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Functional Grammar
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**THE ENGLISH PROGRESSIVE TENSES AND THE LAYERED REPRESENTATION OF
FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR**

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper a proposal will be put forward to deal with the Progressive in English in terms of the layered version of Functional Grammar (henceforth FG), as outlined in Hengeveld (1989) and (1990), and especially Dik (1989). In other words, I shall be concerned with an FG treatment of one aspectual category in one specific language.

With respect to the study of Aspect, the importance of the study of individual grammatical expressions in individual languages has recently been (re)emphasized in a paper by Bybee and Dahl (1989: 97), where they write that "the relevant entity for the study of grammatical meaning is the individual gram [= B. and D's neologism for 'grammatical morpheme'], which must be viewed as having inherent semantic substance reflecting the history of its development as much as the place it occupies in a synchronic system". Without making an attempt to reconstruct the history of the development of the English Progressive here, I will at least partially be in line with Bybee and Dahl's advice, in that I will try to give an account of a specific gram whose specific semantic substance has to be understood dynamically within the synchronic system.

As far as Functional Grammar is concerned, the subject has been given an initial treatment within the layered model (Dik 1989: Chapter 9), but more as an illustration of Aspectuality and Aspect within the Theory of FG than as a full-scale discussion of the subject in an FG description of English. Again I do not want to claim for this paper that it does provide us with this

full-scale treatment, but it should at least be a stepping-stone in the right direction.

The structure of my paper is as follows. In the second section I give a brief presentation of the treatment of Aspectuality, Aspect and Progressive in Dik(1989). My (alternative) proposal for the English Progressive is worked out in section 3, whereas section 4 concentrates on what are often denoted as the iterative and habitual uses of the English Progressive in the context of this proposal. The final section rounds off with a number of conclusions, and indicates some of the implications for the theory of Functional Grammar.

2. ASPECTUALITY, ASPECT, AND PROGRESSIVE IN DIK(1989)

Dik uses aspectuality as a pretheoretical term to cover a number of semantic distinctions, mainly those listed under (1).

- (1) (a) Type of State of Affairs (= Aktionsart)
- (b) Perfectivity/Imperfectivity - which "hinges on the question of whether the SoA is presented from an outside point of view, as one complete, indivisible whole (Perfective), or from an inside point of view, as being non-complete or in progress (Imperfective)"
- (c) Phasal aspectuality - "what can be said at some reference point on the temporal dimension, in relation to the occurrence of some SoA. We here find such

values as Prospective, Ingressive, Progressive and Perfect Aspect"

- (d) Quantificational aspectuality - "... different forms of quantification over sets of occurrences of SoAs. Here we find such values as Iterative, Habitual, and Frequentative Aspect"

(Dik 1989: 186-7)

Under (a) we get the typology of State of Affairs as conceived in FG. It is lexically expressed and concerns the predicate and its arguments, in other words, the predicate frame. It can be equated with what is normally understood by Aktionsart.

For Dik Aspect is grammatically expressed aspectuality. He distinguishes different kinds of aspect, as indicated under (b)-(d). (Im)perfectivity he defines in the sense of Comrie(1976): a SoA is conceived as Perfective if we present it as a complete, indivisible whole, as Imperfective if we look at it as incomplete and from the inside. Phasal aspect is described in terms of the following schema (Dik 1989: 190):

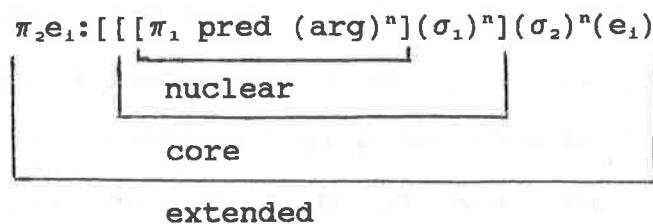
What can be said on the basis of information available at some reference point t_1 about the occurrence of some SoA at some interval t_2 (where t_2 may or may not overlap with t_1)?

