

Relative Clauses, Adverbial Clauses, and Information Flow in Discourse

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This paper compares discourse functions of relative clauses and adverbial clauses to information flow, primarily in Korean and English written texts. It shows how their functions in discourse are responsive to syntactic orders and information flow, e.g., an iconic ordering of events. While many head-initial languages like English have postnominal relative clauses and both pre- and postposed adverbial clauses, head-final languages like Korean generally have prenominal relative clauses and only preposed adverbial clauses (with no or a very limited distribution of postposed ones). The difference in the syntactic position of relative clauses in each type of language causes them to function differently in discourse, e.g., Korean and Japanese relative clauses may function to back-reference at the beginning of a sentence, much as preposed adverbial clauses do in a head-initial language. The functional difference in English between pre- vs. postposed clauses is achieved by other means in Korean, e.g., preposing the subject with the topic particle before the adverbial clause, and using an equational sentence.

1. Introduction

This paper compares discourse-pragmatic functions of relative clauses and adverbial clauses to information flow in Korean and English texts.¹ It primarily deals with written materials from narrative discourse in these languages, but it also presents relevant data from other typologically

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diverse languages to enhance the comparison.² This study is not designed to be a quantitative analysis; rather, it focuses on structural differences among different types of languages qualitatively with a limited amount of statistics. Further studies are needed to do an extensive statistical analysis dealing with relative and adverbial clauses together. Ultimately, we need works that are both quantitatively thorough and qualitatively sound, as Ford (1993: 19) puts it: "At a time when quantitative linguistic studies are flourishing, it seems crucial that such studies be supported by sound qualitative work". For more quantitatively oriented studies on relative clauses, see Fox (1987), Fox and Thompson (1990), Hwang (1993), and Kim and Shin (1994); and see Ramsay (1987) and Ford (1993) on adverbial clauses.

Information flow in discourse is affected by a number of factors, e.g., information status (given, new, or accessible), definiteness, humanness, flow of thought or ideas, intonation unit, importance of information, among others (Chafe 1976, 1979, 1980, 1987, 1988, 1992; Du Bois 1987; Givón 1983, 1984; Prince 1981, 1992). Some of these factors are universal to all languages, while others are language specific. In this paper, the focus is on strategies of information deployment that are sensitive to language specific features such as the linear order of clauses. The paper argues for the primacy of "natural information flow" in each language. Natural information flow here refers to the most natural order to present bits of information which are relevant to the unfolding discourse, e.g., other things being equal, a chronologically earlier event is reported first, the reason is stated before the result, and a more important participant is introduced first when two participants are related socially or by kinship. Natural information flow

²The data base for Korean texts primarily comes from written texts of folktales and short stories included in the appendix of Hwang (1987). English texts include short written narratives such as *Cinderella*, *Hans*, *The Three Little Pigs*. For other languages, the data will be written (as in Honda 1989 for Japanese) or transcribed from originally elicited texts (as in Coward 1990 for Selaru, Reid et al. 1968 for Totonac, etc.). In addition, translated materials from *Le Petit Prince* (*The Little Prince*) are illustrated from English, Korean, and Japanese at the introduction (Sec. 1). Although I believe that the grammar of a language is best studied with texts that are original in that language, translated materials sometimes have an advantage in helping us to see in sharp focus the structural differences among languages.

thus predicts a largely iconic ordering of events matching the chronological order, but with an intricate interplay between dominant and ancillary statuses of events (cf. Longacre 1989).

Relative clauses and adverbial clauses are syntactically distinct in most languages. The former modifies a noun and is embedded within a noun phrase, while the latter modifies the verb or the whole proposition in the main clause and is combined with (but not embedded in) the main clause (cf. Matthiessen and Thompson 1988 for a discussion of embedding vs. clause combining). Why then do I bring here in the same paper two distinct types of clauses? I hope to show that the functional distribution between these two types of clauses is not the same across languages and that there might be an overlap in function between these clauses when we view them crosslinguistically. Specifically, for example, I claim that relative clauses in head-final languages like Korean may assume some cohesive function that is typically taken by adverbial clauses in a language like English. Such a comparison cannot be adequately done if one were to focus on either relative or adverbial clauses only. The result of this kind of comparison has some implications in translation as the translator needs to be aware that in order to maintain the natural information flow in the target language the use of functional equivalents should take precedence over the use of formal equivalents (Hwang in press).

Typologically, Korean is strongly head final (with a basic word order of SOV) and English is weakly head initial (an SVO order).³ These languages often display a mirror image in ordering of constituents. In combining clauses to express temporal and logical relationships between propositions, there are similar syntactic constraints in the order of clauses, causing a difference in the flow of information in discourse.

For an illustration, note the following English sentence, (1b), from *The Little Prince* (Saint-Exupéry 1974: 14), which is shown in context:⁴ (In

³ Unlike languages with a VSO order in general, English (and many languages with an SVO order) may be characterized as “weakly head initial” in that it displays some head-final features while largely showing head-initial features, a characteristic also noted by Comrie (1989: 96).

⁴ The English translation is very similar to the original French structure, except for the fact that the French sentence does not have a comma before the relative clause: *Et le petit prince eut un très joli éclat de rire [qui m’irrita beaucoup]*.

this paper, brackets are used to mark [relative clauses], and braces to mark {adverbial clauses}.)

- (1) a. "Oh! That is funny!"
 b. And the little prince broke into a lovely peal of laughter, [which irritated me very much].
 c. I like my misfortunes to be taken seriously.

If we were to translate this sentence into Korean using a relative clause (RC) as in English, it would be a nonsensical sentence. First of all, relative clauses are prenominal in Korean, which means that the information in the RC comes before that of the main clause, and an RC cannot encode a subsequent event to that of the main clause, as it would reverse the ordering of the events. Secondly, in this particular example, the English RC is the so-called nonrestrictive RC, and the antecedent of *which* is not a noun but the whole main clause.⁵ The Korean translation (by Chun 1982: 14) appears in (2), which shows that the order of information flow is kept the same as in English, but the statuses of the main vs. subordinate clauses are reversed.⁶

- (2) kuliko-nun {elin wangca-nun kkalulu wusetayess-umulo}
 and-Top young prince-Top laughing.sound laughed-because
 na-nun kipwun-i mopsi enccanacyetta.
 I-Top feeling-Nom very became.irritated
 'And then {because the little prince laughed aloud}, I became very irritated.'

⁵ In Hwang (1990b), I argue that the formal, syntactic distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs is disappearing in English, although semantically such a distinction can be made in any language including English and Korean. Fox and Thompson (1990) similarly note that they refrain from making such a distinction as they find no clear distinction on intonational grounds in their conversational data. In terms of the function in text, I believe the two types of RCs are not always identical, and I include both types (in English and Korean) in this paper.

⁶ The following abbreviations used in this paper: Acc=Accusative, AdvC=Adverbial clause, Art=Article, Cop=Copula, Gen=Genitive, Mod=Modifying ending, N=Noun, NFut=Nonfuture, NH=Nonhuman, Nom=Nominative, Nomz=Nominalizer, NP=Noun phrase, O=Object, Pl=Plural, RC=Relative clause, Redup=Reduplication, Rel=Relativizer, Repet=Repetitive, S=Subject, Top=Topic, V=Verb, 2=second person, 3=third person.

