



# Semantic constraint and pragmatic nonconformity for expressives: compatibility condition on slurs, epithets, anti-honorifics, intensifiers, and mitigators



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## ARTICLE INFO

### Article history:

Available online 11 May 2015

### Keywords:

Multidimensionality

Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)

Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)

Slurs

E- vs. H-expressives

Korean

## ABSTRACT

The main goal of this paper is to propose the Compatibility Condition for multiple expressive elements in Korean, which is highly applicable in other languages. Exploring the behavior of ethnic slurs in the presence of other regular expressive elements, I show the systematicity of how various expressive items interact with one another. For this purpose, looking at Korean is advantageous since it extensively makes use of expressives across lexical categories. In doing so, I try to answer two main questions that haven't been taken seriously before. First, the multiple occurrences of identical expressives are known to be possible, but what about co-occurrences of different expressives with varying attitudes, including the conflicting ones? Do they freely occur within one utterance? If not, what constrains their compatibility condition and the degree of the compatibility? To solve this puzzle, I investigate the dynamic paradigm of multiple expressives. I propose the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* and the *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)*, showing how a language like Korean constrains the possible co-occurrences of various types of expressives such as slurs, epithets, anti-honorifics, intensifiers, or mitigators. Second, how strict is the Compatibility Condition of expressives, and what happens if the condition is flouted? I show how in practice people intentionally flout the Compatibility Condition to achieve various pragmatic effects, presenting four interesting cases: (i) the juxtaposition of opposite attitudes with stronger pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole; (ii) the well-known flip-flop of bipolar emotional index; (iii) the code-switching at Honorific-dimension as a strategy of modulating social distance; and (iv) the question of whether Emotion- and Honorific-dimensions operate autonomously. The result supports the notion of multidimensionality (Potts, 2005 et seq.) and furthermore the newfound hybrid nature of *Conditional Autonomy*, i.e., autonomy with intercommunication amongst expressive dimensions.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Debate on slurs

The status of ethnic slurs (ethnophaulisms) has been under debate on whether they are merely expressive elements or more complex items. *Pure expressivism* for slurs has been proposed by Hedger (2012, 2013; cf. Kaplan, 1999; Kratzer, 1999; Potts, 2003, 2005; Potts and Kawahara, 2004; Pullum and Rawlins, 2007; Richard, 2008; Potts et al. 2009 for other types of expressives). Building on Kaplan's framework for severing descriptive and expressive content, Hedger claims that racial slurs express contempt and lack descriptive content whatsoever.

The pure expressivism for slurs and moral expressions, however, is recently challenged by mixed or *hybrid analyses* (Croom, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015; Whiting, 2013; Boisvert, 2008; Schroeder, 2008; Williamson, 2009; McCreedy, 2010; Gutzmann, 2011; Hay, 2012). The hybrid analyses assume that slurs share the extension of their neutral counterpart. Slurs refer to "derogatory terms targeting individuals and groups of individuals on the basis of race, nationality, religion, gender or sexual orientation" (Bianchi, 2014: 35), and are "used by speakers primarily to identify members that possess certain descriptive features (e.g., race) and to derogate them on that basis" (Croom, 2013: 179). Slurs (e.g., *nigger* or *slut*) need to be distinguished from a descriptive term (e.g., *African American*) that is used just to identify the target race, and also from an expressive pejorative term (e.g., *fucker* or *jerk*) that is used only to express a heightened emotional state.<sup>1</sup>

Racial slurs in Korean seem to support the hybrid approach as well.<sup>2</sup> Besides the derogatory attitude, slurs are quite contentful, typically conveying a complex array of meanings, perhaps even more complex than already suggested: (i) the racial identity of the target group of referent; (ii) one particular characteristic of the racial group, reflected in the etymology of many slurring terms; and potentially even (iii) the racial identity of the usual attitude holder of the slur. The second meaning fits into the characteristics of expressive elements (albeit a hybrid one) since, as Potts notes, the expressive conventional implicature (CI) typically retains its conventional meaning.

## 1.2. Roadmap

In this paper, I propose the Compatibility Condition amongst expressive elements in Korean, which, I believe, will be highly applicable in other languages. Furthermore, I also discuss what happens when the Compatibility Condition is flouted, and how people use the intentional flouting to achieve various pragmatic effects. I start by exploring the nature of slurs in Section 2, and also investigate how slurs behave in the presence of other regular expressive elements in Korean, illustrating the systematicity of how various expressive items may interact with one another. I investigate the data with not only slurs but also pejoratives and other expressive items such as (anti-)honorifics, intensifiers, or mitigators. For this purpose, looking at Korean is beneficial since it makes extensive use of expressives across categories (cf. Giannakidou and Yoon, 2011 for metalinguistic comparatives, Yoon, 2012, 2013 for evaluative negation, a.o.).

In examining various possible combinations of expressive items, I try to answer two main questions that haven't been taken seriously before (except for a brief remark on Japanese honorifics in Potts and Kawahara, 2004), but are important for a deeper understanding of the nature of multidimensionality and how the multiple dimensions are related with one another.

First, it is known that the multiple occurrences of identical expressives are possible in general—e.g., multiple instances of *damn* within an utterance in English, as Potts (2005) discusses, but what about co-occurrences of different expressives with varying attitudes, including the conflicting ones? Do they freely occur within one utterance? If not, what principle constrains their compatibility?

To solve this puzzle, I explore the dynamic paradigm of multiple expressives in Korean. The data offered here gives us clues to solving the puzzle of how a language constrains the possible co-occurrences of various types of expressives such as ethnic slurs, and other pejoratives such as epithets, anti-honorifics, intensifiers, or mitigators. I propose the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* and the *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* in Section 3.

In trying to answer these questions, I furthermore examine the multi-dimensionality of the positive/negative Emotive expressives (E-expressives, henceforth) like *damn* and the Honorificational expressives (H-expressives) like (anti-)honorific markers which have been routinely treated uniformly in the previous literature. However, it has never been clear how closely (or distantly) these two creatures are related with each other. The question that I want to raise is whether the emotive expressives and the honorific expressives are located on the shared dimension or whether they must be separated at two different dimensions of expressives.

In Section 4, I present four interesting aspects of expressives which arise where the proposed Compatibility Condition is intentionally flouted: In Section 4.1, I show how the juxtaposition of opposite attitudes gives rise to stronger pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole; In Section 4.2, I briefly discuss the well-known flip-flop of bipolar emotional index, and also the approbation of slurs as a subcase (Bartlett et al., 2014; Bianchi, 2014; Blakemore, 2014; Croom, 2011; Galinsky et al., 2013; Beaton

<sup>1</sup> For further discussion on the distinction among slurs, descriptive terms, and pejoratives, see Hay (2012), Blakemore (2014) and Croom (2014).

<sup>2</sup> Examples in this paper contain a number of ethnic slurs, epithets, and other possibly offensive expressive terms in Korean and English. The purpose of the current work, however, is purely academic, investigating the multidimensional nature of attitudinal components in these lexical items. Therefore the mention of these items or the discussion of their pejorative meaning does not in any respect reflect the political or personal stance of the author.

and Washington, 2014); In Section 4.3, I discuss how the code-switching on the Honorific-dimension is employed by speakers as a strategy of modulating social distance; and in Section 4.4, I revisit the common assumption on the nature of multidimensionality, asking whether Emotion- and Honorific-dimensions operate autonomously. The conclusion follows in Section 5.

## 2. The meaning of slurs

### 2.1. The expressive dimension of slurs

The expressive sense of slurs can be understood as conventionalized implicature (CI), i.e., an utterance modifier, in the sense of Potts (2005). In this subsection, I first examine the properties of slurs with the core characteristics of CI, and then illustrate how the expressive meaning of slurs can be represented in the system of CI logic.

When a speaker decides to use a slur, the utterance becomes more emphatic. The choice of slur is thus neither redundant nor a mere reflex of selection by the linguistic or cultural environment. Rather, slurs are used within a context in order to reveal the speaker's emotive stance. In this respect, slurs, as a stance marker, indeed exhibit the expressive properties, albeit not to the extent of pure expressivism à la Hedger (2012, 2013; cf. Kaplan, 1999; Kratzer, 1999; Potts, 2003, 2005, 2007; Potts and Kawahara, 2004; Pullum and Rawlins, 2007). The current analysis of slurs is mainly based on the discussion of two types of slurs in Korean: first, *ppalkayngi* 'commie' is chosen since it is one of the most frequently used slurs in South Korea due to the political disparity; second, various slurs for 'black people' like *kkamtwungi*, *kemtwugi*, etc., are chosen because they offer valuable resources for the gradient nature of slurs—more remarkably, variants with varying degree of color tones or phonological strengths are proportional to positive or negative attitude toward the ethnic group.

As in other languages, slurs in Korean add the speaker's heightened emotional stance—a property typical of the class of expressive expressions such as *damn* and *bastard*, studied in Potts (2005, 2007). The hallmark of expressives is that when uttered, they have “an immediate and powerful impact on the context” (Potts, 2007: 1). Almost invariably, “a speaker's expressives indicate that she is in a heightened emotional state. They can tell us if she is angry or elated, frustrated or at ease, powerful or subordinated” (Potts, 2007: 8). Potts calls this property *perspective dependence*, which slurs clearly exhibit.

Before delving into the idea of how the expressive content of slurs works, let me elaborate a little bit more on the precise properties of slurs in Korean that I believe render them expressives, based on the typical properties of expressives suggested by Potts (2005, 2007).

The first property to consider is *independence*. In the following example, the expressive content of the pejorative *bastard* contributes a dimension of meaning that is separated from the regular descriptive content:

- (1) That bastard Frederic is famous.

This sentence asserts that Frederic is famous (descriptive meaning), and it also conveys that Frederic is a bastard in the speaker's opinion (expressive meaning). One can accept the assertion as truthful without also accepting the characterization of Frederic as a 'bastard'. Likewise, the following sentence with the slur *ppalkayngi* 'commie' exhibits the parallel property in Korean. This is a South Korean slur, which is specific to the Southern half of the Korean peninsula.

- (2) Ku ppalkayngi            nom-un            yumyenghay.  
that commie.neg.att    jerk.neg.att-Top    famous  
'That commie jerk is famous.'

One can accept the assertion of 'that guy is famous' as truthful without also accepting the characterization of that guy as *ppalkayngi*, for instance, by adding 'yes, I know he is famous, but he is not a commie.'

In a similar vein, as McCready (2010) notes, slurs do not participate in denial because they are not part of the descriptive meaning. This property holds in Korean slurs too. (3B) is not equivalent to (4), which shows that the denial by a regular negation in (3B) can only be about the ethnic identity, not about the use of an offensive term. Therefore, the negative attitudinal flavor in an ethnic slur like *kkamtwungi* is not part of the at-issue meaning<sup>3</sup>:

- (3) A: Ku-nun            kkamtwungi-ya.  
      he-Top            black.person.neg.att(=nigger)-Decl  
      'He is a nigger.'  
      B: Ani-ya.  
         not-Decl  
         'That's not true.'
- (4) ≠ Hukin-un            nappuci-anh-a.  
      black.people-Top    bad-Neg-Decl  
      'Black people are not bad.'

<sup>3</sup> As a reviewer notes, regarding the meaning of *kkamtwungi*, 'blackie' would be more appropriate as it is a more literal translation and escapes the specific connotations of the N-word in English. In this paper, however, it is translated as either 'nigger' or 'blackie' for the purpose of closely conveying the most negative attitude among other lexical choices for 'black people' although it lacks such connotations.

The attitudinal components in both E-expressives and H-expressives, however, seem to be correctable by means of metalinguistic negation or metalinguistic comparative forms (Giannakidou and Yoon, 2011). Observe how metalinguistic negation and comparative operate on H-expressives. In both cases, only the content at the expressive dimension is changed from the neutral to honorific nominative case, while the descriptive content ‘the teacher’ remains intact:

- (5) a. *Metalinguistic Negation*  
 “Sensayngnim-i”-ka ani-la “sensayngnim-**kkeyse**” o-si-ess-ci.  
 teacher-Nom.neut-Nom Neg-Prt teacher-Nom.hon come-Subj.hon-Pst-Decl  
 ‘“(Just) a teacher” didn’t come, “the honorable teacher” came.’
- b. *Metalinguistic Comparative*  
 “Sensayngnim-i”-la.kipota “sensayngnim-**kkeyse**” o-si-ess-ci.  
 teacher-Nom.neut-rather.than teacher-Nom.hon come-Subj.hon-Pst-Decl  
 ‘“The honorable teacher”, rather than “(just) a teacher”, came.’

