

## ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATION IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR: STATE OF THE ART AND PROSPECTS

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### *ABSTRACT*

The study of adverbial subordination has always been an inescapable topic present in all grammars. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the first section of this paper, it could be claimed that traditional approaches, as well as other approaches that continue on the same line, have not succeeded in providing a clear delimitation of the concept of adverbial subordination and, even more, a complete and logical taxonomy of this type of constructions. The aim of this article is, therefore, to present a new approach to the study of adverbial clauses that has been carried out within the framework of the Functional Grammar Theory. In dealing with the semantic parameters used in this model for the classification of adverbial clauses, special attention will be paid to the application of the hierarchical structure of the clause to the description of this type of constructions.

### INTRODUCTION

When we first approach the analysis of adverbial subordinate clauses, it seems that they can be clearly defined and classified. In this respect, Haiman and Thompson point out that many authors interested in delimiting this topic present the term subordination as “a primitive requiring no definition” (1984: 510). However, once we proceed to make a profound analysis of these constructions, it becomes evident that it is not always easy to decide which structures can be classified as such. Therefore, it is necessary to define and delimit the concept of adverbial subordinate clause, since, on the one hand, there is neither clarity nor unanimity among different grammarians and, on the other

hand, many constructions often considered adverbial are indeed very difficult to be labelled as such if we apply the criteria provided by most classifications.

This article, then, will start with a discussion on the delimitation of the concept of subordination (section 1.1) and of adverbial clauses (section 1.2), in order to present later the analysis of these constructions provided by the Functional Grammar (henceforth FG) model (Dik, 1997a/b) (section 2). In section 3 some concluding remarks will be offered.

## 1. ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATION

### 1.1. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The definition of the concept of subordination has been approached from different perspectives, which can be grouped into two general tendencies:

- The position typical of traditional grammar, centred on the dichotomy coordination / subordination and on the search of criteria that can be used for the identification of subordinate constructions.
- The position held by those authors who think that the above mentioned dichotomy is not useful at a practical level and, thus, propose a number of alternative classifications.

Traditional grammarians' main concern was to establish distinctions between independent and dependent clauses, opposition that received different labels depending on the author: *coordination* or *parataxis* / *subordination* or *hypotaxis* (Poutsma, 1929); *sentence* or *independent nexus* / *clause* or *dependent nexus* (Jespersen, 1961-74); *compound sentence* (including coordination and juxtaposition) / *complex sentence* (including embedding and subordination) (Huddleston, 1985); *coordination* / *subordination* (Quirk *et al.*, 1991; Greenbaum, 1996). Another constant feature in traditional grammar was the enumeration and description of a series of different criteria valid for the classification of the syntactic structures of a language as belonging to one of these two large groups. These criteria were mainly of a syntactic nature, although semantic or pragmatic markers were also taken into consideration.<sup>1</sup> Although accepted by many grammarians, authors such as Haiman and Thompson (1984) point out that these criteria are the result of intuitions derived from a western education and that is the reason why, in most cases, they show themselves to be not only circular and inconsistent, but also devoid of typological applicability since they are based on the analysis of specific languages.

This bipartite classification of subordination, however, is not exclusive of traditional and descriptive grammars. In the framework of Systemic Functional Grammar, Halliday (1994) presents a similar taxonomy of complex sentences distinguishing between *paratactic* (coordination) and *hypotactic* (subordination) clauses. Still it must be noticed that this classification differs from the traditional ones in one important aspect, namely, that embedded clauses, which have been traditionally included in the group of subordinate clauses, is now considered a different type of relation. Halliday expresses the difference as follows:

It is important to distinguish between embedding on the one hand and the ‘tactic’ relations of parataxis and hypotaxis on the other. Whereas parataxis and hypotaxis are relations BETWEEN clauses (...), embedding is not. Embedding is a mechanism whereby a clause or phrase comes to function as a constituent WITHIN the structure of a group, which itself is a constituent of a clause. (1994: 242)

In spite of the numerous attempts to establish a clear distinction between coordination and subordination, many authors consider that the problem lies in the fact that this distinction is insufficient. Harris, for instance, in his study of concessive subordinate clauses, concludes:

Further, the material confirms that there is no clear-cut distinction between “co-ordination” and “subordination” as these terms are traditionally used, and that these grammatical categories are as fuzzy as the cognitive categories which they may serve to mark. (1988: 91)

In this line, many authors have tried to offer alternative solutions to the problem that the delimitation of the concept of subordination presents. These solutions can be essentially divided into three groups:

- Those who propose a tripartite classification of sentence type, in lieu of a bipartite opposition.
- Those who consider that sentence relations have to be analysed, not as a dichotomy, but as a continuum.
- Those who suggest that subordination should not be considered a one-dimensional but a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