In (3) appears the Japanese translation of the same material, which is now divided into two sentences (from Collier-Sanuki 1991b). The second sentence, (3b), starts with an RC recapitulating the verb of (3a).

- (3) a. *oojisama wa, soo itte, taisoo kawairashii koe de waraimashita.*
 prince Top so say very cute-like voice with laughed
 'So said the little prince, and he laughed with a very cute voice.'
- b. [*warawareta*] *boku wa, totemo hara ga tachimashita.*
 laughed-Passive I Top very stomach Nom stood
 'I, [who was laughed at], got very angry.'

The two happenings (i.e., the prince's laughing and the narrator's reaction to his laugh) may be combined differently on the surface structure of English also, e.g., as two clauses in coordination (as in 4), the second clause as a separate sentence linked by a recapitulatory back-referencing adverbial clause (AdvC) with a subordinator (as in 5) or by a participial clause (as in 6), or the second clause in the relative clause (as in 1b).

- (4) And the little prince broke into a lovely peal of laughter, and it irritated me very much.
- (5) And the little prince broke into a lovely peal of laughter. {When I was laughed at}, I became very irritated.
- (6) And the little prince broke into a lovely peal of laughter. {Being laughed at}, I became very irritated.

Each strategy of clause combination has a different degree of integration of the two clauses, and the example in (1b), using the nonrestrictive relative clause, gives the highest degree of integration.⁷ As this strategy does not work for a prenominal relative language like Korean and Japanese, some other one is used. The Japanese translation shows that while the two-sentence strategy is used, the back-referencing clause is not adverbial as in English (5) or (6), but relative. Again, due to the prenominal relative clause position, the Japanese RC can function as a cohesive link by repeat-

⁷When I asked several native speakers of American English which sentence sounds best, all of them picked example (1b). Also, note the "iconic relation between event and clause integration" proposed by Givón (1990: 826, his emphasis): "The more two *events/states* are integrated semantically or pragmatically, the more will the *clauses* that code them be integrated grammatically."

ing the verb of the previous sentence at the beginning of the next one. The English RC would not function in this way, because the head noun ('I') has to come first as shown in free translation line in (3b). In fact, the free translation sounds awkward, as pronouns usually do not occur as the head of the RC in English. For these reasons, an adverbial clause as in (5) or (6) is more natural in English if there is to be back-referencing.

The following set of examples from the same text shows a similar contrast between English (7), Korean (8), and Japanese (9). The sentence in (7a) is given to provide the context of the sentence in focus in (7b).⁸

- (7) a. That, however, is not my fault.
 b. The grown-ups discouraged me in my painter's career {when I was six years old}, and I never learned to draw anything except boas from the outside and boas from the inside.
- (8) {yeses sal cek-ey elun-tul-i hwaka-lo
 six years time-at grown.ups-Nom painter-as
 chwulsey.ha-l.swu.epta-ko na-lul naksim.sikhyet-ki.ttaymwun.ey}
 succeed-cannot-Quotative I-Acc disappointed-because
 na-nun [sok-i poi-ci.an-khena poi-kena ha-nun]
 I-Top inside-Nom visible-Negative-or visible-or do-Mod
 poa kwulengi ioyey-nun amwu.ket-to kuli-nun
 boa snake besides-Top nothing-even draw-Mod
 yensup-ul haci.anass-unikka mal-ita.
 practice-Acc did.not-because word-be
 '{Because at the age of six grown-ups discouraged me (saying) that (I) could not succeed as a painter}, I didn't practice to draw anything except a boa [whose inside is not or is visible].'
- (9) [muttsu no toki, otona no hito tachi ni, ekaki
 six Gen when, adult Gen people Pl by painter
 de mi o tateru koto o omoikirasareta
 by body Acc establish Nomz Acc gave.up-Passive

⁸ The original French corresponding to (7b) starts with a passive clause, in which *Je* 'I' is the subject cross-referencing to *ma* 'my' in the earlier sentence: *Ce n'est pas ma faute. J'avais été découragé dans ma carrière de peintre par les grandes personnes, à l'âge de six ans, et je n'avais rien appris à dessiner, sauf les boas fermés et les boas ouverts.*

okagede, uwabami no uchigawa to sotogawa no e
 due.to constrictor Gen inside and outside Gen picture
 o kaku yori hoka wa, marukiri e o
 Acc draw than other Top not.at.all picture Acc
 kaku koto o shinakatta] boku nandesukara.⁹
 draw Nomz Acc did.not I be-because
 ‘Because it is I, [who had never drawn anything other than pictures
 of boas from the inside and boas from the outside due to the fact
 that I was made by the grown-ups to give up on pursuing my paint-
 er’s career when I was six years old].’

The Japanese sentence in (9) clearly shows how a long RC may precede a pronoun to provide the reason for the previous sentence.¹⁰

The next section illustrates contrastive discourse functions of relative clauses, using data from a number of languages with different RC strategies, especially postnominal vs. prenominal. Adverbial clauses are discussed in Section 3, followed by concluding remarks in Section 4.

2. Relative Clauses

2.1. Languages with Postnominal Relativization

The basic word order of English is SVO, and RCs are postnominal with relative pronouns (which, under certain circumstances, may be omitted, resulting in a gapping strategy).

(10) S[RC] V O
 S V O[RC]

Note that the RC modifying the S (Subject)-head interrupts the flow of information in the main clause, while the one modifying the O-head does not. This constraint on the syntactic order is largely responsible for both

⁹ This example is from Collier-Sanuki (1993: 61).

¹⁰ It is not clear why distinct grammatical forms—the AdvC in Korean and the RC in Japanese—are used in the respective translations, even though syntactic characteristics of these two languages are very similar. In both languages, nonetheless, information encoded in each clause follows the natural information flow of the original.

the frequency of the O-head RCs and the different kinds of functions each type plays. Thus, in their analysis of conversational data of English, Fox and Thompson (1990: 307) report that O-head RCs are twice as frequent as S-head RCs (145 vs. 68),¹¹ and that O-head RCs have a characterizing function while S-head RCs tend to identify the head.

The first three sentences of *Cinderella*, as shown in (11), illustrate an important function of English RCs in discourse, i.e., introducing additional participants related to the one introduced as the head noun (Hwang 1990b).¹² In (11a) the RC introduces the father of the little girl, and in (11c) the first RC introduces two daughters of the stepmother.

- (11) a. Once upon a time there was a little girl [who lived alone with her father].
 b. Her own kind mother was dead, and her father, [who loved her very dearly], was afraid his beloved child was sometimes lonely.
 c. So he married a grand lady [[who had two daughters of her own], and [who, he thought, would be kind and good to his little one]].

The other RCs in (11)–(b) and (c)—show the perhaps most common function of RCs in any language, i.e., providing background information that is often new but descriptive,¹³ rather than advancing the eventline of a story.

