Korean question particles are pronominals: A transparent case of representing discourse participants in the syntax

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Abstract

This paper investigates the Korean question particles, namely, *ni*, *nya*, *na*, *ka,* and *kka*, and claims that most of the particles are in fact pronominals such as *you*, *I*, and (*s*)*he* that refer to discourse participants, in particular Hearer, involved in an act of questioning. Two pieces of empirical evidence are provided to support the claim. The first is morphological in nature: *ni* and *nya* look the same as or very similar to the (Korean) pronoun *you*; and *na* and *ka* have the same morphological shape as *I* and (*s*)*he*, respectively. The second, which builds on Jang's (1999) observation, has to do with the force of the question particles: *ni* and *nya* induce direct force requiring an answer from Hearer, whereas *na* and *ka* induce indirect force that does not demand an answer from Hearer. This difference in force between the two groups of particles is shown to follow from analyzing them as pronominals that encode information about who the questions in which they occur are directed to. If a question is directed to Hearer via *ni* or *nya* (you), Hearer is required to answer. In contrast, if a question is directed to Speaker via *na* (I), or to a third person via *ka* (she/he), Hearer need not answer the question. For the remaining particle *kka*, I will argue that it is a genuine Q(uestion)-morpheme with the meaning *we want an answer…* If the claim made here is correct, Korean question particles constitute a transparent case where information about discourse participants is encoded in the syntax, providing direct support for a version of the so-called performative hypothesis.

Keywords: *question particles, illocutionary force, Korean, discourse participants, sentence type*

1   Introduction

The type of a Korean sentence – whether it is a declarative, an imperative, or an interrogative – is grammatically encoded by a particle that occurs at the end of the sentence. Some commonly cited examples of the particles are illustrated in the (near-) minimal pairs in (1): *ta* in (1a) for declaratives, (*e-*)*la* in (1b) for imperatives, and *ni* in (1c) for interrogatives. The fact that the meanings of the sentences co-vary with the particles used in them clearly shows that the particles play a crucial role in determining the types of the sentences.

(1)   a.   ni-ka   ppang-ul   mek-ess-*ta*.[1]
              You-Nom   bread-Acc   eat-Pst-Dc
              'You ate the bread.'
        b.   (ni-ka)   ppang-ul   mek-*ela*.
              You-Nom   bread-Acc   eat- Im
              '(You) eat the bread.'
        c.   ni-ka   ppang-ul   mek-ess-*ni*?
              You-Nom   bread-Acc   eat-Pst-Q
              'Have you eaten the bread?'

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[1] Abbreviations used: Acc = Accusative, Nom = Nominative, Hon = Honorific, Loc = Locative, Dc = Declarative, Im = Imperative, Q = Question particle, Pst = Past, Pres = Present, SFP = sentence final particle, Top = Topic.

Evidently, it is necessary to understand the nature of these particles in order to gain an understanding of the notion *sentence type*,[2] presumably a universal feature of all languages.

Research on sentence-typing particles in Korean is meager, though, to the best of my knowledge. With a notable exception of Pak et al.'s (2007) recent work on jussives, all one can find in the literature is some taxonomic descriptions of the particles, mostly in reference grammar books on Korean (Chang 1996, Lee and Ramsey 2000, Martin 1992, Pak 2004, Sohn 1999, and Song 2005 among others), or some short passing remarks on their syntactic positions (Ahn and Yoon 1989, Bradner 2004, and Whitman 1989). Little else has been said about them. A factor contributing to this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that Korean has a large number of sentence final particles (about 50 according to Pak et al.), which comprise the well-known examples in (1) only as a small part. In addition to the large number, they also display subtle individual differences in their senses, which are often difficult to pin down. These two factors – the large number of the particles and their subtle individual differences – have been an obstacle to attempts to uncover their nature. In this paper, I aim to take a step towards overcoming the obstacle by investigating the roles of question particles in Korean in bringing about the force of the questions in which they occur.

The major finding I present in this paper is given in (2).

(2)   Most of the Korean particles we have known as question particles are, in fact, none other than those pronominals that we use all the time to refer to individuals, namely, *I*, *you*, and (*s*)*he*, and they are used as question particles because an act of questioning involves reference to discourse participants.

This finding is a non-trivial one, the significance of which extends far beyond characterizing the identity of Korean question particles, as it constitutes a clear case where information about discourse participants is transparently encoded in the syntax by pronominals used as question particles. If the finding is real, it overtly shows that typing a sentence as an interrogative, which enables one to perform an act of questioning, involves reference to discourse participants.

The idea that a sentence encodes information about discourse participants has been around in the literature for long. In the seventies, Ross (1970) and a group of scholars (Lakoff 1972 and Sadock 1974 among others), influenced by Austin's (1962) work on performative sentences, proposed the so-called performative hypothesis, which argued for the existence of a syntactic projection for encoding discourse participants (Speaker and Hearer) in a sentence. Not long after its appearance, however, the hypothesis faced criticisms and ended up being put aside as a problematic idea, mainly due to its technical proposals which turned out to be untenable (see Gazdar 1979 for a summary of the criticisms; see also Levinson 1983). The technical problems, however, were not the sole reason that brought the hypothesis down, as it could have survived if support from the reported evidence for the hypothesis had been strong enough to outweigh its technical problems. Consider Ross's sentence in (3) (his (36)) for example.

(3)   This is a description of myself.

His argument is that since the anaphor *myself* is usually licensed by *I*, there must be *I* referring to Speaker at the periphery of the sentence, even though it is not visible. Although this argument is sound, it was not taken to be strong enough to hold the hypothesis against criticism (and people started looking for a different explanation for (3), for instance, by making a distinction between anaphor and logophor). What the performative hypothesis needed to survive was a stronger case where pronominals referring to discourse participants (*I* or *you*) are overtly realized at the peripheral position of a sentence. What I would like to show in this paper is that Korean questions constitute just such a case. In recent years, considerations of

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[2] Since the discussion of this paper is limited to root clauses, I will use the term 'sentence type' instead of the more popular and inclusive term 'clause type'.

new empirical data have sparked a revival of the performative hypothesis in different guises (Cinque 1999, Rizzi 1997, Speas and Tenny 2003, and Tenny 2006 among others). While the new empirical data have their values in adding more plausibility to the performative hypothesis, they are basically similar to (3) and fall short of providing a conclusive support for the hypothesis. A stronger support is required to secure its successful revival.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 introduces Korean question particles, showing that they fall into two groups depending on the strength of the illocutionary force they have. Section 3 establishes (most of) the question particles as pronominals by showing (i) that they have counterparts in the pronominal domain that look the same or similar, and (ii) that their difference in force can be derived by analyzing them as pronominals. Section 4 concludes the paper.

2 Question Particles in Korean

2.1 Hearer-addressed versus Self-addressed

Similar but slightly different sets of particles have been proposed as question particles in Korean (Chang 1996, Jang 1999, Lee and Ramsey 2000, Martin 1992, Pak 2004, and Sohn 1999 among others). While most of the proposed sets are more or less accurate, none of them are fully satisfactory with one or two minor modifications required. In what follows, I will begin with one of the proposals, namely, Jang's proposal, and adopt a revised version of it, which will be used throughout the paper. The reason to take Jang's proposal, not the others, as a point of departure is that many of the facts to be introduced below are borrowed from his observations.

Jang's proposed set of Korean question particles is shown in (4a) and his sentences illustrating them are given in (4b-f).[3]

(4)　　a.　*ni*, *na*, *kka*, *ka, la*[4]

　　　　b.　mary-ka　　o-ass-*ni*?　　　　　　　　(Jang's (1b))
　　　　　　Mary-Nom　come-Pst-Q_{ni}
　　　　　　'Has Mary come?'

　　　　c.　mary-ka　　o-ass-*na*?　　　　　　　　(Jang's (1c))
　　　　　　Mary-Nom　come-pst-Q_{na}
　　　　　　'I wonder whether Mary has come.'

　　　　d.　mary-ka　　o-ass-unpi-*kka*?　　　　　(Jang's (2b))
　　　　　　Mary-Nom　come-Pst-Hon-Q_{kka}
　　　　　　'Has Mary come?'

　　　　e.　nay-ka　　cencay　　　i-n-*ka*?　　　　(Jang's (3a))
　　　　　　I-Nom　　 genius　　　be-Pres-Q_{ka}
　　　　　　'I wonder whether I am a genius.'

　　　　f.　ku　salam-i　　　　nwukwu-te-*la*?[5]　　(Jang's (10a))
　　　　　　that person-Nom　　who-RECOLL-Q
　　　　　　'I wonder who the person was.'

Two facts are noticeable from the sentences in (4b-f). First, all the sentences are construed as some sort of question. Second, some particles, namely *ni* and *kka*, have more direct force than the others. Of the two facts, Jang takes the first one to be the basis for his proposal to treat the five particles as question particles.

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[3] The examples are slightly modified from the original ones to suit the typographical conventions adopted in this paper.

[4] Italics are for emphasis.

[5] The morpheme *te* is considered to be an evidential marker elsewhere (Chung 2010).

His notion of question particles underlying the proposal seems clear: a particle that induces some sort of question counts as a question particle. Although I adopt his notion of question particles in this paper, I do not fully adopt his proposed set of question particles. This is because there is a particle in his set, *la* in (4a), that does not necessarily induce a question, and another particle, *nya* in (5), missing from his set that always induces a question.

(5)   chelswu-ka   o-ass-*nya*?
        Chelswu-Nom   come-Pst-Q$_{nya}$
        'Has Chelswu come?'

If we consider just the sentence in (4f), *la* appears to be a question particle because the sentence is construed as a question, as Jang's translation indicates. But the question force in (4f) does not come from *la* but comes from something else, that is, from the occurrence of the *wh*-word *nwkwu* in a copular construction. Thus, when the *wh*-word *nwukwu* is replaced by a common noun like *sensayngnim* 'teacher', as in (6), the sentence can only be construed as an assertion. In contrast to *la*, *nya* in (5) forces the sentence to be construed as a question, just like the other particles in (4).

