

Pragmatic person features in pronominal and clausal speech act phrases

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Abstract. This paper proposes the necessity of pragmatic person features (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) in pronominal and clausal speech act phrases in Korean, giving three main arguments for such necessity: (i) pragmatic person [ADDRESSEE] is needed for hearsay *mye* which expresses the meaning of *you told me* without the lexical verb of saying, (ii) pragmatic person [SPEAKER] is needed for the unequal distribution of first-person plural pronouns with exhortative *ca* ‘let us’, and (iii) pragmatic persons [SPEAKER], and [ADDRESSEE] are needed for the asymmetric distribution of a dative goal argument in secondhand exhortatives. Based on the compatibility and incompatibility of exhortative *ca*- and secondhand exhortative *ca-mye* clauses with a first-person pronoun (e.g., *na* ‘I’, *ce* ‘I’, *wuli* ‘we’, and *cehuy* ‘we’), I argue that pragmatic person features are needed in syntax to account for their distribution.

Keywords. person; formality; clusivity; speech act phrases; hearsay; Korean

1. Introduction. This paper investigates pragmatic person features in pronominal and clausal speech act phrases focusing on the properties of first-and secondhand exhortatives in Korean. Based largely on evidence from a survey of variable pronominal paradigms across languages, Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) state that some languages lexicalize the distinction between pragmatic and grammatical person features. In this paper, I argue, on the basis of the distribution and interpretation of first-and secondhand exhortative markers, first-person pronouns, and the (dis-) agreement with the head of exhortatives and a first-person pronoun, that the distinction is lexicalized in Korean as well.

Consider the distribution of two first-person plural pronouns *wuli* ‘we’ and *cehuy* ‘we’ with different formality in exhortatives.¹

- (1) a. *wuli-ka salam-ul mantul-ca.* (firsthand exhortative)
 1PL.NEU-NOM person-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let us make man (in our image).’ (Genesis 1: 26)
- b. **cehuy-ka salam-ul mantul-ca*
 1PL.HUM-NOM person-ACC make-EXHO
 Intended: ‘Let us make man.’

An exhortative clause with a first-person neutral plural pronoun *wuli* ‘we’ is well-formed, as in (1a), while the clause with a first-person humble plural pronoun *cehuy* ‘we’ is ill-formed, as in (1b). Now consider secondhand exhortative clauses, as exemplified in (2). Formative *mye* (or *myense*) in (2) expresses the meaning ‘you told me’ by indicating the source of an anterior ex-

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¹ The following abbreviations are used: ACC: accusative; ALLO: allocutive; ASSO: association; COMP: complementizer; CONJ: coordinator; DEC declarative; EVID: evidential; EXHO: exhortative; HON: honorific; HUM: humble; IMP: imperative; INT: interrogative; IRR: irrealis modal; NEU: neutral; NOM: nominative; PL: plural; PRES: present tense; PST: past tense; R: referring; SAP: speech act phrases; SG: singular; SUBJ: subject.

hortative.² The addressee of the current speech situation is the source of the anterior speech act and the speaker of the current speech situation was the goal of communication in the anterior exhortative. *Mye* (or *myense*) can express this meaning when it selects exhortative *ca* as its complement even without an accompanying lexical verb of saying.³ Contrary to well-formed clauses (2a) and (2c), a secondhand exhortative clause with a first-person humble singular pronoun *ce* ‘I’ (2b) is ill-formed. Note the use of a dative case marker *poko* in secondhand exhortatives.

- (2) a. na-poko seng-ul mantul-**ca-my**e. (secondhand exhortative)
 1SG.NEU-DAT castle-ACC make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘(You told me) we should make a castle.’
- b. *ce-poko seng-ul mantul-**ca-my**e.
 1SG.HUM-DAT castle-ACC make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 Intended: (You told me) we should make a castle.’
- c. ce-poko seng-ul mantul-**ca-myense-yo**.
 1SG.HUM-DAT castle-ACC make-EXHO-HEARSAY-ALLO
 ‘(You told me) we should make a castle.’

In this paper, I argue that (1b) and (2b) are syntactically ill-formed. In other words, the restriction against use of a first-person humble pronoun in (1b) and (2b) is not a matter of pragmatic. (That is, I do not agree with one who considers that this restriction is a matter of pragmatic and that therefore (2b) should be marked with # instead of being marked with *.) Following the Duality of Person Hypothesis (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) and relational formality features (Macaulay 2015, Portner et al. 2019), with some modifications, I argue that the ungrammaticality of clauses (1b) and (2b) can be explained by disagreement of phi features (either Spec-head or Probe-goal agreement). The first-person neutral pronouns *wuli* ‘we’ (1a) and *na* ‘I’ (2a) contrast with the first-person humble pronouns *cehuy* ‘we’ (1b) and *ce* ‘I’ (2b, 2c) in terms of formality. This contrast supports the view that pragmatic person features are lexicalized in Korean. Pragmatic person features are also encoded in clausal elements such as polite marker *yo* (Ceong and Saxon 2020). Thus, I argue that a formality feature associated with a null allocutive in (1a) and (2a) disagrees with a formality feature on *cehuy* (1b) and *ce* (2b). Instead, the formality of these pronouns agrees with polite *yo*, as shown in (2c).

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I begin with a review of the Duality of Person Hypothesis and [STATUS] features of formality (Macaulay 2015). I detail the morphosyntactic property of formatives that encode formality features in Korean. In Section 3, by examining the interaction between exhortative *ca* and first-person plural pronouns, I show that pragmatic person features reside in *cehuy* ‘we’, while grammatical person features reside in functional heads at the clausal level in Korean. In Section 4, I detail the properties of formative *mye* in secondhand exhortatives. In Section 5, a tentative syntactic structure of first-person pronouns and secondhand exhortatives is proposed that accounts for the data presented. In Section 6, I conclude with the idea that pragmatic person features, as well as formality status features, are dominant in Korean syntax.