Dik distinguishes Progressive and Ingressive ('inner phasal aspects') from Prospective and Perfect ('outer phasal aspects'); for all of these, however, he claims the necessity of an extra reference point. It is with this extra reference point for the

Progressive and Ingressive that I have some difficulty. Whereas indeed an extra reference point is required for Prospective and Perfect (Perfect aspect signals that some anterior SoA is viewed as having impact on/as continuing up to some reference point; Prospective aspect views some posterior SoA as coming up from some earlier reference point), I do not see that it would be needed for Ingressive or Progressive. In my opinion, it is not more necessary in the case of Progressive than for Imperfective. Minimally, I would like to stress that the category Progressive is closer to Imperfective than Prospective and Perfect; indeed, there are reasons to believe that Progressive may in certain cases be looked upon as a special manifestation of the category Imperfective. This is the position which I will (tentatively) take up in connection with the English Progressive forms in what follows. Finally, as far as Quantificational aspect is concerned, Dik simply posits it as a relevant category. Whether it is a relevant category in a Functional Grammar of English will receive some further attention in section 4.

To the extent that aspect is a grammatically expressed category, it is represented in FG by means of predication operators. However, FG distinguishes between the nuclear, core and extended predication, and operators at level 1 (π_1 operators) and at level 2 (π_2 operators), as indicated in (2). Note also that there are level 1 and level 2 satellites.

(2) Nuclear, core, and extended predication (Dik 1989: 183)



Aspectual operators are assigned to the different levels as shown in (3).

(3) Perfective/Imperfective: level 1

Progressive ('inner phasal aspect'): level 1 (but with scope over Perfective/Imperfective)

Perfect and Prospective ('outer phasal aspect'): level 2

Quantificational: level 2

Dik's position about the relation between Perfective/Imperfective and the other aspects appears from the following quotation.

The Imperfective can be assumed to have a unified semantic content which can be described in such terms as "Non-complete, Non-bounded, Divisible, Open". This semantic content can, in actual usage, get several more specific interpretations, such as "progressive" (SoA presented as ongoing), "habitual" (recurrent by virtue of habit), "iterative" (occurring repeatedly), and "continuous" (occurring continuously, without interruption or end-point). We shall assume that these different interpretations of Imperfective must be distinguished from the distinct grammatical aspect

values Progressive, Habitual, Iterative, Continuous, which may get separate expression in other languages (and sometimes even in languages which do have the Pf/Impf opposition). (Dik 1989: 188)

In other words, Dik wants to dissociate the English Progressive from the Imperfective and considers it as a separate type of Phasal Aspect. On the other hand, he points out that the Progressive "expresses one facet of what may be expressed by the Imperfective in other languages" (pp. 188-9). Although I find the issue difficult to decide, I think that there are reasons to put forward a proposal which regards the English Progressive as a specific and restricted realization of the Imperfective.

3. TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE FG ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH PROGRESSIVE

3.1. PRELIMINARIES

To begin with, let me first make a number of points which should be part of our understanding of the Progressive form in English, and which will have to be reflected in our FG account.

(i) The English progressive is a marked category, witness the following quotation from Quirk et al. (1985: 198):

The progressive aspect is infrequent compared with the nonprogressive. A count of a large number of verb construc-

tions has indicated that less than 5 per cent of verb phrases are progressive, whereas more than 95 per cent are nonprogressive.

This implies, of course, that the nonprogressive is the default category, and that the progressive is subject to a number of restrictions which will have to be accounted for. I will look upon these restrictions as a kind of selection restrictions. Note also that an account of the progressive form only gives us a negative account of the default category. Since, however, the default category gets no formal expression, it is the Progressive that has to be clarified in the first place.

(ii) The realization of categories like Perfective, Imperfective and Progressive, is, of course, language particular, and is bound to reflect language particular restrictions in the application of these categories. It appears to be important in this context whether it is the Perfective that is marked or the Imperfective, and whether the marking is carried out by means of bound morphemes (which, in addition, may be derivational in origin, or not) or by means of periphrastic items, such as auxiliaries (see again Bybee/Dahl (1989: especially sections 6 and 7). It should therefore be expected that languages which are taken to mark the Imperfective (for example in Dahl 1985) will show differences in the extent to which they realize the category. In other words, it seems obvious to me that some languages realize the category less fully than others.

