## Allocutivity, c-selection, and speech acts

Hailey Hyekyeong Ceong-McGill University (<u>hyekyeong.ceong@mcgill.ca</u>) Leslie Saxon-University of Victoria (<u>saxon@uvic.ca</u>)

In this study, we use the c-selectional properties of Korean allocutive *yo* to categorize clause-typing formatives which make direct reference to speech acts and the discourse roles of speech-act participants. Built on Ceong & Saxon (2021), the approach involving morphosyntactic diagnostics yields more testable and comprehensive results regarding the distribution of Korean "sentence enders" than approaches based on speech style, and also allows us to contrast Korean and Japanese allocutives and address formality across nominal and verbal contexts.

**Background:** Allocutives are grammatical forms indicating properties of speech act participants, including formality between the speaker and addressee (Haddican 2018, Kaur 2020, Miyagawa 2017, Oyharçabal 1993). In some languages, including Korean, every sentence in interactional communication encodes formality between speech act participants (cf. Brown 2015), with the result that every sentence indicates both illocutionary force and allocutivity. Consider the two declaratives carrying the illocutionary force of promissive in (1).

(1) a. (nay-ka) ka-**ma**-(\*yo) b. (nay-ka) ka-l-**key**-(yo) 1.SG-NOM go-COMP-ALLO 'I will go.' l.SG-NOM go-IRR-COMP-ALLO 'I will go.'

Within the same clause type and force, the heads of the clauses, complementizers *ma* and *key*, encode force differently and also display different compatibilities with allocutives. *Ma* is incompatible with allocutive *yo* (1a), while *key* is compatible with it (1b). The contrast in (1) shows that Korean has a variety of means with which to indicate clause type and formality contrasts. Our question: how do Korean clause-typing markers pattern in relation to allocutivity? And how do our findings inform study of allocutivity in Japanese and other languages?

Complementizer selection: Allocutive *yo*, expressing addressee honorification, is the rightmost sentence particle in Korean, restricted to root clauses (Portner et al. 2019; Sohn 1994, 1999): it represents the highest functional category of clausal syntax (Ceong & Saxon 2021). We identify two groups of speech act formatives based on their (in)compatibility with allocutivity *yo*.

Table 1: C-selection by vo

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	Items not selectable by yo	Items selectable by yo
[COMP]	(A) nya, ni, ca, la, ma, so, o (B) ta, kka, o	(C) e, ci, ney, kwun, lay, ka, ko,
[SECONDHAND]		(D) y, mye/myense, ko

Among items not selected by yo, we identify two subclasses of complementizers: (A) complementizers semantically incompatible with yo [see below] and (B) complementizers (such as ta, kka, and o) that express allocutivity by selecting the suppletive allocutive form p. Among items selectable by yo, two subclasses are distinguished by grammatical category: (C) includes complementizers and (D) includes markers of indirect ("secondhand") speech acts, -y 'they said', -mye 'you said', and -ko 'I said' (Ceong 2019). These particles are obligatory when the propositional content of a sentence is marked as originating in an anterior speech act. The illocutionary force of (2a) and (2b) is identical—they are indirect commands expressed as hearsay. The clauses contrast in allocutivity. In addition to yo, (2b) also requires -si 'subject honorification', as the honorific addressee is also the subject of the sentence.

(2) a. ka-la-y
go-IMP-HEARSAY
b. ka-si-la-y-\*(yo)
go-SUBJ.HON-IMP-HEARSAY-ALLO
'(Someone asked) (you) to go.'
(Someone asked) (honorific you) to go.'
Our approach to allocutivity is part of a larger study of the extended CP in Korean (Ceong &

Our approach to allocutivity is part of a larger study of the extended CP in Korean (Ceong & Saxon 2021), which has allowed us to distinguish syntactic categories of the clausal periphery, COMP, SECOND-HAND, and ALLO on the basis of c-selection.

**Semantic incompatibility:** In addition, the items (A) uniformly disallow humble first-person subjects, e.g. *cey* 'I (humble)', a result not previously observed.

We assume that the complementizers in (A) are endowed with an inherent feature barring an

(3) \*cey-ka ka-**ma** (cf. (1a)) (4) \*cehuy-ka mantul-**ca**1.SG(HUM)-NOM go-COMP 1.PL(HUM)-NOM make-EXHO
(intended: 'I (humble) will go.') (intended: 'Let's (us humble) make it!')

addressee honorific for the speaker, allowing instead either an intimate addressee or the speaker's junior. This leads to semantic incompatibility between (A) COMP items and both addressee honorific yo and humble speaker pronouns in the specifier in this domain. Advantages over analysis of speech styles: Korean sentence-final particles have been analysed on two dimensions: pragmatically defined speech style and sentence force. Using six speech styles (SS), Sohn 1999 classes the "sentence ender" e.yo as a polite declarative. This approach is complicated in that pragmatic distinctions are hard to justify: as Sohn (1994:10) points out, 'The deferential and polite levels are usually intermixed'. Beyond this, SS does not treat all particles of the right periphery of Korean main clauses, for example, ci, one of the most frequently occurring (cf. Kim & Phillips 1998, Lee 1993). Nor does SS consider their broader morphosyntactic properties: bimorphemic forms composed of COMP plus SECONDHAND or ALLO, such as e.vo, ta.ko, and others, are treated as unitary items, and incompatibilities as in (1)-(4) are not recognized. SS does not highlight the salience of marked and unmarked allocutivity in Korean syntax and discourse. As we show, allocutives play a crucial grammatical role in cselection and specifier-head relations, rather than having no grammatical consequence aside from sociolinguistic effects as some suggest (Speas 2004, Speas & Tenny 2003).

Contributions: Classification of Korean functional heads based on c-selection yields a simplified system that maintains the centrality of formality in Korean speech acts but reduces the opacity of analyses like SS. This approach has shed considerable light on the challenging wealth of clause-typing morphemes in Korean. Further, our analysis of dependencies between Korean yo and elements of C may lead to explanations of the patterns affecting Japanese C elements and allocutives mas/des, e.g., the puzzling (in)compatibility of COMPs such as koto/youni/to (Miyagawa 2020) with mas/des, known to be located lower than TP. In addition, in research focused on pronominal contrasts as in (1) vs (3) (Ceong 2021), we have shown that pronouns and allocutives are part of a larger system in Korean where functional heads in the CP and SAP domains are marked with reference to speech acts and speech-act participants. Thus, understanding the morphosyntax of Korean allocutives contributes to cross-linguistic study of formality in both nominal and clausal paradigms (Macaulay 2015, Ritter & Wiltschko 2018). Selected References. Ceong, H. & Saxon, L. 2021. Addressee honorifics as allocutive agreement in Japanese and Korean. Proceedings of CLA2020. Miyagawa, S. 2020. Syntax in the Treetops. Oyharçabal, B. 1993. Verb agreement with nonarguments: On allocutive agreement. Portner, P., M. Pak, & R. Zanuttini. 2019. The speaker-addressee relation at the syntaxsemantics interface. Ritter, E., & M. Wiltschko. 2018. Distinguishing speech act roles from grammatical person features. Proceedings of CLA 2018. Sohn, H. 1994. Korean. Routledge.