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FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CLAUSE POSITION OF SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS

(Based on three radio discussions from the LLC)

1. Introduction

The present paper while attempting to contribute to the analysis of **spatial and temporal adverbials** concentrates on the **factors which influence their position in the clause structure**. In accordance with some previous research done into the analysis of adverbials (e.g. Lindquist 1986, 1989; Quirk 1984, 1995; Povolná 1999, 2000ab), the following criteria are taken into consideration: the **grammatical function**, the **semantic role**, the **realization type** and the **clause position**. Moreover, my research, unlike that done by Lindquist and Quirk, takes into account the **dynamic semantic function** spatial and temporal adverbials can perform in the further development of communication. However, it is important to note that only single occurrences of either spatial or temporal adverbials complementing finite verb phrases have been included in the subsequent analysis¹.

2. Material under investigation

This inquiry is concerned with the results drawn from the analysis of three texts taken from the London-Lund Corpus (LLC)². All the three texts, namely

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- ¹ The term *single adverbial* denotes the occurrence of one adverbial, i.e. one realization type of adverbial, either spatial or temporal, complementing one finite verb phrase (FVP). This accounts for the exclusion of the co-occurrences of more than one adverbial with one FVP from the present contribution (for some information about *multiple adverbials*, i.e. the co-occurrences of more than one adverbial with one FVP, with regard to FSP, see Povolná 2000a).
 - ² Within the text classification of all the texts in the LLC, the texts analysed belong to the subgroup D, representing discussion, interview, and debate. They were recorded between the

S.5.1, S.5.2 and S.5.7, represent **public radio discussions**. Their length is identical, amounting to 5,000 words, which means that the total extent of text under examination is 15,000 words.

3. Classification

As for the **grammatical function**, it must be emphasized that **only adverbials functioning as A-elements in the clause structure** (adjuncts) have been studied. Consequently, all their remaining grammatical functions, subjuncts, disjuncts, and conjuncts, have been excluded from the present analysis³.

The only distinction drawn with regard to the grammatical function is the **difference between syntactically obligatory and syntactically optional adverbials**. Syntactically obligatory adverbials are those adverbials that are required by the verb to form a **clause that is grammatically acceptable**. Their scope is always predicational. On the other hand, optional adverbials comprise not only adverbials with a sentential scope but also those with a predicational scope⁴. However, it depends on the relevant context whether a particular adverbial functions as obligatory complementation of a verb or not. For instance, with a direct *wh*-question *when did you try to go to America*, a complete answer could be *I tried this year*. This example illustrates the case which can be tentatively labelled as **semantic obligatoriness**. As already stated, the present inquiry takes only syntactic obligatoriness into account when distinguishing obligatory and optional adverbials. This does not mean that the author is not aware of the **co-existence and complementariness of syntactic and semantic obligatoriness**.

With regard to the **semantic role**, apart from the basic difference between spatial and temporal adverbials, **spatial adverbials** are subdivided into those expressing **position, direction, or distance**, whereas **temporal adverbials** are distinguished from one another according to whether they express **position, duration, frequency, or relationship**.

As to the **realization type**, it must be stressed that only adverbials realized by phrases, i.e. through **phrasal amplification**, are analysed here. This accounts for the exclusion of adverbials realized by clauses, i.e. through clausal

years 1958 and 1970. As for the speakers participating in the radio discussions, they are native speakers of British English. The discussions were recorded with the prior knowledge of their participants and the topics discussed are mainly current political or economic issues.

3 The analysis does not distinguish between temporal adjuncts and temporal subjuncts, both being included in the present contribution (for more details about the distinction between temporal adjuncts and temporal subjuncts, see Povolná 1998, 1999).

4 The distinction between obligatory and optional adverbials is consistent with Quirk et al. 1985, although at first sight it is not evident. As discussed in Povolná 1998 and 1999, sentential adjuncts are inherently optional and that is the reason why optional adjuncts comprise both optional predicational and optional sentential adjuncts. On the other hand, obligatory adjuncts are always predicational. It is important to stress, however, that only syntactic obligatoriness is taken into consideration here.

amplification, from the present investigation (for some details concerning clausal amplification with regard to FSP, see Povolná 2000a, 2000b). Within **phrasal amplification**, the distinction is made between **adverb phrases with their heads expressed by closed-class adverbs**, having 'no regular morphological relation to adjectives' (Quirk et al. 124), or **adverb phrases with their heads expressed by open-class adverbs, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases**.

When distinguishing the **dynamic semantic function (DSF)** spatial and temporal adverbials can perform in the act of communication, all the **four FSP factors**, the contextual factor, the semantic factor, the factor of linear modification, and intonation, have been considered (for more information about the interplay of all FSP factors, see Firbas 1992)⁵.

