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# Speech Made Bare: "Bare Direct Quotation" and Speaker's Stance in Korean

## 1. Introduction

· Korean is an agglutinating language with an SOV word order.
· Korean has a rich inventory of morphological trappings to signal diverse meanings of 'intersubjectivity' (Traugott & Dasher 2002) (Koo & Rhee 2013).

### [Research Objectives]

· This paper intends:

    (i)    to describe bare-direct quotations (BDQs) in Korean

    (ii)   to analyze discourse-pragmatic strategies that motivate the use of BDQs

    (iii)  to discuss the theoretical implications of the BDQ's linguistic phenomenon

## 2. Quotation and the Quotation Typology in Korean

· Quotation has attracted attention from diverse disciplines for its inherent higher-order nature, i.e. metarepresentation.
· There are different ways of quoting an utterance in general (de Vries 2008), each carrying a distinct speaker's meaning or speaker's stance. (Potentially a language universal; Bakhtin 1981, Haberland 1986, Stavropoulou et al. 2011, among others)
· The quotation typology is complex in Korean, and this paper addresses one unique type of quotation, named here as 'Bare Direct Quotation (BDQ)'

(1) Utterance
    *"Kimsacang-nim,    ettehkey  ce-hanthey  kule-si-lswukaissu-si-pnikka?"*
    President.Kim-HON  how    I[HUM]-to  do.so-HON-can-HON-FRM.POL.Q.END
    'Mr. President Kim[+HON], how could (you) do[+HON] that to me[+HUM]?'

(2) Direct Quotation (of Utterance (1)) (maximally faithful to the original locution)
    *nay-ka  "Kimsacang-nim    ettehkey  ce-hanthey  kule-si-lswukaissu-si-pnikka?"    hay-ss-ci*
    I-NOM  President.Kim-HON  how    I[HUM]-to  do.so-HON-can-HON-FRM.POL.Q.END"  say-PST-END
    'I said, "Mr. President Kim[+HON], how could (you) do[+HON] that to me[+HUM]?"'

(3) BDQ (of Utterance (1)) (stance-affected and modified quotation)
    *nay-ka  "Kimsacang    tangsin  ettehkey  na-hanthey  kule-lswuiss-nya?"    hay-ss-ci*
    I-NOM  "President.Kim[-HON]  you[-HON]  how    I[-HUM]-to  do.so-can-Q.END[-FRM.-POL]"  say-PST-END
    'I said, "President Kim[-HON], (I'm asking you in a non-polite way) how could you[-HON] do[-HON] that to me[-HUM]?"'

## 3. Characteristics of BDQ
・ A BDQ is unique in that it formally appears as a direct quotation, yet is stripped off of many morpho-syntactic trappings that should have appeared in actual utterances. Thus BDQs are pseudo-quotations.
・ A BDQ is a special type of quotation used in specific contexts.

### 3.1 Missing/substituted elements in BDQs
・ The missing elements largely consist of socio-pragmatic markers that are otherwise required in Korean, in which such notions are highly grammaticalized and have become an integral part of grammar.
・ BDQs often lack socio-pragmatic markers or use those lower in hierarchy: markers of formality, politeness, honorification, etc.
・ BDQs often delete grammatically peripheral elements: discourse markers, hedges, parentheticals, case-markers, etc.
・ BDQs often recruit substitute pronouns and other grammatical markers (e.g. case markers) that carry the same/similar function with different illocutionary forces.

### 3.2 Use Contexts
・ BDQs are often employed in a narration of confrontation episodes or other emotive contexts, where such negative stance-marking is prominent.
・ BDQs are employed by newspaper interview articles that are intended to be maximally objective in print, whereas BDQs are rarely used in spoken discourse (unless in highly emotional contexts).

