

"I cannot see you there": Audience-blindness and Related Strategies in Discourse and Narrative*

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1. Introduction

- Korean has an elaborate system of verbal morphology signaling variable levels of honorification (HON), politeness (POL) and formality (FML).
- Honorification (and non-honorification) and politeness (and non-politeness) are inherently interactional and intersubjective.
- One peculiar class of the sentence-enders is what Koo & Rhee (2013) labeled 'audience-blind form' (ABF).
- ABFs, by definition, lack interactional and intersubjective (honorific and polite) features.
- ABFs, however, are often employed strategically in interactional and intersubjective contexts in discourse and narratives.

2. Preliminaries

2.1 (Inter)subjectivity & Interactivity/Interpersonality

- On the concept of "Subjectivity"

(1) a. Lyons (1982: 102)

Subjectivity refers to the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs.

b. Traugott & Dasher (2002)

Subjectivity marks the speaker assessment, attitude, and viewpoint (e.g. *possibly, even*).

Subjective expressions (2002: 23)

- (i) overt spatial, and temporal deixis,
- (ii) explicit markers of SP/W attitude to what is said, including epistemic attitude to the proposition,
- (iii) explicit markers of SP/W attitude to the relationship between what precedes and what follows, i.e. to the discourse structure: many aspects of discourse deixis are included here,
- (iv) The R-heuristic predominates.

Objective expressions (2002: 22-23)

- (i) they are declarative, i.e. minimally marked with regard to modality,

* This work is a part of larger-scale research in collaboration with H. J. Koo on audience-blind forms and stance marking.

- (ii) all participants in an event structure are expressed in surface structure,
- (iii) lexical items are minimally concerned with the interlocutors' perspective (i.e. minimally deictic),
- On the concept of "Intersubjectivity"
 - (2) a. Traugott (2003: 128; 2010: 32)

Intersubjectivity is a general characteristic of all language use; Intersubjective speech situations provide the crucial context for invited inferences.
 - b. Traugott (2003: 128)

Intersubjectivity is the explicit expression of SP/W's attention to the 'self' of AD/R in both an epistemic sense (paying attention to their presumed attitudes to the content of what is said), and in a more social sense (paying attention to their 'face' or 'image needs' associated with social stance and identity.
 - c. Traugott & Dasher (2002: 23)

Intersubjective meanings are interpersonal (Halliday & Hasan 1976), and arise directly from the interaction.

Intersubjective expressions (2002: 23)

 - (i) overt social deixis,
 - (ii) explicit markers of SP/W attention to AD/R, e.g. hedges, politeness markers, and honorific titles,
 - (iii) the R-heuristic predominates, i.e. what is said implies more is meant.

2.2 Honorification

- Honorification codes 'deference'.
- Deference is "a matter of social code which is imposed upon the participants in communicative interactions." (Hwang 1990: 42, as cited in Brown 2015: 313)
- Honorification in Korean involves subject honorification, addressee honorification, honorification suppression, and/or speech level modulation.
- Honorification in Korean may be lexically marked, or by case markers and verbal suffixes.
- The *Hwagye* (Speech-level) system in Korean has 3-7 levels depending on grammarians/ linguists: the intuition shows great variation.

(3) Nam & Ko's (2006:157) 6-level system

	DEC	INT	IMP	PROP	EXCL
Hayla	<i>(nun/n)ta</i>	<i>(nu)nya</i>	<i>ela</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>(nun)kwuna</i>
Hay	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
Hakey	<i>ney</i>	<i>(nu)nka</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>sey</i>	<i>(nun)kwumen</i>
Hao	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>(nun)kwulye</i>
Hayyo	<i>eyo</i>	<i>eyo</i>	<i>eyo</i>	<i>eyo</i>	<i>eyo</i>
Hapsyo	<i>(pni)ta</i>	<i>(pni)kka</i>	<i>(p)sio</i>	<i>(p)sita</i>	