The basic difference is between **adverbials belonging to the thematic sphere** of the sentence and those that belong to its **rhematic sphere**. The former perform the function of **Setting (Set)**, the latter that of **Specification (Sp)**. The DSF of adverbials depends on the **degree of communicative dynamism (CD)** as well as the **degree of prosodic prominence (PP)** these adverbials carry in relation to the other sentence elements occurring in the same distributional field⁶. Apart from the two above-mentioned DSFs, **temporal adverbials referring to indefinite time** can become part of the **transitional sphere** of the sentence (Tr), in which case they serve as **transition proper oriented elements** (for more details, see Firbas 1992, Svoboda 1990)⁷.

All the aforementioned distinctions concerning the grammatical function, semantic role, realization type and dynamic semantic function will be

⁵ Functional sentence perspective (FSP) is the outcome of an interplay of FSP factors. According to Firbas (1992), in written English three non-prosodic factors operate within an interplay the outcome of which is the distribution of various degrees of communicative dynamism over the sentence elements. In spoken language, the interplay is joined by intonation, which operates through degrees of prosodic prominence, represented by a scale covering absence of stress, degrees of non-nuclear stress and degrees of nuclear stress.

⁶ The role of CD within the FSP theory with regard to the placement of adverbials has been studied by Horová (1976). In her analysis she draws a distinction between a setting and a specification as expressed by local and temporal adverbials. However, unlike my contribution, her study is concerned only with English and Czech sentences containing at least one adverbial of place plus at least one adverbial of time, i.e. cases that are beyond the scope of the present analysis (for some details concerning the DSFs co-occurrences of spatial and temporal adverbials can play in the further development of communication, see Povolná 2000a). Research into temporal and spatial adverbials within the FSP theory has been done also by Dvořáková (- Golková) (1964). While comparing English sentences and their Czech translations, she concentrates on the mutual relationship between the sentence position of situational adverbials, i.e. adverbial elements of time, place and cause, and the degree of CD carried by them in the act of communication. Unlike her study, which is based on the analysis of the written language, my investigation is concerned with the spoken language and has to take intonation into consideration.

⁷ Owing to the absence of any spatial or temporal *wh*-elements introducing interrogative *wh*-clauses in the material analysed, the present analysis does not take them into consideration at all. However, it must be stressed that with regard to FSP they are heterogeneous. Firbas holds the view that 'apart from serving in the transition, they also display thematic and rhematic features' (for more details on *wh*-elements, see Firbas 1996.67-70).

considered with regard to the position the individual semantic classes of spatial and temporal adverbials can occupy in the clause structure. Unlike Quirk et al. (1985:490-501)⁸, the present study distinguishes only **three basic clause positions: initial (I), medial (M) and end (E).**

4. Analysis

4.1 Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their grammatical function

As mentioned above, **syntactically obligatory adverbials are always predicational**, whereas **syntactically optional adverbials can be either predicational or sentential**. In order to distinguish predicational and sentential adverbials from each other, the following criteria have been applied:

- (1) **integration** of an adverbial in the syntactic structure of the clause;
- (2) **semantic scope** of an adverbial;
- (3) **mobility** of an adverbial within the clause.

What is understood under syntactic obligatoriness as well as the difference between syntactically optional adverbials with a predicational scope and those with a sentential scope is illustrated by the three following examples respectively:

Example 1:

^I shall get the :BBC into [S]. :Nibel action# (S.5.1.534);

Example 2:

*in which ^intu^ition# be^comes the really vital :th^ing# - that
^carries you ^over# a par^ticular b^arrier# (S.5.2.49-52);*

Example 3:

*because they're ""^all interrelated in Sc^ot land# it's it's a
^sm^all c^ountry# (S.5.2.975-976).*

All the above examples comprise spatial adverbials, Example 1 representing syntactically obligatory complementation, Examples 2 and 3 showing syntactically optional complementation, the former predicational, the latter sentential. Based on my results, it can be claimed that **spatial adverbials with a predicational scope, both obligatory (Example 1) and optional (Example 2), tend to fulfil the DSF of Sp, invariably placed in E position in this function.**

⁸ According to Quirk et al. (1985:490-501), the three main adverbial positions in the clause structure, initial, medial and end, can be subdivided into seven subtypes, each being defined in relation to the other clause elements. However, owing to the character of the verb phrase (e.g. incomplete or split verb phrases) and consequently the character of the whole clause structure typical of spoken English, the present inquiry takes into account only the three basic clause positions.

This distribution of CD is reflected by intonation, both the adverbials in Examples 1 and 2 being the most prosodically prominent sentence elements within their distributional fields (for more details on the DSFs of adverbials, see Part 4.4 below).