Further examples of the RC from *Cinderella* illustrate that RCs may be used to restrict the head (in 12), to foreshadow an upcoming event (in 13), and to downplay a subsidiary event (in 14).

- (12) any lady in the land [who could fit the slipper upon her foot]

¹¹ This 1 : 2 ratio between S-head and O-head RCs in English contrasts with the cases of Korean and Japanese. Korean displays a 1 : 1 ratio (125 vs. 121 as reported in Kim and Shin 1994, and 55 vs. 62 in Hwang 1993), as does Japanese (135 vs. 138 in Collier-Sanuki 1993: 58). Since O-head RCs in English keep the main clause intact without the interruption by the RC, it is not surprising that we sometimes find extremely long RCs at the end of the sentence and have a higher ratio of O-head RCs in English.

¹² There are only five more RCs in the text besides those illustrated in (11), so two out of nine (22%) RCs function in this way here (cf. Hwang 1990b).

¹³ In Hwang (1993), a more statistically oriented paper, I report that 151 out of 202 total RCs in the Korean data corpus contained new information.

(13) the lovely Princess [who was to be the Prince's bride]

(14) a grand ball [to which he invited all the lords and ladies in the country]

As seen in example (1b), English RCs may function to give subsequent eventline information. The (nonrestrictive) RCs in (15d) below illustrate this function clearly as it is shown in the context of the *Hans* story.

- (15) a. It seemed to Hans as if all eyes were fixed on him {when, in an agony of fear, he timidly placed the red apple on the plate}.
 b. He held his breath, but no one spoke, and the man [who took the apple] did not frown.
 c. He allowed it to remain on the plate with the silver coins.
 d. Slowly he walked along the aisle and up the steps to the choir, [where he handed the plate to the priest, [who blessed the gifts and then reverently placed them on the altar]].

What is reported in the RC in (15d) is temporally subsequent to that of the main clause. The second RC (*who blessed the gifts and then reverently placed them on the altar*), which is embedded within the first RC, also reports a subsequent action (by the priest) to that of the first RC (by the usher). Grammatical subordination in the RC, however, functions to demote the event so that it is in some way not as significant as that encoded in the main clause (Longacre 1989: 419–20). The (restrictive) RC in (15b) identifies the man by referring to the script-predictable information from the previous sentence in (15a).

Now we will briefly look at examples from other languages that have postnominal RCs that further illustrate the same points. Those who are not interested in the discussion of additional examples from these rather exotic languages may skip over to Section 2.2.

Selaru, an Austronesian language from Southeastern Maluku, Indonesia, has the basic word order of SVO, and uses a relative prefix *ma-* for subject NPs and pronoun retention strategy for non-subject NPs (Coward 1990).¹⁴ RCs are similar to adjectives occupying the same slot in the NP construction:

¹⁴ See Comrie (1989), chap. 7, and Keenan (1985) for discussions of the RC strategies used in the world's languages.

(16) HeadN-RC/Adjective-Demonstrative-Article

Unlike English, both demonstratives and articles may be present in the same NP (*kader-ne-ke* ‘chair-this-Article’ for ‘this chair’), and they follow the head noun, sometimes interrupted by an RC or adjective. In the sentence meaning ‘Come let’s go so I can show you my father’s gold [that the man [who killed him] took]’, the object NP has the following structure (Coward 1990: 86):

- (17) ama-ku wasia *dolana* [iry [ma-tabahunwa i]-ke
 dad-my own gold man Rel-kill him-Art
 i-n-al ϕ]-ke
 3s-Rel-take ϕ -Art
 ‘my father’s gold [the man [who killed him] took]’

Thus, the article *-ke*, although phonologically attached to the preceding element, is modifying the head noun, i.e., the first *-ke* modifies *iry* ‘man’ (with the underlining showing the scope of the NP, ‘the man who killed him’), and the second one *dolana* ‘gold’. These RCs have a cohesive function of tying the current event to the events reported earlier.

In another SVO Austronesian language called Tugun, from Southwestern Maluku, Indonesia, the relativization strategy used is gapping (Hinton 1991). The relativizer *naha* is optional, but the reduplicated verb marks that the clause is other than the main. As in Selaru, the demonstrative marks the end of the NP.

- (18) ra-coco aitopu [naha la-la Fatuloi] ko ma
 3Pl-see person Rel Redup-live F. Demonstrative come
 ‘They saw the person [that lives at Fatuloi] coming.’

Although verb-final with an SOV order, Pagu, a Papuan language in Northern Maluku, Indonesia, has a postnominal RC, using a pronominal clitic. As in Tugun, the verb in the RC is marked by reduplication (Wimbish 1991). Unlike Selaru and Tugun, Pagu has the article before the head like English, and the RCs in (20) function to identify the head noun by tying it with an earlier happening:

- (19) Article-HeadN-RC
 (20) a. ‘Then he(=the demon) went home again.’

- b. meki i-oma-oka o lobil.ma.loa
 demon 3NH-go.home-NFut Art afternoon
ma manaki [yo-jari-jaring] yo-oma-oli.
 Art friend 3Pl-Redup-net.fish 3Pl-go.home-Repet
 ‘After the demon went home, that afternoon, the friends [who
 went fishing] came home again.’
- c. temo, “beika nia-isa ala nia-make
 say try 2Pl-landwards then 2Pl-see
ma meki [nanga naok ya-eye-eye].”
 Art demon our fish 3NH-Redup-take
 ‘(He) said, “Come this way, then you’ll see the demon [who kept
 taking our fish].”’

In the Mesoamerican language of Northern Totonac (SVO order), the relativization strategy is very similar to English. Two examples below come from two embedded stories within a cyclic narrative (from Reid, Bishop, Button, and Longacre 1968). The first is a story about a blacksmith who is unable to imitate Our God incognito, while the second (given in English only) about a baker in a similar situation.

- (21) tuncan a’lh maputzanini’n huan chi’xcu’ [a’nti
 then he.went look.for the man [who
 temasu’ni’lh a’nchi i’xmacaca’té huan cahuyuj,
 had.passed.by.to.show.him how he.cut.off.feet the horse
 la’ como xla’ a’xni’ca’ i’xmacaca’té la’ como xla’
 and as.for him when he.cut.off.feet and as.for him
 tu’ i’sta’ja i’xka’lhni’ huan cahuyuj].
 not did.flow his.blood the horse
 ‘Then he went to look for the man [who had passed by to show him
 how he cut the feet off the horse, and how as for him when he cut
 off the feet the blood of the horse did not flow].’
- (22) ‘And he never fixed her, although so very much he wanted to do as
 he had been shown; in the end he thought it is better that he should
 go look for the man [who had taught him how he had fixed up the
 old woman].’

What is interesting in these examples of the RC in Totonac is the fact

that the RC functions to recapitulate and summarize known information in a critical moment at the peak of the story. These long RCs, adding no further information, help to mark the peak as zone of turbulence; it is a moment of truth and of humbling experience for the blacksmith and the baker when they were unable to imitate God.

