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## Towards a formal typology of formality


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joint work with Elizabeth Ritter, UofCalgary

**These slides  
are different**


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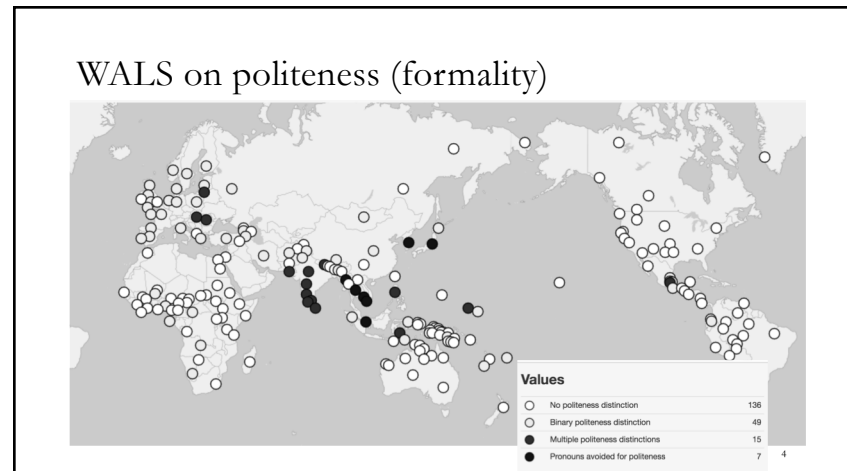
- There is **no definition** of formality
- Typological literature refers to **politeness** (deriving from Brown & Levinson 1978)

“While actual human relations of hierarchy, intimacy, and formality are complex and perhaps infinitely varied, their grammatical marking appears to be discrete, distinguishing only a small number of levels.”

Portner et al. 2019



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## Cross-linguistic variation in formality marking

### Type 1 Formality

French pronouns for addressee

**tu** plain  
**vous** formal

German pronouns for addressee

**du** plain  
**Sie** formal

### Type 2 Formality

Korean pronouns for addressee

**ne** plain, intimate  
**caney** plain, familiar between adults/  
elderly male towards male

**tangsin** plain between adults (restricted)  
disrespectful toward a stranger

**kutay** poetic  
**caki** plain and intimate (new)  
between couple

**tayk** towards a stranger, old-fashioned

**kuccoc** similar age, unsure of how to address

- Binary contrast
- Same form for all types of formality contrasts

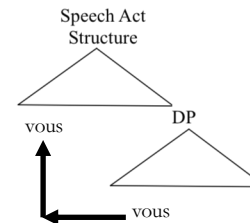
- Open-ended class
- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

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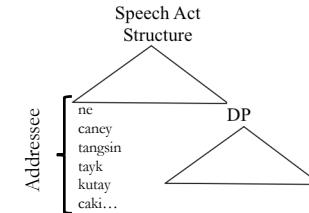
## Towards a formal typology

In a nutshell

Type 1 formality:  
Recycled grammatical content



Type 2 formality:  
Intrinsic lexical content



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### Overview

- Problem: The need for a typology of formality
  - Existing typologies and their problems
- Proposal: Nominal speech act structure
- Analysis:
  - Distinguishing intrinsic content from recycled features in the SA-structure
- Independent evidence for nominal speech act structure
  - Impersonals
- Extending the analysis
  - Logophors
  - Demonstratives
- Conclusion

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## Formality in pronouns



Hier ist **dein** Kaffee.  
Here is your.inf coffee



Hier ist **ihr** Kaffee.  
Here is your.formal coffee

### Formality

German pronouns for addressee

**du/dein** plain  
**sie/ihr** formal

French pronouns for addressee

**tu** plain  
**vous** formal

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## Formality in pronouns

Is there a grammar of formality

Different patterns of syncretism

	singular	plural	formal
1	ich	wir	
2	du	ihr	sie
3	er/sie/es	sie	

German pronouns for addressee  
**du** plain  
**Sie** formal

French pronouns for addressee  
**tu** plain  
**vous** formal

	singular	plural	formal
1	je	nous	
2	tu	vous	vous
3	il/elle	ils/elles	

## Formality in pronouns

But politeness is more than absence of presupposition

- “a politeness consideration blocks the use of the singular, and therefore the Heim’s maxim is satisfied by the use of the [unmarked] plural which has no inherent presupposition”
- “Since [...] the third Person feature is like [P] without inherent presupposition, the shift from second to third person can be explained in the same way.”

Sauerland (2003)

There are dedicated politeness markers

Tamil:

tiri murigā paḍi-k-ir-ār(i)/\*-ā/\*āṅ-ga(l)  
 HON Murugan read-PRES-3sg.m.HON\*-3sg.m.M/\*-3-pl  
 “Murugan (HON) reads.”

Macaulay, 2015 (3)

## Formality in pronouns

P= plural  
 S= 3rd person substitution for 2  
 M= dedicated formality marking

1	2	3	Languages
P	P	M	Lyélé (Niger-Congo)
	M	M	Xerente (Macro-Jê)
	M	P	Amharic (Semitic)
	P	M	Tamil (Dravidian), Bench (Omoti)
	P+S	P+S	Nepali (Indo-Aryan)
	M+S	M	Bengali (Indo-Aryan)
	P+S	P	Hindi (Indo-Aryan)
	P+S		Basque, old German
	S		modern German, Italian, Hungarian
	P		French, Turkish

Table 1: Typology of methods of marking formality cross-referenced by person.  
 Macaulay, 2015 (3)

## Formality in pronouns

But politeness does not imply inequality

Formality contrast is essentially a **relationship** between the author and either the addressee or third person ...

