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## Adverbials of ‘Manner’ and ‘Manner Plus’ in Written English: Why Initial Placement?

### Abstract

Adverbials of manner are often regarded as prototypical; yet, there is important variation within the postulated category and a great deal of fuzziness at the edges of this multifaceted theoretical notion. The present study draws a line between two broad categories: ‘manner’ and ‘manner plus’, i.e. semantic blends. Informed by text and discourse linguistics, the focus of the paper is on linearization in written English – in particular, on the strong motivations needed for a non-typical, syntactically marked placement of manner (plus) adverbials at the outset of a clause or sentence, in what is generally also a stylistically dispreferred position. Initial placement is shown to provide an optimal textual fit in two kinds of writing: instructive texts and narratives, where manner (plus) adverbials serve to index contexts for fundamentally different communicative goals. They benefit from the textual potential of the initial slot, adding a particular value to the textual fit.

### 1. Introduction

The category of ‘manner’ figures prominently in morphosyntactic and semantic analyses of various theoretical orientations. The semantics of manner is often examined in relation to verb meanings, such as *tiptoe* or *whisper*. In grammars and syntactic studies, references to manner typically appear in discussions of adverb(ial)s / adjuncts. There is an overt or tacit assumption that adverbs (form) and adverbials/adjuncts (function) of manner are prototypical in terms of their morphology, syntax and semantics. The adverb(ial) *carefully* in *she analysed the data carefully* thus seems unproblematic: it manifests the expected morphology as it incorporates the prototypical *-ly* suffix, it modifies the head of the VP, and specifying the manner in which the event depicted in the VP took place, it can be paraphrased as ‘in a careful manner’. In this example *carefully* appears in its syntactically unmarked ‘ad-verbial’ (final) position, within the VP, after the verb and its object.

Yet, it is not a straightforward task to pin down what counts as an expression of ‘manner’ and where the boundaries of such a multifaceted theoretical notion should go. Narrowing the focus to manner adverbials raises the issue of the nature and limits of the internal variation of what is included in the postulated category. It is obvious that individual adverbials of manner exhibit properties which differ from one another to an extent where a separate investigation of each lexical item may be motivated. In addition to grammatical characteristics, such investigations profitably take into account collocational patterns and textual behaviour in relation to text type, genre and register.

In this paper a crude distinction is drawn between ‘manner’ and ‘manner plus’, the latter incorporating semantic blends between categories identified in the relevant literature. Informed by text and discourse linguistics, the focus of the paper is on linearization – in particular, on the strong motivations needed for a non-typical, syntactically marked placement of manner adverbials at the beginning of a clause or sentence, in what is generally also a stylistically dispreferred position. Yet, initial placement may be argued to provide an optimal textual fit in two kinds of writing: instructive texts and narratives. It will be shown that the profile of such a textually unmarked placement of manner plus adverbials is to a large extent consonant with that of the ‘plus’ element of the particular adverbial.

In what follows, the distinction between manner and manner plus is first explored in broad terms, to single out default positions in the clause. The two text types, instructive and narrative, are then examined in light of instances of clause-initial adverbials of manner (plus). A corpus study of a set of relevant lexical items is conducted to investigate the extent to which they appear in various kinds of writing. It is argued that clause-initial adverbials of manner in instructive and narrative texts serve to index contexts for fundamentally different communicative goals.

## 2. ‘Manner’ and ‘manner plus’

Adverbial categorization is a classic topic in linguistics, and explorations of their semantics alone yield many criteria for such an exercise. Even manner adverbials, the most prototypical ones, exhibit a good deal of semantic variation. Many grammars separate four subcategories of what Quirk et al. (1985: 556ff) call ‘process adjuncts’. The concrete ‘means’ and ‘instrument’ are distinguished from the less concrete ‘manner’, e.g. *she did*

*it surgically / with a knife vs skillfully*. 'Agent' adjuncts are separated from the rest, or from 'means' adjuncts, as 'internalised complements' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 670–674), e.g. *she was cheated by her competitors vs she travelled by train*. Another subcategory is comparison, e.g. *he cooks like the French / as the French do*, part of manner adverbials proper in many approaches. More subclasses are distinguished by Biber et al. (1999: 778), for instance, that of 'accompaniment', e.g. *she left with her husband – not by herself* (see also 'company' in Dik 1989: 195–196; cf. the 'comitative' case, for instance, in Finnish). But the existing subcategorizations still leave us with a large bulk of 'manner' adverbials which show a high degree of intracategorical semantic variation as is apparent from the following alphabetical list of manner adverbials picked out from various grammars: *abruptly, accidentally, angrily, awkwardly, beautifully, carefully, categorically, clearly, coldly, deliberately, discretely, eloquently, erratically, expertly, fervently, firmly, gloomily, gradually, happily, hastily, irretrievably, loudly, quickly, rudely, skil(l)fully, sloppily, slowly, smoothly, stupidly, systematically, tentatively, thoroughly, typically, unsteadily*. It is thus to be expected that particular studies will include some but not all of these in their postulated category of manner adverbials.

