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FRAMING ADVERBIALS AND THEIR ROLE IN DISCOURSE COHESION FROM CONNEXION TO FORWARD LABELLING

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In this synthetic presentation, I will briefly mention general findings on the cohesive function of some preposed IP adjuncts and focus on the fact that these adverbials, which we call "framing adverbials", support forward-looking cohesive links that contrast with the well-known backward-looking ties expressed by connectives and anaphora.

I. PREPOSED ADVERBIALS AS TOPICS

In a seminal paper on infinitive purpose clauses, Thompson (1985) shows that, at discourse level, "initial and final purpose clauses in English are doing radically different jobs" (p. 57). While the "role of the final purpose clause can be seen to be a much more local one" consisting in stating "the purpose for which the action named in the preceding clause is/was undertaken", initial purpose infinitive clauses contribute to the cohesion of discourse. This contribution results from the fact that:

- they are topical (i.e. "anchored" in the preceding context)
- they can include in their scope several following sentences, whereas "the scope of a final purpose clause is restricted to its immediately preceding main clause." (p 67)

This observation (for a detailed presentation and discussion, cf. Charolles & Lamiroy 2002, Charolles 2003) has been extended to preposed *if* (Ford & Thompson 1986, Ramsay 1984), *when* clauses (Virtanen 1992), and spatio-temporal prepositional phrases (Hasselgard 2004)¹.

Concerning the topical status of preposed adverbials, it is true that in French as in English and in other languages (Diessel 2001), they are frequently linked to a preceding discourse segment. For example, in (1), the prepositional phrase (PP) *dans une acception élargie* is clearly announced by the preceding sentence:

(1) "Qu'est-ce que l'écriture? L'usage a consacré différentes acceptions du mot. **Dans une acception élargie**, s'agissant de littérature et d'autres expressions artistiques, il peut désigner la manière de conduire un récit ou un exposé, au croisement des notions de «style» et de «forme». Ainsi parlera-t-on, de l'«écriture» de Jean-Luc Godard dans *Pierrot le fou*. (beginning of a paper entitled "Les spécificités de l'écriture", *Pour la Science*)

Nevertheless, preposed adverbials are not always anchored in the preceding context. Contrary to connectives, they can appear in text initial position, as in (1) where the first two sentences could be removed. Moreover, in most cases, preposed adverbials can hardly be considered as sentences topics since the content of the sentences they introduce is not about the semantic aspect denoted by the adverbial. This can be seen in (1) where the topic of the sentence beginning by *dans une acception élargie* is not the usage referred to by the PP, but the subject

¹ More generally, the relations between the positions of adverbials in their host sentences and their topical status have generated a lot of publications (cf., inter alia, Chafe 1984, Givon 1983, Haiman 1978, Haiman & Thompson 1984, Lehman 1988, Longacre & Thompson 1985, Thompson & Longacre 1985, Virtanen 1982, Jacobs 2001). On French adverbs and adverbials, cf. Mélis (1983), Guimier (1993 & 1996), Molinier & Lévrier (2000), Borillo et alii (2004).

pronoun *il*, that is to say the word *écriture*. The preposed PP in (1) is not the topic of discourse either. The following paragraphs reproduced below show that the topic of this first part of the text is the meaning of the word *écriture* in French (and probably more generally):

(1) "*Qu'est-ce que l'écriture? L'usage a consacré différentes acceptions du mot. **Dans une acception élargie**, s'agissant de littérature et d'autres expressions artistiques, il peut désigner la manière de conduire un récit ou un exposé, au croisement des notions de «style» et de «forme». Ainsi parlera-t-on, de l'«écriture» de Jean-Luc Godard dans *Pierrot le fou*. **Dans une acception plus matérielle**, «écriture» est appliquée, de manière un peu lâche, à toute sorte de notations symboliques, essentiellement visuelles, et susceptibles de véhiculer une signification, par exemple les signaux du code de la route, les pictogrammes des lieux publics.*

*Toutefois, **au sens propre**, celui qui prévaut dans les sciences humaines – histoire, linguistique, anthropologie, sociologie – écriture désigne tout système de signes essentiellement visuels, capable d'encoder n'importe quel énoncé linguistique, et donc, de transposer sa matérialité phonique en matérialité optique (ou tactile dans le cas du Braille). ...*

In (1), the three PPs in bold could be transformed into NP modifiers - easily in the case of *au sens propre* (*l'écriture au sens propre*), less easily in the other two instances (? *L'écriture dans une acception élargie / plus matérielle*) – so that, it remains possible to consider that they (indirectly) specify the subtopics of the sentences and of the segments at the beginning of which they appear. Anyway, examples like (1) must be distinguished (Charolles 2003, Prévost 2003, Sarda forthcoming) from infrequent but attested usages like (2) in which the PPs may indeed be considered as topics of discourse due to the lack of coherence of the text:

(2) "***En Allemagne**, les choses vont de mal en pis pour Helen. Kurt lui enlève son fils Johannes. Jack découvre que Caroline continue à prendre de l'héroïne. **Au Pakistan**, Roquia essaie d'arrêter un important trafiquant. Mais celui-ci verse des pots de vin au juge ..."* (présentation du film *Traffik-Le sang du pavot*)

In (2), as the sentences refer to semantically unlinked eventualities (till *mais*), it is possible that, at least to begin with, the readers understand the text as simply reporting states of affairs taking place in two different countries and, therefore, that the sentences denoting these states of affairs are about the places in question.

II. PREPOSED ADVERBIALS AS FRAME BUILDERS

The discussions on the topical status of preposed adverbials are interesting², but it remains that, in (1) and (2), the preposed PPs extend their influence on sentences following the one in which they occur. This fact is particular clear in (2) where the second syntactically independent sentence is understood as referring to an event occurring in Germany. From a linguistic point of view, the fact that a sentence constituent can extend its scope beyond its host sentence is very striking. Though clearly noted by Thompson (1985), this point has not been extensively documented in the linguistic studies devoted to adverbials.

If we focus our attention on this point, it first appears that, in actual texts, preposed adverbials are most often used in a serial manner. It is the case in (1) and (2) where they delimit segments of discourse gathering together several sentences falling under the scope of the adverbials. With (2), this form of structuring, can be simply schematized as follows:

² For a detailed presentation and discussion, cf. Charolles & Prévost eds. (2003).