Now observe that metalinguistic negation and metalinguistic comparatives operate on E-expressives, e.g., slurs. Once again, only the expressive CI meaning changes (from an offensive term to a politically correct one), without affecting the descriptive content (the referent):

- (6) a. *Metalinguistic Negation*  
 “Kkamtwungi”-ka ani-ra “hukin”-i o-ass-ci.  
 nigger-Nom Neg-Prt black.person-Nom come-Pst-Decl  
 ‘A “nigger” didn’t come, a “black person” came.’
- b. *Metalinguistic Comparative*  
 “Kkamtwungi”-la.kipota “hukin”-i o-ass-ci.  
 nigger-rather.than black.person-Nom come-Pst-Decl  
 ‘A “black person”, rather than a “nigger”, came.’

Given the evidence, we can safely conclude that slurs have the independence property, operating on another dimension. As Potts notes “the expressive and descriptive meanings that a sentence can convey should not be combined in single unit” (Potts, 2007: 3), but also “some expressive meanings act as bridges between the two realms, by mapping descriptive content to expressive content.” Note that he hints upon the possibility of hybrid nature for certain expressives, and this is precisely how I envision the function of the slur across contexts.

Second, slurs exhibit *nondisplaceability*. As Potts notes (2007: 5), expressives always tell us something about the utterance situation itself, and cannot be used to report on past events, attitudes, or emotions. The immediate impact on the context is what is typically found with slurs in Korean:

- (7) Con-un ku-ka ppalkayngi-la-nunkesul al-koiss-ta.  
 John-Top he-Nom commie.**neg.att**-be-C know-Asp-Decl  
 ‘John knows that he is a commie.’  
 — But John respects the N. Korean.  
 — #But I respect the N. Korean.

Here the lexical choice of the slur ‘commie’ over the neutral term ‘N. Korean’ is made by the speaker, and the connotation of the slur is not necessarily agreed by John. Thus the matrix subject *John* can, yet the speaker cannot, accept the assertion as truthful (i.e., ‘he is a N. Korean’) without also accepting the characterization of the referent as a commie, for instance, by adding ‘yes, that is true, but John respects the N. Korean.’ This difference shows that these sentences can only be understood with the possibility of negative attitude as very imminent. Within Potts’ system of CI logic, the descriptive meaning of the sentence with the type e (at-issue type) is ‘He is N. Korean’, while the conventional implicature with the type  $\epsilon$  (CI type) is ‘I feel negatively toward the N. Korean’:

- (8) a. at issue: North Korean(he): e  
 b. CI: negative-attitude(speaker)(North Korean):  $\epsilon$

Finally, as expressive elements, slurs in Korean show *ineffability*. It is difficult to find any equivalent expression to convey the nuanced meaning difference carried by a particular slur like *ppalkayngi*. This property is especially true for racial slurs in part due to the fact that the emergence of these terms tends to be heavily influenced by the historical and socio-cultural relations between the relevant ethnic groups.

In sum, given the quite consistent parallels between racial slurs and other typical pejorative expressives, it seems plausible to treat ethnic slurs in Korean as at least a subcase of expressive elements. I will return to the point of whether it is a pure breed or a hybrid one later on.

## 2.2. The Expressive Index of slurs

Expressive Indices (EI) are the main objects manipulated by expressive denotations, as described in the following definition (Potts 2007: (37)):

- (9) An expressive index is a triple  $\langle a \text{ I } b \rangle$ ,  $\text{I} \in [-1, 1]$ .

Within Potts' system, EIs are the foundation for expressive domains, and are posited in expressive lexical items such as *damn*. These indices are designed to accurately encode the degree of expressivity as well as the orientation of the expressive, and they are defined via numerical intervals  $\text{I} \subseteq [-1, 1]$ . The triple  $\langle a \text{ I } b \rangle$  indicates that an individual  $a$  is at expressive level  $\text{I}$  for an individual  $b$ . Encoding emotional stance via expressive intervals is advantageous in that it allows us the flexibility from very neutral to very positive or negative. Emotive relations are defined by how we specify  $\text{I}$  to proper subintervals of  $[-1, 1]$ ; the more positive the numbers, the more positive the expressive relationship, and vice versa. For example:

- (10) a.  $\langle [\text{tom}] [-.5, 0] [\text{jerry}] \rangle$ : Tom feels negatively toward Jerry.  
 b.  $\langle [\text{ali}] [-.8, 1] [\text{jerry}] \rangle$ : Ali feels essentially indifferent to Jerry.  
 c.  $\langle [\text{kevin}] [0, 1] [\text{jerry}] \rangle$ : Kevin is wild about Jerry.

EIs are merely entities, hence they are not easily paraphrased (ineffability). Instead, what they have is propositional implications: for instance, in objects like  $\langle [\text{tom}] [-.5, 0] [\text{jerry}] \rangle$ , we infer propositions something along the line of Tom feels negatively toward Jerry. Crucially, the indices are built by relating two individuals by means of  $\text{I}$ . This allows us to embed the analysis of ethnic slurs within this background.

In this vein, the Expressive Index (EI) of slurs needs to express the fact that an individual stands in an emotive relation to another individual (or a racial group), i.e., the referent of the slur. Building on earlier works on other expressives in Korean (Giannakidou and Yoon, 2011; Yoon, 2012), I assume that the ethnic slurs in Korean contain expressive relations between an individual and a certain racial group, and the EI of slurs generally ranges from  $-1$  to  $0$ , the negative interval only (Whiting, 2013; Boisvert, 2008; Schroeder, 2008; Williamson, 2009; McCready, 2010; Croom, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015; Gutzmann, 2011; Hay, 2012). As a reviewer points out, however, the assumption on EI of slurs with the negative interval only wouldn't apply in some cases: for instance, when in-group speakers use the relevant slur in conversation with one another since it does not seem to range along the negative interval only. Also, when slurs are used in hip-hop music, they do not seem to range on the negative interval only either. In Section 4, I will discuss how these cases can be captured as one of the typical pragmatic effects of expressive elements. Thus the semantics of slurs proposed here is restricted to the canonical use of slurs, i.e., the derogatory purpose.

Crucially, I furthermore propose: (i) there are possible variations with regard to the strength of negative emotion among slurs (weak vs. strong negative slurs) (for empirical support for this point, see Croom, 2015; Henry et al., 2014); and (ii) the expressive interval  $\text{I}$  may either be an epistemic state where the individual expresses a subjective attitude concerning superiority (i.e., 'I feel superior to the other racial group.') or concerning preference (i.e., 'I don't like them.').<sup>4</sup>

Thus I propose the following expressive indices of slurs:

- (11) *Expressive indices (EI) of slurs*  
 i. Slurs contain expressive indices  $\langle a \text{ I } e \rangle$ , where  $a$  is the individual anchor,  $e$  the ethnic group the individual anchor refers to, and  $\text{I} \subseteq [-1, 0]$ .  
 ii. The index  $\text{I}$  is an attitude towards  $e$  that may be either (a) epistemic state or (b) preference. A slur's index ranges through the negative interval, at most approaching zero:  
 a. *Slur*:  $\langle e, \epsilon \rangle$ : A slur combines descriptive content  $e$  (the type of entities for the racial group) and expressive content  $\epsilon$ .  
 b.  $[[\text{slurs}]]_c$ :  $\lambda e.e$  (identity function);  $c$  is the context  
 c. Expressive content of slurs in  $c$ :  
 Slurs contain an expressive index (EI)  $\langle a \text{ I } e \rangle$ , where  $a$  is the individual anchor,  $e$  the racial group the individual anchor refers to; and  $\text{I}$  ranges between  $[-1, 0]$ .  
 d. The expressive index varies among the subtypes of slurs:  
 e.g., weak negative slurs with  $[-1, 0]$ , strong negative slurs with  $[-1, -.5]$ , etc.

If the current proposal is on the right track, it has important theoretical implications.

First, it allows the generalization that the function of slurs in natural languages needs to be incorporated as part of the grammar. I take this to assume that they are reflexes of grammaticalization of *perspective* and *subjective mode*, on a par with

<sup>4</sup> A reviewer points out that the interpretation of what one means in using a slur assumed here could be different from the one in the actual use of slurs: for instance, when someone in the KKK says "hang those N," it seems hardly acceptable to say that the speaker is merely expressing a subjective preference. Calling someone an N seems to predicate something of *them*, and not of the speaker. The formalization suggested here, however, can be easily recast as predication of the referent—instead of phrasing the subjective attitude concerning superiority as 'I feel superior to the other racial group' or preference as 'I don't like them', the attitude could be 'they are inferior/dispreferred group in my perspective.'

predicates of personal taste discussed by Lasersohn (2005, 2008, 2009), mood choice discussed by Yoon (2012, 2013), and metalinguistic comparatives discussed by Giannakidou and Yoon (2009, 2011).

Second, according to the provision in (11ii-d), there are at least two (possibly more) subtypes of ethnic slurs with varying degrees of expressive indices. For instance, slurs ranging over the whole negative interval (e.g.,  $[-1, 0]$ ) such as *kemtungi* ‘darkie’ are those appearing to be a rather weak statement of contempt toward the target group, while slurs with narrow negative interval (e.g.,  $[-1, -.5]$ ) like *ppalkayngi* ‘commie’ or *kkamtungi* ‘blackie/nigger’ express strong contempt.

Third, however, the above definition for racial slurs seems restricted to the old-fashioned negative sense. The newly-coined racial terms make exceptional cases in the context of self-mocking and self-admonishing, as in the following example. This can be understood to some extent as a case of confirmation of in-group solidarity by suggesting fellow Koreans to collaborate in order to put forward a better image of our racial group.

- (12) ‘Ugly Korean’-i      toy-ci      map-sita!  
 ugly Korean-Nom    become   stop-Hortative  
 ‘Let’s not be an Ugly Korean!’  
 (Ugly Korean refers to an ill-mannered Korean especially in presence of foreigners.)

Croom (2013, 2014, 2015) notes that this property is an important characteristic of slurs that is distinct from pure expressives. We will furthermore see rather positive friendly versions of ethnic slurs later on.

In sum, a statement of contempt brings in an individual’s perspective towards the referent, and this perspective is *an ordering of social stratifications* induced by the individual in a given context, targeting another racial group (or self-referencing among in-group speakers). The context or conventionalized use in a language determines whether a given slur is a statement of contempt or a confirmation of in-group solidarity. In other words, by employing a slur, the speaker intends to outwardly express a derogatory sense towards the referring racial group and consequently the negative attitude is smearing into the entire proposition that contains the slur.

That said, building on Giannakidou and Yoon’s (2009, 2011) analysis of expressives, I suggest that the slur has an attitudinal component (R) in it, and I locate the attitude in the lexical semantics of slur:

- (13)  $[[\text{‘slur’}]] = \lambda g_e \lambda g_i. \exists d' R(a)(g_e)(d') \wedge \exists d'' R(a)(g_i)(d'') \wedge g_i = \neg g_e \wedge d'' > d'$   
 where R is a gradable predicate or propositional attitude supplied by the context: an attitude expressing degree of respect or preference for  $g_i$  (racial in-group) and  $g_e$  (racial external group); a is the individual anchor of the attitude.

This ensures that a slurring term conveys propositional attitude supplied by the context such that the degree of respect or preference for  $g_i$  (racial in-group), represented as  $d'$ , is greater ( $>$ ) than the degree of respect or preference for  $g_e$  (racial external group) represented as  $d''$ , from the perspective of the individual anchor of the attitude, represented as a.

The empirical basis for the current proposal is that we have seen above how the subjective mode of ethnic slurs is manifested as an ordering of (a) epistemic states w.r.t. superiority or (b) preference. Note here that an epistemic subject (i.e., the judge or individual anchor in the sense of Farkas, 1992; Giannakidou, 1998, 1999) is typically the speaker in root clauses, but also could be the matrix subject in subordinate contexts. This means that the anchor for the attitude is syntactically realized, maybe as a requirement for “the closest anchor”. This will be the subject in embedded cases, and the speaker in the others.

### 2.3. The CI status of slurs

Given the formalization of the expressive dimension of slurs, at this point an important question arises: Do Korean ethnic slurs behave just like other kinds of purely expressive elements such as the pejorative *bastard* (Potts, 2005), or should they be treated as a different species?

To answer this question, let me briefly examine the CI status of slurs with respect to the following abstract properties of CIs that Potts (2005) suggests. (see Kaplan, 1999; Kratzer, 1999; Potts, 2003, 2005; Potts and Kawahara, 2004; Pullum and Rawlins, 2007 for pure expressivism for ethnic slurs.):

- (14) a. CIs are part of the conventional meaning of words.  
 b. CIs are commitments, and thus give rise to entailments.  
 c. These commitments are made by the speaker of the utterance.  
 d. CIs are logically and compositionally independent of what is said.

