly noticeable in commentaries, where the speaker has an obligation to keep talking and avoid long breaks.

- (35) but no doubt Kolivanov uh probably then Ray felt that the England defence *just for a moment* will be a little unsettled *after that goal* <S2A-001>

Example (35) belongs to a part of the commentary where little or nothing seems to be happening in the game. The adjunct in medial position is unusually long for M1 and does not precede crucial information, i.e. the information given in the predicate is not developed in the ensuing context. Rather, it is part of a chain with the disjuncts *no doubt* and *probably* and the modifier *a little* that hedges the whole predication. The clause-final adjunct is anaphoric; thus neither of the italicised adjuncts contains new information.

- (36) We are *high in our gantry position* <,> || *above the main stand here at* <,> *Wembley* <S2A-001>

Example (36) is a side-comment of the type described above (section 12.5), and the whole sentence may be said to just fill the air at a point in the commentary where little is happening. The pauses show that the pace of this part of the commentary is slow. Moreover, even if the spatial location of the speakers is probably of very little interest to the listeners, the spatial reference given in the first adjunct is reinforced by the second.

There were few examples of adjuncts being used as pause-fillers in the conversation material, but (37) is a possible candidate. The insertion of *now*, which is referentially redundant, may give the speaker a brief moment to consider how far back his interest in buying books goes. However, it is also possible that *now* is used as a partition, to give more prominence to the following adjunct.

- (37) I mean it's going back *now* a long time <S1A-013>
 (38) cos it draws your √EYE #. *all the* ~ TIME # draws your eye AW\AY from the <pi> \OUT of the picture # \DOESN'T it # (LLC: S.1.8.715)

A clearer example of the pause-filler use was found in the London-Lund Corpus (38). It shows a speaker filling in a semantically light (and rather irrelevant) time adjunct after a slight pause and repeats some information in order to give himself time to plan the rest of the utterance without any great danger of losing the conversational floor.

One advantage of adverbials as pause-fillers may be that they sound less hesitant than non-verbal fillers (such as *uh* in (35)), for even if they do not actually add anything new to the clause message, at least they have a potential for doing so. The obvious effect of using time and space adjuncts to fill pauses is thus that of giving the impression of keeping up the information flow.

As demonstrated by example (37), the functions of pause-filler and partition are related. Adjuncts used in these capacities must have a low information value, as they are not supposed to draw the attention away from more important elements. The partition function is typical for, though not limited to, the more formal written genres and can be regarded as one of the ways adjuncts are used as instruments in the management of information. Unlike pause-fillers, partitions are always placed in positions where they will not receive focus, typically in M₃. Both news and academic writing have numerous examples of a short adjunct preceding a more focus-worthy constituent which then becomes a marked rheme; see section 5.2.3.

- (39) THE Prime Minister was last night facing two crucial decisions as the shock result of the Ribble Valley by-election brought *to an end* his honeymoon period as Mrs Thatcher's successor after only 100 days in office. <W2C-018>
- (40) The Romans themselves saw *in this practice* a major factor in their rise to world power and traced it back to the legendary origins of their city. <W2A-001>

Example (39) is from a news text and (40) from academic writing. In both cases, the italicised adjunct postpones the object and thereby gives it more focus. It is mainly space and time adjuncts that serve as partitions but, as seen in (40), situation adjuncts too may occur with this function. Although end weight may also be said to play a part in the structure of (40), the use of M₃ for the adjunct contributes to giving the sentence the desired theme (initial position is clearly an alternative for the adjunct) and a focused rheme.

12.6.2 Interpersonal meanings

It was noted in section 9.3.6 that frequency adjuncts can function as markers of modality and polarity. While the frequency adjunct *never* gives a clause negative polarity, other adjuncts, such as *always*, emphasise the positive polarity of the clause, as illustrated by (41).

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- (41) but he *always* gets the job done <S2A-009>
(42) I *hardly* see him, except at weekends. <W2F-003>

In (42) the adjunct *hardly* comes close to giving the clause negative polarity, i.e. it places the clause in the modal space towards the negative end of the scale between yes and no (Halliday 2004: 619).

Frequency adjuncts are most common in conversation (see section 9.3.4). This corresponds to an overall high frequency of modal markers in conversation; see Biber *et al.* (1999: 486). Speakers may need various devices for negotiating meaning and for ‘being inexact about values and opinion’ (1999: 1045). This goes hand in hand with a relatively high frequency of degree adjuncts (see figure 12.4), which may also have a hedging effect on the predication, as in (43).

- (43) Uhm <,> that one actually worries me *a little bit* <S1A-005>
(44) *In a way* he was interested because you <,> kind of there was a kind of feeling of regret <S1A-013>

Some manner adjuncts can also be disjunct-like, as illustrated in (44), where *in a way* functions as a hedge to the whole utterance and co-occurs with other hedging and hesitation phenomena.

12.6.3 Functions associated with initial position

Many discourse functions of adjuncts are associated with initial position. These were extensively discussed in section 4.4. Some of these discourse functions will be briefly commented on here – namely cohesion, text strategy and information management – as they are exploited to different degrees in different text types.

It has been pointed out that a temporal text strategy is characteristic of narrative text types (e.g. Virtanen 1992: 75). The text types that are most clearly narrative in the material for this study are fiction, letters and, to some extent, conversation (where there are stretches of story-telling). Initial time adjuncts are indeed found in all these text types to structure passages of text, as shown in (45), from fiction, and (46), from conversation (outside the core corpus). An example of temporal strategy in letters was given in (5) above.

- (45) *By the time she reached the city outskirts* she was feeling decidedly sentimental. Perhaps she should stay away from Lesley today? But in her heart of hearts she knew that if she did so she would regret it later on. Better to do it now and get it over. *Then, when she had picked at her wound*, she would treat herself to a hairdo and a good lunch to raise her

morale before she saw Poppy and took out the sad clothes of mourning for another airing.

When she was almost there she stopped at a corner newsagent to buy gifts: a glossy monthly for Lesley, a brightly coloured picture book for Tom, and a glass globe full of swirling snow for Zoë.

Keith's house looked the same, neat raw brick and everything utterly symmetrical. It looked as though Mr Wet or Mrs Dry would pop out any moment to say the weather had changed. If only it would! *When she released her seat-belt* her dress clung wetly to the small of her back and her thighs burned from contact with the seat. <W2F-003>

- (46) *Saturday and Sunday* we visited a wood in the morning which was an oak wood with uhm uhm smaller trees mixed in # *And then then in the afternoon* we did uh another oak wood but it was dominated more by fir trees pines and things like that # *And then on Sunday* uh we did a third wood in the morning which was different <S1A-036>

In both (45) and (46) the temporal strategy is only local, i.e. it does not govern the structure of the whole text. An interesting feature of the initial time adjuncts in (45) is not just that they structure the narrative, but that the third and fourth italicised adjuncts both serve to bring the discourse back into the main story line after a digression by the main character. The second adjunct, however, is part of the thoughts of the main character and refers to a time subsequent to that of the third one.

A spatial text strategy can be found in parts of the sports commentaries, where initial space adjuncts are relatively common. The function is clearly to recreate a vivid picture of, for example, the football field, and in the case of TV commentary, to guide the viewers' attention to the relevant part of the picture. Example (47) is from a radio commentary. Each initial space adjunct serves to 'move the camera', i.e. to enlarge the picture and recount the order of the horses in the race by organising them spatially.

- (47) *On the outside* name with Arony # *And then tucked in behind them* comes Punch And Run and A Good Pitch with Peter Wallwin's horse Northern Howe next # But it's still Just Free out in front on the inside rail blinkered of course # *And then on the his outside* is Arony # Then comes Eton Lad # *Just behind Eton Lad* Punch And Run on the inside <, > # *On the outside of him* is Northern Howe <, > <S2A-006>

- (48) Management structures may emphasise either the vertical or the horizontal. *If the former*, roles and tasks are sharply delineated and communication (in theory) is rooted in the lines of hierarchical authority. *If the latter is emphasised* there is more delegation of responsibility, the flow of information is more open, and there is a blurring of organisational barriers. . . .

These forms of ‘team work’ are likely to become an enduring feature of organisation where new technology is concerned. The above trend confirms the findings of Rothwell (1984) on new technology and the elimination of the supervisory level. *If such elimination occurs*, it would be very likely to amplify the role played by middle management, along with the latter’s need, in present circumstances, to liaise more closely with customers and suppliers regarding design, . . .