There is a continuum of manner plus phenomena, i.e. semantic blends between manner and some other category. Some are clear blends while the classification of others rather relies on the perspective and level of delicacy adopted in the particular study. At one end of the continuum there is the subtle blend between manner adverbials and those of 'result'. Hence, the following adverbials can be argued to also convey the result of what took place in a particular manner: *irretrievably, successfully, perfectly*. Some of these have been dealt with as 'degree of perfection' manner adverbials (cf. e.g. the discussions of *perfectly, well, poorly* in Ernst 2002; 2004), as separate from adverbials of 'measure'. Decisions concerning the inclusion of individual items into something like 'manner plus result' adverbials, rather than a category of their own such as 'result' adverbials proper, vary in the semantically oriented literature. At the other end of the continuum of manner plus phenomena, another important semantic hybrid is that of manner and 'time', often referring to the 'duration' of the process, its speed, as in *gradually, quickly, slowly*. Here the temporal plus component is more readily singled out, and these, too, can be separated from manner adverbials in fine-graded classifications (see e.g. 'aspect-manner' adverbials in Ernst 2002: 85; and the discussion of their temporal interpretations in Quirk et al. 1985: 560). It is also possible to indicate the

manner in which motion takes place, for instance, as a metaphor of ‘direction’ in *crabwise*. Manner of motion is, however, usually expressed with the help of the lexical verb, a rich source of expressions of manner in English (see e.g. Caballero 2007, and references therein; for other languages, see e.g. Nikanne 2000 on manner of motion in Finnish).

Expressions of manner (plus) readily contribute to evaluation in the text. The propositional, syntactically integrated ‘manner plus result’ adverbials discussed above provide ample evidence: witness, for instance, *perfectly* functioning in the service of evaluation in *she had timed her arrival perfectly*. The judgement of something having been done *perfectly* not only indicates manner and the ‘perfect’ result, with full intensification, but also makes an evaluation of the process, and indirectly of the abilities of its actor. Evaluation is indeed pervasive in all language use and people will have to make an effort to silence it if they feel that is what is demanded by the genre and context they are engaged in – which suggests that silenced affect is just a very special category of evaluation. Talking about the manner in which an action or event takes place provides writers and interlocutors with a prime locus of the expression of evaluative meanings.

In addition to the ‘degree of perfection’ adverbials of manner such as *beautifully* in *she sang beautifully*, there are other good candidates for explicit evaluation. Hence something can be done, say, *angrily*, *casually* or *with great care*, where – unlike *beautifully* in this example or *perfectly*, above – the evaluative meaning is much more clearly also associated with the actor even though the judgement is not primarily one of the personal characteristics of the referent but explicitly directed at the act or event in question. Hence, in *she analysed the data with great care* and *she replied angrily / casually*, we also understand that the actor’s contribution to the act or activity whose manner is being evaluated is concomitant with the positive or negative judgement made by the speaker or writer. In other words, we infer that she was ‘careful’, ‘angry’, ‘casual’, but not ‘beautiful’ in the first example in this paragraph, or ‘perfect’ in the example above (see the discussion in Bartsch 1976; Frey 2003). This interpretation is reinforced by placing such adverbials before the subject, and most treatises accordingly assign such clause-initial sentence adverbials to a category distinct from manner adjuncts; cf. e.g. the ‘subject-oriented subjuncts’ in Quirk et al. (1985: 573) as in *casually, she greeted the stranger*. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 672) call such instances ‘secondary manner

adjuncts', thus keeping them in the category (e.g. *angrily, he stormed out of the room*).

Adverbials of manner indicating evaluation such as *cleverly, happily* or *sadly* are thus always also implicitly related to the alleged characteristics, temporary or permanent, of the participant, who is tacitly deemed to be 'clever', 'happy' or 'sad' in performing the particular act or activity specified and explicitly evaluated by the adverbial: *she solved the problem cleverly; she was singing happily / sadly*. Otherwise it will be necessary to state the unexpected, e.g. *she was singing happily but / even though she was not happy at all*. But adverbials sharing lexical form with these manner adjuncts are peripheral elements in the clause or sentence when they appear at its outset or are separated from it through prosody or punctuation. They function at another (meta-)level in the text, and the interpretation is then one of the speaker's or writer's evaluation of what is said. Stating *cleverly, she solved the problem* means that it was, in the speaker's or writer's view, a clever thing to do, and in *sadly, she was singing* the event referred to is similarly judged as sad, not the singing. In *frankly, she spoke her mind* the evaluation is instead of the speaker's or writer's own way of speaking ('I am speaking frankly when I say that she spoke her mind'), in contrast to *she spoke her mind frankly*, where we have an adjunct of manner, integrated in the clause ('she was speaking in a frank manner').