² Formative *mye* and *myense* are interchangeable. Without *yo*, *mye* seems natural, while *myense* with *yo* is more natural to the author. We can find example clauses with *mye-yo* as well. Examining the distribution of *mye* and *myense* in corpus is required for future study.

³ The clause would be ill-formed with a lexical verb. See the examples in (14).

2. Pragmatic person and formality features. The Duality of Person Hypothesis (DPH henceforth) proposes that pragmatic person features are associated with a nominal speech act structure, whereas grammatical person features are associated with the traditional DP. For instance, it is proposed that *kuani* and *eani* in Ainu language which refer to the speaker and the addressee, respectively, are pragmatic person pronouns with the speech act layer, while *ka* and *ye* in Waris language are realizations of grammatical features [+1, -2], [-1, +2], respectively. Within DPH, pragmatic person features are primitive either [SPEAKER] or [ADDRESSEE], while grammatical person features are comprised of two binary features: [+1, -2], [+1, +2], [-1, +2], and [-1, -2]. DPH also offers diagnostic criteria for distinguishing pragmatic person pronouns from grammatical ones. Table 1 presents the contrastive properties between grammatical and pragmatic person pronominals. Putting forward the idea that formality or familiarity expression like the T-V distinction in French is an indication of pragmatic person pronouns, Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) hypothesize that first-person inclusive pronouns [+1, +2] and formality on pragmatic person features are in complementary distribution.

	Grammatical person	Pragmatic person
Grammatical number	✓ [±plural] (or associative)	✗ (only associative plural)
Grammatical gender	✓ [±feminine], ...	✗
3 rd person	✓ [-1, -2]	(to be determined)
1 st inclusive pronoun	✓ [+1, +2]	✗ speaker or addressee
Formality distinctions	✗	✓

Table 1. Diagnosing grammatical vs. pragmatic person (Ritter & Wiltschko 2018: 8)

In this paper, applying the diagnostics of pragmatic person features to Korean data, I investigate the clusivity of first-person plural pronouns *wuli* ‘we (neutral)’ and *cehuy* ‘we (humble)’ as well as their formality distinction. The syntactic consequences of the analysis are also discussed. I will show that formality in pronouns and the clusivity of *ca* ‘exhortative’ are in complementary distribution in Korean.

Although Macaulay (2015) does not distinguish pronouns with pragmatic person features from those with grammatical person features and uses the person feature [1] instead of [SPEAKER], he argues that a Dynamic node with binary [± STATUS] features of formality is needed above the Participant node in Harley and Ritter (2002)’s feature geometry. Despite his “informal survey” of verbal paradigms with formality across many languages, Macaulay (2015) is certain that formality features [± STATUS] that encode formal relationships between speech participants should be incorporated into a syntactic feature geometry. According to his survey, Bengali, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Lyélé (Niger-Congo), Nepali, and Tamil are the languages that encode formality in the verbal paradigm. Verbal markers in these languages and the formality expressed by such elements are arguably governed by syntactic features that play a role in syntax, similar to how other phi features like PERSON, NUMBER, and GENDER are involved in syntax. By investigating the morphosyntactic properties of formality markers, Macaulay proposes three types of formality features in the grammar: 1) [+STATUS: 1 > 2, 3] indicating 1st person with a higher status than 2nd or 3rd person; 2) [-STATUS: 1 < 2, 3] indicating 1st person with a lower status than 2nd or 3rd person; and 3) [±STATUS], unspecified in terms of formality. With the modification of these formality features and focusing on allocutivity, Ceong and Saxon (2020) also use formality features: i) [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] means the grammatical Addressee has a lower status than the grammatical person Speaker; ii) [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] means

Addressee has a higher status than Speaker; and iii) [\pm STATUS] indicates unspecified in terms of formality.

It is not difficult to find the evidence that [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] is morphosyntactically marked in Korean. Formatives that realize the feature [-STATUS] are as follows: humble first-person singular pronoun *ce* ‘I’, its plural form *cehuy* ‘we’, and allocutives *-p-* and *-yo* (cf. Ceong and Saxon 2020). Moreover, when the subject carries [2] and [-STATUS], nouns such as *siksa* ‘meal.HON’ and honorific nominative *-kkeyse* as well as verbs such as *tusi-* ‘eat.HON’ or honorific subject agreement marker *-si* are morphologically marked in nominal and clausal domains. From the morphological point of view, Agree *-si*, noun *siksa* ‘meal.HON’, verb *tusi-* ‘eat.HON’, the pronouns *ce* ‘I’ and *cehuy* ‘we’, and polite *-p-* and *yo* may be indistinguishable in terms of formality [-STATUS: 1 < 2, 3] (cf. Macaulay 2015). However, their syntactic properties diverge. While Agree *-si*, noun *siksa* ‘meal.HON’, and verb *tusi-* ‘eat.HON’ can collocate with an honorific third-person subject without regard to the formality status of the addressee, the pronouns *ce* ‘I’ and *cehuy* ‘we’ and polite *-p-* and *-yo* are grammatical only if collocated with an honorific addressee feature.