Given these assumptions, Potts develops the CI logic, which is based on Karttunen and Peters’ (1979) ideas and revise their rule-by-rule system with a new system based in type-driven translation of Klein and Sag (1985). The CI logic crucially provides us with a tool for a meaning that exists on a distinct dimension. It illustrates the tree-admissibility condition of the CI logic (based on Karttunen and Peters, 1979) which requires that “a CI meaning always applies to an at-issue meaning to produce a CI meaning.” (Potts, 2005: 48) This feature will be crucial for capturing the various CI meanings carried by



expressive elements discussed here. Since the expressive meaning of slurs is very similar to that of speaker-oriented adverbs like *fortunately* in Potts' model, let's observe how CIs are captured in the following sentence.

First, if ethnic slurs are just like other types of CIs, the meaning of slurs should not be part of 'what is said', i.e., at-issue meaning (Grice, 1975). This would mean that the semantic content of slurs is completely empty, contrary to facts (pace Hedger, 2012, 2013). The following scheme illustrates the mode of composition in the CI logic, in which the bullet function • (i.e., a separation function for independent lambda expressions) ensures that the CI meaning on another level takes part in the overall interpretation. It shows that the semantic at-issue dimension of slurring terms like *ppalkayngi* is fully contentful:

- (15) [[*ppalkayngi*]]  
 at-issue: 'N. Korean': e  
 CI: negative-attitude(N. Korean): ε  
 (16) *The meaning of the slur*
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{N. Korean: } e \\
 \bullet \\
 \text{negative-attitude (N. Korean): } \varepsilon \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \text{negative-attitude: } \langle e, \varepsilon \rangle \quad \text{N. Korean: } e
 \end{array}$$

The at-issue meaning here is "N. Korean" and the CI conveys "the speaker holds negative attitude toward N. Korean". The multidimensional meaning of slurs like *ppalkayngi* requires an abstract division of the expressive component for 'negative attitude' and the referential meaning  $\lambda x.\text{North-Korean}(x)$ . Then, the expressive component with type  $\langle e, \varepsilon \rangle$  takes the 'N. Korean' with type  $e$ , and gives out type  $\varepsilon$ . The new type  $\varepsilon$  indicates a CI, i.e., expressive, type; the regular type  $e$  indicates an at-issue type. Crucially, the at-issue term  $\lambda x.\text{North-Korean}(x)$  is percolated to the mother node and the part of the argument, and the result of the CI application is passed on to the mother node. This general composition rule is designed to separate the at-issue dimension from the CI operators.

As such, besides the expressive force of derogatory attitude, slurs typically convey a complex array of meanings. For one thing, slurs always contain information about the racial identity of the target group of the referent. Furthermore, slurs may reflect one particular characteristic of the racial group, and potentially even the racial identity of the typical user of the slur. Crucially, this is the distinctive feature of slurs, supporting the hybrid analysis over the pure expressivism. Therefore, slurs in Korean provide supporting evidence for the mixed or hybrid analyses of slurs (Whiting, 2013; Boisvert, 2008; Schroeder, 2008; McCready, 2010; Croom, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2015; Gutzmann, 2011; Hay, 2012), yet against the pure expressivism (Hedger, 2012, 2013; cf. Kaplan, 1999; Kratzer, 1999; Potts, 2003, 2005, 2007; Potts and Kawahara, 2004; Pullum and Rawlins, 2007).

Second, if slurs are CIs like the following appositive *a confirmed psychopath*, the expressive meaning triggered by slurs should be *uncancelable*.

- (17) a. Sue believes that Chuck, *a confirmed psychopath*, is a suitable babysitter.  
 — #but Chuck isn't a psychopath. (Potts, 2005, 2007)

This property seems to be also borne out for slurs in Korean since the following continuation is infelicitous in both the regular CIs and slurs:

- (18) Kim-un *ppalkayngi*-ya. [Korean]  
 Kim-Top N. Korean(or communist)-Decl  
 at issue: 'Kim is N. Korean.' (or 'Kim is a communist.')
- CI: 'I express contempt to the N. Korean.'
- #but I respect the N. Korean.

Unlike the descriptive terms like *African Americans*, the derogatory attitude in slurring terms like *niggers* cannot be canceled even when it is embedded within the antecedent of the conditional in English (McCready, 2010; Croom, 2013), and likewise for Korean:

- (19) a. If I didn't like *African Americans*, then I'd probably be a racist.  
 b. If I didn't like *niggers*, then I'd probably be a racist. (Croom, 2013:179)
- (20) a. Nay-ka mikwuk hugin-ul silhehantamyen, incongchapyelcwuyca-ta.  
 I-Nom African.American-Acc not.like-Cond racist-Decl  
 'If I didn't like *African Americans*, then I'd probably be a racist.'
- b. Nay-ka kkamtwungi-lul silhehantamyen, incongchapyelcwuyca-ta.  
 I-Nom niggers-Acc not.like-Cond racist-Decl  
 'If I didn't like *niggers*, then I'd probably be a racist.'

Third, if slurs are CIs, they are predicted to show the property of *speaker-orientation* (Cruse, 1986; Löbner, 2002; Potts, 2005). The attitude holder (i.e., an individual anchor, or judge) of racial slurs is typically the speaker. However, there are cases where slurs express the attitude of a matrix subject in subordinate contexts, which furthermore entails that slurs behave rather differently from the pure CIs.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, if slurs are CIs, the CI is predicted to be part of the *conventional meaning* of the words. It is plausible to assume that the contemptuous flavor of slurs is often derived from the original conventional meaning of the slurring term, typically emphasizing one of the characteristic qualities of the race that could be deemed inferior or distinct from the perspective of speaker's in-group. Such examples in English include the appearance-related terms like *slit* for the Asian, food-related terms like *curry* for the Indian, *kimchi-man* for the Korean, etc.

Given that Korean slurs are indeed a subspecies of CIs, Korean slurs are expected to conform to the basic assumptions for the logic for CIs in Potts' system.

- (21) a. CIs are scopeless (always have widest scope).  
b. CIs result in multidimensional content.  
c. CIs are subject to an antibackgrounding requirement.  
d. CIs comment upon an at-issue core.

First, as a CI, a slur is an utterance modifier, which comments upon what is said. This means that a slur must take widest scope.<sup>6</sup> Second, based on the notion of multidimensionality (Kratzer, 1999; Potts, 2005), I posit the meaning of CIs on a separate dimension from the basic semantics of utterance, as discussed above. Third, as a CI with an anti-backgrounding requirement, slurs convey new information. Finally, slurs can be understood as a tool for adding a speaker-oriented expressive comment on the content of the utterance.

#### 2.4. Implications

The ethnic slur is an expressive item that is distinct from the descriptive term (e.g., *hukin* 'African American' or 'black people'). The depreciative attitude is anchored to an individual (the individual anchor below), and the anchor is typically the speaker (see Farkas, 1992; Giannakidou, 1998, 1999; Croom, 2015 for slurs). Note furthermore that certain racial slurs exhibit quite systematic *variations* in terms of the negative attitude, as specified in the different indices in (11d) above. To illustrate, there are at least four varieties of terms for black people in Korean:

- (22) The expressive index (EI) I for 'black people' in Korean  
a. *hukin*: [−1,1]: a neutral descriptive term, 'black people'  
b. *hukhyeng*: [0,1]: a rather friendly positive term, 'lit. black brother', 'afro bro'  
c. *kemtungi*: [−1,0]: a weak negative term, 'lit. darkie'  
d. *kkamtungi*: [−1,−.5]: a strong negative term, 'lit. blackie', 'nigger'

Instead of the emotively neutral term (a) *hukin*, weak negative slurs like (c) *kemtungi* have the broad EI [−1,0], ranging over the negative interval only. Strong negative ones like (d) *kkamtungi* have an EI [−1,−.5] of the even narrower negative interval (see Cupkovic, 2015 for different slurs in Croatian with varying levels of derogation; and O'Dea et al. 2015 for factors affecting the perceived offensiveness of slurs; see Blakemore, 2014 for recent discussion about the distinction between slurs and expletives).

Here I make three important points. First, what's particularly interesting about the cases of (c) and (d) is that in Korean, the derivation from the weak negative *kemtungi* to the strong negative *kkamtungi* involves the "phonological strengthening": (i) in the initial consonant from the plain velar plosive [k] to the tense one [k̚]; and also (ii) in the following vowel from the schwa [ə] to the open one [a]. Crucially, this prosodic emphasis triggers the consequential stronger attitude. Remarkably, this kind of phonological change to heighten emotional level is quite systematically observed in Korean (Kim, 1977; Sohn, 1999, a.o.).<sup>7</sup> This extensive use of sound symbolism reveals the dynamic interaction at the interface of phonology and semantic/pragmatic levels.

Second, another interesting recent trend in Korean is the advance of newly-coined inoffensive racial terms like (b) *hukhyeng* 'black brother' that seems to have the positive EI [0,1]. As noted above, however, this positive variation does neither fit into the traditional sense of slurs with negative attitude, nor into the currently proposed lexical semantics of slurs with negative index, and it should be treated separately.

<sup>5</sup> Note that such cases are restricted to certain type of verbs—ones that are transparent such as neg-raising verbs, which are holes for implicature.

<sup>6</sup> Note, however, that this particular property of "scopelessness" of slurs, along with the behavior of slurs under denial, has been cast under doubt (Wang et al., 2005; Geurts, 2007; Amaral et al., 2008), which could be probably due to the hybrid nature of slurs. The other properties of CIs above seem to follow, though.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the sound symbolism in Korean, the following statement clearly illustrates the point (Sohn, 1999: 96): "the Korean lexicon contains several thousands of sound symbolic (or ideophonic) words, most of which belong to the native stock [i.e., do not originate in Chinese]. Such words have delicate Sprachgefühls ["speaking fees"] as well as connotational nuances, and not only give vividness, expressiveness and vitality to daily human interactions but are widely employed for their effect in literary works of all genres."



Third, the most important point to note here is that, as discussed in Section 2.1, the semantic content and the attitudinal component should be treated as *independent*. This means that at the at-issue level the job of ethnic slurs is merely a neutral reference term of the race, hence the negative attitude that slurs contribute is *not* able to affect their truth conditional meaning.<sup>8</sup> The numerically negative index seems to be at play on a separate dimension, expressing one's emotional attitude. It is therefore not the semantic kind of negativity, i.e., in the sense of antiveridical (Giannakidou, 1999; Giannakidou and Yoon, 2011). In other words, a negative emotive stance to a proposition does not imply negating that proposition, which means that the negative expressive force alone does not suffice to license strong Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), as in the following examples:

- (23) \*That *bastard* Frederic said *anything*!  
 (24) \*Ku kkamtwungi Fred-nun amwukesto malhay-ss-ta!  
           that nigger Fred-Top anything say-Pst-Decl  
           'That *nigger* Fred said *anything*!'