Such a projection may depend on how the term ‘middle management’ is defined. *If, for example, decentralisation of functional or business units is increased, and this decentralisation takes place on account of senior management’s increased ability to monitor performance from a remote point*, are the managers who head up such satellite units ‘senior managers’, or does their increased day-to-day accountability to the organisational ‘core’ of senior managers mean that their status is in reality lower than it would have been considered in the past? <W2A-011>

In (48), from academic writing, the last part of each paragraph has been omitted for reasons of space. However, the interesting point of the example is how each paragraph has an *if*-clause early on, so that the rest of the paragraph can go on to explain what happens ‘if X is the case’. This passage is structured along the logical relation of condition and consequence (see Winter 1994: 54). It may be noted that although conditional adjuncts are frequent in letters too, they do not seem to play a text-structuring role in that genre.

The news texts often contain initial time adjuncts that mark shifts and breaks in the discourse. In (49) the italicised adjunct marks a shift from a recounting of a crime to a report on the reactions of the victim’s family. Interestingly, the same adjunct is used in the first sentence of the text, but in medial position where it has no text-structuring function.

- (49) POLICE hunting the killer of a bank manager’s ‘perfect’ son were last night looking for a mystery jogger.
Sports fanatic David Nock, 16, collapsed dying into a policeman’s arms after a frenzied knife attack.
The jogger was seen following him as he left a rugby club party.
Last night, David’s devastated family were trying to come to terms with the apparently motiveless murder. <W2C-020>

It seems to be mainly time and space adverbials that have clear roles in the organisation of discourse. The exception is contingency adjuncts, particularly conditional, that can mark logical relations as a text-structuring device. We have seen previously (section 4.1.1) that time, space and contingency adjuncts are by far the most frequent adjunct types in initial position. This is probably linked to their ability to mark discourse relations and thereby to organise events along spatial, temporal or logical lines.

12.7 Text-type-characteristic uses of adjuncts

It will have emerged from the preceding discussion that the patterns of adverbial usage are characteristic of particular text types. The two text types that stand out on most counts are sports commentaries and academic writing. The present section will offer examples of characteristic adverbial usage in these text types.

Example (50) comes from a fictional rather than a real sports commentary, namely an account of a Quidditch game from *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* by J.K. Rowling. However, the passage gives a good representation of the language of sports commentaries.¹⁰

- (50) (i) And here are the Gryffindors! (ii) Potter, Bell, Johnson, Spinnet, Weasley, Weasley and Wood. (iii) Widely acknowledged as the best side Hogwarts has seen in a good few years – (iv) And here come the Slytherin team, led by captain Flint. (v) He’s made some changes in the line-up and seems to be going for size rather than skill – (vi) And it’s Gryffindor in possession, (vii) Alicia Spinnet of Gryffindor with the Quaffle, heading straight for the Slytherin goalposts, (viii) looking good, Alicia! (ix) Argh, no – Quaffle intercepted by Warrington, Warrington of Slytherin tearing up the pitch – WHAM! – (x) nice Bludger work there by George Weasley, (xi) Warrington drops the Quaffle, (xii) it’s caught by – Johnson, (xiii) Gryffindor back in possession, (xiv) come on Angelina – (xv) nice swerve round Montague – (xvi) *duck Angelina, that’s a Bludger!* – (xvii) SHE SCORES! (xviii) TEN–ZERO TO GRYFFINDOR!

(Rowling 2000: 225)

We may note the use of clause-initial space adjuncts with a presentative function (T-units i and iv). There are also participant adjuncts in end position in T-units (iv), (ix) and (xii). The latter is particularly interesting in that there is a pause between the preposition and the name of the player, thus corroborating Green’s (1980: 585) claim that speakers may need to delay saying the player’s name for various pragmatic reasons, such as checking the number of a player against a name list.

Another peculiar feature of sports commentaries is the use of quasi-temporal clauses introduced by *as*, as shown in (51). This construction was also commented on in [section 9.3.6](#), where it was found to mark immediacy rather than simultaneity between two events.

- (51) And it’s Gryffindor in possession again, *as Johnson takes the Quaffle* – Flint alongside her . . . (Rowling 2000: 227)

¹⁰ The extract contains only those parts of the text that represent direct speech (by the commentator). Emphasis is as in the original. The example has been divided into numbered segments, each of which corresponds roughly to a T-unit, i.e. ‘an independent clause together with all hypotactically related clauses which are dependent on it’ (Fries 1994: 229).

In contrast to sports commentaries, academic writing is marked by comparatively low frequencies of time and space adjuncts, matched by a higher frequency of adjuncts that denote more abstract relationships, especially contingency and respect. Participant adjuncts are also more frequent in academic writing than in other text types, opening up possibilities of using abstract, non-agentive subjects, which were noted by Chafe and Danielewicz (1987: 109) as particularly frequent in academic writing.

- (52) (i) Freud wants to avoid the suggestion, that Jensen, his contemporary, was consciously using his ideas. (ii) He wants the artist's insights to confirm his, the scientist's, independently. (iii) Hence no doubt Freud's repression of his own vocabulary of the parapraxis, the slip of the tongue; (iv) hence, even more importantly, his avoidance of any mention of over-obviously 'Freudian' symbolism: (v) yet the image of Gradiva lassoing the lizard with a blade of grass and then offering it up to the beak of a passing bird is potentially as good a symbol of castration anxiety as that of the eyes which are threatened *by the Sandman* || *in the Hoffmann tale analysed in The Uncanny*. (vi) *In this attempt to find an artistic confirmation and hence consecration of his science*, Freud avoids as far as possible the erotic overtones of the recumbent Gradiva, the half-dressed Hanold, Venus's creaky bedsprings, and so on. (vii) One curious result of this is that what is repressed appears to be no more than a sage, sweet, nuptial love, rather than erotic desire; and, as such, it seems hardly worth repressing. (viii) *If this repression lies behind Hanold's obsessions and hallucinations*, the modern reader, armed with the later Freud, would want to know what lay behind that repression. (ix) And indeed, *if Freud is able to found his reading of Gradiva on the overlap between two limpid and graceful female images*, the bas-relief and the girl that it echoes, it is no doubt *because this is a piece of early Freud, written at a time when his ideas on the Oedipus complex and infantile desire were still quite fluid*. (x) In fact, this article furnishes one of the stages in Freud's developing theories, *with his discussion of Hanold's forgetting of his aggressively physical childhood games with Zoe*. (xi) Freud also entirely ignores the death wish in Hanold's first and third dream *whilst he is enchanted with the metaphor of archaeology for memory unevenly buried in an unstable mental terrain (a metaphor which was to become one of his most creative models of the mind)*; (xii) he ignores the potential violence of Jensen's images of burial, flattening, cutting, measuring. (xiii) Some of Jensen's non-dream images – the mummified lovers, the lewd frescoes – seem now *to the Post-Freudian reader of this late Symbolist fiction* to reveal Jensen's own precocious ability to symbolize the destructive frenzy of the repressed libido.
- <W2A-002>

The extract in (52) illustrates several features of adverbial usage in academic writing. First, many of the adjuncts are realised by clauses or by long, complex phrases; note the (abstract) space adjunct in unit (v), the respect adjunct in (vi), the contingency adjuncts in (viii), (ix) and (xi), the manner (means) adjunct in (x) and the viewpoint adjunct in (xii).

Note also the tight cohesive structure of the above extract. Units (iii), (iv), (v), (ix) and (x) all start with a conjunct or a conjunction, while (ii), (vii), (xi), (xii) and (xiii) start with subjects that link lexically or referentially to information just mentioned. The passage also illustrates the use of adjuncts in the service of cohesion and discourse structure. Unit (vi) starts with a respect adjunct containing a referential expression and thus anchors the sentence to the preceding context while at the same time adding an elaboration of what 'this attempt' consists in so as to contextualise the information in the matrix clause. In (ix), the initial *if*-clause contains given (or presupposed) information and functions as a theme leading up to the rhematic *because*-clause. In this sentence the matrix clause is strikingly empty of content; it mainly serves to link together the two contingency clauses.

A final feature of the use of adjuncts and adverbial placement for information management in (52) is illustrated in unit (xiii), where a viewpoint adjunct is placed in medial position (between a catenative and a following main verb) so as to set off the predicate as a marked rheme. As noted above, this use of medial position is typical of the more formal written genres in the core corpus: news and academic writing.