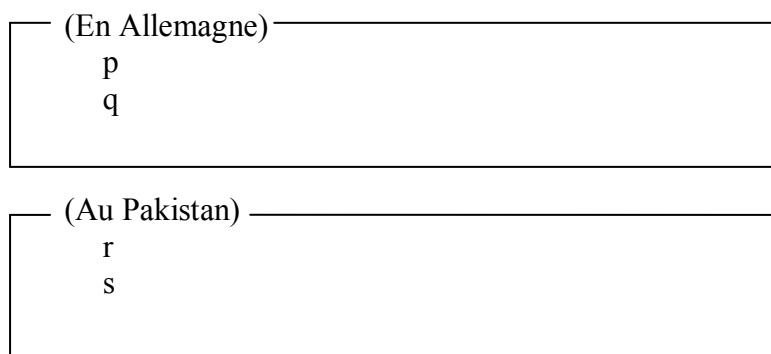


Figure 1

In this representation, p, q, r and s are symbols for the propositional contents of the four main sentences of the text. These contents are not analyzed but they include the PPs. In Fig. 1, the brackets note the fact that the spatial PPs function as index for the distribution of incoming discursive information. The PPs are extracted from their host sentences and "reproduced" as discourse organisers.

The observation of texts from diverse genres suggest that the type of textual information structuring illustrated in Fig. 1 is more common in expository or argumentative texts than in other genres. However, text fragments organized like (1) or (2) can be observed in all types of discourse. In fact, texts like (2) which are entirely structured by framing expressions are very infrequent. In Charolles (1997), I analyse in detail the following text (collected from a leaflet inserted in a chocolate packet) which is very interesting for the study of frames but cannot be said to be representative :

(3) "**En général**, les gens se serrent la main droite quand ils se rencontrent ou se séparent, ou bien ils s'embrassent. Hello, bonjour, namaste ! **Chez nous**, un baiser est surtout une preuve d'amour et de tendresse à l'égard de quelqu'un de cher, mais **chez certains peuples**, c'est un salut courant. **En Inde**, les gens se saluent mains jointes sur la poitrine, comme s'ils priaient. **Au Japon**, les gens s'inclinent à plusieurs reprises, face à face, en joignant les mains. **En France**, les hommes faisaient le baisemain aux femmes mariées en signe de respect, et les jeunes filles la révérence, mais cette coutume se perd de plus en plus."

The analysis of the way in which frames are introduced and controlled, step by step, by writers as their text progresses, leads to postulate a series of specific operations such as :

- the opening of a frame
- the closure of an ongoing frame
- the projection of parent frames
- the unification of a frame with a projected one
- the subordination of a frame under an overall ongoing one

Most of these operations (detailed in Charolles 1997) imply encyclopaedic knowledge. For instance, in (3) the closure of the spatial frame opened by *en Inde* via the opening of the one introduced by *au Japon* is grounded in common geographic knowledge. Other operations, such as projection, are grounded in linguistic knowledge. For example, in (3), the adverbial *en général* at the beginning of the text introduces a generic locational frame calling upon one (or several) more specific correlative frame(s) introduced by *en particulier*. When the first spatial introducer *chez nous* appears, it can be expected that it is immediately unified with such a projected specific space and that this unification process leads the reader to update the generic

introducer in a restrictive sense as meaning something like *everywhere*. The occurrence of the subsequent spatial introducers reconstitute and confirm this process, till the sentence *en France, les hommes faisaient le baisemain ...* where the imperfect tense leads to a reinterpretation of the generic introducer previously actualized in a restrictive temporal sense (*everywhere + today*).

The very general hypothesis supporting this kind of analysis is that preposed adverbials not only contribute to the propositional content of the sentence in which they occur, but assume specific organisational functions at the discourse level and that they activate specific interpretative procedures which can be studied from a linguistic and a psycholinguistic point of view. One way to conceive their procedural role, consists in seeing them as sorts of index announcing that incoming contents satisfy a same informational criterion specified by the adverbial and that they open and name a file collecting ongoing information. Generally, this file does not work alone, it evokes and contrasts with others of the same type or of different types, so that preposed adverbials introduce a sporadic ordering in the incoming flow of information conveyed by texts.

If one adopts such a view, it is quite easy to explain why some adverbials are more inclined than others to function as frame builders³. Actually, not all the dimensions of the various situations evoked in texts are equally able to assume such an organising function. Spatial and temporal scenic adverbials are commonly used as frame builders because it is relatively easy to distinguish situations according to the place where and the time when they take place. More abstract localizing adverbials, sometimes called framing adverbs (Bonami et alii 2003), such as *in logic*, *in French*, or *dans une acception élargie* in (1), are also commonly used in the same fashion. But the notion of framing can be extended to other markers, such as *according to X* which deals with the mediative dimension of information. It can also be extended to clausal purpose preposed adverbials introduced by *pour*, *afin de*, ...or to PPs like *grâce à*, *avec* specifying the means used for obtaining certain results. So called thematizing or topicalizing constructions like *concernant X* (*concerning X*), and serial⁴ text organising expressions such as *d'une part/d'autre part* (*on the one hand/on the other hand*) are framing adverbials and precisely used for their organising powers.

This list is empirically open, but certain adverbials, though commonly used at the beginning of sentences, are not (at first sight) good frame builders. For instance, it seems unlikely that evaluative adverbials, like *heureusement* or *malheureusement* could take on textual organizing functions. The fact that they are seldom used contrastively and do not easily enter in dual compositional structure support this idea (Lamiroy & Charolles forthcoming). Even with temporal adverbial PPs, which are a priori good frame builders, the observation of texts (Vigier forthcoming) shows that preposed duration complements are not used for this purpose, since, even when detached before the predication, they remain tied to the event denoted by their host sentence. This observation can be generalized: it seems that the more an adverbial remains linked to the sentence at the beginning of which it appears, the less it can carry out framing functions. This gradual principle applies to preposed clausal complements containing a cataphoric pronoun referring to the subject or another constituent of the following main clause (*Quand il est arrivé, Paul a rentré sa voiture dans le garage*), whose framing potential is limited. Fuchs & Fournier (2003) also show that the spatial

³ Fauconnier (1984) and Humo (1996, 1999) speak of "space builders". Space builders settle mental spaces, that is abstract conceptual domains for the calculation of reference relations. Space builders are a subtype of frame builders, since such framing adverbials as for instance preposed purpose infinitive clauses are not space builders.

⁴ On these serial discourse organisers, cf Jackiewicz (forthcoming).

preposed adverbials appearing at the head of a sentence with a postposed NP subject (*Au plafond pendaient des guirlandes*) are not good frame builders. In such constructions, the adverbial, though sometimes detached by a punctuation mark (contrary to the norm), is tied to the predication.