The most interesting model of tripartite taxonomy is the one presented by Van Valin (1984; 1993) and Foley and Van Valin (1984). Taking as a point of departure the traditional classification, these authors put forward that coordination would be defined by the features [- dependent, - embedded], whereas subordination would be characterised as [+ dependent, + embedded]. However, since these two features, dependency and embeddedness, are not equivalent, other combinations could be mentioned as [+ dependent, - embedded] and [-dependent, + embedded]. Foley and Van Valin claimed that there is no language that shows constructions that could be characterised by the last combination of features, but they admit the existence of constructions of the third type, which they called *cosubordination*.<sup>2</sup> These authors state that in natural languages three types of relations or *nexus* between sentences can be found: coordination, subordination and cosubordination. Cosubordination, then, differs from coordination in terms of dependency and from subordination in terms of embeddedness.<sup>3</sup>

The second group of alternative approaches to subordination could be illustrated by the work of Givón (1990) and, especially, by Lehmann (1988). Givón starts by establishing a distinction between *tightly bound clauses* (embedded) and *much looser connections* (coordination and subordination). However, he claims that such a distinction is not absolutely satisfactory and that it is better to talk about “a multi-point graduated scale of clause integration” (1990: 825). This idea of a scale constituted by

different parameters in which the complex sentences of a language could be located is the one posited by Lehmann (1988). This author presents six semantic-syntactic parameters that he considers relevant in relation to the linkage of sentences in the languages of the world. These parameters are distributed in three large groups: *autonomy / integration* (parameter 1 & 2), *expansion / reduction* (parameters 3 & 4) and *isolation / linkage* (parameters 5 & 6). Each of them constitutes a continuum in which the different types of sentences can be located, the six cases of continuum having in common the existence of two poles: greatest elaboration versus greatest compression of the lexical and grammatical information. Lehmann points out that this implies the existence of two opposing forces with respect to the combination of sentences and, therefore, the typology of complex sentences could be established taking as a point of reference the two extremes in each side of the continuum. In this way, two opposing types of complex sentences, characterised by the features associated to each extreme of the continuum, could be distinguished, as well as a great number of intermediate and concomitant types.

Finally, we find authors such as Haiman and Thompson (1984) who consider that both the traditional dichotomy coordination / subordination and the continuum hypothesis are of little use to arrive at a clear understanding of the notion of subordination in a universal grammar. Whereas the traditional dichotomy shows itself insufficient to include all possible constructions, the idea of the continuum is based, according to these authors, in a one-dimensional conception of a phenomenon that they consider multi-dimensional. Their aim is to prove that what has been traditionally called “subordination” must be analysed as a composition of different factors. They present a series of features characteristic of what has been called subordination and they point out that a better understanding of the phenomenon could be achieved if each of these features were analysed separately. After commenting on the different parameters that they proposed, Haiman and Thompson explain:

Instead of assuming a simple binary distinction between “coordinate” and “subordinate” clause, therefore, we advocate the richer, more interesting, and more realistic approach of abandoning the notion “subordination” and instead determining which of the parameters of the sort we have suggested here seem to describe the relationship between the clauses in question and what the discourse factors might be that underlie each of these parameters. (1984: 520)

Even though the three studies of subordination just presented try to offer alternative solutions to the problem of establishing a clear-cut distinction between coordination and subordination, it seems better to continue, as FG does, with the traditional distinction, since the alternative approaches prove themselves to be of little practical applicability. The tripartite distinction proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Van Valin (1984; 1993) presents difficulties similar to the ones related to the traditional distinction, since the new type of relation, cosubordination, includes a limited number of constructions (*switch-reference*, *conjunction with zero anaphora* and *verb serialization*) and, therefore, the main types of constructions still lie under coordination and subordination. Thus, the tripartite differentiation is not useful in the case of constructions that are difficult to classify, what points to the fact that no attempt to

establish classifications brings about a group of classes that are clearly —and therefore efficiently— delimited.<sup>4</sup>

Although Lehmann's (1988) idea of the continuum takes into consideration a large number of constructions, it is also of little use to classify adverbial subordinate clauses.

Finally, Haiman and Thompson's (1984) proposal of applying a series of parameters in order to find out the type of relation held between the two clauses seems to be very close to the traditional method consisting in looking for criteria to classify the different types of clauses. The only difference is that these authors suggest to abandon the concept of subordination, although they keep the distinction between coordination and what has been traditionally called subordination.

The main weakness of this type of non-bipartite typologies is the belief that the traditional position, that distinguishes coordination and subordination, is not right because there are constructions that are difficult to classify. However, those authors who defend the alternative analyses are not aware of the fact that any classification is characterised by the existence of members that share all the properties typical of the class as well as others that share only one/some of them. The first ones are the prototypical cases, in the line of what Taylor explains:

In a sense, prototype categories give us the best of both worlds. The central members of a prototype category do share a large number of attributes [...] —in this respect, the centre of a prototype category approaches the ideal of a classical category. At the same time, prototype categories permit membership to entities which share only few attributes with the more central members. In this respect, prototype categories achieve the flexibility by an ever-changing environment. (1992: 54)

## 1.2. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

If in the previous section the emphasis has been put on the difficulty of defining the concept of subordination, here we will concentrate on the delimitation of adverbial constructions. In this sense, the best way to elucidate what an adverbial clause is seems to be to pay attention to the classifications that different authors have provided of this type of subordinate clauses, analysing the parameters used in order to establish such classifications. As it is impossible to comment on all the taxonomies of adverbial subordination, we will restrict the study to what Stuurman (1990) calls OGs (*Older, Open Grammar*). In addition, and since this article deals with the analysis of adverbial subordination in Functional Grammar, we will also take into consideration the classifications offered by other functional approaches to the study of language (Givón, 1990 and Halliday, 1994).

