

KOREAN HEARSAY CONSTRUCTIONS AND SPEECH ACT PHRASES*

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1. Introduction

A range of theoretical approaches to functional markers (including enclitics, particles, complementizers, and modals) denoting “speaker was told that/it is said that/they say” have been investigated across unrelated languages (e.g. Cuzco Quechua, Iberian Spanish, Basque, Korean, and Japanese), primarily from the perspective of typology, pragmatics, and semantics (Aoki 1986, Faller 2002, Sohn and Park 2003, Schenner 2008, Etxepare 2010, Zubeldia 2013). Proposals for categorizing these markers seem to converge on two options: a category of hearsay/reportative evidentials (Faller 2002, Schenner 2008, Zubeldia 2013) and a category of quotatives (Sohn and Park 2003, Etxepare 2010). “Evidentiality,” a notion first introduced to linguistics by Jakobson (1957) and widely adopted in decades since (Cinque 1999, Speas 2008, Aikhenvald 2015), is understood as a linguistic category that specifies the source or evidence for the speaker’s information. Hearsay is often considered a subcategory of the evidential system (Willett 1988: 57, Aikhenvald 2004: 65, Speas 2008: 944). Faller (2002) claims that the Quechua reportative/hearsay evidential *-si* is an illocutionary modifier expressing a “Presentation” act, while Speas (2004: 264) places “hearsay” at the same level of projection as Cinque’s (1999) Speech Act projection (SAP) and the logophoric predicate *say*, arguing that “hearsay is the category that is least likely to be a part of an evidential paradigm.” Our understanding of the interface between hearsay evidentials and speech acts remains incomplete, however; questions like *What kinds of illocutionary force are compatible with hearsay constructions?* and *How does illocutionary force interact with hearsay markers?* remain to be addressed.

This study presents new evidence from the Korean hearsay construction suggesting that hearsay markers appear higher than ForceP (Rizzi 1997) and are compatible with four major clause-typing complementizers: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exhortative. On a theoretical level, I advocate for an analysis that situates the hearsay construction within the domain of SAP (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003); on an empirical level, I support this argument by showing how the Korean hearsay marker *-y* interacts with illocutionary force. Based on this discussion, I contend that the hearsay marker *-y* need not necessarily be identified as either an evidential marker (indicating indirect evidence) or a quotative marker within a given language. Adopting a generative approach, I argue that the interpretation of the hearsay construction is configurationally determined by syntax.

* I would like to thank Leslie Saxon and Martha McGinnis-Archibald for their constructive and helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. All errors are my own. Primary data reported in this paper are drawn from my own native speaker’s knowledge of Korean; secondary data are from sources in the literature.

2. Hearsay marking in Korean: sentence types

In this section, I discuss the relationship between the Korean hearsay construction and sentence type. In doing so, I differentiate two distinct uses of the term “sentence type.” First, “sentence type” can be used as a measure of the complexity of a sentence. Second, we can view “sentence type” as a descriptor of the illocutionary force of an utterance. Let us tackle the former definition first. In terms of sentential complexity, despite having the meaning “a third person said CP,” the Korean hearsay construction consists of a single clause: in this sense, it has a simple sentence type. This is illustrated in (1) below. Observe that the sentence structures illustrated in 1(b)-(d) — indirect speech (IS), direct speech/quotation (DS), and free indirect speech (FIS), respectively — are all structurally complex: each contains a matrix verb in a binding relationship with either an embedded-clause complement or a parenthetical clause (cf. Rooryck 2001: 130). The Korean hearsay construction, on the other hand, consists structurally of a single clause without a matrix verb of saying, making a syntactic account based on binding impossible.

