

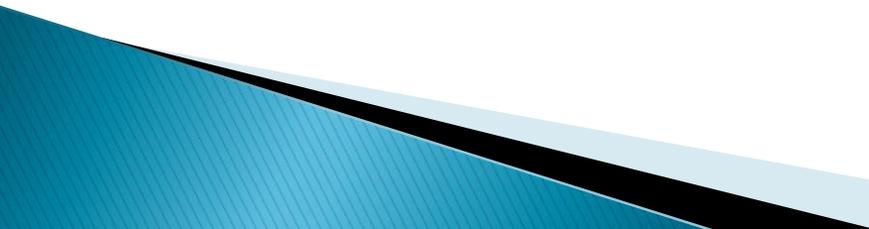
On incoordination.
The case of Polish
A/e Expressive Construction

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Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996)

- ▶ It's amazing how much he has GROWN
 - ▶ It's amazing the DIFFERENCE!
 - ▶ You wouldn't believe the BICKERING that goes on
 - ▶ GOD, am I late!
 - ▶ What a DAY (I had).
 - ▶ The things I DO for that boy!
 - ▶ Are YOU in for it!
 - ▶ I'm amazed at how much TIME it took
 - ▶ It's so HOT in here!
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The Abstract Exclamative Construction (AEC)

- ▶ Presupposed Open Proposition
 - ▶ Scalar Extent
 - ▶ Assertion of Affective Stance: Expectation
Contravention
 - ▶ Identifiability of Described Referent
 - ▶ Deixis
- 

There seem to be at least two Polish exclamative constructions which seem to be instantiations of AEC

- ▶ Co to za (wspaniała) kobieta!
[What a wonderful woman she is]
- ▶ Co za klęska!
[What a thrashing]
- ▶ Ale ona jest (wspaniała) kobietą!
▶ Ale (wspaniała) kobieta
▶ [But she is a wonderful woman – What a wonderful woman!]
- ▶ Ale klęska
▶ [But a thrashing! = What a thrashing]

Both constructions are licensed by Abstract Exclamative Construction

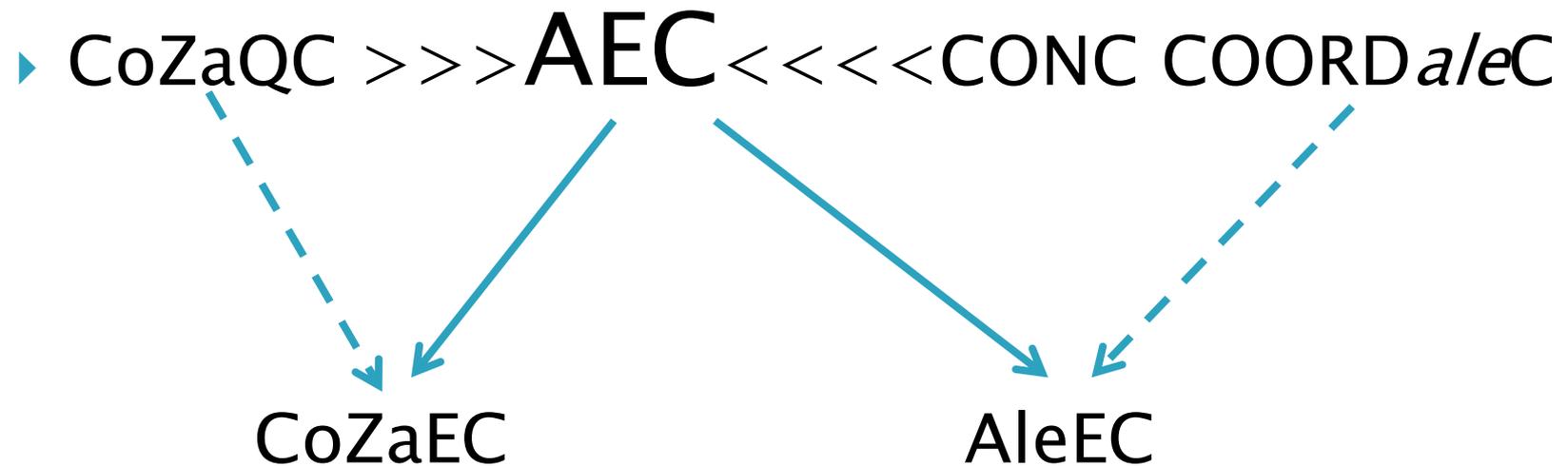
Where do the two differ?