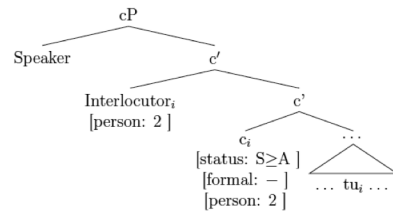
high status

low status

Figure 3: Feature geometry with [+STATUS].  
 Macaulay, 2015

## Formality in pronouns

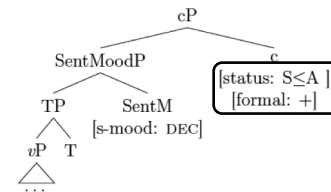
Portner et al. 2018



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## Formality in pronouns and beyond

Portner et al. 2018



Korean speech style particles encode...  
... the relation between S and A  
... the formality of the SA-situation

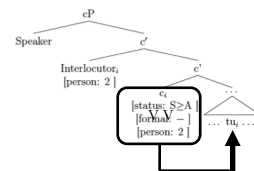
Ecey pi-ka o-ass-supnita.  
yesterday rain-NOM come-PAST-DEC.FORMAL  
'It rained yesterday.'

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## Formality in pronouns and beyond

Two types of markers of politeness (MoP)

	Content-oriented	Utterance-oriented
UoL	Italian pronouns	Korean sentence-final speech style particles
Embeddable	yes	no
distribution	In argument position,	merged in cP
What is encoded?	+/-status	age, formal relation, formality of situation...
How is formality encoded?	via linking to cP	Via the form itself, in interaction with cP



Portner et al. 2018

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## Problems with Portner et al.

### Empirical

- Pronouns of different formality can be coordinated

### Analytical

- There are (at least) **two ways** in which formality in pronouns is encoded:
  - Binary distinction of the *tu/ni* typ
  - Open-class distinctions of the Korean/Japanese type

### Theoretical

- What is *cP*?
  - It is qualitatively different from CP:
  - It encodes non-propositional, "utterance-oriented" content

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## Pronouns of different status can be coordinated

### Korean

**tangs**in-hako   **caney**-nun   iccok-ulo   anc-ci. (the speaker)  
 You-and   you-TOP   this.way sit-COMP

- ‘You and you, sit here.’ (addressed to speaker’s wife and a son-in-law)

**tangs**in-hako   **ne**-nun   mwe   mek-ul-lay?  
 You-and   you-TOP   what   eat-IRR-COMP

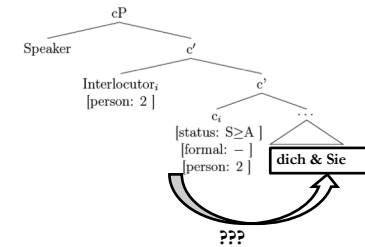
‘What will you and you eat; what would you and you like to eat?’  
 (addressed to speaker’s husband and son)

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## Pronouns with different status can be coordinated

### German

Ich habe **dich** und **Sie** gestern gesehen.  
 I have you.inf and you.form yesterday seen.  
 ‘I have seen you and you yesterday.’



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## Problems with Portner et al.

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### Theoretical

- What is cP?
  - It is qualitatively different from CP.
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## 2 types of formality in pronouns

### Korean pronouns for addressee

**ne** plain, intimate  
**caney** plain, familiar between adults/  
 elderly male towards male  
**tangs**in plain between adults (restricted)  
 disrespectful toward a stranger  
**kutay** poetic  
**caki** plain and intimate (new)  
 between couple  
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**kuccoc** similar age, unsure of how to address

### French pronouns for addressee

**tu** plain  
**vous** formal

### German pronouns for addressee

**du** plain  
**Sie** formal

- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

- Binary contrast (+/-status)
- Same form for all types of formality contrasts

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## Formality in Korean pronouns

Korean pronouns for addressee

- ne** plain, intimate
- caney** plain, familiar between adults/elderly male towards male
- tangsın** plain between adults (restricted) disrespectful toward a stranger
- kutay** poetic
- caki** plain and intimate (new) between couple
- tayk** towards a stranger, old-fashioned
- kuccoc** similar age, unsure of how to address

	Content-oriented	Utterance-oriented
UoL	Italian pronouns	Korean sentence-final speech style particles
Embeddable	yes	no
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- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)

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## A more fine-grained typology

	Content-oriented	??	Utterance-oriented
UoL	Italian pronouns	Korean pronouns	Korean sentence-final speech style particles
Embeddable	yes		no
distribution	merged in argument position		merged in cP
What is encoded?	+/-status	age, formal relation, formality of situation...	
How is formality encoded?	via linking to cP	???	Via the form itself, in interaction with cP

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## 2 types of formality in pronouns

	Italian pronouns	Korean pronouns	Korean sentence-final speech style particles
Embeddable	yes		no
distribution	merged in argument position		merged in cP
What is encoded?	+/-status	age, formal relation, formality of situation...	
How is formality encoded?	via linking to cP	???	Via the form itself, in interaction with cP

### Conclusion

The encoding of formality in pronouns is not (entirely) dependent of the encoding of formality in speech-style particles

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## Problems with Portner et al.

### Empirical

- Pronouns of different formality can be coordinated

### Analytical

- There are (at least) **two ways** in which formality in pronouns is encoded:
  - Binary distinction of the *tu/me* typ
  - Open-class distinctions of the Korean/Japanese type

### Theoretical

- What is *cP*?
  - It is qualitatively different from CP:
  - It encodes non-propositional, "utterance-oriented" content

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## Interim conclusion

- Formality is part of grammar
- Formality is subject to variation
- We need to develop an adequate formal typology for formality
- Existing formal typologies cannot account for the facts

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- Problem: The need for a typology of formality
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## Nominal speech-act structure

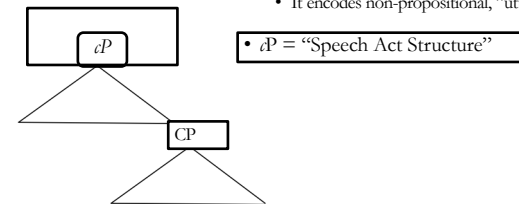
The syntax of interactional language

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## What is Speech-act structure?

