



Syntactic, semantic, and prosodic integration: a Functional Discourse Grammar analysis of *frankly* and *cleverly*

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The literature on what have been referred to as peripheral, parenthetical, non-propositional, disjunctive or comment adverbs (e.g. *frankly*, *fortunately*, *allegedly* or *briefly*) is extensive, and linguists of different theoretical persuasions have described these adverbs in various degrees of detail. Most previous accounts, however, are typically concerned with one particular aspect of these adverbs, in particular their discourse-pragmatic functions (e.g. Strawson 1973; Palmer 1986; Fraser 1996; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 190-103); their semantic properties (non-truth-conditionality, non-restrictiveness; e.g. Ifantidou 1993, 2001; Rouchota 1998; Asher 2000), their syntactic behaviour (in terms of clefting, questioning, scope of ellipsis/negation, e.g. Quirk et al. [1985: 612-631], Pullum & Huddleston [2002: 575-576], Huddleston et al. [2002: 1350-1362] and Espinal [1991]; as well as clausal position, e.g. Cinque [1999], Ernst [2002], Haumann [2007]); and their prosodic features (in particular their prosodic non-integration [Pullum & Huddleston 2002: 575-576, Huddleston et al. 2002: 1350-1362, Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 190; 192-193]). Far less attention, however, has been paid to the interaction between these different functional and formal aspects (which are often assumed to relate in a more-or-less one to one fashion), and so far no unified, theoretically-based analysis has been suggested.

The aim of this paper is, firstly, to demonstrate that, despite the fact that in clear instances of parenthesis syntactic non-integration, prosodic non-integration and non-truth-conditionality go hand in hand, we are dealing with three dimensions, which must be kept apart and analysed in different ways in any comprehensive grammatical model. Secondly, it will be argued that the distinctive features of the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), in particular its distinction between four interacting levels of analysis (interpersonal, representational, morphosyntactic and phonological), and that fact that it takes the Discourse Act (a functional unit), rather than the sentence (a formal unit), as its basic unit of analysis, can be used to capture both the differences and the interaction between these three dimensions of (non-)integration in an insightful and consistent manner.

Using data from two large corpora of spoken and written English (the Corpus of Contemporary American English and the NOW Corpus), the proposed analysis will be illustrated by a discussion of the discourse-pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and prosodic features of the various uses of the adverbs *frankly* (as an illocutionary and manner adverb) and *cleverly*, *stupidly* etc. (as subject-oriented and manner adverbs). It will be shown how the different functional and formal properties of these adverbs can (and perhaps even have to) be dealt within one comprehensive model of grammar, provided that the model in question provides, as part of its basic architecture, the means to deal with syntactic, semantic and prosodic (non-)integration as three separate, but interacting dimensions.

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