Stuurman establishes a distinction between OG and NG (*Newer, Narrow Grammar*), distinction that is based on the traditional opposition between induction and deduction. An OG would follow an inductive approach, capable of accounting for all *available evidence*, whereas a NG would account for the *pertinent facts*, what presupposes a selection of the material conditioned by the theory. Consequently, it could be stated that the analysis of the OGs is richer since these grammars “without ‘pre-conceived theory,’ ...attempt to cover comprehensively the ‘available evidence’” (Stuurman, 1990: 10). As far as the English Grammar tradition is concerned, this

group of grammars will be formed by Sweet (1892), Poutsma (1929), Kruisinga (1932), Curme (1980-83), Jespersen (1961-74) and Quirk *et al.* (1991).

Sweet's grammar (1892) is mainly devoted to the detailed analysis of the parts of speech, paying little attention to the study of the different types of sentences. The relation among clauses is compared to the one holding among the different parts of speech. He argues that "dependent clauses stand to their principal clauses in relations similar to those in which single words stand. From this point of view clauses fall under the three main heads of **noun-clauses**, **adjective-clauses**, and **adverb-clauses**" (Sweet, 1892: 170). An adverbial clause establishes with the main clause the same type of relation as an adverb. Sweet also points out that the most appropriate way of classifying a clause is paying attention to the word that introduces it. Therefore, the semantic analysis of adverbial clauses is restricted to the classification of the subordinating conjunctions, which he includes in four groups: *temporal*, *hypothetical*, *causal* and *concessive*.

Poutsma (1929), in his analysis of subordination, distinguishes one type of sentences characterised by denoting particulars of an action or state and, since they realise the function of adverbial adjuncts, he calls them adverbial. These clauses, that can be introduced by a wide variety of conjunctions, can be classified from the point of view of their meaning in four types: adverbial clauses of *time*, *place*, *causality* and *manner*. Nonetheless, the two last types designate a general meaning that includes a great number of subclasses, as can be seen in Table 1.

A more detailed classification is presented by Kruisinga (1932), who differentiates the following types: adverbial clauses of *time*, *place*, *condition*, *cause* or *reason*, *purpose*, *result*, *concession*, *manner*, *comparison* and *restriction*. This author maintains that, although the semantic relation held between the main and the subordinate clause is greatly determined by the meaning of the conjunction, this is not decisive since, on the one hand, the same conjunction can be used in more than one sense and, on the other, some adverbial clauses are not introduced by a conjunction. He claims that, in interpreting the type of relation, the context is more revealing than the conjunction.

Curme (1980-83) presents a classification similar to the one proposed by Kruisinga, although he considers adverbial clauses of *manner* and *degree* as wider categories that include different subtypes of subordinate clauses and, at the same time, he adds another type of adverbial, *means*, that is not taken into consideration by any of the other OGs. Moreover, Curme offers a brief description of the type of semantic relation that each subordinate clause maintains with the main clause.

Instead of providing a classification based on the semantic relation existing between the subordinate and the main clause, Jespersen (1961-74) tries to establish a logical system of adverbial clauses. This system results in a taxonomy founded on the degree of union observable between the two clauses. Following this criterion, Jespersen distinguishes four classes of adverbial clauses: (1) *Independent*, which include subordinate clauses of *time* and *place*; (2) *Comparative*; (3) *Contrastive*, divided into those that establish a *simple contrast* and those that designate a *contradiction*; and (4) *Dependent*, that include the adverbial clauses of *condition*, *cause*, *reason* and *purpose* and that are characterised by the fact that one clause is the consequence of the other clause.

A more exhaustive classification is provided by Quirk *et al.* (1991), who also mention formal features of the different types of adverbial clauses. In contrast to the typologies

posited by authors such as Poutsma (1929) and Curme (1980-83), who distinguish a great number of adverbial clauses, but included in more general categories (such as *causality* and *manner* in Poutsma or *manner* and *degree* in Curme), Quirk *et al.* opt for a more elaborated classification consisting of fourteen types. The importance of this classification lies on the detailed description of the different conjunctions that introduce each type of adverbial clause and its formal aspects, as well as on the great number of illustrative examples that is offered for each construction type.