Portner et al.

- What is *sP*?
  - It is qualitatively different from CP:
  - It encodes non-propositional, "utterance-oriented" content



• *sP* = "Speech Act Structure"

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## What is Speech-act structure?

### Labels of SA-structure

- DiscourseP (Benincà 2001, Garzonio 2004)
- PragP (Hill 2006)
- SpeechActProjection (SAP, Hill 2007a,b)
- Modal values (Speas & Tenny 2003, Speas 2004)
- Attitude (Paul, 2014)
- PartP (Haegeman 2015)
- ...

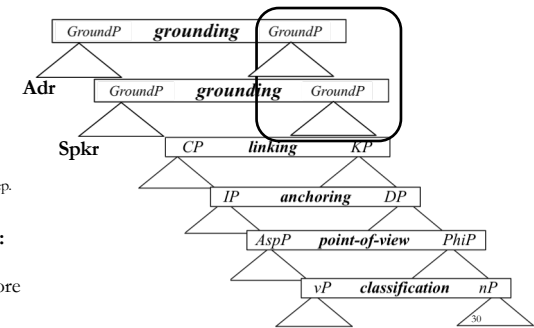
Speech acts are not primitives

Speech act theory has changed since the 60ies

## The Universal Spine Hypothesis

### Interactional Spine Hypothesis:

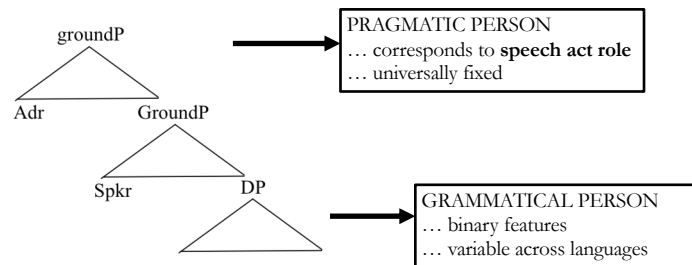
There is an articulated layer of structure above propositional structure which hosts interactional language  
Wiltchko, in prep.



### Universal Spine Hypothesis:

Functional projections are universally associated with a core abstract function

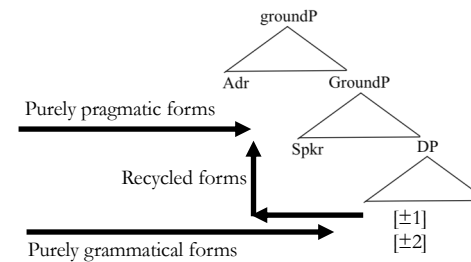
## Two sources for PERSON



Ritter and Wiltchko 2019

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## A novel typology



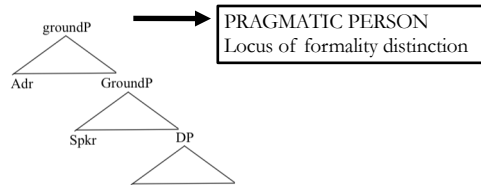
Ritter and Wiltchko 2018, 2019

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## Formality distinctions

- ... indicate social status relative to **current** speaker/addressee
- ... must access pragmatic information about different Speech act participants

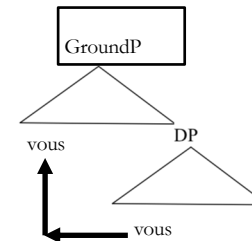


Ritter and Wiltschko 2019

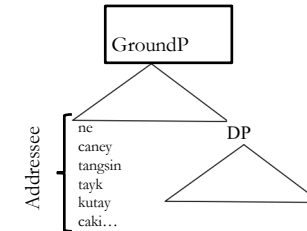
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## Two types of formality in pronouns

**Type 1 formality:**  
Recycled grammatical content



**Type 2 formality:**  
Intrinsic lexical content



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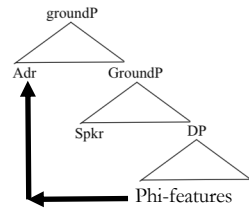
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## Type 1 Formality: Recycling

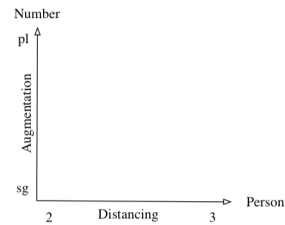
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### Type 1 Formality: Recycling

- Grammatical content is re-interpreted as pragmatic content
- Features merged in the DP move to SA-structure and are interpreted there



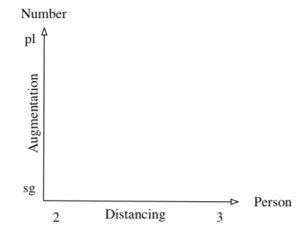
Recycled grammatical forms [+augmented] (= plural)  
[-local] (= 3rd person)



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### Type 1 Formality: Recycling

- Augmentation: Addressee > Speaker  
→ derives **higher status**
- Distancing: Addressee ≠ Speaker  
→ **unequal status**  
or:  
→ lack of **familiarity** (strangers)