Table 1

Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their grammatical function
(comparison between obligatory and optional adverbials)

Syntactic Obligatoriness	Obligatory Adverbials			Optional Adverbials						Total
Scope	Predicational			Predicational			Sentential			All
Clause Position	I	M	E	I	M	E	I	M	E	No.
Space	4	0	83	2	0	66	14	2	39	210
Time	0	0	4	0	37	19	14	16	50	140
Total	4	0	87	2	37	85	28	18	89	350

It is evident from Table 1 that the predicational scope is typical of spatial adverbials, both obligatory and optional, placed in the majority of cases in E position with this scope. On the other hand, the I position is rather exceptional with adverbials having a predicational scope (6 cases) and, if it occurs at all, then it is due to information processing, as in the example that follows:

Example 4:

because ^/out of them# came ^everything that we ^are#
(S.5.4.834-835).

The adverbial *out of them* is placed in I position in spite of the fact that it represents obligatory complementation of the predicative verb *to come*. Being placed initially, it enables the subject with its postmodification *everything that we are* to be placed in E position. This word order is in accordance with the basic distribution of CD over the sentence elements which consists in a gradual rise from the beginning to the end of the sentence (Firbas 1992.10). The distribution of CD as determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors is reflected by the distribution of PP, placing the most prominent nucleus on the subject or rather its postmodification *that we are*. Thus, the initially placed adverbial, in spite of being syntactically obligatory, performs the function of Set and belongs to the thematic sphere of the given field.

However, the initial position is not exceptional with spatial adverbials having a sentential scope (14 occurrences). It is apparent from Table 1 that the **clause position of adverbials with a sentential scope is more flexible than that of adverbials with a predicational scope**. The former, when placed in I position, frequently fulfil the DSF of Set, thus belonging to the thematic sphere of the

sentence, as in:

Example 5:

*^which 'is 'that in !some of ^some of these situations# the
^actual 'meanings of the 'words are !!shifting# (S.5.7.340-341).*

In contrast to spatial adverbials, **temporal adverbials hardly ever represent obligatory complementation**. This result is undoubtedly due to the generally much lower frequency of verbs that require temporal rather than spatial complementation in order to be grammatically acceptable. When obligatory temporal complementation is required, it is placed in E position, i.e. in the position after the verb which it complements, and, moreover, similarly to spatial adverbials, it tends to perform the DSF of Sp, belonging to the rhematic sphere of its field. One of the four tokens found in my material follows:

Example 6:

^Shakespeare is :too long ag/o# (S.5.1.638).

The results presented in Table 1 above make it clear that **obligatory adverbials, either spatial or temporal, tend to be placed in end position**. Moreover, the number of verbs that require complementation by spatial adverbials is much higher (83 occurrences) than that of verbs requiring temporal complementation (4 occurrences). Based on my results, it can now be concluded that **there are many verbs the meaning of which is incomplete without a spatial adverbial**. This conclusion can be supported by Quirk et al. (1985:506) stating that 'the number of verbs having sufficient semantic weight in themselves to require no further complementation is quite small'.

As for optional adverbials with a predicational scope, there is a great difference between spatial adverbials, placed mostly in E position (66 occurrences; see Example 2 above), and temporal adverbials, placed frequently in M position (37 occurrences), as in the following example comprising two instances of medially placed temporal adverbials:

Example 7:

*^have you ever thought of :this p\oint# which has ^often [\$.]
per!p\exed _me a bit# (S.5.2.511-512).*

Both the medially placed adverbials *ever* and *often* in Example 7 refer to indefinite time. They are framed in between the subject and the notional component of the predicative verb and operate in close co-operation with its temporal and modal exponents (TMEs), thus serving as transition proper oriented elements. Adverbials of this type are syntactically optional and have a predicational scope.

Although temporal adverbials with a predicational scope frequently occur in M position, they have been found also in E position (19 occurrences) in my

data, for instance in:

Example 8:

^I agr^ee# ^G/emmel# that ^life is lived . in the present#
(S.5.2.481-483).

Unlike medially placed temporal adverbials with a predicational scope, operating within the transitional sphere of the sentence, those placed finally tend to perform the DSF of Sp, belonging to the rhematic sphere of their field. This distribution of CD is reflected by intonation, placing the most prominent nucleus on the adverbial, as is the case of the adverbial *in the present* in Example 8 above.

Similarly to spatial adverbials with a sentential scope, temporal adverbials with a sentential scope are in the majority of cases placed in E position (50 occurrences), although the other two basic clause positions, initial and medial, are also frequently represented in my material (see Examples 10 and 20 below). Examples 9 and 10 illustrate temporal adverbials with a sentential scope, the former in E position, the latter in I position:

Example 9:

^^I've been a singer all my life# (S.5.1.196);

Example 10:

and ^then you 'want to . com!{m\unicate it} to ":s\omebody#
(S.5.7.56).