Is formality feature [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] also prominent in the way the feature [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] is marked? After close investigation of morphological encoding of nominals, pronominals, and verbal elements in terms of their formality, the evidence of encoding of formality feature [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] in the grammar is not apparent in the modern standard Korean.⁴ It seems that both [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] and [STATUS: SPEAKER = ADDRESSEE] are equally unmarked in syntax. Based on the asymmetric morphosyntactic encoding of [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] versus [\pm STATUS: SPEAKER \geq ADDRESSEE], I treat [\pm STATUS] as an unspecified status feature that includes [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] and [STATUS: SPEAKER = ADDRESSEE]. The examples that support my treatment can be found in clauses where the distribution of an honorific subject aligns with that of a neutral first-person subject. Consider a context where a male teacher is telling students that he will do something, as in (3).

- (3) a. *sensayng-nim-i ha-l-key.*
 teacher-HON-NOM do-IRR-COMP
 ‘Teacher (=speaker) will do (it).’
 b. *nay-ka ha-l-key.*
 I SG.NEU-NOM do-IRR-COMP
 ‘I will do (it).’
 c. **sensayng-nim-kkeyse ha-si-l-key.*
 teacher-HON-NOM.HON do-SUBJ.HON-IRR-COMP
 Intended: ‘Teacher (=speaker) will do (it).’
 d. *sensayng-nim-kkeyse ha-si-n-ta-y.*
 teacher-HON-NOM.HON do-SUBJ.HON-PRES-DEC-HEARSAY
 ‘Teacher (\neq the speaker) said he was going to do (it).’

Although the subject in (3a) is a referential expression which differs from a first-person pronoun subject in (3b), the two clauses express the exact same proposition because the subject must be

⁴ Even the first-person pronoun *cim* ‘I’ referring to the King has a humble form *kwain* ‘King (humble)’ in classical Korean. The feature [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] is possibly encoded in promissive *ma* and the pronoun *caney* ‘you’ often used by older male speakers. This is a matter for further research.

interpreted as the speaker or [+1, -2] under irrealis complementizer *l-key* (cf. Ceong 2019b); some R-expressions such as *sensayng* ‘teacher’ may be interpreted as referring to the speaker or addressee in certain contexts in Korean (cf. Ceong 2019b, Zanuttini et al. 2012). The point I want to make here is that even though *sensayng* is marked by the honorific title *nim* ‘Mr; Mrs; Sir’ so that the subject is attributed a higher status than the addressee in the clause, honorific nominative marker *kkeyse* and subject honorific agreement marker *si* are not only absent in the grammatical clause (3a) but also disallowed, as illustrated in (3c). In the declarative hearsay construction with *ta-y*, *sensayng-nim* has its usual third-person referential properties, and this allows the distribution of honorific nominative *kkeyse* and subject honorific Agree *si*, as illustrated in (3d). The identical distribution of *sensayng-nim* and neutral *nay* ‘I’ in *l-key* clauses (3a, b) and the contrasting distribution of *sensayng-nim-kkeyse* (3c, d) show that reference options of [+STATUS: SPEAKER > ADDRESSEE] (as in (3a)) and [STATUS: SPEAKER = ADDRESSEE] (as in (3b)) can be overlapped or indistinguishable. Therefore, this study uses an updated version of Macaulay (2015)’s status features: 1) [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] means the addressee has a higher status than the speaker; and 2) [±STATUS: SPEAKER ≥ ADDRESSEE] indicates that the context is unspecified in terms of formality between interlocutors. With these understandings in place, we turn to considering the formal properties of Korean pronouns.

3. Exhortatives and first-person plural pronouns. Korean exhortative clauses may or may not co-occur with an overt first-person plural pronoun. This section discusses the reasons why *wuli* ‘we (neutral)’ is compatible with exhortative *ca* but *cehuy* ‘we (humble)’ is not. In Korean, the directive illocution of exhortative can be either straightforwardly encoded in a morphological form *ca* or through contextual interpretations of the interaction between multiple functional markers. For instance, unlike (4a), the interpretation of illocutionary force is ‘potential’ in clauses (4b) and (4c).

- (4) a. (wuli-ka) molayseng-ul mantul-ca.
 IPL.NEU-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle.’
- b. wuli-ka molayseng-ul kathi mantul-e-yo.
 IPL.NEU-NOM sandcastle-ACC together make-COMP-ALLO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle together.’
- c. molayseng-ul mantul-e.
 sandcastle-ACC make-COMP
 ‘Make a sandcastle!/(I’m) making a sandcastle.’

In (4a), formative *ca* is the head of exhortative clauses and this formative solely expresses the directive illocution of exhortation, while in (4b), there is no such formative that directly encodes the illocution; it is constructed by the synergy from a combination of formatives, including pronoun *wuli* ‘we’, adverb *kathi* ‘together’, a non-finite verb, and allocutive marker *yo*. Allocutive *yo* in (4b) indicates not only the speaker’s politeness toward the addressee but also brings the addressee to the table. The absence of *kathi* ‘together’ and *yo* in (4c) yields less transparency of the interpretation of illocution and yields more dependency on pragmatic contexts.⁵ In (4a), re-

⁵ Clause (4c) with a falling intonation can perform illocution acts of either commands or assertions; for instance, (4c) can be as an answer to a question “What are you doing?”, then clause (4c) would perform an illocution act of assertions. Without such a context, the non-finite clause will be interpreted as a command.

ardless of the presence of a first-person plural pronoun, the action *mantul-* ‘make’ is understood as a joint action by the speaker and the addressee, and the clause expresses the speaker’s persuasive attitude towards the content or the addressee.

Exhortatives have been termed jussive clauses (Zanuttini et al. 2012) along with imperatives, which share a directive force but differ in person features on the null or overt subject of the clauses. The first-person plural pronoun is allowed in *ca*-jussive (5a) but not in *la*-jussive (5b).