SWEET (1891, 1898)	T e m p		Hypoth.	Causal cause effect purpose result			Conce ssion							
POUTSMA (1904-29)	T i m e	P	Causality condition & hypothesis concession cause, reason & ground purpose alternative hypothesis (disjunct. conc) consequence & inference				Manner quality restriction proportionate agreement attendant circumstances exception degree alternative agreement							
KRUISINGA (1909-32)	T i m e	P	Condit	Cause or Reason	P u r p o s e	R e s u l t	Conce ssion	Manner	Compar ison	Restriction				
CURME (1931, 1935)	T i m e	P	Condit & Except	Cause	P (man/ degr)	R e s u l t p o s e	Conce ssion	Manner manner proper modal result attendant circumstances pure result alternative agreement comparison		degree simple comparison restriction comparative clause extent proportionate agreement modal result	M e a n s			
JESPERSEN (1909-49)	T i m e l	P	Condit 4	Cause Reason Motive 4			Contr adicti on 3	Simple contrast 3	Compar ison 2					
QUIRK <i>et al.</i> (1985)	T i m e	P	Condit Direct Indirect	R e a s o n	P u r p o s e	R e s u l t	Conce ssion	Contrast	P r e f e r e n c e	Similar ity & compar ison	P r o p o r t i o n	E x c e p t i o n	C o n t i n g e n c y	C o m m e n t

Table 1: Typologies of Adverbial Clauses in the OGs

Table 1 contains the result of comparing the different classifications found in the OGs that have been described before. Four basic categories can be recognised: *temporal* and *locative*, that would be related to deictic aspects, and *causal* and *modal*, categories that exhibit a higher degree of variation among the different grammarians. This variation seems to be arbitrary, since there isn't any sort of criterion that justifies the distinction of four, seven, ten or fourteen types of adverbial subordinate clauses.

In general terms, it could be argued that the above-mentioned classifications are based on the type of semantic relation that the subordinate clause holds with the main clause, taking as a point of reference the type of conjunction that introduces them. Therefore, there is no interest in formulating a series of semantic parameters, apart from the mere relation of meaning, that allow us to establish a typology as complete and exhaustive as possible of adverbial clauses.

As regards the contribution to the study of adverbial clauses of two of the most relevant linguistic theories within the functional paradigm (Givón, 1990; Halliday, 1994), it could be stated that their semantic classifications are based on the analysis of the conjunctions and on the description of the verbal forms contained in the subordinate clause. Consequently, these typologies do not differ substantially from the ones offered by the OGs. The main contribution of these two functional approaches rests on the fact that they analyse adverbial clauses, not only from a syntactic-semantic point of view, but also from a pragmatic-discursive perspective. Nevertheless, the incorporation of a discursive dimension doesn't imply a wide divergence in the classifications proposed.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATION IN FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR

After commenting on the main problems associated with the delimitation of our object of study, in this section attention will be paid to the approach adopted in FG for the analysis of this type of constructions. First, I will present the concept of subordination in FG in order to describe later how adverbial clauses are conceived in this theoretical model.

### 2.1. SUBORDINATION IN FG

Within the FG model, there are few works that deal with the problem of distinguishing between coordination and subordination. Dik (1968), in the introduction to his study of coordination, states:

I take the view that the term *coordination* and *subordination* can be appropriately defined and meaningfully used in a purely linguistic framework, i.e. can be adequately applied to the description of linguistic structures quite apart from the logical or psychological phenomena which can be presumed to be in some way connected with them. (1968: 3)

In spite of this statement, Dik doesn't make any explicit definition of these phenomena that he considers linguistic, rather than logical or psychological. The only



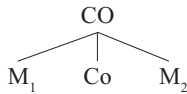
analysis that he presents of the distinction between coordination and subordination is restricted to those aspects related to the type of conjunction characteristic of each construction. Three are the main differences that this author points out:

- Firstly, Dik considers that there is a clear difference in the degree of linkage that each type of conjunction holds with the elements it connects. Such a difference is described as follows:

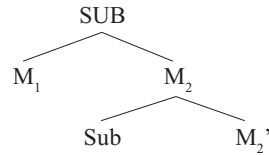
while coordinators are not bound up more closely with any one of the members they coordinate ..., subordinating conjunctions rather constitute one unit with the subordinated part, a unit which as a whole can be coordinated with other units. (Dik, 1968: 36)

Therefore, he explains that the difference between both types of relation could be represented as in (1) and (2) below:

(1) Coordination



(2) Subordination



- Secondly, Dik argues that the order of the elements related by coordination can be inverted, that is, the relation  $M_1 \text{ co } M_2$  is equivalent to  $M_2 \text{ co } M_1$  both from a grammatical and a semantic point of view. In the case of subordination, however, the positions of the main and the subordinate element are not interchangeable, that is, the relation  $M_1 \text{ sub } M_2'$  is not equivalent to  $M_2' \text{ sub } M_1$ .
- Finally, Dik states that due to the fact that *co* and  $M_2$  don't constitute a unit, the combination *co* +  $M_2$  cannot be placed in front of  $M_1$ . However, since *sub* and  $M_2'$  form a unit, this combination can be placed in front of  $M_1$ , maintaining the same type of relation.

With the exception of the above-mentioned aspects, this author takes into account very few features of subordination, since this work, that could be considered the origin of FG, concentrates on the study of coordination. More attention is paid to subordination in Dik (1997b), where he analyses embedded and coordinate constructions. Coordination is defined as “a construction consisting of two or more members which are functionally equivalent, bound together at the same level of structure by means of a linking device” (1997b: 189). He indicates that the term juxtaposition is used to refer to a similar relation in which the linking device is not present. As regards embedded constructions, which function as term restrictors, arguments or satellites, the following classification is displayed (Dik, 1997b: 143).