2.2. Languages with Prenominal Relativization

Korean is an SOV language with prenominal RCs with a gapping strategy (see Hwang 1990b for more details). Japanese is described to be very similar to Korean in these characteristics (Collier-Sanuki 1991a, 1993; Matsumoto 1988, 1990).¹⁵

(23) [RC]S (O) V
 (S) [RC]O V

Unlike English (cf. 10 above), S-head RCs are noninterruptive in the information flow of the main clause, while O-head RCs are. Since S and O are, however, freely omitted in grammatical sentences of Korean and Japanese (as shown by parentheses in (23)), both S-head and O-head RCs may start a new sentence. This syntactic characteristic corresponds with the functional feature of the RC in back-referencing role, as shown in (3b) for Japanese. Analogous examples from Korean texts are presented in (24) and (25).

(24) a. Sim Chengi apeci Sim Pongsa.nim-un ttal-i
 Shim Chung father Shim Bongsa-Top daughter-Nom
 tolao-ki-lul kitaliko.issessupnita.
 return-Nomz-Acc was.waiting
 ‘Shim Chung’s father Shim Bongsa was waiting for (his) daughter to come back.’

¹⁵ In both Korean and Japanese, RCs are not formally as distinct from appositive complement clauses as in English. In fact, they combine along with a third, “gapless,” type into a “noun-modifying clause” (for further details, see Matsumoto 1988, Comrie and Horie 1992). In this paper, RCs in both Korean and Japanese refer to those noun-modifying clauses in which the coreferential noun is gapped in the modifying clause.

- b. [kitali-ta cichi-n] Sim Pongsa.nim-un {ttal-i
wait-while tired-Mod Shim Bongsa-Top daughter-Nom
o-nunka po-lyeko} ciphangi-lul uyciha-ko etwuwun
come-if see-to cane-Acc lean-and dark
pakk-ul nakasikey.toyessupnita.
outside-Acc came.to.go.out
'Shim Bongsa, [who was tired of waiting], went outside in the
dark, leaning over his walking cane, to see if (his) daughter was
coming.'
- (25) a. "pwuche.nim-i sallye.cwusyessulkka?"
Buddha-Nom saved
"Did Buddha save (me)?"
- b. [ilekhe sayngkak.ha-mye ttang.patak-ul po-ten]
like.this think-while ground-Acc see-Mod
celmuni-nun kkamccak nollasseyo.
young.man-Top very was.surprised
'The young man, [who was thinking like this and looking at the
ground], was very surprised.'

The verb *kitali* 'wait' at the beginning of (24b) back-references to the verb at the end of (24a) by recapitulation. Also, *ilekhe* 'like this' in (25b) refers to the thought content given in (25a).

Another functional difference between the RCs in English and Korean is in the introduction of further participants by an English RC, as shown in (11) and (26). Although grammatically possible in Korean, no RC is found to be used for this purpose in the data corpus. Rather, a coordinate NP is used as in (27).¹⁶

- (26) there was a mother pig [who had three little pigs].
- (27) hol emeni-wa atul ttal ilekhe sey sikkwu-ka
lone mother-and son daughter like.this three family.member-Nom
salko.issessupnita.
lived
'There lived a family of three, a widowed mother, a son, and a
daughter.'

¹⁶ This sentence occurs in a Korean text called *Hay wa Tal-i Toyn Onwui* (*The Brother and Sister Who Became the Sun and the Moon*). See Hwang (1987) for the full text and its analysis.

Example (26) can be translated into Korean as shown in (28), by using an analogy from (27). I used a long coordinate NP in order to maintain the same information flow; that is, introducing the mother pig first. A coordinate NP is thus functionally equivalent to the English RC that introduces a participant related to the head noun.

- (28) emma twayci-wa saykki twayci sey mali-ka
 mommy pig-and baby pig three Counter-Nom
 salko.issessupnita.
 lived
 'There lived a mommy pig and three baby pigs.'

As mentioned with example (1b) above, prenominal relativization does not allow an RC to encode subsequent eventline information to that in the main clause. Such events tend to be minor events relative to those in main clauses, and in this respect we see corresponding examples in Korean that encode minor events, although not "subsequent" ones. In (25) above, while the first clause in the RC ('thinking like this') refers to the previous sentence, the second clause ("looking at the ground") reports an incidental, minor event that occurs "prior" to that in the main clause.

The RCs in Korean function to provide background, descriptive information (as in 29), and to summarize earlier events that may encapsulate the theme of the story as well (as in 30 and 31):

- (29) [ap mot-po-nun] pwun
 front unable-see-Mod person
 'The person [who cannot see] (i.e., a blind person)'
- (30) [unhey-lul kap-ki.wihayse kwicwunghan mokswum-kkaci
 debt-Acc repay-to precious life-even
 peli-n] emma appa kkachi
 cast.away-Mod mommy daddy magpie
 'mommy and daddy magpies, [who sacrificed even (their) precious lives to repay (their) debt]'
- (31) [caki-uy sayngmyeng-ul kwuhaycwusi-n] sunim
 self-Gen life-Acc save-Mod monk
 'The monk [who saved (her) own life]'

Japanese, which is syntactically quite similar to Korean, also has prenom-

inal RCs with a gapping strategy. In addition to those given in (3) and (9), below are more examples of RCs taken from a text analyzed by Honda (1989).

- (32) a. *yagate nikkoo ga gake no sita no ie o*
soon sunshine Nom cliff Gen bottom Gen house Acc
terasi dasita.
shine began
‘Before long the sunshine started shining upon the house at the bottom of the cliff.’
- b. [*seNgo hooboo no yake-ato ni dekita*]
postwar here.and.there Gen burned-place at built
roku-zyoo hito-ma kurai no barakku da.
six-mat one-space about Gen barrack Cop
‘(This) is one of the barracks with a six-mat room, [which were built all over the debris of fire after the war].’
- (33) a. “(I) heard that was a beautiful triple somersault.”
b. “Is that right……”
c. [*sono hyoobaN o kaita*] *siNbuN ga, ima teikiseN de*
that fame Acc wrote newspaper Nom now liner by
kono mati e mukat-te iru.
this town Goal head-and stay
‘The newspapers [on which that news was written] are now heading to this town by a regular liner.’

Example (32b) explains the situation in which the house introduced in the previous sentence was built. In (33c), the RC at the beginning starts with the NP, *sono hyoobaN* ‘that fame’, which refers back to the information in (33a).