Given the fact that the category Progressive can be regarded as

a partial realization of Imperfective ("in languages with a perfective-imperfective distinction, the prototypical PROG [=Progressive] contexts would be imperfective" (Dahl 1985: 92), and since, moreover, "it is to be expected that diachronically, a category can shift from IPFV [=Imperfective] to Prog or vice versa" (Dahl 1985: 93), there are reasons to consider realizations of the Progressive that are broadening their scope in the direction of Imperfective as incipient (and) partial realizations of the Imperfective.

I think it can be argued that such a broadening of scope is a characteristic of the Progressive forms of English, because in a number of cases its meaning contribution is to present the SoA as 'incomplete' or 'temporary', rather than as 'progressive' (or 'ongoing'). The available options, therefore, are either to take the English Progressive as a realization of Progressive which is opening up into the more abstract category Imperfective, or as a restricted realization of Imperfective whose prototypical realization is Progressive. I will formulate here a proposal which goes along with the second approach.

(iii) In determining the meaning contribution of the Progressive form we have to keep in mind that the interpretation of a given use is necessarily a combinatorial matter. Besides the meaning that is contributed by the aspectual operator, a crucial role may be played by the Aktionsart (the 'type' of the State of Affairs with which it combines), possibly also by other factors, such as Tense or the presence of certain adverbials ('satellites' in FG terminology). In some cases, moreover, there may be

conventionalization of a given use. In sum, as Harder(1990: 140) puts it, in order to assign semantic content to complex linguistic signs, we have to take into account both the contribution of the individual signs and the "superimposed conventions applying to combinations".

3.2 A SELECTION RESTRICTION FOR IMPERFECTIVE

In formulating my proposal I take inspiration from the following quotation from Brinton(1988), which is very much in line with my observations in the preceding subsection.

While recognizing aspectual meaning as a feature of the entire predication, this study shows that the co-occurrence restrictions on aspectual forms can be explained, and that the basic meaning of an aspectual form can be isolated from special or 'compositional' meanings resulting from the interaction with the aspectual elements [...] while the primary function of the progressive marker is to portray a dynamic situation as continuous, developing, and incomplete, special meanings emerge in combination with certain predications: stative predications, which are not dynamic, become dynamic, or at least temporary; achievement predications, which are punctual, become iterative and incomplete; and habit predications, which are distributive, become (as if) continuous. (Brinton 1988: 238-9)

What emerges from this quotation, is, firstly, that the English Progressive, as a formal category, can be viewed as showing up a preference for combination with dynamic SoAs; in other words, that a selection restriction can be formulated for the SoAs with which it combines, in that these SoAs are prototypically dynamic. Secondly, the English Progressive can be assigned a basic meaning which gives rise to a prototypical use and a number of non-prototypical extensions. It presents the (prototypically dynamic) SoA as 'Imperfective', more specifically as developing (progressive), or as temporary, incomplete, etc. The prototypical meaning can be viewed as compositional, i.e. as resulting from the combination of the meaning of Imperfective and the dynamicity of the State of Affairs.

Thirdly, special compositional meanings may result from the interaction of Imperfective with other 'aspectual' elements, such as another SoA type than a dynamic one, or perhaps other aspectual meaning.

With respect to the representation of the English Progressive in FG, it will not come as a surprise that in this proposal I opt for a level-1 Operator Imperfective with which I associate a basic meaning which is entirely in line with Dik's view of Imperfectivity, i.e. it views the SoA "from an inside point of view, as being non-complete or in progress".

For English a selection restriction is imposed on the SoA with which Imperfective combines, in that it has to be a dynamic predication. The 'progressive' meaning which as a rule can be associated with the English Progressive is taken to be the

prototypical meaning, which results from the combination of Imperfective and a dynamic SoA; this meaning effect 'progressive' then amounts to saying that the SoA is viewed as incomplete and developing or in progress. Though I would not regard this as an essential ingredient in the FG representation, we could capture such a meaning effect in a separate interpretive component to be associated with the FG representation, as tentatively symbolized in (4), where this meaning effect is separated from the actual FG representation, and preceded by an arrow. In order to focus on what is relevant to the context of this discussion, I reduce the FG representation to its bare essentials.