- (1) a. ku-ka cemsim-ul sass-ta-y. (hearsay)
*he-NOM lunch-ACC bought-DECL-HEARSAY*¹
 ‘He_{i/j} said that he_i bought lunch.’
- b. [caki/ku-ka cemsim-ul sass-ta-ko] ku-ka malhayss-ta. (IS)
self/he-NOM lunch-ACC bought-DECL-COMP he-NOM said-DECL
 ‘He_i said that he_{i/j} bought lunch.’
- c. ku-ka malhayss-ta. “nay/*caki/*ku-ka cemsim-ul sass-e.” (DS)
he-NOM said-DECL I/self/he-NOM lunch-ACC bought-DECL
 ‘He said, “I bought lunch.”’
- d. ku-ka [caki/*ku-ka cemsim-ul sass-ta-ko] malhayss-ta. (FIS)
he-NOM self/he-NOM lunch-ACC bought-DECL-COMP said-DECL
 ‘He_i said he_i/*he_j bought lunch.’

The nature of the form *-tay* in (1a) is controversial. Sohn and Park (2003: 106) state that the form *-tay* in (2) is “the most frequently used indirect quotation form” in Korean.

- (2) Suni-ka sey si-ey o-n-tay-yo.
Suni-NOM three o'clock-at come-IND-TAY-POL
 ‘Suni said that she will come at three.’ (Sohn and Park 2003:106)

¹ **Abbreviations:** ACC accusative ASSERT assertive COMP complementizer CP complementizer phrase DAT dative DECL declarative DS direct speech EV evidential value EXHO exhortative FIS free indirect speech HEARSAY hearsay marker HON honorific IMP imperative IND indicative INT interrogative IS indirect speech LOC locative NOM nominative NP noun phrase PAST past tense POL polite PRES present tense PRM promissive PROG progressive PST2 past tense 2 SAP speech act phrase TAY *-tay* TOP topic

Other researchers, including N. Kim (2000) and Chung (2011), treat the form *-tay* as a “reported evidential.” In this study, I decompose the form *-tay* in the synchronic Korean grammar into the declarative complementizer *-ta* and another morpheme *-y*, which I label the (third-person) hearsay marker. To justify the separate treatment of the functional marker *-y* within the form *-tay*, consider the following minimal pairs.

- (3) pi-ka oko-iss-ta.
rain-NOM come-PROG-DECL
 ‘It is raining (lit. rain is coming).’
 [ForceP [TP pi-ka oko-iss] -ta]
- (4) pi-ka oko-iss-ta-y.
rain-NOM come-PROG-DECL-HEARSAY
 ‘(Speaker was told that) it is raining (lit. rain is coming).’
 [HEARSAY[ForceP [TP pi-ka oko-iss] -ta]-y]

The complementizer *-ta* is obligatory in this construction (as in (5)), while the suffix *-y* is optional (as in (3)).

- (5) *pi-ka oko-iss.
rain-NOM come-PROG
 ‘It is raining.’

(6) presents some contrastive sets in Korean that illustrate the hearsay suffix *-y* applied to the same verb root, *mek-*‘eat’, and in a variety of clause types. The examples in (a) are interrogatives, (b) are imperatives, and (c) are exhortatives. The examples of non-hearsay constructions are taken from Pak (2008: 116).

(6)

	Non-hearsay constructions	Hearsay constructions
a.	cemsim-ul mekess-ni/nya? <i>lunch-ACC ate-INT</i> ‘Did you eat lunch?’	cemsim-ul mekess-nya-y? <i>lunch-ACC ate-INT-HEARSAY</i> ‘ <i>pro</i> said, did you eat lunch?’
b.	cemsim-ul meke-la. <i>lunch-ACC eat-IMP</i> ‘Eat lunch!’	cemsim-ul meku-la-y. <i>lunch-ACC eat-IMP-HEARSAY</i> ‘ <i>pro</i> said, eat lunch!’
c.	cemsim-ul mek-ca. <i>lunch-ACC eat-EXHO</i> ‘Let’s eat lunch!’	cemsim-ul mek-ca-y. <i>lunch-ACC eat-EXHO-HEARSAY</i> ‘ <i>pro</i> said, let’s eat lunch.’

Table 1 The compatibility between hearsay markers and clause-typing complementizers

The paradigm in (6) supports the proposed separation of the functional marker *-y* from the clause-typing complementizers. Below, I will argue for the plausibility of analyzing the marker *-y* as a separate functional marker generated above ForceP in matrix clauses.

saying; this speech event cannot be cancelled, as the interpretation of the negative in (9) shows.