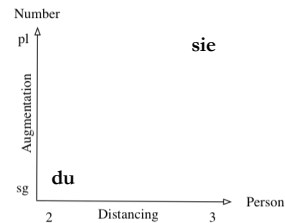


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### Recycled pronouns in German

	singular	plural	formal
1	ich	wir	
2	du	ihr	sie
3	er/sie/es	sie	

Number	[-augmented]	[+augmented]
Person	[+local] [+adr]	du
	[-local]	sie

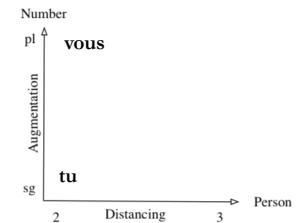


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### Recycled pronouns in French

	singular	plural	formal
1	je	nous	
2	tu	vous	vous
3	il/elle	ils/elles	

Number	[-augmented]	[+augmented]
Person	[+local] [+adr]	tu
		VOUS

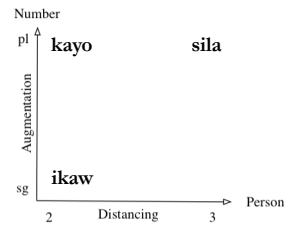


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### Recycled pronouns in Tagalog

	singular	plural	formal
1	ako	tayo/kami	
2	ikaw	<b>kayo</b>	<b>kayo, sila</b>
3	siya	<b>sila</b>	

Number	[-augmented]	[+augmented]
Person		
[+local] [+adr]	ikaw	<b>kayo</b>
[-local]		<b>sila</b>

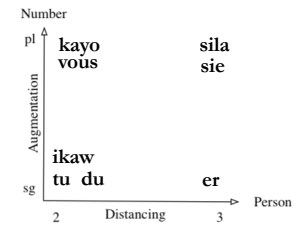


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### Distancing without augmentation

When a monarch speaks to a commoner, they use 3<sup>rd</sup> singular

(1) Was möchte **er**?  
What wants he  
'What does he want?'

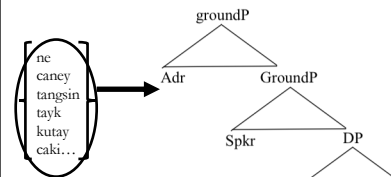


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### Type 2 Formality: Paranouns

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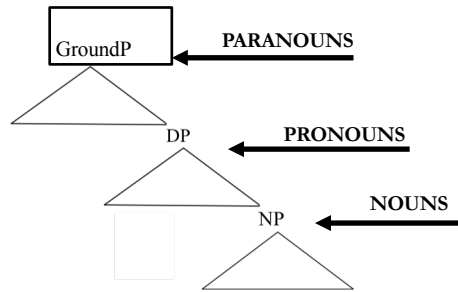
### Type 2 formality:



- Korean pronouns for addressee
- ne** plain, intimate
  - caney** plain, familiar between adults/ elderly male towards male
  - tangsin** plain between adults (restricted) disrespectful toward a stranger
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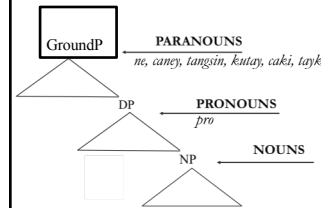
- Different forms for different kinds of social relations (e.g., age, sex, status)
- Open-ended class
- Pronouns are mostly avoided for addressee of higher status

### Type 2 Formality: Introducing PARANOONS



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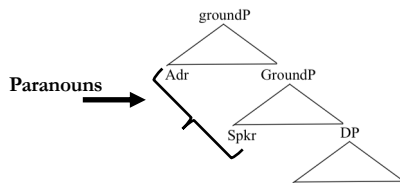
### Type 2 Formality: Introducing PARANOONS



- Used in languages which avoid overt pronouns
  - Grammatical pronouns are silent (*pro*)
  - Unlike pronouns, they are pragmatically marked
- Paranouns don't form paradigms or trigger agreement
  - Because they are not composed of contrastive phi-features
  - They have substantive (not grammatical) content

• "In languages like Japanese and Korean, a combination of person and number can be represented variously by a number of lexical items, **reflecting semantic and pragmatic properties relative to social and psychological factors ...**"  
 (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 753)<sup>#6</sup>

They are neither pronouns nor nouns



Japanese "personal pronouns are distinguished from nouns both morphologically and syntactically"

But "the overall distribution of Japanese personal pronouns and, say, English personal pronouns is markedly distinct."  
 Hinds (1971: 154)

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### Paranouns are not restricted to Addressee

Korean paranouns for speakers:

- na (plain)
- ce (humble)
- cim (only used by a king, archaic)
- ...

Japanese paranouns for speakers:

- male: watakushi > kochira > watashi > boku > ore > washi
- female: watakushi > kochira > watashi > atashi > uchi

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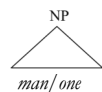
## Two types of impersonal pronouns

PERSON	English	German	Example
1 / 2	<i>I/you</i>	<i>ich/du</i>	<i>You shouldn't text while driving</i>
0	<i>one</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>One shouldn't text while driving</i>

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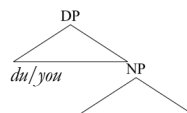
## The grammar of impersonals

### 'man' impersonals



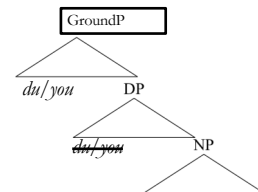
### impersonal uses of personal pronouns

→ refers to anyone who could be an addressee



### personal uses of personal pronouns

→ refers to current addressee only



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## The grammar of impersonals

Impersonal use of personal pronouns is a rather widespread phenomenon in languages of the world  
Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 739

By using *you* the speaker “assimilates himself” to use Labare and Sankoff’s phraseology, “to a much wider class of people, downgrading his own experience to incidental status in the discourse, phrasing it as something that could or would be anybody’s” (p. 281)

Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 749

**Yesterday, we went to Sabino Canyon. And I was talking with this guy who happened to drop in on us. And all of a sudden he began to get agitated, and he swung at me. You react instinctively at a time like that. I hit him back.**

Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 749 (28)

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### Prediction

If GroundP is projected, impersonal interpretation is impossible

GroundP Grounds to the beliefs of the interlocutors in the ongoing conversation

DP Anchors to deictic center (which can be extended to the world)

NP

NP

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### Formality and impersonals

Pronouns marked for formality cannot be used as impersonals

GroundP

DP

recycled formality

GroundP

DP

intrinsic formality

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### Paranouns cannot be used as impersonals

Although the extension of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun to an impersonal is widespread in languages, it is restricted to those with small, closed pronoun sets, thus excluding such languages as Japanese and Korean.

Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 739

“By definition, personal pronouns used impersonally are not restricted to the speech act context. But in languages like Japanese and Korean, the so-called (lexical) personal pronouns, especially those having to do with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons, are too closely tied to the actual speech act context. They are simply too loaded with semantic and pragmatic information.”

Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 756

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### The grammar of impersonals

**Japanese:**  
 Sooiu toki-ni-wa honnooteki-ni ugoi-te sima-u.  
 Such time-at-Top instinctively moving end-up-Pres

**Korean:**  
 kiröl-ttae-n paro hayngtong-il chwihae-yaci.  
 such-that-time-Top immediately action-Obj show-should

Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 755 (48,49)

- Impersonal sense is expressed by a zero pronoun
- Alternatively, it can be expressed by lexical nouns denoting ‘person, such as *bito* in Japanese and *saram* or *inkam* in Korean

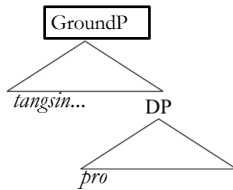
Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 755f.

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### Paranouns cannot be used as impersonals

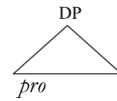
**Personal pronoun**

→ refers to current addressee only



**Impersonal**

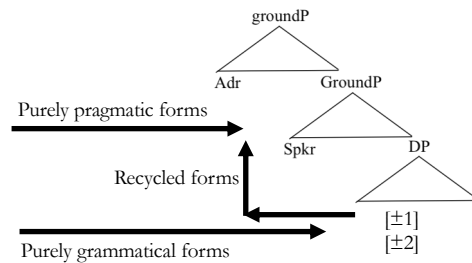
→ refers to anyone who could be an addressee



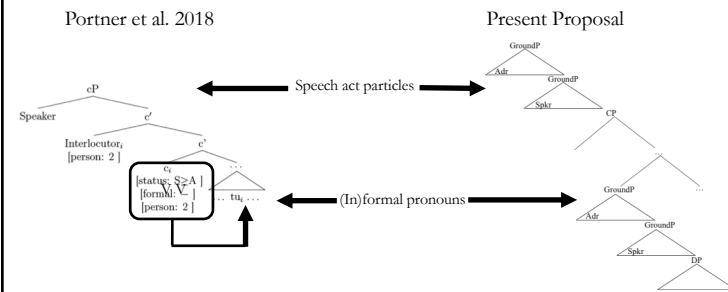
### Formal pronouns in German

- (1) **Du** sollst beim Autofahren nicht texten  
 You shall.2sg at.the car.driving not text  
 'You shouldn't text while driving'  
 i) Personal use  
 ii) Impersonal use
  
- (2) **Sie** sollen beim Autofahren nicht texten  
 You<sub>formal}</sub> shall.3pl at.the car.driving not text  
 'You shouldn't text while driving'  
 i) Personal use  
 ii) \*Impersonal use

### Interim Summary

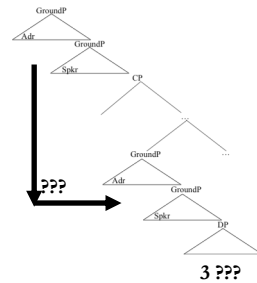


### Interim Summary



## 2 more questions

- Can you get a dependency between clausal and nominal GroundP?
- Can you have GroundP above 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs? And if so what is the role of GroundP?



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- Problem: The need for a typology of formality
  - Existing typologies and their problems
- Proposal: Nominal speech act structure
- Analysis:
  - Distinguishing intrinsic content from recycled features in the SA-structure
- Independent evidence for nominal speech act structure
  - Impersonals
- Extending the analysis
  - Logophors
  - Demonstratives
- Conclusion

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Is this trivial or is this grammar?

**Du** hast einen neuen Hund, **geu**.  
 You have a new dog, conf  
 ‘You have a new dog, don’t you?’

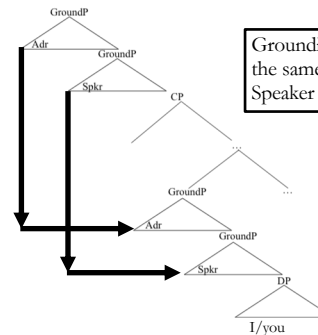
**Sie** haben einen neuen Hund **geu-ns**  
 You<sub>formal</sub> have.3pl a new dog conf-formal

\***Du** hast einen neuen Hund, **geuns**  
 \***Sie** haben einen neuen Hund, **geu**

Grounding participants have to be the same as ground ground holders: Speaker and Addressee

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Is this trivial or is this grammar?