12.8 Adverbial usage: characteristics of text types

The present chapter has highlighted text type differences in adverbial usage. It is interesting to note that the spoken–written dimension does not seem to be a crucial parameter as regards the use of adverbials. The exceptions are the frequency of end position and the preferred realisation types, where conversation and commentary are similar (sections 12.3 and 12.4) and the possibility of using adjuncts as pause fillers (section 12.7), which is a function associated with spoken performance. The four written text types differ greatly in formality level. News and academic writing can be said to be the most formal ones in the core corpus. They show similar tendencies as regards the realisation of adjuncts, the choice of adverbial positions and the use of adjuncts as partitions. Of particular interest is the frequent use of adjuncts realised by clauses and long phrases (figures 12.7 and 12.8), entailing frequent use of subordination (see Chafe and Danielewicz 1987: 103). In most of the comparisons presented here, conversation and social letters came out with strikingly similar results. This may suggest that much of adverbial usage is determined by the parameters that these text types have in common (see table 1.1): formality level, private communication, participant interaction and low level of planning/editing. It has also been noted that letters and fiction

Table 12.4 *Adverbial usage across text types*

Frequency		Placement	Discourse features
Conversation	Lowest overall frequency of adjuncts. Time and space adjuncts are almost equally frequent, followed by contingency.	Least frequent use of initial position. Third most frequent use of medial position.	Many medial adjuncts that relate to polarity and modality. Adjuncts functioning as hedges.
Commentary	Highest overall frequency of adjuncts. Space and time dominate. Manner adjuncts are third most frequent. Few contingency adjuncts. High frequency of adjunct sequences.	Second most frequent use of end position. Frequency of initial position is proportionally low, but numerically the highest.	Initial space adverbials focus on location of participant. Participant adjuncts in end position / end focus. Time / space adjuncts / sometimes used as pause fillers.
Letters	Time adjuncts are the most frequent type, followed by space and contingency.	Relatively frequent use of initial position.	Time adjuncts are often used in the structuring of the text.
Fiction	Second highest overall frequency of adjuncts. Most frequent types are space, time, manner. Highest frequency of manner and degree adjuncts. Second highest frequency of sequences, mostly clusters.	Highest frequency of end position. Second lowest frequency of initial position. Time and space adjuncts are (numerically) frequent in both initial and end position.	Time and space adjuncts are used for text-strategic purposes in initial position.
News	Time adjuncts slightly more frequent than space. Contingency third most frequent.	Second most frequent use of initial and medial position.	Adverbial positions exploited in information management. Adjuncts at M ₃ used as partitions.
Academic writing	Second lowest overall frequency of adjuncts. Even distribution of adverbial types. Greater share than other genres of contingency, participant and respect adjuncts.	Highest frequency of initial and medial (esp. M ₃) position. Lowest frequency of end position. Combinations are more frequent than clusters. Contingency adjuncts are the most frequent type in initial position.	Logical relations as text structuring strategy. Initial adverbials used for cohesion and information management. Adjuncts at M ₃ used as partitions.

share some characteristics, particularly as regards the realisation of adjuncts (section 12.4) and the use of temporal text strategies to organise stretches of text (section 12.6.3). These similarities were related to the narrative nature of both of these text types.

Table 12.4 gives a summary of characteristic features of each of the six text types in the core corpus as regards adverbial usage.

13

The grammar of English adjuncts: summary of findings and concluding remarks

13.1 Research questions revisited

The present study set out to explore the following aspects of adjunct adverbials: (i) **syntactic and semantic categories**; (ii) the **frequency** of such adverbials and their subcategories; (iii) the **placement** of such adverbials; and (iv) **discourse functions** of such adverbials.

The first part involved a discussion of the classification of adverbials, and of the adjunct category in particular. Previous studies, including reference grammars, differ greatly in their classification schemes. Thus it was necessary to establish a framework for the classification of adjuncts before embarking on the analysis proper. A relatively wide definition of ‘adjunct’ was retained, much like the category of ‘circumstance adjuncts’ in Biber *et al.* (1999: 776).

13.2 Main findings of the preceding chapters

13.2.1 *Semantic types (frequency and semantic complexity)*

The subdivision of the adjunct category was outlined in [section 2.4](#). The main types are space, time, manner, contingency, respect, degree, participant, comparison, situation, focus and viewpoint. These differ greatly in frequency, as shown in [figure 13.1](#) (see also [figure 2.1](#)): time and space adjuncts alone account for 68% of all the adjuncts. Another 22% are taken up by manner and contingency adjuncts, 4% by participant adjuncts, 2% by respect, and the remaining 4% are shared by degree, comparison, situation, focus and viewpoint adjuncts.

The different types of adjunct are to some extent associated with different types of actions and situations. This can be shown by correlating adjunct types with process types, as in [figure 13.2](#). Space, manner and participant adjuncts are particularly strongly associated with material processes, i.e. with dynamic actions. Although material processes are the most common process type in general, with a frequency of 51% (see Matthiessen 1999: 16), they are overrepresented in clauses containing these adjunct types. Time and contingency adjuncts occur with all types of process, though contingency adjuncts combine with relational processes more often than time adjuncts do,

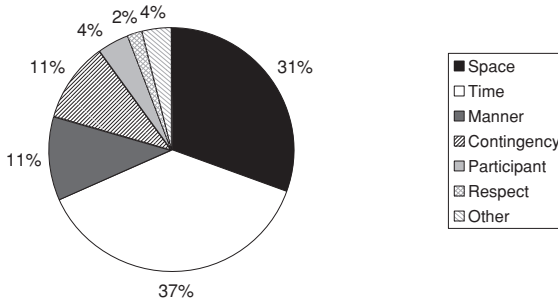


Figure 13.1 The frequency distribution of semantic types of adjunct across the core corpus.

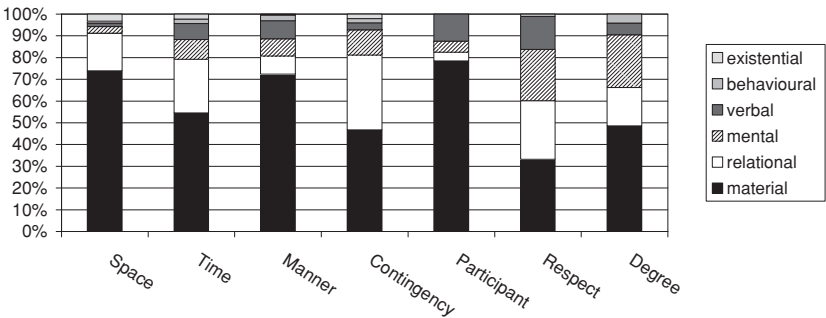


Figure 13.2 The co-occurrence of the most frequent adjunct types with process type (proportional distribution).

and also more often than the overall frequency of relational processes would predict. Respect and degree adjuncts have a preference for mental processes that is about twice the frequency predicted from the overall frequency of mental processes. Respect adjuncts also occur with a higher than expected frequency with verbal processes, which is not altogether surprising, as matter adjuncts (a category of respect adjuncts) can occur only with mental and verbal processes.

Some areas of overlap between the semantic types of adjunct were mentioned already in [section 2.4.9](#). As the present study includes *all* adjuncts found in the texts selected from the ICE-GB, many problems of classification arose because of the range and complexity of meanings expressed. It thus seemed more and more reasonable that the semantic categories should be regarded as *prototypes* rather than as watertight categories. Each adjunct type (and its subcategories) has central and typical meanings and others that are more peripheral and also harder to classify. The peripheral meanings may approach other categories, thus creating a complex network of circumstantial meanings.

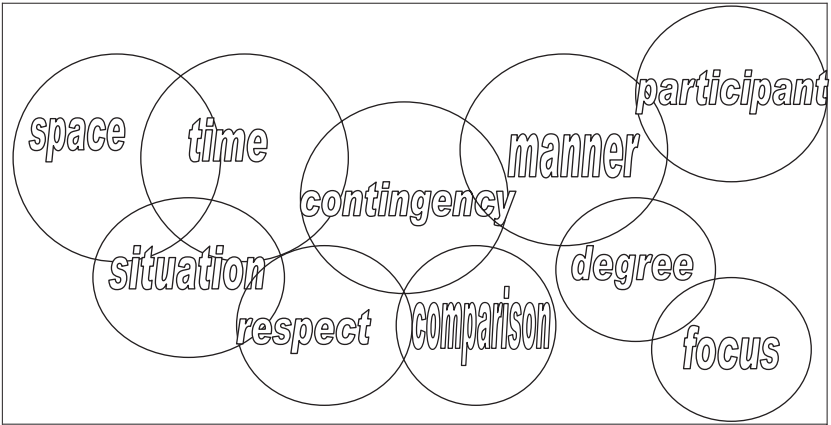


Figure 13.3 Relationships between adjunct types.

