

The result of incoordination?

The cases of sentence-initial *but* in English and sentence-final
-nde in Korean

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- 1 Introduction
- 2 Background, data
- 3 Results of analysis
- 4 Discussion, summary, open questions

Abstract

The result of incoordination? The cases of sentence-initial *but* in English and sentence-final *-nde* in Korean

This talk is based on the contents of my BA thesis and concerned with Discourse Grammar, cooptation (following Heine et al. 2013, 2021) and phenomena of clause-loss. I analysed spoken English and Korean for cases of incoordination, which is a process by which a coordinated sentence loses at least one of its clauses and creates a new, more discourse-relevant meaning. The specific forms that were analysed are English sentence-initial *but* and Korean sentence-final *-nde*, which both exhibit a strong potential for incoordination that is visible in comparison with their sentence-medial origins. The analysis is qualitative, based on a small number of dialogues, and goes along a list of criteria, among which are clause retrievability (Is there a candidate for the lost clause from the surrounding discourse?), semantic-pragmatic scope (Does the meaning of the connective unit expand itself to the discourse situation at hand?), and the relatedness to sentence-medial connective meaning (Is there merely contrast or does the expression evolve to convey, for instance, surprise?). I found that the two forms intersect in their functions but due to their semantic and typological differences do not overlap entirely. Further, the meaning relations along which this type of incoordination moves, especially expressions of mirativity, also seem to apply to related phenomena like insubordination (i.e. loss of main clauses), headless *to*-infinitives, and some nominalizations.

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An introduction

English and Korean both have a way of using their coordinating connective forms at sentence boundaries, even though they are vastly different in typological terms.

Their resulting meanings seem to be similar – are they the result of the same underlying process?

An English example

Incoordination is a process by which a 2-conjunct construction

- loses at least one of its conjuncts
- is left with the coordinating connective form
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An example from *and*-incoordination:

- (1) *The problem was, they only started these things in 1972. Clinton was born in the '40s. And now this!*

(1996, SPOK, *Hillary Clinton's New Book* [COCA])

And no longer connects equal conjuncts, it serves an exclamation.

What I investigated

Clause-loss phenomena generally seem to lead to a more 'discourse-relevant' kind of meaning. Kuteva et al. (2017) found that incoordination and insubordination seem to mirror this behaviour.

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- Coordinate-to-incoordinated developments – are they parallel between English and Korean?

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- What factors can(not) restrict their resulting meanings?

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For comparison: English *but* (sentence-medial vs. initial) and Korean *-nde* (roughly meaning 'but,' sentence-medial vs. final).

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Discourse Grammar & cooptation

The process underlying insubordination and incoordination is termed **cooptation**,

a “fully productive operation whereby a unit of SG [Sentence Grammar] [...] is used to serve within the domain of TG [Thetical Grammar]” in the way that “a clause, a phrase, a word, or any other unit is taken from SG and is coopted (or re-defined) for use as a thetical” (Kaltenböck, Heine & Kuteva 2011, cf. also Heine et al. 2013, 2021).

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A thetical

- can, doesn't have to be coopted
- primarily serves a discourse function, not sentential meaning
- references, e.g. a speaker's attitude, the level of interaction between speakers, or the information source

Discourse Grammar & cooptation

An example of **cooptation**:

Korean *makirae*, from adverb+quotative to discourse marker

- (1) na-n jeongmal chakha-go ippu-eo makirae
I-TOP really be.nice-CONN be.pretty-SFP DM
'I am really nice and pretty. (DM: she says so recklessly.)'

(mod. from Rhee 2013; cf. also Heine et al. 2021)

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- composed of *magu* 'recklessly', *ireohke* 'like this' and v 'do'
- signals a type of **reckless expression**, no direct quotation
- frequently translated as 'just kidding'

Criteria of analysis: discourse-relevance, scope, retrievability

When is an utterance incoordinated? 3 main criteria

1. Discourse-relevance:

when it is 'coopted' from its sentence-grammatical form in favour of a discourse-relevant meaning

2. Scope:

when it has a scope that goes beyond its sentential boundary, i.e. by referring to a whole paragraph/outside the text

3. Retrievability:

when it has no (or only bad) candidates for a second clause

Data

English data was taken from *COCA* (Davies 2008), Korean data was taken from *Vlive*, a popular video streaming service.

All data had to be spoken and, if possible, unscripted.

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English results

For English, there is a **cline with many points in between**.

The following dialogue is a news interview.

- (2) A: OK. I heard that she had been working with a local landscaper, like lawn care, and that she had been selling Avon from within the home. But where do you get \$900 from that?
- B: That's a lot of money because that possibly wouldn't even be two paychecks. She was so precise, though, in everything she did. Maybe she did save money and maybe she felt that this was the last amount that she truly had she could give to her grandparents.
- A: We also learned that—unconfirmed, that she had a paper route. But wait a minute! Wait a minute! Something is totally backwards here. Leave it to her grandparents? What about Trenton?
- (2006, SPOK, *CNN Grace* [COCA])

(Connective is underlined, textual scope has a dashed line)

English results

■ Retrievability

???[*We also learned that—unconfirmed, that she had a paper route*]
*but*_{CONN} [*wait a minute!*]

goes beyond disjunct illocutionary force scope, these can't even really function as conjuncts

■ Scope

But wait a minute!

is not within the narrative at all, only involves speaker and hearer

English results

■ Meaning

But wait a minute!

is not a “denial-of-expectation” (cf. Malchukov 2004) between associated clauses,

it only expresses “mirativity,” surprise conveyed from the speaker’s perspective (cf. Aikhenvald 2012)

→ not contrastive between sentences!