2.3. Functions of the Relative Clause in Discourse: A Summary

The basic function of the RC common to both postnominal and prenominal positions is to provide background information about the head noun. I predict that this basic function of the RC would be true of all languages, including those with internal relatives. It is important, however, to realize that the positional difference of the RC (pre- vs. postnominal) is closely tied to the information flow in discourse and, therefore, to the functional difference of the RC in a given language. The functions of the RC in dis-

course can be summarized as follows (some functions more specific to pre- or postnominal RC systems are noted in parentheses):

1. Background information about the head noun
2. Cohesion in discourse
 - a. Back-referencing (More common in prenominal RC systems, giving an integration across sentences without intrusive nouns)
 - b. Summarizing earlier events
 - c. Foreshadowing
3. Minor or displaced events (Subsequent events on timeline, only in postnominal RC systems, cf. English nonrestrictive RC examples, as in (1b) and (15d))
4. Abstract theme or teaching of the story
5. Introduction of participants related to the one in the head noun (Common in postnominal RC systems)
6. Peak marking

3. Adverbial Clauses

As Givón (1989: 333) notes, all languages seem to have preposed adverbial clauses,¹⁷ regardless of the basic word order. While VO languages, how-

¹⁷ Adverbial clauses are a type of subordination (cf. Haiman and Thompson 1984) headed by a subordinate conjunction like *when* and *because*. Some linguists dealing with English (e.g., Givón 1990) include participial clauses as part of AdvCs, while others (Ramsay 1987 and Ford 1993) limit their studies to those with a conjunction and a finite clause. Crosslinguistically, we need to view the distinction between subordination and coordination not as binary but as a continuum. When applied to chaining languages (cf. Longacre 1985) like Korean and Japanese, the definition of adverbial clauses is no longer clear. See Kim (1992), chap. 7 for a discussion of problems in applying clause combining typologies to Korean—including the criteria based on morphosyntax versus semantics. In this paper, AdvCs in Korean include those clauses expressing time (e.g., *-l.ttay-ey* ‘when’, *-nun.tongan-ey* ‘while’), cause (*-ki.ttaymwun-ey* ‘because’), and purpose (*-ki.wihaye* ‘in order to’). These tend to be considerably nominalized, e.g., the conjunctive expression may take the locative particle *-ey*, the verb may take modifying (attributive) endings or nominalizers like *-ki*. They are more clearly adverbial than run-of-the-mill medial clauses (also called coordinate dependent or cosubordinate clauses) in the chain, such as those marked by *-ko* ‘and’, *-se* ‘and, so’, and *-na* ‘but’. See Myhill and Hibiya (1988) and Watanabe (1994) on clause chaining in Japanese.

ever, tend to have both preposed and postposed AdvCs, verb-final languages tend to have more limitation in the distributional pattern of postposed AdvCs. Thus, in Korean and Japanese, which are both strongly verb-final languages, postposed AdvCs occur mostly in conversational data only and they are usually edited out in written style.

3.1. Languages with Pre- and Postposed Adverbial Clauses

Several studies present functional differences between preposed and postposed adverbial clauses in English, e.g., Chafe (1984), Thompson (1985), Thompson and Longacre (1985), Ramsay (1987), Givón (1990), Hwang (1990a), and Ford (1993).

The preposed clause primarily serves the text-organizing function of linking sentences and paragraphs together; that is, they serve to mark the higher level boundary. It tends to appear “at *paragraph initial positions*, i.e. at the point of *thematic discontinuity*” (Givón 1990: 847, his emphasis). Semantic information encoded in it tends to be less significant; often it is a repetition of or predictable information from what has appeared earlier.¹⁸ Examples (34) and (35) illustrate this boundary-marking function, as they each start a new episode in a snake story (from *Words to Grow on* by Iron Eyes Cody in *Guideposts* (July 1988: 32-33)):

- (34) But on the third day, {as he looked up at the surrounding mountains}, he noticed one tall rugged peak, capped with dazzling snow.
 (35) {When he reached the top} he stood on the rim of the world.

While this global function of preposed clauses is crucial to understanding texts, it is also important to remember that in many languages the same construction may simply serve a local function of tying two sentences close-

¹⁸ Ramsay (1987: 405-406) contrasts the preposed and postposed *if* and *when* clauses: “The initial clause is ‘recalling’ part of the preceding discourse and in so doing it is connecting or grounding that preceding discourse to the material that follows……the postposed clause only seems to be extending the semantic information given by the main clause, thus its role is not at the thematic level.” Ford (1993: 146) similarly concludes in her study of mainly temporal, conditional, and causal clauses in English conversation: “discourse-structuring functions are realized through initial adverbial clauses, while final adverbial clauses tend to work more locally in narrowing main clause meaning without creating links or shift points in a larger discourse pattern.”

ly together in back-referencing. At either the global or local level, their function is bidirectional, linking what has gone before to what is to come. In the same snake story of twenty eight sentences, there occurs one more preposed AdvC, which is shown in (36b):

- (36) a. Then he heard a rustle at his feet, and looking down he saw a snake.
 b. {Before he could move}, the snake spoke.

Although (36b) is not recapitulating the verb of the previous sentence, it is closely tied to (36a) by the common human reaction of moving away from a snake when first seen.

The following sentences (given in English) are from a folk story from Tolaki in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia (data from David Mead). The preposed clauses are either exact recapitulation or script-predictable information, in a sort of tail-head linkage:

- (37) a. 'One day the moon had an idea of how she could help out mankind.'
 b. '{When her plan was ready}, she invited the sun to come over and hunt lice.'
 c. '{As they were hunting lice}, the moon suggested to the sun.....'

Thus preposed clauses, while primarily serving the text-organizing function at the global level of discourse, may simply function to closely tie two sentences together at a more local level.

On the other hand, the postposed adverbial clause conveys more integrated information with the main clause at the local level, and it tends to "appear at *paragraph medial* positions, i.e. in the middle of a tightly-coherent thematic chain" (Givón 1990: 847, his emphasis). Semantically, the information encoded in it may be significant, closely parallel to that encoded in clauses in coordination. Additionally, I claim that the postposed clause has another function at some critical point in narrative to convey globally crucial information such as marking a turning point or peak (Hwang 1990a). It may create a dramatic effect for an unexpected turn of events, as illustrated in (38c).

- (38) a. The youth resisted awhile, but this was a very persuasive snake with beautiful markings.
- b. At last the youth tucked it under his shirt and carried it down to the valley.
- c. There he laid it gently on the grass, {when suddenly the snake coiled, rattled and leapt, biting him on the leg}.
- d. "But you promised……," cried the youth.
- e. "You knew what I was {when you picked me up}," said the snake {as it slithered away}.

While the two postposed clauses in (38e) reflect the integrated function, the one in (38c), which is separated from the main clause by a comma, is more detached from the main clause. It is true that this AdvC looks at the preceding main clause only, not at the preceding sentence(s) as is the case with preposed AdvCs. It is more like a clause in coordination than an AdvC in that it encodes probably the most significant piece of information on the eventline. (Syntactically, however, it is clearly an AdvC headed by the subordinating conjunction *when*.) It signals a dramatic turning point encoding an unexpected event in the plot structure.

Northern Totonac, which has an SVO order with both pre- and postposed positions available for adverbial clauses, displays a tendency to have preposed temporal clauses (headed by *a'xni'ca'* 'when' and *cho'chi* 'as soon as') and postposed causal clauses (*porque* 'because'), a tendency perhaps not unique among SVO languages.

In (39), all occurrences of adverbial clauses are shown, as I counted them in three Totonac texts (from Reid et al. 1968). The first three columns show preposed clauses in paragraph-initial, sentence-initial, and sentence-internal positions, correlating with different types of connectors; their total is found in the fourth column. The final, fifth, column shows that there are only 5 postposed clauses (as compared with 41 preposed clauses), and they are all semantically causal, 4 with *porque* 'because' and 1 with *como* 'as, since'. The circumstantial clause marked by the conjunction *como* 'as, since' occurs preposed (17 times), except once when it is used in a causal sense in closing a story: 'That's what happened to me as I didn't know how to swim.'