(4) John was writing a letter

Past Imperfective write_v John(x₁)_{Ag subj} (a letter)_{Go obj}

(dynamic SoA)

-----> progressive

(5) How are you liking your new job?

In an instance like (5) an interpretation of the nuclear predication as a non-dynamic Experience would not match the selection restriction for Imperfective, but it can easily be (re)interpreted as an Experiential Process, i.e. a SoA that involves change.

The selection restriction for Imperfective explains why (6) and (7) are difficult to interpret, and therefore normally rejected as not well-formed. (Though, of course, interpretations could be forced; for example, if we take (7) in a 'behavioural' meaning

('John is acting like an Englishman'), which would make it an Action, and therefore dynamic).

(6) *? John is having a car

(7) *? John is being an Englishman

(8), (9) and (10) provide us with other instances where the nuclear predication contains a predicate which is prototypically non-dynamic, but which can easily shift to a dynamic interpretation. In combination with the Operator Imperfective such a shift becomes necessary (because of the selection restriction); the possibility of such a shift is indeed the test that decides about the acceptability of the Progressive. Following a proposal in Goossens(1990a), I indicate this shift by giving an added specification in the semantic function of the First Argument; the double marking is one way to indicate the mixed character of the State of Affairs. Note that the specific (contextual) interpretation is variable, and not necessarily progressive in the strict sense of the word (as such it can be more easily construed combinatorially from a more abstract Operator like Imperfective than from an Operator Progressive). In (8) and (9) the temporary as well as the progressive character of the SoA may be signalled, in (10) the fact that it is conceived as incomplete. We include these interpretations by means of our arrow notation.

(8) John is being naughty

Pres Imperfective naughty_A John(x₁)_{e/Ag Subj}

(behavioural/agentive SoA)

-----> temporary/progressive

(9) John is standing in the corner

Pres Imperfective stand_v John(x₁)_{Pos/Ag Subj} (the corner)_{Loc}

(mixed SoA: Position/Action)

-----> progressive/temporary

(10) The new prison is (already) costing 10 million pounds

Pres Imperfective cost_v (the new prison)_{e/Proc Subj} (10 m.
pounds)_{Extent}

(Process-like State)

-----> incomplete -----> progressive

In all these instances a SoA which basically is a State in the Imperfective environment acquires dynamic properties. Naughty is normally assigned to its argument as a permanent property, but in (8) we understand it as a temporary, behavioural property. In (9), standing in the corner describes a SoA which not only results from agentive initiation by John, but which also involves partial control and some minimal dynamism while going on (John may shift from one foot to another, may decide not to leave yet, etc.). Instance (10), which is the approximate reconstruction of an utterance heard on the BBC World Service, describes the cost of the prison not as fixed, but rather as in evolution, as having Process features (in actual fact, the cost is viewed as increas-

ing as the construction goes on, and as such, in some sense also progressive).

What emerges from this brief discussion, besides the general point that in combination with the Progressive form a SoA is dynamic, or is construed dynamically, is that the specific meaning contribution is not always 'progressive' (in the sense that the SoA is viewed as 'going on' or 'in progress'). A more abstract meaning such as Imperfective ('viewed internally as in progress, incomplete and the like') is more adequate as a starting-point, and the specific combinatorial meaning is best taken to be a contextual, implied meaning. This also appears from two other non-prototypical, but conventionalized uses as exemplified by (11) and (12).

(11) John was telling me about it

(12) John is coming tomorrow

(11) could function in a context where John told me about something, but with the implication that I did not get the whole story, so that I am only partially informed. Perhaps with the extra implication that I would like to hear more about it from my present interlocutor in case he or she is willing and able to tell me more about it. This can best be viewed as some sort of metaphorical incompleteness; it may contextually implicate a request to provide further information.