- (9) Cemsim-ul an sa-n-ta-y
lunch-ACC not buy-PRES-DECL- HEARSAY
 ‘(pro_i **said**) s/he_i won’t buy lunch.’
 *‘(pro_i **thought**) s/he_i won’t buy lunch.’
 *‘(pro_i **didn’t** say) s/he_i will buy lunch.’

It is presumably for this reason that Faller (2002) claims that the Quechua reportative evidential *-si* is an illocutionary modifier expressing a “Presentation” act. What kinds of illocutionary force, then, are compatible with this “Presentation” act?

As noted above and illustrated in (4) and (6), the Korean hearsay marker *-y* is compatible with four major clause-typing complementizers: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exhortative. Previous studies on hearsay evidentials, including Speas (2008), have concentrated exclusively on their function in declarative sentences. Aikhenvald (2015: 255) presents a very brief survey of how evidentials interrelate with various sentence types (i.e. declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative) in languages such as Tariana, but her study does not focus specifically on hearsay. Aikhenvald does report that, cross-linguistically, the most common sentence type to be marked by a hearsay marker (as reported in the literature on evidentiality) is declarative; the most common evidential type occurring in commands is reportative (2015: 256). Few studies have identified languages in which a hearsay/reportative marker marks other clause types, although Faller (2002) notes that interrogatives can be marked by *-si* in Quechua. The enclitic *-si* in (10) indicates that somebody other than the speaker is asking a question.

- (10) Pi-ta-s Inés-qa watuku-sqa?
who-ACC-si Inés-TOP visit-PST2
 ‘Who did Inés visit?’ (Faller 2002 : 230)
 EV= (i) speaker indicates that somebody else is asking
 (ii) speaker expects hearer to have reportative evidence for his or her answer

In considering whether the marker *-si* has an evidential meaning when it occurs in content questions, Faller postulates that this marker is evidentially ambiguous: it can indicate either of the interpretations (i) or (ii) above. Unexpectedly, the reportative *-si* cannot be attached to imperatives, as illustrated in (11).

- (11) Hamu-y-*si !
come-IMP-si
 ‘Come!’ (Faller 2002: 266)

Thus, reportative *-si* cannot be used to report a command issued by somebody else. The cause for this restriction is not explored in Faller’s study; it is unclear whether a separate

marker exists for indicating a third person's request/command in Cuzco Quechua. If, as Faller proposes, reportative *-si* is an illocutionary modifier expressing the illocutionary act "PRESENT," it is unclear what blocks the occurrence of the marker in hearsay commands in Quechua. It seems that languages differ in the types of clauses that can be marked by hearsay. The Spanish quotative *que* takes scope over reported clauses such as imperatives and exclamatives (Etxepare 2010), while the Korean hearsay markers *-y* (as in (6)) marks not only declaratives and interrogatives, but also imperatives and exhortatives, which do not contain propositions or information.² The interaction between sentence types (or illocutionary force) and reportative markers is not investigated in depth in Faller (2002) or other studies and the pattern of clause types that are compatible with hearsay/reportative markers across languages remains an open question. At least in Korean, only four clause-typing complementizers are compatible with the hearsay marker *-y*, despite the existence of considerable variety of other clause-typing complementizers (Lee 1993: 139, König and Siemund 2007: 280, Pak 2008: 148).

So far, I have addressed Korean hearsay constructions in terms of sentence type. Next, I turn to discourse participants. In addition to adding a presupposed antecedent speech event, the marker *-y* constrains the phi features of the person who uttered that antecedent speech event. Although so far, I have only shown the hearsay constructions with third-person performer, the performer of the antecedent speech event need not necessarily be a third person; it is possible for a hearsay speaker to repeat a prior speech event uttered by herself/himself or by the hearer. When the speaker is repeating a sentence originally uttered by the hearer (within the ongoing speech event), a distinct device is employed. This is shown in (12).

- (12) pi-ka oko-iss-ta-mye.
rain-NOM come-PROG-DECL-HEARSAY
 '(you just said) it is raining.'

