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On Tactful Balking at Grammatical Honorification: A Case of Audience-Blind Forms in Korean*

1. Introduction

- Korean is a head-final, agglutinating language with the SOV word order.
- The sentence-final word is the main-clause verb followed by a constellation of TAME morphology.

   (1) *pelsse*   *kanguy-lul*   *kkuthna-**y-e.peli-si-ess-keyss-ta-te-kwun-yo***

     already   lecture-ACC   finish-**CAUS-PERF-HON-PST-FUT-COMP-RETRO-EVID-POL**

     '(I) recall (they told me) that (the professor) must have finished the lecture (by then).'

- Korean has a large inventory of verbal morphology that occur sentence-finally.
- The elaborate system of verbal morphology signals, among other things, variable levels of honorification (HON), politeness (POL) and formality (FML).
- Honorification (and non-honorification) and politeness (and non-politeness) are inherently interactional and intersubjective.
- One peculiar class of the sentence-enders is what Koo & Rhee (2013) labeled **'audience-blind form' (ABF)**.
- ABFs, by definition, lack interactional and intersubjective (HON & POL) features, thus inadequate for use in interactional contexts.
- ABFs, however, are often employed strategically in interactional contexts in discourse and narratives.
- This strategic employment of ABFs constitutes a separate intersubjectivity, i.e., the speaker's diverse stances.

2. Preliminaries

2.1 Intersubjectivity & Interactivity/Interpersonality

- On the concept of "Intersubjectivity"
  (2) a. Traugott (2003: 128; 2010: 32)

     Intersubjectivity is a general characteristic of all language use;

     Intersubjective speech situations provide the crucial context for invited inferences;

     Intersubjectivity is the explicit expression of SP/W's attention to the 'self' of AD/R in both an epistemic sense (paying attention to their presumed attitudes to the content of what is said), and in a more social sense (paying attention to their 'face' or 'image needs' associated with social stance and identity.

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   b. Traugott & Dasher (2002: 23)

    Intersubjective meanings are interpersonal (Halliday & Hasan 1976), and arise directly from the interaction.

   c. Intersubjective expressions (2002: 23)

    (i) overt social deixis,

    (ii) explicit markers of SP/W attention to AD/R, e.g. hedges, politeness markers, and honorific titles,

    (iii) the R-heuristic predominates, i.e. what is said implies more is meant.

   cf. Objective expressions (Traugott & Dasher 2002)

    (i) they are declarative, i.e. minimally marked with regard to modality;

    (ii) all participants in an event structure are expressed in surface structure;

    (iii) lexical items are minimally concerned with the interlocutors' perspective (i.e. minimally deictic).

2.2 Honorification

- Honorification codes 'deference'.
- Honorification in Korean involves addressee honorification, subject honorification, honorification suppression, and/or speech level modulation.
- Honorification in Korean may be lexically marked, or by case markers and verbal suffixes.
- The *Hwagye* (Speech-level) system in Korean has 3-7 levels depending on grammarians/ linguists; the intuition shows a great variation by individuals.

(3) Sohn's (1999: 355) 7-level system

	DEC	INT	IMP	PROP	APPC	PROM
Plain	*(n)ta*	*ni/nunya*	*ela/ala*	*ca*	*kwuna*	*ma*
Intimate	*e/a*	*e/a*	*e/a*	*e/a*	*kwun*	*(l)key*
Familiar	*ney*	*na/nunka*	*key*	*sey*	*(u)msey*	
Blunt	*(s)o*	*(s)o*	*(u)o*	*(u)psita*		
Polite	*eyo/ayo*	*eyo/ayo*	*eyo/ayo*	*eyo/ayo*	*kwunyo*	*(l)keyyo*
Deferential	*(su)pnita*	*(su)pnikka*	*(u)sipsio*	*(u)sipsita*		
Neutral	*(n)ta*	*nunya*	*(u)la*	*ca*		

2.3 Audience-Sensitivity/Blindness

- Sentence-enders, modulated along the dimensions of politeness and honorification are interpersonal, and thus audience-sensitive.
- ABFs, paradigmatically belonging to the category of sentence-enders that are inherently audience-sensitive, are exceptional in that they are audience-blind.
- Audience-blindness is of variable degrees because:

