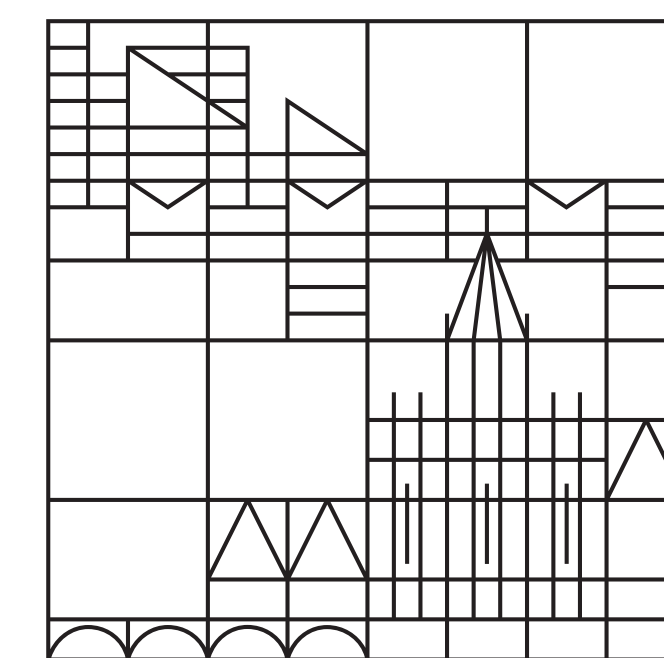


Self-addressed Questions and Indexicality: The Case of Korean



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Korean self-addressed questions

Self-addressed questions are attested in multiple languages (Littell et al. 2010, San Roque et al. 2017). Korean marks them with particles *na/ka* (SAQ) instead of *ni* (HAQ) which requests an answer (Jang & Kim 1998, Jang 1999)

- (1) *Mary-ka o-ass ni?*
Mary-NOM come-PAST HAQ
'Has Mary come?'
- (2) *Mary-ka o-ass na?*
Mary-NOM come-PAST SAQ
'Has Mary come, I wonder.'

SAQ-particles interact with second person pronouns (*ne*) and honorifics (*upni*):

- (3) *na-ka chencay-i-n ka?*
I-NOM genius-be-PRS SAW
'Am I a genius, I wonder.'
- (4) **ne-ka chencay-i-n ka?*
you-NOM genius-be-PRS SAQ
unavailable: 'Are you a genius, I wonder.'
- (5) **Mary-ka o-ass-upni ka?*
Mary-NOM come-PAST-HON SAQ
unavailable: 'Has Mary come, I wonder.'

New data: there are contexts where second person pronouns are felicitous:

- (6) Context: A studies a picture of his new PhD student B that was sent to him.
(?)ne-ka chencay-i-n ka?
you-NOM genius-be-PRS SAQ
'Are you a genius, I wonder.'
- (7) **ne-ka chencay-i-ess-ten ka?*
you-NOM genius-be-PAST-RECOLL SAQ
'Were you a genius, I wonder.'

Idea: Korean speakers can distinguish between 'you' as the addressee and 'you' as a referent but not the addressee

Analysis

The speaker decides the context.

Assume that A and B want to enter A's office; A is searching the key. If A believes that B can not possibly know the location of the key, A will ask (8)a. If B should know where the key is, A is more likely to ask the (8)b.

- (8) a. *yelsoy-ka eti(-ey) iss-na?*
key-NOM where-LOC exist-SAQ
'Where are the keys, I wonder.'
- b. *yelsoy-ka eti(-ey) iss-ni?*
key-NOM where-LOC exist-HAQ
'Where are the keys?'

Denotation

- utterance contexts *c* are mapped to their parameters by functions *sp*, *ad*, etc. (Kaplan 1989)

- (9) meaning of SAQ-particles *ka/na*
a.defined iff $sp(c) \neq ad(c)$
b.iff defined, $\llbracket na \rrbracket^c = \lambda p.p$
- (10) meaning of HAQ-particle *ni*
a.defined iff $sp(c) = ad(c)$
b.iff defined, $\llbracket ni \rrbracket^c = \lambda p.p$
- (11) meaning of honorific *upni*
a.defined iff *sp(c)* strictly inferior to *ad(c)*
b.iff defined, $\llbracket upni S \rrbracket^c = \llbracket S \rrbracket^c$
- condition (11)a entails $sp(c) \neq ad(c)$

Deictic vs. indexical 'you'

In (6), A is aware of two contexts:

- *c*: $sp(c)=A$, $ad(c)=B$
- *c'*: $sp(c')=A$, $ad(c')=A$

Deciding on *c'* triggers the interpretation of *ne* 'you' as $\llbracket ne_{deictic} \rrbracket^{c'} = B = ad(c)$, picking out B as a referent by coercion.

Coercion facilitated by

- past tense
- modality
- non-speaking referent

Honorific *upni* requires speaking referent and blocks coercion.

Addressing yourself

Consider a speaker A talking to themselves:

- (12) a. *Ney yelsoy-ka eti(-ye) iss-na?*
your key-NOM where-LOC exist-SAQ
unavailable: 'Where is your key, I wonder.'
- b. *Ney yelsoy-ka eti(-ye) iss-ni?*
your key-NOM where-LOC exist-HAQ
'Where is your key?'

Blocked coercion (12)a

Coercion would require two contexts

- actual utterance context *c*: $sp(c)=A$, $ad(c)=A$ that licenses the SAQ-particle
 - coerced context *c'*: $sp(c')=A$, $ad(c')=A$ that maps *ney* 'your' to A
- non-distinct contexts!

HAQ in soliloquy (12)b

Enriched context *c*: $sp(c) \neq ad(c)$, but *ney* 'your' refers back to A. This shows that the speaker can address themselves as a distinct entity.

→ *alter ego* analysis as in monologue, free indirect speech or *erlebte Rede*