Grounding participants have to be the same as ground ground holders: Speaker and Addressee

64



## Logophors: some facts

Ewe: Logophors

- a. Kofi be yè-dzo  
say LOG-leave  
 'Kofi<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> left.'
  - b. Kofi be me-dzo  
 'Kofi said that I left.'
  - c. Kofi be e-dzo  
 'Kofi<sub>i</sub> said that (s)he<sub>e</sub> left.'
- Clements 1975: 142

Amharic: Shifting indexicals

- John [ *pro* dʒägna nä-ññ ] yi-l-all.  
 John [ *pro* hero COP-1SG.S ] 3SGM.S-say-AUX.3SGM.S
- a. John says that I am a hero.
  - b. John says that he is a hero.
- Anand 2006: 101

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## Logophors: some facts

*Shift Together*

If one indexical of class  $\Psi$  picks up reference from context *c*, then all indexicals of class  $\Psi$  within the same minimal attitude complement must also pick up reference from context *c*. (The following are classes of indexicals: 1st person, 2nd person, person, locative, temporal.)  
 (Deal 2017, 2018)

Amharic: Shifting indexicals

- John [ *pro* dʒägna nä-ññ ] yi-l-all.  
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  - b. John says that he is a hero.
- Anand 2006: 101

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## Logophors: some facts

English: exempt anaphors

- a. John<sub>i</sub> said to Mary that physicists like himself<sub>i</sub> were a godsend.
- b. \*Mary said about John<sub>i</sub> that physicists like himself<sub>i</sub> were a godsend.

Kuno 1987: 123

• Korean: exempt anaphors

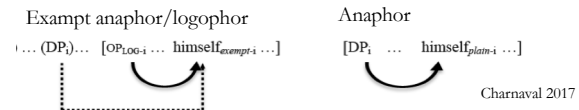
Cina <sub>i</sub> -nun	kkwucwunha-n	wuntong-i	{caki-casin/*[ku papo]}-(l)ul
Cina-TOP	regular-RC	exercise-NOM	self the idiot -ACC
pakkwuko	issta-ko	sayngkakhhan-ta.	
change	be-COMP	think-DECL	

'Cina<sub>i</sub> thinks that regular exercise is changing {her/\*[the idiot]}.'

[5.47/6] Ahn & Charnaval 2017: 21 (9)

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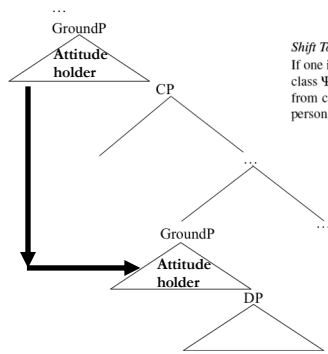
## Logophors: analysis



- Logophoric operator introduces POV/attitude holder
- Logophoric operator → GroundP

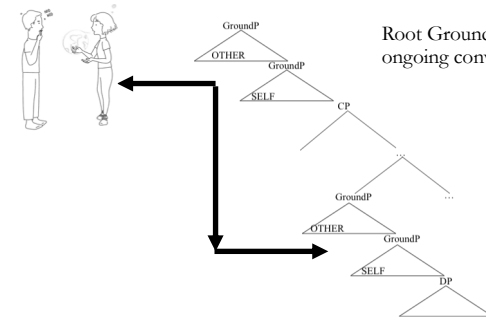
68

### Logophors: analysis



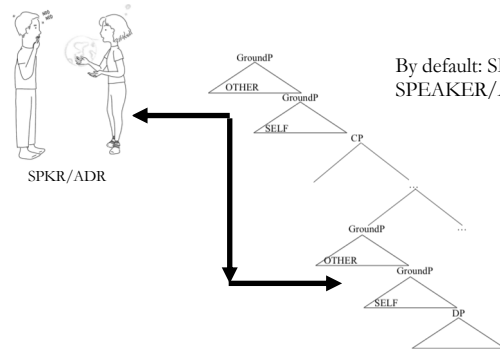
*Shift Together*  
 If one indexical of class  $\Psi$  picks up reference from context *c*, then all indexicals of class  $\Psi$  within the same minimal attitude complement must also pick up reference from context *c*. (The following are classes of indexicals: 1st person, 2nd person, person, locative, temporal.) (Deal 2017, 2018)

### Speaker/Addressee roles are derived



Root GroundP links to the ongoing conversation

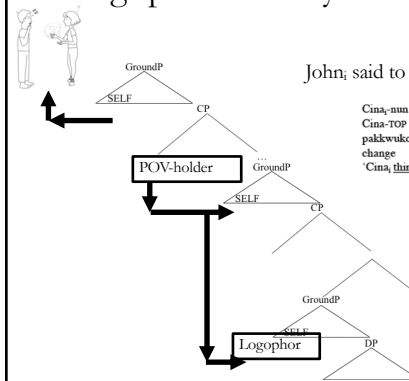
### Speaker/Addressee roles are derived



By default: SELF/OTHER = SPEAKER/ADDRESSEE

SPKR/ADR

### Logophors: Analysis

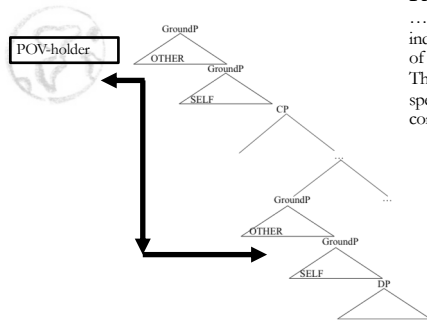


John<sub>i</sub> said to Mary that physicists like **himself<sub>i</sub>** were a godsend.

Cina <sub>i</sub> -nun	kkwucwunha-n	wuntong-i	{caki-casin/[ku papo]}-(lul
Cina-TOP	regular-RC	exercise-NOM	self the idiot -ACC
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'Cina<sub>i</sub> thinks that regular exercise is changing {her/[the idiot]}.'

### Speaker need not be POV-holder



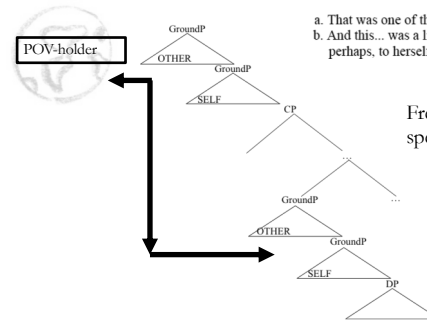
**Free indirect speech:**

... Mixes linguistic characteristics of both direct and indirect speech so as to express the point of view of a third person instead of that of the speaker. [...] The narrator makes himself disappear in free indirect speech by presenting his character as the subject of consciousness.