 (i) utterances are typically produced with the addressee in mind;

 (ii) certain utterances are unintentionally uttered spontaneously (e.g. monologues, exclamations);

 (iii) speakers sometimes strategically use utterances that are monologues in form but are intended to be heard by the addressee. ☜

(4) ABFs

    DEC: *-(n)ta*

    INT: *-nka, -na, -(u)lkka, -(u)lci, -nci*

    IMP: *-(u)la*

    HORT: *-ca* [1]

    EXCL: *-ney, -kwun, -kwuna, -kwumen, -ala, (-tota, -lota)...*   (not addressed here)

3. Audience-Blindness as a Strategy

• Audience-blindness is strategically exploited in interactional contexts.

• ABFs originated from multiple sources, but they all share a commonality that they lack the markers of interpersonal relationship.

(5) Major Sources of ABFs

    a. stripping of HON, POL: DEC *-(n)ta*; IMP *-(u)la*; HORT *-ca*

    b. uncontrollable spontaneity: EXCL *-ney, -kwun, -kwuna, -kwumen, -ala, (-tota, -lota)...*

    c. feigned monologual question: INT *-nka, -na, -(u)lkka, -(u)lci, -nci*

(6) 'Feigned monologual questions' (Koo & Rhee 2013: 81-82; cf. 'indirect question' *kancepuymwun* I.Lee 1979, H.Lee 1982; 'internal speech' *naycekhwapep* H.Lee 1986; 'internal suspicion' *naycek uysim* S.Lee 1963, Ahn 1964)

    a. The speaker asks a question as if it were a self-addressed question (i.e., no intersubjective marking). The clauses headed by such ABFs were often embedded in sentences where the main clause verbs signaled indeterminacy.

Subordinate Clause	Main Clause
S... O... V-**Q.ABF**	(S)... (O)... **V**-END
☞	⇧
	not.know, wonder, doubt, suppose...

    b. The utterance is a feigned monologue because the speaker intends to have his or her utterance heard by the discourse participant and the utterance is normally uttered with sufficient audibility for the discourse participant.

    c. Because of the monologic nature of the utterance, it does not necessarily obligate the hearer to respond. A socially-inferior hearer may feel obliged to be responsive to please the socially-superior speaker who utters it.

    d. From the viewpoint of discursive strategies, the speaker shows either aloofness that the person present in the scene is not his/her social equal (e.g. kings, officers, noblemen, etc.), or gentleness by not imposing any direct burden of response to the intended addressee, and the implicit addressee now shows courtesy by being responsive to 'what the other simply had in mind'.

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[1] The HORT *-ca* is explicitly excluded from ABFs in Koo & Rhee (2013). It does not develop into a sentence-final particle of discontent, as the authors point out, but it does surface in audience-blind contexts and thus is included here.

3.1 Case 1: Dialogue with Power Asymmetry

- With power asymmetry, the speaker (esp. kings, officers, noblemen, etc.) may signal his/her aloofness that the person present in the scene is not his/her social equal (claim of authority, claim of superiority) or that the speech act is non-impositive.

(7) Between a nobleman and a commoner
   A: [Nobleman asks with an Audience-Blind Form]
   kalyang pAy hAn chyek-i-myen myes hAy-na pwuli-na
   if   boat one   CLS-be-COND   how.many year-SEL   operate-Q(ABF)

   cyekun pAy pwuli-nun salAm-un khun pAy pwuli-lswuep-na
   small   boat operate-ADN person-TOP big   boat operate-cannot-Q(ABF)

   'If one has a boat how many years can he **operate(ABF)** it? Someone operating a small boat **cannot operate(ABF)** a big boat?' (said as if these were monologues)

   B: [Commoner answers with a regular form]
   *ani-**ci-yo** cyey mischyen-i eps-ye cyekun pAy pwuli-**ci-yo***
   be.not-**END-POL(Reg)** my capital-NOM not.exist-CONN small-ADN boat operate-**END-POL(Reg)**

   'No, it's **not(Reg)** that. I **operate(Reg)** a small boat because I don't have enough money.' (1912 Park Iyang, *Myengwelceng* 376-378)

(8) Between a military officer and a man
   A: [Officer asks with an Audience-Blind Form]
   *li-kwun pwusyang-ul hAy-ss-nu-**nka***
   [name-Title] injury-ACC do-PST-CR-Q(ABF)
   'Private Lee, did you **get hurt(ABF)**?'