(6)   ku   salam-i   sensayngnim-i-te-*la*.
        That   person-Nom   teacher-Cop-RECOLL-LA
        'The person turned out to be a teacher. (The speaker has evidence for her assertion.)'

Based on the examples in (5) and (6), I revise Jang's proposed set of question particles into the one in (7).

(7)   Korean question particles
        ni, *nya, na, ka, kka*

With regard to the difference in force noted as the second fact in (4), Jang takes it as the basis to classify the question particles into the two groups in (8) – what he calls self-addressed question particles and hearer-addressed question particles (*la* in Jang's original classification is replaced by *nya*).

(8)   Korean question particles
        self-addressed   hearer-addressed
          na   *ni*
          ka   *nya*
                                   kka

A hearer-addressed question is a familiar type that fits the usual characterization of a question, namely, a speech act that calls for an answer or a reply from Hearer. A self-addressed question is a less familiar type that is more or less similar, in its use, to a German unembedded verb-final interrogative (Truckenbrodt 2004, 2006) or an English indirect question embedded under the predicate *I wonder,* as indicated by some of Jang's translations in (4). As Jang's (1999: 847) remark that "it seeks an answer not from the hearer but from the speaker himself." indicates, one is not obliged to answer a self-addressed question upon hearing it, except in some special contexts which we turn to later.

The difference between the two groups of question particles in their ability to call for a response has a profound effect on their usage, as illustrated in (9). In a context like (9) (adapted from Jang's (5)), where there is no one that Speaker can address his question to other than himself, it is odd for him to mark his question with one of the hearer-addressed question particles, as shown in (9c-e). In contrast, using the

self-addressed question particles *na* and *ka*, as in (9a, b), is perfectly fine, since they do not require the presence of a hearer.

(9)   [Context: A comes home from work to find that no one is at home.]
      a. A: ta-tul   eti-ey   ka-ass-*na*?
              all-pl   where-Loc   go-Pst-Q_{na}
              '(I wonder) where they have all gone?'
      b. A: ta-tul   eti-ey   ka-ass-nun-*ka*?[6]
              all-pl   where-Loc   go-Pst-Nun-Q_{ka}
              '(I wonder) where they have all gone?'
      c. A: #ta-tul   eti-ey   ka-ass-*ni*?
              all-pl   where-Loc   go-Pst-Q_{ni}
              'Where have they all gone?'
      d. A: #ta-tul   eti-ey   ka-ass-*nya*?
              all-pl   where-Loc   go-Pst-Q_{nya}
              'Where have they all gone?'
      e. A: #ta-tul   eti-ey   ka-ass-upni-*kka*?
               all-pl   where-Loc   go-Pst-Hon-Q_{kka}
              'Where have they all gone?'

Admittedly, it may be too strong to say that (9c) and (9d) are infelicitous, because one can in fact use *ni* or *nya* felicitously if he talks as if he is talking to some imaginary figure (which could possibly be himself). Even in this case, however, they can still be distinguished from the self-addressed question particles in terms of the presence of an imaginary figure. In contrast to (9c) and (9d), (9e) is unacceptable even if we invoke an imaginary figure because the question particle *kka* comes with the hearer-directed honorific marker *upni* and it is odd to pay respect to an imaginary figure.

        The context in (10) that Truckenbrodt (2006: 274) considers for German questions better illustrates the difference between the two groups of particles. In this context of mutual ignorance, Speaker cannot seek an answer from Hearer by using *ni* or *nya* because he already knows that Hearer is unable to answer. Neither can he summon an imaginary figure due to the presence of an actual hearer. All he can do in this context is to do wondering to himself by using one of the self-addressed question markers *na* and *ka*.

(10)   A: chelswu-lul   mannan-ci cengmal   olay-toay-ss-ta.
           Chelswu-Acc   meet-Comp really   long-become-Pst-Dc
           'It has been a very long time since I last saw Chelswu.'
        B: na-to.
           me-even
           'Me too.'
        A: a. chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-pi-*na*?
                Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-smoke-Q_{na}
           b. chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-pi-nun-*ka*?
                Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-smoke-Nun-Q_{ka}
                'I wonder whether he still smokes.' (for a and b)

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[6] I do not understand the identity of the morpheme *nun*, glossed as Nun. The best I can do is to quote Jang's explanation (his footnote 6), "[…] the morpheme –*nun*- is inserted due to the characteristic morphophonemic structure of Korean. That is, -*nun* is needed when a bound morpheme is attached to the stem ending with consonants. If it is attached to a stem ending with a vowel, then the whole sentence sounds softer, milder, and more polite."

c. #chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-pi-*ni*?
   Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-smoke-Q_{ni}

d. #chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-pi-*nya*?
   Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-smoke-Q_{nya}

e. #chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-pi-pni-*kka*?[7]
   Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-smoke-Hon-Q_{kka}

   '#Does he still smoke?' (for c, d and e)

To sum up, Korean has the five question particles in (7), and as evidenced by the translations in (4) and (5) and their usages in (9) and (10), they fall into the two groups in (8), which differ in requiring a response from Hearer.

There are some complications to the classification in (8), that Jang does not discuss. One is that, as we noted above in passing, questions marked with *na* and *ka* can induce hearer-addressed questions in some special circumstances. Another is that *kka*, which has been introduced here as a hearer-addressed question particle, can in fact induce a self-addressed question. In the next subsection, we will examine how the self-addressed question particles *na* and *ka* shift their function to serve as hearer-addressed question particles. Since this special use of *na* and *ka* has to do with the fact that Korean is an honorific language where distinct speech styles (levels) exist, some background information on the speech styles will also be discussed. The question particle *kka*, however, is more complex, and as it does not provide direct evidence for (or against) the central claim of this paper, I will refrain from discussing it until all the major points of this paper are made. Introducing its complex properties at an earlier point will make our discussion unnecessarily complicated. Thus, until we reach section 3.5 where *kka* is extensively discussed, we will assume that *kka* is a hearer-addressed question particle.

2.2   Speech styles: Shift from self- to hearer-addressed questions

In Korean, Speaker adjusts his speech style depending on the status of Hearer in relation to Speaker. Generally, Speaker is required to mark his sentence with some honorific morpheme, typically on the verb, when Hearer is higher than Speaker in social status. If he does not mark his sentence with an honorific morpheme, it is conventionally taken to express the attitude that Speaker is socially higher than Hearer. Within the speech style that is characterized by the absence of honorific markers, Speaker is further required to adjust his speech style depending on the social distance between Speaker and Hearer – how close they are in their relationship. Roughly, then, three speech styles can be distinguished, as shown in (11).

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[7] Sentence (10e) is infelicitous for another reason. Being an honorific language, Korean has speech styles and every Korean sentence needs to be used in a style that is congruent to the context in which the sentence is used. Note that sentence (10e) has honorific marker (*u*)*pni*. This means that the sentence belongs to the high speech style, requiring all the preceding sentences in the same context to be also marked with similar honorific morphemes. Since the two preceding sentences are not marked with such honorific morphemes, the sentence can't be used felicitously in the context. To make the three sentences compatible in terms of speech style, the first two sentences need to be modified as follows:

(i) A: chelswu-lul   mannan-ci cengmal   olay-toay-ss-upni-ta.
        Chelswu-Acc   meet-Comp really   long-become-Pst-Hon-Dc
    B: ce-to-yo.
        I_{Hon}-even-SFP_{Hon}

Of course, (10e) following these two sentences is still infelicitous for the reason we mentioned in the text. See section 2.2 for more about speech styles and section 3.5 for *kka*.

(11) | Speech styles | Social status | S-H relationship | Typically used by |
|---|---|---|---|
| Low | $S \geq A$ | close | an adult to a child |
| Mid | $S \geq A$ | mediocre | an adult to a young adult or to his/her son-in-law |
| High | $S \leq A$ | distant | a person to a stranger or a student to his teacher |

The classification in (11) may be considered crude, as there are proposed classifications in the literature that make as many as six speech style distinctions (Martin 1992, Pak 2004, and Sohn 1999).[8] However, since we are concerned with speech styles insofar as they are relevant to the five question particles, ignoring speech styles that are relevant to non-question particles, the classification in (11) will suffice for our purpose. For a detailed description of speech styles, I refer the reader to Pak (2004) and Pak et al. (2007).

The fact that Korean has a number of question particles is partly due to the fact that different particles are used in different speech styles. Of the three hearer-addressed question particles, *kka*, which comes with the honorific marker (*u*)*pni,* is used in the high speech style, as in (12a), and *ni* and *nya* are used in the low speech style, as in (12b). A mixing of different styles in a sentence, by combining the honorific marker (*u*)*pni* with *ni* or *nya,* as in (12c), gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence.

(12) a. (√A person to a stranger, #A father to his daughter)
       ppak-ey   pi-ka   o-pni-*kka*?
       outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-Hon-Q_{kka}
   b. (#A person to a stranger, √A father to his daughter)
       ppak-ey   pi-ka   o-*ni/nya*?
       outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-$Q_{ni/nya}$
   c. *ppak-ey   pi-ka   o-pni-*ni/nya*?
       outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-Hon-$Q_{ni/nya}$
       'For: is it raining outside?' (for a, b, c)

Notice that none of the hearer-addressed question markers is used in the mid speech style. This gap is filled by the otherwise self-addressed question markers *na* and *ka*. In other words, *na* and *ka* are used to call for an answer from Hearer in the mid speech style. Due to this extra function, the interpretation of *na-* or *ka*-marked questions, as in (13), is context-dependent.