Charnaval, to appear: 92

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### Speaker need not be POV-holder

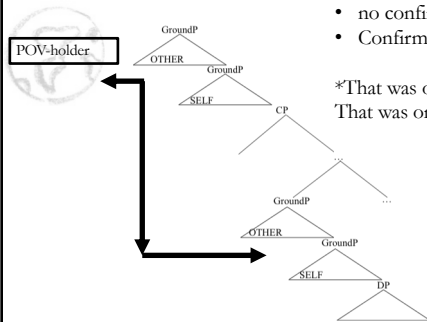


a. That was one of the bonds between Sally and himself. [V. Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*]  
 b. And this... was a little distressing to people who did not share it; to Mr. Carmichael perhaps, to herself certainly. [V. Woolf, *To the Lighthouse* Banfield 1973:12, 1982:91]

Free indirect speech is incompatible with speaker/addressee as POV-holders

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### Speaker need not be POV-holder



**Prediction:**

- no confirmational in such contexts
- Confirmational are Adr oriented

\*That was one of the bonds between Sally and himself, eh?  
 That was one of the bonds between Sally and himself

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### Speaker need not be POV-holder

Kuroda 1973 distinguishes between the reportive and the nonreportive styles. In the reportive style, the narrator presents his point of view just like in regular cases of linguistic acts between a speaker and a hearer. In the nonreportive style however, there is no narrator present as an interpreter of the situation, but the various characters of the story can be presented as subjects of consciousness so that their internal feelings are directly represented. Several grammatical features characterize each style. For instance, **the sentence-final particle yo ('I'm telling you') is only compatible with the reportive style.**

John-wa Bill-ga zibun-o home-ta toki Mary-no soba-ni i-ta (\*yo).  
 John-TOP Bill-NOM REFL-ACC praise-PST when Mary-GEN side-LOC be-PST PTCL  
 'John, was by Mary when Bill praised himself.'

Kuroda 1973:385

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## Speaker/ Addressee roles are derived

Interpretation of SELF/OTHER

- SPEAKER / ADDRESSEE
- POV holder
- Locus of Empathy

“there seems to be no clear primitive role that we might call SPEAKER. Rather “speaker” seems to be simply one way of being a SOURCE. The pronoun *I* usually indicates that SELF and SOURCE are predicated of the external speaker”

“an unanalyzed notion of the “speaker” or the “I” simply does not allow for enough distinctions to be drawn when a range of languages are considered

Sells 1987: 462

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## 2 more questions

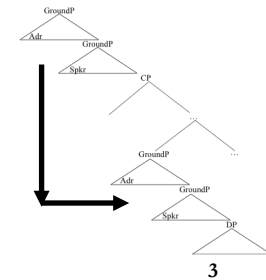
- Can you get a dependency between clausal and nominal GroundP?

**Yes!**

- Can you have GroundP above 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs?

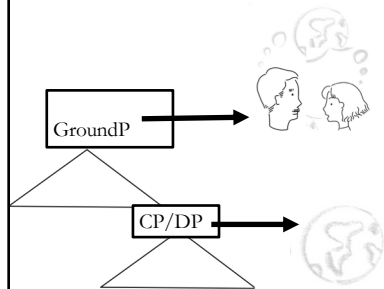
**Yes!**

- And if so what is the role of GroundP?



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## The role of GroundP

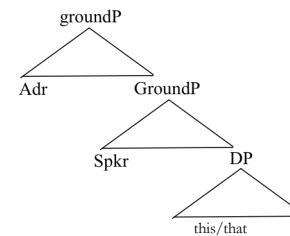


**Grounding structure** is about **mental worlds**:  
Beliefs, attitudes, evaluations, discourse status, ...)

**Propositional structure** is about the **world**:  
propositions, individuals, eventualities, ...

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## Further evidence from Demonstratives

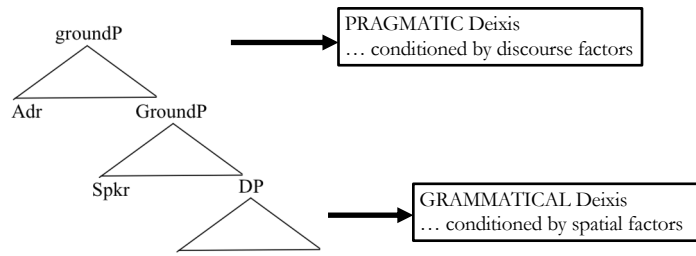


1<sup>st</sup> is semantically incorporated in *I, this, here*, words which refer to speaker's locus. 2<sup>nd</sup> person is incorporated in *you; that* and *there* may also be included in the hearer's locus.

Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990: 757

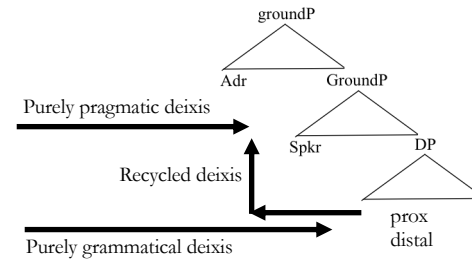
80

### Proposal



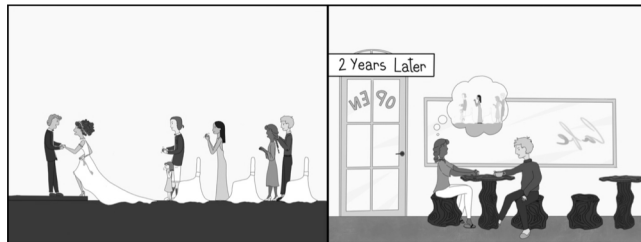
81

### A novel typology



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### Familiar referent



Remember **that**/**\*this** woman in the yellow dress and Lilah's wedding?