   B: [Man answers with a regular form]
   *ani-**o** cikum kekuy-sye mwut-un kes-i-**o***
   no-**END(Reg)** now there-from get-ADN thing-be-**END(Reg)**
   '**No(Reg)**, sir. (The blood on my pants) **is(Reg)** what I got from (the wounded man) over there.'   (1913 Sunwoo Il, *Twukyenseng* 1220)

3.2 Case 2: "Objective" and "Pseudo-Objective" Texts

- Young children are not accustomed to ABF styles (ambient language, inability for abstraction)
- School textbooks show Audience-blindness/sensitivity variation by grade levels.
- When a text employs ABFs, it is regarded as being more objective, thus the information of the text is of more universal validity.

(9) Lower grade textbooks (Regular)
   nongchon echon sancichon-uy salamtul-un tayangha-n
   farming.village fishing.village mountain.village-GEN people-TOP various-ADN

   *sanep-ey congsaha-**pnita***
   industry-at engage.self-**DEC(Reg)**

   'People in farming, fishing and mountain villages **engage themselves(Reg)** in diverse industries.'   (Elem 3rd/4th Social Science 2014: 34)

(10) Higher grade textbooks (ABF)

> *salamtul-un   yeylopwuthe   kihwu-wa   cihyengcoken-i*
> people-TOP   from.long.ago   climate-and   topographic.condition-NOM
>
> *yuliha-n   kos-ul   cwungsim-ulo   maul-ul   ilwu-ko*
> advantageous-ADN   place-ACC   center-INST   village-ACC   form-and
>
> *saynghwalha-yw-ass-**ta***
> live-CONT-PST-**DEC(ABF)**
>
> 'From long time ago, people have **formed and lived(ABF)** in villages centering around the
> places that are advantageous in climate and topography.'   (Mid 7th Social Science 2013: 32)

- Interview reports in media typically employ ABFs, even though actual interview discourses involved non-ABFs.
- Employment of ABFs in interview reports gives the feeling of terseness and authoritativeness of the question of the interviewer and objectivity of the claims of the interviewee (thus "pseudo-objective" texts).

(11) Interview reports
   a. (ABF in interviews)
   A: *etten   kyoyuk   kayhyek-i   philyoha-**nka***
      what.kind education   reformation-NOM   be.necessary-**Q(ABF)**

   'What kind of educational reformation (do you think) **is necessary(ABF)**?'

   B: *inseng   kyoyuk-i-**ta***
      character education-be-**DEC(ABF)**
      'It**'s(ABF)** about character building.'

   > *kyoyuk-un   swuchi-na   sengkwa-man-i   ani-la   ku kwaceng-kwa*
   > education-TOP   figure-or   achievement-only-NOM   be.not-CONN   its process-and
   >
   > *hayngpokkam-ul talsengha-yss-nu-nya-to   cwungyoha-**ta***
   > happiness-ACC   achieve-PST-CR-Q-also   be.important-**DEC(ABF)**

   'In education not only figures and achievements but also the processes and happiness
    obtained (if happiness was felt) **are important(ABF)** as well.'
                    (Interview w/ Minister of Education; *The Choseonilbo Daily,* Jan. 8, 2015)

   b. (ABF in interviews)
   A: *sopica.mancokto   cosa-eyse 1wi-lul   ha-n   ke-n   khun sengkwa-ø-**ta***
      consumer.satisfaction survey-at   1st.place-ACC do-ADN   thing-TOP big   job-be-**DEC(ABF)**

   *1500hocem   kaycem-to   nwun.aph-ey   iss-**ta***
   1500th.store   opening-also eye.before-at   exist-**DEC(ABF)**

   *inthepyuy-ey ungha-nun ke-l   mangseli-n iyu-ka   iss-**na***
   interview-at   accept-ADN thing-ACC   hesitate-ADN reason-NOM   exist-**Q(ABF)**
   'It**'s(ABF)** a good job that (your company) won first place in consumer satisfaction survey.
    Your 1,500[th] store **is about to open(ABF)**, too. **Was(ABF)** there a reason that you (still)
    hesitated to be interviewed?'

