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OLGA DONTCHEVA-NAVRATILOVA

STYLE MARKERS OF RESOLUTIONS: FORM AND FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL STRUCTURES

1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, numerous studies have attempted to contribute to the description of the stylistic features of different types of professional discourses (e.g. Bhatia 1993, Swales 1990, 2005, Hiltunen 1990, Donahue and Prosser 1997) and to map and functionally interpret the patterns of co-occurring features in language varieties (e.g. Biber and Finegan 1986, Bhatia et al. 2004, Simpson 2004). However, the language of international bureaucracies such as the United Nations organization, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, seems to have remained an unexploited field in discourse studies. In the cross-cultural context of international governmental organizations bureaucratic practices are related to the classification and regulation of relationships between independent states and the respective organization. Since bureaucratic control is closely related to control in the political domain and since “bureaucracy and social control are *constituted* in language” (Sarangi & Slembrouck 1996: 3–6), the study of the language of international bureaucracy is crucial for understanding power relations and diplomatic practices.

The present paper investigates adverbial structures in resolutions, taking the example of UNESCO documents, and is a part of a larger study which analyses stylistic variation within the text type of resolutions. Since resolutions have a particular audience, purpose, form, content and style, they may be reasonably considered a genre (as defined by Swales (1990)), and therefore the linguistic features under analysis will be regarded as genre-specific. The primary aim of the research is to describe stylistically relevant adverbial structures occurring in the texts and to consider their function in the text.

2. Methodology

The research scrutinizes formal written discourse in institutional settings. The corpus of texts includes the 1999 ‘*Resolutions*’ volume of the records of the Eng-

lish version of the 30th General Conference of UNESCO, which is available in printed and electronic form. The total size of the text under investigation includes 114 resolutions and amounts to 45,000 words. Though the size of the corpus is relatively limited, it is considered to be sufficiently representative for the purposes of this research, because the genre of resolutions may be regarded as similar to legislative “*frozen* genres, where form-function correlations are rather fixed” and therefore “it is often not necessary to base findings on large corpora” (Bhatia et al. 2004: 206–207).

The analysis of the corpus uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, which are regarded as complementary. The text has been processed manually and using the ‘*MicroConcord*’ concordancer in order to establish stylistically relevant lexico-grammatical patterns. The interpretation of the findings draws on the functional approach in linguistics, as in de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Halliday (1985), Halliday and Hasan (1990) and Hoey (2001), and attempts to link form and function in the interpretation of discourse.

The present research focuses on adverbial structures which reflect structural components of resolutions. The generic structure of resolutions (Figure 1) reflects the contextual configuration of the genre (Halliday and Hasan 1990) and may be realised in a set of obligatory and optional elements the sequence and reiterative potential of which are genre specific and motivate intrageneric variation, i.e. the delimitation of executive and preparatory resolutions. (For a detailed description of the situational characteristics of the genre see Dontcheva-Navratilova 2004a).

- 1) Title signalling the issue
- 2) Setting indication
- 3) Identification of the Addressor
- 4) Preamble including intertextual reference or motivation for the action performed
- 5) Action performed
- 6) Identification of the Addressee
- 7) Description of future behaviour or resultant state

Figure 1. Generic structure of resolutions (based on Dontcheva-Navratilova 2004b)

Since resolutions are one-sentence texts, their structural elements generally correspond to sentence elements. Therefore, the scope of the analysis of adverbial structures in resolutions is restricted to adverbials which are components of the main clause and reflect prevalingly the obligatory ‘setting’ and optional ‘preamble’ components of the structure of resolutions, which by their meaning, i.e. specification of the value of the variable ‘time and place’ and indication of intertextual reference and/or motivation for the action performed, are bound to be expressed by adverbial structures. A small group of adverbials appearing in series with adverbials indicating the setting in the preparatory resolutions are also

taken into consideration, as their function to signal the grounds or cause for the action is similar, though not identical, to the function of adverbials reflecting the 'preamble' component in executive resolutions. Additionally, the adverbial components of the notes indicating the setting outside the main body of the text are considered, as their function is similar to the function of the respective adverbial components of the main clause and the recurrence in their structural pattern is striking. It is to be noted that the notes take the form of non-sentences consisting of a head noun with *ed*-participle post-modification. The adverbials included in the analysis are part of the post-modifying non-finite clause.