Figure 13.3 is an attempt to represent visually the relationship between the semantic types of adjuncts. Each type may be seen as having a core (or prototypical) meaning and other more peripheral meanings that shade into one or more of the other types. There is a certain overlap between time and space meanings (see section 9.4). Situation adjuncts are obviously related to both of these in combining temporal and spatial meaning (section 2.4.8). There is also an area of overlap between time and contingency, as was shown in several examples (e.g. section 9.3.5), such as time position versus cause and time sequence versus purpose. The similarity between contingency and manner adjuncts pertains to the categories of purpose and method, which may be seen as converses of each other (section 6.2.7) in that they view the same situation from different perspectives: *X did Y in order to get Z* or *X got Z by doing Y*. A relationship between cause and means was also noted in section 10.2.1. The potential overlap between degree and manner adjuncts can be inferred from the various classifications of such adjuncts (table 2.1), and can furthermore be illustrated by examples such as (1), where *deeply* characterises the process for both manner and intensity. The overlap between focus and degree adjuncts is illustrated in (2), where *totally* intensifies the verb meaning but at the same time puts the spotlight on the verb in the same way as a focus adjunct would.

- (1) A man who cares *deeply* about things further away than his nose . . .
<W1B-003>
- (2) Indeed, for Freud, the unconscious itself *totally* lacks imagination,
<W2A-002>
- (3) Paul Mulvey, 19, acted *as a lookout* the night carriages were
attacked . . . <W2C-020>

There are furthermore similarities between the participant agent category and the means adjunct classified under ‘manner’, while role adjuncts (also a type of manner) resemble participant adjuncts, as in (3). Respect adjuncts form a rather diverse category, sharing features of meaning with situation, contingency and comparison adjuncts.

However, not all relationships are captured in figure 13.3; frequency adjuncts and degree adjuncts were shown to be somewhat similar, as both denote a type of quantification in the clause (see sections 2.4.9.5 and 11.5). Furthermore, respect adjuncts often have elements of spatial meaning, as in (4); see section 11.3.1.

- (4) The Italian peoples were bound to fight in Rome’s wars at their own charge, but they paid no tribute, and retained self-government *in their local affairs*. <W2A-001>

13.2.2 Realisation types

Adjuncts have a wide range of realisation types, as was shown in figures 2.2 and 2.3. The categories included in the present framework are single adverb, adverb phrase, prepositional phrase, noun phrase, finite clause, non-finite clause, prepositional clause and verbless clause.¹ These differ greatly in frequency, with prepositional phrases accounting for almost half of all the adjuncts. About 30% of the adjuncts are realised by adverbs and adverb phrases and 10% by finite clauses. Noun phrases are even less frequent, at about 5%, while non-finite clauses, prepositional clauses and verbless clauses together account for only 4%.

The adjunct types have different realisational preferences. Prepositional phrases are greatly preferred by space, respect, participant, situation and viewpoint adjuncts. Adverbs and adverb phrases are preferred by degree and focus adjuncts, while contingency and comparison adjuncts favour finite and non-finite clauses. Manner adjuncts tend to be realised by either adverbs or prepositional phrases, while time adjuncts are most evenly spread over realisation types, though it is the only type with a sizeable number of noun phrase realisations.

Realisation types were also found to vary somewhat across text types. Academic writing and news stand out as the genres that have the longest adjuncts (in terms of number of words), correlating with a preference for clausal realisations as well as phrases with a complex structure (see section 12.4). In contrast, the two spoken genres along with fiction and letters, rely more on shorter realisations with single adverbs being most frequent (round about 30%). The non-finite clause types are relatively rare in

¹ The category ‘non-finite clause’ comprises infinitive and participle clauses. Prepositional and verbless clauses are also non-finite in that they lack a finite verb, but have been kept as separate categories. See further, section 2.6.

both of the spoken genres and in personal letters, but are used slightly more in fiction.

13.2.3 *Positions (frequency and characteristics)*

Three main adverbial positions have been distinguished in the present study. These are defined in relation to other clause elements, most importantly the verb phrase.

Initial position is before any obligatory elements in the clause.

Medial position is between the first and the last obligatory element in a clause. Medial position was subdivided into M₁ (between the subject and the verb phrase), M₂ (after an auxiliary but before the main verb) and M₃ (after the main verb but before the last obligatory element in the clause).

End position is after all (other) obligatory elements in a clause.

In addition, some attention was given to adjuncts in cleft focus position, i.e. those that are the focus of an *it*-cleft construction (chapter 7). However, the cleft focus position turned out to be extremely infrequent in the core corpus, with only two occurrences.

The proportional frequencies of the three main positions differ greatly, as can be seen in table 13.1. The adverbial positions also differ as regards the syntactic and semantic types of adjuncts that are placed in them, and the kinds of discourse functions that are associated with them. The main differences between the positions are summarised in table 13.1.

End position is massively preferred by obligatory adjuncts, for which other positions are decidedly marked. Predicational adjuncts also greatly favour end position. A plausible reason for this is that other positions – particularly initial – easily invoke a sentential reading of the adjunct. As regards realisation types, table 13.1 shows that initial position easily accommodates both long and short adjuncts, with a higher percentage of clauses than end position has (although more adjunct clauses occur in end position in terms of raw frequencies). Medial position is dominated by single-word adjuncts while end position has prepositional phrases as the most frequent realisation type.

End position can further be considered the default position for most semantic types of adjunct. The exceptions are focus, viewpoint and situation adjuncts, all of which have a frequency of 50% or less in end position (table 6.1). In addition, some types of time adjuncts, notably frequency and relationship, commonly occur in medial and/or initial position. Manner and degree adjuncts also frequently occur in medial position, especially when realised by single adverbs. Focus adjuncts reach the top three only in medial position.

As shown in table 13.1, time adjuncts dominate in all three adverbial positions. Manner adjuncts are among the top three in end and medial position, but not in initial position, where contingency shows up among the

Table 13.1 *Features of adverbial positions*

	Initial	Medial	End
Frequency	12.4% (N = 555)	10.3% (N = 461)	77.2% (N = 4470)
Obligatoriness	4% obligatory 96% optional	1% obligatory (in M3) 99% optional	18% obligatory or indeterminate 82% optional
Scope	10% predicational 90% sentential	26% predicational 74% sentential	73% predicational 27% sentential
Preferred realisation types (above 20%)	Prepositional phrase (35%), single adverb (30%), finite clause (25%)	Single adverb (79%)	Prepositional phrase (56%), single adverb (20%)
Most frequent semantic types (Top 3, absolute frequencies)	Time, Contingency, Space	Time, Manner, Focus	Time, Space, Manner
Preference by semantic types (Top 3, relative frequencies)	Situation, Viewpoint, Comparison	Focus, Degree, Viewpoint	Participant, Space, Manner
Discourse features	Given information Backgrounding Cohesion Text strategy	Non-focal	End focus Cataphoric grounding

most frequent types. There is a great leap from the top three in initial position down to number four (respect), which has only ten occurrences. It may be noted that the fourth most frequent type in end position is contingency. When we look at how each semantic type of adjunct selects its placement, however, the picture changes. Situation, viewpoint and comparison adjuncts typically select initial position; medial position is typically selected by focus, degree and viewpoint adjuncts, while end position is particularly dominant with participant, space and manner adjuncts.

As indicated in table 13.1, the adverbial positions also differ as to their typical discourse features. As the default information structure of the clause is generally that of given before new information, initial position is often used for adjuncts that contain given or backgrounded information, while end position is used for adjuncts that constitute the culmination point of the action or the informational peak of the clause. Given information in initial position may have a cohesive function, for example by containing anaphoric items or lexical items with a sense relation to the preceding context. Furthermore, some adjuncts that typically occur clause-initially are in themselves cohesive

markers, particularly time adjuncts that mark temporal sequence and thus help structure the information along a temporal axis. Initial position is also used for information that is backgrounded in relation to other constituents. At the same time, initial adjuncts set up an interpretational framework for the rest of the clause and are thus suited for giving an interpretative background for the message or for placing a restriction on its truth or validity. This latter function is evident, for example, with conditional adjuncts, which have a certain preference for initial position. All the discourse functions of initial position are functions associated with clause theme (Halliday 2004: 64); the theme ‘serves as the point of departure of the message’ and ‘locates and orients the clause within its context’.

Medial position is generally used for short adjuncts that modify the verb meaning, for example intensity and frequency, and is not associated with focus. If longer phrases or clauses are placed in medial position, they are typically marked as parenthetical by means of prosody or punctuation. The M₃ position was found to differ slightly from M₁ and M₂ in that it sometimes occurs with an adjunct that seems to have been shifted from end position because of a long and/or heavy argument of the verb (typically a direct object). This structure is slightly marked and may serve to set off the clause-final (end-shifted) constituent as a marked rheme, i.e. it receives greater than usual end focus.