(13) (√A father in-law to his son-in-law, #A father to his child, #A child to his father)
       ppak-ey   pi-ka   o-*na*/o-nun-*ka*?
       outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-Q_{na}/come-NUN-Q_{ka}
       'Is it raining outside? or I wonder if it is raining outside.'

When (13) is uttered by a parent watching T.V. with his young daughter in a living room, it is construed as a self-addressed question. The use of *na* and *ka* as hearer-addressed question particles is blocked in this context: the father is supposed to talk to his daughter in the low speech style, and thus he cannot request an answer from her daughter by using *na* or *ka*, which belongs to the mid speech style. However, nothing prevents *na* and *ka* from being interpreted as self-addressed question particles in the same context, because

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in self-addressed questions Speaker is construed as talking to himself and the notion of speech style does not play any role when Hearer is not involved. Let us now consider (13) in a different context, say, a father-in-law watching T.V. with his son-in-law. In this context, (13) can be interpreted either way, as a self-addressed question as usual or as a hearer-addressed question because a father-in-law talks to his son-in-law in the mid speech style. Of course, since *na* and *ka* can be hearer-directed in the mid speech style, the father-in-law can unambiguously request an answer from his son-in-law, as in (14), by directly referring to Hearer by a pronoun. An answer must be given by the son-in-law in this case.

(14)   caney-ka   i-kes-ul   sa-ss-*na*/sa-ss-nun-*ka*?
            you(polite)-Nom   this-thing-Acc   buy-Pst-Q_{na}/buy-past-Nun-Q_{ka}
            'Did you buy this?'

(15) summarizes our discussion so far. Note that *kka* is inserted into the table for the sake of completeness and will be discussed in detail in section 3.5.

(15)

	Hearer-addressed question particles	Self-addressed question particles
Low	*ni*, *nya*	
Mid	*na*, *ka*	*na*, *ka*, *kka*
High	*kka*	

Two questions arise from the summary in (15). The first question concerns the dichotomy between the particles *ni*, *nya,* and the others *na*, *ka*, *kka*. That is, why do *ni* and *nya* always have direct force, requiring a response from Hearer, unlike the other particles that can ambiguously have direct or indirect force? The second question concerns the speech style that the particles belong to. For instance, the question arises as to whether there is a fundamental reason for why certain particles are used in certain speech styles and, if so, what the reason is. These questions will be addressed in the next section.

3   Question particles as pronominals

3.1   Background assumptions

Before moving on to explain the facts introduced in the previous section, let me first lay out some theoretical assumptions employed in this paper. The most important assumption I adopt is the idea that an interrogative sentence is marked by a Q(uestion)-morpheme that expresses the meaning in (16).[9]

(16)   *I want from x an answer to whether p.*

The idea that a Q-morpheme has a performative meaning like the one in (16) traces back to Karttunen (1977) who, adopting the performative hypothesis, suggests analyzing (direct) questions as involving a performative verb which roughly says '*I ask you to tell me p*'. Recently, Truckenbrodt (2006) implements the performative idea in a manner that is congruent with current developments in the linguistic

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[9] I will not be concerned with the semantics of a question, which is not relevant to the discussion at hand. For the semantics of questions, see Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977, Hintikka 1974, Groenendijk and Stokhof 1997 and Hagstrom 1998 among others.

literature. In his theory, category C comes with what he refers to as a context index, which determines the illocutionary force of the sentence it selects. An example of C with a context index and its interpretation is given in (17).

(17)   a.   C with <DeontS (,x) (,<Epist>)>
        b.   *Speaker wants (from x) (that it is common ground) that/whether....*

The labels, *Deont*, *S* and *Epist*, in (17a) represent Deontic, Speaker, and Epistemic, respectively. The first component of the index (DeontS) is always present in a sentence, which is intended to reflect the fact that performing the act of saying a sentence is a volitional act (deontic) on the part of Speaker to achieve something. Thus, DeontS encodes the meaning that *Speaker wishes for something* or *wants something*. The next two components of the index are optional, whose presence or absence in a sentence is determined by various factors including clause type, morphology on the verb, or position of the verb. The component x, which is a variable for the person to whom the sentence is addressed, can be filled in by the actual hearer, left unspecified, or left empty. In German, Truckenbrodt claims, the variable is saturated by Hearer if a finite verb with person features occurs in C. The third component, Epist, which encodes Speaker's wish to have common knowledge (with Hearer) with regard to p or a true answer to whether p, is present in interrogatives and declaratives (but not in imperatives). I follow Truckenbrodt in assuming that the performative meaning in (17b) is derived via a context index like the one in (17a).

Truckenbrodt's theory is intended to derive the force of all the major clause types – declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. While his theory works well for Korean interrogatives, as will be shown shortly, it faces a few difficulties with the other clause types, which need not concern us here. Therefore, I adopt his theory as a theory of interrogative clauses. In addition, following the usual assumption that a C is marked as interrogative by a Q(uestion)-morpheme generated under the C, I replace (17a) with (18a), where the Q-morpheme comes directly with a context index. The Q-morpheme is interpreted as in (18b), which is the same as (16). Notice that I simplified the way the index feature *Epist* is interpreted; instead of the term *common ground*, I used a more intuitive paraphrase. Truckenbrodt used the notion of common ground to accommodate non-standard questions such as pedagogic questions or questions in an exam (see Plunze and Zimmermann 2006 on this point). Since we are not concerned with such non-standard cases, the more straightforward paraphrase in (18b) will suffice.

(18)   a.   Q comes with <DeontS , x , Epist>
        b.   Interpretation of Q: *Speaker wants (from x) an answer to whether p.*

A note for terminology is in order: it is important to distinguish the term *Q-morpheme* from *question particle*. The term *question particle* is a purely descriptive term I use to refer to the five particles we saw in the previous section. *Q-morpheme*, however, is for a more abstract entity with the index features and interpretation in (18). As such, a question particle may or may not actually be a Q-morpheme, as we will see later in the paper where we turn to explain the data in section 2.

3.2   Hearer-addressed question markers: *ni* and *nya* are *you*

The two properties we observed concerning the hearer-addressed question particles *ni* and *nya* are repeated in (19) for ease of reference.

(19)   a.   *Ni* and *nya* induce direct force, which calls for a response from Hearer.
        b.   They are used exclusively in the low speech style.

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My aim in this subsection is to derive the properties in (19) from the proposal in (20), an important part of the central claim of this paper, by motivating it on an independent ground.

(20)   Question particles *ni* and *nya* are second-person pronominals.

         To motivate (20), we need to consider the second-person singular pronouns in (21):

(21)   Second-person singular pronouns in Korean
         Low   *ni/ne*
         Mid   *caney*, *tangsin*
         High   (none)

Looking at the paradigm from bottom up, we can observe that there is no second-person pronoun used in the high speech style. This is due to the fact that referring to Hearer directly with a second-person pronoun is considered to be impolite when Hearer is socially higher than Speaker. When talking to a person of higher status, Koreans generally employ a non-second-person strategy. Typically, they use the title of a person's profession with an overt honorific morpheme to refer to Hearer, as in *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-Hon'. In the mid speech style, two second-person pronouns are available – *caney* and *tangsin*. These two pronouns are distinct words with no common morphological root, and the choice among them is largely dependent on who is talking to who: *caney* is used among male adults, typically by a father-in-law to his son-in-law; *tangsin* is used among spouses.[10] Unlike the pronouns in the mid speech style, the two pronouns in the low speech style are (phonological) variants of the same second-person pronoun, and can be used among and between males and females as long as Speaker is ranked higher than Hearer and their relationship is close enough. In Standard (Colloquial) Korean, their distribution appears to be morpho-phonologically determined. For instance, *ni* is used when followed by the nominative case marker *ka*, but *ne* is used when followed by the accusative case marker *lul*, as in (22).

(22)   ni-ka   ne-lul   cwucenhay-ss-*ni*?
         you-Nom   you-Acc   recommend-Pst-Q$_{ni}$
         'Did you recommend yourself?'

However, their complementarity is not absolute, and they are often used interchangeably. This is even more so in other dialects of Korean. In some dialects, the form *ni* is used across the board no matter what follows it; however, there appears to be no dialect in which only *ne* is used. It is unclear to me what the factors are that make the distribution of the two pronouns fluid. Whatever the factors are, it should not concern us. What I would like to draw attention to here is simply the fact that *ni* is a second-person pronoun productively used in all dialects of Korean.

  Now, notice that, of the four pronouns considered, pronoun *ni* has precisely the same morphological shape as one of the question particles *ni*. This morphological affinity is what I take to be a motivation for the proposal in (20). As for the particle *nya*, I propose to analyze it as a composite lexical item that consists of the two parts in (23).

(23)   nya = ni+ya   (ni = you, ya = vocative marker)

_____

[10] There are some other lexical items that can be used as second person pronominals. We will return to discuss the second person pronominals belonging to the non-low speech style in section 3.3.3.

The morpheme *ya* is a vocative marker used by Speaker to request attention from Hearer, as in (24). One thing to note about the use of *ya*, which will be relevant to our discussion below, is that saying *ya* to a stranger is considered to be rude, just as saying *hey* to a stranger is considered to be rude in English.

(24)　ya!　　　ili　　　　　wa.
　　　　Voc　　this.way　　come
　　　　'Hey! Come over here.'

Under the analysis proposed in (23), *nya* is minimally different from the second-person pronoun *ni*: it is just another second-person pronoun with an additional sense from the added vocative marker *ya*. Intuitively, the marriage between *ni* and *ya* does not seem unnatural as both the vocative marker and *ni* involve Hearer.