3. Results of the analysis

The adverbials expressing the setting and the preamble component in the corpus are all adjuncts (Quirk et al. 1985). (It is to be noted that Biber et al. (1999) term this category circumstance adverbials.) Except for the adverbials of contingency in the notes, all adjuncts are optional sentential adverbials which are not strongly integrated in the sentence structure and are placed in sentence initial or medial position.

In accordance with some previous corpus-based research (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999, Kortmann 1991, Povolná 2003), and taking into consideration the stylistic perspective of this study, three main criteria have been applied to the analysis of adverbial structures in resolutions, and these are regarded as interdependent: 1) realization type, 2) semantic role, and 3) position. Special attention is paid to circumstance adverbials in series, as well as to the impact of information processing and theme-rheme development on their position in the sentence (Firbas 1992, Svoboda 1989).

3.1 Syntactic realizations of adverbials

Since the present analysis explores stylistically relevant patterns, the identification of realization types of adverbials is of primary importance. Adverbials may be realized by a variety of syntactic forms, including: single adverbs and adverb phrases, noun phrases, including single nouns, prepositional phrases, finite clauses, and non-finite clauses. According to Biber et al. (1999: 768), in terms of overall frequency, the most common syntactic realization of adverbials is the prepositional phrase, followed by adverbs, while finite clauses, non-finite clauses, noun phrases and adverb phrases are relatively rare.

The findings of the analysis of resolutions indicate an extremely high frequency of non-finite, especially *ing*-clauses, and zero frequency of realization of finite clauses (Table 1). A preference towards clausal realizations in executive resolutions and phrasal realizations in preparatory resolutions and notes is very prominent. The high proportion of adjuncts realized by non-finite clauses is due to their use as the single syntactic form of realization of the preamble component of textual structure where the reiterative potential of the adjuncts is high. The

non-finite clauses take the form of subjectless *ing*-participle, *ed*-participle and verbless clauses without subordinator which occur in medial position and whose subject is fully co-referent with the subject of the matrix clause (in the case of UNESCO resolutions invariably ‘*The General Conference*’ (Example 1). This type of non-finite clauses characterised by a high degree of semantic indeterminacy is termed ‘supplementive clauses’ (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999). (An alternative term is ‘free adjuncts’ as used by Kortman (1991) in order to highlight the potential of such clauses to function as apposition or a non-restrictive relative clause.) The preference given to non-finite clauses seems to reflect the written and highly formal character of the genre requiring a very condensed form of expression. The high frequency of occurrence of adverbial clauses is one of the characteristic features shared by legal and bureaucratic language, where they are considered to serve, together with relative clauses, the primary concern for clarity and disambiguation (Hiltunen 1990: 85, Charrow 1982: 180).

Types of adverbials	Single adverbs/ adverb phrases	Single nouns / NP	PP	Finite clauses	Non-finite clauses			Verbless adjective clauses
					<i>to</i> -inf.	<i>ing</i> -cl.	<i>ed</i> -cl.	
<i>Preparatory resolutions</i>	0	0	41	0	0	28	0	3
<i>Executive resolutions</i>	0	0	3	0	0	255	6	15
<i>Notes</i>	0	0	185	0	0	0	0	0
Total No	0	0	229	0	0	283	6	18
Total %	0	0	42.7	0	0	52.8	1.1	3.4

Table 1 Syntactic realizations of adverbials in resolutions

- (1) *The General Conference,*
Taking account of the urgent need for an adequate procedure for the evaluation of the admissibility of draft resolutions submitted by Member States for its consideration,
Requests that its President takes the necessary steps (...) (R87. 127)
- (2) *Resolution adopted on the report of Commission I at the 24th plenary meeting, on 16 November 1999.* (Note 1 to R55 and R 56. 89)

The high frequency of occurrence of adjuncts realized by prepositional phrases reflects their function in the textual structure to signal the obligatory setting element. The majority (80.8%) of the adjuncts realized by prepositional phrases occurs in the notes (Example 2) as the setting element is positioned outside the main text of the executive resolutions and in most of the preparatory resolutions.

3.2 *Semantic roles of adverbials*

The major semantic categories of non-clausal adjuncts are: place, time, process, contingency, extent/degree, addition/restriction, recipient, respect and other cases, where the description of the relationship between the adverbials and the rest of the clause is difficult (Biber et al. 1999).