The specificity of (12) resides in the fact that at the moment

of utterance John's coming will as a rule not have been initiated yet, it can therefore not be taken to be in progress. This usage is normally described as the use of the Progressive Tense to denote the Near Future, which typically involves SoAs like coming and going. Again this can be taken to involve a metaphorical construal. The Speaker has information about John's coming which enables him/her to present the event as if it had already been initiated. Obviously, it has not been completed yet; hence it can be said to be metaphorically construed from the inside, or, in other words, imperfectively (the origin of this use is probably metonymic: we would get such a metonymic case when John's coming is known by the speaker to have been initiated already). This (conventionalized) near Future interpretation combines a metaphorical extension of the meaning signalled by the Operator Imperfective, the SoA involved, the Present Tense and the (future) Time adverbial; the total construal approximates what is defined in Dik(1989) as Prospective (Phasal) aspect. For both (11) and (12) this metaphorical dimension could be indicated by adding the specification (M) (for 'metaphorically') to the Operator Imperfective, which contextually and conventionally entails the interpretations indicated by means of the arrow notation in (11') and (12').

(11') Past Imperfective(M) tell_v John(x₁)_{Ag Subj} it(x₂)_{Ref}
 -----> incomplete

(12') Pres Imperfective(M) come_v John(x₁)_{Ag Subj} (tomorrow)_{Time}
 -----> progressive(M) -----> near future

Obviously, this does not exhaust all the uses of the Progressive in English. It is clear, however, that with proposals like the ones above, we can take care of the prototypical use of the Progressive, which requires combination with a dynamic SoA and which in this combination receives a 'progressive' interpretation. We can also account for reinterpretations of inherently non-dynamic SoAs as dynamic under the pressure of this prototype, for non-progressive interpretations such as 'incomplete', 'temporary', for metaphorically 'progressive'(etc.) readings, or for conventionalized uses like the Tense-like expression of the near Future derivable from them.

In the next section we turn to the iterative or habitual uses which are often associated with the Progressive in English.

4. ITERATIVE AND HABITUAL READINGS OF THE ENGLISH PROGRESSIVE.

The instances under (13), at least in their most obvious interpretation, illustrate so-called iterative and habitual readings of the Progressive.

- (13) (a) He was firing at me
- (b) They were firing at me
- (c) She is seeing him a lot these days

In (13a) we normally take this to mean that he fired several shots after each other (iterative reading); the Momentaneous

character of the SoA helps to produce this iterative interpretation. In (13b) we also take it that most or all of the shooters fired several times on the same occasion, it is therefore iterative as well. In addition the shots are understood to be distributed across a plurality of agents (they), hence we also get a distributive reading. (13c), finally, suggests that there are a series of visits on different occasions which can be characterized as habitual.

In what follows, we shall not concentrate on the distributive readings any further, because they are essentially associated with the plurality of the subject or the object plus a consideration whether the state of affairs can be assigned to each of the entities involved in this plurality. We are therefore concerned with iterative and habitual only, which, as may already have become apparent, we distinguish along the lines indicated by Brinton (1988: 239): "habitual is analysed as an aspect separate from iterative, since the first represents a situation repeated on different occasions and the second represents a situation repeated on the same occasion".

Obviously, this analysis does not make explicit the role of Imperfectivity in these examples. Brinton tentatively suggests that Imperfective and Habitual are separate categories: "More tentatively, habitual aspect is established as a category separate from the Imperfective, in part because of the use of perfective forms with habitual meaning" (p. 240); but there is no such suggestion with respect to Imperfective and Iterative. In my judgement, there is no doubt that we should separate both

Iterative and Habitual from Perfective/Imperfective (or more adequately, non-Imperfective and Imperfective), because they can both be combined with them independently. Indeed, the difference between the instances under (13) and those under (14) can be taken to be one between an Imperfective versus a non-Imperfective version of the iterative and habitual readings outlined above.

- (14) (a) He fired at me
- (b) They fired at me
- (c) She sees him a lot these days

Note, moreover, that in appropriate contexts the simple as well as the progressive form can denote both a single event or have a multiple event reading. The multiple events, as illustrated above, are either contextually interpreted as either habitual or iterative. We illustrate this in (15a-f), where the most obvious readings are indicated between brackets.

