Speech act operators and CALL-BACK function

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1. Introduction: Speech Act (SA) Operator

A traditional view
- SA cannot be embedded nor can it be composed by other speech act operators

A more recent view
- High-level SA operators that function as components
- High-level SA operators are embeddable

2. 'Remind-me' Presupposition

'Remind-me' readings
a. What is your name *again*? (ENG)
b. Wie ist *nochmal* ihr Name? (GER)
   how is again   your name
c. Wie ist *wieder* ihr Name? (GER)
   how is again   your name
d. Namae-wa nan da-*kke*? (JPN)
   name- TOP what COP-KKE
    Int. 'Could you remind me what your name is?'

Important aspects of 'Remind-me' presupposition
- It is not presupposed that the speaker knows the answer to the question
- It is not presupposed that it was the hearer that knows the answer to the question
- It is sufficient that the answer to the question has been updated to the common ground in the past

Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2017)

Proposal: IMP-2 [again [CG [what is your name?]]]

$$\frac{p}{q}$$

- Remind-me presupposition arises when *again* takes scope over *CG*
- The predicate *CG* is true of a discourse iff the current speaker participates in e and the complete answer to q is part of the common ground of e
- *Again* adds its presupposition to this predicate
- IMP-2 obliges the speaker to bring about an event e where q is answered in e, and presupposes that p is satisfied in any such e

3. Questions

Questions on Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2017)
- Is IMP-2 the only way to account for 'Remind-me' presupposition in questions?
- Should the silent speech act operators be only clause-type-dependent?

Questions in general
- Can there be a unified SA operator that applies to all propositions regardless of clause type?
- Is there a unified and high-level SA operator that can apply over another SA operator?

4. Empirical Landscape: Korean Particles

- Triplet of sentences in different clause types
- Particles of interest: *-ko*, *-nikka*

Hey, wait-a-minute test (e.g., von Fintel 2004)
- For the sentences in (b) (When *-ko* is used)…
   "Hey, wait a minute. That person's name has never been discussed in the common ground."
- For the sentences in (c) (When *-nikka* is used)…
   "Hey, wait a minute. You didn't tell/ask me that/whether that person's name is Jon."

Declarative (*-ya/-la*: clause boundary particle)
a. ku salam-uy ilum-i   Jon-i- **ya.**
   that person-GEN name-NOM Jon-COP-YA
   'That person's name is Jon.'
b. ku salam- uy ilum-i   Jon-i- la-**KO.**
   that person-GEN name-NOM Jon-COP-LA-KO
   'That person's name is Jon.'
   (And I know that person's name is shared in the CG)
c. ku salam-uy ilum-i   Jon-i- la-**nikka.**
   that person-GEN name-NOM Jon-COP-LA-NIKKA
   'That person's name is Jon.'
   (And I'm asserting this again)

Interrogative (*-ya/-la*: clause boundary / *-ni*: Q-particle)
a. ku salam-uy ilum-i   {Jon/mwues}-i- **ya?**
   that person-GEN name-NOM {Jon/what}- COP-YA
   'Is that person name Jon?' 'What's that person's name?'
b. ku salam-uy ilum-i   {Jon/mwues}-i- la-**ko?**
   that person-GEN name-NOM {Jon/what}- COP-LA-KO
   'That person's name is Jon?' 'What's that person's name?'
   (And I know that person's name is shared in the CG)
c. ku salam-uy ilum-i   {Jon/mwues}-i- *****(ni)-ya- nikka?**
   that person-GEN name-NOM {Jon/what}- COP-*(Q)- YA- NIKKA
   'Is that person's name Jon?' 'What's that person's name?'
   (And I'm asking this again)

6. Proposal

Observation
- Sentence particle *-ko* functions as a speech act operator that 'calls back' the common ground (CG)
- Sentence particle *-nikka* functions as a speech act operator that 'calls back' the previous speech act (SA)
- These particles are not limited to particular clause types
- These particles are stackable to other SA particles such as ASSERT or QUESTION

Proposal: CALL-BACK speech act operator
- CALL-BACK is an anaphoric function that anchors ϕ to the common ground (C), or to the set of previous SA ($\sqrt{C}$, à la Krifka 2015)
- CALL-BACK(ϕ) is defined in case one of the two worlds:
   a. iff ϕ is a proposition, then $\phi \in C$, or
   b. iff ϕ is a SA, then $\phi \in \sqrt{C}$

7. Theoretical Implications

- In support for a **high-level speech act operator** (or 'meta-operator')
- Captures all the aspects of 'Remind-me' presupposition
- CALL-BACK serves as **a unified SA operator** that can be applied **regardless of clause types**; even to, for example, EXHORTATIVES (example not presented here)
- Explains why a Q-particle *-ni* must precede *–nikka* in Korean
- Provides empirical support that **SA operators are stackable** (e.g., Krifka 2015; Law et al., a.o.): *-ko*, *-nikka*

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