Semantic category	Time - position	Contingency - cause	Total
<i>Preparatory resolutions</i>	23	18	41
<i>Executive resolutions</i>	3	0	3
<i>Notes</i>	129	56	185
Total No	155	74	229
Total %	67.7	32.3	100

Table 2 Distribution of semantic categories for non-clausal realizations of circumstance adverbials

As stated above, the non-clausal realizations of adjuncts are phrasal structures reflecting primarily the setting component of resolutions, i.e. they indicate position in time, specifying the exact date when the action took place, or referring to an event identifying the time of the action (Table 2). Both ways of conveying time-related meanings typically co-occur and the adverbials are in hierarchical relationship, the date indicating the more extended period, as the General Conference gathers in two plenary meetings per day. The order of the time-position adverbials reflects the common tendency for the superordinate adjunct to come after that which indicates a more specific period (Quirk et al. 1985: 533), as in:

- (3) *At its 3rd plenary meeting, on 27 October 1999, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Conference approved the plan for the organization of the work of the session submitted by the Executive Board (30 C/2 and Add.). (R05. 6)*

Since the 1999 '*Resolutions*' volume contains 18 preparatory resolutions, whose temporal setting is signalled in the notes, and only eight preparatory resolutions in which the setting indication is integrated in the main clause, it is not surprising that the frequency of occurrence of time adjuncts is considerably higher in the notes than in the body of the texts of resolutions.

The prepositional phrases realizing adjuncts which indicate semantic relations of contingency provide information concerning the grounds for performing the action. It is worth mentioning that the cause-reason spectrum of the sub-categories of the relation of contingency are closely related, the tendency being to associate cause with a relatively objective statement, while reason implies a more subjective assessment (Biber et al 1999: 779). As reference to the previous documents is of generally objective character, the prepositional phrases using formal complex prepositions typical of formal written language and in particular of legal English

(Quirk et al. 1985: 670, Dušková et al. 1988: 294, Bhatia 1993: 107) are considered to express causal relations based on intertextual reference (Example 4). Intertextuality is used here to refer to “the property of one text being used in another, either directly or by pragmatic implication” (Bhatia et al. 2004: 204).

- (4) *On the report of the Nominations Committee which had before it the proposals made by the Executive Board, and in accordance with Rule 29 of its Rules of Procedure, the General Conference at its plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, elected its General Committee as follows: (...)* (R04. 6)

The range of recurrent structures realizing non-clausal adjuncts is very restricted, as it includes four prepositional phrases indicating time and four prepositional phrases indicating contingency, the first two of the former and the last two of the latter category being variations of the same basic structure (Table 3). Moreover, while all but one of the four prepositional phrases indicating time may be regarded as exhibiting genuinely high reiterative potential, there is only one prepositional phrase indicating contingency which shows a high frequency of occurrence. The restricted range of prepositional phrases and the minimal variation in their wordings reflects a tendency towards the use of genre-specific formulaic sequences in resolutions.

Semantic category	Executive resolutions	Preparatory resolutions	Notes	Total
<i>Time-position</i>				
<i>At its xx plenary meeting</i>	1	11	0	12
<i>At the xx plenary meeting</i>	0	1	64	65
<i>At its xx session</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>On xx October/November 1999</i>	1	13	65	79
<i>Contingency-cause</i>				
<i>On the report of xxx Commission</i>	0	3	56	59
<i>On the recommendation of the xx Committee</i>	0	3	0	3
<i>In accordance with Rule xxx of its Rules of Procedure</i>	0	3	0	3
<i>In accordance with (paragraphs xx) Article xx of the Statutes of xx</i>	0	8	0	8

Table 3 Recurrent structures realizing non-clausal circumstance adverbials (with regard to semantic categories)

The distribution of prepositional phrases across the different types of texts shows that the majority of the non-clausal adjuncts appear in the notes. The frequency of occurrence of adverbials of time is more than twice that of contingency adverbials, which reflects the fact that the temporal setting is typically signalled by two co-occurring adverbials of time-position, one indicating the exact date when the action took place, the second referring to the event identifying the time of the action, while contingency is commonly indicated by one prepositional phrase.

The extremely low frequency of prepositional phrases in executive resolutions is due to the fact that the indication of the setting in executive resolutions is performed in the notes, while the cause-reason spectrum is signalled by clausal adverbials.