- (15) (a) He fired at me (this could be a single shot, i.e. semelfactive, or involve several shots, i.e. be iterative)
- (b) As he was firing at me, I saw him close his eyes (this is compatible both with an event where he is firing one shot and with one in which he is firing several bullets)
- (c) That day they ate breakfast in the dining-room (single event)

- (d) In those days they ate breakfast in the dining-room
(repeatedly; a habit)
- (e) While they were eating breakfast in the dining-room,
they heard a loud bang in the kitchen (single event)
- (f) In those days they were eating breakfast in the
dining-room (repeated event, habitual)

In order to represent all this in FG, we can make use of the operators Repetitive (which alternates with Non-repetitive or Semelfactive; these are, of course, 'Quantificational operators') and Imperfective (which alternates with its default alternative non-Imperfective and which we understand as outlined in the preceding section). Let me point out here that Semelfactive, like Perfective, can often be taken as the default case, and therefore be left out in FG representations; obviously, this is not so in the instances under discussion here, because they were constructed specifically to bring out the contrast Repetitive:Semelfactive. The differentiation into Iterative and Habitual is taken to be a further specification of Repetitive, according as (as indicated above) the SoA is understood to be repeated on the same occasion (Iterative), or on different occasions (Habitual). We represent this in (16) by means of our arrow notation.

- (16) Repetitive in combination with a SoA repeated on the same
occasion -----> iterative
- Repetitive in combination with a SoA repeated on different
occasions -----> habitual

Note that in the instances offered so far Repetitive is taken to receive no explicit expression in English, and that the opposition between simple and progressive forms is to be correlated with the distinction non-Imperfective (SoA not viewed internally-): Imperfective (SoA viewed from the inside, internally, i.e. in progress, as incomplete, as temporary, etc. - see the preceding section). In spite of this 0-expression, however, the opposition Semelfactive:Repetitive may be regarded as indispensable, because it is a meaningful opposition in our conceptualization of states of affairs, witness the instances under (15). Occasionally there is grammaticalized expression for Repetitive, viz. by means of used to; when used to is used, the combining SoA must be habitual and there is obligatory combination with a Tense operator Past (in fact the grammaticalization status of used to is not unproblematic, since there are indications that it is being somewhat degrammaticalized in Present-day English - L. Mackenzie, p.c.).

- (17) (a) They used to watch TV in the dining-room
(b) They used to be watching TV in the dining-room whenever I dropped in unexpectedly

Given the fact that we require two separate operators, i.e. one for the opposition Perfective:Imperfective and another one for the opposition Repetitive:Semelfactive, our next point will have to be the determination of their respective scope. As it happens this scope is variable: in instances like (17a-b) Repetitive has scope over Perfective:Imperfective, as indicated in the represen-

tations in (17') (again we restrict those representations to what is relevant to our purposes).

(17') (a) Past Rep (Perfective) watch_v (they)_{Ag Subj} (dining-room)_{Loc}

-----> habitual

(we may argue that Perfective can be omitted, since it is the default case)

(b) Past Rep Imperfective watch_v (they)_{Ag Subj} (dining-room)_{Loc}

-----> habitual and progressive

(here Imperfective is indispensable)

In instances like (15), on the other hand, the order is the other way round, i.e. Imperfective has scope over Repetitive. We illustrate this in the representations under (18).

(18) (a) (As) he was firing at me(...; cp. 15b)

Past Imperfective Semelfactive fire_v (he)_{Ag Subj} (me)_{Dir}

-----> progressive

(or) Past Imperfective Rep fire_v (he)_{Ag Subj} (me)_{Dir}

-----> iterative viewed as being in progress

(b) (In those days) they were eating breakfast in the d.

(cp. 15f)

Past Imperfective Rep eat_v (they)_{Ag Subj} (breakfast)_{Go Obj}

...

-----> habit viewed as ongoing, temporary

The meaning of the combinations follows from the difference in scope. In (19) we formulate this difference in meaning effect for

the operators Rep and Imperfective.