The above principle also applies to preposed constituents called in French "constructions détachées", like absolutives (*Le chapeau de travers, la mariée ...*) and participial untensed clauses (*Fatigué par le voyage, le guide ...*) which attribute a property to a participant of the predicative relation expressed by the main clause at the beginning of which they are used. Nevertheless, when their link with their host sentence is less tight, they take on a circumstantial value (for instance temporal or conditional) and they can assume framing functions (Combettes, 1998, forthcoming). In left dislocations (*Paul, il lui manque toujours quelque chose*), the detached NPs are referential and function like a sort of "landmark" for the following predication. Yet the fact that these constructions require an anaphoric pronoun coreferring with the detached NP, indicates that these NPs, though stating a sort of index, are tied to a participant of the predication expressed by their host sentences, and this suffices to explain why they have no framing power. The left dislocation constructions with a detached NP not anaphorised by a following pronoun (*Le chat, je ne sais plus quoi faire*) that are attested in colloquial French, are close to thematizing or topicalizing frame introducers (*à propos du chat*) which, like dislocated NPs, select a particular referent among a previously activated referential set (cf. Porhiel, forthcoming), so that the boundary between these constructions and the framing ones is not clear cut (for a discussion, see Prévost 2003).

III CLOSURE OF THE FRAMING ADVERBIALS' SCOPE

The fact that framing adverbials are able to extend their scope over sentences following their host sentence raises the question of their closure. Concerning this important point, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that when a frame has been opened, it tends to extend its scope to the following sentences unless one (or several) cue(s) signal(s) that the ongoing frame must be closed. Of course, one could start from the opposite hypothesis stating that the scope of framing adverbials is limited to their host sentences, and that it extends to one or several following ones only if these sentences are linked to the preceding one by a specific discourse relation. The choice between these two hypotheses can only be assessed by psycholinguistic investigations, but examples such as (2) reproduced below, argue in favour of the first one:

(2) "**En Allemagne**, les choses vont de mal en pis pour Helen (S1). Kurt lui enlève son fils Johannes (S2). Jack découvre que Caroline continue à prendre de l'héroïne (S3). **Au Pakistan**, Roquia essaie d'arrêter un important trafiquant. Mais celui-ci verse des pots de vin au juge"

In (2), it is possible that the anaphoric link between *son fils* in S2 and *Helen* in S1 favours the integration of S2 in the frame opened by *en Allemagne*. But this link is not a necessary condition for such an interpretation. Despite the fact that there is no discourse relation between the situation denoted by S3 and the situations denoted by S2 or S1, the event referred to by S3 is understood as taking place in Germany, and the same would hold with such an S2 as *Kurt enlève son fils à Greta*. The existence of coherence relations between the different situations evoked in a text, can facilitate the extension of an ongoing frame, but the question of its closure still remains. For example, in (2) still, it is possible that the readers, as they discover the text, infer that all the states of affairs it mentions are linked by a similarity

relation (they are all negatively oriented). The inference of such a relation surely modifies the understanding of the text, but it does not resolve the problem of the scope of the preposed PPs. Since these PPs are able to extend their scope to ongoing sentences, we are obliged to suppose that the reader specifically controls its extension. In (2), the cue signalling the closure of the frame opened by *en Allemagne* is obvious, yet this is not always the case and the identification of closure cues is a major concern for studies of framing adverbials.

The expressions or constructions able to signal the closure of an ongoing frame vary according to the type of frame (spatial, temporal, mediative, ...) and they do not all have the same closing power. Some closure cues are stronger than others and they often, naturally, co-occur, with many complications due for instance to conflicts between cues. In order to broach such questions, it is very useful, if not required, to base one's approach on large enriched corpora. An important part of the data collected and analysed by Vigier (2004, forthcoming) on praxeologic introducers (*en physique, en anglais, en gymnastique, en fruits et légumes...*), by Schrepfer-André (2004, forthcoming) on enunciative *selon X* (a subclass of mediative introducers), and those on *un jour* and *parallèlement* we exploited respectively in Charolles (forthcoming) and Sarda & Charolles (forthcoming) deals with this question.

In a corpus composed of the 400 first attestations of *selon* in the *Monde Diplomatique* (CD, texts published between 1987-1997), Schrepfer-André extracted 336 (84%) of enunciative *selon NP*. Among these 336 attestations, 53% are preposed, 35% are inserted, 8% postposed and 4% in footnotes. Schrepfer-André shows that 65% of these 336 *selon NP* are potentially framing, and in 25% of these cases, they integrate from one to seven graphic sentences. She focuses on the fact that 80% of the *selon NP* with a scope exceeding their host sentence are preposed. Vigier notes, along similar lines, that, in his corpus (150 occurrences of praxeologic *en N* collected in a book on epistemology - C. Bernard - a book on linguistics - G. Lazard - and the proceedings of a conference on the pedagogy of sport activities) respectively 68%, 84% and 65% of the *en N* with a scope exceeding their host sentence are preposed. Schrepfer-André and Vigier list and classify the closure cues of the potentially framing expressions they study and provide quantitative indications on their frequency and on the cases where they co-occur with other cues.

As noted above, the cues capable of signalling the closure of an ongoing frame vary with the semantic value of the introducer. For example, with *selon NP* the occurrence of an anaphoric expression coreferring to the NP is a sure cue of closure (cf. Schrepfer-André forthcoming), but Vigier does not mention this cue, since the anaphorisation of the N in such introducers as *en chimie* does not seem very likely (*En chimie, ... elle/cette discipline ...*) and, if present, does not necessarily close the ongoing frame. Similarly, the occurrence of such "connectives" as *en réalité, en fait* are good closure cues with *selon NP* introducers (though not absolutely decisive ones, cf. Schrepfer-André forthcoming) but not with *en N* introducers. On the other hand, resumptive demonstratives referring to the dimension indexed by the introducer seem to be reliable frame closure cues. The following text excerpt (4) provides a good illustration of this⁵:

(4) *Le niveau absolu des mers fluctue, au cours des temps géologiques, en fonction du climat et de l'activité des dorsales océaniques. **En période de haut niveau marin**, les mers s'étendent largement sur les continents et les eaux se réchauffent, car la surface qui capte le rayonnement solaire est grande. Le plancton prolifère: les sédiments*

⁵ For a detailed analysis of this text excerpt, cf. Charolles (forthcoming)

marins contiennent de la matière organique qui se transformera en hydrocarbures. En période de bas niveau marin, les mers régressent et le lit des fleuves se creuse à partir de leur embouchure. Cette érosion accumule des sables sur les fonds marins : ils y forment des roches poreuses qui pourront stocker les hydrocarbures.] [Les prospections pétrolières sont facilitées lorsque l'on connaît précisément la succession de ces différentes périodes. (Pour la science)

The occurrence of *ces différentes périodes* suffices to indicate that the eventuality denoted by the last sentence does not take place during a period when the level of the seas was low.

