

Jussive particles in Korean and pragmatics-syntax interface

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INTRODUCTION This paper investigates how pragmatics is mapped onto syntax through the lens of jussive clauses in Korean. I argue that jussive clauses resemble the Basque allocutive agreement (AA). Following Miyagawa (2012), I propose that jussive clauses need to be embedded under Speech Act Phrase (saP/SAP) and jussive particles (JPs) locally bind and agree with the subject of jussive clauses and pragmatic argument(s) of saP/SAP. I show that the proposed analysis can account for (i) the correlation between the vocative, the subject, and the JP, and (ii) the distribution of jussive particles with respect to the politeness particle *-yo*. **AA=JUSSIVE** AA is a syntactic phenomenon that arises as a result of agreement with the pragmatic argument Hearer (Miyagawa 2012). AA encodes information about the speaker-hearer relationship (see the translations for (1)); AA, being related to C[°], is disallowed to occur in interrogatives (2).

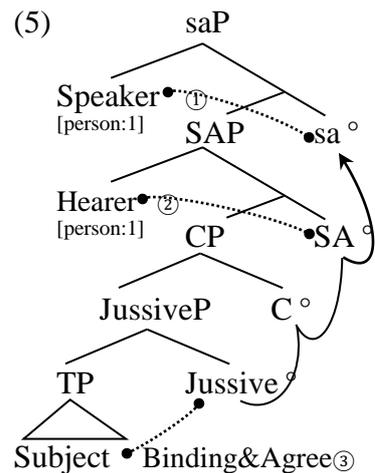
- (1) a. Pettek lan egin **dik.** ‘Peter worked.’ [to a male friend]
 Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3S.ABS-2S.C.MSC.ALLO-3.S.ERG
 b. Pettek lan egin **din.** ‘Peter worked.’ [to a female friend]
 Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3S.ABS-2S.C.F.ALLO-3.S.ERG
 c. Pettek lan egin **dizü.** ‘Peter worked.’ [to someone higher in status]
 Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PRF AUX-3S.ABS-2S.F.ALLO-3.S.ERG
- (2) Lan egiten **duia/*dina** hire lagunak? ‘Does your friend work?’
 work AUX.3E.Q/ALLOfem.Q your friend.ERG

Korean jussive clauses—PROM(ISSIVES), IMP(ERATIVES), and EXH(ORTATIVES)—are similar to AA in three respects. First, JPs provide information about the discourse participants: PROM, IMP and EXH are respectively associated with speaker, hearer and speaker+hearer (Zanuttini et al. 2012). Second, I observe that JPs encode information about the speaker-hearer relationship: the speaker must be at the same level as, or higher level than the hearer. For instance, (3) is infelicitous if uttered by a student to a teacher. Related to this, humble/honorific pronoun subjects are disallowed in jussive clauses as in (4). Lastly, JPs identify the clause-type. As such they are C[°]-related elements and cannot co-occur with other clause-typing particles (e.g., *-ta* for declaratives or *-ni* for interrogatives).

- (3) a. Nay-ka ka-**ma.** b. Ney-ka ka-**la.** c. Wuli-ka ka-**ca.**
 I-NOM go-PROM you-NOM go-IMP we-NOM go-EXH
 ‘I will go.’ ‘(You) Go.’ ‘Let’s go.’
- (4) a. **Cey-ka** ka-**yo./*-ma.** c. **Cehuy-ka** ka-**yo./*-ca.**
 I.HUMBLE-NOM go-POL(ITE)/-PROM we.HUMBLE-NOM buy-POL/-EXH
 b. **Tangsin-i** ka-**yo./*-la.**
 you.HONORIFIC.FORMAL-NOM go-POL/-IMP