The hearer of the hearsay construction in this case is the person who uttered the assertion in the previous speech event. A sentence carrying a falling pitch with *-mye* bears a second-person hearsay interpretation.³

- (13) a. Jina-ka ka-ss-ta-mye. (Declarative Hearsay)
Jina-NOM go-PAST-DECL-HEARSAY
 '(You said) that Jina went.'
- b. Jina-ka ka-ss-nya-mye (Interrogative Hearsay)
Jina-NOM go-PAST-INT-HEARSAY
 '(You asked) if Jina went.'

² Whether or not non-declarative type sentences contain propositions is controversial (Murphy and Koskela 2010: 131).

³ The same declarative sentence (13a) with a raising pitch can carry an additional force, "confirmational force" (cf. Ahn and Yap 2014). However, raising pitch does not seem compatible with the other clause types.

- c. Jina-lang ka-ca-**mye**. (Exhortative Hearsay)
Jina-with go-EXHO-HEARSAY
 ‘(You said) let’s go with Jina.’
- d. celi ka-la-**mye**. (Imperative Hearsay)
that way go-IMP-HEARSAY
 ‘(You asked me) to go away.’

The fact that the markers *-y* and *-mye* occur in all four sentence-types in Korean is noteworthy; to the best of my knowledge, no previous research has shown hearsay constructions marked by a second person or a third person in four sentence-types. Based on the distribution of hearsay markers, I assume that there is a null functional marker that indicates a first-person performer in non-hearsay constructions. This null functional marker may be a direct speech marker or a direct evidential marker depending on our assumptions about the kinds of functional categories that exist above ForceP.

- (14) a. Non-hearsay construction (a first-person performer):
 $[_{SAP} [1^{st} \text{ person}] [_{ForceP} FORCE^0] SA^0 \emptyset]$
- b. Hearsay construction (a second-person performer):
 $[_{SAP} [2^{nd} \text{ person}] [_{ForceP} FORCE^0] SA^0 -mye]]$
- c. Hearsay construction (a third-person performer):
 $[_{SAP} [3^{rd} \text{ person}] [_{ForceP} FORCE^0] SA^0 -y]]$

In this section, I have shown that, in Korean, the complementizers *-y* and *-mye* can straightforwardly indicate who is in charge of the illocutionary act of the sentence, without recourse to a complex, parenthetical sentence structure of the type we are familiar with in English. Just as the head of a JussiveP with a subject-person feature derives a distinct clause type (Zanuttini et al. 2012), the head of an SAP with a performer-person feature derives a distinct speech act type.

3. The analysis

3.1 Theoretical assumptions

This section introduces the theoretical assumption adopted in this study. First, this paper assumes an interface between speech acts and grammar. Ross (1970) claims that every declarative sentence must have an implicit higher subject “I,” an indirect object “you,” and a performative verb in an implicit performative clause: “I say to you that S” or “I tell you that S.” Ross’s “subject” and “indirect object” are revised by Searle (1975, 1979), who instead adopts the terms *speaker* and *hearer* into the grammar of performatives, based on the theory of speech acts (Austin 1963, Searle 1969). Searle states, “in any speech situation there is a speaker, a hearer and a speech act being performed by the speaker” (Searle 1975: 30). An English adverb like *frankly*, for example, interacts with the sentence’s “speaker” rather than its subject. Building on the work of Ross (1970) and

Searle (1975, 1979), I propose that Korean imperative constructions can be paraphrased as in (15). The implicit structure (containing a first-person speaker/performer) is not morphologically marked; it is a default structure. Just as Pos(itive)P is not overtly marked in contrast to Neg(ative)P in syntax, a first-person speaker/performer is not overtly marked in the domain of SAP.

- (15) Cemsim-ul sa-la. (cf. Zanuttini, Pak, and Porter 2012)
lunch-ACC buy-IMP
 ‘Buy lunch!’
 ‘(I_{SPEAKER} TELL_{LOCUTION} you_{HEARER} (*Pro*₁ PERFORMER ORDER_{PERFORM})) buy lunch.’

When the performer of the SAP is a third-person and not the speaker, however, the hearsay marker *-y* marks the imperative, as in (16).