The cases mentioned above deal with discourse relation markers, but these markers, though well attested as closure cues, are not the only possible ones. For a given introducer (for instance a spatial PP), the more frequent and reliable closure cues will certainly be introducers of the same type (for instance another spatial PP referring to a different location). This is not particularly noticeable, since framing adverbials are frequently used in a serial manner. This point is well attested with *un jour* as can be seen in (5) where *le lendemain* closes the frame opened by *un jour*:

(5) *Un jour je la rencontrai seule dans l'escalier du petit château; elle venait de voir Thérèse, avec laquelle sa gouvernante était encore. Faute de savoir quoi lui dire, je lui proposai un baiser, que, dans l'innocence de son coeur, elle ne refusa pas, en ayant reçu un le matin même, par l'ordre de sa grand'maman, et en sa présence. Le lendemain, lisant l'Émile au chevet de madame la maréchale, je tombai précisément sur un passage où je censure, avec raison, ce que j'avais fait la veille.*" (Lesage, *Gil Blas de Santillane*)

In the following example, the paragraph shift is a significant formal closure cue but it cannot be considered a reliable one since, in our corpus of 100 narrative *un jour* a third of them extend their influence beyond this boundary:

(6) "(...) *Un jour que je racontais à table l'aventure de Scévola, on fut effrayé de me voir avancer et tenir la main sur un réchaud pour représenter son action. J'avais un frère plus âgé que moi de sept ans. Il apprenait la profession de mon père. L'extrême affection qu'on avait pour moi le faisait un peu négliger; et ce n'est pas cela que j'approuve. Son éducation se sentit de cette négligence.*" (Rousseau, *Confessions*)

In (6), the rough topic shift is a more decisive cue of closure than the opening of a new paragraph. Nevertheless, topic shifts are not absolutely reliable cues of closure, as we have pointed out in (2) where the third sentence, although it deals with participants not mentioned previously and also refers to a new situation, is understood to fall under the scope of *en Allemagne*. The fact that in (6) two possible cues of closure appear in the same sentence surely reinforces these cues. The same phenomenon can be observed in (4) where the last sentence which contains the resumptive demonstrative NP closing the ongoing temporal frame coincides with a topic shift, namely the writer returning to a subject ("prospections pétrolières") previously treated in the text.

Topic shifts are frequently marked by the occurrence of specific referring expressions (typically, with ones devoted to low accessibility referents) and they can also be tracked down by lexical frequency devices. But, compared with the occurrence of other adverbial frame introducers (*En Allemagne, ... Au Pakistan, ...*), topic shifts constitute attenuated cues. Clearly, readers may well be very sensitive to such interpretative factors, but it seems that framing usages of adverbials go with an accurate control of their scope, and that this control calls upon specific formal markers. For instance, with infinitive purpose clauses, using purely linguistic arguments, we show (Charolles & Lamiroy 2002) that when they are preposed, they can only include in their scope the sentences reporting the means employed, but not the results

obtained with these means. Under these conditions, we might assume that it will be difficult to find any cue of closure signalling the beginning of a sentence reporting the results, other than the fact that this sentence semantically mentions such results. But, we did find such formal cues and, contrary to our expectations, they were quite easy to identify, since, as the following example shows, they concern verbal tenses (move from the passé composé in the frame to the present out of the frame):

(7) *"Le recrutement est loin d'être uniforme sur l'ensemble du territoire. [**Pour le mettre en évidence**, nous avons pris en compte, pour la fin des années 1980, les étudiants admis aux concours, qui représentent l'essentiel des "nouveaux recrutés" par académie d'inscription. Ce nombre d'étudiants recrutés a été rapporté à celui des premières affectations par académie, c'est-à-dire au nombre d'enseignants débutants titularisés, qui exprime grossièrement les besoins en professeurs]. Les disparités sont considérables entre les deux extrémités du gradient nord-sud : au nord de Paris, le recrutement d'étudiants locaux couvre moins du tiers des besoins, alors qu'il y a deux à quatre fois plus d'admis que de premiers postes dans les académies les plus méridionales. "* (Atlas de la France scolaire)

Such observations must not be overestimated. Le Draoulec & Péry-Woodley (2003 and forthcoming) quite rightly note that, in text excerpts where sentences are linked by a relation of narration (Asher & Lascarides 2003), the framing potential of preposed temporal adverbials such as dates is constantly challenged by the progression of time. They analyze examples such as (8) and point out that, from a historical point of view, all the events referred to by the sentences occurring after the one with the frame introducer (in bold) did not in fact take place during the temporal interval denoted by the adverbial:

(8) *"**Le 8 novembre 1923**, alors que l'Allemagne connaît une situation économique et politique dramatique (...), Hitler tente un coup de force, mais le putsch, mal organisé, échoue lamentablement : seize nazis sont tués par la police munichoise, et Hitler lui-même est arrêté. Lors du procès qui s'ensuit, le chef du parti nazi le chef du parti nazi n'en réussit pas moins à se présenter comme un patriote révolté par les agissements d'une république indigne, (...). Condamné **en février 1924** à cinq ans d'emprisonnement, Hitler est libéré dès le mois de décembre. Il a consacré ces quelques mois passés dans la forteresse de Landsberg à rédiger Mein Kampf (Mon combat)."*

Such uses could be interpreted as an argument in favour of the hypothesis that the scope of framing adverbials is restricted to their host sentence or, that they can function, at least in certain texts types such as history textbooks, as marking only chronological steps. Le Draoulec & Péry-Woodley adopt this analysis, and Sarda (forthcoming), in a paper on spatial adverbials in film abstracts, makes a similar assumption about texts like (9). Here, the event referred to in the third sentence and even more so the events mentioned subsequently could not have taken place at the Montparnasse railway station:

(9) *"**Gare Montparnasse**. Une ravissante Brésilienne attrape son train in extremis. Hélas, elle ignorait qu'en France, on composte les billets. Le contrôleur qui ne comprend rien au portugais, est bien décidé à la verbaliser. Par bonheur, une aimable avocate s'interpose et lui sert d'interprète. Après avoir sympathisé, les deux femmes se rendent au tribunal de Baugé où l'affaire de Marcel Petigas va être instruite..."* (Maine Océan)