Grammars and studies accordingly make a distinction between (i) adverbials (adjuncts) of manner which are 'integrated' in clause structure, part of its propositional content, and typically placed in final or (less often) mid-position, within the VP that they modify (or complement), and (ii) 'peripheral' adverbials, which include their metatextual homonyms, conveying a comment on what is said or how it is said, or specifying the way in which it relates to what was stated previously or will be stated in the subsequent text. Hence, we find discussions of peripheral adverbials in terms of different kinds of 'disjuncts' and 'conjuncts' in Greenbaum (1969); and Quirk et al. (1985) – as contrasted with the relatively integrated 'adjuncts', to which manner adverbials belong. Biber et al. (1999) present a similar classification, distinguishing the peripheral 'stance' and 'linking' adverbials from the integrated 'circumstance' adverbials. Peripheral adverbials in Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 577–578, 1360; 2005: 79–80) appear as 'supplements' (as contrasted with 'modifiers'). They would seem to cover the 'speech-act related', 'modal', 'evaluative', and 'connective adjuncts' singled out in Huddleston and Pullum (2002). In view of the

instances that defy this major distinction in the grammar of adverbials, there are categories such as the various kinds of ‘subjuncts’ in Quirk et al. (1985), including several adjunct classes in Huddleston and Pullum (2002), for instance, their ‘domain adjuncts.’ Still another classification is proposed by Frey (2003), who includes manner adjuncts in ‘process-related adjuncts’, a category distinct from ‘event-internal adjuncts’ (such as instrumentals), ‘event-external adjuncts’, ‘frame adjuncts’ and ‘sentence adjuncts.’ See also Shaer’s (2004) discussion of adverbial ‘orphans’ in grammar; arguments for the semantic basis of the syntax of adverbials in Ernst (2002); and the treatment of adverbials in functional grammar in, for instance, Dik (1989).

In this study the focus is on ‘adjuncts’ in Quirk et al.’s (1985) terms. Manner plus phenomena are semantic blends but they are not members of adverbial categories of the peripheral kind. Yet, some of the borderline instances of subject-oriented subjuncts will be included in the discussion, in line with Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002) notion of secondary manner adjuncts.

While the majority of manner (plus) adverbials are modifiers, some obligatory adjuncts function very much like complements, because of their close valency ties to the lexical verb licensing them; cf. e.g. *frugally* in *they lived frugally*, *easily* in *the report reads easily* and *badly* in *they behaved badly to our students*. For discussions of syntactically and/or semantically obligatory adjuncts, valency adverbials, adjuncts as complements, see e.g. Dik 1989; Dowty 2003; Enkvist 1981; Goldberg 2001; Jackendoff 1972; Quirk et al. 1985; Virtanen 1992a.

Exploring various ‘manner plus phenomena’ is one way of delimiting and understanding the core of the category ‘manner’ – by differentiating it from other categories adjacent to it. Another way is from within the category: the collocational patterns in which manner adverbials participate can be expected to shed light on the range of intracategorical variation and the dimensions that cut across the nexus that we call manner. It is also crucial to consider the use of manner adverbials in various genres, registers, text types, styles and the like.

### **3. Placement of manner (plus) adverbials in the clause**

For the present discussion of placement in the clause it is sufficient to distinguish three zones, each of them consisting of a number of possible slots which can be further explored where expedient. Adverbials can thus



often subtle, meanings, many of which can be related to their plus element. Even in non-final positions, however, the adverbials under discussion in the present study still receive a manner interpretation and are syntactically integrated into clause structure.

Manner adverbials thus tend not to appear in initial position other than occasionally, and even then, this slot is not available to all of them. Further, while lexically identical adverbials can be found at the beginning of a clause or sentence, they are likely to function as subjuncts and disjuncts of various kinds, rather than adjuncts of manner (see the discussion in section 2, above). Such interpretations are called for in a range of central slots, too, making the mid-zone an especially tricky one to investigate. But the intricacies of mid-zone placement in relation to tense, aspect, mood and voice, which necessitate inclusion of auxiliaries of various kinds, lie beyond the scope of the present study.

There is a principled discussion in the syntactic literature of the extent to which adverbials in different positions sharing lexical form can be considered homonyms, or whether they should rather be regarded as different interpretations or readings, to be treated under separate analyses (cf. e.g. Dik 1989; Ernst 2002; Frey 2003; Shaer 2003). A central point of disagreement among sentence grammarians has to do with the modelling of adverbials of manner in non-final position (along with other process-related and event-internal adjuncts, which are typically contrasted with adverbials of wide scope). For some, they have been moved into a non-canonical slot from their default final position; for others they must instead be generated higher up in the tree. For discussions, see e.g. Ernst 2002; Frey 2003; Jackendoff 1972; Shaer 2003; for manner adverbials in Finnish, see Manninen 2003. Apart from the many analyses in the literature of adverbials manifesting lexical shape-sharing in clause-initial and clause-final positions, the mid-zone offers challenging data for studies of the syntactic and semantic factors that influence interpretations of the individual adverbials placed in the various mid-positions.

In a textually oriented study, the question whether or not manner (plus) adverbials have been moved to initial position from somewhere else is of less interest. What is crucial is the fact that people choose to start clauses and sentences using them, and the analysis is accordingly focused on the textual and discursal motivations for doing so as well as on the effects that such decisions have on the emerging discourse and the processes of contextualization.



When adverbials of manner (plus) appear clause-finally, they are good candidates for end-weight and carriers of new information, which may be evaluated. In mid-position, preceding the head verb, they are still a central part of the predicate and syntactically more conspicuous. In textual terms, however, unless they are long and separated with commas (or prosody), they are here relatively invisible and hence, they appear in a slot allowing possibly tacit evaluation of the process which is given end-weight in the clause or sentence.