- (5) a. (wuli)/*ne-ka molayseng-ul mantul-ca. (jussive)
 1PL/2SG-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle.’
- b. (ne-ka)/*wuli-ka molayseng-ul mantul-ela. (jussive)
 2SG/1PL-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IMP
 ‘Make a sandcastle.’

Based on the contrastive properties of *ca* and *la*, Zanuttini et al. (2012) propose that *ca* is a head that carries an interpretable first-person inclusive feature [1 \oplus 2], while *la* is a head that carries an interpretable second-person feature [2]. The agreement between person features of the head and of the subject in exhortative constructions has been considerably discussed in Zanuttini et al. (2012). However, a formality feature (dis-) agreement between the subject and the head of exhortative clauses is left out of the discussion. In this section, focusing on clusivity, I examine the agreement between the formality of the head and of the subject in exhortative constructions. Before discussing formality features of exhortative *ca* and their agreement with the formality of the subject pronouns, I briefly review properties and distributions of first-person plural pronouns in Korean.

3.1. CLUSIVITY OF FIRST-PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS. Similar to the situation in many languages, Korean first-person pronouns distinguish singular pronouns from plural ones. The first-person plural pronouns *wuli* ‘we (neutral)’ and *cehuy* ‘we (humble)’ are identified as identical in carrying features [1PL] (Sohn 1994; Siewierska 2004). In the discussion of person forms and social deixis across languages, citing Sohn (1994), Siewierska (2004) summarizes how Korean noun-like pronouns interact with so-called sentence enders. Siewierska points out that there are four categories of pronominals—Category I (Deferential, Polite) items, Category II (Blunt) items, Category III (Familiar, Intimate) items, and Category IV (Plain) items—despite six speech styles pertaining to clausal markers. Table 2, which is adapted from Siewierska (2004), presents the paradigm of Korean first-person pronouns, including the two kinds of first-person pronouns with different formality. Within first-person pronouns, however, there seem to be only two contrasts: Category I versus Category II, III, and IV. According to this system, the humble *ce* ‘I’ and *cehuy* ‘we’ occur with Category I clausal markers, whereas the neutral *na* ‘I’ and *wuli* ‘we’ occur with Category II, III, and IV clausal markers.

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
<i>na</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>wuli</i>	<i>cehuy</i>
1SG	1SG	1PL	1PL
II, III, IV	I	II, III, IV	I

Table 2. First-person pronoun paradigm in Korean (cf. Siewierska 2004: 232 Table 6.2)

Citing examples from Sohn (1994), Siewierska (2004: 233 (38b)) shows the peculiar behaviour of humble *ce* ‘I’ which interacts with the covertly expressed addressee. Despite the interaction between pronoun *ce* and the addressee, Korean has been considered as a language with no person

agreement between pronominals and verbal/clausal items (cf. Baker 2008: 221, 246). Is there a syntactic consequence of pronominals with different formality in Korean? While it is obvious that *wuli* and *cehuy* share the same number feature PLURAL and different formality features, it is unclear if these pronouns carry the same property with respect to clusivity.

Sohn (1994: 283) states that *wuli* ‘we’ can be inclusive or exclusive, although the examples of such interpretations have not been fully given. The example that shows the exclusivity of *wuli* can be found in a clause headed by *l-key* where the periphrastic irrealis complementizer *l-key* restricts the subject to be exclusive [+1, -2] (Ceong 2019b). Thus, the compatibility of *l-key* with *wuli* entails the exclusive reading of *wuli*. This is further supported by a grammatical clause with a coordinate DP that does not include the addressee, as shown in (6a).

- (6) a. *wuli/Jenny-hako nay-ka molayseng-ul mantu-l-key.*
 1PL/Jenny-CONJ 1SG-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IRR-COMP
 ‘We/Jenny and I will make a sandcastle.’
- b. **wuli/*ne-hako nay-ka molayseng-ul mantu-l-key.*
 1PL/2SG-CONJ 1SG-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IRR-COMP
 Intended: ‘You and I will make a sandcastle.’

The pronoun *wuli* ‘we’ in (6a) can carry the meaning of *me and someone other than you*, as *wuli* ‘we’ can replace the coordinate DP subject consisting of the R-expression *Jenny* and the first-person pronoun *nay*. Comparing to the exclusive reading of *we* (6a), the inclusive reading of *wuli* ‘we’ is not available in clauses with *l-key*, as shown in (6b). The coordinate DP, *ne-hako nay* ‘you and me’, with the inclusive meaning of *you and me* is disallowed as the subject of *l-key* clauses, as in (6b). That means, *wuli* ‘we’ cannot carry the meaning of *you and me* with *l-key*.

Now we turn over our attention to an inclusive interpretation of *wuli* in exhortatives and interrogatives. Under exhortative *ca* and irrealis interrogative *l-kka*, the inclusive reading of *wuli* is available. The well-formed clauses with the subject consisting of two pronouns *ne* ‘you’ and *nay* ‘I’ with the coordinator *hako* ‘and’ confirm the inclusivity of *wuli*, as in (7).

- (7) a. *wuli/ne-hako nay-ka molayseng-ul mantul-ca.*
 1PL/2SG-CONJ 1SG-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle/you and I should make a sandcastle.’
- b. *wuli/ne-hako nay-ka molayseng-ul mantul-l-kka?*
 1PL/2SG-CONJ 1SG-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IRR-INT
 ‘Shall we/you and I make a sandcastle?’

Sohn’s statement that *wuli* ‘we’ can be an inclusive or exclusive pronoun is confirmed. Can humble *cehuy* alternate between inclusive and exclusive readings? Neither Sohn (1994) nor Cysouw (2005) note the clusivity of *cehuy*. I argue that *cehuy* ‘we’ cannot express inclusivity and its interpretation is an exclusive first-person plural.