- ▶ They differ exactly in their inheritance from the source constructions:
- ▶ *Co to za* is licensed by „specifying questions”, whereby the referent is contextually given and S asks for its specification or identification, e.g.
- ▶ *Co to była za kobieta? Co to za skrzynia?*
- ▶ [*Who’s that woman? What’s that box*]

A/e allows for the whole range of grammatical complements, all of them motivated by full “clause”-like structures:

- ▶ Ale (ona jest) mądra!
- ▶ Ale tu (jest) pięknie!
- ▶ Ale przegraliście /wygraliście!

The inheritance looks like this:



From coordinating to exclamative *ale*.

In grammars of Polish, *ale* is classified as a multifunctional particle belonging to the classes of coordinating conjunctions, *ale*₁, illustrated by (1) and *ale*₂ classified as one of “modifiers of declarativeness”, illustrated by (2) (Grochowski, 1986:50).

- ▶ (1) Może Ewa wydaje się bardzo poważna, ale ma poczucie humoru
- ▶ [Perhaps Eve seems to be very serious but she has sense humour]
- ▶ (2) ALE ma poczucie humoru!
- ▶ [But she has sense of humour!]

A cognitive linguist's question is:

- ▶ Is there a motivated link between *a/e*1 and *a/e*2?
- ▶ In particular – Can it be shown that the coordinating *a/e* motivates the exclamative *a/e* found in *A/eEC*?
- ▶ Since the most obvious difference between compound coordinated sentences with *a/e* and *A/eEC* is that coordinating *a/e* occurs in biclausal sentences *C1 – a/e – C2* with *a/e* heading *C2*, whereas *A/eEC* is a monoclausal sentence with initial *A/e*, we must account somehow for the disappearance (deletion?) of *C1* in coordinating sentences.

Step 1. The first instances of monoclausal concessive coordinates can be found in discourse

- ▶ Barth's (2000) claims that expressing concessivity in spoken English usually conforms to the Cardinal Concessive Schema (CCS), which has the following structure:
 - ▶ A: X (stating something or making some point)
 - ▶ B: X' (acknowledging the validity of this statement or point, the conceding move)
 - ▶ Y (claiming the validity of a potentially contrasting statement or point)

- ▶ The working of CCS may be illustrated by the following exchange, based on 25:
- ▶
- ▶ A: (X) Ewa wydaje się bardzo poważna
 - [Eve seems to be very serious]
- ▶ B: (X')Może Ewa wydaje się bardzo poważna,
 - [She may seem serious]
- ▶ (Y) ale ma sporo poczucia humoru
 - [But she has quite a lot of sense of humour]

- ▶ What Barth (2000) ignored in his discussion of even „variations on the Cardinal Concessive schema” was the common case when X’ is left out and B’s rejoinder is reduced to Y (split coordinate), as in the exchange below:
 - ▶ A: (X) Ewa wydaje się bardzo poważna
 - ▶ B: (Y) Ale ma poczucie humoru

Step 2: Split coordinate $A/eC2$ becomes more and more autonomous and more and more expressive, i.e. various uses of $A/e2$ can be used with expressive illocutionary force in split coordinates!

Still descriptive

- ▶ **A: Ona jest dobra w lekkiej atletyce**
 - ▶ [She is good at athletics]
 - ▶ **B: Ale pływa też bardzo dobrze**
 - ▶ [But she swims very well too]
- 

Counter-argumentative:

- ▶ A: Nigdy nie jakoś nadzwyczajny. Byłem dość dobry w lekkiej atletyce
- ▶ B: Ale pływałeś też bardzo dobrze

- ▶ [A: Well, I was never in any way special. I was quite good at athletics [SELF-EFFACING
- ▶ B: But you swam very well too!]
- ▶ [COMFORTING, BOOSTING SELF-ESTEEME]

Opposing polarity in split coordinates – Complaints!

A: Jill zaproszono

B: Ale jej męża nie!

- ▶ [A: Jill had been invited
- ▶ B: But her husband hadn't.]

Preventative *but*

- ▶ A sense which H&P (1312) call “preventative”, illustrated by (1) below, whereby “the situation expressed in the second coordinate prevents the realization of the one hypothetically entertained in the first”.
- ▶
 - 1) I would have gone, but I was too busy

Preventative *but* in split coordinates

- ▶ In split coordinates, preventative *but* in **accusations** and **self-defence** and it may become highly emotional
- ▶ A: You should have gone with her
- ▶ B: But I was too busy

A/eC2 – no longer part of the well-formed coordinated sentence:

- ▶ A: They invited me
 - ▶ B: But they didn't invite ME!

 - ▶ Contradictory:
 - ▶ They invited me but they didn't invite me!
- 

- ▶ Incoherent:
- ▶ A: You should have gone with her
- ▶ B: But I was too busy

??? You should have gone with her, but I was too busy

Stage3: Information packaging changes – Focus shift (and stress) on evaluative *A/e* , Entity/Event become presupposed.