B: *yocum   kyengki-ka   an coh-tako   nanli-ø-**ta***
these.days business-NOM   not good-COMP fuss-be-DEC(ABF)

*thukhi   1~2wel-un   khephi cenmwuncem maysang-i   an coh-ul   ttay-ø-**ta***
especially Jan~Feb-TOP coffee store   sales-NOM   not good-ADN time-be-DEC(ABF)

'These days people **are making an outcry(ABF)** that business is very slow. January and February **are(ABF)** when coffee sales are particularly bad. [I was worried that people might complain that while individual store managers are struggling, the CEO of the head-firm is leisurely being interviewed by journalists (enjoying publicity).]'
(Interview w/ the CEO of Ediya Coffee, *The Choseonilbo Daily,* March 28, 2015)

• The nuance of objectivity associated with ABFs is often exploited in manifestos, declarations, rally slogans, narration in fictions by an omniscient narrator, etc. to claim the universal validity of the proposition.

(12) Declarations
motun   salam-un   thayena-myense-pwuthe cayulop-ko, conem-kwa
all   person-TOP be.born-CONC-from   be.free-and dignity-and

*kwenli-ey.isse   phyengtungha-**ta***
right-at   be.equal-DEC(ABF)

motun   salam-un   iseng-kwa   yangsim-ul   thakona-ss-umye
all   person-TOP reason-and   conscience-ACC be.born-PST-CONN

*selo   tongpho-uy   cengsin-ulo   hayngtongha-yeyaha-n-**ta***
each.other   brother-GEN   spirit-with   act-must-PRES-DEC(ABF)

'All people **are** free from birth and **equal(ABF)** in dignity and rights. All people are born with reason and conscience, and **must act(ABF)** towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.'
(Article 1, United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

(13) Rally slogans
a. *salincek   phoklyek cinap   kangsinmyeng   kyengchalchengcang*
   murderous   violence putdown [name]   PCG

   *cukkak   phamyenha-**la***
   immediate(ly) discharge-IMP(ABF)

   'Immediately **fire(ABF)** PCG Kang Shinmyung, responsible for murderous violent putdown of protesters!'   (2015.11.16. Protesters' slogan against Police Commissioner General)

b. *tongcok   salsang   sangsuppem   kimcengil   kimcengun*
   compatriot   genocide   repeated.offender [name]   [name]

   *pwuca   chetanha-**la***
   father.son   execute-IMP(ABF)

   '**Execute(ABF)** Kim Jung-il and Kim Jung-eun, the father and son, who repeatedly kill their own people!' (2010.12.01. Korea Daily New York, Protesters' slogan against DPRK's attack on Korea's Yeonpyeng Island)

c. *kamanhi iss-**ula***
   still   exist-IMP(ABF)
   '**Stay(ABF)** still.' (2014.05.10. The Seoulsinmun Daily, Protesters' slogan on the ferryboat Sewol sinking with 304 passengers drowning/missing)

3.3 Broader Picture

- The development of Q.ABFs from embedded clause enders is an instance of 'insubordination' (Evans 2007, 2009, Koo & Rhee 2001, Kim 2001, Rhee 2002, 2012, Sohn 2003)
- A large number of sentence enders developed through insubordination and 'incoordination' (Kuteva et al. 2015).
- In addition to audience blinding, strategic blinding may be applicable to the author (speaker, source) and the content (proposition).