- (8) a. *cehuy/Jenny-hako cey-ka molayseng-ul mantu-l-key-yo.*
 1PL.HUM/Jenny-CONJ 1SG.HUM-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IRR-COMP-ALLO
 ‘We/Jenny and I will make a sandcastle.’
- b. **cehuy/*tangsin-hako cey-ka molayseng-ul mantu-l-key-yo.*
 1PL.HUM/2SG-CONJ 1SG.HUM-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-IRR-COMP-ALLO
 Intended: ‘You and I will make a sandcastle.’

Semantically, *cehuy* as the humble plural subject excludes the honorific addressee. The pronoun *cehuy* requires an allocutive such as polite *yo* in the clause and expresses the meaning of ‘humble me and humble someone other than you’, as shown in Table 3.

pronoun	meaning	clusivity	TENSE-COMP-SAP
<i>cehuy</i>	humble me and humble someone other than (honorific) you	exclusive	<i>l-key-yo</i> , * <i>l-key ca-myense-yo</i> , * <i>ca</i>
<i>wuli</i>	me and someone other than you	exclusive	<i>l-key</i>
<i>wuli</i>	me and you	inclusive	<i>ca</i>

Table 3. The interpretation of first-person plural pronouns and their compatibility

Have understood the morphosyntactic properties of two first-person plural pronouns with different formality, we turn to consider the incompatibility between the pronoun *cehuy* ‘we’ and the exhortative head *ca*.

3.2. EXCLUSIVE FIRST-PERSON PRONOUNS. Although the morphological property of *wuli* and *cehuy* may be equivalent to the English first-person plural pronoun *we*, I have shown that the morphosyntactic properties of *wuli* and *cehuy* differ. Based on the observation, I argue that *cehuy* ‘we’ carries [SPEAKER+ASSO] features which differ from *wuli* ‘we’ [+1, ±2].

If my claim concerning the features [SPEAKER+ASSO], [+1, ±2], and [1⊕2] are distinct in syntax is on the right track, the asymmetric compatibility of *cehuy* and *wuli* with *ca* in (9) can be explained. *Wuli* is compatible with *ca* because it has unspecified [±2] which can be valued by [1⊕2] on *ca*, while *cehuy* lacks [2] so it is incompatible with *ca*.

- (9) a. (wuli-ka) molayseng-ul mantul-ca.
 1PL.NEU-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle.’
 b. (*cehuy-ka) molayseng-ul mantul-ca.
 1PL.HUM-NOM sandcastle-ACC make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle.’

Through the use of the pragmatic person feature [SPEAKER], the incompatibility of *cehuy* with *ca* in (9b) can be accounted for in the domain of CP/ForceP/JussiveP. Alternatively, we also can speculate *ca* may carry formality features in addition to a first-person inclusive feature. For example, a formality feature [± STATUS: SPEAKER ≥ ADDRESSEE] on *ca* disagrees with [- STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] on *cehuy*. I do not take this possibility to account for the disagreement between *cehuy* and *ca* because the clusivity feature on *ca* alone can account for the ungrammaticality. Moreover, there is no evidence that *ca* itself encodes this formality feature. The interpretation of bare exhortative clauses concerning its formality comes from its c-selectional properties. Exhortative *ca* cannot be selected by allocutive *yo* directly. Clauses (10a) and (10b) express the exact same proposition and same illocution force. The difference lies in the formality of the clauses. The formality of the clause (10b) is encoded in *yo* [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE], while *yo* cannot select exhortative *ca*.

- (10) a. wuli-ka molayseng-ul kathi mantul-ca-(*yo).
 1PL.NEU-NOM sandcastle-ACC together make-EXHO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle together.’

- b. wuli-ka molayseng-ul kathi mantul-e-yo.
 IPL.NEU-NOM sandcastle-ACC together make-COMP-ALLO
 ‘Let’s make a sandcastle together.’

The evidence to ensure the reliability of this conjecture is that there is a morphosyntactically designated position for an overt allocutive *yo*, as shown in the secondhand exhortative (11a).

- (11) a. molayseng-ul kathi mantul-**ca**-myense-**yo**.
 sandcastle-ACC together make-EXHO-HEARSAY-ALLO
 ‘(You told me) we should make a sandcastle together.’
 b. *molayseng-ul kathi mantul-**e**-myense-**yo**.
 sandcastle-ACC together make-COMP-HEARSAY-ALLO
 Intended: ‘(you told me) we should make a sandcastle together.’

We can consider, on the basis of the facts in (10), that *ca-∅* and *e-yo* are in complementary distribution in exhortative constructions in terms of formality. If we conjecture that pragmatic person and formality features are represented in the syntax, the asymmetric behaviour of first-person plural pronouns in (9) can be explained as a rule-based phenomenon.

3.3. THE DUALITY OF PERSON HYPOTHESIS. I conclude this section with the application of first-person plural pronouns to the diagnostics suggested by DPH. Table 4 is an excerpt from Table 2 which suggests that first-person inclusive pronoun [+1, +2] and formality on pragmatic person features are in complementary distribution.

	Grammatical PERSON	Pragmatic PERSON
1 st inclusive pronoun	✓ [+1, +2]	✗ SPEAKER or ADDRESSEE
Formality distinctions	✗	✓

Table 4. Diagnosing grammatical vs. pragmatic person (cf. Ritter & Wiltschko 2018: 8)

DPH makes correct predictions regarding the distinct properties of pragmatic person features from grammatical person features. As we have discussed in this section, the first-person inclusive [+1, +2] is associated with the head *ca* and pronoun *cehuy* with a formality feature is only referring to the speaker. This is shown in Table 5.