- (19) - If Imperfective has scope over Rep, the repeated event is viewed as ongoing (as incomplete, as temporary) (as in (18a and b))
- If Rep has scope over Imperfective, an event in progress is viewed as repeated (as in 17'b)

By way of concluding this section, let me point out that the case in which Imperfective has scope over Repetitive presents us with another non-prototypical use of the Progressive in English. The minimum we can say is that repeated SoAs are not inherently dynamic, but that the combination with Imperfective (where Imperfective has scope over Rep) results in a dynamic, and possibly progressive, reinterpretation of the repeated state of affairs.

5. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Within the theory of Functional Grammar a coherent proposal for the treatment of the English Progressive can be formulated, if we regard it as a restricted, language-specific manifestation of the aspectual category Imperfective as defined in Dik(1989). Accordingly, we uniformly represent it by means of a level-1 operator Imperfective. Prototypically this operator combines with a dynamic state of affairs; the combination of Imperfective with dynamic normally results in a 'progressive' meaning, the SoA

being viewed as being in progress. If Imperfective combines with a non-dynamic SoA, this SoA as a rule shifts from non-dynamic to dynamic. Such a shift can be indicated by adding an extra specification to the first argument; such an addition can be regarded as reflecting a less prototypical extension of the use of the Progressive in English. Other, non-prototypical, uses require an interpretation as 'temporary' or 'incomplete', or can be regarded as metaphorical applications of the operator Imperfective (perhaps with metonymic origins, and in that sense instances in the area of grammar of what elsewhere I have labelled metaphonymies; see Goossens(1990b)). Such uses result in implicated meanings which have to be determined contextually. For some of these uses a considerable degree of conventionalization appears to be involved (one might argue, for instance, that this is the case for the use of the Progressive to indicate Near Future).

Also non-prototypical are instances where Imperfective has scope over Repetitive. As a result of the combination with Imperfective a series of SoAs, which is either iterative or habitual, is viewed as dynamic, incomplete and somehow in progress.

Let me emphasize again that the foregoing treatment is language - particular and tries to provide an FG account of the way in which the English Progressive realizes dimensions of aspectual meaning. The fact that the English Progressive clearly extends its territory beyond a strictly progressive meaning led me to take the position (pace Dik(1989) and Dahl(1985)) that the more abstract Operator Imperfective provides us with a more adequate

way to capture its meaning than an Operator Progressive. The other side of the coin was that we have to posit a restricted application for Imperfective in English. In other words, in spite of the outspoken preference which I have shown here for this proposal, and the justification which I have adduced for it, I do not want to reject the possibility that another account of the English Progressive can be provided which views it as the realization of an Operator Progressive which is extending its territory beyond the meaning that we normally associate with Progressive.

On a somewhat more technical level within the theory of FG, we first have submitted a proposal to make use of an arrow notation accompanying underlying representations that specifies some of the more important combinatorial meanings associated with those representations. The meanings captured in this way belong to a level of generality/specificity where we may feel hesitant as to whether they should be accounted for in our Functional Grammar descriptions of a given linguistic expression or not.

Secondly, we found evidence that the scope of operators may be variable. This is not just the case in instances where the operators are normally assigned to the same level, as in (20), where it is shown that the Phasal aspect operators Perfect and Prospective can be interchanged.

- (20) (a) Many people have been going to marry Susan
(Pres Perfect Prospective)
- (b) John is going to have married her next week
(Pres Prospective Perfect)

(instances from Dahl(1985:18))

But this also applies in cases involving Imperfective and Repetitive, which were supposed to belong to different levels in the layered representations of FG. The findings of in this paper, in other words, seem to provide justification for a principle like (21).

(21) Operators are not necessarily tied to one single level in the layered representation of FG

Still, in order to defend this principle on the basis of the foregoing discussion, I had to accept the presence of an Operator in cases where the justification is in our conceptual interpretation rather than in the formal expression. Whether this is an advisable position within the theory of FG will have to be decided in a broader context than that of the English phenomena discussed in this paper. For the time being, however, I would like to regard this principle as being confirmed by what is summarized in (19), which itself can safely be taken to pass at least the touchstone of human conceptualization.

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