- (16) Cemsim-ul sa-la-y. (Hearsay Imperative)
lunch-ACC buy-IMP-HEARSAY
 ‘(I_{SPEAKER} TELL_{LOCUTION} you_{HEARER} (*pro*₃ PERFORMER ORDER_{PERFORM})) Buy lunch!’

Incorporating performative layers into higher CP structure allows a straightforward interpretation of the hearsay construction: in non-hearsay clauses, the speaker and the performer are co-indexed, while in hearsay constructions, the speaker and the performer are separated and realized as distinct arguments. This distinction becomes clear when we compare potential answers to (15) and (16). Possible responses to the imperative in (15) include “Sure, (I will),” “No, (I don’t want to),” or “Why should I?”; possible responses to (16) include “Sure, (I will),” “No, (I don’t want to),” “Why should I?” or “Who said that?” (if the addressee cannot identify the performer). Based on the contrastive meanings and distinct potential responses for (15) and (16), I propose to distinguish the speaker from the performer of an illocutionary act (whose existence is implied by the marker *-y* and *-mye* in Korean). By adopting a new, distinct argument role, PERFORMER, we can incorporate two speakers in different speech event simultaneously into a single syntactic tree.

More than thirty years after Ross (1970), Speas and Tenny (2003) proposed a hierarchy that captures the relationships among the roles of speaker, hearer, and utterance content in the syntactic structure. Their proposed syntactic representation for SAPs incorporates previous work on the role of sentience in the grammar and the interface between syntax and pragmatics. Specifically, Speas and Tenny propose five different representations, one for each mood: declarative, interrogative, imperative, subjunctive, and quotative. The authors claim that every CP is embedded under an SAP, with the features of each projection yielding that sentence’s specific speech act interpretation. The present work adopts the proposal of Speas and Tenny that syntactic structure contains the pragmatic roles of discourse participants. However, Speas and Tenny’s representations are not sufficient to account for constructions in which illocutionary force is controlled by an individual other than the current speaker. As I have shown, Korean sentences like those in (16) carry the meaning that the command force is not performed by the current speaker. If the identity of the performer is not contextually recoverable by the addressee in a given discourse, the performer of the command can be included as an overt DP, as in (17b).

- (17) a. Cemsim-ul sa-la-y.
lunch-ACC buy-IMP-HEARSAY
 ‘(pro.3/* pro.1/*pro.2 said) buy lunch.’
- b. Jina-ka ne-poko cemsim-ul sa-la-y.
Jina-NOM you-DAT lunch-ACC buy-IMP-HEARSAY
 ‘Jina told you to buy lunch.’

Neither *pro*_{3rd} in (17a) nor *Jina* ‘Jina’ in (17b) functions as the speaker or the subject of the verb *sa-ta* ‘buy’. To account for the interpretive restrictions on the role of *Jina* in the hearsay construction in (17b), this study introduces to the SAP a new projection that hosts a performer.

3.2 The structure of the Korean SAP

Speas and Tenny (2003) discuss the possibility that the specifier of SAP_{quote} may be an expletive, in which case the speaker will be abstractly absent from the speech act. Conversely, I claim that the speaker must be present in the SAP domain by default. I assume that “interlocutors (i.e. first person singular/second person)” are always defined by the current speech situation, and that they, in turn, constrain the utterance. Thus, the first-person-singular speech participant occupies the specifier of saP. saP is the highest performative projection associated with the present speech act. In Speas and Tenny (2003), the hearer undergoes movement in interrogative utterances. The strength of Speas and Tenny’s motivation for positing this movement is unclear to me; in the present analysis, I treat the second-person speech participant as an adjunct, based on the assumption that a speaker can utter a sentence without directing that utterance to anyone.⁴ For instance, the second-person speech participant is not required in exclamatives or rhetorical questions. Support for this choice in Korean can be found in the fact that the addressee honorific marker *-yo* cannot be used when speakers talk/mutter to themselves, as shown in (18d).