13.2.4 *Text-type variation*

As discussed in chapter 12, adverbial usage varies across the text types included in the study. Interestingly, conversation and personal letters seem to have much the same patterns as regards adverbial types as well as adverbial realisations. A noteworthy difference between the two is that initial position is used more in letters, particularly for time adjuncts that are part of a temporal text strategy. On the other hand, there are some important differences between the two spoken genres in the material. These can be ascribed to the dialogue/monologue distinction as well as style conventions for the two genres. There is a great difference in the frequency of adjuncts; commentaries have nearly twice as many adjuncts as conversation (see figure 12.1). Although the spoken genres share a preference for short adjuncts and a great reliance on time and space adverbials, contingency adjuncts are much more important in conversation than in commentaries. As for positional tendencies, sports commentaries exploit initial position more for information-structural reasons, particularly by thematising space adverbials to steer the attention to a location before revealing what is happening there.

The two supposedly most information-heavy genres, news and academic writing, were also shown to share some features of adverbial usage. Both exploit initial and medial position for information management in the text. They also come out as the most ‘written’ genres, in that they use longer and

more complex adjuncts. However, they differ as regards semantic types of adjuncts. While news is full of time and space adjuncts, academic writing has the lowest proportional frequency of these types in the material. On the other hand, academic writing has a higher frequency than news of manner, contingency, participant and respect adjuncts. This difference can be ascribed to a more detached style and a generally more abstract subject-matter in academic writing.

As regards the use of adverbial sequences, it was noted that sports commentaries have the highest average number of adjuncts per clause (figure 12.9). The preferred sequence type is clusters, as in all text types except academic writing. The preference for combinations in academic writing was linked to a conscious use of adjuncts in information management; initial position is used for marking cohesive relations and giving background information and end position for expressing the peak of the message, often anticipating or grounding information in the following context.

To the extent that text strategies could be identified as text-type-characteristic, letters and fiction showed a tendency toward a temporal text strategy. This was linked to their narrative nature. Sports commentaries often use a spatial strategy to guide the listeners' attention to the appropriate part of the sports field. Academic writing was sometimes seen to use contingency as a local strategy, particularly in the case of conditional adjuncts. No dominant text strategy was identified for conversation, although time, space and contingency adjuncts may be used for creating local continuities.

13.2.5 *Adjunct adverbials in information structure*

As noted above, adjuncts can take various roles in the information structure of a clause. Adjuncts in initial position typically give background information for or place a restriction on the validity of the matrix clause proposition. However, since initial position has the potential of thematic focus, adjuncts in initial position can also be contrastive, as in (5).

- (5) 'She means to hurt me,' Emma thought. . . . *Aloud*, she said: 'I don't know what it's like to be husband-less but I can imagine.' <W2F-003>
 (6) but *even further behind Hembury Hall* was Rocky Romance <S2A-006>

Another important use of initial position is to mark a new or changed setting, which may coincide with a shift or break in the text. However, although initial adjuncts may be important discourse-structuring elements, they usually do not constitute the informational peak of the message. For example, when an initial space adjunct is used in a quasi-presentative construction as in (6), the adjunct is important for locating the new participant, but it is the participant that is in focus and constitutes the informational peak.

Adjuncts in end position may constitute the main point of the message and usually receive end focus. However, as end position is the default position

for most types of adjuncts, an adjunct in end position need not be focal, particularly not if there is another postverbal constituent, as in (7), where the focus is on the object.² Furthermore, if end position contains a cluster of adjuncts, only one of them may receive focal accent, as in (8), where the cluster-final one constitutes the informational peak of the message.

- (7) And someone came and locked the GATE *after us* <S1A-009>
 (8) ... we were recommended to do this *at university* || *by one of the*
 LECTURERS <S1A-013>

As mentioned above, medial position is not associated with focus. Thus its function in information structure concerns particularly those cases where the circumstantial meanings are clearly subordinate to other meanings. This is evident both when adjuncts are made parenthetical in medial position, as in (9), and when an object is end-shifted so as to become a marked rheme (because of the adjunct in M3 position), as in (10).

- (9) The Scottish Secretary, *in evidence to the trade and industry select committee looking into Ravenscraig*, indicated there were buyers. <W2C-015>
 (10) I would like, however, to check *with you* the matter of my dress (as in 'clothing'). <W1B-015>

13.2.6 Adjunct adverbials in the cohesive framework of a text

As discussed in section 4.4, adjuncts in initial position often contribute to cohesion. An adjunct can be cohesive by being anaphoric in itself, as in (11), or by containing anaphoric expressions or other types of given information. Furthermore, an initial time adjunct may establish temporal conjunction between the clause in which it occurs and the preceding context (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 261), as illustrated by (12).

- (11) He just looked in the Madrid phone book and *there* I am – ! Losada:
 BALBONTIN J. M. <W1B-003>
 (12) Uhm <,,> and *then* we just went to the bar <S1A-005>

As mentioned above, initial adjuncts, particularly of time and space, may contribute to cohesion by being part of text-strategic chains (Enkvist 1987). Contingency adjuncts were also occasionally found to form strategic chains (mostly outside the core corpus), e.g. conditionals in *if... then* structures.

However, adjuncts may be used in text structuring even when they are *not* part of text-strategic chains, i.e. they may be used for segmenting the text and marking shifts and breaks. Again this occurs mainly with time and

² Focal accent, as perceived from the sound recording, has been marked with SMALL CAPITALS.

space adverbials, which are typically found to occur clause-initially at the beginning of new paragraphs (or other subdivisions of a text), particularly in narratives, but also in recountings as illustrated by (13).

- (13) But *at the institute of Housing's Scottish conference in Aviemore yesterday* Mr John Maxton, Labour's local government spokesman, made it clear his party still felt the plan was a dangerous diversion from the housing problems in Scotland. <W2C-018>

While the use of adjuncts in cohesion is most clearly visible in initial position, it should be noted that adjuncts may also take part in chains of lexical cohesion regardless of their position. An example of this is given in (14), where the italicised adjuncts all refer to the Persian Gulf and related concepts (fishing boat, surface).

- (14) Dolphins are still a common sight *in the Gulf*, and one of my most memorable experiences was watching them *from the prow of an Arabian fishing boat, or dhows*. Two sleek, grey bodies were effortlessly riding our bow-wave *just a foot or so beneath the surface*. Every couple of minutes, they sheered off to one side and exhibited their prowess with short leaps and fast surges. These were Indo-Pacific humpback dolphins *Sousa chinensis*, their name deriving from the hump which sometimes supports the dorsal fin. Unlike the bottlenosed dolphin *Tursiops truncatus*, which is the commonest Gulf species, the humpback has a long, thin snout, often tipped white. The common dolphin *Delphinus delphis* and the finless porpoise *Neophocaena phocaenoides* also occur *in the Gulf*, but in very much smaller numbers. Large cetaceans such as humpback whales, orcas and blue whales are occasionally seen (there have been unconfirmed reports of at least three collisions between humpback whales and warships *in the south of the Gulf*). <W2B-029>

Although the topic of this passage is dolphins, as evidenced by their frequent mention as topical theme, their habitat, i.e. the Persian Gulf, is also an important concern in the text. In terms of Hasan's (1985: 94) concept of cohesive harmony, 'dolphins' and 'the Gulf' can be seen as two cohesive chains. The 'dolphin chain' is made up of participants while the 'sea chain' is made up chiefly of adjuncts. For cohesive harmony to occur, the chains must interact, which they do in this text in the sense that the adjuncts repeatedly locate the participants. The chain interaction creates a network of lexical cohesion – or texture – in the text.

13.3 Factors determining adverbial placement

A matrix of factors believed to determine adverbial placement was presented in section 3.6 (table 3.3). These factors were divided into *clause-internal*

(obligatoriness, scope, syntactic weight, end focus, clarity and theme) and *textual* (information structure, cohesion, text strategy and thematic development). Clearly, these factors are associated with different positions, as indicated in [table 13.1](#). Most of the clause-internal factors steer adjuncts towards end position, while most of the textual factors pull adjuncts to initial position. In addition, some semantic types of adjunct have their own positional preferences.

End position is favoured above all by obligatory adjuncts, adjuncts with predication scope, syntactically or prosodically heavy adjuncts and adjuncts that convey new information and are intended for end focus. In addition, end position must be regarded as the default for most types of adjunct, so that there need not be any particular reason for choosing end position – simply an absence of any reason to choose otherwise. **Initial position** is favoured by adjuncts that consist of or contain anaphora and adjuncts that are part of a text-strategic chain. It is also typically used for adjuncts conveying given or backgrounded information and adjuncts that place a necessary restriction on the interpretation of the clause message. All of these functions are associated with the function of clause theme. **Medial position** is favoured by a relatively small set of short adjuncts, mostly denoting frequency, time relationship, manner, degree or focus. Furthermore, medial position is sometimes used for adjuncts that are downgraded in the information structure, but which may set off another constituent as focal.