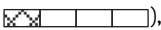
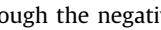
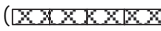


Note here that, just as the negative expressive force of *bastard* does not suffice to license even the weak NPI *any* in English, the derogatory sense of the slur *kkamtwungi* 'blackie', nearly equivalent to the pejorative sense of 'nigger', cannot license the strong NPI *amwukesto* 'anything', either. This is a welcome result since, I argue, the negativity of slurs that comes from the expressive intervals is not part of the descriptive content, where truth conditions are calculated. Here, it is important to emphasize that when I posit negative expressive force in the slurring terms, I do not render them equivalent to negation.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Compatibility condition between slurs and other expressives

The current analysis of Korean expressives implicates that language is equipped with a tool for simultaneously conveying multiple emotional states of an individual within an utterance. This is strongly reminiscent of other types of expressives the meaning of which can be captured by the *multidimensionality* of CI logic (Potts, 2005). In Sections 3.1–3.4, I explore a variety of co-occurrence patterns of multiple expressives across lexical categories. Based on the empirical data, in Section 3.5, I propose the equation of *Compatibility Condition Index* (CCI) to calculate the percentage of compatibility between two (or more) expressive elements:

$$(25) \quad \text{Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)} \\
= \frac{\text{length of overlapped range of narrow Expressive Index (EI)}}{\text{length of broad Expressive Index (EI)}} \times 100(\%)$$

In order to show how the CCI correctly predicts the empirical pattern of expressives, I furthermore propose the following *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) for multiple expressives:

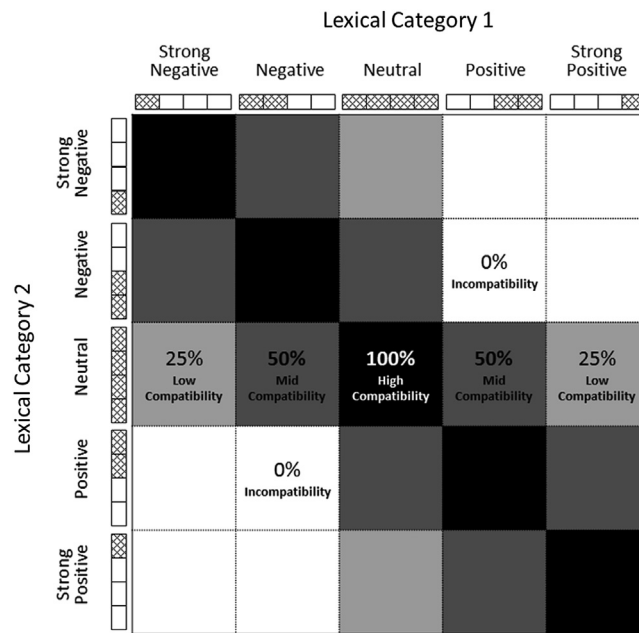
The *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) in Fig. 1 illustrates the systematic pattern for the co-occurrences of multiple expressives with varying degrees of attitudes. The attitudes of expressive lexical items range from the strongly negative attitude with the Expressive Index (EI: à la Potts, 2007)  $[-1, -0.5]$  (which is depicted as the shading of leftmost slot in the four-squared bar: ) through the negative attitude with EI  $[-1, 0]$  () the neutral one with EI  $[-0.5, 0.5]$  () the positive one with EI  $[0, 1]$  () to the strongly positive one with EI  $[0.5, 1]$  (). For the combination of (expressive) lexical category 1 and (expressive) lexical category 2, the above equation of the *Compatibility Condition Index* (CCI) is suggested to calculate the degree of their compatibility. The black squares indicate the regions of high compatibility with CCI of 100%, the dark gray ones indicate the regions of mid-compatibility with CCI of 50%, the light gray ones indicate the regions of low compatibility with CCI of 25%, and the white ones are the regions of incompatibility between two lexical items with CCI of 0%.


#### 3.1. Expressive nouns & slurs

Regarding the expressive component in Korean, Giannakidou and Yoon (GY 2009, 2011) show that the attitudinal sense that is independent of the semantics of its environment can be captured by means of a refined version of *multidimensionality of conventional implicatures* (CI) in the sense of Potts (2005, 2007). The expressive element seems to be an utterance modifier that adds a comment on the semantic core, just like typical CI triggers such as *damn* and *bastard* in English (Potts, 2005, 2007), appositives (Potts, 2005), honorifics in Japanese (Potts, 2005; Potts and Kawahara, 2004), 'even' items in Greek (GY, 2011), and metalinguistics 'more' and 'than' particles in Greek and Korean (GY, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that, as a reviewer points out, referring to the race is not the only job of slurs: for instance, Croom (2013) discusses the non-paradigmatic derogatory use of slurs in which case the slur *nigger* is not applied to targets on the basis of being African American but rather to whites on the basis of sharing stereotypical characteristics of African Americans. Croom also discusses how this holds for other slurs like *faggot* by drawing upon actual uses of these slurs in popular media. This seems to be also true for slurs in Korean where the use of *ppalkayngi* 'commie' may refer to a South Korean when the referent reveals certain quality of socialism or anti-government.

<sup>9</sup> Other good examples with such subjective meaning include Greek *para* and Korean *kipota/nuni* 'than' which are metalinguistic comparative markers. In these cases, we also have an ordering that is induced not by the element itself, but by the higher element (MOREml—the metalinguistic 'more'). See Giannakidou and Yoon (2009, 2011), for further discussion on expressives and NPIs.



**Fig. 1.** Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for multiple expressives. The figure shows the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* for multiple expressives with varying degrees of attitudes: from strongly negative with *Expressive Index (EI)*  $[-1, -0.5]$  (marked as ) through negative  $[-1, 0]$ , neutral  $[-1, 1]$ , positive  $[0, 1]$ , to strongly positive  $[0.5, 1]$ . For the combination of (expressive) lexical category 1 and (expressive) lexical category 2, the *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* calculates the degree of their compatibility. The black squares indicate the regions of high compatibility with CCI of 100%, the dark gray ones, the regions of mid-compatibility with CCI of 50%, and so on.

As GY note, Korean makes extensive use of expressive elements, ranging from negative to positive expressives, in that a particular emotion of an attitude holder can be delivered by any kind of sentential category. This includes the use of nouns, verbs, functional adverbs, case particles, and even complementizers. They note that these emotionally charged expressions are generally divided into three categories: positive/honorific, neutral, and negative/antihonorific. For instance, many frequently-used nouns such as ‘person’, ‘meal’, ‘death’, ‘face’, etc., have a variety of synonyms for marking the positive (POS), neutral (NEU), or negative (NEG) flavor. Thus the lexical choice of these nouns clearly reflects the emotional attitude of an individual anchor. They illustrate the point with multiple noun forms for ‘figure’ in Korean (GY, 2011: (67)). For one thing, in (26a), ‘figure’ with a positive attitude is *cathay*, which only co-occurs with positive adjectives such as ‘goddess-like’, ‘angelic’, or ‘beautiful’ (except that it is extremely rarely modified by negative adjectives to import an irony or sarcasm; see Section 4.1 for more discussion). In (26c), on the other hand, ‘figure’ with a negative attitude is encoded by *molkol* which can be modified naturally by negative adjectives like ‘ugly’ or ‘hideous’ (once again rare occurrences with positive adjectives would cause irony).

- (26) a. Kunye-nun    ✓alumtawun /# phyengpemhan /# hyungchukhan  
          she-TOP    beautiful       / normal                       / hideous  
          **cathay**-lul    tulenayss-ta.  
          figure.POS-ACC   revealed-DECL
- b. Kunye-nun    ✓alumtawun / ✓phyengpemhan / ✓hyungchukhan  
          she-TOP    beautiful       / normal                       / hideous  
          **mosup**-ul    tulenayss-ta.  
          figure.NEU-ACC   revealed-DECL
- c. Kunye-nun    #alumtawun / #phyengpemhan / ✓hyungchukhan  
          she-TOP    beautiful       / normal                       / hideous  
          **molkol**-ul    tulenayss-ta.  
          figure.NEG-ACC   revealed-DECL  
          ‘She revealed a beautiful/normal/hideous figure.’  
          (Giannakidou and Yoon 2011: 645, (67))

As GY notes, these emotionally charged nouns in (a) and (c) are infelicitous with neutral modifiers such as *phyengpemhan* ‘normal/commonplace’. Furthermore, if one combines a positive adjective with a negative noun, or vice versa, the extraordinary combination of opposite attitudes will give rise to effects of irony or hyperbole. On the other hand, a neutral non-

expressive counterpart *mosup* in (b) can be modified by any kind of adjectives, negative, neutral, or positive. This is a representative example showing how multiple subsentential expressives actively interact with each other in Korean.

We are now ready to see how ethnic slurs interact with these expressive nouns when the two items form a compound noun. In Korean, there is a variety of lexical choices for ‘guy’ with varying degrees of emotional attitude toward the referent: (i) *saykki* ‘bastard (lit. young of animals)’ is the most negative one with an approximate expressive index (EI)  $[-1, -.5]$ ; (ii) *nom* or *casik* ‘jerk’ is weaker in negative attitude with the EI  $[-1, 0]$ ; (iii) *namca* ‘man, guy’ is a rather neutral term with the neutral EI  $[-1, 1]$  which makes it compatible with both positive and negative attitudes; (iv) *ssi* ‘Mr./Ms.’ is positive with the EI  $[0, 1]$ ; and (v) *nim* and *pwun* ‘sir, the honorable’ is a highly positive term with the positive EI  $[.5, 1]$ . Slurs for black people, on the other hand, reveal a more interesting division in terms of emotional attitudes, ranging from the strong negative term *kkamtwungi* ‘blackie/nigger’ with the EI  $[-1, -.5]$ , the weak negative one *kemtwungi* ‘darkie’ with the EI  $[-1, 0]$ , the neutral one *hukin* ‘black people’ with the EI  $[-1, 1]$ , and the positive one with the EI  $[0, 1]$ . Table 1 illustrates the various degrees of compatibility between expressive nouns (including epithets) for ‘guy’ and ethnic slurs for ‘black people’: As depicted in the Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) in Fig. 1 above, the degree of shading reflects the degree of their compatibility: (i) the black squares indicate the regions of high compatibility for the combination of (expressive) lexical category 1 and (expressive) lexical category 2, both of which are nouns in this case; (ii) the dark gray ones indicate the regions of mid-compatibility; (iii) the light gray ones indicate the regions of high compatibility; and (iv) the white ones are the regions of incompatibility.

**Table 1**

The compatibility of ethnic slurs and expressive nouns.

epithets for ‘guy’	slurs			
	<i>ppalkayngi</i> ‘commie’ <i>kkamtwungi</i> ‘nigger/blackie’ $[-1, -.5]$	<i>kemtwungi</i> ‘darkie’ $[-1, 0]$	<i>hukin</i> ‘black people’ $[-1, 1]$	<i>hukhyeng</i> ‘black brother’ $[0, 1]$
<i>saykki</i> ‘bastard’ $[-1, -.5]$	high compatibility			
<i>nom, casik</i> ‘jerk’ $[-1, 0]$	mid compatibility			
<i>namca</i> ‘man/guy’ $[-1, 1]$	low compatibility			
<i>ssi</i> ‘Mr./Ms.’ $[0, 1]$	incompatibility			
<i>pwun, nim</i> ‘sir’ $[.5, 1]$				

As predicted, the strong negative slur *kkamtwungi* ‘nigger/blackie’  $[-1, -.5]$  is most compatible with the strong negative term *saykki* ‘bastard’ which has the perfectly matching index of  $[-1, -.5]$ . It shows the medium level of compatibility with the weak negative terms like *nom* or *casik* ‘jerk’  $[-1, 0]$  and low compatibility with the neutral term *namca* ‘guy’  $[-1, 1]$ . In contrast, the weak negative term *kemtwungi* ‘darkie’ with the EI  $[-1, 0]$  exhibits medium compatibility with the strong negative terms like *saykki* ‘bastard’ or the neutral one *namca* ‘guy’, but is highly compatible with the weak negative term *nom/casik* ‘jerk’ with the identical neutral index of  $[-1, 0]$ .

### 3.2. Expressive case markers & slurs

Another interesting case of expressives in Korean is structural case markers (GY, 2011): First, a positive (i.e., respectful) attitude is revealed by the selection of honorific case markers such as *kkeyse* ‘NOM.HON’ and *kkey* ‘DAT.HON’ (Yoon, 2005; Lee and Ramsey, 2000; Kim and Sells, 2007). On the other hand, a negative attitude is expressed by attaching an anti-honorific particle *ttawi* ‘lit. ilk (enumerative particle)’ to any type of case markers (e.g., *ne-ttawi-ka/lul/eykey*: you-ANTI.HON-NOM/ACC/DAT: ‘a worthless person of your ilk’).

Now we can test what kind of relationship an ethnic slur may bear with its case marker.

- (27) *Slurs with honorific nominative case markers*
- a. #**Ppalkayngi-kkeyse** tuleo-(si)ess-ta.  
commie.neg.att-Nom.hon enter-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) (C<sub>1</sub>honorable) commie came.’
- b. #**{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}-kkeyse** tuleo-(si)ess-ta.  
black.person.neg.att-Nom.hon enter-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) (C<sub>1</sub>honorable) black man came.’
- (28) *Slurs with neutral (regular) nominative case markers*
- a. **Ppalkayngi-ka** tulew-ass-ta.  
commie.neg.att-Nom.neut enter-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) commie came.’
- b. **{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}-ka** tulew-ass-ta.  
black.person.neg.att-Nom.neut enter-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) black man came.’

- (29) *Slurs with anti-honorific nominative case markers*
- a. **Ppalkayngi-ttawi.ka** tulew-ass-ta.  
 commie.neg.att-Nom.anti.hon enter-Pst-Decl  
 'The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) (C<sub>1</sub>dishonorable) commie came.'
- b. **{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}-ttawi.ka** tulew-ass-ta.  
 black.person.neg.att-Nom.anti.hon enter-Pst-Decl  
 'The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) (C<sub>1</sub>dishonorable) black man came.'