　　　　Having established the proposal in (20) based on the morphological similarities between pronoun *ni* and the question particles, let us now turn to derive the properties in (19). Note that one of the consequences of treating *ni* and *nya* as pronominals is that they cannot be seen as Q-morphemes per se. Thus, instead of treating the question particles as Q-morphemes, I assume that Korean has the abstract Q-morpheme in (18) in its lexicon, and that *ni* and *nya* provide information regarding who the question is addressed to by serving as pronominals to saturate the variable x in the context index of the Q-morpheme, <DeontS, x, Epist>. In a question like (25a), for instance, *ni* or *nya* saturates the variable x in the context index of the abstract Q-morpheme, as shown in (25b), which yields the meaning in (25c). As (25c) shows, Hearer is picked out by one of the pronominals, and thus anyone who hears the sentence is required to answer the question; hence, a hearer-addressed question.

(25)　a.　pakk-ey　　pi-ka　　　　o-*ni/nya*?
　　　　　　outside　　rain-Nom　　come-Q$_{NI/NYA}$
　　　　　　'Is it raining outside?'
　　　b.　ni + Q$_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$　　→　　Q$_{<DeontS, ni, Epist>}$
　　　　　　nya + Q$_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$　　→　　Q$_{<DeontS, nya, Epist>}$
　　　c.　*Speaker wants from **ni/nya** (you) an answer to whether it is raining outside.*

Notice further that Speaker who utters (25a) addresses Hearer by the second-person pronoun *ni* or its variant *nya,* as shown in (25c). This means that *ni/nya*-marked questions are predicted to be used in the speech level where the pronoun *ni* (and the vocative marker *ya*) is used. This is precisely what is happening in Korean. Just as pronoun *ni* is used in the low speech style, as shown earlier in (21), *ni/nya*-marked questions are used in the low speech style (see (15)).

　　　　To summarize, the two properties of the hearer-addressed question particles – their direct force and their use in the low speech style – fall out straightforwardly from the proposal to analyze them as the second-person pronoun *ni* and its variant *ni+ya*, which contribute to the performative meaning of the abstract Q-morpheme in (18). In addition, the proposal receives strong independent support from the morphological affinities between the pronoun *ni* and the question particles.

　　　　There is another piece of evidence that supports our analysis of the question particles *ni* and *nya*. Recall that they are analyzed as having slightly different morphological make-ups, because *nya* has the vocative component *ya* in addition to *ni*. If this analysis is correct, a *nya*-marked question is predicted to have an additional sense contributed by the vocative marker *ya*, which is absent in a *ni*-marked question. For instance, given the negative sense attached to the vocative marker *ya* mentioned above, Speaker is predicted not to mark his question with *nya* when Hearer is a stranger (even if Hearer is a child). This prediction is true. Consider (25a), which is interpreted as in (26). A father uttering (25a) would use either of the question particles when Hearer is his daughter, but he would not use *nya* when he talks to a friend of his daughter's who he met for the first time (just as he would not use *ya* to call for her attention).

11

(26) a. *Speaker wants from ni an answer to whether it is raining outside.* (Hearer is addressed by *ni*)
b. *Speaker wants from nya an answer to whether it is raining outside.*
(Hearer is addressed by *nya*)

Before turning to the next section, let me address a technical issue involved in the combination of the abstract Q-morpheme with the particles, i.e., how the particles saturate the variable x. There are a couple of conceivable ways in which they can be combined. The first option is that we can give the semantics in (27a) to the Q-morpheme and combine it with the particles in the lexicon, as in (27b), or in syntax, as in (27c), where *ni/nya* projects an independent syntactic projection selected by Q.

(27) a. $Q = \lambda x.$ <DeontS, x, Epist>
b. ni+Q, nya+Q (= <DeontS, ni/nya, Epist>)   (in the lexicon)
c.
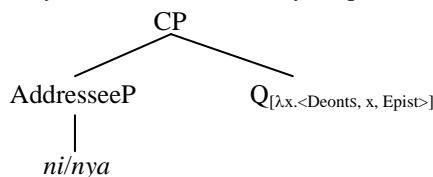
Another option is to adopt the structure in (28c), but instead of using λ we can employ Chomsky's (2000) Agree, as in (28).

(28)
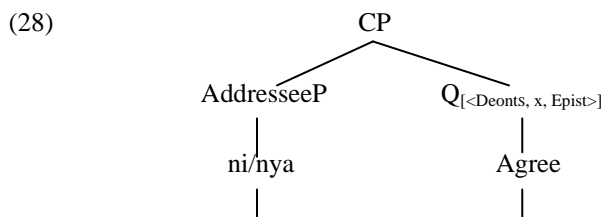
In (28), the variable x in the context index is considered to be a set of unvalued pronominal features whose values are supplied via Agree with the particles. Once Agree takes place, we get the desired result where x acquires all the features of *ni/nya*. Although there seems to be no evidence favoring one option over the other, I will adopt the second option in this paper to provide a concrete mechanism to saturate the variable x.

3.3 Self-addressed questions as pronominals

In this section, we deal with the two issues relevant to the self-addressed question particles *na* and *ka*, which are restated in (29) for convenience.

(29) a. How do they induce indirect force?
b. How do they acquire direct force in the mid speech style?

In principle, there are two paths we can take in dealing with these questions: one is to extend the analysis provided for the hearer-addressed question particles; the other is to pursue a different line of approach. In what follows, I will consider a representative example of the second approach, and reject it based on two major problems it faces. After that, I will move on to show that recognizing the particles *na* and *ka* as pronominals, on a par with *ni* and *nya*, provides straightforward answers to the questions in (29).

3. 3.1 Self-addressed questions are not embedded questions

One noticeable fact about Korean self-addressed questions is that they are translated into indirect questions in English. Given this parallel, a natural move to account for their indirect force is to analyze them as embedded questions derived from the deletion of their matrix clauses, as illustrated in the schematic form in (30).

(30)   ~~I wonder~~ [CP Embedded Interrogative Clause].

Under this analysis, Korean self-addressed questions, which appear to be matrix questions, are in fact embedded questions, and thus it naturally follows that they have indirect force. This analysis, though intuitively appealing, has many obstacles, of which I will mention just two here. First, while it is true that self-addressed questions can appear in embedded contexts, as in (31a, b), in contrast to hearer-addressed questions, as in (31c), it is not true that the deletion process (deletion of subject plus verb to the exclusion of object) assumed in (30) is available in Korean.

(31) a. na-nun   ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-*na*   kungkumha-ta.
          I-Top   outside-Loc   rain-Nom   come-Pst-Q$_{na}$ wonder-Dc
      b. na-nun   ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-nun-*ka*   kungkumha-ta.
          I-Top   outside-Loc   rain-Nom   come-Pst-Nun-Q$_{ka}$ wonder-Dc
      c. *na-nun   ppkk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-*ni/nya*   kungkumha-ta.
          I-Top   outside-Loc   rain-Nom   come-Pst-Qna   wonder-Dc
          'I wonder if it has rained outside.' (for a, b, c)

Consider a complex declarative sentence like (32), in which the object clause cannot stand on its own without the matrix constituents. If the deletion process in (30) were operative in deriving a self-addressed question, it should also have been able to derive (32). The ungrammaticality of (32) shows that there is no such process as the one in (30) and that self-addressed questions are matrix questions.[11]

(32) *~~na-nun~~   pi-ka   wa-ss-ta-ko   ~~sayngkakhan-ta~~.
       I-Top   rain-Nom   come-Pst-Dc-Comp   think-Dc
       'I think that it has rained.'

        Second, if self-addressed questions are embedded questions whose matrix clauses are unpronounced, the sentences in (31a, b) are predicted to have the same (indirect) force regardless of the presence or absence of their matrix clauses. This prediction is false. The unembedded self-addressed questions in (33) can induce direct force in the mid speech style, as we have already observed, but their embedded counterparts in (31) can only have indirect force.

(33) a. ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-*na*?
          outside-Loc   rain-Nom   come-Pst-Q$_{NA}$
      b. ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-nun-*ka*?
          outside-Loc   rain-Nom   come-Pst-NUN-Q$_{KA}$
          'I wonder if it has rained outside. Or, has it rained outside?' (for a, b)

I conclude from the difference in force between (33a, b) and (31a, b), together with the unavailability of the deletion process in (30), that unembedded self-addressed questions are matrix questions.

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[11] For similar arguments against treating German unembedded V-final interrogative clauses as embedded clauses, see Truckenbrodt 2006 and the references cited there.

3.3.2 *Na* and *ka* as *I* and *(s)he*

A self-addressed question such as the one in (33a) constitutes a minimal pair with the hearer-addressed question in (34), with their sole difference residing in the question particles used.

(34)   ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-*ni/nya*?
            outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-Pst-Q_{NA}
            'Has it rained outside?'

Given the conclusion we have reached above that both types of questions are matrix questions, their difference in force must arise from the different particles used. In section 3.2, the direct force of hearer-addressed questions was captured by analyzing the particles *ni/nya* as pronominals. Here, I show that the same analysis can be extended to the indirect force of self-addressed questions.

       Let us begin by considering the paradigm of Korean first and third person pronouns in (35).

(35)   1st sg[12]   3rd sg
            na   ku
            'I'   'that (literal)'

It is remarkable to note that the first-person pronoun *na* has the exact same form as the self-addressed question particle *na* in (33a) and that their resemblance is precisely what we have already observed regarding the second-person pronoun *ni* and the hearer-addressed question particle *ni*. Based on these recurring resemblances between question particles and pronouns, I revise the proposal in (20) into the more general one in (36). (*ka* is included in (36) in anticipation of the discussion that follows shortly below.)

(36)   Most Korean question particles are pronominals;
         i.   *ni* and *nya* are *you* and *you+Voc*, respectively.
         ii.   *na* is *I*.
         iii. *ka* is *(s)he*.

