Interpersonal adverbs in Functional Discourse Grammar: The case of *frankly*

Evelien Keizer
University of Vienna

evelien.keizer@univie.ac.at

The present paper is part of a larger study aimed at providing a comprehensive and coherent function-to-form based analysis of interpersonal adverbs in English. The literature on what have also been referred to as peripheral, parenthetical, non-propositional, disjunctive or comment adverbs (e.g. *frankly*, *fortunately*, *allegedly* or *briefly*) is extensive, and linguists of different theoretical persuasions have described these adverbs in various degrees of detail. Most previous accounts, however, are typically concerned with one particular aspect of these adverbs, e.g. their discourse-pragmatic functions (e.g. Strawson 1973; Palmer 1986; Fraser 1996; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 129–131), their semantic properties (non-truth-conditionality, non-restrictiveness; e.g. Ifantidou 1993, 2001; Rouchota 1998; Asher 2000), their syntactic behaviour (in terms of clefting, ellipsis, coordination, questioning e.g. Quirk et al. [1985: 612–631], Pullum & Huddleston [2002: 575–576], Huddleston et al. [2002: 1350–1362] and Espinal [1991]), or prosodic features (Allerton & Crittenden 1974). Far less attention, however, has been paid to the interaction between these different functional and formal aspects (which are typically assumes to relate in a more-or-less one to one fashion), and so far no unified, theoretically-based analysis has been suggested.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the distinctive features of the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), with its four interacting levels of analysis (interpersonal, representational, morphosyntactic and phonological) allows for such a unified theory. It will be demonstrated how the distinction beween an Interpersonal Level (dealing with the pragmatic, speaker-oriented aspects of linguistic expressions) and a Representational Level (dealing with the semantic, propositional aspects of an expression) can be used to account for differences in the truth-conditionality and syntactic integration of diffenret kinds of adverbs, while the fact that FDG takes the Discourse Act (a functional unit), rather than the sentence (a formal unit), as it basic unit of analysis, can be used to capture differences in prosodic integration.

Using data from a two corpora of (written and spoken) American English (the Corpus of Contemporary American English and the Fisher Corpus), the proposed analysis will be illustrated by a discussion of the discourse-pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and prosodic features of the various uses of the adverb *frankly* (as an illocutionary, evidentiality, actuality and manner adverb). It will be argued that the different uses of one and the same adverb can indeed be dealt with in one comprehensive model of grammar, provided that the model in question provides, as part of its basic architecture, the means to capture the interaction between the various functional (pragmatic and semantic) and formal (syntactic and phonological) properties of linguistic expressions.

References

Allerton, David J. & Alan Cruttenden. 1974. English sentence adverbials: Their syntax and their intonation in British English. *Lingua* 34, 1–29.

Asher, Nicholas. 2000. Truth and discourse semantics for parentheticals. *Journal of Semantics* 17, 31–51.

Espinal, Teresa. 1991. The representation of disjunct constituents. *Language* 67 (4), 726–762.

Fraser, Bruce 1996. Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics* 6, 167–190.

Hengeveld, Kees & Lachlan Mackenzie. 2008. *Functional Discourse Grammar. A Typologically-based Theory of Language Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huddleston, Rodney, John Payne & Peter Peterson. 2002. Coordination and supplementation. In: Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey Pullum (eds.), *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1273–1362.

Ifantidou-Trouki, Elly. 1993. Sentential adverbs and relevance. *Lingua* 90 (1–2), 69–90.

Ifantidou, Elly, 2001. *Evidentials and Relevance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Palmer, F.R. 1986. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pullum, Geoffrey K. & Rodney Huddleston. 2002. Adjectives and adverbs. In: Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey Pullum (eds.), *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 525–595.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Rouchota, Villy 1998. Procedural meaning and parenthetical discourse markers. In Andreas Juncker & Yael Ziv (eds.), *Discourse Markers. Descriptions and Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 97–126.

Strawson, Peter F. 1973. Austin and Locutionary meaning. In: Isaiah Berlin et al. *Essays on J.L. Austin*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 46–68.