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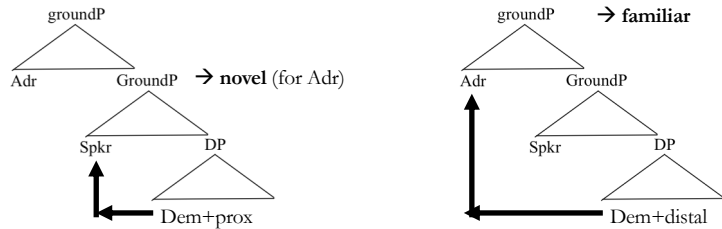
### Novel (for addressee) referent



Well, when I was young there was **this**/**\*that** hippie. His name was Woodstock...

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### Recycled deixis: discourse driven



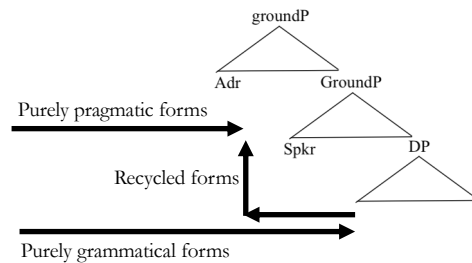
85

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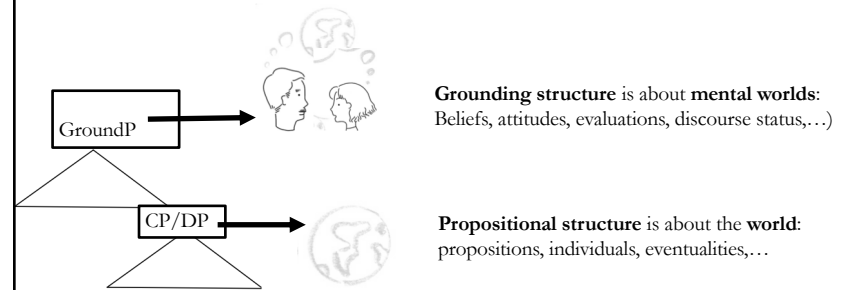
### A formal typology

Maybe this holds for logophors as well



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### The role of GroundP



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In *Treatise on the Ten Ways of Resolving Controversies*, he states that “I make use of words to communicate, in order to express the truth that is separate from words. It is like using the finger to point at the moon, which [of course] is separate from the pointing finger.” Also in *Commentaries and Notes on the ‘Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna’*, he propounds that “Truth is neither something that is separate from language nor something that is not separate from language.

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Thank you!



### Korean pronouns in argument position

Ne-nun mwe ha-nya?  
 You-TOP what do-INT  
 ‘What are you doing?’ (Yeon and Brown 2011:76)

I il-un caney-ka ha-key.  
 this job-TOP you-NOM do-COMP  
 ‘You do this job.’ (Yeon and Brown 2011:77)

tangs-in-i mwe-i-n-tey ilay-la ce-lay-la ha-nun-kes-i-a [ke-ya]  
 you-NOM what-be-PRES-COMP do this-COMP do that-COMP do-PRES-COMP-be-COMP  
 ‘Who do you think you are ordering me to do this and do that?’ (Yeon and Brown 2011:77)

caki cium mwe-ha-e [hay]?  
 You now what-do-COMP  
 ‘What are you doing now?’ (Yeon and Brown 2011:77)

## Korean pronouns in argument position

Tayk-un eti-ey ka-si-e-yo (Yeon and Brown 2011:77)  
 You-TOP where-LOC go-SUB.HOR-COMP-POL  
 'Where are you going?'

Kuccok-un-yo? (Yeon and Brown 2011:78)  
 You(lit. that side)-TOP-POL  
 'How about you?'

Na-uy kyeyth-ey kutay eps-nun seysang iss-ul-swu-to eps-keyss-ci-yo  
 I-GEN side-LOC you not.exist-PRES world exist-IRR-COMP-also not.exist-IRR-COMP-POL  
 'There cannot be a world where you are not by my side.' (Yeon and Brown 2011:78)

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## Korean pronouns in argument position

Supheyin-eyse ne-lul po-ass-e.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse caney-lul po-ass-ney.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse tangsin-ul po-ass-ci.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse caki-lul po-ass-e.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

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## Korean pronouns in argument position

Supheyin-eyse kutay-lul po-ass-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I saw you in Spain.' (by an author in his/her journal) (poetic)

Supheyin-eyse tayk-ul po-ass-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse kuccok-lul po-ass-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I saw you in Spain.'

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## Korean pronouns are embeddable

Supheyin-eyse ne-lul po-ass-ta-kokecimal-ul hayss-e.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-DEC-COMP lie-ACC did-COMP  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse caney-lul po-ass-ta-kokecimal-ul hayss-ney.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse tangsin-ul po-ass-ta-kokecimal-ul hayss-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse caki-lul po-ass-ta-kokecimal-ul hayss-e.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'

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## Korean pronouns are embeddable

?Supheyin-eyse **tayk**-ul po-ass-ta-ko kecicmal-ul hayss-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.' (personally I do not use or hear the usage of tayk as much as other pronouns, it is a little unnatural to me)

Supheyin-eyse **kuccok**-ul po-ass-ta-ko kecicmal-ul hayss-e-yo.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'

Supheyin-eyse **kutay**-lul po-ass-ta-ko kecicmal-ul hayss-tao.  
 Spain-LOC you-ACC see-PST-COMP-POL  
 'I lied that I saw you in Spain.'