(39) Northern Totonac

←———— Preposed —————→ Postposed

| | P-initial | S-initial | S-internal | Total | |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------|---|
| <i>a'xni'ca</i> 'when' | 12 | 5 | 3 | 20 | 0 |
| <i>cho'chi</i> 'as soon as' | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>como</i> 'as' | 7 | 8 | 2 | 17 | 1 |
| <i>por masqui</i> 'although' | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| <i>porque</i> 'because' | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 20 | 15 | 6 | 41 | 5 |

All temporal clauses (20 'when' clauses and 3 'as soon as' clauses) are preposed, 13 of which are marking the episode boundary, 7 locally tying sentences together, and 3 'when' clauses occurring clause-initially within a sentence. Example (40b), given below in English only, illustrates a 'when' clause marking a new paragraph:

- (40) a. 'And so much he walked looking for him, in the end he went and found the man where he was walking around.'
- b. (A new paragraph):
- 'And when he found him, then he began to tell him what had happened to him.'

In conversational data of English, Ford reports a pattern of distribution of temporal and causal adverbial clauses as follows (adapted from Ford 1993: 24):

(41) English

| | Preposed | Postposed |
|----------|----------|-----------|
| Temporal | 21 | 40 |
| Causal | 0 | 75 |

Temporal clauses are distributed in both positions, with a ratio of 1: 2 between pre- and postposed.¹⁹ Her data show that all 75 occurrences of causal clauses are postposed with none preposed, a pattern similar to that in Totonac. Comparing to the functions of preposed clauses, we note that it is less likely for the causal clauses headed by *because* to do those functions as marking a larger boundary, and back-referencing to or recapitulating what appeared in the previous sentence. Temporal clauses using *when*, *before*, *after*, and *as* are more likely to do a boundary-marking cohesive function.

The functional distribution of adverbial clauses (especially temporal ones) in differing positions can be summarized as follows. (This pattern is based on English and Northern Totonac, but is expected to apply to those languages that may take both pre- and postposed AdvCs.)

Preposed Clauses: Primarily serve thematic, orienting, and cohesive functions, marking the boundary (thematic discontinuity) at the higher, global level. Secondly serve a back-referencing function at the local level, closely tying two sentences together.

¹⁹ Ramsay's frequency counts of *Death in the High C's*, a novel by Robert Barnard, show more preposed *when* clauses than the postposed ones:

| | Preposed | Postposed |
|-------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>when</i> | 42 | 27 |
| <i>if</i> | 12 | 8 |
| Total | 54 | 35 |

My own counting of *The Little Prince* also shows more preposed *when* clauses (24: 9), but in the case of other temporal markers like *until* and *as* there are more postposed clauses (9: 15). The reason why Ford's counts show almost twice as many postposed temporal clauses (21: 40) is related to her observation (Ford 1993: 68) that in conversation one needs to have a quite extended turn (thus more monologue-like) to be concerned with discourse organization—which is the primary function of the preposed AdvC. The frequency counts of *The Little Prince* are:

| | Preposed | Postposed |
|----------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>when</i> | 24 | 9 |
| <i>as</i> | 9 | 11 |
| <i>until</i> | 0 | 4 |
| <i>if</i> | 17 | 1 |
| <i>because</i> | 2 | 6 |
| Total | 52 | 31 |

Postposed Clauses: Primarily serve a semantic function, similar to coordination, but giving a greater integration with the main clause at the local level. Secondly function to create dramatic effects for an unexpected turn of events significant at the global level (often marking the peak).

3.2. Languages with Preposed Adverbial Clauses

Although it is not impossible in Korean and Japanese to have postposed adverbial clauses (as in conversational data), I essentially agree with Givón when he says: “The crosslinguistic distribution of the ordering of adverbial clauses is skewed……Many strict verb-final languages allow no post-posed ADV-clauses” (Givón 1989: 333). His next statement, however, is too relativistic: “Thus, the meaning (or ‘function’ of the more-integrated post-posed ADV-clauses……cannot be conveyed in [such] languages……Their grammar simply makes no provision for it” (333-34).

No doubt that there is a syntactic constraint in Korean as a strict verb-final language, but I believe that there are functional equivalents in Korean to the English-type postposed AdvC. First, the integrated function of postposed AdvCs can be accomplished in Korean by the position of the overt subject. Note, in (42c), that ‘Shim Bongsu’ is the subject of the main clause verb ‘know’ and it occurs at the beginning of the sentence before the AdvC.

- (42) a. [i somwun-ul tul-un] tongney salam-tul-un
 this rumor-Acc hear-Mod neighbor person-Pl-Top
 Sim Chengi-lul chacawa-se, {wilo-to haycwu-ko
 Shim Chung-Acc visit-and consolation-also do-and
 hokun chingchan-to ha-mye}²⁰ motwu nwunmwul-ul
 or praise-also do-as all tear-Acc
 hullyessupnita.
 shed
 ‘The neighbors [who heard this news] came to see Shim Chung,
 and all (of them) cried, {consoling and praising (her)}.’

²⁰ This *-mye* ending expresses a temporal overlap (similar to English conjunctions *as* and *while*). It is not clear if this clause (in fact, two clauses within its scope, ‘console and praise’) is an AdvC; it is not nominalized syntactically like those meaning ‘when’, ‘in order to’, and ‘because’. Here it is marked in braces since, unlike the first medial clause in (42a), it does not express a separate sequential event but is simultaneous with the final verb action. It is best translated as a postposed AdvC in English, as shown in the free translation.

- b. Sim Chengi-nun apeci-ka kekcenghasi-l kes-ul
 Shim Chung-Top father-Nom worry-Mod fact-Acc
 yemyehay-se, kunyang melli ttenanta-ko-man
 be.concerned-so just far.away leave-Quotative-only
 malhayt-ten kes ipnita.
 said-Mod fact be
 '(It) is that Shim Chung was worried that Father might be over-
 come with anxiety, so just told (him) that (she) would leave for
 a far away place.'
- c. Sim Pongsa-nun {Sim Chengi-ka payt salam-tul-ul
 Shim Bongsas-Top Shim Chung-Nom sea person-Pl-Acc
 ttala cip-ul ttena-lttay-ey-ya} pilose cwukum-uy
 follow house-Acc leave-when-at-only finally death-Gen
 kil-lo ttenanta-nun kes-ul alkey.toyessupnita.
 way-to leave-Mod fact-Acc came.to.know
 'Shim Bongsas finally realized that (she) was going to die {when
 Shim Chung was leaving home with the seamen}.'

Although the temporal clauses with 'while' and 'when' occur before the final clause (except the subject), they are functionally equivalent to postposed AdvCs of English, because the subject of the final clause is placed before the intervening temporal clause. A more literal translation of (42c) that reflects Korean structure would be: 'Shim Bongsas, {when Shim Chung was leaving home with the seamen}, finally realized that (she) was going to die'. This type of structure is commonly found in Korean texts, and is more smoothly translated into English with a postposed AdvC than an intervening AdvC inside the main clause.