(4) Sohn's (1999: 355) 7-level system

	DEC	INT	IMP	PROP	APPC	PROM
Plain	<i>(n)ta</i>	<i>ni/nunya</i>	<i>ela/ala</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>kwuna</i>	<i>ma</i>
Intimate	<i>e/a</i>	<i>e/a</i>	<i>e/a</i>	<i>e/a</i>	<i>kwun</i>	<i>(l)key</i>
Familiar	<i>ney</i>	<i>na/nunka</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>sey</i>	<i>(u)msey</i>	
Blunt	<i>(s)o</i>	<i>(s)o</i>	<i>(u)o</i>	<i>(u)psita</i>		
Polite	<i>eyo/ayo</i>	<i>eyo/ayo</i>	<i>eyo/ayo</i>	<i>eyo/ayo</i>	<i>kwunyo</i>	<i>(l)keyyo</i>
Deferential	<i>(su)pnita</i>	<i>(su)pnikka</i>	<i>(u)sipsio</i>	<i>(u)sipsita</i>		
Neutral	<i>(n)ta</i>	<i>nunya</i>	<i>(u)la</i>	<i>ca</i>		

2.3 Audience-Sensitivity

- Sentence-enders, modulated along the dimensions of politeness and honorification are interpersonal, and thus audience-sensitive.
- ABFs, paradigmatically belonging to the category of sentence-enders that are inherently audience-sensitive, are exceptional in that they are audience-blind.
- Audience-blindness is of variable degrees because:
 - (i) utterances are typically produced with the addressee in mind.
 - (ii) certain utterances are unintentionally uttered spontaneously (e.g. monologues).
 - (iii) speakers sometimes strategically use utterances that are monologues in form but are intended to be heard by the addressee.
- Audience-sensitivity/blindness is closely related to 'allocutivity' (Bonaparte 1862: 19-21) and 'subjectivity' (Iwasaki 1993).

(5) ABFs

DEC:	<i>-(n)ta</i>
INT:	<i>-nka, -na, -lkka, -lci, -nci,</i>
IMP:	<i>-(u)la</i>
HORT:	<i>-ca</i>
EXCL:	<i>-ney, -kwun, -kwuna, -kwumen, -ala, (-tota, -lota)...</i>

2.4 Feigned Monologue

- Certain utterances are a feigned monologue. (Koo & Rhee 2013: 81-82)
- It is 'feigned' in the sense that the speaker intends to have his or her utterance heard by the discourse participant, which is supported by the fact that the utterance is often uttered with sufficient audibility for the discourse participant.
- However, it is uttered like a monologue, which is supported by the fact that it lacks the markers of honorification, politeness, etc., a flagrant violation of discourse pragmatics in Korean

(6) Characteristics of a Feigned Monologue (Koo & Rhee 2013: 82)

- (i) The speaker says something as if it were a monologue.
- (ii) It may take the form of a question, as if it were a self-addressed question.
- (iii) Because of the monologic nature of the utterance, it does not necessarily obligate the hearer to respond.
- (iv) A socially-inferior hearer may feel obliged to be responsive to please the socially-superior speaker who utters it.
- (v) From the viewpoint of discursive strategies, the speaker shows either aloofness that the person present in the scene is not his/her social equal (e.g. kings, officers, noblemen, etc.), or gentleness by not imposing any direct burden of response to the intended addressee, and the implicit addressee now shows courtesy by being responsive to 'what the other simply had in mind'.

3. Audience-Blindness as a Strategy

3.1 Dialogue with Power Asymmetry

(7) Between a nobleman and a commoner

A: 가량 비 흔 척이면 몇 히나 부리나. 저근 비 부리는 사름은 큰 비 부릴 수 업나.

kalyang pAy hAn chyek-i-myen myes hAy-na pwuli-na
if boat one Clf-be-Cond how.many year-Post operate-Q
cyekun pAy pwuli-nun salAm-un khun pAy pwuli-l swu ep-na
small boat operate-Adn person-Top big boat operate-Adn way not.exist-Q
'If one has a boat how many years can he operate it? Someone operating a small boat cannot operate a big boat?'

B: 아니지요 제 밋천이 업셔 저근 비 부리지요

ani-ci-yo cyey mischyen-i eps-ye cyekun pAy pwuli-ci-yo
no-End-Pol my capital-Nom not.exist-Conn small-Adn boat operate-End-Pol
'No, it's not that. I don't have enough money and that's why I operate a small boat.'