Initial placement is rare and it is therefore often not dealt with at all in connection with manner adverbials, apart from the recent sentence-grammar discussions referred to above. Yet, such a conspicuous placement invites discourse-linguistic analyses of its motivations and effects. Two types of text have been identified as possible sources of examples of clause-initial adverbials of manner: instructive and narrative texts (Virtanen 1992a). In what follows, we will see that when adverbials of manner (plus) do appear clause-initially, very strong textual forces are at play.

#### 4. Clause-initial adverbials of manner (plus) in instructive texts

Clause-initial adverbials of manner (plus) are easy to spot in recipes; consider the following examples from Swann (1987).

- (1a) *Gradually* add the cooled curry stock and blend until smooth. (p. 35)
- (1b) *Thinly* slice the radish and cucumber. Slice the strawberries and kiwi fruit. (p. 57)
- (1c) *Roughly* chop each of the vegetables, then steam separately until tender, 15–20 minutes. (p. 61)
- (1d) *Finely* grate the rind from 1 lemon, then squeeze the juice from all 3 lemons. (p. 72)

These sentence-initial manner adverbials have a plus element: 'time/duration' in (1a) and 'result' in (1b–d). Yet, all fit their texts and may be argued to be in an optimal position in view of the procedural character of the texts. While appearing adjacent to the (imperative) verb conveying the task to be undertaken in this particular fashion, they are, at the same time, in a textually prominent position. This initial slot allows them to highlight the manner of the process as crucial information, in contrast to what would be possible if they were placed in end-position (cf. e.g. *slice the radish and cucumber thinly*). End-position is textually prominent but for very different reasons as compared to initial position: witness, for instance, the likelihood of weighty elements being placed there,

expectations of the main inferencing effort being made at the informational focus (conveying new information), and anticipations raised concerning the immediately following co-text. In (1a–d), however, it would be too late to specify the manner and give it end-weight in the sentence as the (novice) cook might fail to pay attention to it, or s/he might already at that point have sliced the radish and cucumber in a rough manner or added the stock all at once. These examples thus aptly illustrate the principle of placing ‘crucial information first’, discussed in Enkvist (1989).

As shown in (2), below, adverbials of manner are not automatically or predominantly placed initially in such texts. Apart from the two instances of initial *gently*, the first conveying crucial information to anyone trying to heat milk, there are a number of adverbials of manner in the text which have been placed non-initially. Hence, there is not, for instance, the same urgency here in expressing the manner of kneading *lightly* after refrigeration.

- (2) BRIOCHE DOUGH [Description of dish, followed by a list of ingredients.]  
*Gently* heat the milk until tepid then blend with the yeast in a small bowl. Place the flour, salt and sugar in a mixing bowl. Mix in the yeast and eggs, one at a time. Knead for 10 minutes either using a mixer or by hand on a floured board. Next work in the butter a little at a time until it is completely incorporated. The dough should be smooth, glossy and quite soft. Place in a floured bowl, cover and leave in a warm place for about 1 hour or until the dough has doubled in size. Turn on to a floured board and knock back by *gently* kneading for 5 minutes. If time allows, cover the bowl again and refrigerate overnight. Knead lightly, then shape the dough into 8 balls. Place on a greased baking sheet cover with oiled polythene, and leave to rise until doubled in size. Glaze with beaten egg then bake at 425°F/220°C/gas mark 7 for 15–20 minutes until golden brown. (p. 51)

This use of initial adverbials of manner is not, however, confined to recipes; instructive texts appear in many different genres. For instance, instructions for physical exercise of various kinds manifest adverbials of manner in initial position, not infrequently those of ‘manner plus time/duration’, as in (3) below. Note that the italics appear in the original.

- (3) How To Do the Preliminary Leg Pull
1. Sit on the floor with your legs extended straight out in front of you, feet together and backs of the knees touching the floor.
  2. Extend your arms straight out in front of you so that your hands are at eye level.
  3. *Very slowly* stretch as far forward as you can and aim your hands for the farthest part of your legs.

4. Grasp the farthestmost part of your legs that you can hold without strain. This may be the knee, calf, ankle, foot or toe. (Fig. 1)
5. **Gently, in slow motion**, bend your elbows outward and pull yourself forward and downward until you reach the point beyond which you can no longer stretch comfortably. Stop wherever this movement becomes difficult, for there is never to be any strain in the practice of Yoga. Hold your extreme position absolutely motionless for the advised number of seconds. Do not fidget, fight or strain. (Fig. 2)
6. When the count is completed, *very slowly*, raise your trunk to the upright position. Rest easily for several moments and repeat as advised. (Hittleman 1963: 33–34. Italics in the original.)

Placing adverbials of manner at the outset of a clause or sentence serves to extend their syntactic and semantic scope. Unlike temporal and locative signals of text strategy (discussed e.g. in Virtanen 1992a), however, adverbials of manner in an initial slot have a relatively narrow textual scope. They typically function in the clause (see step 3), and occasionally in the sentence (see step 5). Yet, scrutiny of the above text raises the issue of their textual functions beyond the particular step in the instruction that they are prefacing. In other words, the repetition of references to the slow character of motion, in syntactically iconic structures, may be argued to have textual implications. While the text strategy is action-oriented, consisting of a temporally sequential chain of micro-actions needed to be performed to achieve the goal of the macro-action, there is the insistence of performing this particular macro-action in a slow, gentle manner, foregrounded through lexical repetition, the parallelism of syntactically iconic structures, and the clause-initial placement, which adds to the urgency of the information and helps readers interpret the slow manner of action as crucial.

