

Interfaces in Language 2

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Edited by

David Hornsby

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P U B L I S H I N G

Interfaces in Language 2,
Edited by David Hornsby

This book first published 2011

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-3165-4, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-3165-9

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to the many people who helped to organize and administer the conference in 2009, and in particular to John Partridge, Diane Peretti, Vikki Janke and Khanh Duc Kuttig from the Centre for Language and Linguistic Studies (CLLS) at the University of Kent. I am grateful also to Patrick Bradley and his colleagues at University of Kent Hospitality for their sterling work in making the event a success, and to Susanne Wagner and Nicola Schmidt-Renfree for their support during the conference. All at CLLS are indebted once again to Cambridge Scholars Publishing for supporting the *Interfaces 2* project from conference through to final publication: special thanks to Carol Koulikourdi, Vlatka Kolic and Amanda Millar for their help and patience in preparing this volume.

Finally, thanks to my wife Jayne, to whom this volume is dedicated, for help with proof-reading, and for allowing herself to become a computer widow in the latter stages of the editing process. Hopefully she can now have her husband back, at least for a while.

David Hornsby
Herne Bay 2011



PREFACE

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The papers in this collection represent a selection from those presented at the second *Interfaces in Language* conference, hosted from 5-7 May 2009 at the University of Kent at Canterbury by the University's Centre for Language and Linguistic Studies (CLLS). The 'Interfaces' theme was the brainchild of the Centre's Director, Dr. John Partridge, and reflected both dissatisfaction with the rigid division of linguistics into sub-disciplines, and a desire to promote cross-fertilization between specialists within the subject. The conference 'strapline' *Challenging Orthodoxies in Linguistics* invited new approaches to linguistic problems within a format which limited the number of participants and avoided parallel sessions, thereby encouraging delegates to interact and make new connections in a relaxed environment. While all contributors were asked to explore the theme of interfaces, no other restrictions were placed on subject matter and participation from all linguistic subdisciplines and theoretical frameworks was welcomed. As in 2007, proposals fell broadly under three headings, which have been retained in this volume: 'Categories and Orthodoxies'; 'Contact, Conflict and Repertoire', and 'Language and Cognition'. All the papers presented here, in their different ways, offer a challenge to received thinking or the rigidity of established categories.

Opening Part I, 'Categories and Orthodoxies', **Martine Sekali's** paper questions the impermeability of boundaries between syntax, semantics and pragmatics via an analysis of English co-ordinators AND, BUT and FOR. Drawing on a range of examples from different sources, Sekali demonstrates how co-ordination at the syntactic level may correspond to subordination at semantic and discourse levels. She argues further that BUT and FOR in fact systematically combine syntactic co-ordination and semantic subordination, defying analysis in purely syntactic or semantic terms. Similarly resistant to a purely syntactic analysis are the light verb constructions (LVCs), discussed by **Silke Höche and Arian Shahrokny-Prehn**, who explore the semantic basis of collocational restrictions on

English constructions of the *take a/have a* kind (e.g. *have a chat* but not **take a chat*). A particular claim which they investigate in this regard is Wierzbicka's suggestion that the shortness of the verb stem has an iconic effect, mirroring a short duration for the action concerned. Using examples from the British National Corpus, the researchers find support for Wierzbicka's position, but question some other claims which are frequently advanced for LVCs.

The subject of **Yekaterina García Márkina's** paper, the modern Spanish copula opposition between *ser* and *estar*, has received extensive treatment in prescriptive grammars, but surprisingly little attention has been paid to actual usage as attested in corpora, or indeed to its use in dialectal or non-Castilian varieties which diverge from the traditional norm. In a close analysis of Mexican Spanish, García Márkina argues that *estar* in fact marks an element of subjectivity rather than simply transience as is sometimes claimed, and that there are signs of incipient neutralization of the semantic opposition between the two copulas. Her evidence calls into question the assumption that "one form equals one meaning, as if the relationship between subject referent and the attribute ascribed to it had clean and clear edges".

Part II, 'Contact, Conflict and Repertoire', begins with a paper by **Gladis Massini-Cagliari**, which explores the interface between phonology and sociolinguistics. It has been widely held, at least since Kroch (1978), that ideology plays an important role in variation and change, with socially dominant groups tending to maintain 'abnatural' or complex forms to mark their distinctiveness. This is evident in the treatment of loan words, where adaptation to the phonology of the target language is seen to be strongest among low-status groups, but resisted to varying degrees among those of higher status. Massini-Cagliari's analysis of English proper names in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) suggests that this assumption at least requires qualification. She notes that forenames derived from English proper nouns such as Michael or Wellington, which are especially popular among working-class Brazilians, become – precisely as Kroch's model would predict – unrecognisable from their original phonological form when adopted into BP. Intriguingly, however, speakers seem to favour an element of 'foreignness' in these names, which is retained via non-native stress patterns. This she attributes to a widespread perception that foreign (and particularly US) forms are associated with elegance or success, to which many Brazilians aspire. More economically secure upper and middle-class parents, by contrast, are found to prefer traditional (and phonologically conservative) forenames.