Interim summary: English SI *but*

- sentence-initial functions:
 - regular coordination (sentential/clausal level)
 - mirativity
 - text organization
- **retrievability varies** based on the clause content and its cohesive/coherent connection to the former discourse
- what **coincides** (by tendency):
little retrievability and big discourse relevance

Korean results: disagreement

Sentence-final *-nde* can mark (dis)agreement, mirativity, and discontent, among others (for a lot more, cf. Park 1999).

The following is from a film interview.

- (3) A: [Taegu appeared in two previous films by director Um, and you appeared in 'Vanishing Time'.]
 kamdok-kwa baeu-ga doe-l keo-rago yesang-haess-eo-yo
 director-COM actor-NOM become-ADN thing.FN-QUOT expect-do.PST-DECL-POL
 eori-l ttae?
 young-ADN time.FN?
 'Did you expect you would become director and actor?'
- B: yesang mot haen-neunde-yo. ... ne mot haet-go-yo. jeo-neun misul
expect NEG do.PST-SFP-POL yes NEG do.PST-SFP-POL I-TOP art
 ha-ndago hae-seo misul ha-go in-neun jul ar-an-neunde
 do-QUOT do.DECL-CSL art do-CONN be.doing-ADN FN know-PST-CONN
 'I didn't expect that. I didn't. He studied – I thought he was studying art –'
- A: ['You thought he was studying art?']
 B: ['Yes.']¹

(Vlive [V MOVIE] 2019, 19 October)

¹I had to shorten this for space reasons, but if you want the unshortened data, contact me! :)

Korean results: disagreement

■ Retrievability

Yesang mot haeneundeyo. ... Mot haetgoyo. 'I didn't expect that[-nde]. I didn't[-go]'

is not there. The sentence is followed by the same proposition, used with another incoordinated connective.

■ Scope & meaning

reach back: *-nde* signals disagreement where the unmarked case would just render the utterance declarative.

-nde has a disagreeing tone, but *-go* is mitigating, the proposition is the same.

Interim summery: Korean SF *-nde*

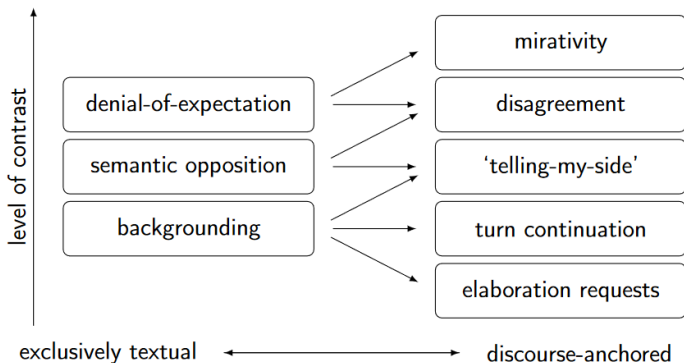
- sentence-final functions:
 - less likely than English *but* to be interpreted as coordinated
 - mirative
 - (dis)agreeing, emphasizing
 - turn-coordinating
- retrievability is more difficult, possibly because *-nde* is utterance-final
- discourse-relevance is based not only on **contrastiveness** but also the original **backgrounding function**, and each is used intersubjectively

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Parallels

A map of the meaning relations from a prototypically coordinated connective relation to an incoordinated, discourse-anchored one:



Parallels, in words

Contrastive relations develop, e.g.

- into contrastive **relations between unequal units** (e.g. a clause and a paragraph/text/idea)
- into 'expectation-denial' where **the unexpected is not within the text**, i.e. a mirative expression

Non-contrastive relations develop, e.g.

- from a backgrounding into what is to be **taken for granted**
- into expressions that strongly **require inference**

A summary

- **Coordinate-to-incoordinated developments – are they parallel between English and Korean?**

For contrastive meanings, probably!

- **What factors can(not) restrict their resulting meanings?**
 - the connectives' origins
 - the kind of discourse (spoken/written? scripted? involved?)
 - their place within the utterance, possibly

Some interesting questions

- Are there characteristics of incoordination and insubordination that are exclusive within the domain of cooptation?

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- How well can mirativity and contrast be separated? What about backgrounding and 'common ground'?

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- What about nominalizations — do they fit the cooptation mechanism similarly? (Eng. *the fact that, that feeling when*; Kor. *-keol* for epistemic motivations, cf. Lee 2017)
- Are there systematic differences between discourse-relevant elements at the right vs. left edge of utterances?
- How well can mirativity and contrast be separated? What about backgrounding and 'common ground'?
- Could 'grounding' (e.g. Langacker 1987) fit this whole affair better than DG's 'discourse-relevance' and 'scope'? Could CI (e.g. Potts 2007)?

Any questions? :)

Feel free to contact me for my data, more questions or comments:
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