(1912 Park Iyang, Myengwelceng 376-378)

(8) Between a military officer and a man

A: 리군 부상을 했는가

li-kwun pwusyang-ul hAy-ss-nu-nka
[name-Title] injury-Acc do-Pst-CR-Q
'Private Lee, did you get hurt?'

B: 아니오 지금 거기서 무든 거시오

anni-o cikum kekuy-sye mwut-un kes-i-o
no-End now there-from get-Adn thing-be-End

'No, sir. (The blood on my pants is) what I got from (the wounded man) over there.'

(1913 Sunwoo Il, Twukyenseng 1220)

3.2 “Objective” and “Pseudo-Objective” Texts

(9) Lower grade textbooks

- a. 왜 높고 험한 산비탈에 배추밭을 만들었을까요?

way noph-ko hemha-n sanpithal-ey paychwupath-ul mantul-ess-ulkka-yo
why high-and rugged-Adn slope-at cabbage.field-Acc make-Pst-Q.End-Pol
'Why did people make cabbage fields on a steep and rugged slope?'

(Elem 3rd/4th Social Science 2014: 33)

- b. 농촌 어촌 산지촌의 사람들은 다양한 산업에 종사합니다.

nongchon echon sancichon-uy salamtul-un tayangha-n
farming.village fishing.village mountain.village-Gen people-Top various-Adn
sanep-ey congsaha-pnita
industry-at engage.self-Dec.End

'People in farming, fishing and mountain villages are engaged in diverse industries.'

(Elem 3rd/4th Social Science 2014: 34)

(10) Higher grade textbooks

- a. 사람들은 예로부터 기후와 지형조건이 유리한 곳을 중심으로 마을을 이루고 생활해왔다.

salamtul-un yeylopwuthe kihwu-wa cihyengcoken-i
people-Top from.long.ago climate-and topographic.condition-Nom
yuliha-n kos-ul cwungsim-ulo maul-ul ilwu-ko
advantageous-Adn place-Acc center-Inst village-Acc form-and
saynghwalha-yw-ass-ta
live-Cont-Pst-Dec.End

'From long time ago, people have formed villages centering around the places that are advantageous in climate and topography.'

(Mid 7th Social Science 2013: 32)

- b. 인류 최초의 문명이 큰 강 유역에서 발생한 이유는 무엇일까?

inlyu choycho-uy mwunmyeng-i khun kang yuyek-eyse palsayngha-n
human first-Gen civilization-Nom big river vicinity-at emerge-Adn
iyu-nun mwues-i-lkka
reason-Top what-Cop-Q.End

'What is the reason that the first human civilization emerged near the big rivers? (Mid 7th Social Science 2013: 34)

(11) Interview reports

- a.

- A: 어떤 교육 개혁이 필요한가?

etten kyoyuk kayhyek-i philyoha-nka
what.kind education reformation-Nom be.necessary-Q

'What kind of educational reformation (do you think) is necessary?'

B: 인성 교육이다. 교육은 수치나 성과만이 아니라 그 과정과 행복감을 달성했느냐도 중요하다.

inseng kyoyuk-i-ta

character education-be-Dec

‘It’s about character building.’

kyoyuk-un swuchi-na sengkwa-man-i ani-la ku kwaceng-kwa

education-Top figure-or achievement-only-be not-Conn its process-and

hayngpokkam-ul talsengha-yss-nu-nya-to cwungyoha-ta

happiness-Acc achieve-Pst-CR-Q-also be.important-Dec

‘In education not only figures and achievements but also the processes and happiness obtained (if happiness is felt) are important as well.’

(Interview w/ Minister of Education: *The Choseonilbo Daily*, Jan. 8, 2015)

b.

A: 소비자 만족도 조사에서 1위를 한 건 큰 성과다. 1500호점 개점도 눈앞에 있다. 인터뷰에 응하는 걸 망설인 이유가 있나?

sopica.mancokto cosa-eyse lwi-lul ha-n ke-n khun sengkwa-ta

consumer.satisfaction survey-at 1st.place-Acc do-Adn thing-Topbig job-Dec

1500hocem kaycem-to nwun.aph-ey iss-ta

1500th.store opening-also eye.before-at exist-Dec

inthepyuy-ey ungha-nun ke-l mangseli-n iyu-ka iss-na

interview-at accept-Adn thing-Acc hesitate-Adn reason-Nom exist-Q

‘It’s a good job that (your company) took the first place in consumer satisfaction survey. Your 1,500th store is about to open, too. (Still) you hesitated to be interviewed. What was the reason?’