Due to the inherent negative attitude encoded in the lexicalization, these slurs seem strongly incompatible with honorific nominative case markers like *kkeyse*. On the other hand, they go well with neutral ones like *ka*, and even more naturally with case markers with negative attitude like *ttawi.ka*. (Note that, in the case of double marking of negative attitude, the impact of emotive expression seems to be strengthened, a point to which I return.) As expected, the compatibility pattern is parallel with dative case markers such as *kkey* 'DAT.HON', *eykey* 'DAT.NEUT', and *ttawi-eykey* 'DAT.ANTI.HON', though I skip the relevant examples for reasons of space.

At this point it is worth noting that the source of pejorative flavor of *ttawi*-series case markers can be understood as a result of mitigation (attenuation) strategy with vagueness. Recall that the anti-honorific sense of *ttawi* arises from its original function as an enumerative particle, and the effects of enumeration is making the host noun vague, hence less noteworthy just like the expression *N or something/whatever* in English. This is strongly reminiscent of the case where the disjunction marker *na* 'or' in Korean is frequently used as the depreciative case marker *-na* 'ANTI.HON' and *-hanthey-na* 'DAT-ANTI.HON' (Rhee, 2009).

The compatibility pattern between slurs and case markers can be summarized as below (Tables 2):

**Table 2**  
Compatibility of slurs and case markers.

case markers	slurs			
	<i>ppalkayngi</i> 'commie' <i>kkamtwungi</i> 'nigger/blackie' [−1, −.5]	<i>kemtwungi</i> 'darkie' [−1, 0]	<i>hukin</i> 'black person' [−1, 1]	<i>hukhyeng</i> 'black brother' [0, 1]
<i>ttawi-ka</i> 'Nom.ANTI.HON'	high compatibility	mid compatibility		
<i>ttawi-eykey</i> 'Dat.ANTI.HON'[−1, −.5]				
<i>ka</i> 'Nom.NEU'	low compatibility			
<i>eykey</i> 'Dat.NEU' [−1, 1]				
<i>kkeyse</i> 'Nom.HON'	incompatibility			
<i>kkey</i> 'Dat.HON' [.5, 1]				

In light of what is shown here, I have to conclude that the expressive indices seem to actively interact between nouns and their case markers. Crucially, the Compatibility Condition is indicative of the Expressive Index (EI) for the case markers. First, following Kim and Sells (2007), I assume that honorific case markers like *kkeyse* and *kkey* have the index of narrow positive range [.5, 1] between the attitude holder (typically the speaker) and the subject. This positive index prohibits any potential overlap with even weak negative slurs like *kemtwungi* with the index [−1, 0], not to mention the strong negative slurs like *ppalkayngi* [−1, −.5] or *kkamtwungi* [−1, −.5].<sup>10</sup> Second, neutral (i.e., regular) case markers like *ka* and *eykey* are indifferent of emotive state, so they must have the index of [−1, 1], the whole coverage of which allows themselves to be attachable to nouns with any kind of emotional attitude, regardless of indices. Finally, the anti-honorific case markers like *ttawi-ka* and *ttawi-eykey* must have the index of narrow negative range [−1, −.5] since they are strongly pejorative and well-suited with racial slurs with negative ranges such as [−1, −.5] in *ppalkayngi* and *kkamtwungi*. Crucially, however, these anti-honorific cases are rather awkward with the weak slur like *kemtwungi* with the index of [−1, 0].

As such, we can see the Compatibility Condition for the expressive elements between racial slurs and case markers, defined in terms of numerical index of emotional attitude, at a glance.

<sup>10</sup> Since the current study concentrates on the subsentential relations between an argument slur and other clause-mate expressive elements, other contextual information such as speaker's relation with the hearer is immaterial. Observe that in the following examples (i) and (ii), the level-marker, inflected in the sentence ending, isn't influenced by the negativity in slurs. To avoid unnecessary distraction, I disregard the potentially different levels of expressive indices concerning the relation between speaker and hearer, for instance, that Kim and Sells (2007) suggest for honorifics like *-kkeyse* and *-si*.

(i) **Ppalkayngi-ka** tuleo-ass-{**ni/nunka/supnika**}?  
 commie.neg.att-Nom enter-Pst-{Q.ANTI.HON/Q.NEU/Q.HON}  
 'Did the (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) commie?'

(ii) **{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}-ka** tuleo-ass-{**ni/nunka/supnika**}?  
 black.person.neg.att-Nom enter-Pst-{Q.ANTI.HON/Q.NEU/Q.HON}  
 'Did the (C<sub>1</sub>unlikable) (C<sub>1</sub>dishonorable) black person come?'

### 3.3. Expressive verbs & slurs

Besides certain nouns and case markers, an emotional attitude can be carried by a variety of sentential categories in Korean. Another well-known case is the honorific inflection *-si* on verbs or copulas as expressives with positive attitude (Kim and Sells, 2007; cf. Potts and Kawahara, 2004 for Japanese honorification as expressives).

These expressive verbal markings are useful in examining the property of slurs. Observe that the subject honorific marking *-si* on verbs is infelicitous with the negative slurs with the strong negative index of *ppalkayngi* [−1, −.5] or *kkamtwungi* [−1, −.5], or even the weak negative index of *kemtwungi* [−1, 0]:

- (30) #**Ppalkayngi**-ka tuleo-**si**-ess-ta.  
commie.**neg.att**-Nom enter-**sbj.hon**-Pst-Decl  
'The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) North Korean (C<sub>I</sub>honorably) invaded the fields.'
- (31) #**{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}**-ka tuleo-**si**-ess-ta.  
black.person.**neg.att**-Nom enter-**sbj.hon**-Pst-Decl  
'The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) black man (C<sub>I</sub>honorably) came.'

This indicates that the honorific inflection *-si* on verbs or copula is an expressive marker of the positive attitude only, and I assume with the narrow positive range of [.5, 1], which predicts the constant irreconcilability with all slurs, even the weak negative one.

On the other hand, there are expressive elements with negative attitude. For instance, the verbal inflection *V-peli* typically expresses a negative attitude toward the content by putting emphasis on the completion, hence irrecoverability, of an activity or change of state in Korean (Joe and Lee, 2002; Choe, 2004), and a similar effect of the equivalent expression *chimau* in Japanese is discussed by Canstant et al. (2009).<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, these pejorative verbal suffixes reveal a striking resemblance to the Old English verbal prefixes like *ge-* (e.g., *ge-ridan* 'to reach by riding', *ge-acsian* 'to learn by asking'), carrying the pejorative sense which is derived from the meaning of perfectivisation, and to the Russian verbal prefixes such as *pere-* (e.g., *pere-varit* 'overcook something', *pere-solit* 'oversalt'), conveying the nuance of undesirable excess (Asudeh, 2012).

This negative emotion reflected in verbal morphology makes it all the more harmonious with slurs in the shared emotional state, as illustrated here:

- (32) a. **Ppalkayngi**-ka tuleoa-**pel**i-ess-ta.  
commie.**neg.att**-Nom enter-**neg.att**-Pst-Decl  
'The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) commie (C<sub>I</sub>resentfully) came.'
- b. **{Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi}**-ka tuleoa-**pel**i-ess-ta.  
black.person.**neg.att**-Nom enter-**neg.att**-Pst-Decl  
'The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) black person (C<sub>I</sub>resentfully) came.'

The negative index of *ppalkayngi* and *kkamtwungi* [−1, −.5], and *kemtwungi* [−1, 0] naturally goes with the verbal inflection *pel*i which appears to have the strong negative index of [−1, −.5]. The companionability paradigm can be summarized as the following (Table 3):

**Table 3**  
Compatibility of slurs and (anti-)honorific markers.

(anti-)honorific markers	slurs			
	<i>ppalkayngi</i> 'commie' <i>kkamtwungi</i> 'nigger/blackie' [−1, −.5]	<i>kemtwungi</i> 'darkie' [−1, 0]	<i>hukin</i> 'black person' [−1, 1]	<i>hukhyeng</i> 'black brother' [0, 1]
<i>-pel</i> i 'NEG.ATT' [−1, −.5]	high compatibility	mid compatibility		
∅ 'NEU.ATT' [−1, 1]	low compatibility			
<i>-si</i> 'SUBJ.HON' [.5, 1]	incompatibility			

<sup>11</sup> A reviewer questions the default negative attitude for *V-peli*, stating that the contribution of *V-peli* may not be always negative attitude; in some usages it can be rather neutral, merely conveying that the action was performed quickly, in an irreversible manner, and/or to the regret or relief of the speaker (Strauss, 2003). It is true that the negative attitude may not always be immediately visible. In these cases, however, the implicit nuance of fast or irreversible action seems to typically indicate the underlying negative attitude toward the *result* of action, hence the feeling of regret. In the case of relief of the speaker, on the other hand, it may be due to the negative attitude toward the content of action, i.e., the *previous state* of unperformed action (typically reluctant task), hence the relief of the speaker about the action being finally done. In (i), for instance, the negative attitude targets the action of 'doing the homework.'

(i) Swukcey-lul ta hay-peli-ess-ta.  
homework-Acc all do-peli-Pst-Decl  
'I finished the homework.' (what a relief!)

The system of expressivity in Korean observed so far provides a solid testing ground for gauging how the co-occurrences of multiple expressive elements can be constrained by grammar. This provides a clear picture of how expressives are mapped onto different morphological units, and how they interact in the semantic-o-pragmatic derivation.

### 3.4. Expressive intensifiers/mitigations & slurs

The last case of expressives that I consider deals with opposing strategies of expressing negative attitude: intensification and mitigation. On the one hand, *intensification* seems to be a widely adopted strategy for putting emphasis on negative feeling—i.e., McCready and Schwager (2009) discuss the expressive flavor of emphatic adverbs like *zenzen* ‘totally’ in Japanese.<sup>12</sup> This is also relevant to the fact that in Korean the pejorative attitude is oftentimes marked by adding certain productive intensificational prefixes to verbs such as *chye*-V or *phe*-V ‘V hard/intensively’. Crucially, note that similar types of prefixes are found across languages. In the case of Old English verbal prefix *ge-* (e.g., *ge-brytan* ‘to destroy, terminate’), for instance, the intensification brings about a pejorative sense (Asudeh, 2012). Furthermore, Russian verbal prefixes such as *pere-*, *pro-*, or *ob-* are known to produce expressives, i.e., pejorative, augmentative, or intensifying potential (Flier, 1975; Fortin, 2011: cf. Aktionsarten effects, claimed by Svenonius, 2004). In a sense, the negative attitude emerged in the feel of excessiveness or irrecoverability, due to the marking of completion, as in the *chimau* in Japanese (Potts and Kawahara, 2004) and *V-peli* in Korean (Joe and Lee, 2002; Choe, 2004) discussed in Section 3.3 can be understood along these lines.

Now observe that these intensified verbs naturally go with slurs in Korean:

- (33) a. **Ppalkayngi**-ka **chye**-tulew-ass-ta.  
 commie.neg.att-Nom **intens.prefix**-enter-Pst-Decl  
 ‘The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) commie (C<sub>I</sub>discreditably) invaded the fields.’  
 b. {**Kkamtwungi/kemtwungi**}-ka **chye**-tulew-ass-ta.  
 black.person.neg.att-Nom **intens.prefix**-enter-Pst-Decl  
 ‘The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) black man (C<sub>I</sub>discreditably) invaded the fields.’

In contrast, the verbs with positive attitude like *V-cwu* ‘do it favorably’ or *V-cwu-si* ‘do it favorably by an honorable subject’ seem quite odd with slurs in Korean<sup>13</sup>:

- (34) a. #**Ppalkayngi**-ka tulewa-**cwu**-ess-ta.  
 commie.neg.att-Nom enter-**favorably**-Pst-Decl  
 ‘The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) commie (C<sub>I</sub>favorably) invaded the fields.’  
 b. #**Ppalkayngi**-ka tulewa-**cwu-si**-ess-ta.  
 commie.neg.att-Nom enter-**favorably**-subj.hon-Pst-Decl  
 ‘The (C<sub>I</sub>unlikable) commie (C<sub>I</sub>favorably) (C<sub>I</sub>honorably) invaded the fields.’