The semantic roles of clausal adverbials partially overlap with the semantic function of non-clausal realizations, i.e. they realize time, place, manner and contingency semantic categories; furthermore, clausal realizations may express preference and proportion. In addition, clausal adverbials can function as supplementive clauses – a category characterised by a considerable semantic indeterminacy, which “provides the speaker with the means for 1) denoting some proposition, 2) combining it with some other proposition, 3) and most importantly, presenting the former proposition as backgrounded for his/her current purposes in the provision of information in some piece of discourse by encoding it as a syntactically dependent construction” (Kortmann 1991: 113). Analysis of the material under investigation has shown that all occurrences of non-finite and verbless adverbial clauses functioning as main clause constituents are subjectless supplementive clauses. The highest proportion of supplementive clauses is used in the preamble of executive resolutions, which reflects the tendency to refer explicitly to other texts and to state the motivation for the action performed.

The semantic indeterminacy of a supplementive clause is restricted by “the set of semantic relations serving for a search domain for this supplementive clause ... [and] the distribution of logical roles relative to construction type, position and type of text, though several semantic relations may be interpreted as existing side by side” (Kortmann 1991: 113). Drawing on Kortmann (1991: 121) the semantic relations available to supplementive clauses are regarded as a scale ranging from the ‘more informative’ relations: concession, condition, instrument, cause/result, time (anteriority and posteriority), to the ‘less informative’: manner, exemplification, time (simultaneity), accompanying circumstance, addition. Furthermore, according to Quirk et al. (1985: 1124), the meaning relation implied by supplementive clauses is affected by their position in the sentence, i.e. they are considered to indicate background information in initial, parenthetical in medial and supplementary in final position. The full scale of semantic relations is potentially available only for present participle clauses without subordinator, while past participle and perfective constructions narrow the search domain (Kortmann 1991: 120). An additional factor affecting the meaning of *ing*-participle supplementive clauses is the semantics of the verb, i.e. verbs used dynamically tend to suggest a temporal link, and stative verbs a causal link (Quirk et al. 1985: 1124). Adjective supplementive clauses refer to an attribute or state of the subject, though in relation to the action performed (Quirk et al. 1985: 425).

As the function of the supplementive clauses in the corpus is to signal the motivation for the action, the meaning relation they imply is considered to be reason. Thus adjective and *ed*-clauses which by their realization pattern are bound to imply a more informative relation and *ing*-clauses referring to a state are considered to express a reason relation, as in:

- (5) *Recognizing the need for international and intercultural understanding, and for education for peace, democracy, human rights and sustainable development in the Asia-Pacific region, which has so much cultural diversity, urgent development needs and numerous possibilities for conflict, (R17. 40)*
- (6) *Convinced that the proposed International Adult Learners' Week will enrich International Literacy Day and strengthen its links to the larger adult learning movement to which it contributes, (R11. 34)*
- (7) *Mindful of the purposes and principles set out in UNESCO's Constitution, (R55. 89)*

In many cases, though, the adverbials realized by *ing*-clauses with verbs used dynamically imply a reason and time relationship, which may indicate either a less informative time-simultaneity relation (Example 8) or time-anteriority, signalled by the perfective participle (Example 9).

- (8) *Applauding the efforts made by the Haitian Government to further the building of democracy and national development, (R55. 89)*
- (9) *Having examined the report submitted by the Director-General, in accordance with 29 C/Resolution 36, on the implementation of activities on the ethical, legal and societal aspects of cyberspace, (R37. 73)*

Therefore, it may be concluded that the meaning relations implied by supplementary clauses in resolutions have relatively high informative value, i.e. reason/cause and time (anteriority) are more specific and require less co-textual/contextual evidence for their identification; time (simultaneity) is a less specific relation, however it always holds in combination with the more informative reason/cause semantic relation (Table 4).