Both spatial and temporal **adverbials with a sentential scope can occur in any clause position** (see Table 1 above). Those of them that are placed finally tend to perform the DSF of Sp, whereas those placed initially tend to perform the DSF of Set. Thus, it can be stated that the **clause position of adverbials with a sentential scope** is, to a great extent, **determined by their role in the further development of communication**. As can be seen from Examples 9 and 10 above, the distribution of CD as determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors is reflected by the distribution of PP as determined by intonation. The finally placed temporal adverbial *all my life* (Example 9) performs the DSF of Sp, whereas the initially placed temporal adverbial *then* (Example 10) performs the DSF of Set (for more information on the DSFs of adverbials, see Part 3.4 below). As for spatial adverbials with a sentential scope, they have been illustrated by Examples 3 and 5 above, the former showing a finally placed adverbial with the DSF of Sp and the latter an initially placed adverbial performing the DSF of Set. The M position is generally rare with spatial adverbials, having only 2 occurrences in my data, one of them in the following example:

Example 11:

*^well I'm :just w\ondering# ^what the :Sc\otsmen# in ^our
corre:spondence for Any :Answers# would ^have to say about
th\is# (S.5.1.494-497).*

The medial position of the adverbial *in our correspondence for Any Answers* is due to information processing, shifting it to M position and thus enabling the placement of the most dynamic sentence element in E position. This distribution of CD is reflected by intonation, placing the most prominent nucleus on the final element. Example 11 lends further support to Firbas's statement that **prosodic features of the same rank gain in PP in the direction from the beginning to the end of the distributional field** (for more details, see Firbas 1992.154ff).

4.2 Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their semantic role

The **three basic clause positions** recognized in the present study are related to the **three semantic classes of spatial adverbials: position, direction, and distance**. It is evident from Table 2 that the **end position**, i.e. the position after the verb a particular adverbial complements, is **generally preferred with all semantic classes** (89% of all occurrences), comprising both optional and obligatory spatial adverbials, exemplified in Part 4.1 above.

Table 2

Position of single spatial adverbials with regard to their semantic role

Semantic Role Clause Position	Space			Total
	I	M	E	No.
Position	17	2	122	141
Direction	3	0	65	68
Distance	0	0	1	1
Total (No.)	20	2	188	210
Total (%)	9.5	1.0	89.5	100.0

Let me now turn to some of the most typical instances of every semantic class. That is the reason why all the spatial adverbials in Examples 12 to 14 below are placed in E position. Moreover, in accordance with the basic distribution of CD over the sentence elements all of them perform the DSF of Sp, which is reflected by the distribution of PP, placing the most prominent nucleus above them or their parts. All the adverbials, *beyond our control* (position), *from the person on the floor* (direction) and *about halfway through* (distance), represent syntactically obligatory complementation, which means that their scope is inherently predicational.

Example 12:

and it's ^quite silly to try and . "b\name ours/elves# for ^something that's :quite beyond our contr\ol# (S.5.1.929-930);

Example 13:

a ^fairly intel:lectual :level of 'convers/ation# ^will !take the :words !as 'they :c\ome# ^from the 'person 'on the f\loor# (S.5.7.243-245);

Example 14:

and I ^got about !half-way :th\rough# (S.5.7.137).

Table 3

Position of single temporal adverbials with regard to their semantic role

Semantic role Clause Position	Time			Total
	I	M	E	No.
Position	5	9	39	53
Duration	0	1	19	20
Frequency	2	29	8	39
Relationship	7	14	7	28
Total (No.)	14	53	73	140
Total (%)	10.0	37.9	52.1	100.0

The semantic classification of temporal adverbials, distinguishing **temporal adverbials of position, duration, frequency, and relationship**, notably with regard to their clause position is presented in Table 3. It indicates that there is more balance between the frequency of occurrence of single temporal adverbials in the individual clause positions than there is with single spatial adverbials (compare with Table 2 above). This result is due to the fact that the **position of temporal adverbials in the clause structure is more flexible** and, moreover, two of their semantic classes, **frequency and relationship, are frequently placed in medial position**, i.e. they are framed in between the subject and the notional component of the predicative verb (for details concerning medially placed adverbials that can be transition proper oriented, see Part 4.4 below). Nevertheless, single temporal adverbials in E position are predominant, amounting to 52%, which is more than single temporal adverbials both in I and M position reach together.