This set of data shows that all these slurs are compatible with negative intensifiers with the index ranging the entire negative interval as [−1,0], while incompatible with ones with positive index [.5,1] such as the positive verbal suffix *cwu* or the subject honorific verbal suffix *si* (Table 4). On the other hand, there are cases where the opposite strategy is adopted to mark the pejorative flavor—*mitigation* typically brings about non-specificity or non-noteworthiness, for instance, in the form of *N* or *something/whatever* in English. In a similar vein, the disjunction marker *N-na* ‘lit. or (something)’ in Korean implies that the

<sup>12</sup> According to McCready and Schwager (2009), just like the expressive use of *totally* in English, *zenzen* in Japanese is a CI, expressing “the speaker is maximally epistemically committed to his/her justification for his/her use of *p*”:

(i) a. Aitu zenzen hasitta zyan.  
 He completely ran Prt  
 ‘He totally ran, dude!’  
 b. Kore zenzen gin desu yo.  
 This totally silver Cop.Polite Prt  
 ‘This is totally silver, man!’

<sup>13</sup> A reviewer also questions the default positive attitude for *V-cwu*, noting that *V-cwu* does not always convey the sense of doing something favorably, but could be merely that you are doing something unto another person as in (i). However, I assume the inherent attitude with *V-cwu* is positive for the following reasons. First, in most usages it conveys an explicitly positive attitude. Second, the strong incompatibility with a slur itself, shown in (34) above, reveals the inherent positive attitude with *V-cwu*. Finally, just as the negative attitude in *V-peli* above is targetable on either prior or posterior state of an action, some flexibility seems allowed with *V-cwu* in terms of the projection of positive attitude. Interestingly, *V-cwu* even combines with verbs of negative harmful action like ‘beat’ or ‘scold’, as in (ii), in which case the positive attitude can be projected on the positive motivation of the action at least from the speaker’s perspective, e.g., ‘I did a favor of beating him to teach him a lesson.’

(i) Sasil-ul malhay-cwu-e.  
 truth-Acc tell-pos.att-imp  
 ‘Tell me the truth.’  
 (ii) Ku-lul nulssinrakey ttayley-cwu-ess-e.  
 he-Acc soundly beat-pos.att-Pst-Decl  
 ‘I beat him soundly.’



**Table 4**

Compatibility of slurs and various verbal markers.

verbal markers	slurs			
	<i>ppalkayngi</i> 'commie' <i>kkamtwungi</i> 'nigger' [−1,−.5]	<i>kemtwungi</i> 'darkie' [−1,0]	<i>hukin</i> 'black person' [−1,1]	<i>hukhyeng</i> 'black brother' [0,1]
<i>-peli</i> 'NEG.ATT' <i>chye-</i> 'intensely' [−1,−.5]	high compatibility	mid compatibility		
<i>ø</i> 'NEU.ATT' [−1,1]	low compatibility			
<i>-si</i> 'SUBJ.HON'	incompatibility			
<i>-cwu</i> 'favorably' [.5,1]				

content of N is not the most preferred choice but the second-best unenthusiastic choice (Rhee, 2009), as in the following example:

- (35) Context: Lee and Kim were very excited to watch the musical *Mamma Mia!*, but the performance just got cancelled. They are both dismayed.  
 Lee: Ceyncang, pap-**ina** mek-ca.  
 damn meal-or(.something) eat-Hort  
 'Damn, let's just eat or something.'

Furthermore, as Sawada (2010) notes that Japanese minimizers like *chotto* 'a little' act as CIs, its equivalent *com* 'a little' in Korean or *sort/kind of* in English seems to have the same function: a mitigator softens the tone of rejection by minimizing the directness of the statement:

- (36) Context: Kim's boss is asking her to do an irrational task of getting him a pack of cigarettes from a convenient store. Kim wants to politely decline the request.  
 Kim: Ce-ka **com** pappa-se-yo...  
 I.anti.hon-Nom a little busy-becasue-Decl  
 'Because I am sort of busy...'

Furthermore, mitigation with hypocorism seems to be a universal strategy of depreciation, as crosslinguistically found in pejorative expressives. To name a few, the depreciative sense in Korean *saykki* 'guy.DIM', that we saw in Section 3.1, or Russian diminutives like *perrito* 'dog.DIM', *grupito* 'group.DIM' (Asudeh, 2012) originate from attenuation by using the terms for the young of animals or the body parts of animals, etc. Naturally, these items are expected to be well-suited with racial slurs.

### 3.5. Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) & Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for expressives

Thus far we have seen various patterns of collective harmonious effects of expressives. The job is efficiently done by employing multiple emotionally charged items, slurs or other expressives, which renders them as a reflex of the grammaticalization of the epistemic subject's complex attitudinal stance, incorporating more than one subjective mode into a single utterance. In this sense, just like other expressives, ethnic slurs seem to be another legitimate strategy of conveying the multifaceted *mélange* of meanings, which brings about the versatile emotive effects of expressives across languages and contexts.

In exploring the landscape of expressive elements in Korean, the main goal is to answer two questions: First, do those expressive elements interact with each other? Second, if yes, how precisely do they have impact on each other?

Starting with the first question of whether more than one subsentential expressive element actively interacts with each other, the answer that I pursue is yes: the semantics of slurs seems to actively communicate with other elements in the sentence. For instance, the derogatory sense of ethnic slurs may correspond to the semantics of its similarly derogatory environment, and the degree of strength with respect to negative attitude doesn't necessarily have to match precisely. And the same holds true with positive expressive items. Therefore, the *Compatibility Condition* itself seems to be rather simple: the polarity (either negative or positive attitude axis) of expressives must match with one another within an utterance, while the strength (e.g., weak or strong negativity) at the expressive level doesn't have to be precisely identical.

Regarding the second question of how exactly expressives affect one another, we need to know the consequences of multiple markings of expressives: should it be understood as attitude agreement phenomena, i.e., without significant strengthening? Or, is it more accumulative in nature, i.e., with significant systematic strengthening? If the latter is the case, we expect that the dual marking gives rise to doubly emphatic negative effects, triple marking induces three times stronger effects, etc. This seems to be indeed the case. Observe how the five expressives in the following example, one anti-honorific element and four negative-emotional-attitude elements, contribute to yield an extremely, say, five times or so, stronger negative and dishonorable attitude:

- (37) **Ppalkayngi<sub>1</sub> saykki<sub>2</sub>-ttawika<sub>3</sub> chye<sub>4</sub>-tulewa-peli<sub>5</sub>-ess-ta.**  
 commie.neg.att guy.neg.att-Nom.anti.hon intens.neg.att-enter-neg.att-Pst-Decl  
 ‘The (C<sub>1</sub>unlikely)<sub>1</sub> (C<sub>1</sub>dishonorable)<sub>3</sub> commie (C<sub>1</sub>bastard)<sub>2</sub> (C<sub>1</sub>discreditably)<sub>4</sub>  
 (C<sub>1</sub>regrettably)<sub>5</sub> invaded the fields.’

The picture can become clear if we know how exactly the index plays a role in constraint: i.e., whether the expressivity strength matters or not. If the degree of negative attitude is taken into account, it is plausible to assume that weak negative items may contribute approximately half of the strong negative elements.

Based on the empirical data of the co-occurrence patterns of multiple expressives across lexical categories in Sections 3.1–3.4, I propose the following equation, *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* to calculate the degree of compatibility between two (or more) expressive elements with Expressive Index (EI) à la Potts (2005):

$$(38) \text{ Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)} \\ = \frac{\text{length of overlapped range of narrow Expressive Index(EI)}}{\text{length of broad Expressive Index(EI)}} \times 100(\%)$$

And the definition of the degree of compatibility is as follows:

- (39) Definition. *degree of compatibility*  
 Measure of the strength of the interfacial bonding between two or more emotive morphological components of an expressive composite.

For instance, for the co-occurrence of *kkamtwungi* [−1, −.5], the EI length of which is 0.5, and *nom* ‘jerk’ [−1, 0], the EI length of which is 1, the CCI is 50%. This means that the interfacial bonding of the two emotive lexical items shows the level of mid-compatibility.

Now observe how the CCI correctly predicts the following empirical pattern of expressives. Table 5 illustrates how compatible these nouns with various attitudes are with ethnic slurs like the five varieties, *kkamtwungi*, *kemtwungi*, *hukin*, *hukhyeng*, or *hukin-sensayng* for ‘black people’<sup>14</sup>:

**Table 5**  
*Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) of slurs and expressive nouns.*

epithets for ‘guy’	slurs				
	Strong Neg <i>kkamtwungi</i> ‘blackie/ nigger’ [−1, −.5]	Neg <i>kemtwungi</i> ‘darkie’ [−1, 0]	Neut <i>hukin</i> ‘black person’ [−1, 1]	Pos <i>hukhyeng</i> ‘black brother’ [0, 1]	Strong Pos <i>hukin-sensayng</i> ‘sir, black’ [.5, 1]
Strong Neg <i>saykki</i> ‘bastard’ [−1, −.5]	CCI: 100% high compatibility	50%	25%	0%	0%
Neg <i>nom/casik</i> ‘jerk’ [−1, 0]	CCI: 50% mid compatibility	100%	50%	0%	0%
Neut <i>namca</i> ‘man’ [−1, 1]	CCI: 25% low compatibility	50%	100%	50%	25%
Pos <i>ssi</i> ‘Mr./Ms.’ [0, 1]	CCI: 0% in- compatibility	0%	50%	100%	50%
Strong Pos <i>pwun/nim</i> ‘sir’ [.5, 1]	0%	0%	25%	50%	100%

The prediction is that the higher the *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* is, the more natural the combination of multiple expressives is. This prediction is empirically supported by the results of co-occurrences of slurs and expressive nouns in Korean National Corpus *The Sejong Corpus* (Table 6)<sup>15</sup>:

Interestingly, the strong negative slurs like *ppalkayngi* ‘commie’ or *kkamtwungi* ‘blackie/nigger’ [−1, −.5] most frequently co-occurs with the strong negative term *saykki* ‘bastard’ which has the perfectly matching index of [−1, −.5] (CCI: 100%), and

<sup>14</sup> Note that the co-occurrence paradigm in the Sejong corpus exhibits significant differences from that in the Google. That is, copious examples found in the internet search seem to reflect more of the sarcastic attitudes toward the target racial group or individual. For example, the combination of items with conflicting attitudes such as *ppalkayngi-pwun* ‘commie:[−1, 0]’+‘the honorable:[.5, 1]’ are found to carry more complex meanings in online corpora. More discussion on this will be given in Section 4.1.

<sup>15</sup> I thank Dong-Joo Lee, Jong-Hum Yen, In-Bum Hwang, Sang-Gu Lee at the Department of Computer Science at Seoul National University for their guidance with the search with the *kkokkoma* program.

**Table 6**Co-occurrences of slurs and expressive nouns in Korean National Corpus *The Sejong Corpus* (results attained by the search program the *kkokkoma*).

epithets for 'guy'	slurs			
	<i>ppalkayngi</i> 'commie', <i>kkamtwungi</i> 'blackie/nigger' [−1, −.5]	<i>kemtswungi</i> 'darkie' [−1, 0]	<i>hukin</i> 'black person' [−1, 1]	<i>hukhyeng</i> 'black brother' [0, 1]
<i>saykki</i> 'bastard' [−1, −.5]	36	0	0	0
<i>nom/casik</i> 'jerk' [−1, 0]	13	2	0	0
<i>namca</i> 'guy' <i>sonyen</i> 'boy' [−1, 1]	0	0	11	0
<i>ssi</i> 'Mr./Ms.' [0, 1]	0	0	0	0
<i>pwun, nim</i> 'sir' [.5, 1]	0	0	0	0
total occurrences of slurs	257	80	32	612

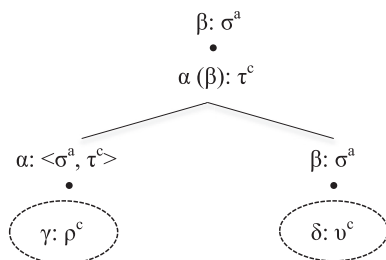
then with the weak negative terms like *nom* or *casik* 'jerk' [−1, 0] (CCI: 50%). No co-occurrence was found with the neutral term *namca* 'guy' or *sonyen* 'boy' [−1, 1] (CCI: 25%). On the other hand, the weak negative term *kemtswungi* 'darkie' with the index [−1, 0] never co-occurs with any degree of the negative terms like *saykki* 'bastard' or *nom/casik* 'jerk' with negative interval, but only appears with the weak negative *namca* 'guy' [−1, 1] (CCI: 50%). Note also that, in the total number of 612 occurrences in the corpus, the neutral term *hukin* 'black people' with no emotional attitude whatsoever shows zero instance of accompanying any expressive nominal modifier. The only case of compound nouns with *hukin* is nine occurrences of *hukin sonyen* 'black boy' and two instances of *hukin namca* 'black guy' (CCI: 100%).