**[Stand-alone BDQs in newspaper articles]**

(4) (CEO Park Ji-Young, with regards to 'who is not suitable for starting a business')
*"nwukwutun     hanpen-ccum-un    lite-losse    ilha-n     kyenghem-i     iss-ulkesi-ta.*        [...]
everyone      once-about-TOP     leader-as    work-ADN    experience-NOM  exist-FUT-**DEC[-HON]**

*cohun   lite-ka        ani-ess-ta-myen   changep-ul      kwenha-kosiph-ci-n       anh-ta.*
good    leader-NOM     be.not-PST-COND   open.business-ACC  recommend-wish-NOMZ-TOP   be.not-**DEC[-HON]**

"Everyone should have experience as a leader at least once. [...] If (you) were not a good leader (then), (I) would not recommend (you) to start a business." (*Venture Square,* May 14, 2015; Interview with female entrepreneurs; http://www.venturesquare.net/585189)

(5) (Broadcaster and journalist in an interview format)
Q: *olhay-uy     yenghwasang-un     etten        sang-i-n-ci          sokayha-y    tal-la*
this.year-GEN cinema.award-TOP    what.kind    award-be-ADN-NOMZ    introduce-NF give-**IMP[-HON]**
'Explain what the Cinema of the Year Award is.'

A: *olhay-uy       yenghwasang-un* [...] *2010-nyen-ey ceycengha-n  yenghwasang-i-ta.* [...]
this.year-GEN cinema.award-TOP    2010-year-at  make-ADN   cinema.award-be-**DEC[-HON]**
''The Cinema of the Year Award' is a cinema award that began in 2010.'

Q: *namnyesininsang-un*        *nwu-ka*     *swusangha-yss-na*
new.actor.and.actress.award-TOP     who-NOM    receive-PST-**Q[-HON]**
'Who were awarded the best young actor and actress awards?'

A: *namcasininsang-un* [...] *pakyuchen kuliko yecasininsang-un*      [...]    *iyuyeng-i-ta*
new.actor.award-TOP     [name]     and     new.actress.award-TOP     [name]-be-**DEC[-HON]**
'The best young actor award was (given to) Park Yoo-Chun, and the best young actress award, to Lee Yu-Young.' (Feb. 2, 2015, Star News http://www.ystarnews.com/starnews/ news_view.php?article=0000000007646&cg1=)

・ BDQ Questions may not be a regular interrogative but a "metarepresentation" of an utterance the speaker wants the addressee to produce. (cf. Wilson 2000)

(6) (Journalist and Mayor of Incheon City; an interview at the first anniversary of his mayorship)
   Q: *chwiim*     *1-cwunyen-ul*     *mac-nun*    *sohoy-nun.*
    inauguration    1st-anniversary-ACC    meet-ADN    feelings-TOP. **(Sentence fragment in form)**

    *hyenan-i*    *manh-a*     *taptapha-m-i*       *iss-ulkeskath-untey.*
    issues-NOM    be.many-CONN   be.concerned-NOMZ-NOM    exist-seem-CONN. **(Sentence fragment in form)**
    '(What are) your feelings as you (celebrate) the first anniversary? While (it) seems that you have concerns since there are many (unresolved) issues.'

   A: *taptapha-n*     *cengto-ka*    *ani-la*     *manhi*     *himtu-n*      *swucwun-i-ta*
    be.concerned-ADN   degree-NOM   be.not-CONN   very.much   be.difficult-ADN    level-be-**DEC[-HON]**
    '(The situation is) not just making me feel concerned, but it is a very difficult (situation).' (*The Chosun Daily,* Jun. 26, 2015; interview with Mayor Yoo Jung-Bok, http://blog.chosun.com/ blog.log.view.screen?blogId=103407&logId=7811199)

(cf. English: Quiz-show host to contestant; Wilson 2000: 439)
   (7) Quiz-show host:    *The first man to walk on the moon was?*
       Contestant:       *Neil Diamond.*

## [Embedded BDQs in newspaper articles]
(8) (CEO Park Ji-Young, with regards to her business opening experience)
   *pak-tayphyo-nun*    "*tayhakkyo 4.haknyen-ttay*    *changepha-yss-ta.*         [...]
   Park-CEO-TOP    "college     senior.year-time    open.business-PST-**DEC[-HON]**

   *salamtul-i*   *wenha-nun*    *saep-i*     *mwues-i-n-ci*      *a-lswuiss-ess-ta*"-*mye*
   people-NOM want-ADN    business-NOM    what-be-ADN-NOMZ   know-can-PST-**DEC[-HON]**"-CONN

   "*yele*    *sihayngchako-lul thongha-y* [....] *aitie-lul*    *et-ulswuiss-ess-ta*"-*ko*      *malha-yss-ta*
   many trial.and.error-through-NF    idea-ACC   acquire-can-PST-**DEC[-HON]**"-COMP   say-PST-**DEC[-HON]**