All the four semantic classes of temporal adverbials are illustrated by the following set of examples, each class being represented by one token of an optional temporal adverbial placed in the clause position that is most typical of the given class:

Example 15:

and [\$] . ^even if . they're not :selling arms n\ow# (S.5.1.830);

Example 16:

*the [\$ d] the ^\economic 'clap 'trap 'boys# had a ^great 'run_for
a :^long 'time# (S.5.7.536-537);*

Example 17:

*but ^what 'worries :m\le 'is# that . we ^often 'talk :very :gNibly#
(S.5.7.844-845);*

Example 18:

*^what you s\ay# as ^Stuart 'has just sugg\ested# . ^may mean
!something to :y\ou# (S.5.7.413-414).*

As can be seen from the above examples, temporal adverbials of position and duration (Examples 15 and 16) tend to be placed in E position (58 occurrences), usually having a sentential scope in this position. Moreover, when placed in E position, they frequently perform the DSF of Sp (compare with the results presented in Table 6 below). On the other hand, temporal adverbials of frequency and relationship (Examples 17 and 18) are commonly placed in M position (43 occurrences). Their scope is usually predicational in this position and, while being framed between the subject and the notional component of the predicative verb with which they co-occur, they are transition proper oriented elements, operating within the transitional sphere of their field.

4.3 Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their realization type

Let me now relate the results based on the analysis of the **realization types of spatial and temporal adverbials** and those drawn from the analysis of **their position in the clause structure**. Since their possible realization types are identical, they can be illustrated in one table.

It is apparent from Table 4 below that **prepositional phrases in E position are predominant both with spatial (174 occurrences) and temporal amplification (38 occurrences)**. Their frequency in any other position is considerably lower, the only other more common position in the data examined being the initial position with spatial adverbials (17 occurrences), illustrated by Examples 4 and 5 above.

Closed-class adverbs are regularly found in **all the three basic clause positions with temporal adverbials** and in **I and E position with spatial adverbials**. With temporal adverbials, they are most frequent in M position (43 occurrences) and in this position they usually refer to indefinite time, which has been illustrated by Examples 7, 17 and 18 above. However, their frequency in E position both with temporal and spatial adverbials is also relatively high. The former (17 occurrences) have been exemplified by Example 15 above, whereas the latter (13 occurrences) are represented by the example that follows:

Example 19:

and I a^gree with :Robert h\ere# (S.5.1.167).

The adverbial *here* is placed in E position. While carrying the highest degree of CD as well as PP, it performs the DSF of Sp, thus belonging to the rhematic sphere of its field.

Table 4

Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their realization type

Semantic Role Clause Position	Space			Time		
	I	M	E	I	M	E
Closed-Class Adverbs	3	1	13	9	43	17
Open-Class Adverbs	0	0	0	0	4	0
Noun Phrases	0	0	1	1	1	18
Prepositional Phrases	17	1	174	4	5	38
Total (No.)	20	2	188	14	53	73
Total (%)	9.5	1.0	89.5	10.0	37.9	52.1

As for **noun phrases**, their frequency of occurrence is worth mentioning **only in E position**, namely **with temporal adverbials** referring in the majority of cases to duration (18 occurrences), illustrated by Example 9 above (for more information on noun phrases used to express temporal meanings, see Povolná 1999).

Open-class adverbs are very rare. In the three texts analysed, they have **zero frequency** of occurrence **with spatial amplification**. This result has been highly predictable owing to their limited number⁹. Nevertheless, they occur **with temporal amplification**, notably **in M position**, three of the four cases found in my data being represented by the adverbial *suddenly*, as in:

Example 20:

*whar^ever it /is# he ^suddenly finds he is :due to be :called up
in the /army# (S.5.1.17-18).*

The medially placed temporal adverbial *suddenly*, while having a sentential scope, performs the DSF of Set and belongs to the thematic sphere of the given field.

⁹ It is argued that the zero frequency of open-class adverbs referring to space is due to the fact that hardly any open-class adverbs with a spatial meaning exist. Quirk et al. (516), when dealing with realization types of spatial adjuncts, mention only one adverb that can be considered as an open-class adverb, viz. *locally*.

4.4 Position of single spatial and temporal adverbials with regard to their dynamic semantic function

The relationship between the clause position and the DSF single spatial and temporal adverbials can perform in the further development of communication is indicated in Tables 5 and 6, the former referring to spatial, the latter to temporal, amplification. Moreover, the semantic classification of both spatial and temporal adverbials is included because there are some important differences between the individual semantic classes recognized in the present inquiry. The importance of subclassifying spatial adverbials into semantic classes was emphasized already by Uhlířová (1974.99-106) stressing that the functions performed by adverbials in the act of communication depend, to a great extent, on their semantic categories.