Reflecting on the now infamous 1996 publication in *Social Text* of a subversively parodic paper by the physicist Alan Sokal, **Tony Bex** notes the relative paucity of attention paid to parody in recent stylistic research, and indeed our lack of an appropriate model for understanding how it evokes readers' textual expectations in order to undermine them. Rather than appeal, as Swales (1990) and others have done, to the concept of 'discourse communities' linking subgenres to groups of writers/readers, Bex instead borrows from sociolinguistics the notion of social network, likening the parodist to the 'weak tie' who, by bridging the gap between close-knit communities, undermines a linguistic status quo and becomes a possible agent of change.

Linguistic conventions of another kind are undermined in Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker*, a seminal novel which has influenced contemporary writers such as David Mitchell and Will Self, and on which two *Interfaces* papers were presented. Dismissing criticism that the language of the novel is not a convincing portrayal of 'future English', **Jeremy Scott** points out that its intrinsic interest for the linguist lies in the reader's struggle to make sense of a language which is familiar yet unfamiliar, a struggle which mirrors the protagonist's own attempts to make sense of a new and alien post-apocalyptic world. The reader is forced to *relearn* language, and make new connections, as familiar forms and meanings break down in the world of the novel. Scott's analysis reveals the manner in which contemporary colloquial (and, appropriately, Kentish!) English is "twisted and refracted" into what he terms *Riddleyspeak*. Likening the reader's contact with this world to that between speakers of different dialects, Scott suggests that *Riddleyspeak* lexemes act as plesionyms to their Standard English counterparts, evoking "an atavistic, unruly and violent imaginary world". **Martin Boyne's** focus is on the interface between writing and orality in *Riddleyspeak*. Riddley's writing in a post-apocalyptic, post-literate society, claims Boyne, is informed by speech to an extent which renders it strikingly unfamiliar and disorientating to contemporary readers, living in mature literate societies in which the conventional distance between the two codes passes generally unnoticed. That Riddley's writing is more closely reflective of speech does not, insists Boyne, imply that it is merely simplified. Through analysis at the lexicosemantic and syntactic levels, Boyne lays bare what he terms the 'paratactic coherence' behind Riddley's sentences, which belies the superficial non-adherence to written rules of syntax and the minimal use of conventional punctuation markers.

The interface between writing and speech also provides the theme for **David Hornsby's** paper, which focuses on variable (or optional) liaison in

contemporary French. French is unusual among European languages in that it maintains a strict division between spoken and written codes, with some forms (e.g. imperfect subjunctive, past historic) already only available in the written language, and others (e.g. negative *ne*) arguably becoming so. Hornsby argues that one function of liaison is to provide auditory cues to the scripted nature of speech, and that it can therefore be exploited by speakers to achieve a variety of effects. Using data from seventy-two adolescents in three francophone cities, he observes that differences between reading and conversational styles far outweigh interspeaker differences within the same style, suggesting that liaison is a 'hyper style' variable in Bell's (1984) terms. But differences between these young informants within the scripted context nonetheless suggest a heightened ability on the part of middle-class speakers to 'invoke' the authority of the written word, which may be an important resource for them in later life.

An interface of a different kind, explored in **Gabriela Miššiková's** paper, brings us closer to understanding the true meaning of 'lost in translation'. Through a close analysis of translation strategies in the Slovak rendering of Melvin Burgess' novel *Junk*, she demonstrates how pragmatics must inform the translation process. Miššiková's explores the use of maxim hedges in source and target text, and reveals how faithfulness to the source text context can require what is implicit therein to be made explicit in the translation, and therefore, paradoxically, force the translator to stray from the source text syntax and semantics. The translator's skill lies in his/her ability to resolve the tension between these apparently contradictory aims. Two contrasting texts are analysed in the final paper in this section, by **Kawakib Al-Momani and Mohammad Azayzeh**. While reporting in the West of violent attacks by Islamic fundamentalists has attracted considerable critical interest, rather less attention has been paid to the ideological struggle between different strands of Islam to win hearts and minds in the Middle East. This thought-provoking article applies Critical Discourse Analysis models developed by Fairclough and Van Dijk to contrast the statement made by Abu Musa'ab Al-Zarqawi in the name of Al Qaeda and the address given by King Abdullah II of Jordan following suicide bombings in Amman in 2005. Competing visions of Islam as righteously vengeful or peaceful are opposed, via an appeal to the shared experience and historical perspectives of ordinary Muslims.