       The proposal to treat particle *na* as pronoun *na* in (36ii) provides a straightforward account for why they have the same morphological shape. Besides, it can also provide a simple account for why *na* induces indirect force. Under the proposed analysis in which particle *na* is treated as *I,* the particle functions as a pronominal that saturates the (hearer-) variable x in the context index <DeontS, x, Epist> of the Q-morpheme, just as *ni* and *nya* do. This means that the *na*-marked question in (33a) yields the interpretation in (37).

(37)   *Speaker wants from **na** (Speaker) an answer to whether it has rained outside*.
         (na + Q = <DeontS, na, Epist>)

Speaker who utters the *na*-marked question in (33a) is construed as requesting an answer from none other than himself, as (37) shows. Hence, Jang's terminology *self-addressed question* follows.

       Let us move on to consider the other self-addressed question particle *ka* and see if it can also be analyzed as a pronominal. Obviously, it is quite difficult to analyze it as another first-person pronoun, because an analysis of this sort would have to explain why *ka* has such a distinct shape from *na.* Can it then be analyzed as a third person pronoun? My answer is positive, as I have already proposed in (36iii).

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[12] There is another pronominal form, namely, *ce* 'I_{Hon}', which refers to Speaker in the high speech style. This is not a genuine first person pronoun, though, as will be discussed in section 3.5.

Apparently, however, the morphological shape of *ka* is not identical, though similar, to the third person pronoun *ku* in (35). Therefore, some justification is required for the proposal.

The form *ku* in (35) is standardly described as a third person pronoun in the literature (Lee 2001 and Neeleman and Szendröl 2007 among others). This description, however, is somewhat misleading and should be taken with care, because it is true only with respect to written Korean or literary speeches (see Song 2005: 74 for the same point). In (colloquial) spoken Korean, *ku* is not used as a pronoun but used instead as a demonstrative. In other words, *ku* is used differently in different registers of Korean: in written Korean, it is used as a third person pronoun (as well as a demonstrative), but in spoken Korean, it is exclusively used as a demonstrative *that*. While *ku* has two uses indicating two different registers, a sentence containing *ku*, as in (38a), is not ambiguous between the two registers. This is because Korean demonstratives do not stand on their own but always combine with nominal expressions, as shown by *i* 'this' in (38b, c). So, in the case of (38a) where *ku* stands alone without a supporting nominal, it is interpreted as a pronoun and the sentence unambiguously belongs to written Korean.

(38)   a.   chelswu-ka   ku-lul   manna-ss-ta.
              Chelswu-Nom   him-Acc   meet-Pst-Dc
              'Chelswe met him.'
        b. *chelswu-ka   i-lul   manna-ss-ta.
              Chelswu-Nom   this-Acc   meet-Pst-Dc
              'For: Chelswe met this.'
        c.   chelswu-ka   i   salam-lul   manna-ss-ta.
              Chelswu-Nom   this person-Acc   meet-Pst-Dc
              'Chelswe met this person.'

Interestingly, however, although *ku* is not used as a third person pronoun in spoken Korean, one of the complex nominal expressions that it forms with nouns have been conventionalized and used as a third person pronoun. Given below are two variant forms of the third person pronoun.

(39)   a.   kyay   '(s)he'
        b.   ka   '(s)he'

The forms in (39) are contracted forms of the full nominal expression *ku ai* 'that child', derived in the manner illustrated in (40); *yay* and *a* are dialectal variants of *ai* 'child', and when they are amalgamated with demonstrative *ku*, they come out as *kyay* and *ka*, respectively. These conventionalized forms *kyay* and *ka* barely retain the original sense of *child*, as shown by the glosses, and thus they can refer to adults as well as children.

(40)   a. ku ai   →   ku yay   →   kyay
        b. ku ai   →   ku a   →   ka
           'that child'   'that child'   '(s)he'

As dialectal variants of the same pronoun, the two forms are used by different groups of people. In some dialects like mine, *ka* is more dominant than *kyay*. In other dialects, especially in Seoul dialect, *kyay* is much more dominant and *ka* appears to be used among the older generation. This dialectal difference makes it somewhat difficult to see the connection between the pronoun *ka* and the self-addressed question particle *ka*. However, despite the dialectal difference, it is still a fact that *ka* is a pronoun used in many spoken dialects of Korean, and this fact constitutes the basis for my claim that the self-addressed question particle *ka* is a third person pronoun.

The analysis of the question particle *ka* as a third person pronoun also enables us to see why it induces indirect force. Plugging in *ka* for *x* in the context index of the Q-morpheme yields the meaning in (41b) for the *ka*-marked question in (33b), repeated here as (41a).

(41) a. ppakk-ey   pi-ka   wa-ss-nun-*ka*?
          outside-Loc rain-Nom   come-Pst-Nun-Q$_{ka}$
      b. *Speaker wants from **ka** (a third person) an answer to whether it has rained outside.*

Since Speaker who utters (41a) is construed as directing the question to a third person, no answer is required from Hearer, just as we have seen with a *na*-marked question, and this accounts for Jang's observation of *ka*-marked questions as self-addressed questions.

Importantly, however, our analysis of the question particles, *na* and *ka*, entails a difference between the two types of self-addressed question. Although they are both predicted to induce indirect force in that neither of them demands a response from Hearer, *ka*-marked questions are directed to a third person and so are predicted to be less self-directed than *na*-marked questions. While I do not know of any grammatical phenomenon that bears on the prediction, native speakers' intuition seems to strongly support the predicted distinction: all the native speakers that I have consulted with (including myself) agree that *ka* is less self-directed than *na*. In fact, the very same intuition is also reported in Jang's footnote 7, which is given in (42).

(42) One of the reviewers points out that only the first [*na*] among the three particles [*na*, *ka*, ~~*la*~~] seems to be used for marking self-addressed questions. There is some fluctuation in judgments but the general consensus is that there is a clear difference between the two groups of particles [*na*, *ka*, ~~*la*~~ vs. *ni*, [*nya*], *kka*].

In the above passage, Jang claims that *na* and *ka* are both self-addressed question markers, but he also admits that *ka*-marked questions are less self-directed than *na*-marked questions. This intuitive difference is precisely what is predicted by the proposed analysis of *na* and *ka* in this section.

Let us now turn to see how *na* and *ka* shift their force to induce direct force.

3.3.3   Shift from self- to hearer-addressed questions

We have seen in section 2.2 that *ka/na*-marked questions can attain direct force in the mid speech style. Despite the discussion, however, one may still suspect that what has been described as direct force concerning those questions is not really genuine direct force but something more or less similar to the force of an indirect question used to elicit an answer. Let us dispel such doubt before we address the question of how the direct force of *ka/na* is derived. Consider the situation in (43). In the envisaged situation, A can start a conversation with a direct question, as in (43a), but not with an indirect question, as in (43b). The *na/ka*-marked questions in (43c) behave on a par with the direct question in (43a), showing that they are indeed used as hearer-addressed questions.

(43) [A bumps into a familiar face on a street]
      a. Where are you going?
      b. #I wonder where you are going.
      c. (caney)   eti-ey   ka-*na*/ka-nun-*ka*?
          (you.polite)   where-Loc   go-Q$_{ka}$/go-Nun-Q$_{ka}$
          'Where are you going?'

Also, note that the second-person pronoun in (43c) is the polite form, *caney,* which belongs to the mid speech style (see (21)). The plain form *ni* 'you' of the low speech style used in place of *caney* would render the sentence ungrammatical because it is incompatible with the mid speech style that *ka* and *na* signal. Another result of the constraint imposed by *na* and *ka* on the speech style is that the familiar face A meets in the situation is expected to be his student or a person of similar status, but cannot be his daughter or his superior (even if the second-person pronoun is dropped from the sentence, which is common in a pro-drop language like Korean).

Let us now turn to explain the shift of *na* and *ka* from self- to hearer-addressed question particles. The shift exhibited by *na* and *ka* may be surprising, especially for those who are not familiar with Korean, but it is not so if we take into consideration the fact that Korean is an honorific language. As noted in section 2, referring to Hearer using a second-person pronoun or Hearer's name is considered to be a face-threatening act in Korean. Due to this constraint, Korean speakers resort to various non-second-person strategies to refer to Hearer. One typical strategy, as mentioned earlier, is to use a third person nominal, as in (44), where a father talking to his old son addresses him with the title of the son's profession. Notice that *kim-kyowswu* 'professor Kim' is not in vocative but nonetheless it can shift its person to refer to Hearer.

(44)   [A father talking to his son, professor Kim]
        chelswu-ka   kim-kyoswu-lul   pokosipe-hay.
        Chelswu-Nom   Kim-professor-Acc   want.to.see-Dc
        'Chelswu wants to see you (professor Kim).'

Another strategy is to use anaphor *caki* 'self', as in (45) in which anaphor *caki* shift its function from *self* to *you*.[13]

(45)   Chelswu-ka   caki-lul   pokosipeha-n-ta.
        Chelswu-Nom   self-Acc   want.to.see-Pres-Dc
        'Chelswu wants to see you/himself.'

Caney, glossed as a polite second-person pronoun in sentence (43c), is another word that can refer to Hearer. As was shown in the paradigm in (21), the word is generally known as a second-person pronoun. However, it can also be analyzed as a non-second-person pronoun – as a composite of the two morphemes, *ca* and *ney*, as shown in (46a). *Ney* is an associative plural marker like Chinese *men* and Japanese *tachi* (see Iljic 1994 and Li 1999 for Chinese *men* and Nakanish and Tomioka 2004 for Japanese *tachi*.), and *ca* is a third person pronoun derived from the amalgamation of demonstrative *ce* 'that (yonder)' with *ai* 'child' in the same manner we derived *ka* from *ku* 'that' and *ai* 'child' in (40). As the derivation in (46b) suggests, *caney* can in fact be used to mean 'they' in the low speech style, as in (46c). If the derivation in (46b) is correct, *caney* in (43c) is another special case where a non-second-person pronoun refers to Hearer.