The position of the overt subject in Korean is related to the choice of a nominal or a pronominal subject in English. Longacre (1978: 251), referring to Robert Kantor's manuscript, contrasts the following two sentences, and he questions when it is appropriate to say one over the other:

- (43) {When he came to power}, Augustus.....
 (44) {When Augustus came to power}, he.....

According to Kantor, (43) is appropriate when we proceed in this sentence and the following sentences to establish Augustus as thematic, such as what he has done or what he did while he had the power. On the other

hand, we say (44), when Augustus is not thematic, but some other noun such as his work and his program is.

Equivalent Korean sentences would be as follows, in that zero anaphora (ϕ) instead of a pronoun is used in Korean:

- (45) { ϕ kwellyek-ul cap-un.hwu}, wang-un nala-lul
 power-Acc capture-after king-Top country-Acc
 pwuhung.sikhyetta.
 developed
 ‘{After coming to power}, the king developed the country.’
- (46) {wang-i kwellyek-ul cap-un.hwu}, ϕ nala-lul
 king-Nom power-Acc capture-after country-Acc
 pwuhung.sikhyetta.
 developed
 ‘{After the king came to power}, (he) developed the country.’

The corresponding difference in English usage is found in (45) and (46) also. The king in (45) is clearly thematic, marked by the topic particle (*n*)*un*. After the adverbial clause in (46), the main clause subject may be left unmarked (as in 46) when it is the same as the one in the AdvC, but it would be smoother with some other noun like ‘the country’ as the subject, as in ‘{After the king came to power}, the country developed.’

There is, however, a third option in Korean that is identical to (46) except that the topic particle is used for the king instead of the nominative particle.

- (47) wang-un { ϕ kwellyek-ul cap-un.hwu}, nala-lul
 king-Top power-Acc capture-after country-Acc
 pwuhung.sikhyetta.
 developed
 ‘The king, {after coming to power}, developed the country.’

When the topic particle is used, I view that the king is no longer within the scope of the AdvC. As shown in the free translation, the NP is interpreted as being the subject of the independent clause, hopping over the AdvC.²¹

²¹ This interpretation, which is pointed out by one of the reviewers to be quite controversial, may be due to the rule of Korean grammar that the subject of an AdvC generally takes the nominative particle *ka*, even when the subject is known information. See Hwang (1987), chap. 5.

I contend that this third option in (47) is a functional equivalent in Korean to the English postposed AdvC. Thus the position of the overt subject interacts with the choice of the topic or nominative particle.²²

Another functional equivalent to the English-type postposed AdvC is found in an equational sentence with two clauses, especially when the two clauses are causally connected. The Korean sentence roughly translated as 'That (I) didn't dare to open the door was because (I) thought you'd come for the rent' would be equivalent to an English sentence from a story: *I daren't open the door because I thought you'd come for the rent*. This type of equational sentence is frequently found in Korean, and often the subject is

²² In addition to adverbial clauses of time, cause, or circumstance, a similar distributional pattern of the position of the subject is found in non-final, medial clauses in the chain. Compare the position of *sunim* 'monk' in (a) and (c) from *The Beauty and the Monk* (cf. Hwang 1987). In (c), the reference to the monk occurs after the back-referencing clause:

- (a) sunim-un caki-lul haychici.anulye-nun cwul al-ko,
 monk-Top self-Acc not.going.to.harm-Mod Nomz know-and
 kakkai ka-se, hwaytpwul-lo ku ip-an-ul tulyeta.poatta.
 closely go-and torch-with the mouth-inside-Acc looked.into
 'The monk knew that (the tiger) was not going to harm him, went close, and looked into the mouth with a torch.'
- (b) mok-ey mwuesinka kitalan kes-i kellye.issetta.
 throat-at something long thing-Nom was.stuck
 'Something long was stuck in the throat.'
- (c) i kes ttaymwuney kule-nun kes-ilako cikkamha-ko,
 this thing because.of do.so-Mod fact-Quotative perceive-and
sunim-un son-ul nee-se, ku kes-ul ppopacwuetta.
 monk-Top hand-Acc put.in-and the thing-Acc pulled.out
 'Perceiving that (the tiger) was doing so because of this, the monk put his hand into (the throat) and pulled out the object.'

²³ I apply Longacre's term (1970: 802) in referring to such Korean sentences as equational sentences. Kim (1992: 283), however, calls them cleft sentences, with the following illustration.

ttang-i ci-n kes-un pi-ka o-ase-ta
 earth-NM wet-ATTR thing-TM rain-NM come-Reason-be-IND
 'That the earth is wet is because of it being rained.'

The cleft construction in Korean can be illustrated as: *wuli-ka onul cenyek mek-ul kes-un sayngsen i-ta* 'It is fish that we will eat tonight' or 'What we will eat tonight is fish'. The Korean sentence *ttang-ul cet-key ha-n kes-un pi i-ta* would be

not overt when assumed to be known (as indicated by the parentheses for zero anaphora).

In *Minye wa Sunim* (*The Beauty and the Monk*), the following six sentences occur, in which two consecutive sentences each form a causal set:

- (48) a. sunim-un yein-eykey kot sangkyeng.ha-tolok
 monk-Top woman-to immediately go.to.Seoul-to
 kwenko.haytta.
 advised
 'The monk advised the woman to go to Seoul right away.'
- b. cip-eyse-nun holangi-eykey caphyeka-se
 home-at-Top tiger-by was.caught-so
 cukessulila-ko kekcenghako.itket-ki
 presumably.dead-Quotative must.be.worried-Nomz
 ttaymwun ita.
 reason is
 '(It) is because (the people) at home would be worried that
 (she) must have died, being captured and taken by a tiger.'
- c. kulena ku chenyenun i-lul kecel.haytta.
 but the girl-Top this-Acc refused
 'But the girl refused it.'
- d. [caki-uy sayngmyeng-ul kwuhaycwusi-n] sunim-kwa
 self-Gen life-Acc saved-Mod monk-with
 phyengsayng-ul hamkkey cinayyaketta-nun kes ita.
 lifetime-Acc together should.spend-Mod fact is
 '(It) is that (she) must spend (her) life together with the monk
 [who saved her life].'
- e. sunim-un tanghwang.haytta
 monk-Top was.embarrassed
 'The monk was embarrassed.'

analogous to the English cleft *It is rain that made the earth wet* or the pseudo-cleft *What made the earth wet is the rain* (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1985: 358-63 on crosslinguistic illustration of clefts and pseudo-clefts). Cleft sentences involve only one clause with a focus on one of its arguments, but equational sentences seem to be fundamentally different in that they are combinations of two clauses/predications with an explicit causal marker (cf. in the above example, 'The earth is wet' and 'It rained' with *-ase*, glossed by Kim as 'Reason').