Our two final papers make up Part III, 'Language and Cognition'. **Rainer Schulze** starts from the observation that meaning resides not in individual words but in the phrase, and focuses on recurring phrases in

language, using the examples *into the bargain* and *in the bargain*. He argues that the non-linguistic notion of schema can successfully be reconciled with recurring patterns or functional structures in language, and that a corpus-based analysis of selected evaluative markers presents a number of advantages over other approaches. Firstly, by exploring the surrounding of a pattern or functional structure in a limited amount of data, we are not only able to find evidence for the specific readings of an evaluative marker, but also to enrich the description of the evaluative marker with information on a number of parameters, and add a pragmatic viewpoint by revealing both explicit and implicit readings. A corpus-based approach further allows for quantification of results, e.g. for frequency, productivity and creative use of selected evaluative markers, which proves to be of particular interest when British and American usage is compared.

Finally, **Charles Denroche**'s paper considers Jakobson's celebrated distinction between metaphor and metonymy, and asks why the latter has received considerably less scholarly attention than the former. In seeking to redress the balance, he demonstrates how the part-whole relationship which underpins many accounts of metonymy is fundamental to our understanding of a range of semantic relationships, from Frege's sense/reference distinction to prototypes, hyponymy, or synonymy, and shows how use of the concept can be extended beyond the naming function at lexeme level to elucidate other areas of communication, notably discourse structure. Metonymy has, argues Denroche, been too long ignored in favour of metaphor, its superficially more exciting cousin. Yet the development of a general theory of metonymy, he suggests, has important implications for a wide range of fields, including language learning, editing and translation.

We noted above that the theme, philosophy and format of *Interfaces* were all designed to promote the 'thinking outside the box' which larger and more specialized conferences can sometimes discourage. The contributors to this volume have all risen to that challenge, as attested by the originality and quality of the papers in this volume, which it has been my pleasure and privilege to edit.

—Herne Bay, May 2011

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PART I:

CATEGORIES AND ORTHODOXIES

COUNTER-SUBORDINATIVE COORDINATION VERSUS CO-SUBORDINATIVE COORDINATION: A SYNTAX / SEMANTICS / PRAGMATICS INTERFACE STUDY OF *AND*, *BUT* AND *FOR*

MARTINE SEKALI

1. Introduction

The objective of this paper is to challenge two kinds of linguistic boundary. Firstly, it challenges the notion that boundaries separate syntax, semantics and pragmatics as discrete components of language which can only be analysed separately, within distinct theoretical frameworks, and with well distinguished meta-linguistic tools. Secondly, the boundary between coordination and subordination is discussed by means of a unified study of *AND*, *BUT* and *FOR*¹ as grammatical markers which prescribe syntactic, semantic and pragmatic instructions.

Over time, the boundaries between coordination and subordination have been defined on the three main levels of linguistic analysis. Although different terminology has been used, the same basic opposition is considered, namely:

- At clause level (in syntax): subordination is described in generative grammar and other theories of syntax as a headed construction resulting from an embedding process wherein the subordinate clause is embedded, i.e. is a constituent of the matrix clause. This is opposed to coordination, which is defined as a non-headed, non-embedded construction joining two or more independent constituents of equal syntactic status.

- At semantic level the same basic difference between the two linking processes is considered conceptually: an asymmetric link is opposed to a symmetric link, the former expressing a hierarchy of conceptual domains. In cognitive and functional theories (Langacker

¹ For lack of space, I will not consider *OR* in this paper: for a comparison of all coordinators, see Sekali forthcoming 2010.

1991, Cristofaro 2003, Fabricius-Hansen 2008, Blühdorn 2008), subordination is defined as marking hierarchical semantic connections (asymmetry of conceptual domains), where the relata have different relational thematic roles (landmark/trajector; ground/figure etc.). In contrast, coordination defines non-hierarchical semantic connections of conceptual entities (such as events and propositions): the relata have equal semantic functions and equal semantic weight (symmetry of conceptual domains).

- Finally, at discourse level (Polanyi 1988, Asher & Vieu 2005), hierarchy is also opposed to non-hierarchy, but in the linking of discourse units with regards to a common dominant, or previous, unit. Coordination here marks a shared linking of discourse units to a common dominant constituent, while subordination marks hierarchy through the specification or disruption of a previous discourse constituent.

It appears that on the three levels of linguistic analysis (clause, concept, discourse unit), despite different terminology, the two linking processes are identified, defined and opposed in the same way, i.e. in terms of hierarchy and dependence. It is interesting to note that, as emphasized by Blühdorn 2008, there is no necessary parallelism between the three levels of description, so that for example a coordinative structure in syntax can be asymmetric (i.e. subordinative) in semantics, and vice-versa. Such “mixed” structures have been described as “semantic subordination with syntactic coordination (Delechelle 1994) or as “conceptual subordination” by Culicover & Jackendoff 1997. The following two examples illustrate non-parallelism with the syntactic coordinator AND:

- (1) Play it smart, and you'll have money. (S. Kubrick, *The Killing*, 1956)
- (2) The system is under intolerable pressure and something has to give. (*The Guardian*, July 16, 1988.)