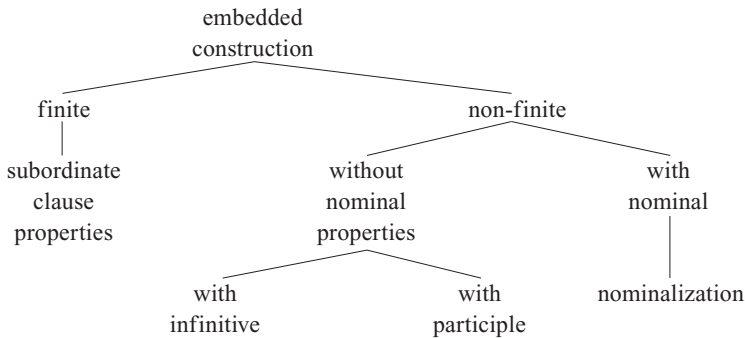


Figure 1: Classification of embedded constructions in FG

Thus, in FG a distinction is established between coordination and embeddedness. The term coordination includes the relations that exist between elements that are equivalent from a functional point of view, whereas the term embeddedness covers the relations in which one element realises a function within another element. Other linguists ascribed to the FG model, such as Hengeveld, whose work will be presented in the following section, prefer to use the term subordination in lieu of embeddedness. It can be concluded, therefore, that in FG the traditional dichotomy coordination / subordination is maintained more or less in the same terms as in traditional and descriptive grammars. In the following section it will be made evident that the main difference lies in the analysis that is provided for the different types of constructions, particularly, for adverbial clauses.

## 2.2. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN FG

As we have seen in the previous section, the interest of traditional grammar has been to describe the type of syntactic structure characteristic of adverbial subordinate clauses, as well as establishing semantic classifications of this type of constructions.

It was suggested that, broadly speaking, those classifications have been based on the type of semantic relation that the subordinate clause maintains with the main clause, taking as a point of departure the class of subordinating conjunction that introduces them. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out, there is a lack of clear classifying parameters that could be applied systematically in order to establish a typology of adverbial clauses as complete and exhaustive as possible.

Nowadays, a new semantic classification of adverbial clauses, devised with a typological orientation, has been proposed within the FG framework by Hengeveld (1998). He established a semantic classification of these subordinate constructions based on the application of four parameters that constitute four interacting hierarchies.<sup>6</sup>

The four classifying parameters that this author proposes are *Entity Type*, *Time Dependency*, *Factuality* and *Presupposition*. The last three parameters correspond to the different types of dependency that Michael Noonan (1990) establishes between the verb and its complement in his study of complementation. He distinguishes among *time reference dependency*, *truth-value (epistemic) dependency* and *discourse dependency*. The first parameter, however, is closely related to the general organisation

of the FG model and, thus, to one of the main contributions of this theory, namely, the description of each utterance in terms of an underlying clause structure.

### 2.2.1. *Entity type*

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of this parameter, it is necessary to explain first the FG approach to the analysis of clauses, since, as has been mentioned before, they are interrelated.

In her revision of the FG theory, Siewierska points out that “Inherent in the functional approach to language is the recognition of several layers of the structural organisation of the clause corresponding to the multiple functions that the clause fulfills in the act of communication” (1991: 36).

She also mentions the fact that in the first version of the FG model (Dik 1978) the study of the clause was restricted to the representational function, which was identified with the predication. However, in the second version, Dik, inspired by the idea of the existence of different layers postulated by Foley and Van Valin (1984), acknowledges that the underlying structure of the clause constitutes “a complex abstract structure in which several levels or ‘layers’ of formal and semantic organization have to be distinguished” (1997a: 50). Therefore, according to this model, introduced by Hengeveld (1989) and, later, fully developed by this author (1990; 1992; 1997), every utterance consists of an underlying structure organised in two levels.<sup>7</sup>

The highest level, *interpersonal level*, represents a speech act ( $E_1$ ), which is conceived as an abstract illocutionary frame ( $F_1$ )<sup>8</sup> that contains three arguments: a speaker, who transmits a propositional content ( $X_1$ ) to an addressee. This propositional content makes reference to a state of affairs expressed by the nuclear predication ( $e_1$ ), that constitutes the lowest level, *representational level*, in which one or more individuals ( $x_1$ ) establish a relation or have a property that is assigned to them ( $f_1$ ).

Therefore, within this hierarchical structure different layers can be differentiated, each of them with its own designation and variable, as is shown in the following table that has been adapted from Hengeveld (1996):

LAYER	VARIABLE	DESIGNATION
Clause	$E_1$	Speech Act
Illocutionary Frame	$F_1$	Illocution
Proposition	$X_1$	Propositional Content
Predication	$e_1$	State of Affairs
Predicate	$f_1$	Relation or Property
Term	$x_1$	Individual