The discussion of such apparent counter-examples requires psycholinguistic investigations in order to test the accurate effect of adverbials on understanding. After all, it could be the case that, in texts such as (8) and (9), readers have more difficulty understanding

a sentence which is incompatible with the temporal interval or the place denoted by adverbials when these adverbials are preposed in framing position, than when they are postposed. We also need linguistic investigations on large corpora in order to have an idea of the frequency of text excerpts such as (8) and (9). Concerning this last point, in an exploratory study (Charolles, forthcoming) of the corpus of narrative *un jour* collected and annotated with Terran, I considered that all the occurrences of *un jour* can extend their influence to subsequent sentences, irrespective of their position in their host sentence. I decided that this interpretative span comes to a halt when an incoming situation cannot be understood as taking place during the day referred to by *un jour*. This decision was easy with utterances such as (5) cited above, less easy with (6) also cited above. It was however more difficult with (10) and (11) below, where the only evidence that eventualities denoted by the underlined sentences could not have occurred during the day mentioned previously was the fact that it was materially impossible:

(10) "*J'étudiais **un jour** seul ma leçon dans la chambre contiguë à la cuisine. La servante avait mis sécher à la plaque les peignes de mademoiselle Lambercier. Quand elle revint les prendre, il s'en trouva un dont tout un côté de dents était brisé. A qui s'en prendre de ce dégât? personne autre que moi n'était entré dans la chambre. On m'interroge: je nie d'avoir touché le peigne. M. et mademoiselle Lambercier se réunissent, m'exhortent, me pressent, me menacent: je persiste avec opiniâtreté; mais la conviction était trop forte, elle l'emporta sur toutes mes protestations, quoique ce fût la première fois qu'on m'eût trouvé tant d'audace à mentir. La chose fut prise au sérieux; elle méritait de l'être. La méchanceté, le mensonge, l'obstination, parurent également dignes de punition; mais pour le coup ce ne fut pas par mademoiselle Lambercier qu'elle me fut infligée. On écrivit à mon oncle Bernard: il vint. Mon pauvre cousin était chargé d'un autre délit non moins grave; nous fûmes enveloppés dans la même exécution. Elle fut terrible. Quand, cherchant le remède dans le mal même, on eut voulu pour jamais amortir mes sens dépravés, on n'aurait pu mieux s'y prendre. Aussi me laissèrent-ils en repos pour longtemps." (Rousseau, *Confessions*).*

(11) "*Au bout de ce temps-là, le repos qui régnait à l'hôtel fut étrangement troublé par un accident qui ne paraîtra qu'une bagatelle au lecteur, et qui devint pourtant une chose fort sérieuse pour les domestiques et surtout pour moi. Cupidon, ce singe dont j'ai parlé, cet animal si chéri du patron, en voulant **un jour** sauter d'une fenêtre à une autre, s'en acquitta si mal, qu'il tomba dans la cour et se démit une jambe. Le comte ne sut pas sitôt ce malheur, qu'il poussa des cris qui furent entendus du voisinage ; et, dans l'excès de sa douleur, s'en prend à tous ses gens sans exception, peu s'en fallut qu'il ne fît maison nette. Il borna toutefois sa fureur à maudire notre négligence, et à nous apostropher sans ménager les termes. Il envoya chercher sur-le-champ les chirurgiens de Madrid les plus habiles pour les fractures et dislocations des os. Ils visitèrent la jambe du blessé, la lui remirent et la bandèrent. Mais, quoiqu'ils assurassent tous que ce n'était rien, cela n'empêcha pas que mon maître ne retint un d'entre eux pour demeurer auprès de l'animal jusqu'à parfaite guérison." (Lesage, *Gil Blas de Santillane*)*

Since we had annotated in our corpus a) the position of each *un jour* in its host sentence and b) the strong and weak cue(s) signalling the possible end of its interpretative span, I observed that the closure of the span of preposed *un jour*, as in 5 and 6 for example, more frequently co-occurs with strong cues of closure than when *un jour* is inserted (cf. 10 and 11) or postposed. These observations must be confirmed by other investigations. In any case, they do not contradict the analysis of Le Draoulec & Péry-Woodley since the text types and the adverbials are different in the two studies. However, they seem all the more significant

because one might expect that, contrary to dates, preposed *un jour* in narrative texts may be partly desemanticised and used as pure story telling starting points.

In the study of *un jour* mentioned above, I considered that all the narrative *un jour* have an interpretative span which can function beyond their host sentence but, in the end, I argue that only preposed ones grammaticalise a framing function and consequently that they are the only ones to have a proper scoping power. This point is crucial because it conditions their capacity to assume an organising function. With regard to this issue, in a paper with D.Vigier (Charolles & Vigier forthcoming), we explain that framing adverbials in fact have a double scope : they not only have a semantic scope which depends on the semantic content of the index (spatial, temporal, mediative, ...) denoted by the adverbial, they also have a framing scope which, at the informational level, can integrate additional segments. Le Draoulec & Péry-Woodley (forthcoming) similarly distinguish the "ideational scope" of preposed adverbials from their "textual scope", and Terran (2002), in her PhD on temporal complements, contrasts their potential "representational scope" with their framing scope.

The following example illustrates the need for these distinctions:

(12) *"Un souvenir qui me fait frémir encore et rire tout à la fois, est celui d'une chasse aux pommes qui me coûta cher. Ces pommes étaient au fond d'une dépense qui, par une jalousie élevée, recevait du jour de la cuisine. **Un jour** que j'étais seul dans la maison, je montai sur la may pour (...). J'allai chercher la broche Je l'allongeai (...). Je piquai plusieurs fois sans succès; enfin je sentis avec transport que j'amenais une pomme. Je tirai très doucement : déjà la pomme touchait à la jalousie, j'étais prêt à la saisir. Qui dira ma douleur? La pomme était trop grosse, elle ne put passer par le trou. Que d'inventions ne mis-je point en usage pour la tirer! Il fallut trouver (...) A force d'adresse et de temps je parvins à (...) mais à peine furent-elles séparées, qu'elles tombèrent toutes deux dans la dépense. Lecteur pitoyable, partagez mon affliction.*

*Je ne perdis point courage; mais j'avais perdu beaucoup de temps. Je craignais d'être surpris; je renvoie au lendemain une tentative plus heureuse, et je me remets à l'ouvrage tout aussi tranquillement que si je n'avais rien fait, sans songer aux deux témoins indiscrets qui déposaient contre moi dans la dépense. **Le lendemain**, retrouvant l'occasion belle, je tente un nouvel essai"* (Rousseau, *Confessions*)

In this excerpt, the frame introduced by *un jour* is closed by *le lendemain* as in (5).and its scope runs beyond the paragraph. *Un jour* sets up and delimits a frame which is intended to pack in all information dealing with the day referred to by *un jour*. However, some of this information, though it deals with the day in question, does not fall within the semantic scope of the introducer. This is the case with the underlined segments which are author's comments about the eventualities reported in the sentences immediately preceding these comments. The comments themselves are signalled by tense and mood as evaluative segments grafted onto the main narrative.