Subjectivization (E.Traugott, e.g. 1982):
primarily concessive *A/e* becomes a highly subjective evaluative discourse marker.

Why should descriptive–declarative become evaluative–expressive?

- ▶ The answer lies in the tendency in development of meaning called subjectivization.
- ▶ Traugott's principle of subjectivization – from descriptive to evaluative meanings in lexical semantics (knave, silly,
- ▶ ***straight* > not curved or bent > neat (of alcoholic drinks) > correct > not funny > honest > heterosexual > not taking drugs**

A/e is not normally stressed as a coordinating conjunction (Focus on Predicate), it is heavily stressed in *A/eEC*, which doesn't occur in coordinated sentences:

*Była słabsza, **ALE** go trafiła!

▶ [She was weaker, BUT she hit him]

Vs. Była słabsza, ale go **TRAFIŁA** (i wygrała walkę)

[She was weaker but she HIT him (and won the fight)]

ALE go trafiła!

▶ [But (How) she hit him!]

“Emphatic reaffirmative” but used with repeated expressions denoting extreme values, as in H&P’s 58 (p.1312) and 59:

Nic, ale to nic, nie sprawi, że ona zmieni zdanie

- ▶ [Nothing, but nothing, will make me change my mind]

Strzał Messiego był doskonały, ale doskonały

- ▶ [Messi’s shot was perfect, but perfect]

Step 4: Autonomous *A/eC2*
develops its own idiosyncracies
and well-formedness constraints
(i.e. becomes *A/eEC*)



Common ellipsis of the copula (unacceptable in coordinate C2)

Ale (ona jest) mądra!

- ▶ [But (she is) smart! = How smart she is!]

Ale tu (jest) pięknie!

- ▶ [But here (is) beautiful! = How beautiful it is here]

Ellipsis of the gradable concept with *ale* designating the high degree of property

Ale to był (mądry) pies!

- ▶ [What a (smart) dog he was]

Ale to był (wspaniały skok)!

- ▶ [What a (wonderful) jump it was]

1. *A/e*EC (as an instance of AEC) doesn't tolerate negated predicates (deictic anchoring, existential presupposition!)

- ▶ *ALE go nie trafiła! Vs. Ale chybiła!
- ▶ [But (How) she didn't hit him! What a miss]
- ▶ *ALE nie jesteś miła! Vs. ALE jesteś niemiła!
- ▶ [But (How) you aren't kind! How unkind you are!]

- ▶ 2. *A/e*EC does not tolerate indefinite topics:

Ale to jest kobieta!

- ▶ *Ale to jest jakaś kobieta!
- ▶ [What some woman she is!]

*Ale to był jeden z jego strzałów!

- ▶ [What one of his shots it was!]

Consider:

1 a) Wszystkich zdziwiło, że on się dał tak zabrać

[It surprised everybody that he allowed them to take him away like that.]

1 b) Że on się dał tak zabrać!

[That he (should have) allowed them to take him away like that!]

Insubordination

- ▶ “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (Evans 2006:367).

- ▶ Evans (2006) calls this process insubordination and represents it in four stages (p.370):

Stage 1: Subordination	Stage 2: Ellipsis	Stage 3: Conventionalized ellipsis	Stage 4: Reanalysis as main clause structure
Subordinate construction	Ellipsis of main clause	Restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material	Conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause

Incoordination

- ▶ the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally coordinate clauses
- ▶ 1st approximation:

Stage 1: Coordination	Stage 2: Ellipsis	Stage 3: Conventionalized ellipsis	Stage 4: Reanalysis as main clause structure
Coordinate construction	Ellipsis of the first coordinate clause	Restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material	Conventionalized main clause use of formally coordinate clause

Conclusion and final proposal:

- ▶ The AleEC results from a general process which might be called constructionalization of subjectification.
 - ▶ Guess: Inccordination is more complex because the ellipsed coordinate C1 is less semantically determinate than the ellipsed main clause in insubordination.
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Final proposal

Stage 1: Coordination	Stage 2: Partial ellipsis	Stage 3: Conventionalized ellipsis - Information packaging changes – Focus shift	Stage 4: Reanalysis as main clause structure as <i>A/eEC</i>
Coordinate construction IF: assertive	Ellipsis of C1 in split coordination Detopicalization of C1. IF of C2: assertive >>> expressive	Focus on C2 (pr) >> Subjectification: focus (?) on evaluation of presupposed Entity/Event C2 Form: stress shift from PR to <i>A/e</i> IF of C2 – Expressive (exclamative)	Conventionalized autonomous constructional use of formally coordinate structure (copula deletions, constraints on negation, etc.)

Future research:

- ▶ Incoordination in other languages
 - ▶ Cognitive basis of incoordination
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Thank you very much