In sum, the result of the Sejong corpus search on the co-occurrences of racial slurs and expressive nouns is extremely revealing: (i) this fact gives an initial indication about the compatibility of these slurs and other emotionally charged nouns; and (ii) the compatibility pattern is important because it exhibits the specific requirement imposed on the emotive range of each item.

### 3.6. Implications

The current proposal, if correct, has the following theoretical implications. In the derivation of semantic parse tree, I follow Potts' (2005) proposal that the parsetree must be licensed by the central admissibility condition of the CI logic, i.e., CI application, in the derivation:

(40) **CI application** (Potts, 2005: 99(4.17))



Potts notes that what's inside the dotted circles are technically optional materials and the linear order is immaterial. The notion of multidimensionality depicted here allows us to capture the data with multiple occurrences of expressive elements. In this condition, what is relevant for deriving a successful, or at least viable, interpretation of a sentence with multiple expressives is only the compatibility between  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  at CI dimension, while the semantic types  $\rho^c$  and  $\nu^c$  are immaterial.

Furthermore, the following parsetree interpretation is advantageous in that it leaves the CIs where they are, while interpreting the entire parsetree. This allows the interpretation of structure objects as well as the accumulated CIs at the resulting root node.

(41) **parsetree interpretation** (Potts, 2005: 68(3.46))

Let  $T$  be a semantic parsetree with the at-issue term  $\alpha: \sigma^a$  on its root node, and distinct terms  $\beta_1: <\sigma^a, \tau^c>, \dots, \beta_n: <\sigma^a, \tau^c>$  on nodes in it (extensionally,  $\beta_1: \tau^c, \dots, \beta_n: \tau^c$ ). Then the interpretation of  $T$  is the tuple

$$<[[\alpha: \sigma^a]]^{Mi, g}, \{[[\beta_1: <\sigma^a, \tau^c>]]^{Mi, g}, \dots, [[\beta_n: <\sigma^a, \tau^c>]]^{Mi, g}\}>$$

where  $[[\bullet]]^{Mi, g}$  is the interpretation function, taking formulae of the meaning language to the interpreted structure  $M_i$ , relative to a variable assignment  $g$ .

The crucial contribution of the current proposal at the parsetree interpretation is to highlight the importance of a better understanding of the *compatibility amongst the complied CIs*, i.e., the congeniality of the nature of each interpreted term  $[[\beta_1]], \dots, [[\beta_n]]$  at the ultimate CI store for  $\beta_1: t^c, \dots, \beta_n: t^c$ .

Thus far, we have seen how the various expressives should be constrained and the implications in the CI logic. It is furthermore confirmed that they are strictly optional and function only on another level.

#### 4. The art of nonconformity

In this section, I briefly discuss other interesting aspects of expressives that are exceptional to the current system of compatibility condition, yet widely used in practice. There are at least four such cases where the theoretically incompatible expressives co-occur in order to create special pragmatic effects: (i) mixed use of opposite attitudes; (ii) flip-flop of bipolar emotional index; (iii) code-switching of H-expressives; and (iv) autonomy of H-expressives and E-expressives.

##### 4.1. Juxtaposition of opposite attitudes: sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole

First of all, the mixed use of elements with opposite attitudes gives rise to a stronger pragmatic effect such as sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole (see Okamoto, 2002, 2007 for Japanese; Brown, 2013 for Korean). In fact the co-occurrence paradigm in the Sejong corpus that we have seen in Section 3.1 exhibits only well-behaved cases, i.e., co-occurrences of multiple expressives either within the negative index only, or the positive index. However, a substantially different picture is shown from Google search, typically in the context of mocking politicians or celebrities. Copious counter-examples to the current proposal of the Compatibility Condition for expressives are found on the internet, but the juxtaposition of apparently conflicting attitudes is not an error at all, but rather a legitimate strategy for being subtly contemptuous.

For instance, the combination of items with obviously conflicting attitudes—e.g., strong negative slur and high honorific form, are quite frequently found. Observe the high number of hits for *ppalkayngi-pwun* and *ppalkayngi-nim* ‘commie  $[-1, -5]$ ’+‘the honorable  $[.5, 1]$ ’, with 6490 hits and 32,700 hits on Google search, respectively:

- (42) a. *Ppalkayngi-pwun*: 6490 hits on Google search (June 27, 2014)  
       commie.**neg.att**-sir.**hon**  
       b. *Ppalkayngi-nim*: 32,700 hits on Google search (June 27, 2014)  
       commie.**neg.att**-sir.**hon**  
       ‘The (<sub>CI</sub>dishonorable) commie, the (<sub>CI</sub>honorable) being.’

Observe another commonly used expression for a strengthened version of ‘mind your own business!’ with the flavor of mocking the addressee for his situation being not so great either:

- (43) Ne-na                      cal-ha              sey-yo!  
       you.**anti.hon**-or.**anti.hon**    well-do        subj.**hon**-Decl.**hon**  
       ‘Mind your own (<sub>CI</sub>bloody) business!’

Most of these examples involving juxtaposition of opposite attitudes are typically uttered in a sarcastic tone of voice, and they seem to be intentionally uttered by the speaker in order to add a sardonic flavor. Such deliberate flouting of the Compatibility Condition is one of the speaker’s strategies to passive-aggressively project a scornful attitude toward the target racial group or individual. In the proposed Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for multiple expressives, these pragmatic effects are achieved in the regions of incompatibility with the Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) of 0%, as marked by the dotted square (Fig. 2).

##### 4.2. Flip-flop of bipolar emotional index: strengthened emotion or intimacy

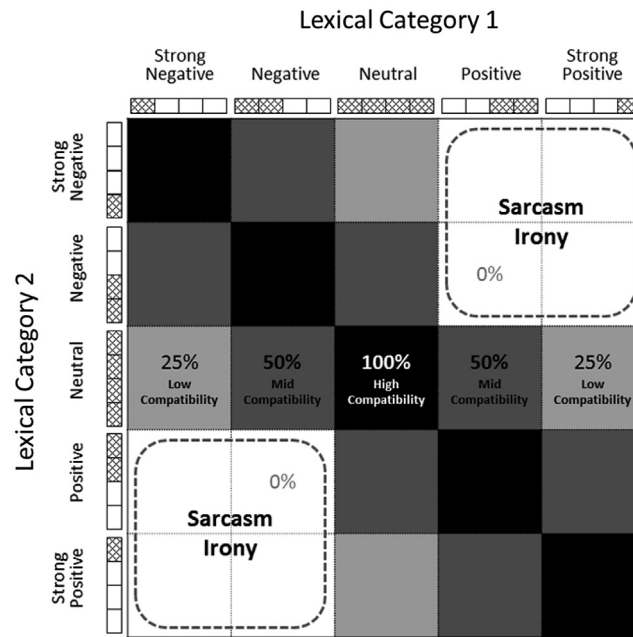
The second case is the flip-flop of the bipolar emotional index between offensive terms and terms of endearment. Since this is a widely known phenomenon, I only briefly mention it for regular expressives (Geurts, 2007; Potts, 2007, a.o.). In English, for instance, strong negative pejorative expressives like *damn* or *fucking* can be used for the opposite purpose of marking positive attitude (Canstant et al., 2009). In the following examples, the supposedly strong negative attitude in expressives like *fucking* in (44) may be also used for expressing strong positive attitude in (45):

- (44) That fucking bastard Burns got promoted again!  
       (45) That’s really fucking brilliant!

Furthermore, strong negative attitude in expressives like *bitches* may be sometimes used for another aspect of expressing strong positive attitude, i.e., intimacy:

- (46) Hiya, bitches! (to extremely close friends)

Similar effects are found in appropriated or reclaimed uses of slurs. The appropriation or reclamation of slurs typically starts out as uses by a targeted group for non-derogatory purposes (Croom, 2011; Galinsky et al., 2013; Bartlett et al., 2014; Bianchi, 2014). Interestingly, when used amongst in-group speakers, an otherwise derogatory slur can be deemed not only



**Fig. 2.** Scarcasm/irony regions in Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for multiple expressives. The figure shows that, in the Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for multiple expressives, the white dotted squares are originally the regions of incompatibility between two lexical items with the Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) of 0%. Stronger pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole are achieved in the regions, as a result of the mixed use of elements with opposite attitudes.

appropriate but even considered a term of endearment (Kennedy, 2002; Brontsema, 2004; Croom, 2013, 2014, 2015). The following example illustrates that confusion may arise by mixed uses: The term *nigga* is claimed to be a term of endearment, indicating solidarity or affection, only because the speaker, Tracy, is also black:

- (47) Context (“30 Rock” NBC TV series): Toofer files a harassment complaint against Tracy for calling him “my nigga” and Liz tries to explain to Toofer that it’s a term of endearment.

This can be understood as a subcase of the flip-flop of the bipolar emotional index. Here the originally negative attitude reflected in the slur *nigga* is flipped over to become a rather positive one in the sense that the in-group speakers use it to strengthen their in-group solidarity. Then, regarding the slurs used by in-group speakers and slurs used in hip-hop music, which is normally by in-group speakers also, their semantics do not seem to range on the negative interval only as proposed in Section 2.2 above. Rather, the more negative the original slur was, the more positive/intimate the in-group slur seems to become. Given this, it is plausible to assume that the flip-flop of EI maintains the original strength of each slur, i.e., a strong negative slur like *nigga* with EI  $[-1, -5]$  becomes a strong positive term with EI  $[.5, 1]$ . In this vein, other slurs found in self-mocking or self-admonishing contexts seem to fall into this category as well.

#### 4.3. Code-switching at honorific-dimension: modulating social distance

In languages like Korean, with sophisticated stratification of speech levels, speakers know how to choose a level of speech that is appropriate for the context.<sup>16</sup> Once the level is set, it tends to be maintained in the conversation. The cross-sentential code-switching of speech levels, however, does arise (Brown and Levinson, 1978; Croom, 2011, 2013). It occurs more commonly in colloquial speech than in written text, and more frequently in informal settings than in formal ones (Mwun, 2009). The main reasons for code-switching is two fold: on the one hand, the speech-level choice is not a simple matter. Rather, the decision on the (anti-)honorific form is often a result of the careful consideration of a number of socio-cultural factors. Age is usually the deciding factor, but is not the only factor as the utterance situation can be more complex and one must consider other equally important factors such as hierarchical relations in the family tree, social ranks, social distance, etc.

On the other hand, the implication of certain speech level marking is ambivalent. That is, using an honorific form indicates that the speaker is being respectful, which could be desirable for the addressee, but at the same time, it also means that the speaker feels distance in their relationship, which could be undesirable for the addressee. The converse is true with the anti-

<sup>16</sup> Honorific switching is extensively researched in Japanese (Cook, 2006; Dunn, 2010) and Korean (Strauss, 2003; Brown, 2013; Yoon, in press, Lee, 2001).

honorifics. This multifaceted nature makes the level-marking choice all the more difficult, which derives the need for the occasional mixed uses of different leveling forms.

For code-switching in Korean, various accounts have been offered: Yoo (1997) treats the code-switching within similar level-markings (e.g., code-switching of slightly different level of honorifics) as a means for witticism, while the code-switching of different level-markings (e.g., between honorific and neutral/anti-honorific markers), as a speaker's strategy for solidifying the intimacy. Seo (1984), on the other hand, suggests that the code-switching is a speaker's strategy to incorporate versatility into expressions, and therefore to soften the dialog. The witticism/versatility approaches seem to work for repetition examples:

- (48) Sakwa-ka o-ass-**eyo**. sakwa-ka oa-ss-**e!**  
apple-Nom come-Pst-Decl.**hon** apple-Nom come-Pst-Decl.**anti.hon**  
'Here come the apples. Here are the apples!' (by an apple vendor)

At a closer look, however, the code-switching in Korean can be classified into three categories based on the direction of change (Seo, 1984; Yoo, 1997; Mwun, 2009): (i) high-to-low switching; (ii) low-to-high switching; and (iii) mixed switching with bi-directional change.

Regarding the first case, the speaker's high-to-low switching is a strategy for intimacy-building with the hearer. The code-switching for this purpose typically proceeds from honorifics to non-honorific (neutral or anti-honorific) direction in Korean, not vice versa (Mwun, 2009; (49) is modified from Yoo's, 1997 example):

- (49) Cakka-**pwun-i-si-kwunyo**. Nemwu cal manna-ss-**ta!**  
writer-sir.**hon**-be-subj.**hon**-Mirative.**hon** very nice meet-Pst-Decl.**neut**  
'Oh, (C<sub>1</sub>honorable) you are the (C<sub>1</sub>honorable) writer (C<sub>1</sub>sir). Very nice to meet you!'