In (1), the linking is coordinative on the syntactic level, but asymmetric and subordinative on the semantic level, marking a conditional type of relation which can be paraphrased as “if you play it smart, you’ll have the money”. The same phenomenon appears in (2), where AND yields a cause to consequence type of link (“the system is under intolerable pressure so that / therefore something has to give”).

This non-necessary parallelism leads Blühdorn 2008 to suggest that the three levels should be analysed separately. Yet in production as well as interpretation, the three dimensions - syntax, semantics, and discourse - are stacked to create linguistic representations. Although it is extremely

difficult to make simultaneous analyses of the three levels, it is very rewarding to consider the points of interaction between these levels in the analysis of linguistic forms. Thus, in cases where parallelism between syntactic and semantic levels of coordination is only optional, as with AND, one may wonder for example when and why the syntactic coordinator marks symmetric or asymmetric relations in semantics.

One way of considering the points of interaction between the various dimensions of linking processes is to take the morphemes (linguistic markers) rather than structures as the starting point for the analysis. The three afore-mentioned levels of analysis can then be taken into account simultaneously in the investigation of each marker as prescribing specific syntactic, semantic and pragmatic instructions. Antoine Culioli's Locative Theory² (Théorie des opérations énonciatives) is, in that respect, a productive framework for interface analyses of the schematic forms of grammatical markers and their relation to broad and narrow context in the process of the construction of meaning. My research on English clause-combiners³ has thus shown me quite clearly that clause-combiners not only combine clauses, or even concepts, but can also combine linguistic operations such as coordination and subordination in one single marker, and sometimes even do so systematically, as is the case with the coordinators BUT and FOR.

2. And

The specificity of the coordinator AND (its core operation) is that it refers back to the predicative relation in the first coordinate (P) in order to re-invest it in the second coordinate (Q), with an iconic predicative movement forwards: Q is set as a predicative and modal add-on to P. In example (3):

(3) I see books, Harry, don't you? I see hundreds of books. And not just any books, but first editions, even signed first editions. (P. Auster, *The Brooklyn Follies*, p. 207)

The clause combiner AND comes after a full stop corresponding to the closure of a tone sequence. Here AND contradicts this closure, takes up P to insert it into a macro-utterance, where P becomes the basis for a forward movement in Q. In this example, AND moves forward from the simple assertion of the existence of "books" to the predication of a

² See, in particular, Culioli 2002.

³ Sekali 1991, 1992, 2007.

qualitative amplification in Q, through the negation of a restriction with the structure “not just any books but”. Thus, AND marks the assertion of a linear predicative progression, resulting in a value of intensification, which could be paraphrased as “there is more to say about P, things are even better...” Indeed this use of AND can be glossed as *further-more*, which paraphrases the double movement forward of a progression which is both discursive⁴ (further) and modal⁵ (more). The same linear predicative movement with AND is exemplified in (4):

(4) I'm here to see my father, and I want to see him right now! (P. Auster, *The Brooklyn Follies*, p.35)

Here the coordinator AND takes up the speaker's goal (to see my father) for reinforcement and specification. This process of inter-clausal assertion is always achieved on the basis of a target taken up from P for further qualification. In this respect, AND can be described as an assertive modality, since it sets the assertion of a correlative link in what becomes a ‘macro predicative relation’ (Fig.1).

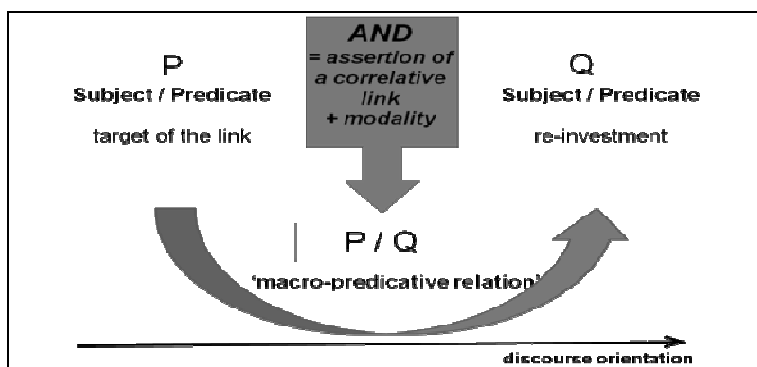


Fig. 1

The reference point in P - the anaphora target - which is the scope of the clause-combining process, is generally specified in the second coordinate by anaphoric markers. In examples (3) and (4) above, nominal notions are taken up (books, my father), the pronoun “him” in (4) overtly

⁴ I.e it follows the linear dynamics of discourse.