(14)　　　Author-blinding

Audience-blinding
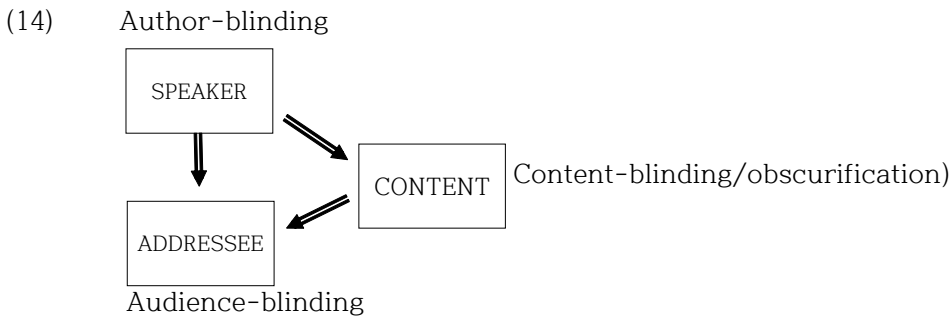
- **Author blinding:** e.g. quotatives > reportatives > pseudo-reportatives (Rhee 2016a)

(15) a. QUOT: Author explicitly indicated
　　　elwusinnAy-ka　　　　　*kol-as-__tanta__*
　　　honorable.father-NOM　　transfer-PST-<u>QUOT</u>
　　　'<u>My father</u> (the local magistrate) <u>says that</u> he was assigned to a different post.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(19th c., *Namwenkosa* 367, Tonam Collection edition)
　　b. REPT: Author implicit or unknown (e.g. hearsay)
　　　twi-s-cip　　　*kim-tolyeng-i*　　　　　*cyuk-ess-__tanta__*
　　　back-GEN-house　[name]-bachelor-NOM　die-PST-<u>REPT</u>
　　　'<u>They say that</u> the young bachelor Mr. Kim the neighbor in the back died.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Late 19th C., *Akpwu* 1, 565)
　　c. Pseudo-REPT Stance-Marker (Author faked or the speaker him/herself)
　　　tut-ko po-ni kuke-n swukyeng-ssi mal-i mac-__tanta__
　　　hear-and see-as it-TOP [name]-[title] word-NOM be.right-<u>SM</u>
　　　'As I heard (you talking), what Sukyoung said <u>is</u> right.'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(2006, Drama *Sowulmeyithu* Episode#8)

- **Content blinding:** intentional obscurification of a proposition (Such utterances often carry pejorative stance of the speaker; Koo & Rhee 2016 'lack of specification' 'lack of noteworthiness'). (cf. English, German, etc. *bla bla bla* Finkbeiner 2016; Korean tepidity marker *-na* Rhee & Koo 2015, Japanese *nante, nanka, nado, dano, toka, tari,* etc. Suzuki 1998)

(16) (i) Nominal/verbal particles and connectives:
　　　　-ttawi 'and the like';　　　　　　　*-sekken* 'together with';　　　　　　　*-na* 'or';
　　　　-kkacis(kes) '(things) like that';　　*-khenyeng* 'let alone, not to mention';
　　　　X-lanun.twung... Y-lanun.twung 'saying X and saying Y;
　　　　X-lanuni... Y-lanuni 'as saying x... as saying y'

(ii) Sentential constructions:

    kukey.kukeya 'It is it';

    kekise.kekiya 'It is from there to there';

    kulehko.kulay 'It is so and it is so';

    koman.komanhay 'It is of that small size and of that small size'

<div align="right">(Koo & Rhee 2016: 307-308)</div>

4. Summary & Conclusion

- Discursive strategy of feigned monologue: aloofness, rejection of the addressee as an equal discourse partner, gentleness from non-impositive speech act
- Discursive strategy of feigned objectivity: assertion of objective validity
- Discursive strategy of intentional audience-blindness: addressee-disengagement, assertion of universal validity of the proposition, claim of authority and/or power asymmetry
- AB is one of diverse types of blindness, e.g. of the audience, the speaker and the content.

Abbreviations

ABF: audience-blind form; ACC: accusative; ADN: adnominal; CAUS: causative; CLS: classifier; COMP: complementizer; COND: conditional; CONN: connective; CONT: continuative; CR: current-relevance; DEC: declarative; END: sentence-ender; EVID: evidential; EXCL: exclamative; FML: formality; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HON: honorific; HORT: hortative; IMP: imperative; INT: interrogative; NOM: nominative; PERF: perfective; POL: polite; PRES: present; PST: past; Q: question/interrogative; QUOT: quotative; Reg: regular (i.e., non-ABF); REPT: reportative; RETRO: retrospective; SEL: selective; SM: stance-marker; TOP: topic

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