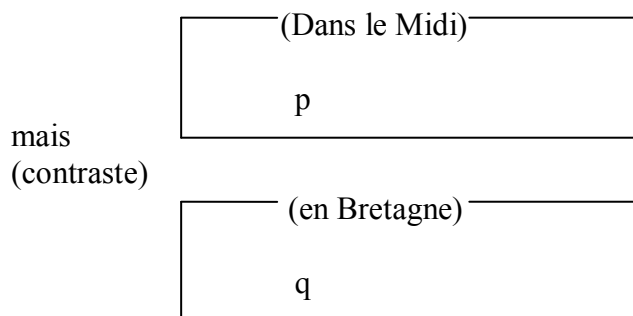
In Charolles (1997) and Charolles & Vigier (forthcoming) we show that there is a comparable divergence between the semantic and framing scopes of preposed adverbials in examples like:

(13) "[**Dans le Midi**, les incendies ont cessé]_{P1} mais [la météo annonce du mauvais temps]_{P2}" (entendu à la radio)

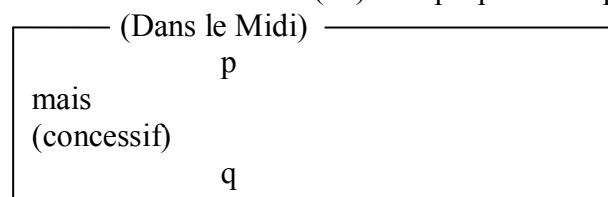
We compare (13) with the following modified version:

(14) [**Dans le Midi**, les incendies ont cessé]_{P1} mais, [**en Bretagne**, ils ont empiré]_{P2}

and note that, in (14), the connective *mais* signals a relation of contrast and that this relation is settled outside the two spatial frames. This disposition can be represented as follows⁶:



The segment (13) cannot be schematised as (14). We propose to represent it simply by:



This representation is correct at the textual (or framing, or informational) level, but not at the semantic level. *Mais* indicates a concessive relation more complex than the contrast relation in (14). The sequence means something like : "In the South of France, the fires stopped but, since the weather forecast predicts bad weather in this part of France, these fires may start up again with the wind" or (with another conclusion) "the tourist season may be adversely affected". However, this relation does not take place in the location denoted by the preposed spatial adverbial and thus it does not fall within the semantic scope of *dans le Midi*. It is stated by the writer and added to the representative propositional content as a sort of comment about the facts mentioned.

This distinction between the ideational and textual scope of preposed adverbials leads to complications. For instance in:

(15) "**Dans la campagne chinoise**, il n'est pas rare de voir surgir une locomotive à vapeur. Le photographe Wang Fuchun, qui s'est penché pendant plus d'une dizaine d'années sur l'univers des trains, s'est particulièrement pris de passion pour ces machines, vestiges d'une autre époque pour l'œil occidental. **En France**, ce mode de transport commercial a disparu au début des années 1970." (Le Monde 2, 10/09/05)

the PP appearing at the start of the text opens a frame. The second sentence refers to a stative eventuality which does not take place only in the Chinese countryside, so that the semantic scope of the preposed PP is limited to the first sentence. In such a context, the PP could have been postposed without any difficulty, and one might well ask why the writer chose to put it at the head of the first sentence of the text. The reason emerges just after: the PP *dans la campagne chinoise* is preposed in order to contrast with *en France* which opens a new spatial frame. The presentation adopted by the writer might lead us to interpret the second sentence as a simple comment added to the preceding one, but this interpretation is very unlikely since it concerns a fact which is unlinked with the one mentioned before. In fact, the segment seems

⁶ This form of textual structuring is very common as can be seen in (1) reproduced in abbreviated form below:
 (1) "*Qu'est-ce que l'écriture? L'usage a consacré différentes acceptions du mot. Dans une acception élargie, (...). Dans une acception plus matérielle, (...). Toutefois, au sens propre, (...)*"

badly structured, it would be better if *dans la campagne chinoise* had been postposed in its host sentence. However this criticism may well be unjustified. The fact that the second sentence is as long as the first one, plus the fact that it concerns a subject other than the one of the first sentence, plus the fact that the two spatial introducers do not have exactly the same form and the same granularity may be sufficient to curb the textual scope of the initial adverbial. This rather unlikely hypothesis is consistent with the finding of a psycholinguistic experiment in progress (Charolles, Sarda, Colonna, Pynte).

Still on the subject of the scoping power of preposed adverbials, let us examine (1) once again:

(1) "*Qu'est-ce que l'écriture? L'usage a consacré différentes acceptions du mot.*

Dans une acception élargie, ...Dans une acception plus matérielle, ...

au sens propre, (...). À la différence des autres systèmes de notations symboliques évoqués, l'écriture au sens propre établit une correspondance univoque entre un signe ou une suite de signes et un énoncé particulier, et se distingue par là d'autres systèmes de notations.

The PP *au sens propre* is repeated in inserted position in the last sentence of the excerpt. The significance of this repetition becomes clear if we delete it. Without *au sens propre*, the reader can be tempted to infer (at least initially, just after reading the NP subject *l'écriture*) that the writer is developing a different theme, dealing with the activity of writing in a more general sense. The fact that the author feels the need to specify that he will continue to speak of writing *au sens propre* signals that he has noticed this undesirable interpretation, and shows the strategic attention readers may give to the control of such constructions (Vigier 2004 and Schrepfer-André give several examples similar to 1). With respect to the specific point discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the means used by the author of (1) is also interesting since it illustrates a case in which the semantic scope of a preposed adverbial is enlarged in order to fit its framing scope.

IV FRAMING ADVERBIALS AS COHESIVE DEVICES

IV FRAMING ADVERBIALS AS COHESIVE DEVICES

In this last section, I would like to make some more theoretical suggestions about the relational content and the functional role of framing adverbials.