- (18) a. Mary-nun eti ka-ss-ni? ‘Where does Mary go?’
 b. Mary-nun eti ka-ss-na-yo? ‘Where does Mary go?’
 c. Mary-nun eti ka-ss-ci. ‘(I am wondering) where Mary went?’
 *d. Mary-nun eti ka-ss-ci-yo. ‘(I am wondering) where Mary went?’
 Mary-TOP where go-PAST-INT-HON

In comparison, the interrogative marker *-ni* demands an addressee (C. Kim 2012): a question ending in *-ni* (like 18a) must be addressed to somebody, whereas the same question ending in *-ci* (18c) can be uttered without an addressee. Note further that the optional addressee honorific marker *-yo* (encoding the relative social status of speaker and addressee) follows the hearsay marker *-y*, as in (19).

⁴ I employ the term “speech participant” instead of “speaker/hearer” in the domain of saP since the speaker can be a hearer in exclamatives or rhetorical questions (thanks to Martina Wiltschko for pointing out this empirical fact at the ACL/CLA 2016 in Calgary).

- (19) Mary-nun eti ka-ss-nya-y-yo?
 Mary-TOP where go-PAST-INT-HEARSAY-HON
 ‘(pro asked) where does Mary go?’
 [saP [SAP [ForceP [TP Mary eti ka-ss]-nya] -y] -yo]

I assume that the head of saP has a [+locution] feature (which demands a speaker), while the head of SAP has [+performative], [-locution], and phi features. In the literature on SAPs, the term *performer* has always been employed to denote a first-person performer of an illocutionary act. This interpretation is crucially different under hearsay, however: here, the (third-person) performer of the illocutionary force of the current (hearsay) speech event is identical to the (first-person) performer/speaker of the past speech event, while the (first-person) speaker of the current speech event corresponds to the (second-person) hearer of the past speech event. The term “performer” in this study refers to the ACTOR of an illocutionary speech act (Austin 1975, Sadock 1974, Searle 1989) or the PERFORMER of a performative verb (Ross 1970), — i.e., the speaker in a non-hearsay construction.

The co-referential relationship between discourse participants for Korean third-person hearsay construction is summarized in the table below.

(20)

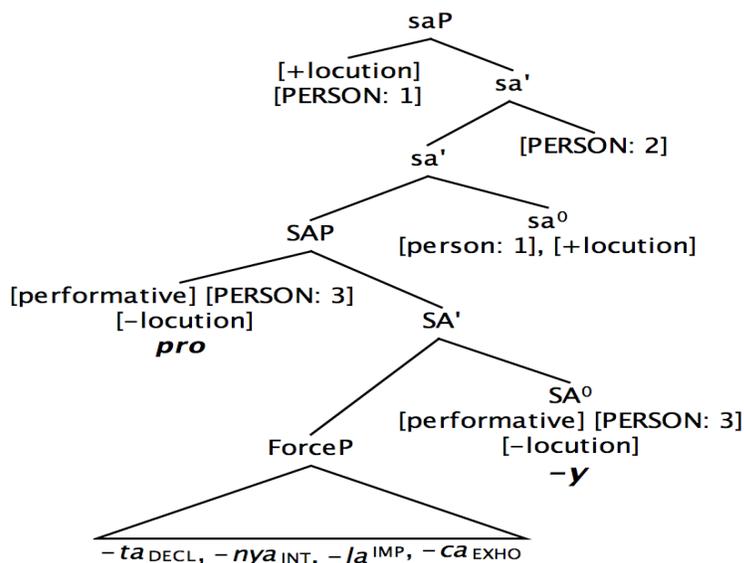
Direct illocutionary act		Third person hearsay act		
performer _i /speaker _i	hearer _j	performer _i	speaker _j	hearer _k
Φ [+1]	Φ [+2]	Φ [+3]	Φ [+1]	Φ [+2]

Table 2 Third person hearsay act and speech participants

The speech participants in the hearsay event are co-indexed to antecedents in the past speech event in an anaphor-like fashion, based on the role of those speech participants in each speech situation. To account for the argument role *performer* in (20), I propose a SAP projection hosting a performer, below the saP of the present utterance.