Realization type	Semantic role		Total	
	Reason + time	Reason	No	%
<i>ing</i> -clauses with NP Co	192	28	220	71.7
<i>ing</i> -clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	57	5	62	20.2
<i>ing</i> -clauses with <i>to</i> -infinitive clause Co	0	1	1	0.3
<i>ed</i> -clauses with NP Co	0	3	3	1.0
<i>ed</i> -clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	0	3	3	1.0
adjective clauses with PP Co	0	13	13	4.2
adjective clauses with <i>that</i> -clause Co	0	5	5	1.6
Total No	249	58	307	-
Total %	81.1	18.9	-	100

Table 4 Realization types of supplementary adverbial clauses with regard to their semantic roles

The stylistically relevant patterns in supplementive clauses used in the preamble component of resolutions are based on verbs with recurrent noun phrase and *that*-clause complementation (Table 5). Complementation by noun phrase considerably prevails in the case of *ing*-clauses, which is due to the fact that many of the noun phrases with abstract noun heads are nominalizations used for condensation purposes typical in formal written registers (Example 10). Prominent use of nominalizations has also been noted as characteristic of legal English by Crystal & Davy (1969), Danet (1985) and Knittlová (1990).

- (10) *Also taking note of the establishment by the Director-General of the Advisory Committee for Linguistic Pluralism and Multilingual Education, in accordance with 29 C/ Resolution 38 (para. 2.B(b)), (R37. 73)*

Reason + time blends		Reason clauses	
<i>Structural pattern</i>	No	<i>Structural pattern</i>	No
acknowledging + NP	5	appreciative + PP	1
acknowledging + <i>that</i> -clause	1	appreciating + NP	2
acting + PP	1	aware + PP	1
applauding + NP	1	aware + <i>that</i> -clause	2
confirming + NP	1	bearing in mind + NP	7
considering + NP	9	bearing in mind + <i>that</i> -clause	4
considering + <i>that</i> -clause	21	being of the opinion + <i>that</i> -clause	1
emphasising + NP	2	believing + NP	2
endorsing + NP	5	concerned by + NP	2
having examined + NP	29	conscious + PP	6
having considered + NP	10	conscious + <i>that</i> -clause	1
having taken note of + NP	3	convinced + PP	1
noting + NP	15	convinced + <i>that</i> -clause	3
noting + <i>that</i> -clause	18	having been advised + NP	17
reaffirming + NP	5	intending + <i>to</i> -infinitive clause	1
recalling + NP	54	mindful + PP	5
recalling + <i>that</i> -clause	10	mindful + <i>that</i> -clause	2
recognizing + NP	18		
recognizing + <i>that</i> -clause	4		
referring to + NP	7		
stressing + NP	5		
stressing + <i>that</i> -clause	3		
taking account of + NP	2		
taking into account + NP	5		
taking note of + NP	6		
taking into consideration + NP	2		
underlining + NP	1		
welcoming + NP	6		
Total No	249	Total No	58
Total %	81.1%	Total %	18.9%

Table 5 Structural patterns of supplementive clauses with regard to their semantic role

As the frequency of occurrence of structural patterns suggests, only some syntactic patterns show high reiterative potential and thus may be expected to exhibit stylistically relevant multiple parallelism or to function as genre-specific formulaic sequences (as defined by Wray 2000 and Simpson 2004). Overall, only six of the 45 structures listed in Table 5 are repeated more than 15 times in the corpus and thus may be regarded as exhibiting very high reiterative potential. (For a detailed semantic and functional differentiation of supplementary clauses as elements of the preamble of resolutions see Dontcheva-Navratilova 2005). The structures with the highest frequency of occurrence perform the semantic role of reason and time blends and typically take the form of *ing*-clauses complemented by noun phrases, though the frequency of *ing*-clauses complemented by *that*-clauses is also relatively high.

The structures expressing reason are less numerous and generally show a lower frequency of occurrence. It is further necessary to stress that 16 of the reason and time blends and 14 of the reason supplementary clauses, i.e. 67.7 per cent of all the structural patterns, show low reiterative potential, i.e. they occur less than five times in the corpus. It may therefore be concluded that while the recurrence of supplementary clauses in resolutions is extremely high, only a restricted number of them may exhibit significant parallelism based on simple repetition. On the other hand, as several of the verbal elements introducing structural patterns may be regarded as of generally synonymous meaning, parallelism patterns may be extended on the basis of lexical cohesive relations.

3.3 Position of adverbials

The analysis of adverbial placement in the present study is undertaken in agreement with Virtanen's view that "sentence-level phenomena such as adverbial placement cannot be fully accounted for if the text and discourse which the sentence is part of is not taken into consideration; further that in the instance of conflict, the demands of the text and discourse are given a higher weight than those of the canonical sentence; and finally, that text type is of crucial importance in any study of text" (Virtanen 1992: 336).