Discourse coherence is a particularly controversial subject which has been generating an increasing philosophical, linguistic, psycholinguistic and computational literature for over forty years (cf. Charolles 1983, 1995, forthcoming a). Today, there is a broad consensus among researchers to consider that coherence is an interpretative by default principle the satisfaction of which leads listeners or readers to build creative bridging or similarity contextual inferences (Charolles forthcoming b). Sperber & Wilson's (1983) relevance theory, Fauconnier & Turner's (2002) theory of conceptual integration, and older theories, such as Hume's (1748) theory of ideas association, provide a rich conceptual apparatus to deal with the problems of coherence from a general point of view.

In recent years, several authors have proposed taxonomies of coherence relations in formal semantics and computational linguistics studies (cf. Hobbs 1990, Mann & Thompson 1987, 1988 - *Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST)*, Asher 1993, Asher & Lascarides (1994, 2004) - *Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT)*, and in psycholinguistics

(Sanders, Spooren & Noordman, 1992) with many stimulating debates. Although different in several respects, these taxonomies of coherence relations share the view that there exist only two types of such relations. This point of view is very clearly formulated by Sanders and Spooren in the preface of Sanders, Schilperoord & Spooren (2001, p:7):

"Generally speaking, there are two respects in which texts can cohere :

- 1) Referential coherence: units are connected by repeated reference to the same object
- 2) Relational coherence: text segments are connected by establishing coherence relations like CAUSE-CONSEQUENCE between them."

Reinhart, in a less recent paper (1981), explains, in very close terms that:

"The various devices for linking adjacent sentences in a discourse can be reduced to two types of links: the one is referential links (...) The other type of cohesive link is a semantic link between the proposition expressed by the two sentences (...)"

and concludes that:

"Any of these two types of link is sufficient to produce a cohesive discourse, and it is necessary that at least one of them will hold".

The current semantic and psycholinguistic taxonomies of coherence relations mentioned above are oriented toward the modelling of discourse interpretation and production processes. They enrich, in many respects, more grammatical classifications of cohesive relations such as the well-known one by Halliday & Hasan (1976), further refined by Martin (1992). The term cohesion focuses on the different linguistic constructions and expressions that discourse producers can use, at different levels of language structure, in order to guide the addressees toward a coherent representation of the contents they intend to communicate. As Halliday & Hasan (p.7) explain:

"All grammatical units – sentences, clauses, groups, words – are internally 'cohesive' simply because they are structured"

At the level of discourse "cohesion refers specifically to (...) non structural text-forming relations" and these relations are expressed by "lexico-grammatical units". Anaphora and connectives are such relational markers par excellence, but it is important to keep in mind that these markers are only one specific manifestation of a more general phenomenon, as suggested in the following figure:

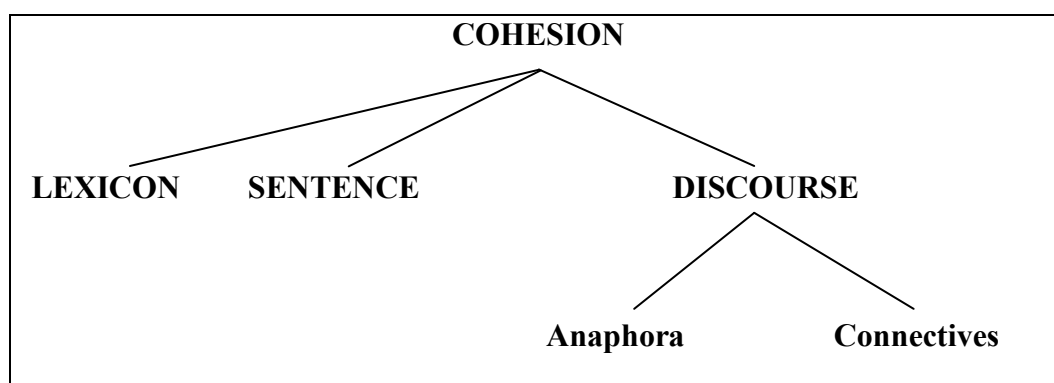


Figure 4

The boundaries between internal cohesive units like words and clauses is not clear cut and the frontier between sentences (where constituents are linked by structural cohesive ties) and discourse (where compositional units are not linked by such ties) is also fuzzy. Some constructions such as ellipsis and correlatives (*non seulement S1 mais S2*) are structurally cohesive although the sentences linked are connected by morphemes without any subordinating power and some (semantic) connectives are more syntactically integrative (*S1 parce que S2*) than others (*S1 puisque S2*). Since the different forms of cohesion and the

levels where they operate are not completely independent from one another, the fact that preposed framing adverbials can simultaneously occupy a place in a sentence and play a role in discourse structuring is not at all surprising.

Framing adverbials are not mentioned either in contemporary taxonomies of coherence relations, or in classifications of cohesive devices. In Charolles, Le Draoulec, Péry-Woodley & Sarda (2005), we note that Halliday & Hasan do not make any reference to the possible cohesive function of expressions like those we analyzed before. Even in the detailed analysis of an extract from Yeats containing the expression "one day", they do not indicate that it includes in its scope several subsequent sentences⁷.

As was seen in sections II and III, certain preposed adverbials can index an open set of incoming sentences which are linked by the fact that they all satisfy the same semantic criterion. This indexing capacity gives them a specific cohesive power, and this power justifies their mention in taxonomies of discourse cohesive markers. Sentences indexed by a preposed framing adverbials form a block, and this block is necessarily detached from others or from sentences preceding and following it. This segmentation potential could be interpreted as "discohesive" but this mention, though significant⁸, is artificial because a negative instruction – that some unit must not be linked to another – is as relevant as a positive instruction for the construction of a coherent representation of discourse.

The fact, more often noticed (cf. I), that preposed adverbials are frequently linked to the preceding context, can lead to consider that they are a specific sort of anaphora. Thompson (1985) suggests such an idea, and Webber, Joshi, Stone & Knott (2003) defends a quite similar point of view in a different framework. However, it seems rather difficult to defend such a line of reasoning. For instance, the fact that preposed *if* clauses are frequently announced by one (or several) previous sentences stating that a given situation opens a set of possible following eventualities cannot simply be considered as a form of anaphoric link. Concerning the scoping power of preposed adverbials, Gosselin (1990) notes this capacity in the case of locational ones and considers that each sentence falling within the scope of a spatial circumstantial complement contains a null corefering anaphor. This solution is possible with spatial and temporal framing adverbials but it can hardly apply to preposed PPs such as *as grâce à*, *en dépit*, *selon X*, to initial purpose infinitive clauses or *if/when* sentences.