(46)   a.   caney   =   ca 'the person over there' + ney 'plural'
                     'A group of people that consists of the person over there'
        b.   ce 'that (yonder)' + ai 'child'   →   ce + a 'child'   →   ca '(s)he (yonder)'
              ce 'that (yonder)' + ai 'child'   →   ce + yay 'child'   →   cyay '(s)he (yonder)'
        c.   caney/cyayney-ka   ikye-ss-ta.
              they   won-Pst-Dc
              'Their (yonder) team won the game.'

---

[13] The use of *caki* to address Hearer has an additional effect of Speaker identifying her/himself with Hearer. It is therefore mostly used by young couples who are more liberal than old couples in expressing their affection towards each other.

Tangsin, which is another mid-speech-style second-person pronoun in the paradigm in (21), is not an exception. As shown in (47), it is an anaphor.

(47)   apeci-nun   tangsin-man   sayngkak-ha-si-n-ta.
         father-Top   self-only   think-do-Hon-Pres-Dc
         'My father only thinks of himself.'

There are some other expressions that refer to Hearer in the mid speech style but, as Song remarks, none of them are genuine second-person pronouns (see Song 2005: 74-75 for their meanings and uses). In short, the situation regarding the use of second-person pronominals in Korean can be summarized as in (48).

(48)   There is only one genuine second-person pronoun in Korean, namely *ni* (*/ne*), which is exclusively used in the low speech style. In the mid speech style, non-second-person nominals shift their person to refer to Hearer.[14]

It is unknown what the mechanisms are that allow such diverse non-second-person nominal expressions as *caney*, *caki*, *Kim-kyoswu*, *tangsin*, etc. to refer to Hearer. The honorific (and politeness) system in Korea is so complex and intricate that no one including myself understands the shifting mechanisms underlying the system. All I want to point out here is that there are some such shifting mechanisms actively operating in Korean.

Turning back to the shift from self- to hearer-addressed questions, I propose to see it as another instance of the above general pattern in which Hearer is referred to by a non-second-person (pro)nominal. To be concrete, I propose that Korean has the politeness rule in (49) and that the rule is responsible for the force shift of *na* and *ka*.

(49)   Politeness rule
         The first and third person pronouns *na* and *ka* can shift their person to second-person when they are selected by a Q-morpheme.

Under our analysis, a *na*/*ka*-marked question always yields the same interpretation, the one given in (50), which is the product of supplying the particles *na*/*ka* into *x* of <DeontS, *x*, Epist>.

(50)   Q$_{<DeontS, na/ka, Epist>}$ ≈ *Speaker wants from **na/ka** an answer to whether p.*

The particles *na* and *ka* in (50), which encode information about who the question is directed to, can refer to Hearer or non-Hearer depending on the application of the rule in (49). If the rule does not apply, the particles retain their usual senses, rendering (50) into a self-addressed question. But if the rule applies to the particles, they shift their person to become *you*, as in (51), and, as a result, (50) is construed as a hearer-addressed question.

(51)   *Speaker wants from **na/ka** (you) an answer to whether p.*

---

[14] As noted earlier, in the high speech style, a title of profession combined with an honorific morpheme, as in *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-Hon' is used to refer to Hearer.

Furthermore, when a *na/ka*-marked question is used as a hearer-addressed question, as in (51), it is predicted to be used in the mid speech in line with all the non-second-person (pro)nominals we examined in (44-47). This prediction is true.[15]

3.4   Interim Summary

We have so far examined the four question particles – *ni*, *nya*, *na*, and *ka* – and established the central claim of this paper in (36), repeated here as (52), by showing (i) that they have their morphological cognates in the pronominal domain and (ii) that their force can be naturally derived if they are seen as pronominals encoding information about Hearer.

(52)   Most Korean question particles are pronominals;
    i.   *ni* and *nya* are *you* and *you+Voc*, respectively.
    ii.   *na* is *I*.
    iii.   *ka* is (*s*)*he*.

If (52) is correct, the Korean question particles constitute a (possibly the most) transparent case showing that information about discourse participants is encoded in the syntax.

In the following subsection, we turn to examine the remaining particle *kka* – its complex properties and many difficult questions they raise. I will attempt to answer all the questions by extending the analysis proposed for the other particles. Some of the answers that I am going to provide, however, are somewhat tentative, though I think they are plausible. Whatever fate they turn out to have, however, it does not affect the central claim of this paper in (52).

3.5   *kka* as Q with DeontWE

Kka displays more complicated properties than has been reported in the literature, which do not appear to be amenable to the analysis proposed for the other particles. I claim, however, that this appearance is deceiving, and argue that, even in the case of *kka*, its core properties – whether it is hearer- or self-directed – are predicted by the present analysis that correlates the direct or indirect force of a question with the presence or absence of a second-person pronominal. In addition, I show that there is a plausible, though somewhat tentative, way to extend the present analysis to accommodate the full range of properties of *kka*-marked questions.

Let us begin by looking at the properties of *kka*. In section 2, we introduced Jang's observation that *kka*-marked questions are hearer-addressed questions, and added that they are used in the high speech style. The conversation in (53), which is a combination of (10) and footnote 6, confirms the observations. All the sentences in the conversation are marked with the honorific morpheme *upni* that signals the high

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[15] Let me note one challenge that the proposed analysis of *ka* and *na* faces. Notice that the rule in (49) stipulates that the particles shift to second-person only when the particles are selected by $Q_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$. This stipulation is required in order to explain the fact that they do not undergo the person shift in other syntactic positions. In example (i), for instance, *na* and *ka* in subject and object positions cannot be construed as *you*.

(i)   na-nun   ka-lul   sile-ha-n-ta.
       I-Top   (s)he-Acc   hate-do-Pres-Dc
       'I hate him (her).'

I do not understand why the person shift occurs selectively. I have to leave this issue as one of the many mysteries involved with the Korean honorific system.

speech style, and the *kka*-marked question by A is infelicitous because it is inappropriate to request an answer from Hearer in a context of mutual ignorance.

(53)   A: chelswu-lul   mannan-ci   cengmal   olay-toay-ss-upni-ta.
           Chelswu-Acc   meet-Comp   really   long-become-Pst-Hon-Dc
           'It has been a very long time since I last saw Chelswu.'
       B: ce-to   kuleh-upin-ta.
           I$_{Hon}$-even   same-Hon-Dc
           'Me too.'
       A: #chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-lul   piw-upni-*kka*?
           Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-Acc smoke-Hon-Q$_{kka}$
           'Does he still smoke?'

Jang and all the others cited earlier in relation to Korean clause types report that *kka*-marked questions are used in the way shown in (53), as hearer-addressed questions. What they report, however, is only half the story: there is in fact another type of *kka*-marked question which is used as a self-addressed question. The *kka*-marked question uttered by A in (54) illustrates this second type. In the same context of mutual ignorance as in (53), the question is felicitous. If the *kka*-marked question were a hearer-addressed question, it should have been odd on a par with the last sentence in (53). Observe also that the question is casted in the low speech style without the honorific morpheme *upni*. This is because a self-addressed question need not be directed towards Hearer and attitude (respect) towards Hearer is marked only when the sentence is directed towards Hearer. No one would pay respect towards himself while talking to himself.

(54)   A: chelswu-lul   mannan-ci   cengmal   olay-toay-ss-ta.
           Chelswu-Acc   meet-Comp   really   long-become-Pst-Dc
           'It has been a very long time since I last saw Chelswu.'
       B: na-to.
           I-even
           'Me too.'
       A: chelswu-nun   cikum-to   tambay-lul   piw-ul-*kka*?
           Chelswu-Top   now-even   cigarette-Acc smoke-Pot-Q$_{kka}$
           '(I wonder) whether he still smokes.'

It is fairly straightforward to locate the source of the difference in force between the two types of *kka*-marked question. Compare the two *kka*-marked questions in (53) and (54), which form a minimal pair. Their sole difference lies in the morphemes selected by *kka*: when *kka* is preceded by *upni* as in (53), it is construed as a hearer-addressed question; when it is preceded by *ul*, glossed as pot(ential mood), it is interpreted as a self-addressed question. This means that the force of a *kka*-marked question – whether it is self- or hearer-addressed – is determined by the morpheme selected by *kka*, not by *kka* itself.

The *upni+kka* sequence behaves on a par with the other hearer-addressed question markers, *ni* and *nya*, except that they are used in different speech styles. As for the *ul+kka* sequence, however, it is somewhat different from the other self-addressed question markers, *na* and *ka*. One noticeable difference is that, unlike *na* and *ka*, which can shift to direct question particles in the mid speech style, the *ul+kka* sequence does not allow such shift. If it is intended to elicit an answer from Hearer (an indirect question can elicit an answer, though it does not force it), it can only be used in a context where Speaker assumes Hearer does not know the actual answer to the question being asked. To see this, let us consider a scenario where A is walking down on a street with a friend and sees a noisy crowd. Thinking that something may have happened, A can turn to his friend and ask the question in (55). However, A cannot approach a

member of the crowd and ask the same question because the person he addresses would have known what has happened.

(55)   mwusun   il-i   ilena-ss-ul-*kka*?
         what   thing-Nom   happen-Pst-Pot-Q$_{kka}$
         '(I wonder) what happened.'

When A directs (55) to his friend, A does not intend to get a genuine answer from him. A's intention is more on sharing the question with Hearer, thereby making the question public. Of course, in the course of making the question public, A may intend to seek an 'opinion' from Hearer, but definitely not an (truthful) answer.

(56) is another example illustrating the *ul+kka* sequence; it is inappropriate to use *ul+kka* to ask what Hearer did in the past, because Hearer is assumed to know the answer.

(56)   # ecey   ne-nun   muwes-ul   hay-ss-ul-*kka*?
          yesterday   you-Top   what-Acc   do-Pst-Pot-Q$_{kka}$
          '(I wonder) what you did yesterday.'