Text (3) has many instances where it is expedient to have the adverbial out of the way to free the end zone for information that anticipates the particular continuation in various ways; consider again in this light, for instance, steps 3 and 5. In instructions it is profitable to construct sentences which conform to the temporal iconicity of the intended motion. To digress: the sentence-initial adverbial of time, *when the count is completed*, at the beginning of the final step of the exercise, refers to the counting advised at the end of the preceding step. It conforms to the inherently temporal text strategy of instructions, here present in the form of the succession of the micro-actions and the abstraction of listing the sequence of steps. This adverbial clause precedes the main clause in

accordance with a temporally iconic ordering, ‘experiential iconicity’ (Enkvist 1981), which determines text structure in instructive texts.

It is, of course, possible to argue that the clause-initial adverbials of manner in (1)–(3) do not, in fact, occur in an initial position, before the subject, i.e. the implicit ‘you’ of the imperative verb, even though, for instance, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 781) do assign them to front position. In textual terms, however, they occur at the outset of the micro-action that they refer to.

To round off this section, the genres making use of instructive text may exhibit a relatively small set of lexical items that regularly occur as clause-initial adverbials of manner and the lexical verb of action. These can be interpreted as a ‘construction’, consisting of the initially placed manner adverbial, immediately followed by the imperative form of the action verb and its dependents:

$$\text{Adv}^{\text{Manner}} + \text{Imp}^{\text{Action}} + \text{Dependents}$$

Such a construction may thus be argued to function as a ‘genre marker’.

## 5. Clause-initial adverbials of manner (plus) in narrative texts

The other text type identified above as manifesting clause-initial adverbials of manner is narrative. The motivations for this placement are several. There may be local concerns in the text such as a need to reserve the end-position to elements of greater weight which will be elaborated on in the subsequent text. And such an ordering may conform to temporal iconicity (experiential iconicity) but it may also conform to ‘structural iconicity’. In (4), below, the initial placement of the manner adverbial *with infinite care* allows for a (structurally iconic) grouping together of the three actions of freeing the dog, setting it down and giving it water, presented in a temporally iconic order. But the initial slot has textual potential in itself, which has an effect on its fillers. Hence, the textual scope of *with infinite care* is indeterminate: it is not clear from the (decontextualized) example whether the whole sequence was performed with infinite care or just the freeing of the dog; we ultimately need inferencing from our encyclopedic knowledge to determine its textual scope. The indeterminacy of textual scope – in relation to its clause, the entire sentence or perhaps several of them – may come in especially handy for writers of argumentative texts (see e.g. the discussion in Virtanen 2004).

- (4) *With infinite care*, Atlas freed the dog, and set it down safely on nothing and gave it water to drink. (Winterson 2005: 126)

The following paragraph from the beginning of a dialogue between the “young revo” Nael and Winston, “the Yare shaman”, illustrates the text-structural iconicity of placing contrasting adverbials of manner adjacent to one another for maximal effect (*in an overly loud, digitally clicky way. With a dignified calm* (*W countered*); (*interrupted and*) *impatiently* (*interjected*)... *Patiently, but with a touch of resignation*,..). An additional advantage of placing adverbials of manner initially in ‘transformers’ (from ‘telling’ to ‘showing’, i.e. ‘reporting clauses’) is that the indication of the speech event (the subject/speaker and the verb of speaking) is thus immediately followed by the reported speech. Starting the paragraph with direct speech and placing the transformer (from ‘showing’ to ‘telling’) only after it, is a way of indicating a local-level textual boundary in written narrative (and sometimes a shift to peak episodes, cf. Virtanen 1992a). Nael’s interruption is reflected in the narrative by a shift back from showing to telling, prefaced with *but*.

- (5) “Only out of chaos and the overthrow of the existing order, can we begin to intuit meaning,” said Nael *in an overly loud, digitally clicky way. With a dignified calm* Winston countered: “It is entirely plausible to intuit meaning from the existing order...” but Nael interrupted him and *impatiently* interjected: “Oh, you know what I mean. Don’t play your philosophical games with me... before I know it you will be holding another of your discourses on how emergence fashions order out of chaos.” *Patiently, but with a touch of resignation*, Winston went on: “I’m sorry you feel that way. Revolution and community are usually at odds. So much energy goes into overthrowing the existing order, that this turns into an end in itself, rather than the search for a coherent system of practicable ideals.” (Blumenfeld 1999: 42)

In line with studies of the discourse functions of clause-initial adverbials of time in the service of the temporal text strategy, it is to be expected that ‘manner plus time/duration’ would be found clause-initially in narratives. In such a position their temporality would be dominant, allowing them to participate in the construction of text-strategic continuities and the signalling of text segmentation (Virtanen 1992a; 2004). Hence *suddenly* readily occurs at the beginning of a new textual unit, spanning a few paragraphs in (6a), while (6b) is a book title, having the entire text in its textual scope. Both examples are from popular fiction. In contrast, *suddenly*

in (8), below, appears in medial position, conveying the sudden manner of the memory striking Heracles, in a clause that constitutes a continuation of the same textual unit. The clause-initial *suddenly* can be argued to belong to adverbials of time, fully participating in the signalling of the contingent temporal sequentiality in narrative. But it carries a trace of manner in the sense that the particular event is not only understood as having taken place in a very short time (its plus element of time ‘duration’) but also in such a way that there was no sign that it was going to happen (‘without any warning’): witness the juxtaposition of *and then* and *suddenly* in (6a), stressing different facets of one and the same temporal shift. Ernst (2002: 85) relates *suddenly* to aspect, interpreting the transition-oriented clausal reading in terms of covert manner.