   'Park, the CEO, saying "(I) began my business when (I) was a senior at college. [...] (I) could figure out what kind of businesses people wanted," said "Through a lot of trials and errors, (I) could get the idea [about starting my business]."' (*Venture Square,* May 14, 2015; Interview with female entrepreneurs; http://www.venturesquare.net/585189)

## 4. Extended Focus

### 4.1 Audience-Blind Forms (ABF) (Koo & Rhee 2013)

(9) "Audience-Blind Form":

    (i)   A subtype of [+FORMAL, -HONORIFIC] register sentence-final particles

    (ii)  Not used in *vis-à-vis* interaction

    (iii) Used typically in textbook narratives (for older students), newspaper articles, slogans, formal statements, press releases, etc.

    (iv) Some are used as subordinate clause enders with verbs of locution and cogitation as the main clause predicates.

    (v) Audience-Sensitive sentence-final particles vary depending on the scales of formality and honorification, and sentence types, but ABFs vary depending on sentence types only. (ABFs are always [+FORMAL, -HONORIFIC].)

**[Newspaper titles]**

(10) *IT changep    pyuthi.kwankwang...ceycwuto-ey hankwukphan  'sillikhonpichi' mantu-n-ta*
IT open.business beauty.tourism...  [name]-at  Korean.version  silicon.beach'make-PRES-**DEC[-HON]**
'New IT Businesses and Plastic Surgery Tourism; Korean Silicon Beach (is) to be Built on Jeju Island' (Article title, *The Chosun Daily,* June 27, 2015)

(11) *kimwucwung  hoykolok,  ital     chwulkantoy-n-ta*
[name]        memoirs,  this.month  be.published-PRES-**DEC[-HON]**
'Memoirs of Kim Woo-Joong, to be Published this Month' (Article title, *The Chosun Daily,* Aug. 5, 2014)

・ The intended blindness or non-interactivity may be further intensified by employing uninflected forms (infinitives).

(12) *lichetu.kie-wa  hyenkak-sunim,  mwuluph mactay-ko      pwulkyo-lul    malha-ta*
[name]-and    [name]-monk.title, knee  align.and.touch-and  Buddhism-ACC  talk-**INF**
'Richard Gear and Father Hyungak, Talk about Buddhism Knee to Knee' (Article title, *The Chosun Daily,* Nov. 12, 2007)

**[Slogans]**

(13) a. *pwuphayha-n  cengchiin-un kaksengha-la!*        b. *coyin-tul-iye    hoykayha-la!*
    be.corrupt-ADN politician-TOP awake-**IMP[-HON]**      sinner-PL-VOC  repent-**IMP[-HON]**
    'Wake up, corrupt politicians!'              'Sinners, repent!'

### 4.2 BDQ in Other Languages: A cursory overview of Japanese

・ The existence of this type of peculiar quotation is also attested in Japanese in a parallel manner, albeit to a lesser extent.

(14) a. Utterance (cf. (1) above) (Prof. Dongkyu Kim, p.c.)
*kimu.sacho,    doushite  watakushi-ni  sou  nasatta-no       desu-ka*
President.Kim,  why       me[+HUM]-to   so   do[+HON]-NOMZ    COP-Q
'"President Kim, how come (you) did[+HON] so to me[+HUM]?"'

 b. Direct Quotation (cf. (2) above)
*boku-ga  "kimsu.sacho,  doushite  watakushi-ni  sou  nasatta-no       desu-ka"  to    itta*
I-NOM     "President.Kim,  why     I[+HUM]-to    so   do[+HON]-NOMZ    COP-Q"    COMP  said
'I said, "President Kim, how come (you) did[+HON] so to me[+HUM]?"'

 c. Bare Direct Quotation (cf. (3) above)
*boku-ga  "kimu.sacho,    doushite  boku-ni     sou  shitano-ka?"  to    itta*
I-NOM     "President.Kim,  why      I[-HUM]-to  so   do[-HON]-Q"   COMP  said
'I said, "President Kim, how come (you) did[-HON] so to me[-HUM]?"'

・ Japanese can use alternation between pronouns (inherently marked [±HON], [±HUM]) and lexical items (inherently marked [±HON]).