	Grammatical PERSON	Pragmatic PERSON
	<i>wuli</i> [+1, ±2]	
1 st inclusive feature	✓ <i>ca</i> [+1, +2]	✗
Formality distinctions	✗	✓ <i>cehuy</i> ([SPEAKER+ ASSO]) and ✓ <i>cehuy</i> [-STATUS: SPEAKER<ADDR]

Table 5. Grammatical vs. Pragmatic person features in Korean

So far, I have shown that binary grammatical features alone cannot account for the unequal distribution of first-person pronouns in exhortative constructions.

4. Evidence from secondhand speech act markers. Traditionally the feature PERSON that resides in pronominals, clitics, or verbal elements realizes phi agreement by interacting with NUMBER and GENDER across languages. Recently, it was also observed that feature PERSON is encoded in finite and non-finite complementizers (Bennis 2006, Carstens 2005, Hasegawa 2009) and evidentials (AnderBois 2019, Speas 2004). Along the lines of these studies, it is argued that

jussive heads (Zanuttini et al. 2012), irrealis complementizers (Ceong 2019b), hearsay evidentials (Ceong 2016, Lee 2019), and allocutives (Ceong and Saxon 2020) also encode feature PERSON in Korean. In this section, we investigate the distribution and meaning of *mye* in the context of secondhand speech acts.⁶ When formative *mye* selects exhortative *ca*, it creates a secondhand exhortative. This is shown in (12).

- (12) molayseng mantul-**ca-my**e.
 sandcastle make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘(You told me) we should make a sandcastle.’

The formative *mye* in (12) implies there was an anterior speech act that was uttered by the addressee of the current speech act. It also implies that the speaker of the current speech act was the person who had received the anterior speech act, that is the addressee. Therefore, *mye* expresses ‘you told me XP’ where XP represents one of CP/ForceP/JussiveP/LinkingP depending on one’s assumption about the projection encoding a clause-typing marker such as exhortative *ca* (cf. Ceong 2019a). To compare the elusive meaning of *mye* with the English equivalent translation *you told me*, I provide a context where *mye* would be used. Suppose on the way to the beach Nina’s friend told Nina they should make a sandcastle (e.g., “*molayseng-ul mantulca* ‘Let’s make a sandcastle’”, Nina’s friend told Nina.). After they arrived at the beach, Nina started making a sandcastle. Then, Nina’s friend asks, “What are you doing?”. Then Nina would say clause (12) to her friend because her action was initiated by her friend’s word, so the question was somewhat unexpected.

There are two formatives that contrast with *mye* in secondhand speech acts in Korean: hearsay *y* and echo *ko*. These formatives are not interchangeable and are associated with a speech act role in the anterior and current speech acts, as shown in grammatical (13a, 13b) and ungrammatical clauses (13c, 13d).⁷

- (13) a. Nina-ka molayseng mantul-**ca-y**.
 Nina-NOM sandcastle make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘Nina (told me) we should make a sandcastle.’
 b. molayseng mantul-**ca-ko**.
 sandcastle make-EXHO-REINFORCEMENT
 ‘(I said) we should make a sandcastle!’
 c. *Nina-ka molayseng mantul-**ca-my**e.
 Nina-NOM sandcastle make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 Intended: ‘(*Nina* told me) we should make a sandcastle.’

⁶ Although Ahn and Yap (2015) treat *tako*, *tamye*, and *tamyense* as monomorphemic evidentials, I analyze *ko*, *mye*, and *myense* as morphemes distinct from declarative *ta* because they can take other kinds of clause-typing markers as their complement, such as interrogative *nya*.

⁷ When *mye* selects declarative *ta*, the speaker of the anterior (firsthand) exhortative and the addressee of the current secondhand exhortative do not need to be co-indexed if the clause has a question force with a rising intonation.

- (1) *ne khaynata ka-n-ta-mye?*
 you Canada go-PRES-DEC-HEARSAY
 ‘I heard you are going to Canada, is that right?’

Except in this one case, even with a falling intonation or with interrogative *nya*, the secondhand *mye* expresses ‘you told me’. I do not have a good explanation for why *mye* has an alternative meaning only with declarative *ta* with a rising intonation. However, even in the exceptional case of declarative *ta* with a rising intonation, I sense that the content of the proposition needs to be related to the addressee.

- d. *molayseng mantul-ca-**mye**.
 sandcastle make-EXHO-HEARSAY
 Intended: ‘(I said) we should make a sandcastle.’

Given the interpretation and the contrasting elements with *mye* in the context of secondhand speech acts, I present the details of *mye*. First, hearsay *mye* cannot be embedded by matrix clauses with lexical verbs of saying, as in (14a) and (14b). The subordinating complementizer *ko* directly selects the exhortative head in well-formed clauses, as in (14c).

- (14) a. *ne-ka [ka-ca-**mye**] malhay-ss-ta.
 2SG-NOM go-EXHO-HEARSAY say-PST-DEC
 Intended: ‘You said we should go.’
 b. *ne-ka [ka-ca-**mye**]-ko hay-ss-canh-a.
 2SG-NOM go-EXHO-HEARSAY-COMP do-PST-EVID-COMP
 Intended: ‘You said we should go.’
 c. ne-ka [ka-ca]-ko hay-ss-canh-a.
 2SG-NOM go-EXHO-COMP do-PST-EVID-COMP
 ‘You said we should go.’