(6a) *And then, suddenly,* she turned back.

(6b) *Suddenly,* in Rome

Adverbials of manner can be graded, and they are an obvious resource for expressing emotions, attitudes and shifts in point of view in narrative. The adverbial *with infinite care* in (4), above, constitutes one of many references to the gentleness of Atlas in the story; as such it also contributes to ‘characterization’ in the narrative. It is preceded by (7) and (8), both of which make references to Atlas’s gentleness. In (7) the *grace, ease, gentleness* and *love almost* affects Heracles and in (8) his memory of Atlas’s *manner of infinite gentleness* in resuming the task at hand is immediately followed by the sentence-initial *gently*, referring to the action of the “wily” Heracles in this particular (imagined) situational context, as a continuation of the ‘gentleness’ emerging from the memory of the event.

(7) For a second Atlas did not speak. Then as he studied Heracles’s grinning face, he realised he had been tricked. Wily Heracles had no brains but plenty of cunning.

What could Atlas do? He wanted to hurl the universe at Heracles, crush him, annihilate him and make the story start again.

‘Come on Atlas’, said Heracles, ‘you’ve had your fun.’

*Slowly, so as not to spill one drop of milk,* Atlas lowered the Kosmos back onto his shoulders, and bent himself under the burden. He did it with such grace and ease, with such gentleness, love almost, that Heracles was ashamed for a moment. He would gladly have dashed the world to pieces if that would have freed him. He saw now that Atlas could do just that, but did not, and he respected him but would not help him.

‘Goodbye Atlas,’ said Heracles, ‘and thanks ...’ (Winterson 2005: 83–84)

- (8) Prometheus asked Heracles if he had seen his brother Atlas, and Heracles suddenly remembered the manner of infinite gentleness with which Atlas had resumed the impossible burden of the world. *Gently*, Heracles wiped Prometheus's brow and promised to intervene with Zeus that day for an end to the punishment. (...) (Winterson 2005: 89)

In (7), *slowly*, followed by a purpose clause, introduces a new textual unit. An implicit 'then' is enough to indicate the sequentiality of the narrative, and the positioning of the two adverbials at the outset of the sentence permits placing the two related events of 'lowering' and 'bending' next to one another, naturally conveying the second as being the consequence of the first. This new textual unit follows a major boundary in the episode, and the initial placement of the adverbial of manner (followed by one of purpose), here serves to change the pace of narration and thus help indicate peak profile (cf. Longacre 1983). As temporal signals of text strategy and the frequent references to participants serve text segmentation in narratives (while also performing other jobs in the service of the text), something else will be needed to distinguish between pre-peak, peak and post-peak episodes in a climactic structure (see Virtanen 1992a). Apart from shifts from telling to showing and other textual devices for what Longacre calls 'rhetorical underlining', written narratives may here rely on sentence-initial adverbials of manner. These can be blends of manner and time/duration, and as such reminiscent of the temporality of the other text-strategic signals in the narrative. At the same time, the change of pace may be explicit in the lexical item itself, as in *slowly*.

While *suddenly* readily participates in the text-strategic chain indicating boundaries between textual units at local and global levels in a text, *slowly* manifests an ease of indicating shifts in the peak profile, which is another dimension of the text. It is important to note that the sentence-initial *slowly* is not a priori a backgrounding device, quite the contrary. In (9) it prefaces an especially weighty episode in the narrative, close to the end of a chapter. This is a re-opening after what, to the narrator and the readership, seems like the resolution of the ongoing episode, and the adverbial is preceded by *but*. The closing of this foregrounded peak section of the chapter is signalled by the sentence-initial adverbial of time *by the time either of them spoke again*.

- (9) (...) He thought that Holmes had said all that he wanted to say, and he was ready to remain a while as a tribute to his candour and let Holmes's confession settle. But *slowly* he realized, by the way Holmes faced him, and by Holmes's filling his

glass with brandy as though the night were long, that his guest had something else to say. He waited, and finally when Holmes spoke again his tone had changed. He was back to this role as judge, public figure, man of the world.

‘You know, finally,’ Holmes said, ‘...

(...)

By the time either of them spoke again it was night, and the darkness seemed strangely grim and complete. Henry told the servant that they would not need a lamp as they were ready to retire. Holmes sipped his drink, crossing and recrossing his legs. Henry could hardly remember how he got to bed. (Tóibín 2004: 118–119)

Extract (10), from the same novel, illustrates the influence of rhythm on adverbial placement in artistic narrative. The clause-initial cluster *slowly and slyly* opens a description of a process which comes to a closure through the iconic cluster *gently but effectively* at the end of the sentence.