As regards the organisation of adjuncts in sequences, it was found that adjuncts in combinations select their positions ‘independently’, i.e. on the same basis as adjuncts generally do. Thus a combination of initial and end position, for example, would arise out of a need to put one adjunct in initial position for discourse-organisational reasons and another in end position for syntactic or informational reasons.

The order of adjuncts in clusters in end position is related to obligatoriness and scope: obligatory adjuncts are placed before optional ones, and predication adjuncts are placed before sentential ones. In addition, a certain order of semantic categories seems to work as a default pattern, namely *participant – space – manner – time – contingency*. However, as stated in [section 6.4.3](#), such a series is unlikely to occur, since few clusters contain more than two adjuncts. Furthermore, in clusters of three or more adjuncts, the pattern of semantic categories is easily overridden by factors such as syntactic weight and realisation. Syntactic weight and realisation type were found to be decisive for the relative ordering of manner and space adjuncts. On the whole, short and simple phrases tend to precede those that are longer and more complex, and phrases precede clauses. The latter explains why contingency adjuncts tend to come last in a cluster: they are commonly realised by clauses.

For clusters in initial position no particular pattern of semantic categories could be established; however, the most frequently occurring pattern was *time^space* ([section 4.6](#)). A more reliable pattern was that the adjunct that most clearly links back to the preceding context is placed first in initial

clusters. Similarly, adjuncts that belong to a text-strategic chain are placed before other adjuncts. It should be noted that the ordering according to syntactic weight works in the same way for clusters in initial position as in end position. The order according to scope, on the other hand, works in the opposite way: in the rare case that one of the adjuncts in an initial cluster has predication scope, it is placed cluster-finally and thereby nearer the core of the clause. Both in initial and in end position the adjunct that is syntactically and semantically most peripheral is thus placed in the most peripheral position in relation to other clause elements.

13.4 The adjunct category revisited

13.4.1 *The flexibility of adverbial expressions*

In various places throughout the study, the boundaries of the ‘adjunct’ category have been challenged. The main reasons for the challenge are rooted in the syntactic and semantic flexibility of many adverbial expressions. We have seen that particularly spatial expressions have extended their meanings metaphorically into a range of textual domains, and that expressions of time, manner, contingency and viewpoint may extend into interpersonal domains (sections 9.3.6, 10.2.4, 10.3.4 and 11.5).

The category of ‘subjunct’ may have been introduced in Quirk *et al.* (1985) in order to obtain a more homogeneous category of adjuncts; most of the subjuncts were classified as adjuncts in Quirk *et al.* (1972). Some of the subjuncts have interpersonal and textual meanings and most would not pass the syntactic ‘adjunct tests’ outlined in section 2.2. On the other hand, many of them would sit comfortably in the adjunct category according to Biber *et al.*’s semantic definition, in that they ‘add information about the action or state described in the clause, answering questions such as “How, When, Where, How much, To what extent?” and “Why?”’ (1999: 763).

In the present study, the classes of adverbials have been defined mainly on semantic grounds, thus including, for example, frequency adverbials in the adjunct class. As has been mentioned repeatedly, some of the adverbial types are problematic in that they might fit the criteria of more than one class. One such example is viewpoint adjuncts, which may fulfil some of the syntactic criteria of adjuncthood, but which are pragmatically similar to disjuncts as they bring in an interpersonal dimension by attributing propositions to other sources or marking personal involvement; see section 13.4.3. The following two sections discuss areas in which adjunct meanings seem to overlap with textual and interpersonal meanings, respectively, before a new definition of ‘adjunct’ is proposed in section 13.4.5.

13.4.2 *Adjuncts extending into the textual domain*

Some adjuncts express meanings that are close to conjunctive, particularly comparison and time relationship. As illustrated in (15) below, comparison

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adjuncts may refer to information that is known or inferable from the preceding context and may set up a contrast between this and the matrix clause. Such adjuncts clearly border on conjuncts. However, the contrast may also be entirely sentence-internal, as in (16), where *accolades* is new information in this context.

- (15) He went on to say that *rather than conducting a war of attrition*, BS should release Ravenscraig for sale. <W2C-015>
(16) He had managed to convince her that Schumacher was a traitor, but *instead of accolades* he was under arrest, accused of assisting him to escape. <W2F-012>

It has been shown that time adjuncts in initial position easily take on text-organising functions. This pertains particularly to time relationship adjuncts, which not only organise events along a temporal axis, but which may also 'link logical steps that are internal to the text itself' (Martin and Rose 2003: 120). In (17) and (18), the italicised adjuncts mark 'external' conjunction, i.e. steps in the course of events.

- (17) And Othello of course calls on uh Desdemona's father doesn't he and *then* he tells her the story of his life <S1A-020>
(18) *Suddenly* she could hear her aunt's voice: <W2F-003>
(19) And I want to meet someone and *eventually* have some children, Eventually. <W1B-003>
(20) *Eventually* there is no permissible way of redressing the balance when things go too far in one direction. <W2A-012>

Examples (19) and (20) show the contrast between external and internal links; in (19) the adjunct marks temporal succession in the order of events, while in (20) it marks a logical step in the argument and is thus text-internal. It is particularly this latter type that approaches pure conjunctive meaning, since the temporal meaning is bleached.

13.4.3 Adjuncts extending into the interpersonal domain

Some adjuncts express meanings that blend into those commonly associated with disjuncts. These are viewpoint, indefinite frequency and act-related manner and contingency adjuncts. Viewpoint adjuncts are like disjuncts in that they can function as hedges to the clause message by placing the perspective – and the responsibility for the ensuing proposition – on somebody other than the speaker/writer, as in (21), or by marking an opinion explicitly as subjective, as in (22) and (23).

- (21) *In their own estimation* their rule rested on right and not on mere force;
<W2A-001>
- (22) Anybody that's got an eye each side of their nose and can walk around
to me is a tremendous beauty he says <,,> <S1A-020>
- (23) The nice thing about <,> the epidermis <,> *from my point of view* is
that it's basically made up of one cell type . . . <S2A-046>

Indefinite frequency adjuncts express usuality, a meaning that is classified as modal by Halliday (2004: 128). As shown by the paraphrases in (24a) and (25a), the same meanings can also be expressed by other modal expressions, thus supporting a modality reading of the frequency adverbs. However, the adverb expressions link the usuality meaning more explicitly to time than the modal verbs do. (Incidentally, the usuality meaning of *sometimes* developed from one that is closer to time position (OED).)

- (24) Uhm I can't remember any specific names but <,> they're *usually*
very good in France <S1A-009>
- (24a) they *can* be very good in France / they *tend to be* very good in France
- (25) Mum *sometimes* sat like that. <W2F-001>
- (25a) Mum *would* sit like that

In chapter 10, act-related uses of both manner and contingency adjuncts were discussed (sections 10.2.4 and 10.3.4). The act-related and the pure adjunct uses are formally indistinguishable and can only be differentiated on the basis of contextual clues. In the case of manner adjuncts this pertains particularly to medial position, as illustrated by (26) and (27). As 'cutting' is not an activity that is normally modified for such features as happiness, the adjunct in (26) is interpreted as a reference to the subject's state of mind while carrying out the action, while in (27) the most plausible interpretation is that of a manner of living.

- (26) You know I-e I can *quite happily* cut a book up whereas some people
<S1A-013>
- (27) Turner lived *very happily* with <,> I don't know <S1A-020>
- (28) *In a way* he was interested because you <,> kind of there was a kind
of feeling of regret <S1A-013>

The adverbials in both (26) and (27) are easily interpreted as adjuncts in that they do not indicate hedging or subjective evaluation, but the adverbial in (28) is more ambiguous between manner adjunct ('the way in which he was interested') and hedge ('I think he was interested'). Rather than working too hard at teasing the two meanings apart, it may be useful to regard such vagueness or ambiguity as a resource in language – an opportunity either to avoid being quite specific or to express two meanings simultaneously.

Interpersonal meanings are also found with contingency adjuncts, particularly of cause and condition, as shown in (29)–(31). The causal clauses in

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(29) and (30) justify the speaker's opinion or the speech act itself. In (31) the conditional clause hedges the matrix clause proposition, and the conditional and matrix clauses together function as an indirect invitation that the addressee can easily reject without seeming rude. Note, however, that the paraphrase given in (31a) makes the conditional clause seem more like an ordinary conditional expressing an open condition.

- (29) And uh obviously she's going to be a tough nut to crack as the season progresses *because I could well see her going to the end of the season unbeaten* <S2A-006>
- (30) Well *as you asked* I'd like to be softer, quieter (yes, ha ha! I said quieter!) happier, more at peace, more serenity. <W1B-003>
- (31) *If you're not doing anything on Thursday 4th July* me, Jane & Angie + anyone else who may appear are going to the Mexican restaurant in Leicester Sq. (will cost about £14/£15) as a last celebration before I go. <W1B-004>
- (31a) If you're not doing anything on Thursday 4th July *you can join me*, Jane & Angie + anyone else who may appear at the Mexican restaurant in Leicester Sq.