The placement of adverbials in the clause – initial, medial or final – is influenced by five factors: grammatical function, semantic category, realization type, syntactic structure/length of the adverbial and information structuring and theme-rheme development. Since all the adverbials under investigation were categorized as optional, the factor grammatical function will not be taken into consideration. The distinction between predicational and sentential adverbials, however, influences the choice of position, generally restricting the options for predicational adverbials to final position, which is reflected in the text of the notes. The factors semantic category and realization type, as well as syntactic structure and length are regarded as primary in influencing the choice of adverbials position in the corpus. The last factor, information structuring and theme-rheme development, is regarded as very important in the choice of position of optional sentential ad-

verbials as it reflects to a great extent the demands the text type imposes on the text.

Position	Prepositional phrases		Supplementive clauses		Total No	Total %
	Time	Cause	Time+reason	Reason		
Executive resolutions						
Initial	2	0	0	0	2	0.4
Medial	1	0	221	55	277	51.6
Final	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prep. resolutions						
Initial	21	7	0	0	28	5.2
Medial	2	1	28	3	34	6.3
Final	0	10	0	0	10	1.9
Notes						
Initial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medial	0	0	0	0	0	0
Final	129	56	0	0	185	34.6

Table 6 Position of circumstance adverbials according to realization types and semantic categories

The findings of the analysis (Table 6) suggest that adverbials realized by prepositional phrases typically occupy the most common initial and final positions for adverbials in the clause (Quirk et al. 1985: 500, Biber et al. 1999: 801), showing preference for final position, while supplementive clauses are used in medial position, which is highly untypical (Biber et al. 1999: 830). The preference for final position is the most obviously present in the notes, where all prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials of cause and as adverbials of time occur after the verb, as in:

- (11) *Resolution adopted on the report of Commission IV at the 25th plenary meeting, on 16 November 1999.* (Note to R30 and R31. 67)

In preparatory resolutions, there is a strong tendency for adverbials of time to occur in initial position (Example 12). The placement of adverbials of cause may be regarded as functionally related to the issue treated in the resolutions as they tend to appear in initial position in preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues (Example 13) and in final position in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections (Example 14).

- (12) *At its plenary meeting, on 17 November 1999, the General Conference paid tribute to the Chairperson of the Executive Board and adopted the following resolution: (...)* (R07. 8)

(13) *On the report of the Credentials Committee or on the report of the Chairperson specially authorized by the Committee, the General Conference recognized as valid the credentials of: (...) (R01. 1)*

(14) *The General Conference*

Elects, in accordance with Article III of the Statutes of the UNESCO International Bureau of Education, the following Member States to be members of the Council of the Bureau until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: (...) (R012. 12)

The choice of position of the adverbials of time is strongly influenced by information structuring and theme-rheme development in the text. In the notes (Example 12), the communication is perspectived towards adverbials of time in final position, which bear the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the clause and therefore belong to the rhematic sphere and perform the dynamic communicative function of specification. Consequently, according to a general tendency in written language to follow the principles of end-focus and end-weight (Quirk et al 1985: 1357, Leech & Svartvik 1975: 175), the rhematic elements are situated in final position. The information expressed by the adverbials of time cannot be regarded as genuinely new, as the framing context is introduced by the title of the ‘*Resolutions*’ volume. Nevertheless, the adverbials of time in the notes particularize the exact plenary meeting and date of adoption of the resolution, which are irretrievable from the immediately preceding context (Firbas 1992: 52) and therefore, they are context independent.

In the preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, the adverbial phrases indicating time-position occur in initial position. Since in the preparatory resolutions the sentences are perspectived towards the result or the recipient of the action signalled by the verb, rather than to the time of the action, adverbials of time in initial position are considered to be carriers of the dynamic function of setting (Example 12). They belong to the thematic sphere of the sentence and perform the function of diatheme, as they introduce context-bound but irretrievable information (Svoboda 1989: 28). This interpretation is in conformity with Firbas (1992: 50–54), who claims that while context dependent adverbials always serve as setting, context-independent adverbials serve as setting when used in initial position, if they are not prevented from doing so by the semantic character of the adverbials and the character of their semantic relations. Furthermore, according to Virtanen (1992: 27), for optional adverbials of time and place which function as setting for the rest of the clause or sentence, the initial position is regarded as “a natural position as the scene or the background is preferably expressed before the foregrounded part of the clause or sentence, before the phenomenon that appears on the scene or the action that takes place there”. It should be mentioned that the initial position is considered to be crucial from a textual point of view (Virtanen 1992: 15), as it gives added salience to the time adverbial, thus stressing the importance of the setting element, which has a cohesive function in the frame of the ‘*Resolutions*’ volume.