⁵ The term ‘modal’ is here meant in its broad sense of a qualitative evaluation on the part of the speaker.

reveals this anaphoric process. The anaphora targets in these examples are notions that are taken up for further qualification.⁶

However the anaphora target is not necessarily a semantic notion. I argue that the combining process can also target the assertion within P itself, or more precisely, one of the two coordinates of the speech situation (T or S)⁷, which either locates in time, or modalizes the assertion in P. In that case, the temporal location of P, or the subjective evaluation of its truth value (its modality), will serve as the reference point and basis for a temporal or a modal progression in Q (Fig.2).

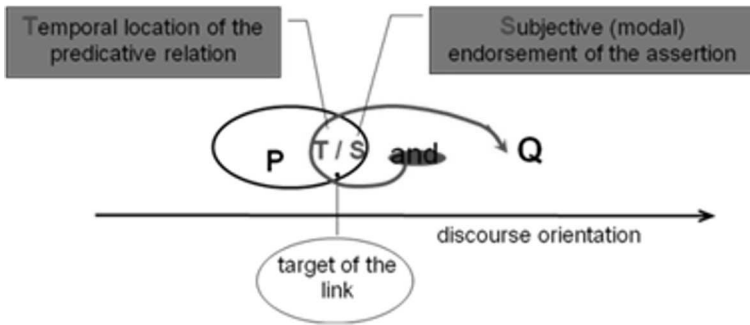


Fig. 2

This is the case in examples (5), (2) and (6):

(5) I set the jars [of poisoned sausages] by the sink and looked down into the garbage disposal. I was perplexed and nervous, as if I were holding live explosives. Gingerly, I twisted off the rings and pried off the caps. A strong sour odor of vinegar bellied out. (Jane SMILEY, *A Thousand Acres*, US, 1991: 395)

⁶ The choice of the anaphora target in the coordination process is very important in the construction of semantic values for the link in the macro-utterance. The observation of a large corpus shows that this choice is marked mainly by nominal and verbal determination within the connected clauses, see Sekali (forthcoming 2011)

⁷ In the afore-mentioned theoretical framework (Culioli's 'Locative theory'), the linguistic genesis of an utterance implies not only the choice of particular predicative concepts (or notions), but also their determination and location with respect to time (T) and subjectivity (S). The T coordinate is the temporal locator (or landmark) while the S coordinate is the origin of all subjective, qualitative evaluations of the assertion in the field of person, aspect and modality.

(2) The system is under intolerable pressure and something has to give.
(*The Guardian*, July 16, 1988.)

(6) Miss Byrd treats her pupils as if they were adults and the girls simply rise to meet her expectations. (B. Trapido, *Frankie & Stankie*, Bloomsbury, 2004, p.172)

In (5) the temporal location of P serves as the basis for a temporal progression in Q, yielding an interpretation of temporal sequence. In (2) and (6), it is the subjective endorsement of P (its modality) which is targeted, so that the modality of the assertion in P becomes the basis for the endorsement of Q as true, in what is in fact an exporting movement, or transfer of modality, from one clause to the other, a movement which is retrievable in its common paraphrase with ‘therefore’: from point P and forwards.

With the coordinator AND, I argue that there is a process of semantic subordination (or asymmetry) every time the target of the link is the core of the assertion in the first clause, i.e. its temporal location (T) and/or its subjective endorsement (here called S as subjective modality). This process of semantic subordination creates relational meanings of temporal sequence or argumentative consequence.

On a more general basis, I propose here to define ‘semantic subordination’ - whatever the clause combiner used - as a linguistically marked clause-combining operation by which a speaker asserts the existence of an inter-clausal location process, where the assertion of a clause is taken up as a basis either to modalize another one, or to locate another one in time. In this process, the locating clause is the semantic matrix, which serves as the anchoring point for the assertion, temporal location or modalization of the other, here called the located clause (Fig. 3). The relation between the locating clause and the located clause is one of semantic dependence, even when the syntactic structure is non-headed.⁸

⁸ I believe this ‘enunciative’ definition to be quite close to what Langacker calls ‘landmark/trajector’ in cognitive grammar, the landmark being the locating clause and the trajector the located clause, although his terminology relates to other theoretical aims .

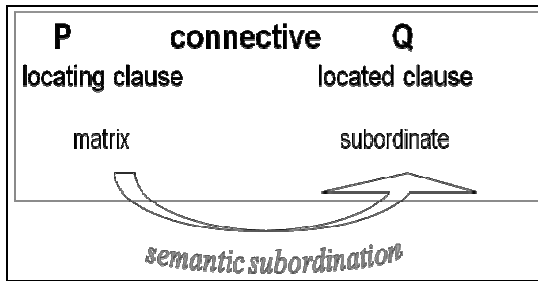


Fig. 3

3. *And* vs. *But*

The discursive level of analysis also proves essential in order to distinguish and compare the way coordinators actually contribute to the construction of meaning. Coordinates will be oriented differently depending on whether the coordinator asserts a link which follows or disrupts the linear dynamics of discourse.