Table 2: Units of the hierarchical structure of the clause

Once the nuclear predication has been constructed by assigning the appropriate number of arguments or term structures to the predicate, each layer can be modified by grammatical, *operators*, and lexical, *satellites*, elements that provide additional

information about them. The difference between operators and satellites lies on the type of means used in each case (grammatical / lexical) and not on the function that these elements realise. Five types of operators are distinguished: term operators ( $\omega$ ), predicate operators ( $\pi_1$ ), predication operators ( $\pi_2$ ), proposition operators ( $\pi_3$ ) and illocution operators ( $\pi_4$ ). In the same way five types of satellites should be recognised: predicate satellites ( $\sigma_1$ ), predication satellites ( $\sigma_2$ ), proposition satellites ( $\sigma_3$ ), illocution satellites ( $\sigma_4$ ) and clause satellites ( $\sigma_5$ ).<sup>9</sup>

Some of the layers that constitute the hierarchical structure of the clause, represented in Table 2, correspond with the types of entities distinguished by Lyons (1977). Therefore, it can be argued that terms designate first order entities, predications second order entities and propositions third order entities in the classification proposed by Lyons, whereas the distinction between zero (predicate) and fourth (speech act) order entities is an innovation of FG. Within this layered model of the clause, an individual is a first order entity that can be located in space and evaluated in terms of its existence. A state of affairs is a second order entity that can be located in space and time and evaluated in terms of its reality. A propositional content is a third order entity that cannot be located neither in space nor in time, but can be evaluated in terms of its truth. A speech act is a fourth order entity that locates itself in space and time and can be evaluated in terms of its felicity.

Taking as a point of departure the classification of the different types of entities, Hengeveld (1998: 345) considers that different classes of adverbial clauses can be distinguished depending on the types of entities that they designate. According to this classification of entities we could expect four main types of adverbial clauses: zero order, second order, third order and fourth order clauses. First order clauses do not exist because first order entities can only be expressed through terms and not through clauses, thus they are not part of the analysis of adverbial clauses.

It is important to take into account that here the classification of the different types of entities is applied to the analysis of the internal structure of adverbial clauses and not to the external structure.<sup>10</sup> In the latter case what would be analysed is the function of satellite that the subordinate clause realises within the main clause, depending on the layer of the hierarchical structure of the clause to which it is attached (predicate, predication, proposition or illocution).<sup>11</sup>

The following examples<sup>12</sup> illustrate four types of adverbial constructions characterised by designating entities that belong to different layers within the hierarchical structure of the clause:

- (1) *They escaped by sliding down a rope* (Means – Zero order)
- (2) *The fuse blew because we had overloaded the circuit* (Cause – Second order)
- (3) *Jenny went home because her sister would visit her* (Reason – Third order)
- (4) *Jenny isn't here, for I don't see her* (Explanation – Fourth order)

The difference between an adverbial clause that designates a zero order entity and a clause that designates a second order entity is that the first one forms part of a sentence that describes a single, though a complex, event, whereas in the second case two independent events are described. This difference is justified by the fact that the two predicates that appear in the first type of clauses is characterised by sharing

arguments (e.g. *\*They escaped by my sliding down a rope*), whereas the arguments of the predicates that appear in the clauses of the second type are independent.

Regarding the difference between the second order clauses, that designate state of affairs, and those of the third order, that designate propositional contents, Hengeveld mentions that there are different ways of establishing a distinction between them, as it is the fact that the second ones admit the expression of a propositional attitude, whereas the first do not (e.g. *Jenny went home because her sister might visit her* / *\*The fuse blew because we might have overloaded the circuit*).

With respect to the difference between the clauses that designate third order and fourth order entities, the fact that the clauses designating fourth order entities constitute a speech act different from the one designated by the main clause can be seen in the possibility of inserting illocutive modifications within them (e.g. *Jenny isn't here, for, honestly, I don't see her* / *\* Jenny went home because, frankly, her sister would visit her*).<sup>13</sup>

### 2.2.2. Time Dependency

In his analysis of complement clauses, Noonan (1990) considers that a complement can establish, with respect to the verb it depends on, a relation that he labels as *time reference dependency*. As far as this type of dependency is concerned he explains: "A complement has dependent or determined time reference (DTR) if its time reference is a necessary consequence of the meaning of the CTP" (1990: 92) (CTP = *complement-taking predicate*).

After realising that there are adverbial clauses (i.e. Cause and Simultaneity) that designate the same type of entity but that present different expression formats, Hengeveld (1998) accepts the need to apply a new differentiating parameter. This new parameter, Time Dependency, establishes that certain adverbial clauses present dependent time reference (DTR) with respect to the main clause, whereas others present independent time reference (ITR), as we can see in the following examples:

- (5) *He cut himself while shaving* (Simultaneity – DTR)
- (6) *The streets are wet because it is raining / because it has been raining* (Cause – ITR)

This parameter is, nevertheless, only relevant in the case of second order clauses, since the zero order clauses must display dependent time reference and the third and fourth order clauses evince independent time reference.

### 2.2.3. Factuality<sup>14</sup>

The third parameter for the classification of the semantic types of adverbial constructions, Factuality (*truth-value (epistemic) dependency* in Noonan's (1990) terminology), is an independent parameter applicable to all types of entities. This parameter distinguishes between Factual clauses (that describe a property or relation as applicable, a state of affairs as real, a propositional content as true and a speech act as assertive) and Non-factual clauses (that describe a property or relation as non-applicable, a state of affairs as unreal, a propositional content as untrue and a speech act as non-assertive).