- (10) (...) When there is a battle between the sea and the land, he would continue, it is generally the sea which emerges victorious and the land which melts away. Rye and Winchelsea, the new Winchelsea that is, were ready to be great ports with great plans and dreams. But then, in the centuries that followed, the land won, and *slowly and slyly* a modest plain where sheep now grazed began to form between these towns and the sea, pushing the sea back *gently but effectively*. (Tóibín 2004: 199)

The use of *slowly* in (9) and (10) can be felicitously related to Ernst’s (2002: 85) observations concerning aspectual readings: since transitions between events or states are easily understood as taking place instantaneously, placing an ‘aspect-manner’ adverbial such as *slowly* in initial or medial position conveys the desired lack of speed in the transition while also serving to direct attention to the ingression of the event, state or process that it introduces. In (9) the two inserted adverbials, of considerable length (*by the way Holmes faced him, and by Holmes’s filling his glass with brandy as though the night were long*), reinforce the impression of the slow manner of realizing, thus focusing on its beginnings. And in (10) the verb indicating ingression is explicitly present (*began*).

Authors can make much of the occasional clause-initial adverbial of manner. It is perfectly possible to start clauses and sentences with it. As this is done with moderation, it is a handy signal pointing to different dimensions of the text. Deviating from other openings, it may help single out peak episodes in a climactic narrative. The clause-initial slot itself invites textual interpretations, in line with the text type and the activated



text strategy (Virtanen 2004). If temporal, the plus element in manner plus adverbials will be dominant in narratives, to a degree that may motivate classification of such adverbials as temporal. Clause-initial adverbials of manner of various kinds may contribute to the construction of the narrative at local or global levels. Narrative is also a good candidate for clause-initial secondary manner adverbials, or subject-oriented subjuncts.

## 6. Evidence from corpora

Analyses of individual texts suggest that two major sources of the occasional clause-initial or sentence-initial adverbial of manner (plus) are instructive and narrative texts. The narrative passages examined above represent various fictional genres, and the investigation of instructive texts highlights two genres, recipes and instructions for physical exercise. This raises the issue of genre and register as contextual factors influencing clause-initial placement of manner (plus) adverbials, and conversely, such adverbials reflexively helping to construct genre and register. Registers, characterized using text-external (contextual) criteria, include broad topical fields such as the language of religion or law. Genres as social action are also usually defined in text-external terms, in contrast to the text-internally characterizable text types (see the discussion in Virtanen 1992b). Standard corpora of written English tend to rely on some notion of genre or register, rather than text types, although mixed categorizations are also usual. We can thus turn to corpora for additional evidence of the distributional patterns of manner (plus) adverbials.

An investigation of the so-called Brown corpora of written British and American English (i.e. Brown, LOB; Frown, FLOB; consisting of 1 million words each, 30 years apart) discloses fiction, rather than non-fiction, as the primary source of manner adverbs of various kinds (in any position in the clause, or as modifiers in a phrase). Looking up a set of lexical items such as *suddenly*, *happily*, *quickly*, *carefully*, *stupidly*, *slowly*, *expertly*, *skil(l)fully*, *gradually* and *irretrievably* suggests a predominance in particular prose genres: romance fiction, adventure, mystery, and science fiction. Among non-fiction genres, two are conspicuous: skills and hobbies, and secondly, reviews. As shown by Biber et al. (1999: 784), speech is a rich source of manner adverbials, but investigations of their functions in the situated co-construction of discourse, turn-taking mechanisms and intersubjectivity lie beyond the scope of the present paper. The findings reported by Biber et al. (1999: 783–785) concerning writing are, however,

concomitant with the tendencies in the four Brown corpora: fiction, rather than non-fiction, is the predominant locus of manner adverbials.

Even though adverbials in all positions were included in the corpus study, the result confirms the text-analytical findings that narratives and instructive texts manifest a great deal of manner adverbials. Although less frequent, manner adverbials in the Brown corpora also appear in reviews, which suggests argumentative texts as another source of data for future investigations.

The frequencies of occurrence of individual manner adverbials, however, vary a great deal across the text categories distinguished in these corpora. Hence, *suddenly* favours romance, adventure and mystery but it is also conspicuously present in general fiction. *Slowly* appears in adventure, romance, mystery, and science fiction, whereas the most popular genres for *quickly* are romance, adventure, mystery, and the non-fiction genre skills and hobbies. Further, *carefully* is primarily found in general fiction, romance, mystery, adventure but also in skills and hobbies. Although useful for testing hunches, the Brown corpora are too small for other than the most common lexical items.

In the BNC *carefully* shows frequencies above the average for imaginative prose and secondly, informative writing labelled 'leisure', which is also the profile of *smoothly*. In contrast, *easily* manifests a more varied pattern of informative writing: sciences, leisure, and belief and thought, while the much rarer occurrences of *irretrievably* are found in informative writing labelled belief and thought, arts, social science, and world affairs. These counts, however, also contain instances of adverbials modifying adjectives and are to be regarded as a first approximation only.