This shows that once the deferential context is set up by initially using honorific forms, the trace of it seems to endure at least for a short while. With the social obligation for being polite somewhat satisfied, the speaker may then try to move the relationship into a more intimate level by starting to use neutral or even anti-honorific forms. As such, the switching to the lower level-marking in the next sentence is allowed without instantly nullifying the already established honorific setting, and the speaker simultaneously achieves the (otherwise unattainable) dual goal of (a) introducing the solidarity/familiarity/intimacy or the diversity of expressions as well as (b) being respectful. This can be understood along the lines of sociolinguistic issues regarding the tension between power and solidarity, which explains why the high-to-low switching is the most natural move. It is because, when we establish a relationship, the social distance typically decreases, just as the speakers in English moves from '(title+)*last name*' to '*first name*' bases to achieve intimacy.

However, there are exceptional cases to this tendency. In fact the code-switching of the reverse direction, i.e., low-to-high level switching, is also possible in instances of speaker's attempt for distance-building. In Korean this switching is more visible as speakers can employ multiple anti-honorific markings, as typically found in an arguing context. Even in languages with impoverished level-markings like English, this switching can be also shown. For instance, a sudden use of full names, i.e., "first(+middle)+last name" instead of the previously used nickname or first name in a changed tone of voice, instantly creates the effects of social distancing.

#### 4.4. Autonomy of Emotion- and Honorific-dimensions: multidimensionality

The expressive items that we have seen so far fall into two categories: ones at the *Emotion-dimension* (*E-expressives*) and ones at the *Honorific-dimension* (*H-expressives*). These two dimensions have traditionally been treated alike. The uniform approach for Emotion-dimension and Honorific-dimension is tempting since there are a number of common denominators.<sup>17</sup> Besides their conformity to the CI properties discussed in Section 2, both E-expressives and H-expressives seem to be correctable by means of metalinguistic negation or metalinguistic comparative forms. In some cases, however, each dimension seems to function independently. The (non-)autonomy of different expressive dimensions is a rather tricky issue, since in most cases, the two dimensions tend to go together and their differences are extremely subtle to tear apart. However, I would like to at least initiate the debate on whether we can just dismiss their potentially significant differences between expressing negative emotion and using anti-honorific forms, on the one hand, and differences between expressing positive emotion and using honorific forms, on the other. This question is worth investigating since there are situations, albeit rare, where the two dimensions need to be clearly separated. Here I provide arguments against the uniform approach.

<sup>17</sup> As a reviewer correctly points out, it is important to note that E-expressives and H-expressives actively interact: Dunn (2010), for example, shows how honorific speech is more emotionally constrained while non-honorific speech is more emotionally free in Japanese. The reviewer further notes that in Korean, when one is using honorifics to talk about the elders, there is also the expectation that one wouldn't say anything bad about them. Assigning negative values to elders is thus highly constrained in Korean, just as the use of honorifics is highly expected. This may be the reason why the conflicting attitudes of E-expressives and H-expressives are rather rarely found, but the point of this section is that conflicting attitudes do exist indeed which shouldn't be overlooked and must be reflected in the theory of multidimensionality.



First, there are instances of apparently conflicting multidimensional attitudes. For example, if one must conform to the social obligation of being polite by using the title *sir* but at the same time wants to maintain a negative emotional stance by employing *bastard* or *how dare you*, one may say:

- (50) a. “Sir, You Bastard”  
(book title by G. F. Newman, 1970, UK)  
b. “How dare you, sir!”  
(spoken by the waiter, Jack, to a rude patron at an upscale restaurant, “*Will & Grace*” NBC TV series)

These cases may be relatively infrequent in English, but the cases with internal divergence of two dimensions are more commonly found in languages with an unshakable honorification system like Korean. In the following example, the speaker is an employee of a big company who must use honorific forms like *N-kkeyse* ‘Nom.hon’ and *V-si* ‘Subj(ect).hon’ for the president of the company, but wants to express negative emotion toward the content of the proposition by attaching the negative expressive verbal suffix *pelī*.

- (51) Hoycangnim-**kkeyse**<sub>1</sub> cwusik-ul maykakhay-**pelī**<sub>2</sub>-**si**<sub>3</sub>-ess-e.  
president-Nom.**hon** stock-Acc sell-**neg.att**-subj.**hon**-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>honorable)<sub>1</sub> (C<sub>1</sub>honorable)<sub>3</sub> president has (C<sub>1</sub>regreatably)<sub>2</sub> sold his stocks.’

This kind of example with conflicting indices—positive index for the honorifics and negative index for *pelī*, is perfectly grammatical and sensible without incorporating any compatibility-condition flouting pragmatic effects such as sarcasm or irony. This example crucially indicates the possibility of multidimensionality with not-necessarily-consistent polarity in terms of numerical indices.

Another interesting example comes from a rather recently coined internet lingo *cul-chey-tu-s-eym!* in Korean which is typically used in a context of mocking the addressee, meaning something similar to ‘Mind your own fucking business!’, ‘That’s bullshit!’, ‘Beat it!’, or ‘It’s unpleasant to see your face!’ What’s particularly remarkable about this example is that it illustrates a fascinating combination of manifold supposedly-incompatible attitudes: (i) the initial morpheme *cul* here originates from the adverb *culkepkey* ‘pleasantly’ which conveys positive emotional attitude (i.e., E-expressive) and used to be a positive greeting like ‘Enjoy!’ but the contracted form *cul* has undergone a rapid deterioration and now commonly used for the opposite purpose, i.e., as an insult; (ii) the second morpheme *chey*-V ‘V hard/intensively’ is the intensificational prefix, mentioned in Section 3.4, conveying negative attitude; (iii) the third morpheme *tu* is a lexicalized honorific verb for ‘eat’; (iv) the fourth morpheme *s(i)* is a subject honorific marker on verbs. In sum, there coexist negative emotion like ‘Mind your own fucking business!’ due to *cul-chey* as well as honorific attitude like ‘please!’ due to *tu-s-eym*, hence the combined form delivers an ambidextrous message of insulting in a seemingly polite manner.

- (52) Cul-chey-tu-s-eym!  
pleasantly.**pos** > **neg.att**-intens.**neg.att**-eat.**hon**-subj.**hon**-Imp  
‘Mind your own fucking business!’ (‘lit. pleasantly enjoy yourself’)

The observation so far has two important implications. First, this is potential counterevidence for the previous approaches that treat these two dimensions alike. For instance, this casts doubt on the traditional uniform treatment of the two types of expressives such as how Potts and Kawahara (2004) treat *chimau* in Japanese (equivalent to *pelī* in Korean) as “anti-honorific.” Rather, we see here that E-expressives and H-expressives may function independently of each other and yet they somehow seem to still be visible to each other. Hence our theory on the Compatibility Condition must reflect this dual nature of conditional autonomy, i.e., autonomy with, to some extent, intercommunication, of two dimensions of expressives.

Second, another difference between expressives at Emotion-dimension (E-expressives) and ones at the Honorific-dimension (H-expressives) is that E-expressives encode a subjective emotional attitude, whereas H-expressives are influenced by objective factors like the sociocultural custom. In other words, the difference between Emotion-dimension and Honorific-dimension can be understood along the line of the natural disparity between sense and sensibility.

Given that the notion of “honorification” belongs to the Honorific dimension governing power-solidarity relation, whereas other regular expressives like *pelī* in Korean or *chimau* in Japanese belong to the Emotion dimension, the compatibility constraint against opposing polarity values can be easily lifted across dimensions. This means that the co-occurrence restrictions for multiple attitudes must be specific about the type of dimension between Cl<sub>H</sub> and Cl<sub>E</sub>, as illustrated below, and must also allow a certain degree of autonomy of each dimension in order to correctly capture the data:

- (53) Hoycangnim-**kkeyse**<sub>1</sub> cwusik-ul maykakhay-**pelī**<sub>2</sub>-**si**<sub>3</sub>-ess-e.  
president-Nom.**hon** stock-Acc sell-**neg.att**-subj.**hon**-Pst-Decl  
‘The (C<sub>1</sub>-Hhonorable)<sub>1</sub> (C<sub>1</sub>-Hhonorable)<sub>3</sub> president has (C<sub>1</sub>-Eregreatably)<sub>2</sub> sold his stocks.’
- a. at-issue: ‘the president’: e  
b. Cl<sub>H</sub>: strong-honorific-attitude(the president): <e, ε>  
c. at-issue: ‘The president has sold his stocks.’: t  
d. Cl<sub>E</sub>: negative-attitude(‘The president has sold his stocks.’): <t, ε>

Notice that these separate dimensions for  $CI_H$  and  $CI_E$  conform to Potts' multidimensionality system of CI-logic in (40) above. In sum, the notion of multidimensionality with independent operations, i.e., Emotion-dimension for E-expressives and Honorific-dimension for H-expressives, allows us to capture the intuition that multi-layered meanings with different dimensions exist in a parallel fashion.

## 5. Conclusion

In exploring the dynamic patterning of various types of expressives—from slurs to epithets, anti-honorifics, intensifiers, etc., the purpose of this paper is to show how different expressive elements interact with one another in Korean, and it remains to be seen whether it is applicable in other languages. The result supports earlier observations (Potts, 2005 for multiple occurrences of *damn* in English, Potts and Kawahara, 2004 for Japanese honorifics, a.o.) that multiple occurrences of expressives are indeed possible. I, however, show that we need a deeper understanding for the nature of multidimensionality. The newfound empirical data with various possible combinations of expressive items provide crucial clues for the two main questions that have not been taken seriously before.

The main goal of the paper is to propose the semantic constraints for the distribution of expressives—the *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) and the *Compatibility Condition Index* (CCI). We have known that multiple occurrences of identical expressives are possible (Potts, 2005), but not whether the same holds true with co-occurrences of different expressives of varying attitudes, including the conflicting ones. If their occurrences are freely allowed, our theory should assume complete autonomy for each expressive item and that would be the end of the story. If not, however, we need to know how our grammar constrains the (in)compatibility of expressive elements. To solve this puzzle, I devote a great part of the discussion to showing that the dynamic paradigm of multiple expressives hints at the Compatibility Condition, suggesting how a language may constrain the (im)possible co-occurrences of various types of expressives. In doing so, I furthermore suggest that we need to draw a borderline between the positive/negative Emotive expressives (E-expressives) like slurs or pejoratives and the Honorificational expressives (H-expressives) like (anti-)honorifics. Casting doubt on the traditional uniform treatment for the two types of expressives, I show that E-expressives and H-expressives function independently of each other (Section 4.4) and yet they to some extent seem to interact (Section 3.2–3.3). Hence our theory on the Compatibility Condition must reflect this dual nature of conditional autonomy, i.e., autonomy with certain intercommunication, of the two dimensions of expressives.

It is important to note, however, that there are exceptional cases to such semantic constraints. I discuss the occasional usages of unorthodox yet quite reasonable flouting of the Compatibility Condition. I show how people intentionally flout the Compatibility Condition to achieve various pragmatic effects, presenting four interesting cases of the special uses of expressives: first, I show how the juxtaposition of opposite attitudes gives rise to stronger pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, or hyperbole; second, I briefly discuss the well-known flip-flop of bipolar emotional index; third, I discuss how the code-switching at Honorific-dimension is employed by speakers as a strategy of modulating social distance; and finally, I revisit the common assumption on the nature of multidimensionality, asking whether Emotion- and Honorific-dimensions operate autonomously.

To conclude, both the semantic constraints and the pragmatic nonconformity support the notion of multidimensionality (Potts, 2005 et seq.), though we need a deeper understanding of the mechanism of intercommunication system amongst multiple expressive elements and multiple expressive dimensions. In this respect, the empirical findings here are extremely revealing in that they exhibit the crucial distribution pattern for a variety of expressives, which implicates the *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) and *Compatibility Condition Index* (CCI), and furthermore the hybrid nature of *autonomy with communication* across expressive dimensions.

## Acknowledgments

My special thanks go to the guest editor for the special issue on slurs, Adam Croom, and three anonymous reviewers at *Language Sciences* for their very helpful feedback. I thank Anastasia Giannakidou, Jason Merchant, Christopher Kennedy, and Marcel den Dikken for their support and inspiration. I also thank James Yae at the University of Houston for the extensive discussion of the data. Finally, I thank Dong-joo Lee, Jong-Hum Yen, In-Bum Hwang, Sang-Gu Lee at the Department of Computer Science at Seoul National University for their guidance with the search with the *kkokkoma* program. This project is financially supported in part by the *Alexander von Humboldt Foundation* and also by the Startup Fund at the *University of Texas at Arlington*.

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