The advantage of the Factuality parameter can be illustrated by contrasting two types of clauses, Cause and Potential Circumstance, that designate second order entities, present independent time reference and are non-presupposed (fourth parameter):

(7) *The fuse blew because we had overloaded the circuit* (Cause – Factual)

(8) *I'll come tomorrow in case Ann wants me* (Potential Circumstance – Non-factual)

#### 2.2.4. *Presupposition*

The last parameter for the semantic classification of adverbial clauses is Presupposition. Although Hengeveld (1998) proposes to apply this parameter to the analysis of adverbial clauses, he does not offer a clear definition. However, it is necessary to clarify the concept of presupposition since the works of many authors<sup>15</sup> have yielded different interpretations and definitions.

When defining the concept of presupposition we could start from an informal idea or general use of this concept, that Keenan expresses through these words:

In general I want to consider that the presuppositions of a sentence are those conditions that the world must meet in order for the sentence to make literal sense. Thus if some such condition is not met, for some sentence S, then either S makes no sense at all or else it is understood in some nonliteral way, for example as a joke or metaphor. (1971: 45)

Or as Saeed affirms: “In ordinary language, of course, to presuppose something means to assume it” (1997: 93).

Although these definitions reveal the intuitive meaning that every speaker has of the term *presupposition*, they prove to be too abstract and of scarce applicability to provide a definition for a classifying parameter that has to be applied systematically in the analysis of the adverbial clauses. On the other hand, these definitions are so broad and vague that they could form part of the different approaches that have dealt with this topic.

Leaving out this non-scientific conception of presupposition, some authors (Keenan, 1971; Kempson, 1975; Saeed, 1997) consider that the different studies that have treated presupposition can be grouped into two main approaches: the pragmatic and the semantic. The application of those approaches is not always discriminatory as Kempson affirms in her analysis of the use of the concept of presupposition in linguistics:

One of the problems in assessing the nature of presupposition in linguistics is that the separation of the semantic and pragmatic concepts is rarely honoured. Indeed, on the contrary, as an extremely fashionable term, presupposition has been used quite indiscriminately to apply to almost every conceivable relation—either semantic or pragmatic. [...] Given such widespread application, it is hardly surprising that presupposition has been thought to have considerable explanatory validity. (1975: 54)

Thus the concept of presupposition can be mainly approached from two different perspectives (semantic and pragmatic) that, as Saeed (1997) indicates, imply different conceptions of language as an object of study. It is clear that, from the point of view of the theory of FG, a pragmatic approach to presupposition seems to be more adequate,<sup>16</sup> since this model takes into account the analysis of a linguistic phenomenon in its communicative context. Furthermore, a pragmatic approach does not imply a rejection of some considerations taken from a semantic approach but, on the contrary, semantic

presupposition could be understood as one aspect of pragmatic presupposition. The analysis of a sentence from a communicative point of view does not imply the exclusion of the semantic value, but its analysis within the context of use. In this line, the pragmatic approach is consistent with the FG model, since within the functional paradigm pragmatics is seen as a general framework that comprises semantics and syntax.

The fourth parameter for the classification of adverbial clauses is then presupposition considered from a pragmatic perspective. Noonan, in his study of complementation, mentions the concept of *discourse dependency*, that could be identified with presupposition, and argues that “A complement is discourse dependent if it is part of the background or common ground of participants” (1990: 92).

In the same way, Hengeveld (1996; 1998), although not providing an explicit definition of presupposition, reckons that this concept constitutes a parameter of great usefulness to the study of complement as well as adverbial clauses.

In the field of adverbial subordination, the difference between Presupposed and Non-presupposed clauses can be noticed by establishing a contrast between an adverbial clause of Purpose and one of Negative Circumstance, since both designate second order entities, present DTR and are Non-factual:

(9) *I left early to catch the train* (Purpose – Non-presupposed)

(10) *She left without saying goodbye* (Negative Circumstance – Presupposed)

In (9) the state of affairs designated by the subordinate clause is not presupposed to be a fact (e.g. *I left early to catch the train but then I decided to go by feet / but I didn't catch it*), whereas in (10) the opposite to what is expressed in the subordinate clause is presupposed (that is, *Saying goodbye*: e.g. *\*She left without saying goodbye but she said goodbye*).

Through the application of the four parameters discussed above, Hengeveld (1998: 353) offers a semantic classification of adverbial subordinate clauses, considered to be typologically adequate for the languages of Europe:

		Zero order	Second order	Third order	Fourth order
Factual	Non-Presupposed	Means	ITR Cause	Reason	Explanation
			DTR Simultaneity		
	Presupposed		ITR Addition	Concession	
			DTR Anteriority		
Non-Factual	Non-Presupposed		ITR Potential circumstance	Potential condition	
			DTR Purpose		
	Presupposed		ITR Unreal circumstance DTR Negative circumstance	Unreal condition	

ITR= Independent Time Reference; DTR: Dependent Time Reference

Table 3: Classification of adverbial clauses (Hengeveld, 1998)

### 3. CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS

This article has offered a critical description of the approach adopted in FG for the description and classification of adverbial clauses. It has been claimed that this classification results from the systematic application of four semantic parameters and not from the subjective and arbitrary interpretation of the type of relation maintained between the subordinate and the main clause.