Table 5

Position of single spatial adverbials with regard to their DSF (semantic role included)

FSP	Setting (No. 55)			Transition			Specification (No. 155)		
	I	M	E	I	M	E	I	M	E
Clause Position									
Position (No. 141)	17	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	97
Direction (No. 68)	3	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	57
Distance (No. 1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total (No. 210)	20	2	33	0	0	0	0	0	155

Based on my results, it can be concluded that **single spatial adverbials** tend to be placed in **E position** (188 occurrences), unambiguously when performing the **DSF of Sp**, i.e. when belonging to the rhematic sphere of the sentence. This applies to all semantic roles under investigation, **position**, **direction**, and **distance**, amounting altogether to 155 occurrences and being illustrated by Examples 12 to 14 above. The placement of an adverbial functioning as a Sp in E position is in accordance with what Firbas (1992.10) labels as the basic distribution of degrees of CD over the sentence elements which consists in a gradual rise from the beginning to the end of the sentence. All the three spatial adverbials in Examples 12 to 14 convey context-independent information and in the absence of any successful competitor perform the DSF of Sp. Moreover, a nuclear tone placed on these adverbials makes them also most prosodically prominent. Thus, it is possible to speak about **perfect correspondence between the distribution of CD as determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors and the distribution of PP as determined by intonation**¹⁰.

¹⁰ 'As an FSP factor, intonation does not operate on its own independently of the other factors.

As for the results concerning **spatial adverbials with the DSF of Set**, the material analysed indicates that adverbials functioning as a Set are **less frequent than those functioning as a Sp**. Moreover, in agreement with Urbanová (1984.134-135) it can be stated that spatial adverbials functioning as a Set are **more flexible with regard to their clause position**, which can be due to their context dependence. The same tendency can be seen on the results drawn from the analysis of temporal adverbials (compare with Table 6 below). Two instances of spatial adverbials performing the DSF of Set when placed in I position have been shown above, notably in Examples 4 (direction) and 5 (position), and a medially placed spatial adverbial (position) with the DSF of Set has been illustrated by Example 11 above. Spatial adverbials performing the function of Set (55 occurrences) can occur in any clause position, nevertheless, the end position, shown below, tends to be prevalent (33 occurrences):

Example 21:

^well I don't think Terry Dean's :come out too :badly out of all this# (S.5.1.190).

The adverbial *out of all this* is context-dependent, which is indicated by the presence of the demonstrative *this*. Although placed in E position, it performs the DSF of Set, thus belonging to the thematic sphere of its field. Example 21 illustrates the case in which a high fall is followed by a low rise (for more information, see Firbas 1992.152) and in which the sentence element with a high fall (the adverbial *badly* referring to manner) is more prosodically prominent than the element with the following low rise (the demonstrative *this* in the prepositional phrase *out of all this*).

Example 22:

if they ^hadn't bothered to !gvo# - there ^may be :s\omething in this# (S.5.7.595-596).

The last type which must be illustrated in connection with spatial adverbials is the **existential sentence *there + be***. Example 22 is a typical existential sentence with a Phenomenon to be presented¹¹, expressed by the noun phrase

The distribution of degrees of PP either perfectly reflects the distribution of degrees of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors or deviates from it. The deviations are functional, creating prosodic intensification and raising the degrees of CD. Acting as a reflector of the degrees of CD as determined by the non-prosodic factors, intonation constantly provides a running commentary on the attitudes of the speaker to the content of his/her utterance' (Firbas 1998.58). Information conveyed by intonation participates in the development of communication.

¹¹ According to Firbas (1992.66), there are two types of dynamic semantic scales: the presentation scale and the quality scale. In the presentation scale, the verb, or rather its notional component, perspectives the communication towards the Phenomenon presented by the subject. In other words, it performs the DSF of Presentation. In consequence, the subject performs the DSF of expressing the Phenomenon to be presented. The adverbial conveys only

something. The spatial adverbial *in this* is context-dependent and thus only concomitant in character, and therefore it serves as a Set. Moreover, intonation makes the noun phrase *something* the most prominent sentence element of all, thus belonging to the rhematic sphere (compare with the high fall followed by the low rise in Example 21 above). As for the adverb *there* used in the existential sentence, it functions as a grammatical subject, it is context-dependent and invariably performs the DSF of Set.

However, the spatial adverbial in the existential sentence need not invariably perform the DSF of Set. On the contrary, in the three radio discussions analysed the cases in which it functions as a Sp are more frequent, as in:

Example 23:

there ^is I :think . a !proper \interest# . in the ^conti!n\uity# . of ^gene!rations# (S.5.2.929-931).

The adverbial *in the continuity of generations* is the sentence element to which the whole field provided by the existential sentence is perspectived. This distribution of CD as determined by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors is reflected by intonation, placing two nuclear tones (falls) on the adverbial, thus making it the most prominent element of all in the given distributional field.