B: 요즘 경기가 안 좋다고 난리다. 특히 1~2월은 커피 전문점 매상이 안 좋을 때다. (점주들은 힘들어 죽겠는데 본사 회장이란 사람이 한가하게 언론 인터뷰나 하고 있다는 말을 들을까 걱정이 됐다.)

yocum kyengki-ka an coh-tako nanli-ta

recently business-Nom not good-Comp fuss-Dec

thukhi 1~2wel-un khephi cenmwuncem maysang-i an coh-ul ttay-ta

especially Jan.~Feb-Top coffee store sales-Nom not good-Adn time-Dec

‘These days people are making an outcry that business is very slow. January and February are when coffee sales are particularly bad. [I was worried that people might complain that while individual store managers are struggling, the CEO of the head-firm is leisurely being interviewed by journalists.]’

(Interview w/ the CEO of Ediya Coffee, *The Choseonilbo Daily*, March 28, 2015)

(12) Declarations

모든 사람은 태어나면서부터 자유롭고, 존엄과 권리에 있어 평등하다. 모든 사람은 이성과 양심을 타고났으며 서로 동포의 정신으로 행동하여야 한다.

motun salam-un thayena-myense-pwuthe cayulop-ko, conem-kwa

all person-Top be.born-Conc-from be.free-and dignity-and

kwenli-ey.isse phyengtungha-ta

right-at be.equal-Dec

motun salam-un iseng-kwa yangsim-ul thakona-ss-umye

all person-Top reason-and conscience-Acc be.born-Pst-Conn

selo tongpho-uy cengsin-ulo hayngtongha-yeyaha-n-ta

each.other brother-Gen spirit-with act-must-Pres-Dec

'All people are free from birth and equal in terms of dignity and rights. All people are born with reason and conscience, and must act according to the spirit of brotherly love.'
(Article 1, United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

(13) Rally slogans

a. 살인적 폭력 진압 강신명 경찰총장 즉각 파면하라.

salincek phoklyek cinap kangsinmyeng kyengchalchengcang

murderous violence putdown [name] PCG

cukkak phamyenha-la

immediate discharge-Imp

'Immediately fire PCG Kang Shinmyung, responsible for murderous violent putdown of protesters!' (2015.11.16. Protesters' slogan against Police Commissioner General)

b. 동족 사랑 상습범 김정일 김정은 부자 처단하라.

tongcok salsang sangsuppem kimgencil kimgengun

compatriot genocide repeated.offender [name] [name]

pwuca chetanha-la

father.son execute-Imp

'Execute Kim Jung-il and Kim Jung-eun, the father and son, who repeatedly kill their own people!' (2010.12.01. Korea Daily New York, Protesters' slogan against DPRK's attack on Korea's Yeonpyeong Island)

c. 가만히 있으라.

kamanhi iss-ula

still exist-Imp

'Stay still.' (2014.05.10. The Seoulsinmun Daily, Protesters' slogan on the ferryboat Sewol sinking with 304 passengers drowning/missing)

3.3 Broader Picture

- Insubordination of connectives into sentence enders (a large number of markers in this category, cf. Kim 2001)
- Blindness may be applicable to the author (speaker, source), the audience (addressee), and the content (proposition).
- Author blinding in the shift of quotatives into reportatives and into pseudo-reportatives (Rhee 2016)
- Content blinding involves intentional obscurification of a proposition (Such utterances often carry pejorative stance of the speaker (Koo & Rhee 2016).)
- Sentence enders in the military lack HORT, IMP enders in upward speech.
- The AB style is related to the Bare Direct Quotation (Rhee 2015), newspaper headlines, etc.

4. Discussion & Conclusion

- Discursive strategy of feigned monologue: aloofness, rejection of the addressee as an equal discourse partner, gentleness from non-impositive speech act
- Discursive strategy of feigned objectivity: assertion of objective validity
- Discursive strategy of intentional audience-blindness: addressee-disengagement, assertion of universal validity of the proposition, claim of authority and/or power asymmetry
- AB is a type of diverse blindness, e.g. of the speaker and the content.

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