PROPOSAL Given the above similarities between AA and JPs, I assume [_{saP} Speaker sa[°] [_{SAP} Hearer SA[°] [_{CP} C[°] [_{JussiveP} Jussive[°] [_{TP} SUBJECT T[°] [... as the clause structure in which CP (=utterance) is embedded under the SpeechActPhrase shell (saP/SAP), which provides discourse-related information such as speaker-hearer relationship (Haegeman & Hill 2013; Miyagawa 2012). I propose that binding & agreement (B&A) relationship is established between Jussive[°], the subject, and the pragmatic argument(s) (Speaker/Hearer), and thus they share the same person feature and become co-referential to one another. Specifically, I propose that the B&A between Jussive[°] and the subject (③ in (5)) always takes place regardless of the jussive type (Zanuttini et al. 2012). At this point, no value is assigned for person but only a permanent link between them is established à la Pesetsky & Torrego 2007 (cf. Zanuttini et al. 2012). Jussive[°] moves en route to sa[°] through the intermediate heads, and binds and agrees with the pragmatic argument(s) in a Spec-Head configuration (Kratzer 2009; cf. Miyagawa 2012). Let us suppose that sa[°] and SA[°], in addition to their regular semantic

denotation, calculate the speaker-hearer relationship on the not-at-issue tier, serving as λ -operator binding the pragmatic argument(s) (cf. Potts 2005, Kim 2014). Then B&A takes place (i) only with the Speaker argument for PROM (①) since it is sa° serves as a λ -operator computing the speaker-hearer relationship, (ii) only with the Hearer argument for IMP (②) since SA° serves as a λ -operator denoting the speaker-hearer relationship, and (iii) both with Speaker and Hearer arguments for EXH (①&②). The person value which Jussive $^\circ$ obtains via B&A with the pragmatic argument(s) (① and/or ②) is automatically shared with the subject due to the pre-established B&A ③.



The interaction between the subject and the jussive particle with respect to politeness shown in (3-4) is straightforwardly derived: Jussive $^\circ$ obtains the speaker-hearer relationship information when it moves to saP/SAP. This additional information provided by the saP/SAP shell enables a jussive particle to be realized accordingly in *-ma/-la/-ca* for the relationship compatible with (3). For the other relationship, the politeness particle *-yo* occurs (4).

The proposal, assuming the vocative to be an overt realization of Hearer (Haegeman & Hill 2013), correctly captures the correlation between (i) the vocative and the jussive subject, and (ii) the vocative and the jussive/*-yo* particle. As for (i), there is a strict (non-)binding relation between the vocative and the subject of the jussive clause. That is, the vocative cannot be co-referential with the subject in PROM (6a), must be co-referential with the subject in the IMP (6b), and must be partially co-referential with the subject in the EXH (6c). As for (ii), in (7a), for example, when the speaker (*grandma*) is senior to the hearer (*grandson Inho*) as marked by the overt vocative marking *-ya*, *-ma* is used. In (7b), by contrast, the speaker-hearer relationship is reversed as marked by null vocative marking, and hence *-yo* is used instead.

- (6) a. \emptyset_i Inho_j-ya, nay_i-ka ka-mai. b. \emptyset_i Inho_j-ya, ney_j-ka ka-laj.
 S(PREAKER) Inho-VOC I-NOM go-PROM S Inho-VOC you-NOM go-IMP
 ‘Inho, I will go.’ ‘Inho, (you) go.’
- c. \emptyset_i Inho_j-ya, wulii_{i+j}-ka ka-cai_{i+j}.
 S Inho-VOC we-NOM go-EXH
 ‘Inho, let’s buy lunch.’
- (7) a. **Inho-ya**, halmeni-ka tangcang ka-**ma**./*-**yo**.
 Inho-VOC grandma-NOM right.now go-PROM/-POL
 ‘Grandson, grandma will go right now.’ [*speaker=grandma; hearer=grandson Inho*]
- b. **Halmeni- \emptyset** , soncwu-ka cikum ka-**yo**./*-**ma**.
 grandmother-VOC grandson-NOM now go-POL/-PROM
 ‘Grandma, grandson will go now.’ [*speaker=grandson Inho; hearer=grandma*]

CONCLUSION I have proposed to syntactically encode the pragmatic information borne on JPs by adopting saP/SAP shell on top of CP. I have shown that the current analysis correctly captures the facts related to jussive clauses including the complementary distribution of JPs and *-yo* particle, the interaction between the subject, jussive/*-yo* particle, and vocatives.

Selected References Haegeman, L., Hill, V. 2013. The syntacticization of discourse. *Syntax and its limits*. 370-390. Oxford University Press. Miyagawa, S. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in main clauses. *Main Clause Phenomena*. 79-112. John Benjamins. Zanuttini, R., Pak, M., Portner, P. 2012. A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive, and exhortative subjects. *NLLT* 30: 1231-1274.