As regards now the possibility that framing adverbials could be a subtype of connectives, such an analysis also seems difficult to defend. Clearly, connectives such as *, mais* or *seulement/simplement* for instance are old syntactically integrated adverbs or still accept integrated uses (Charolles & Lamiroy 2005). The same is true of *autrement* (Lamiroy & Charolles 2005) which can be used as an adverb of manner (*Paul s'habille autrement*) or of degree (*Paul est autrement intelligent*), and also as a connective of negative hypothesis commuting with *sinon* (*Dépêche-toi, autrement tu vas rater le bus*). When it is used as a connective, *autrement* cannot appear in text initial position (like all connectives), it needs a sort of "antecedent". More precisely, its interpretation requires the recuperation and the accommodation of a preceding clause so that it functions like a kind of ellipsis. When it commutes with *sinon*, *autrement* can also assume a framing function, it can index several incoming sentences:

(16) *Dépêche-toi, autrement tu vas rater le bus. Tu vas arriver en retard à l'école. Le professeur te renverra en étude et tu devras recuperer le cours*

⁷ For more details on the state of the art, cf. Charolles, Le Draoulec, Péry-Woodley & Sarda (2005).

⁸ This "discohesive" function is assessed in psycholinguistics by Bestgen & Vonk (2000).

Contrary to *mais, seulement, simplement* ... such connectives as *toutefois, pourtant, sinon* can be inserted or postposed. When they appear at the beginning of a sentence, all connectives can in theory assume a framing function, like *autrement* in (16). It seems nevertheless that such usages are rather infrequent or constrained by specific conditions. With *mais* and *seulement* such examples as:

(17) *La soirée s'est bien passée, mais/seulement Paul a encore bu. Son père et son frère se sont disputés. Les enfants n'ont pas arrêtés de courir dans la maison...*

are not impossible but one can argue that their interpretation does not imply the same procedures as required with prototypical framing adverbials. With purely framing adverbials like for instance *selon X*, S1, the incoming sentences S2, S3, ... falling within their scope are simply listed. S1 and S2 can of course be connected by a discourse relation marker, but, as regards their link with the index realised by *selon X*, they all remain equivalent. With connectives, as in (17), such a condition cannot be satisfied. The interpretation of *mais* or *seulement* in *S1 mais/seulement S2* leads to a new content: after reading S2, the reader reinterprets S1 according to the instructional meaning of *mais* or *seulement* and this process puts forward a conclusion saying that the party was not so pleasant. S2 is not simply indexed by *mais* or *seulement*, it is signalled as entertaining a specific relation with S1. This relation must be computed, and after it has been computed, the incoming sentences are understood as elaborating the meaning of $R_{(S1S2)}$. This analysis supports the idea that the more like a connective an adverbial is the less it can assume framing functions. This principle does not exclude that some connectives, as *autrement* in (16) or *sinon*, can extend their scope on subsequent sentences. However, the fact that in such cases, this extension is conditioned by the occurrence of specific continuation cues (tense or mood markers) is very significant. It suggests that their scoping power is not as free as that of preposed PPs (cf. Roberts (1989) and Corblin (2002) for an account in terms of modal subordination).

These facts, when added

- to the fact that anaphor and connectives typically implement backward looking ties, contrary to framing adverbials which are forward labelling indexing expressions
- to the fact (developed in the second and third section of this presentation) that framing adverbials function at an informational level rather than at the propositional or illocutionary levels

argue in favour of a classification of cohesion markers as in the following figure:

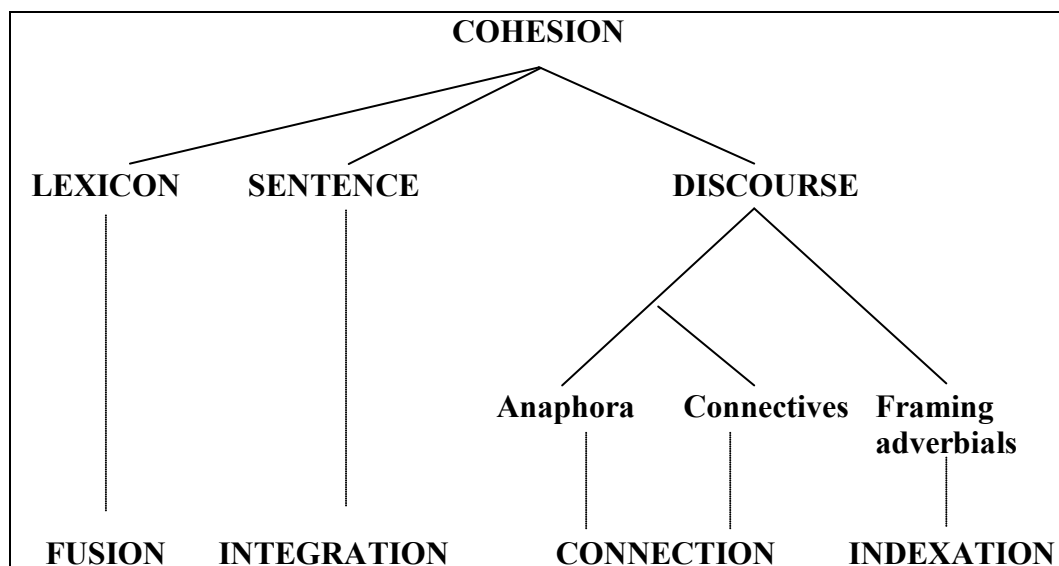


Figure 5

CONCLUSION

The analysis of framing adverbials presented in this paper focuses on a family of expressions whose functions at discourse level have not been as intensively documented as anaphora and connectives. It outlines a framework⁹ for further empirical explorations. As already noted, this framework does not constitute a theory. It deals with only a subset of relational markers which have a forward organisational power. This power is particularly noteworthy, since, generally speaking, anticipation processes tend to be underestimated, at least at the discourse level.

Clearly, studies on framing adverbials may derive considerable benefit from formal models of discourse interpretation such as SDRT. In the end, it could even be the case that, in SDRT, framing adverbials are only a specific case

- of modal subordination (XXXX)
- of topic relation (XXXX)
- of background relation (XXXX)
- or of anaphora (XXXX)

or, in Fauconnier's style, a (sub)class of mental space builders, of enunciative markers (Desclés XXXX) or of points of reference (Langacker XXXX, van Hoek XXXX). I gave my opinion on some of these possibilities, for others, I do not at this point have well established ideas. But, it seems to me that framing adverbials constitute a relevant point for the analysis of still unexplored discursive data.

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⁹ I acknowledge all who have contributed to the setting up of this framework, and especially Marie Paule Péry-Woodley for her help in the preparation of this paper.

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