## 5. Discussion
## 5.1 "Bareness": What is extra/secondary in Korean?
### [Grammaticality (contra lexicality)]
 ・ Lexical/content items are considered more basic/central in communication than grammatical items.
 ・ Grammatical items are the result of defeat in the struggle for discourse prominence/salience. (cf. Harder & Boye 2011: 63 "Grammaticalization is the diachronic change which gives rise to linguistic expressions which are coded as discursively secondary." cf. affixes, clitics, particles, auxiliaries, constructions p.62)

### [Honorification, Politeness (contra non-honorified, non-polite)]
 ・ Honorification and politeness marking usually involves additive processes to encode sophistication, maturation, specialization, etc. (cf. pejoration and 'aesthetic appreciation'; Koo & Rhee, in press)
 ・ Honorification is an important grammatical system in Korean (cf. diverse speech levels, sentential endings, suppression of honorification, etc.) (KH Kim 1993; HP Im 1990; KG Kim 1996; CY Choi 1983; S Rhee 2003; HJ Koo 2004)
 ・ Honorification is often reflected in lexis, too. (cf. titles, address terms, pronouns, body-parts, actions, etc.)

### [Subjectivity (contra objectivity)]
 ・ Subjectivity is inherent in language and thus unavoidable in language use (Benveniste 1958) but explicit marking is considered extra.
 ・ Pronouns, crucial markers of subjectivity, may be often deleted. First person reference is often avoided.

**[Intersubjectivity (contra objectivity)]**

- Traugott (1982): semantic-pragmatic change in the initial propositional (ideational) content can gain either textual (cohesion-making) and expressive (interpersonal, and other pragmatic) meanings, or both: Propositional > ((Textual) > (Expressive)).
- Intersubjectivity marking is thought to be omissible, in which case, the proposition is deemed to have objective validity.

## 5.2 Discourse-Pragmatic Strategies

**[Metarepresentation]**

- Degrees of faithfulness and speaker involvement may vary. Stance signals are variable.

(15) Metarepresentations of Mary's saying to Peter "You are neglecting your job."
  a. Mary said, "You are neglecting your job."
  b. Mary said that I am neglecting my job.
  c. Mary believes that I am neglecting my job.
  d. Mary intends me to believe that I am neglecting my job.
  e. Mary intends me to believe that she intends me to believe that I am neglecting my job.
  (Wilson 2000: 412)

(16) Peter reporting Mary's saying
  a. Mary said to me, "You are neglecting your job."
  b. Mary told me I was not working hard enough.
  c. According to Mary, I am "neglecting" my work.
  d. Mary was pretty rude to me. I am neglecting my job!   (Wilson 2000: 413)

**[Rhetorical Effects and Stance of BDQs]**

- BDQs bring forth vividness and clarity effects, as a result of eliminating 'secondary' elements of language.
- BDQs create dramatic effects by feigning 'direct replication' of confrontational episodes.
- BDQs signal intersubjectivity, an apparent paradox for utterance metarepresentations stripped off of intersubjective markers. (cf. Opting for not using explicit stance-marker is itself a stance.)
- Use of BDQs signals the speaker's attitude toward the third party or the situation being described.
- Degrees of objectivity is deemed to correlate with the degrees of truthfulness/validity.
- Intersubjectivity is considered variable and thus intersubjectively-marked utterances are considered to lack objective validity.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

(i)    BDQs lack diverse grammatical trappings that may seem secondary;
(ii)   BDQs may involve substitution of forms that are functionally similar;
(iii)  BDQs clearly show how different stances of the speaker are represented since BDQs are often employed in the narration of confrontation episodes or other emotive contexts, where

such stance-marking is prominent; and yet

(iv)  These same BDQs (similar to 'Audience-Blind Forms') are employed by newspaper interview articles, etc. that are intended to be maximally objective in print whereas BDQs are rarely used in spoken discourse (unless in highly emotive contexts).

## Abbreviations:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ABF: audience-blind form | ACC: accusative | ADN: adnominalizer | BDQ: bare direct quotation |
| COMP: complementizer | COND: conditional | CONN: connective | COP: copula |
| DEC: declarative | END: sentence-ender | FRM: formal | FUT: future |
| GEN: genitive | HON: honorific | HUM: humble | IMP: imperative |
| INF: infinitive | NF: non-finite | NOM: nominative | NOMZ: nominalizer |
| PL: plural | POL: polite | PRES: present | PST: past |
| Q: question ending | TOP: topic | VOC: vocative | |

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