The final position of adverbials of cause in the notes is influenced by their predicational character (Quirk et al 1985: 511). The position of adverbials of cause in preparatory resolutions varies. In preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, adverbials of cause occur typically in initial position (Example 13) and, similarly to the adverbials of time in initial position, their placement is influenced by their thematic character, the sentence being perspectived towards the result of the action and not towards the grounds of the decision. These findings support Uhlířová's research into the association of the semantic categories of adverbials and their role in functional sentence perspective (Uhlířová 1974: 101), i.e. adverbials of time tend to belong to the thematic sphere, while adverbials of the cause/reason spectrum are relatively equally distributed between the thematic and the rhematic sphere of the sentence.

The choice of final position immediately after the verb for adverbials of cause in the preparatory resolutions dealing with elections reflects the difference between the textual function of adverbials realized by the prepositional phrase including the complex preposition *in accordance with*, i.e. to refer to a document which strictly specifies the obligation to follow a specific procedure, from the textual function of supplementary clauses in medial position, i.e. to refer to a general textual authority (Bhatia et al. 2004: 206), as in:

- (15) *The General Conference,*
Recalling 20 C/Resolution 4/7.6/5, by which it approved the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation, Elects, in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article II of the Statutes of the Committee, as amended by 28 C/Resolution 22, the following Member States to be members of the Committee until the end of the 32nd session of the General Conference: (...) (R019. 14–15)

Supplementary clauses in the corpus occur in executive resolutions (Example 16) and in preparatory resolutions dealing with elections (Example 15) and are invariably placed in medial position immediately after the antecedent. Therefore, they modify the whole sentence, and provide backgrounded information which implies the assumption that the addressees are familiar with the context and share the same world-view, thus making the action performed coherent with the previous actions of the addressor.

- (16) *The General Conference,*
Taking account of the urgent need for an adequate procedure for the evaluation of the admissibility of draft resolutions submitted by Member States for its consideration,
Requests that its President take the necessary steps to enable the Legal Committee to review, as soon as possible and before its next ordinary session, Part XIV of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference, in

particular to ensure that this Part contains objective and verifiable admissibility criteria for such draft resolutions. (R87. 127)

Since supplementary clauses provide contextually bound though irretrievable information and the communication in the one-sentence texts of resolutions is perceived towards the result and if available the recipient of the action in the main clause, supplementary clauses are considered to belong to the thematic sphere of the sentence and to perform the function of diatheme. These findings are in conformity with the findings reported in Chamonikolasová's research on loose elements, stating that loose sentence constituents function as rheme proper or diatheme (Chamonikolasová 1987: 99–101).

Adverbials in resolutions tend to occur in homosemantic or heterosemantic series, which may be regarded as genre-specific formulaic sequences (Table 7). Since in the corpus all supplementary clauses express primarily reason relations, for the purposes of this analysis multiple occurrences of supplementary clauses in one sentence will be regarded as instances of homosemantic series of adverbials. The series of adverbials with notable frequency are the homosemantic series of supplementary clauses and the heterosemantic series of time and cause adverbials, realized by prepositional phrases. While the heterosemantic series is common in the notes, the homosemantic series appears mostly in the executive and in the preparatory resolutions. The last quantitatively significant series is the homosemantic series of time adverbials, whose frequency of occurrence is considerably lower.

Type of series	Homosemantic series									Heterosemantic series		
	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F	I	M	F
Preparatory resolutions	8	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0
Executive resolutions	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	0	0	0	0
Notes	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	65
Total No	17			1			56			67		
Total %	12.1			0.7			39.7			47.5		

Table 7 Frequencies of homosemantic and heterosemantic series of circumstance adverbials in association with their semantic role and position

The homosemantic series of supplementary clauses in executive resolutions may include a considerable number of adverbial clauses coordinated asyndetically by commas and forming separate paragraphs, a tendency typical of written highly specialized discourses as the legal and the bureaucratic discourse (Crystal and Davy 1969: 204, Hiltunen 1990: 71). In the corpus, 15 of the homosemantic series of supplementary clauses include two adverbials which tend to express intertextual reference, while occurrences of series of more than three clauses typically indicate both motivation for the resulting action and intertextual reference. The

order of supplementary clauses in the series seems to follow the importance or the logical sequence of the reasons for the action performed rather than grammatical considerations.