The head of SAP in the hearsay construction is realized as the hearsay marker *-y*, *-mye*, or null depending on agreement with the phi feature in the specifier. The head of SAP takes as its complement ForceP. This paper follows Rizzi (1997) in employing ForceP to realize utterance content (for which also see Speas and Tenny (2003)). Rizzi (1997) claims that the Force head can be a complementizer denoting a declarative, an interrogative, an exclamative, or a relative, each of which is selected by an operator. The existence of an illocutionary operator in the head of CP in Korean is also assumed in Han and Lee (2007: 383), where it carries the feature [decl] or [imp]. Based on the analyses and arguments put forward by Rizzi (1997), Speas and Tenny (2003), and Han and Lee (2007), as well as the facts I have described concerning the function of the performer argument, I suggest that the Korean hearsay construction has the grammatical representation shown in (21) for a third-person performer.

(21)



As shown in the tree, the hearsay affix *-y* adds an argument (performer) to the domain of SAP, while the morphologically unmarked head with the [+locution] feature introduces a first-person speech participant as an external argument and a second-person speech participant as an adjunct.

Following this basic sentence structure, the next two sections provide a full account for two distinct interpretations of the hearsay construction.

3.3 Reportative hearsay constructions

In this section, I demonstrate that the role of the marker *-y* can be associated with literal “hearsay”—a speaker saying what s/he has heard from another person. In this case, the marker does not indicate the speaker’s stance toward the truth of proposition. It is unclear to me at this point whether hearsay should be understood as an independent type of illocutionary force. The new illocutionary point PRESENT, proposed by Faller (2002), might be appropriate for the hearsay function. In what follows, I will set aside the semantic/pragmatic aspect of hearsay, focusing instead on its syntax. I have argued that the Korean hearsay marker *-y* introduces a new argument into the periphery of the clause structure at SAP; this head takes ForceP as a complement. If the specifier of the SAP contains a second- or a third-person performer and the head of the complement of SA⁰ (ForceP) carries a declarative, interrogative, imperative, or exhortative feature, a reportative hearsay interpretation arises. The little *pro* is generated inside SAP as the silent counterpart to an (R-expressions) NP; *pro* includes a second or a third-person performer, the covert performer of the SAP. The interpretation of this structure is: “I_{SPEAKER} tell you_{HEARER} that a person_{PERFORMER} performed an illocutionary force,” and “I_{SPEAKER} know who that performer was and what that force was because I heard it from the person_{PERFORMER}.” If the speaker thinks it is important for the hearer to know who performed the illocutionary force, s/he may include the performer in the sentence as an overt external argument. If the speaker thinks that it is not important for the hearer to know who performed the illocutionary force (or if the speaker thinks that the identity of

the performer is recoverable from the discourse context), the performer can be realized as a covert *pro*. For an overt performer/*pro* to be realized in a hearsay construction, the external argument in the Spec of SAP must be a NP containing an interpretable [person] feature. This feature will then agree with an interpretable [person] feature on the head of SAP in hearsay constructions.

3.4 Rumour constructions

In the introduction, I suggested that a hearsay marker need not necessarily be identified as either an evidential marker (indicating indirect evidence) or a quotative marker within a given language. In this section, I pursue that suggestion further in relation to Korean third person hearsay *-y*. Following a generative approach, I argue that the interpretation of the hearsay construction is configurationally determined by syntax. For instance, the mark *-y* can provide a rumour reading under certain restricted conditions. Specifically, when the hearsay content is assertive and the *performer* in the hearsay assertion is an arbitrary/unspecified third person, a rumour reading arises. This interpretation is unavailable with other illocutionary types of hearsay constructions and with hearsay constructions bearing the second-person performer marking *-mye*. The interpretation of the rumour is: “I_{SPEAKER} tell you_{HEARER} that I heard the statement from a third-person_{PERFORMER} and I know that the third-person_{PERFORMER} was not the one who had evaluated/perceived the statement.” When the hearsay content is assertive, the *performer* in hearsay assertion can be an arbitrary/unspecified third person, as in (22). This construction yields a rumour interpretation. By employing an unspecified performer, the speaker expresses the fact that s/he has no responsible for the value of the assertion. This situation weakens the assertive illocutionary force of the sentence as a whole, yielding a rumour reading.