My results concerning the analysis of **single temporal adverbials** are presented in Table 6 below, which indicates their DSFs **not only with regard to their clause position, but also with regard to their semantic classification**, distinguishing temporal adverbials of **position, duration, frequency and relationship**, because, as stated above, there are some important differences between the individual semantic classes.

In contrast to spatial adverbials, the majority of which perform the function of Sp, especially when placed in E position (compare with Table 5 above), temporal adverbials behave slightly differently. The **predilection for the function of Sp** applies only to **temporal adverbials referring to position and duration**. When performing this function, the above-mentioned classes of adverbials are invariably **placed in E position** in the data analysed, as has been shown in Examples 15 and 16 above. The temporal adverbials in these examples are both context-independent and carry the highest degree of CD as well as PP within their distributional fields. Thus, they perform the function of Sp, belonging to the rhematic sphere of their fields.

background, concomitant information, performing the DSF of Setting. The adverbial expresses the scene and the subject the person or the thing appearing on the scene.

Table 6

Position of single temporal adverbials with regard to their DSF (semantic role included)

FSP	Setting (No. 46)			Transition (No. 33)			Specification (No. 61)		
	I	M	E	I	M	E	I	M	E
Clause Position									
Position (No. 53)	5	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	30
Duration (No. 20)	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	17
Frequency (No. 39)	2	2	0	0	24	1	0	3	7
Relationship (No. 28)	7	7	2	0	7	1	0	0	4
Total (No. 140)	14	19	13	0	31	2	0	3	58

Temporal adverbials of frequency and relationship have also been found when performing the function of Sp. However, their frequency in this function is considerably lower and, moreover, adverbials of frequency occur not only in E, but also in M position (3 cases), as, for instance, in the example that follows:

Example 24:

well it's the ^honest !m\an's I 'think# as it's ^\ualways been#
(S.5.7.500-501).

The above example illustrates what Firbas labels as **re-evaluating prosodic intensification**: a sentence element (the adverbial *always*) that would be determined as non-rhematic (thematic or transitional) by the interplay of the non-prosodic FSP factors carries the most prominent nucleus and thus becomes rhematic within the given distributional field. Another element within the same field (the context-independent predicative verb *to be*) that would be determined by the non-prosodic FSP factors as rhematic and which is placed after the element that carries a nucleus appears in the post-intonation-centre prosodic shade and is re-evaluated to a thematic element (for more information on the running commentary on the attitudes of the speaker to the content of the utterance, see Firbas 1992.143ff and footnote No. 10 above).

The **medially placed temporal adverbials** labelled in Table 2 as elements performing the function of transition are all adverbials referring to **indefinite time**. In fact, this applies to all adverbials of frequency and relationship found in M position (31 occurrences), illustrated by Examples 17 and 18 above. All these adverbials are framed in between the subject and the notional component of the predicative verb and all of them operate in close co-operation with its TMEs, thus serving as **transition proper oriented elements**.

However, one instance of a temporal adverbial of frequency when serving as a transition proper oriented element requires further explanation:

Example 25:

*I'm ^doubtful whether thought and communication are .
:necessarily :always together like th\at# (S.5.2.559).*

The adverbial *always* in the above example is placed in what according to Quirk et al. (1985:490-500) is the initial end (iE) position, i.e. the position after the predicative verb. Such a position is not the very final position in the clause. The adverbial *always*, although placed after the verb, is not placed after the obligatory complementation expressed by the adverbial *together*. Since the present analysis does not distinguish any subpositional variants of the three basic clause positions, the adverbial placed in iE position is listed in Table 6 above as an adverbial placed in E position, i.e. in the position after all obligatory sentence elements.

As for **temporal adverbials performing the DSF of Set**, the **individual semantic classes behave differently**. On the one hand, there are adverbials of position and duration, which, when serving as a Set, give preference to the placement in E or M position, and, on the other hand, there are adverbials of frequency and relationship, which, in the same function, tend to be placed in I or M position. The following set of four examples illustrates each semantic class in one of the more frequent clause positions:

Example 26:

*[\$]it ^seem((ed)) to me that :Fleet Street was [\$\$] at the :start
was :doing a good job# (S.5.1.110);*

Example 27:

*^is the . is the ^questioner is w\orrying ab/out# [\$] whether we
:celebrate people who've been . two hundred years [\$]. dead or
:n\ot# (S.5.1.542-543);*

Example 28:

*:every Burns night we're [hae] ^having it :d\inned in# . by
"^\c\ountless Scotsmen# (S.5.1.455-456);*

Example 29:

be^cause you can then write !d\own your th/oughts# (S.5.2.668).