The series of homosemantic time adverbials, consisting of two prepositional phrases, are characteristic of preparatory resolutions dealing with administrative issues, where they occur in initial position belonging to the thematic sphere of the sentence, and in notes, where they occur in final position belonging to the rhematic part of the sentence. In both cases the order of adverbials follows the tendency, which establishes a preference for more specific time adverbials referring to time in the day (in the case of resolutions indicated by an event) to come first, the second adverbial denoting a longer period, especially the day itself, as in:

(17) *At its 1st plenary meeting, on 26 October 1999, the General Conference (...)*
(R01. 1)

(18) *Resolution adopted at the 16th plenary meeting, on 5 November 1999.* (Note to R08. 8)

The frequency of occurrence of homosemantic time-time series in initial position is considerably higher than the frequency of heterosemantic time-time-cause series, while in final position the situation is reversed. This is due to the fact that the majority of resolutions are adopted on the basis of the report of commissions, which is explicitly stated in the notes. Thus the heterosemantic cause-time-time series occurs with prominent frequency in final position in the notes. The order in the series is influenced by the fact that adverbials of cause are predicational and thus closer integrated with the meaning of the verb, while adverbials of time are sentential and therefore, as loosely integrated in the clause structure, appear in end position (Example 19). The sequence of adverbials of time is governed by the same principle as the order of adverbials of time in the homosemantic time-time series.

(19) *Resolution adopted on the report of the Administrative Commission at the 23rd plenary meeting, on 15 November 1999.* (Note to R80. 123)

The textual and stylistic importance of the position of adverbials in series in the text of resolutions is crucial for two reasons. Firstly, they indicate two components of the text structure: the setting and the preamble, which by their relation to the framing context and to the shared background knowledge of the participants typically assign them to the thematic sphere of the sentences. Secondly, they serve as a basis for structural parallelism inside the text of individual resolutions and may be regarded as forming genre-specific formulaic sequences. Thus, drawing on Virtanen's hypothesis that adverbial placement depends on text genre (Virtanen 1992), it is possible to claim that the genre of resolutions is characterised by the occurrence of homosemantic series of supplementary adverbial clauses in

medial position, homosemantic semantic series of time-time prepositional adverbials in initial position in preparatory resolutions and heterosemantic series of cause-time-time prepositional adverbials in final position in the notes.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the corpus of UNESCO resolutions has proved that some patterns of adverbial structures may be regarded as functional markers of the genre of resolutions.

The findings of the research have evidenced that all the adverbials functioning as main clause constituents are optional sentential adjuncts which show two realization patterns each of which is associated with a particular structural component of the text and with a sub-genre of resolutions. Furthermore, the adverbial structures in resolutions tend to occur in series, the placement of which is affected by functional sentence perspective and text sub-type factors. Thus phrasal adverbial structures typically occur as homosemantic series of time-time prepositional adverbials in initial position in preparatory resolutions and as heterosemantic series of cause-time-time prepositional adverbials in final position in notes and express the temporal element of the setting component of text structure. Clausal adverbial structures, which have a high reiterative potential, occur as homosemantic series of supplementary clauses in medial position in executive resolutions and preparatory resolutions dealing with elections and reflect the preamble component which indicates intertextual reference and motivation for the action performed. The restricted range of prepositional phrases with minimal variation in their wordings and the recurrent clausal patterns exhibit stylistically relevant multiple parallelisms and reflect a tendency towards the use of genre-specific formulaic sequences in resolutions.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the following features of resolutions overlap with aspects of legal and bureaucratic discourse as described by Charrow (1982), Danet (1985) and Hiltunen (1990): intertextuality and lack of context (the supplementary clauses in the preamble of resolutions imply the assumption that the addressees are familiar with the context and share the same world view), the use of numerous adverbial clauses serving the primary concern for clarity and disambiguation, the occurrence of intrusive complex structures in medial position, the use of asyndetically coordinated clauses which form separate paragraphs, and the presence of nominalizations and formulaic sequences.

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