- f. suto-ha-nun mom-ulo kyelhon.hal.swu-ka
 asceticism-do-Mod body-as able.to.marry-Nom
 ep-ki ttaymwun ita.
 not.exist-Nomz reason is
 '(It) is because (he) cannot marry (her) as a person who is
 practicing asceticism.'

Sentences (b, d, f) provide reasons for the events stated in the prior sentences (a, c, e) respectively. These reason sentences are equational in form with the copula *i*, but they have no overt subject (such as *ku kes-un* 'the fact-Topic', corresponding to *it* in English). The subject, if overt, would refer to the idea in the prior sentence in each case. Remarkably, these reason sentences are in the present tense in the stream of past-tensed narration.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. The monk advised | b. It is because..... |
| c. The girl refused | d. It is that..... |
| e. The monk was embarrassed | f. It is because... |

The equational sentences in (48b, d, f) are used to state the reason after the event. If both the reason and the resulting event were to be in the same sentence in Korean, the unmarked order would be reason (in preposed AdvC)-result (main clause). In order to have the result-reason order within a sentence (cf. the English sentence *The monk advised the woman to go to Seoul right away because the people at home would be worried.....*), an equational sentence is used: 'That the monk advised the woman to go to Seoul right away is because the people at home would be worried.....' However, that would downplay the event (the result) since it is encoded in a complement clause functioning as the subject of the equational sentence. The use of separate, independent sentences used in the text carefully focuses on both the event and the reason.²⁴

²⁴ If the strategy of preposing the overt subject is used in this case, the intervening AdvC between the subject and the main clause would be too long, e.g., 'The monk, {because (people) at home would be worried that (she) must have died, being captured and taken by a tiger}, advised the woman to go to Seoul immediately.' This strategy would, nonetheless, place more focus on the event than its reason. This fact shows that there is usually a best form to be used, given the context.

The more global function of putting a dramatic surprise in postposed AdvCs in VO languages like English represents skewing from the normal coding pattern of encoding events in main clauses and nonevents in dependent clauses. No skewing of this kind is necessary in OV languages like Korean, where conjunctions (like 'when' and 'as') occur at the end of the clause. Clause-final conjunctions do not give the sense of a setting like clause-initial conjunctions in English. The Korean equivalent to the English sentence (38c), repeated as (49a), is (49b), which is given in English only:

- (49) a. There he laid it gently on the grass, {when suddenly the snake coiled, rattled and leapt, biting him on the leg}.
- b. {On the grass (he) put (it) gently-when}, the snake suddenly coil-and, rattle-and, leap-and, bit his leg.

Note the order of clauses is iconic to the chronological order of events, and the statuses of the main clause and AdvC are reversed in Korean. As expected in a regular coding pattern, the event reported in the final clause ('the snake bit his leg') is the most crucial information in the plot structure, while the preceding events are stated in medial clauses (whose verbs are usually not marked for tense and mode).

In summary, the equivalent functions of postposed AdvCs are achieved in Korean by different devices, such as the preposing of the subject along with the use of the topic particle; by the use of an equational sentence within a sentence or as a separate sentence; and by the clause-final conjunctions like *-ltay* 'when', which effectively reverse the main clause vs. AdvC statuses.

In a similar illustration from Japanese (from Honda 1989), the temporal clause in (50a) provides the setting for a new unit, and the sentence introduces a boy. Next, sentence (50b) starts with a pronominal subject referring to him, followed by a temporal expression before his actions are stated.²⁵

²⁵ Although not a clause but a phrase, the temporal expression in (50b) is equivalent to the postposed position to the verb in English. In fact, since adverb phrases may be preposed or postposed to the verb in English, their functional distribution in discourse is analogous to that of adverbial clauses. Sentence-initial phrases function as "a point of departure" for the sentence(s), as Fries (1983) has shown. In a language like Korean and Japanese, the adverb phrase, as in the case of the AdvC, does not occur after the verb, unless it is an afterthought or in conversation. There is a similar functional contrast between 'Yesterday, I.....' vs. 'I yesterday.....', depending on the position of the subject in relation to the adverb.

In (50c), the adverbial clause ‘as soon as (he) comes home’ refers back to the verb of (50b), equivalent to the preposed AdvC in English.

- (50) a. yagate {hi ga sukkari akaruku natta koro},
 soon day Nom completely bright became when
 kono ie kara hito-ri no syooneN ga tobi
 this house from one-person Gen boy Nom jump
 dasi-te, gakko e hasit-te iku.
 out-and school to run-and go
 ‘{When it became fully bright}, one boy dashes out of the house
 and is running to school.’
- b. kare wa {gogo ni-zi goro made} kaet-te
 he Top afternoon two-o’clock about till return-and
 ko-nai.
 come-Negative
 ‘He doesn’t come home {until around 2 o’clock in the
 afternoon}.’
- c. sosite {kaet-te kuru to}, mata sugu ie
 then return-and come when again soon house
 kara tobi dasi-te iku.
 from jump out-and go
 ‘And {as soon as (he) comes home}, (he) runs out of the house
 again.’

For Japanese, example (9), from *The Little Prince*, illustrates the use of the equational sentence that provides the reason for the previous sentence ‘That, however, is not my fault’. It is similar to the “paratactic” *because* clause (cf. Schleppegrell 1991) found in conversational English, in that both the subject and verb (‘it is’) are omitted.

4. Conclusion

The functions of relative clauses and adverbial clauses are not the same across languages. Natural information flow is of primary importance in discourse, and the information flow interacts in a given language with the basic word order in the clause, with the order between the head noun and the RC (pre- vs. postnominal), with the position of adverbial clauses in a

sentence (pre- vs. postposed), and with the types of clause combination most commonly used in the language.

Head-initial (VO) languages may report events in a skewed way (e.g., in the RC or the AdvC, rather than an independent clause) to achieve special effects, such as at peak. But in languages with the prenominal RC (predominant in verb-final languages, as Keenan (1985) says), it is not possible to encode a subsequent event in an RC. When postnominal RCs (of the nonrestrictive type) in English are used for a subsequent event, that event is demoted to be less significant, and the shared coreferential noun gives a sense of integration between the two clauses. In VO languages that allow both pre- and postposed AdvCs, there is a functional difference between the two positions. The preposed clause primarily serves a thematic (global) and cohesive function, while the postposed serves a semantic (local) function. When a postposed *when* clause encodes an event and the main clause provides a setting, it can achieve a dramatic surprise effect in the plot.

In head-final (OV) languages, which are mostly prenominal in relativization, the RC may function to back-reference to the previous sentence giving more integration across sentences, with a slight focus on the noun (participant or prop). In strictly verb-final languages that do not use postposed AdvCs, the functional difference between pre- vs. postposed clauses is achieved by other means, e.g., the subject position, with the nominative vs. topic particle, and the equational sentence.

In viewing clauses in discourse, whether they are independent, adverbial, or relative, we should remember Givón's thesis (Givón 1990: 826, his emphasis) that "No clause is **totally** independent of its immediate clausal context—in connected, **coherent** discourse." Every clause—even in coordination—is dependent on its discourse context, and each language has some common and some unique ways to combine clauses to create coherent texts.

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