In all the situations illustrated in (55) and (56), however, *na/ka*-marked questions are fine (if Speaker-Hearer relation is congruent to their use), as illustrated in (57).

(57)   a. mwusun   il-i   ilena-ss-*na*/ilena-ss-nun-*ka*?
             what   thing-Nom   happen-Pst-Q$_{na}$/happen-Pst-Nun-Q$_{ka}$
             '(I wonder) what happened; what happened?'
        b. ecey   caney-nun   muwes-ul   hay-ss-*na*/hay-nun-*ka*?
             yesterday   you(pol)-Top   what-Acc   do-Pst-Q$_{na}$/do-Nun- Q$_{ka}$
             'What did you do yesterday?'

Clearly, the restricted use of *ul+kka* in (55) and (56) has something to do with the occurrence of the potential mood marker *ul*, a sub-case of irrealis mood, which indicates the probability of an event or an action to occur or have occurred.

The facts examined above raise two sorts of questions. First, why does the *upni+kka* sequence induce direct force while the *ul+kka* sequence induces indirect force? Can we account for their difference in a manner in which we explained the force of the other question particles? Second, why does *kka* select the honorific morpheme *upni* that belongs to the high speech style? Why too does it select the mood marker *ul* that indicates the probability of an event/action and, when the selection is made, carry the meaning, presumably a presupposition, that Speaker assumes Hearer's ignorance with respect to the question being asked? Is there any predictable relation between the selecting and selected items? In what follows, I will address these questions.

My answer to the first set of questions is; with a small twist to the analysis that we proposed for the other particles, we can explain the force of *kka*. The reason that the twist is required is because *kka,* unlike the other particles, cannot be seen as a pronominal encoding information about Hearer. The observation we made above that the direct or indirect nature of a *kka*-marked question is determined by one of the morphemes *upni* and *ul* selected by *kka*, not by *kka* itself, clearly indicates that it is not *kka* but *upni* or *ul* that encodes information about Hearer. If *kka* is not a Hearer-related pronominal, then what else can it be? I propose to take it as an overt Q-morpheme. In addition, to distinguish it from the zero Q-morpheme in (58a) we assumed for the other question particles, I assign it the context index in (58b), where DeontWE is a plural counterpart of DeontS (see below for further motivation for DeontWE).

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(58)   a. $\langle$DeontS, x, Epist$\rangle$ → $\varnothing$
           ≈ *I want an answer from x to whether p.*
       b. $\langle$DeontWE, x, Epist$\rangle$ →   kka
           ≈ *We want an answer from x to whether p.*

What (58) says is that there are two Q-morphemes in Korean: one with the context index containing DeontS, which is morphologically realized as a zero morpheme, and the other with DeontWE, morphologically realized as *kka*.

     We can now derive the force of a *kka*-marked question by combining *kka* in (58b) with *upni* and *ul*. Consider *upni* first. Since it is an honorific marker that Speaker uses to express a high degree of respect towards Hearer, it can be seen as a second-person pronominal. When it combines with *kka*, therefore, it transfers its pronominal features to the variable *x* in the context index of *kka*, yielding the interpretation in (59). Hence, the sequence is correctly predicted to be construed as a hearer-addressed question.

(59)   upni+kka   ≈   *We want from upni (you.honorific) an answer to whether p.*

As for *ul*, however, it seems difficult to analyze it as a pronominal, because it is a mood marker, with characteristics more or less similar to English modals. Of course, the mere fact that *ul* is a modal-like element does not prevent us from assigning some pronominal features to it. In fact, given the standard assumption that English modals carry unpronounced pronominal (agreement) features, it is reasonable to assume that *ul* also carries a set of unpronounced pronominal features. However, it is still unclear what features we can assign to it. As such, I will adopt the most intuitive assumption: that is that it does not bear any pronominal features. What happens then to the variable *x* of the context index of $kka_{\langle DeontWE, x, Epist\rangle}$, when there is no pronominal element that can feed it? Once again, I adopt another simple assumption that *x* remains as an open variable. Under these assumptions, the *ul+kka* sequence is predicted to yield the interpretation in (60), which correctly accounts for why it induces a self-addressed question.

(60)   ul+kka   ≈   *We want from X an answer to whether...*

To sum up, with the analysis of *kka* as a Q-morpheme, we can explain the force of a *kka*-marked question in precisely the same way we explained the force of the other question particles.

     Our analysis of *kka* as a Q-morpheme with DeontWE has a further consequence: not only does it account for why a *kka*-marked question can switch back and forth between self- and hearer-addressed questions, but it also enables us to answer another set of questions raised above. For ease of reference, the relevant questions are reproduced in a refined form in (61b) along with the table in (61a) that summarizes the results of our discussion so far.

(61)   a.   Summary

Hearer-addressed questions	Self-addressed questions
$\varnothing = Q_{\langle DeontS, x, Epist\rangle}$ selects *ni, nya, ka, na* $kka = Q_{\langle DeontWE, x, Epist\rangle}$ selects *upni*	$\varnothing = Q_{\langle DeontS, x, Epist\rangle}$ selects *na, ka* $kka = Q_{\langle DeontWE, x, Epist\rangle}$ selects *ul*

       b.   i.   Why does *kka* select *upni* or *ul* but none of the other morphemes in (61a)?
                  Or, conversely, why can't the zero Q-morpheme select *upni* or *ul*?

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ii. Why does *kka* induce the presupposition that Hearer does not know an answer to the question being asked, when it combines with *ul*?

Note that the fundamental difference between the two Q-morphemes, ∅ and *kka*, lies in the 'number' of the first-person pronominal elements that they have, namely, DeontS (*I want*) versus DeontWE (*we want*); other than this, they are identical. With this in mind, let us consider the left column in (61a) which illustrates the case where both of the Q-morphemes are used to request information from Hearer (hearer-addressed question). One relevant point to consider in connection with this type of question is that first-person pronouns as well as second-person pronominals are sensitive to speech styles. For instance, Korean has two first-person pronominal forms occurring in different speech styles. The form *na* occurs in the non-high speech styles (low and mid) whereas its honorific counterpart, *ce*, occurs in the high speech style.[16] This is illustrated in (62); *na* 'I' goes with the low form *ne* 'you (low)' in (62a) or with the mid form *caney* 'you (mid)' in (62b), whereas *ce* 'I$_{Hon}$' goes with the high form *sensayng-nim* 'teacher-Hon' in (62c).

(62) a. na-nun   ne-lul   a-n-ta.   (low speech style)
          I-Top   you-Acc   know-Pres-Dc
      b. na-nun   caney-lul   a-ney.   (mid speech style)
          I-Top   you(pol)-Acc   know-Dc
          'I know you.'   (for a, b)
      c. ce-nun   sensayng-nim-ul   a-upni-ta.   (high speech style)
          I$_{Hon}$-Top   teach-Hon-Acc   know-Hon-Dc
          'I know you (teacher).'

Of course, mixing pronouns from different speech styles leads to ungrammaticality, as shown by *ce* and *ne* in (63).

(63) * ce-nun   ne-lul   a-n-ta.
        I$_{Hon}$-Top   you-Acc   know-Pres-Dc
        'I know you.'

The honorific *ce* 'I$_{Hon}$' is not a genuine first-person pronoun but a derived one whose first-person use is acquired through meaning shift from the demonstrative *ce* 'that (yonder)', like the shifted second-person pronominals observed earlier. This shows that avoiding direct reference to Speaker is another requirement for paying (a high degree of) respect to Hearer.[17]

Turning back to the left column of (61a), we see that there are two first-person elements (DeontWE/DeontS) in the Q-morphemes. Since the question type in the column is hearer-addressed, the two first-person elements as well as the second-person elements (*ni*, *nya*, *ka*, *na*) are expected to occur in different speech styles. Indeed, this is what I propose to take to be the case; that is, the plural DeontWE is an honorific counterpart of the singular DeontS. Speaker uttering *kka*$_{<DeontWE, x, Epist>}$ expresses the meaning

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[16] There is no first person pronominal form reserved for the mid speech style. In both the low and mid speech styles, Speaker is assumed to be higher than Hearer and thus the single form *na* is used in both cases.
[17] *Ce* can also be used as a third person reflexive, as shown (i).
(i) chelswu-nun   *ce*-lul   coa-ha-n-ta.
     Chelswu-Top   self-Acc   like-do-Pres-Dc
     'Chelswu likes himself.'
This means that *ce* can be used in three different ways – as *that* (*yonder*), *I*, and *self*, which once again illustrates the complex nature of the mechanisms underlying the honorific system in Korean.

we want..., avoiding direct reference to himself and thus, as in the case of *ce* 'I$_{Hon}$', it is construed as an honorific form. In contrast, $\varnothing_{\text{<DeontS, x, Epist>}}$ expresses the meaning *I want...* with direct reference to Speaker and thus it is used in the same speech styles as *na* 'I' (low and mid). To implement this idea concretely, we can assign [+high (speech style)] and [−high] to DeontWE and DeontS, respectively. In a similar fashion, if we assign [+high] to the honorific morpheme *upni* and [−high] to the other question particles, *ni*, *nya*, *na*, and *ka*, the selectional restrictions observed in the left column of (61a) between the Q-morphemes and the second-person pronominals simply fall out as a case where the first and second pronominal elements used in the same sentences are required to be of the forms from the same speech style, as in (63). In other words, *kka* selects *upni* because they are both honorific forms with [+high] and $\varnothing$ selects *ni*, *nya*, *na*, *ka* because they are all non-honorific forms with [−high].