As mentioned above, the coordinator AND asserts an iconic predicative movement, which follows the linear dynamics of discourse. The coordinates joined by AND are therefore *co-oriented*. On the other hand, the coordinator BUT is a chain disrupter, the link which it predicates between the coordinated units effectively disconnects them from the linear flow of discourse and imposes another orientation. So, in contrast to what happens with AND, the coordinates joined by BUT are *counter-oriented*, (rather like a sat-nav recalculating a route). I believe that these discursive orientation phenomena are linguistic constructs which depend on the coordinator chosen (consciously or unconsciously) by the speaker. In addition to that, these particular orientation processes have an effect on the semantic evaluation of the first coordinate. In example (7), for example:

(7) She was thirty and she had never been more attractive. (D. Lessing, *Between Men. A Man and Two Women*, 1956; Jonathan Clowes Ltd.)

for the lady to be thirty and to be attractive are properties that are co-oriented by the use of AND. The two properties are set by the coordinator as correlated and inseparable: being thirty is defined as the reference point for a qualitative comparison, and represents the ultimate degree of attractiveness. The same coordinates linked with BUT instead of AND, as in (7'), yield a very different representation:

(7') She was thirty but she had never been more attractive.

Being thirty suddenly has a negative ring to it: it is young with AND, and the beginning of old age with BUT, and one may wonder how the coordinator can have such an influence on the evaluation of the very same predication. As described above, BUT asserts a link which disrupts the linear discursive flow, or rather, diverts its course: the two properties (to be thirty and to be attractive) are thus defined, not as opposites - there is no semantic or logical opposition between the two - but as counter-oriented, so that the age is endowed with a negative value that it did not have prior to the coordination process. BUT is therefore a coordinator which asserts a very different predicative movement from that marked by AND: it is not a *prospective* but a *retrospective* movement, as we can observe in the progression of the narrative in example (8):

(8) I sat down and thought, but thinking got me nowhere. And so I did it, I did the best I could. (Jane Smiley, *A Thousand Acres*, US, 1991: 395)

What appears in this example is that, contrary to AND the connection marked by *but* defines a three-term relation rather than a binary one: BUT takes up the predicate 'thought' to associate it to a clause that is different from the continuation that was implicitly expected. This implicit potential continuation -here labelled 'i' as in implicit- can be considered the result of an implicit form of semantic subordination from P to i: from 'I thought', set as a semantic matrix, to the modal endorsement of an *intermediate* representation ('I found a idea, thinking got me somewhere'). This intermediate implicit reference is then the target of a qualification, (or rather, with BUT, of a *disqualification*) through the coordinated utterance (Q): 'thinking got me nowhere' (Fig.4).

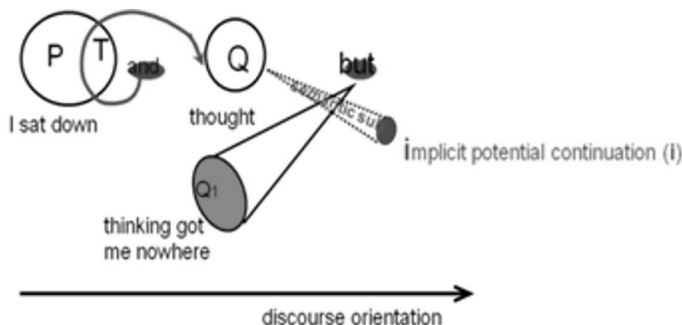


Fig.4

The coordinator BUT thus disrupts the linear dynamics of discourse and directs us back to an implicit semantic subordination from P to i, which it counters and disqualifies with Q. The second coordinator AND in example (8) then moves on to another semantic subordination process, this time explicit. In this case, ‘thinking got me nowhere’ is the matrix for the assertion and endorsement of a consecutive event (I did it). Here the argumentative value of the semantic subordination is emphasized by ‘so’. The discursive movement here first goes forwards with AND, then backwards with BUT, and highlights the complex, three-term operation instructed by BUT: syntactic coordination with BUT is associated with a process of implicit semantic subordination, which is both constructed and disqualified by the coordinator.

This particular linking process is also illustrated in example (9): which reveals a certain type of inter-subjective relations with BUT. In this example, Dinah, a young girl, writes a letter masquerading as her mother to ask to have her muddy driveway paved:

- (9) Dinah writes what she considers to be a completely spoofy letter. But, incredibly, her mum seems happy with the letter and posts it right away.
(B. Trapido, *Frankie & Stankie*, Bloomsbury, 2004, p.148)

Due to the use of present tenses on the predicates, the reader is led to adopt the girl’s point of view. The adjective ‘spoofy’, which qualifies the letter, is clearly endorsed by Dinah, as confirmed by the relative clause ‘what she considers’. The coordinator BUT establishes a subjective discordance between Dinah’s and her mother’s points of view, which is paraphrased by the adverb ‘incredibly’. Here again, BUT directs us back to an implicit semantic subordination from P to i (‘her mother won’t like it’), and simultaneously disqualifies this semantic subordination by means of Q₁ ‘her mum seems happy with the letter’. This process of *counter-subordination* is then combined in the example with another clause Q₂ (‘posts it’) by the coordinator AND, this time marking explicit semantic subordination from Q₁ to Q₂, yielding sequence and consequence values.