- (22) a. Seoul-ey nwun-i o-n-ta-y.
Seoul-LOC snow-NOM come-PRES-DECL-HEARSAY
 ‘(I heard that) it is snowing in Seoul.’
- b. thomatho-ka mom-ey coh-ta-y.
Tomato-NOM body-LOC be.good-DECL-HEARSAY
 ‘(It is said that) tomatoes are good for (your/our) health.’
- c. bikhtholia-nun noin-i salki-ey coh-ta-y.
Victoria-TOP elders-NOM living-LOC be.good-DECL-HEARSAY
 ‘(People say that) Victoria is a good place for elders to live.’

In these sentences, the performer of the assertion (shown in parentheses) remains unspecified; there is no traceable individual performer who can take responsibility for the truth of the statement in these constructions. An arbitrary *pro* enters the derivation with the interpretable feature [person: 3]. I refer to this arbitrary/unspecified third person as *pro_{arb}* (Suñer 1983). The rumour reading of this construction is likely concomitant with the absence of an identifiable performer (who is supposed to be the evaluator

/witness/perceiver of the proposition). I propose that the structure associated with the rumour readings can be schematized as follows:

(23) Rumour constructions:

$[_{saP} [_{SAP} [3^{rd} \text{ person } pro_{arb}] [[_{ForceP} FORCE^0 [+ASSERT] -ta] SA^0 -y]]]$

The simplified representation in (23) captures my claim that the rumour reading of the hearsay construction is configurationally determined by syntax. That is to say, the rumour interpretation arises (i) when the specifier of SAP contains an unidentifiable arbitrary third-person pro_{arb} and (ii) the complement of SA^0 is a ForceP carrying a [assert] feature in its head. The table below summarizes the person features on each argument and the morphological realization of the specifier and head of SAP.

(24)

Construction	performer	Force ⁰	SA ⁰
Non-hearsay	pro [Φ : 1]	$-ta, -nya, -la, -ca$	\emptyset
Reportative	pro [Φ : 2]	$-ta, -nya, -la, -ca$	$-mye$
hearsay	pro [Φ : 3]	$-ta, -nya, -la, -ca$	$-y$
Rumour	pro_{arb} [Φ : 3]	$-ta$	$-y$

Table 3 The morphological realization of the specifier and head of SAP

In this section, I have argued that the primary function of the hearsay marker is simply to isolate the role of the speaker from the role of the performer in the SAP domain. Other pragmatic functions, such as evidentiality or confirmation, arise contextually depending on the person feature and sentence type of the utterance.

Under the assumption that syntactic principles impose constraints and interpretation on semantic roles, it is important that we be able to properly characterize the syntax of the Korean hearsay construction. By employing the SAP domain to introduce arguments above the ForceP level, the meaning and structure of Korean hearsay constructions can be understood adequately.

4. Conclusions

This paper has investigated Korean hearsay constructions in the context of Speech Act Phrases, showing that the marker $-y$ is associated with an abstract performer separate from both the speaker and the sentential subject. I have argued that the hearsay marker $-y$ cannot be inherently associated with evidentiality, since it does not indicate the speaker's stance toward the truth of his/her statements in any of the four clause-types. Instead, I contend that the role of the marker $-y$ is to allow a speaker to report what s/he has heard, on the understanding that the reported clause will be relevant or interesting to the hearer. In other words, I argue that the role of the marker $-y$ is to indicate the illocutionary act of 'hearsay' — to tell what one has heard. When the illocutionary force is not 'hearsay' and the sentential claim is initiated by the current speaker, the marker $-y$ does not appear. An unmarked performer, equivalent to the current speaker, is thus the default. When a second party (the addressee)'s illocutionary claim is presented by the current speaker, the

marker *-mye* functions as a hearsay marker. I have claimed that the syntactic hearsay structure yields two possible interpretations: reportative and rumour.

Undoubtedly, Korean hearsay markers are widely used in spoken interactional language. However, the systematic restriction on their interpretation and distribution, discussed in this study, suggest that these markers are functional markers in Korean. A discussion of the behaviour of Korean hearsay markers in conjunction with Main Clause Phenomena (Emonds 1976, Aelbrecht et al. 2012) may be informative. I leave this work for future study.

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