It is worthwhile undertaking a thorough corpus study of individual adverb(ial)s of manner in order to determine the extent to which they have relatively specific register or genre favouring profiles. For instance, while *irretrievably* also appears as a modifier in adjective phrases where the meaning is primarily intensifying (e.g. *irretrievably hopeless / sad / dumb / alone*), as an adverbial of manner plus result it is repeatedly found in constructions such as *the marriage has broken down irretrievably / is irretrievably breaking down / irretrievably broken*, or in contexts where people, things or abstract phenomena have been *irretrievably lost*. In addition to the BNC, this is also obvious if one conducts internet searches using WebCorp: *irretrievably* appears in such constructions in legal discourse (in addition to marriages irretrievably breaking down, it also occurs, for instance, in contexts where *all patent rights to an invention are*

*irretrievably lost if...*). People discussing religious faith may refer to themselves or others as being *irretrievably lost*. Typically of the Internet, a number of phenomena tend to take place irretrievably in discussions on computing pages, e.g. *multiple edits disappear irretrievably after undo; the file has been irretrievably corrupted*. In such registers *irretrievably* can be understood as conveying manner plus result, even though other interpretations are also available, as is usual for manner plus phenomena.

Some adverbials of manner are not likely to appear clause-initially: in the BNC, for instance, *easily*, *irretrievably* and *frugally*. *Smoothly*, again, appears sentence-initially several times, all instances in imaginative prose, alone or in a cluster with another sentence-initial adverbial of manner (*smoothly, and swiftly; smoothly, menacingly*). *Carefully* occurs at the beginning of a clause or sentence in 7% of the hits (443 out of 6476), mainly in imaginative prose and informative writing labelled 'leisure', but above the average also in informative writing labelled 'commerce and finance.' Close examination of the examples shows that the large majority of sentence-initial *carefully* is found in narrative and instructive texts. In this position it collocates with a number of verbs, possibly in the imperative (*read, check, consider, pick, watch, examine, listen, plan, think, look, study*) but also with personal pronouns in the nominative, subject form (*he, she*). Another collocate of *carefully* is *very*, and *very carefully* in initial position amounts to 4% of the 412 instances, all in narratives. *Suddenly* has been categorized above as a manner plus time/duration adverbial: it strongly favours the category of imaginative prose, both in sentence-initial position and elsewhere. Of the hits, nearly one quarter are at the beginning of a clause or sentence. They function in the same way as initial adverbials of time in narrative, thus inviting a predominantly temporal interpretation.

Corpus studies can disclose the extent to which particular adverbials of manner appear clause-initially. Ideally, they can also shed light on the kinds of texts in which such instances of individual adverbials are found. Text categorizations used in corpora are, however, heterogeneous and not necessarily based on consistent (text-external) criteria. Collocations and the various statistics provided are helpful to the extent that the sampling procedure and text categorization are documented and appropriate for the purposes of the particular study. Access to entire texts and information about them are essential for an in-depth analysis of the discourse functions of such adverbials.

## **7. Concluding remarks: Constructing text-context interfaces in operational and evocative texts**

Two text types have been identified as manifesting clause-initial adverbials of manner (plus). In instructive texts, where experiential iconicity determines text structure, the initial slot may be filled with adverbials of manner (plus) conveying crucial information. Repeating such information in a structurally iconic form serves to foreground the urgency of performing the task in a particular manner. Manner adverbials in the initial slot allow the end zone to be used for other, weighty elements, which may facilitate anticipation of what is to follow in the text. This ordering profitably conforms to the temporal iconicity of the motion or the various steps to be taken. The construction consisting of an initial manner adverbial and an action verb in the imperative is closely related to instructive texts, and particular genres may exhibit collocations of lexical items characteristic of them, to an extent where these may turn into genre markers.

Narratives manifest clause-initial manner adverbials in the service of characterization, and for reasons of structural iconicity and information structuring in the sentence. Initial manner plus time/duration adverbials are predominantly temporal and participate fully in the construction of the temporal text strategy and the signalling of textual boundaries. They may also be used to single out peak episodes from pre-peak episodes, thus contributing to the construction of a climactic narrative. Narratives exhibit several different motivations for the occasional sentence-initial adverbials of manner; sometimes it is one of rhythm. Such adverbials may also help shift points of view, and the ease with which they convey evaluation is essential to the construction of the narrative.

Instructive texts are ‘operational’ while narratives are ‘evocative’ (Enkvist 1985: 324). The construction of the reflexive text-context interface therefore differs between the two, which has important implications for the kinds of discourse functions that are readily served by initially placed adverbials of manner in such texts. In operational texts indications come to the fore concerning the urgency of particular pieces of information as well as reliance on experiential iconicity, in line with assumptions of a shared situational context. In evocative texts, again, such assumptions cannot be sustained, and clause-initial manner adverbials thus contribute to the task of helping readers build up a textual world in which the text makes sense, by participating in the signalling of textual shifts of

various kinds and by pointing to a host of other discourse phenomena that invite and support individual interpretations.

Adverbials of manner appear at the beginning of a clause or sentence to be able to function in the service of the text. In so doing they benefit from the textual potential of the initial slot, in ways that are reminiscent of other adverbial fillers and yet different enough to bring a particular value to the textual fit.

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