Another example of a conditional clause used as a hedge is given in (32), where the speaker breaks off what he is saying to insert the reservation that he may not remember this correctly.

- (32) He does *invari* if I remember *Boswell's London Journal* he almost invariably does <S1A-020>

In [section 10.3.4](#) contingency adverbials relating to either the matrix clause proposition or the speech act were seen as a result of grammaticalisation and a cline was suggested from experiential to interpersonal meaning. Adverbials relating to the content of the proposition, such as in (29) are more closely related to 'pure' contingency adjuncts than those justifying the speech act, as in (30) and (31), or hedging the proposition, as in (32). Again it is possible to regard some of these uses as disjuncts and others as adjuncts, but exactly where the line between them should be drawn is no easy matter to decide. As in the case of adjunct types ([section 13.2.1](#)), it seems reasonable to regard adjuncts and disjuncts too as prototypes, each with its core meanings, but with the possibility for adjuncts to extend into the interpersonal domain of disjuncts through metaphor and/or grammaticalisation.

13.4.4 The adjunct status of focus and degree adverbials

Focus and degree adverbials are problematic as regards both the syntactic and semantic criteria for adjuncts referred to in [section 2.2](#). They cannot normally be the focus of clefts, alternative questions, negation or (other) focus adverbials; nor are they easily elicited by questions such as *where*, *when*,

how or *why*. Halliday (2004: 129) classifies intensifiers and focus adjuncts as mood adjuncts and thereby links them to the interpersonal metafunction. The status of focus and degree expressions is further complicated by the fact that their constituency is often ambiguous between phrase and clause level, as noted in section 11.4. Generally, if the scope of a focus or degree expression extends over one constituent only, it may be considered to belong at phrase level. This is especially clear when a focus expression precedes a quantifier, as in (33). The scope of the focus adverb must then be taken to be the quantifier rather than the predicate, and it does not function as an adjunct at clause level.

- (33) There was *only* one car ahead of them. <W2F-012>

Degree expressions may similarly have a function at phrase level in which case they are not adjuncts. Examples are given in (34) and (35), showing an approximator and an intensifier, respectively, with phrasal scope.

- (34) When she was *almost* there she stopped at a corner newsagent to buy gifts . . . <W2F-003>
 (35) Some people are just *completely* inarticulate <S1A-037>

Even with scope over the predicate or a whole proposition, focus and degree expressions are far removed from the prototypical definition of (circumstance) adjuncts as constituents referring to the where, when, how and why of the proposition; see (36) and (37). However, degree adjuncts have a certain similarity with manner adjuncts (and indeed are sometimes classified as a subcategory of manner, e.g. by Halliday 2004: 269). Degree adjuncts may also convey some of the subjective evaluation associated with disjuncts, as in (38), where the adjunct simultaneously refers to intensity and evaluation.

- (36) I can *only* see the book being about a thousand pages long <S1A-020>
 (37) Uhm <,> that one actually worries me *a little bit* <S1A-005>
 (38) 'We *desperately* need to find out who this man is and establish the exact route David took.' <W2C-020>

In another sense, focus adjuncts might be placed in the textual metafunction, because they highlight certain constituents and thereby participate in the information management of the clause. However, the adverbials most commonly associated with the textual metafunction, conjuncts, have a very different discourse function: that of connecting propositions. Focus adverbials would thus not fit much better into the category of conjuncts than in that of adjuncts. If focus adverbials are considered adjuncts, it is partly for lack of a more appropriate superordinate class. They are, however, peripheral members of the adjunct category, according to both semantic and syntactic criteria for adjuncthood.

13.4.5 *A scale of 'adjuncthood'?*

As has been stated in previous sections, the meanings and uses of adverbials are so diverse and flexible that any attempt at rigid classification seems futile. The different classifications of adverbials found in the three major reference grammars of English (see [table 2.1](#)) illustrate the point. Greenbaum's (1969) and Quirk *et al.*'s (1985) syntactic criteria may be used to distinguish disjuncts and conjuncts on the one hand from adjuncts on the other, but there are no corresponding criteria for distinguishing disjuncts from conjuncts (or subjuncts) or for distinguishing adjunct classes. For this, the syntactic criteria need to be supplemented by semantic ones, and semantic criteria are almost by definition vague. In particular, grammaticalisation processes and sheer linguistic creativity (e.g. metaphorical meaning extensions) suggest that meaning-based classes cannot be strictly and objectively defined.

However, it is probably still useful to operate with adverbial classes corresponding to adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts, as they typically do different work in discourse. But rather than trying to find absolute boundaries between these classes, it would be better to view them as prototypes and the relationship between them as a continuum. The prototypical instances can be defined on the basis of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic criteria, but one needs to allow for fuzzy boundaries and overlapping meanings. The syntactic criteria given, for example in Quirk *et al.* (1985: 504) may distinguish (most) adjuncts from other adverbial types, but there are no similar criteria to distinguish, for example, between disjuncts and conjuncts. Nor, as we have seen, do the syntactic criteria capture peripheral adjunct types such as those expressing focus, degree, indefinite frequency and time relationship. Thus, semantic and pragmatic criteria need to supplement the syntactic ones, for example in the following way: prototypically, adjuncts express circumstantial meanings and belong primarily to the experiential metafunction of language; disjuncts express modal and evaluative meanings and belong primarily to the interpersonal metafunction of language; and conjuncts express relations between events and/or pieces of discourse and belong primarily to the textual metafunction of language.

Prototypical adjuncts are thus those that can be the focus of a cleft sentence, alternative interrogation, negation and focus adverbials and which can 'come within the scope of predication ellipsis or pro-forms' or 'be elicited by question forms' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 504), and that furthermore specify the central circumstantial meanings corresponding to the when, where, how and why of an event. Peripheral members of the adjunct class may represent extensions of these meanings and/or may not satisfy all the syntactic criteria.

As has been shown, there are plenty of examples of adverbials that express meanings belonging to more than one metafunction at the same time, or that may be interpreted as a member of one or the other class depending on context, in the same way as we saw that circumstantial meanings have

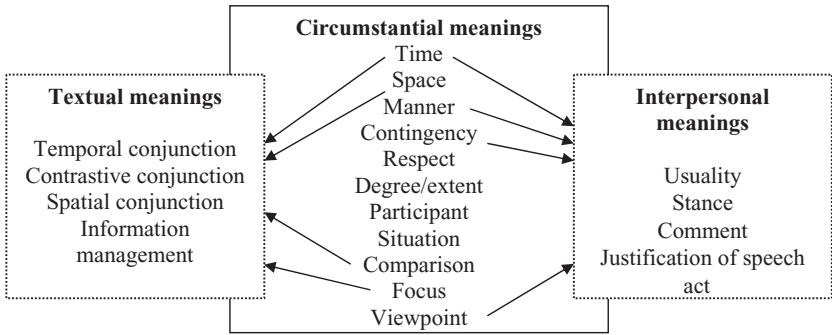


Figure 13.4 The relationship of adjuncts to conjuncts and disjuncts, illustrated through their extensions into the textual and interpersonal domains.

many areas of overlap. Figure 13.4 illustrates the relationship of adjuncts to disjuncts and conjuncts. In the figure, the circumstantial adjunct meanings (both central and peripheral) are placed in the middle box, while some textual and interpersonal meanings are listed in the boxes to the left and right (the lists are not exhaustive). There are broken lines between the boxes, suggesting that the boundaries are less than absolute. The arrows indicate meaning extensions from some semantic types of adjunct into the textual and interpersonal domains. Thus, time, space, comparison and focus adjuncts extend into the textual domain, while time, manner, contingency and viewpoint adjuncts extend into the interpersonal domain.³

13.5 Further research

Adverbials constitute such a complex area that no single study can hope to answer all questions related to their syntax, semantics and use. However, it can at least hope to stimulate further research into the areas that have remained outside the investigation. The present book has concentrated on the semantic classes of adjunct and their distribution across positions and across text types. Similar studies could be made of the other classes of adverbials.

The semantic types of adjuncts included in the study differ greatly in frequency. It has not been possible to give a full account of the less frequent types, as the material did not yield enough examples. Thus more work remains to be done on (at least) degree, situation, comparison, focus and viewpoint adjuncts. It would be interesting to study viewpoint adjuncts in a larger

³ Note that the extensions of space and contingency adjuncts as well as most time adjuncts into the textual and interpersonal domains are via metaphor and/or semantic bleaching, while the extensions of focus, frequency and viewpoint adjuncts have to do with their inherent meaning and pragmatic function.

framework of stance expressions. Similarly, focus adjuncts could be studied in conjunction with other means of focus marking, particularly intonation. This can be done using, for instance, the sound recordings accompanying the ICE-GB.