It therefore appears that both AND and BUT can combine syntactic coordination and semantic subordination in one marker, yet while the process of semantic subordination is optional with AND, it is systematic with BUT, and it is explicit with AND while implicit with BUT.

I argue that some coordinators - in particular BUT and FOR - *systematically* combine syntactic coordination and semantic subordination in one marker, so that their analysis challenges traditional boundaries: the two coordinators do not simply combine clauses, or even concepts, they combine linguistic operations, and can therefore only be analysed at the

interface between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. To summarize the double operation marked by BUT:

- BUT asserts the existence of an implicit semantic subordination, from P to an intermediate representation *i*.
- BUT coordinates this semantic subordination process with a third term (Q), which disqualifies it, on the basis of inter-subjective discordance between speaker and addressee.

In an interface study, these two operations in a single marker can be accounted for as a process of *counter-subordinative coordination*. More than a coordinator, BUT can thus be considered as a counter-subordinator, by the use of which the speaker both suggests a continuation to P, attributes its endorsement to a potential addressee, and disqualifies it to assert and endorse another one.

It follows that processes of drawing inference and the construction of indirect meaning can be analysed at the linguistic level, provided the linguist works at the syntax/semantics interface. Processes of implicit semantic subordination must then be considered as linguistic constructs even though they are not overtly expressed. Indirect referential values are constructed as intermediate representations which are taken up for qualification or disqualification in the inter-subjective and inter-clausal linking process. The exact semantic and grammatical structure of the implicit predication is not always retrievable, but the very presence of such secondary indirect meanings is definitely made obvious by the use of the connective.

I would like to add that the operation of counter-subordination seems to be the linguistic origin of what is called in pragmatics the ‘argumentative force’ of an utterance. Through the operations marked by BUT, utterance Q is endowed with stronger argumentative force precisely because it introduces an element which disqualifies and overpowers a former relation, and also because it defines an inter-subjective relation of discordance on the endorsement of this former relation. In fact, the status of stronger argument which is ascribed by BUT to utterance Q is quite often explicitly paraphrased in the utterance itself, as in example (10):

- (10) People are still hurting in the state of Michigan. I know that. I travelled here a lot, I heard the stories. **But the fundamental question is**, which candidate can continue to grow this economy? And that's George W. Bush. (President Bush's Radio Address, 10/30/2004).

In this example, G. Bush is campaigning for a second term of office. In the first clause, G. Bush asserts rather strongly, and personally endorses, the fact that people are still in distress in some states of the United States. Yet,

quite skillfully, he then uses BUT to counter the obvious inferences that his audience could be led to draw from that statement: i.e. that it was high time they changed presidents. The counter-subordinative coordination performed by BUT enables him to disqualify these inferences, as well as his potential detractors. In the process, the Q clause is set by BUT as a stronger argument than P, as is paraphrased by ‘the fundamental question is’. Interestingly enough, G. Bush’s utterance is actually rather contradictory: ‘the American economy is *still very bad* under my presidency, but who can *continue to grow* this economy? Well, me of course!’ This shows that the coordinator BUT overpowers logic and replaces it with a set of subjective relations. G. Bush, by using BUT, short-circuits the issue of economy to put the question of the identity of the next president in the foreground.

4. *For*

Many grammarians have also noted that BUT and FOR are traditionally included among the category of coordinators, but are much less ‘central’ than AND and OR, because they seldom obey defining rules such as endocentricity⁹ and symmetry. FOR is sometimes even described in syntax as half coordinator/half subordinator. I argue here that one of the reasons for this particular behaviour is that both BUT and FOR mark non-binary relations and may be regarded as coordinating operations rather than clauses.

The coordinator FOR is subject to specific syntactic and grammatical constraints:

- FOR almost always comes after a comma (or a pause when it’s oral), sometimes even after a full stop.
- It cannot be preposed in a structure such as *For Q, P, contrary to *because*.
- It cannot be modified by any adverb: (*particularly, *especially, *only for) and cannot answer the question « why? ».