Both the medially placed temporal adverbials in Examples 26 and 27 convey only concomitant information, although the former is context-independent and the latter context-dependent. They perform the DSF of Set, thus belonging to the thematic spheres of their fields. This is reflected by the distribution of PP. The above adverbials while being unstressed are each followed by a nucleus within the same field, which makes the sentence element carrying the nucleus more prosodically prominent than the preceding adverbial.

Examples 28 and 29 illustrate temporal adverbials of frequency and relationship when performing the DSF of Set. Although the former is placed initially and the latter medially, both of them while being context-independent convey only concomitant information and provide a foundation for the message to be completed in the given distributional field. Therefore, they belong to the

thematic sphere of their fields. In both the above examples, the adverbials have successful competitors with regard to the degree of CD they carry relative to the other sentence elements. In Example 28, the most prominent element with regard to CD as well as PP is the adverbial of agency *by countless Scotsmen*, having a nucleus on the adjective *countless*, whereas in Example 29, the most prominent sentence element is the notional component of the predicative verb *to write down*, having a nucleus on the adverb particle *down* (for more information about a high fall followed by a low rise, see Firbas 1992:152, and for comparison, see Examples 21 and 22 above). The most prosodically prominent elements perform in each of the above cases the DSF of Sp.

5. Conclusions

The present analysis based on three radio discussions has illustrated that the **clause position of single spatial and temporal adverbials is influenced by several factors**. These factors are closely related and it is very difficult to state which of them is more important. Since my results presented above are similar to those drawn from the analysis of five conversational texts (for more information, see Povolná 2000a), it can now be stated that there are some tendencies valid for both genres of spoken English.

With regard to the **grammatical function** of single spatial and temporal adverbials, there is a strong tendency to place **obligatory adverbials in end position**, i.e. in the position after the verb a particular adverbial complements. Such adverbials are **inherently predicational** and frequently **perform the DSF of Specification**. Since there are many verbs the meaning of which is incomplete without a spatial adverbial, the frequency of obligatory spatial adverbials in end position is much higher than that of temporal adverbials.

Optional adverbials are either **predicational** or sentential, the former being placed frequently **in end position**, above all with spatial amplification. On the other hand, temporal adverbials with a predicational scope are commonly placed also **in medial position**, operating mostly in the **transitional sphere of the sentence**.

Optional adverbials with a **sentential** scope are **more flexible** with regard to their clause position, which is apparent above all with temporal adverbials, frequently occurring in all the three basic clause positions. However, there are some differences between the individual semantic classes. Based on my results, it can be maintained that the **clause position of adverbials with a sentential scope is, to a great extent, determined by their role in the further development of communication**: when **placed initially**, they tend to fulfil the DSF of **Setting**, thus belonging to the thematic sphere of the sentence, and, when placed **finally**, they frequently perform the DSF of **Specification**, belonging to the rhematic sphere of the sentence.

Concerning the **semantic role** of adverbials, the results drawn from my inquiry have indicated that the **end position**, i.e. the position after the verb a particular adverbial complements, is **generally preferred with almost all**

semantic classes under investigation. The clause position of temporal adverbials is more flexible than that of spatial adverbials and, moreover, two of their semantic classes, **frequency and relationship**, tend to be placed in **medial position**, usually having a **predicational scope** in this position. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that the **scope of temporal adverbials** of position, frequency and relationship, while being frequently **also sentential**, enables their placement in **all the three basic clause positions**. On the contrary, the **scope of spatial adverbials**, while being in the majority of cases **predicational**, requires the **end position** if the information processing enables it.

As for the **realization type** of single spatial and temporal adverbials, those expressed by **prepositional phrases** are predominant in **end position**, although with spatial adverbials they are common also in initial position. **Closed-class adverbs** are considerably flexible with regard to their clause position, frequently occurring above all in medial position with temporal adverbials. Concerning the two remaining realization types in the data analysed, they are worth mentioning only in connection with **temporal adverbials**, notably **noun phrases in end position** (referring mostly to duration) and **open-class adverbs in medial position** (referring to frequency).

With regard to the **dynamic semantic function** adverbials can perform in the act of communication, the results drawn from my analysis indicate that **single spatial adverbials of all semantic classes** tend to perform the DSF of **Specification**, placed invariably in **end position** in this function. When performing the DSF of **Setting**, which concerns only adverbials referring to **position and direction**, they can be placed in **any of the three basic clause positions**, nevertheless the end position being prevalent.

The predilection for the DSF of **Specification** applies only to two semantic classes of **single temporal adverbials**, notably those of **position and duration**, placed invariably in **end position** in this function. The **medially placed** temporal adverbials, referring to **relationship and frequency**, perform the DSF of **transition**, for the last-mentioned semantic class it being the most typical function of all. On the contrary, for temporal adverbials of **relationship**, the most typical DSF is that of **Setting**, placed usually in **initial or medial position** when performing this function.

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