The material for the present study comprises six text types. The analysis demonstrates that text type is an important variable for adverbial usage; thus the study could usefully be complemented by a similar study of other text types. In particular it would be interesting to include more spoken genres, perhaps of a more formal type than those investigated here.

The present study has relied almost entirely on corpora of British English. A natural follow-up of this study would be to test its findings on other varieties of English, a task that is greatly facilitated by the existence of parallel ICE corpora containing the same text types as the ICE-GB (www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/ice/). Furthermore, the corpus method has certain limitations; while it is eminently suited for studies of usage and variation, grammaticality can only be tested by other means, such as elicitation tests and acceptability judgments, while psycholinguistic testing might deepen our understanding of, for example, how we interpret the 'same' adjunct in different positions.

Circumstantial meanings can be expressed by other means than adjuncts, as illustrated by the extract from a scientific text in (39):

- (39) (i) During its passage *down the filter*, organic material *in the wastewater together with oxygen and nutrients*, will diffuse into the biofilm and be oxidised by the heterotrophic microorganisms. (ii) The amount of organic material and oxygen available for microbial growth will *thus depend* on the film thickness and the organic load applied to the filter. (iii) *A point* will be reached where the thickness of the film prevents sufficient nutrients reaching *the layer of microorganisms* which is attached to the medium. (iv) *Consequently* this layer will undergo starvation and ultimately death, *causing* the entire biofilm to detach from its support (Figure 4.12). <W2A-021>

The first sentence of (39) contains two spatial expressions that are modifiers of nouns; the former as a result of the nominalised *passage*. In (ii) and (iv) causal relationships are expressed by the verbs *depend* and *cause*. The same sentences also contain causal conjuncts. In (iii) space (direction/goal) is expressed in two nominal constituents. These expressions clearly interact with the adjuncts to express circumstantial meanings. Thus, a promising area of study would be to explore some of the circumstantial meanings in more detail and how, for example, all expressions of causality or spatiality in a text interact with each other, whether they are realised as participants, processes, circumstances, qualities or logical relations.

Finally, adverbial usage is an interesting topic for contrastive study. This pertains to the placement of adverbials as well as the kinds of circumstantial meanings that are typically expressed; note the well-known distinction

between Germanic and Romance languages as regards the expressions of manner and direction with verbs of movement (e.g. Slobin 2006). This is illustrated by (40a–c) from the OMC. The Norwegian original and the English translation both express manner in the verb and direction in an adjunct, while the French translation expresses direction in the verb (plus complement) and manner in an adjunct.

- (40a) Hun snudde seg på en skitten hæl og *sprang ut av stallen*. (OMC: HW₂)
- (40b) She turned on filthy heels and *ran from the stable*. (OMC: HW₂TE)
- (40c) Elle vira sur un talon sale et *quitta l'écurie en courant*. (OMC: HW₂TF)

Similarly, the division of labour between participant and adjunct expression of circumstantial meanings may vary across languages, as shown by König and Gast (2007: 110), namely that relations that would normally be encoded as adjuncts in German may be encoded as participants in English, for example the role of instrument, as exemplified in (41a–b).

- (41a) *Mit Blicken* hat sie es mir vorhin gesagt. (OMC: CW₁) [Lit: 'with her eyes has she it me earlier said']
- (41b) A short time ago her glances told me so. (OMC: CW₁TE)

Cross-linguistic studies of adverbial usage would have clear applications in language teaching and translator training, as differences in this area are subtle and often consist of preferential rather than systemic differences between languages. As shown in the present study, much the same can be said about differences between text types within a single variety of English.

Appendix

ICE-GB texts included in the core corpus

Text type	Text number	Participants / content
Letters	W1B-002	1: Jane to Emma; 2: Bryan to Emma and Ginny; 3: Anne Marie to Emma; 4: Nigel to Emma.
	W1B-003	1: Isabel to "Thing"; 2: Isabel to D.B.
	W1B-004	1: Ruthie to Laura; 2-3: Swoo to Laura; 4-5: Ian to Laura.
	W1B-009	1-2: Swoo to Laura; 3: Ruthie to Simon; 4: Jane to Laura; 5: Ellie to Laura.
	W1B-015	1-3: Andy to friend; 4: Andy to cousin; 5: B.C. to boyfriend.
Academic writing	W2A-001	Brunt, P.A. 1990. <i>Roman Imperial Themes</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 110-17.
	W2A-002	Collier, Peter. 1990. The unconscious image. In Peter Collier and Judith Davies, eds., <i>Modernism and the European Unconscious</i> . Cambridge: Polity Press, 20-7.
	W2A-011	Campbell, Adrian and Warner, Malcolm. 1990. Management roles and skills for new technology. In Ray Wild, ed., <i>Technology and Management</i> . London: Cassell, 111-17.
	W2A-012	Barker, Eileen. 1990. New lines in the supra-market: How much can we buy?. In Ian Hamnett, ed., <i>Religious Pluralism and Unbelief: Studies Critical and Comparative</i> . London: Routledge, 31-7.
	W2A-021	Horan, N. J. 1990. <i>Biological Wastewater Treatment Systems: Theory and Operation</i> . Chichester: Wiley, 107-21.
Press reportage	W2C-001	From <i>The Independent</i> : 1: Brown, Colin and Judy Jones, 'Ministers knew of MoD intervention in Wallace affair'; 2: Cusick, James, 'Lockerbie lawyers say timing of TV report "suspicious"'; 3: Mills, Heather, 'Home Office ready to consider code on rights of prisoners'; 4: Hughes, Colin, 'Pay-offs for dockworkers "400% above original cost"'; 5: Anon, 'Detective "set up man accused of blackmail"'.
	W2C-002	From <i>Sunday Times</i> : 1: Hogg, Andrew, 'The children who know only war and starvation'; 2: Lees, Caroline, 'Heads challenge McGregor on curriculum'.

Text type	Text number	Participants / content
	W2C-015	From <i>The Scotsman</i> : 1: McKenzie, Eric, 'Steel plant union leader vows to fight on'; 2: Scott, David, 'Council house mortgage plan seen as threat to rural areas'; 3: Wilson, Sarah, 'Region acts over racial fostering problem'; 4: Kennedy, Linda, 'Rat clearance plan to lure puffins back to island'; 5: Chisholm, William, 'Tenants launch campaign to block homes sell-off'.
	W2C-018	From <i>Glasgow Herald</i> : 1: McGregor, Stephen, 'Decisions, decisions: Major faced with double dilemma after poll disaster'; 2: Clark, William, and MacDonald, George, 'No Tory seat is safe, says Hattersley'; 3: Horsburgh, Frances, 'More interest kindled in plan to assist tenants buying home'.
	W2C-020	From <i>Daily Mail</i> : 1: Deans, John, 'Council tax will still punish the big spenders'; 2: Harris, Paul, 'Charles looks to happy days at Happylands'; 3: Anon, "'Graffiti art" student joined gang of spray can raiders'; 4: Rose, Peter, 'Jogger mystery after "perfect son" murder'; 5: Anon, 'Laureate too ill for royal poem'; 6: 'Anon, 'Major belt for Owen'; 7: Anon, 'Travel in London dearest in Europe'.
Fiction	W2F-001	Enters, Ian. 1990. <i>Up to Scratch</i> . London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 80–6.
	W2F-002	Harris, Steve. 1990. <i>Adventureland</i> . London: Headline Publishing, 308–16.
	W2F-003	Robertson, Denise. 1990. <i>Remember the Moment</i> . London: Constable, 182–94.
	W2F-007	Thompson, E.V. 1990. <i>Lottie Trago</i> . London: Macmillan, 12–19.
	W2F-012	Dobbs, Michael. 1991. <i>Wall Games</i> . London: HarperCollins, 258–65.
Direct conversations	S1A-003	Instructor and dance student, Middlesex Polytechnic
	S1A-005	Student friends.
	S1A-007	Family conversation.
	S1A-009	Mother and son.
	S1A-020	Friends.
Sports commentaries	S2A-001	<i>Soccer</i> , BBC Radio 5.
	S2A-002	<i>Sport on Five</i> , BBC Radio 5.
	S2A-006	<i>The Epsom Derby</i> , BBC Radio 5; <i>Racing from Newmarket</i> , Channel 4.
	S2A-009	<i>Champion Sport</i> , BBC Radio 5.
	S2A-016	<i>Tour de France</i> , Channel 4.

(Source: Nelson *et al.* 2002: 309ff)

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