The unembeddable property of hearsay *mye* suggests that the structural position of *mye* must be higher than a matrix CP. Second, *mye* introduces a dative goal argument marked by a dative case marker *poko* ‘to’, as in (15b). In secondhand exhortative constructions, only first-person or the speaker can be marked by the dative, as shown in ill-formed clauses with the third- and second-person goal arguments (15c).

- (15) a. ka-ca-**mye**.
 go-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘(You told me) we should go.’
 b. na/wuli-**poko** ka-ca-**mye**
 1SG.NEU/1PL.NEU-DAT go-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘(you told **me/us**) we should go.’
 c. *kyay/*Minho/*ne-poko ka-ca-**mye**
 3SG/Minho/2SG-DAT go-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘Intended: (You told him/Minho/you) he/they/yourself should go (with you).’

Although the addressee in a direct/firsthand imperative is also a goal of communication, the addressee cannot be overtly realized as a syntactic argument, as shown in (16a). This contrasts with the legitimate overt first-person goal argument marked by a dative in (16b) where *wuli* ‘the speaker with their association’ or *na* ‘I’ behaves like a goal of communication.⁸

- (16) a. *ne-**poko** ka-la.
 2SG-DAT go-IMP
 Intended: ‘(I’m telling you) Go.’
 b. wuli/na/*ne-**poko** ka-la-**mye**.
 1PL/1SG/2SG-DAT go-IMP-HEARSAY
 ‘(you told us/me/you) we/I/you should go.’

⁸ The addressee can be marked by a goal dative in secondhand imperatives with hearsay *y* and a rising intonation.

(1) *Ne-poko ka-la-y?* you-DAT go-IMP-HEARSAY ‘(Did he/she/they told *you*) you should go?’

It is evident that the legitimate person feature on dative arguments in *mye*-hearsay construction is restricted to be either [+1, -2] or SPEAKER. Contrary to the compatibility of a first-person neutral dative argument *na* ‘me’ with *ca-mye* (16b), the first-person humble dative argument *ce* ‘me’ is disallowed in (16a) but allowed in *ca-mye* clauses with allocutive *yo* (17b). That is, *ce* ‘me (humble)’ is compatible with the honorific addressee indexed by polite *yo*.

- (17) a. *na*/**ce*-poko ka-*ca*-*mye*
 1SG.NEU/1SG.HUM-DAT go-EXHO-HEARSAY
 Intended: (You told me) we should go.’
 b. *ce*/**na*-poko ka-*ca*-*myense-yo*
 1SG.HUM/1SG.NEU-DAT go-EXHO-HEARSAY-ALLO
 ‘(You told me) we should go.’

Like *ca*, I assume that it is not *mye* itself that encodes a formality feature in (17). I suggest that a null allocutive (non-honorific) that is associated with the domain above *mye* in the structure restricts the feature on a dative argument to be a neutral, as illustrated in the well-formed clause (16a).

In sum, I have shown that in addition to the heads of jussive clauses which contain person features (cf. Zanuttini et al. 2012), the heads of secondhand speech act phrases also carry person features. By selecting a jussive head, including exhortative *ca*, the hearsay head *mye* licenses and restricts person features on a goal dative argument. *Mye* differs from lexical verbs of saying, including *malhata* ‘say, tell, talk, speak’, *hayssta* ‘said’, or *kulayssta* ‘said so’. Unlike lexical or auxiliary verbs, *mye* expresses an anterior speech event without co-occurring with a past tense marker and a subordinating complementizer *ko*. In interactional communication, *mye* ‘you told me’ can simultaneously express two speech acts that are uttered in two different deictic spheres.

5. Syntactic representation of secondhand exhortatives. In Section 3 it was demonstrated that the exhortative *ca* [+1, +2] is compatible with the first-person plural subject *wuli* [+1, ±2] but not with *cehuy* [SPEAKER+ASSO]. In Section 4 it was shown that *ca-mye* is compatible with the oblique *na* ‘I’ (or *wuli*) but not with humble *ce* ‘I’ (or *cehuy*). When *ca-mye* (or *ca-myense*) is selected by allocutive *yo*, humble *ce* ‘I’ (or *cehuy*) is allowed. Consider again the examples in (18) and (19) which illustrate the systematic concordance of pronominal and clausal formatives.

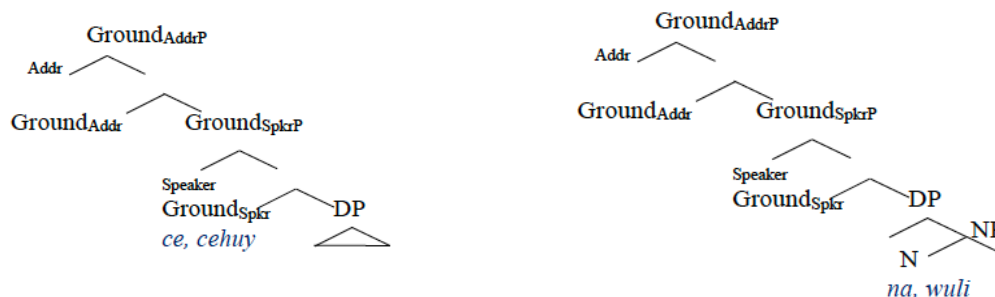
- (18) a. (*wuli*-ka) nolay-lul pwulu-*ca*. (firsthand exhortative)
 1PL.NEU-NOM song-ACC sing-EXHO
 ‘Let’s sing a song.’
 b. **cehuy*-ka nolay-ul pwulu-*ca*
 1PL.HUM-NOM sing-ACC sing-EXHO
 Intended: ‘Let’s sing a song.’
 (19) a. *na*/**ce*-poko kathi ha-*ca*-*mye*. (secondhand exhortative)
 1SG.NEU/1SG.HUM-DAT together do-EXHO
 ‘(You told me) we should do (it) together.’
 b. *ce*/**na*-poko kathi ha-*ca*-*myense-yo*.
 1SG.HUM/1SG.NEU-DAT together do-EXHO-ALLO
 ‘(You told me) we should do (it) together.’