Also noticeable is the fact that the clauses P and Q which it combines often bear strong modalization, (such as emphatic cleft structures, pragmatic adverbs, modal auxiliaries etc.), which marks a strong modal endorsement of the speaker’s assertions. I argue that these constraints and

⁹ In *Syntactic Structures* (1957), N. Chomsky (taking up Bloomfield’s principle) defines coordination as an “endocentric coordinative structure”, meaning that in such a structure, the whole belongs to the same class as its parts, the compound structure belongs to the same category as its coordinated parts.

recurrences can be explained by the fact that, like BUT, FOR systematically combines syntactic coordination and semantic subordination in a ternary movement, as exemplified in (11):

(11) At first I feared I might not be accepted, for I had not had any training at all, but two ladies from the supermarket's human resources department took me in hand. (*The Times*, August 13, 2008)

In this structure (P, for Q), the speaker first asserts and modalizes P as an independent clause. Only subsequently is the first clause P linked to another clause Q which confirms the assertion of P, and is co-oriented with P: the fear of not being accepted is asserted first, and then coordinated to her lack of training, but the argument is given as additional and subsequent, and induces an implicit semantic subordination, where Q is the semantic matrix and anchoring point for the re-endorsement of P (so I couldn't do the job). Interestingly enough, in this example, it is this secondary implicit semantic subordination from Q to P (leading to the reinforcement of P, here the anticipation of difficulties) which is then disqualified by the coordinator BUT: BUT counters the semantic subordination implicitly expressed by *for*, breaks with the consensual endorsement of Q, and introduces a new argument which, as a result, gains a priority status.

I have observed quite frequently in my data that the implicit semantic subordination established by FOR is made explicit immediately afterwards with the use of AND, as is the case in example (12):

(12) What the passage demonstrates is a superb use of simple images, all closely related. For the images in themselves really are simple, and there is no attempt at complex development of any one of them. (Coombes 1953: 60).

This example, as is often the case with FOR, displays a strong modalization of P, here with the pseudo-cleft sentence in P which sets an end-focus on the complement of the verb 'demonstrate'. The first coordinate P holds alone, and does not need the second coordinate to be endorsed as true. Here again it is only in a second movement, hence the pause after P, that FOR adds another clause, which, quite clearly in this example, takes up an element of P for reinforcement: 'the images in themselves really are simple'. The subordinative value of this Q clause is here made explicit in the subsequent coordination with AND, which is no less than a reformulation of P (see Fig. 5).

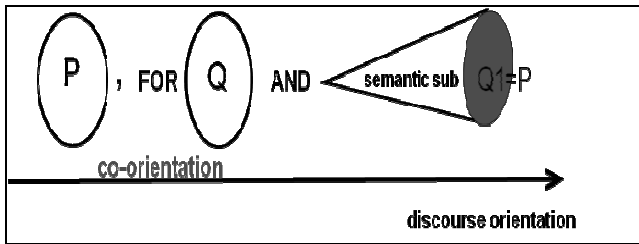


Fig. 5

In addition, on the level of inter-subjective relations, FOR marks the semantic subordination as non-polemical, taken for granted and endorsed by any potential addressee. The particularity of this connection is that even though the locating clause (Q) is new, and introduced by the speaker himself, its subordinative power is represented as consensual. Argumentation introduced by FOR is thus *added to* P but is not necessary to P. In that respect, I would say that FOR coordinates P with a semantic subordination that is *appositive* rather than *determinative*, to use terms commonly applied to describe relative clauses: ‘I assert P, and I remind you, if need be, that Q locates P’. This type of semantic subordination is different from the one marked by BECAUSE, where Q sets the validation and subjective endorsement of P as determinative i.e. necessary for the endorsement of P. Thus, contrary to FOR (and SINCE, for that matter), BECAUSE builds an argumentative link which is not granted in advance, but can still be discussed.

5. Conclusions

Just like BUT, the coordinator FOR mixes syntactic coordination and implicit semantic subordination in one linguistic marker, which probably accounts for their non-central situation in the category of coordinators as defined in single-leveled linguistic analyses. Yet the two markers prescribe different syntactic, semantic and pragmatic instructions:

- With FOR, the subordination process defines Q as the matrix for the modal re-endorsement of P, while BUT sets P as the matrix for the endorsement of an implicit reference i.
- The arguments are co-oriented with FOR while they are counter-oriented with BUT.
- On the level of inter-subjective relations, there is subjective discordance on the subordinative link with BUT, and subjective concordance with FOR.

At the syntax / semantics / pragmatics interface, the complex three-term relations marked by BUT and FOR can be described as *counter-subordinative coordination* versus *co-subordinative coordination*.

Clause-combiners thus regularly cross the boundaries of the syntactic opposition between coordination and subordination, and urge the linguist to go beyond theoretical boundaries as well. In this paper I have proposed the definition of new theoretical tools in an attempt to grasp the complexity of clause-combining processes. It proposes a definition of semantic subordination in terms of inter-clausal location on the basis of a temporal/subjective anaphora target, considers traditional coordinators AND, (OR), BUT and FOR as marking the assertive modality in a macro-predicative relation, and attempts a unified interface study of the specific syntactic, semantic and pragmatic instructions which distinguish the three operators. The issue raised here is also the question of the definition of categories. Is there such a thing as a category of coordinators? What appears to bind these markers into one category is a common macro-assertive operation and a specific dependence upon discourse linearization, each marker keeping differential instructions on the three levels of linguistic analysis.

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