One of the advantages of the use of these parameters is the possibility of establishing complete and exhaustive taxonomies of adverbial clauses. However, further research in this field is vital, since little has been done in FG to test the validity of the classifying parameters. This involves the analysis of corpora from different languages, given the great importance of this kind of studies both from a functional and a typological perspective.

The relevance of these parameters lies also in the fact that they constitute four different hierarchies of potential applicability in order to describe the distribution of the expression formats of the distinct categories of adverbial clauses. Thus, further studies are necessary in order to elucidate whether there exists any kind of systematic relations between the semantic type of adverbial clause and the form by which it is expressed.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For further details as regards the classifying criteria cf. Davison (1979); Jespersen (1961-74); Bolinger (1984); Woodall (1984); Quirk *et al.* (1991).
- <sup>2</sup> Van der Auwera (1997: 3) mentions that complements in direct speech could be defined as [-dependent, + embedded], as, for example, *Go home* in *The crowd shouted: "Go home."*
- <sup>3</sup> Van der Auwera (1997: 12), however, mentions that the features of embeddedness and dependency are insufficient in order to define cosubordination.
- <sup>4</sup> In the framework of FG, as van der Auwera (1997: 18) suggests, cosubordination, characterised by [+ dependency, - embeddedness], has not received much attention, since in the hierarchical structure of the clause model most dependent structures are also embedded.
- <sup>5</sup> Givón (1990) distinguishes seven types of adverbial clauses: *temporal*, *conditional*, *cause* and *reason*, *concessive*, *substitutive*, *additive* and *purpose*. While Halliday (1994), who uses the term *hypotactic enhancement* to refer to adverbial subordination, recognises four types: *temporal*, *spatial*, *manner* and *causal-conditional*.
- <sup>6</sup> In his first approach to the study of the semantic types of adverbial clauses, Hengeveld (1993) proposes the existence of only two parameters, Entity Type and Factivity, although he does not ignore the relevance of Time Dependency in relation to the first of those parameters.
- <sup>7</sup> The distinction of these two aspects of language, interpersonal and representational (*ideational* in Halliday's terminology) comes, as is suggested by Butler (1996), from Systemic Functional Grammar, since in Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin, 1984; Van Valin, 1993) such a distinction is not made explicit.
- <sup>8</sup> What Hengeveld (1990) considers the abstract illocutionary frame is analysed as illocution operators in Dik (1997a).
- <sup>9</sup> For a detailed analysis of the functions realised by the different classes of operators and satellites cf. Dik (1997a).



- <sup>10</sup> This distinction is clearly established by Hengeveld (1989), who points out that the hierarchical structure of the clause can be applied to the internal and external structures of adverbial clauses, whereas, it can only be applied to the study of the internal structure of complement clauses, since, from the point of view of the external structure, these clauses always function as arguments and not as satellites.
- <sup>11</sup> The fact of not considering this distinction can lead to confusion as well as to establish parallelisms among studies that concentrate on different aspects of adverbial clauses. In this sense, Kortmann (1997: 31) observes a parallelism among the classification proposed by Hengeveld and those proposed by other authors: Haegeman (*content / epistemic*), Schiffirin (*fact-based / knowledge-based / action-based*), Sweetser (*content / epistemic / speech-act*). However, this correspondence is not correct, since Hengeveld's classification takes into account the internal structure of adverbials (the type of entity designated by the adverbial clause) whereas Kortmann seems to refer to the external structure (relation that the adverbial clause holds with the main clause), as can be inferred from his own words: "what Haegeman's account ultimately amounts to is that certain interclausal relations inherently operate on either the content or the epistemic level, or at least that interclausal relations differ as to their potential for being used on one of these two planes of discourse" (1997: 30).
- <sup>12</sup> The examples have been taken from Hengeveld (1998).
- <sup>13</sup> Although in the case of *Jenny went home because, frankly, her sister would visit her* the clause is not strictly considered agrammatical, the illocution satellite includes in its scope the whole complex sentence (main + subordinate), whereas in *Jenny isn't here, for, honestly, I don't see her*, the adverb includes in its scope the subordinate clause only.
- <sup>14</sup> In Hengeveld (1993) the parameter of Factuality is not taken into account. He mentions the degree of Factivity, which he defines in relation to Presupposition: "Within non-factive clauses the speaker asserts certain pieces of information, within factive clauses he presupposes certain pieces of information. Factive adverbial clauses describe either events that are presupposed by the speaker to be real (second order-true factive) or propositional contents presupposed by the speaker to be true (third order-semi factive)" (1993: 123).
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. Karttunen 1971; Keenan 1971; Garner 1971; Kempson 1975; 1979; Karttunen and Peters 1979; Gazdar 1979; van der Auwera 1979; Bickerton 1979; Saeed 1997.
- <sup>16</sup> In fact, this is the approach chosen by Mairal Usón (1993) in his study of complement clauses and by Pérez Quintero (1998) in her study of adverbial subordination, both undertaken within the FG model.

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