Based on the discussion of the relevant data for pragmatic person features, below I will propose a structure for the data presented in (18) and (19). Following the studies proposing that there are two syntactic domains above CP_{FORCE}, which are SAP and saP (Haegeman and Hill 2013, Speas

and Tenny 2003) or Grounding and Responding Spines (Ritter and Wiltschko 2020), this section explores how clausal formatives *ca-mye-yo* and first-person pronominals are represented in the structure. The current section has two components. First, following DPH, I provide the structure of Korean first-person pronouns. Second, the structural representation of secondhand exhortatives is hypothesized.

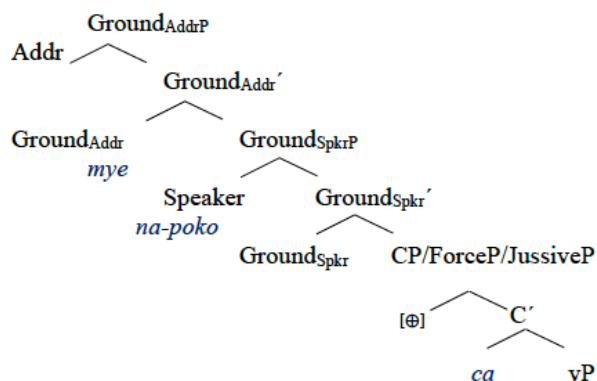
DPH (Ritter and Wiltschko 2018) proposes that there are three different kinds of internal structure for pronominals: i) pragmatic person pronouns with a speech act layer; ii) grammatical person pronouns without a speech act layer; and iii) grammatical person pronouns with a silent speech act layer. As Korean pronouns are never used impersonally, like Japanese pronouns, they are not grammatical persons, according to DPH. The interpretation of impersonal null subjects in Korean is given by Portner et al. (2019: 8 (20)) based on *la*-imperative examples. I propose that humble *ce* and *cehuy* are pragmatic person pronouns that are directly associated with a speech act layer, while *na* and *wuli* are grammatical person pronouns with silent speech act layers.

- (20) a. pragmatic first person pronouns b. grammatical person pronouns with silent speech act layer



For the structure of clausal items, I follow an interactional layer of structure (Ritter and Wiltschko 2020: 15 (39)). I argue that the dative argument of secondhand exhortatives is originated inside of interactional layers. The structure of *ca-mye* clauses may be represented as (21).

- (21)



I propose that formative *mye* is the head of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AddrP}}$ with a pragmatic person feature [ADDRESSEE]. It agrees with the feature [ADDRESSEE] on the specifier of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AddrP}}$. A dative goal with feature [SPEAKER] sits in the specifier of $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$ and it is licensed by the head of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AddrP}}$, which is *mye*. The head of $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$ is null with a feature [SPEAKER]. The speaker of the current speech act is associated with the head of $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$, which agrees with the dative goal argument with feature [SPEAKER]. The specifiers and the heads of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AddrP}}$ and $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$

SpkP are scoped by either allocutive *yo* [-STATUS: SPEAKER < ADDRESSEE] or a null allocutive [\pm STATUS: SPEAKER \geq ADDRESSEE]. The allocutivity and hearsay *mye* (or *myense*) scope over the whole JussiveP with the head *ca* and the specifier [\oplus] expressing an exhortative speech act. The respective order of constituents *ca-myense-(yo)* is completely fixed, nothing can appear between the constituents. Thus, the head *mye* takes scope over the dative argument *na-poko* ‘to me’ which is the speaker of the current speech act and included in the meaning of ‘you told me’. The dative argument is unavailable in direct exhortatives because a secondhand speech act phrase is absent. Given the structure of pronominal and clausal items, I argue that the ungrammaticality of (18b) is due to the mismatch between a formality feature on the specifier of $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkP}}$ and the feature on the head of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AddrP}}$ which inherits a formality feature from allocutive *yo*. The headedness of secondhand speech act formatives, including hearsay *y* as well as allocutive *yo*, is discussed in Ceong (2019a), mainly based on their c-selectional properties and contrastive meanings.

6. Conclusions. In this paper, our concern has been the nature of pragmatic person features which encode the speech act roles of discourse participants, in light of the behaviour of first-person plural pronouns, exhortatives, and hearsay *mye* in Korean. The standard explanation attributes the incompatibility of exhortative *ca* with *cehuy* ‘we’ to pragmatics. By suggesting that the traditional grammatical person features 1PL or [+1, +2] alone cannot account for the unequal distribution of *wuli* ‘we (neutral)’ and *cehuy* ‘we (humble)’, I have developed a syntactic explanation for the restricted distribution of *cehuy* in direct/firsthand exhortatives. Based on the legitimacy of hearsay *mye* and a dative argument in root clauses with the meaning *you told me* without an accompanying lexical verb of saying, I argue that speech act phrases above JussiveP are needed to account for their distribution and the restricted distribution of *ce* ‘me (humble)’ as a dative argument. Drawing on insights from Macaulay (2015) and Ritter and Wiltschko (2018), I have argued that pragmatic person and formality features play a significant role in Korean morphosyntax. Although I only investigate exhortatives in this study, I conjecture that the properties of pragmatic person and formality features can apply to hearsay imperative clauses as well as hearsay interrogatives (cf. Ceong 2016).

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