Let us turn to the second column in (61a), which illustrates the case where the question particles do not involve reference to Hearer (self-addressed question). Since Hearer is irrelevant in this case, politeness/honorific rules must be inoperative and all the pronominal elements in the column must be used in their literal senses without meaning shift. This means that the honorific features like [± high] do not play a role in establishing a selectional relation between a Q-morpheme and its co-occurring item. Indeed, the fact that the question particles *na* and *ka* are used in their original senses, as first and third person pronominals, respectively (not as second-person pronominals), suggests that the honorific features do not come into play. If the honorific features are irrelevant, then, what is it that forces a Q-morpheme, say *kka*, to select *ul*? In what follows, I will suggest an answer, which builds on the proposal that particle *kka* comes with DeontWE (*we want*) containing the first-person plural pronominal element *we*.

My suggestion involves some elaborations of the component, DeontWE. Following the usual assumption that *we* divides into exclusive *we* and inclusive *we*, I propose to divide DoentWE into DeontWE$_{\text{exlusive}}$ (*we$_{exclusive}$ want*) and DeontWE$_{\text{inclusive}}$ (*we$_{inclusive}$ want*), as in (64).

(64)   a.   kka$_{\text{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}}$ ≈   *We$_{exclusive}$ want from x an answer...*
       b.   kka$_{\text{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}}$ ≈   *We$_{inclusive}$ want from x an answer...*

The second elaboration concerns the inclusiveness of DeontWE$_{\text{inclusive}}$. In the case of the typical pronoun *we*, the extent to which it is inclusive is usually determined by context. Departing from this usual notion of inclusive *we*, however, I take *we$_{inclusive}$* in DeontWE$_{\text{inclusive}}$ to be maximally inclusive in the sense that the set of individuals denoted by *we$_{inclusive}$* includes not only Speaker and Hearer but also all the individuals that exist in Speaker's mind in the context of utterance, i.e., everyone he thinks of at the moment of utterance. One consequence of this maximally inclusive nature of DeontWE$_{\text{inclusive}}$ in (64b) is that an individual saturating the (hearer) variable *x* in the context index ends up being a member of the set of *we*$_{\text{inclusive}}$ (the set of questioners). For instance, if particle *na* 'I' is inserted into the position of *x* in *kka*$_{\text{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}}$, it yields the result in (65).

(65)   na+kka$_{\text{<DeontWEinclusive, na, Epist>}}$ ≈   *We$_{inclusive}$ want from me/myself an answer...*

The same result obtains with all of the other individual-denoting particles (*ka*, *ni*, *nya*, *upni*) inserted into the variable *x* of *kka*$_{\text{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}}$, because whoever Speaker directs the question to, the person must be a member of the set of individuals that exist in Speaker's mind at the moment of utterance (the set of questioners). Now, note that the result in (65) is identical to the odd sentence in (66).

(66)   *We want from me/myself an answer...

Given the oddness in (66), our analysis predicts inclusive *kka* to be incompatible with any of the pronominal question particles, as their combination yields the interpretation in (66). This prediction is true

(see below for *upni* + exclusive *kka*). Importantly, however, nothing prevents it from combining with *ul* which does not provide any value for the hearer variable *x* in the context index. Even if we assume that the open variable *x* is forced to pick an individual, the resulting interpretation is saved by fixing the referent of *x* with *we* as in *we want from **ourselves** an answer....* Hence, *kka* with DeontWE$_{inclusive}$ is correctly predicted to be compatible with *ul*. Predicting the compatibility of the two lexical items, however, is not enough because their combination is not simply compatible but forced. What is it then that makes their combination necessary? Again, I think their combination is forced by the maximum-inclusiveness of DeontWE$_{inclusive}$. In a question marked with *kka*$_{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}$, interpreted as *we$_{inclusive}$ want from x an answer to whether p...*, all the people that exist in Speaker's mind (everyone for Speaker) denoted by *we$_{inclusive}$* are the very same people who are seeking information regarding *whether p*. This means that Speaker who asks a *kka*$_{<DeontWEinclusive>}$-marked question presupposes that no one knows a truthful answer to whether *p* obtains. Since Speaker assumes that no one knows the answer to the question, all he can do with the question is to wonder what the probability or likelihood of *p* to occur (or have occurred) is. This is what I think forces *kka*$_{<DeontWEinclusive>}$ to combine with *ul*, which is a mood marker indicating the likelihood of an event to (have) occur(red).

Let us now consider exclusive *kka*, namely *kka* with DeontWE$_{exclusive}$ in (64a). My analysis of *we$_{exclusive}$* in DeontWE$_{exclusive}$ is pretty much the same as that of *we$_{inclusive}$* in DeontWE$_{inclusive}$ in that the set of individuals denoted by *we$_{exclusive}$* is very inclusive, including everyone except Hearer. So, just as inclusive *kka* cannot combine with a first or a third person pronominal, due to the odd result in (65/66), neither can exclusive *kka*. Unlike inclusive *kka*, however, exclusive *kka* can combine with a second-person pronominal, as their combination (*we$_{exclusive}$ want from you...*) does not lead to the ungrammatical interpretation in (65/66). Of the three second-person pronominals, *ni*, *nya*, and *upni*, it combines with *upni* since DeontWE is an honorific form with [+high]. How about *ul,* which does not have any pronominal features? Can it combine with exclusive *kka*? I assume that a (Korean) question must be directed via a pronominal whenever it can and therefore their combination is impossible.

A summary of our discussion is given in (67-69): Korean has the three Q-morphemes in (67) and the six morphemes in (68) that they can select, and some of their possible combinations are ruled out for the reasons illustrated in (69).

(67)   Three Q-morphemes in Korean
   a.   kka$_{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}$ ≈   *We$_{inclusive}$ want from x an answer...*
   b.   kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$ ≈   *We$_{exclusive}$ want from x an answer...*
   c.   Q$_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$ ≈   *I want from x an answer...*

(68)   Lexical items that can be selected by the three Q-morphemes
   ni, nya, na, ka, upni, ul

(69)   Possible combinations of the morphemes in (67) and (68)
   i.   kka$_{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}$ (≈ *We$_{inclusive}$ want from x an answer...*)
       a. *ni, nya, upni, na, ka + kka$_{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}$: due to (66)
       b. √ ul + kka$_{<DeontWEinclusive, x, Epist>}$
   ii. kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$ (≈ *We$_{enclusive}$ want from x an answer...*)
       a. *ul + kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$:   exclusive *kka* can be directed via a pronominal and
                                                therefore it must.
       b. *na, ka + kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$: due to (66)
       c. *ni, nya + kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$: incompatible speech styles
       d. √ upni + kka$_{<DeontWEexclusive, x, Epist>}$
   iii. Q$_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$ (≈ *I want from x an answer...*)

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a. *ul + $Q_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$: $Q_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$: Q can be directed via a pronominal and therefore it must.
b. *upni + $Q_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$: incompatible speech styles
c. √ni, nya, na, ka + $Q_{<DeontS, x, Epist>}$

It should be by now straightforward to see why the *ul+kka* sequence in (69ib) carries the presupposition that Speaker assumes Hearer's ignorance regarding the answer to the question being asked. This is because the *kka* in the sequence is interpreted as *we$_{inclusive}$ want from x an answer*….

4.   Implication and conclusion

Intuitively, it is clear that the act of questioning involves discourse participants; there has to be someone (Speaker) who performs the act to achieve something and also there has to be another (Hearer) who is the target (recipient) of the action. However, it has never been clear whether the information about discourse participants should actually be encoded in the syntax of an interrogative sentence. Some researchers represent the information in the syntax, whereas others have the opposite view that the force of a question should be derived by purely pragmatic principles such as Gricean Maxims. For instance, while Truckenbrodt (2006), following the spirit of the performative hypothesis, represents the pragmatic information in the syntax in the form of a context index, Potts (2006) expresses skepticism towards his approach and proposes an alternative approach which derives the force of a (direct) question from Gricean principles.

The investigation of the Korean question particles in this paper – *ni*, *nya*, *na*, *ka*, *kka* – strongly argues for the former view. The two key empirical observations made in this paper (one due to Jang (1999)) – (i) that *ni* and *nya* look the same as or very similar to the second-person pronoun *you* and *na* and *ka* have the same morphological shape as *I* and *(s)he*, and (ii) that the first two particles induce direct force requiring a response from Hearer, while the next two induce indirect force – directly fall out from the view that the relevant question particles are pronominal expressions encoding information about who the questions in which they occur are directed to. It is hard to see how these facts (the other relevant facts discussed in the main sections of the paper) can be explained without treating the particles as pronominals referring to discourse participants. For instance, under the view that takes the question particles as non-pronominal elements, the observed morphological similarities between the question particles and their corresponding pronouns would remain as a complete mystery.

Of course, what I have shown in this paper does not entail that the force of a question in every language must be derived in the way that the force of a Korean question is derived. However, it does show that encoding information about discourse participants in the syntax via a pronominal is one thing that a natural language can do to mark its sentence as a question, and also suggest, though not entail as stated above, that every language may work like Korean. Subject-auxiliary inversion in an English question, as in (70), may be driven by the same reason that drives a pronominal element to be used as a question particle in Korean. In Korean, which lacks agreement, a pronominal is required to occur in a Q-morpheme to mark who the question is directed to. In English, which has subject-verb agreement, the agreement features on T combine with Q via T-to-C movement to satisfy the need for Q to have pronominal features. If this way of looking at the two different mechanisms of marking a sentence as a question is correct, the difference between Korean and English is not that big, because their difference can be reduced to a difference in the second component of the context index of Q in the two languages: in Korean, the second component of the index is a variable whose value is supplied by a pronominal, whereas in English, the component comes with a specified value, say Addressee, as in (70), and the specified feature is activated when the pronominal features of T join Q (see Truckenbrodt (2006) for a similar idea).

(70)   a. $Q_{<DeontS, Addressee, Epist>}$ it is$_{Agr}$ raining?

b.   Is$_{Agr}$ + Q$_{<DeontS, Addressee, Epist>}$ it *e* raining?

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