

Positively bitter and negatively sweet?

Conventional implicatures and compatibility condition of emotive taste terms in Korean vs. English

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The goal of this study is to propose a pragmatic analysis of what we call *Emotive Taste Terms* (ETTs) in Korean, compared to English. What makes Korean taste adjectives special is its multidimensional meaning: In descriptive dimension, (i) the literal meaning concerns the taste; or (ii) it can be extended toward the situation, yielding a figurative meaning. In expressive dimension, (iii) the choice of particular derivation form reflects the speaker's positive or negative emotional attitude; and (iv) another potential expressive meaning concerns honorification, though it is not part of the meaning of ETTs. We thus propose that ETTs are a novel subcase of *expressive* elements, triggering *Conventional Implicature*. We show how the analysis of ETTs as a CI allows us to successfully derive subtle connotational differences amongst numerous variants. Finally, we show how the co-occurrence pattern of multiple expressives, ETTs and other expressives, within the sentence can be captured by *Compatibility Condition Model*.

Keywords: conventional implicature, compatibility condition, emotive taste term (ETT), multidimensionality, expressives

1. Introduction

Most prior research on taste adjectives has focused on how each taste term is characterized in terms of semantic features and located at the word field within the traditional framework of Structural Semantics (à la Berlin and Kay 1969), mainly based on three criteria:¹ (i) types of taste such as bitter, sour, salty, sweet

1. Ginatulin (1972), for instance, considers the interconnection and stipulation of sensitive cognition and abstract thinking as two stages of cognition.

and umami ('savory'); (ii) intensity of taste; and (iii) hedonic scale about various tastes that distinguish good or bad taste. In cognitive science, some research has been conducted to answer the question of how the sensory process transfers to the cognitive process within the sensory or hedonic magnitude, and how the degree of taste relates to the *attitude or mental status*: in Korean, for instance, Kim (2009) proposes that experience through somatization plays an important role in the process of *semantic extension* of taste adjectives (cf. Yoon 2012; Jeong 2012).

Since taste is one of the five central senses that trigger the body's reaction to foreign stimuli, it is naturally expected for taste adjectives to be simultaneously reflective of other senses including one's feeling toward the perceived taste. In exploring the connotation shifts in numerous variants of what we term *emotive taste terms* (ETTs, henceforth) in Korean, we first show how precisely the speaker's emotional attitude toward the perceived taste can be systematically carried by the morpho-phonological derivation. The focus of the current study, however, concerns the *emotional attitude* reflected in the variants of taste terms, investigating three basic taste terms in the native lexicon: *tal-ta* 'sweet', *ssu-ta* 'bitter', and *cca-ta* 'salty'. Notice that these native taste terms are morphologically inflected with *-ta* 'Decl', and the speaker's emotional attitude can be reflected in them.

One important theoretical consequence of the current analysis is then that the meaning of taste terms can be analyzed as at least three dimensional, which can be accompanied by still another kind of expressive dimension, i.e. honorification dimension: First, with respect to the semantic aspect, the indication of taste is conveyed by the base taste term (in terms of both quantity and quality of taste in Kennedy and McNally 2010's sense for color terms); second, regarding another semantic aspect, certain taste terms have undergone semantic extension, the result of which is that they exhibit a figurative meaning (e.g. 'bitter taste' is extended to 'bitter, unsatisfactory feeling toward the situation'); furthermore, as for the pragmatic aspect, the emotional attitude of the speaker is reflected in the choice of derivational morpho-phonology for native taste terms (cf. experimental evidence on the attitude reflected in Korean taste terms is discussed in Kim 2014). Note that the speaker's emotional attitude can be directed toward either the literal meaning on the taste itself or toward the figurative meaning on the situation, but, we assume, both literal and figurative meanings operate in the descriptive at-issue dimension, while the emotional attitude functions in emotive expressive dimension. We will also discuss the interaction of ETTs with honorific markers, which, we argue, exists in a separate, honorific expressive dimension.

The discussion proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we introduce versatile meaning differences in variants of ETTs in Korean, and, in Section 2.4, we show how such derivations are systematically achieved via phonological and morphological

alternations. In Section 3, we propose the meaning of emotive taste terms as *Conventional Implicature* (CI, à la Potts): in Section 3.1, we show how the emotional attitude reflected in the taste term exists in another dimension, i.e. at expressive level; and in Section 3.2, we suggest an appropriate emotional index for each taste term with respect to strength and polarity of the attitude. In Section 4, we show how the co-occurrence pattern of multiple expressives, ETTs and other expressives within the sentence, can be predicted by the *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) suggested by Yoon (2015). Section 5 concludes the discussion.

2. The landscape of taste adjectives in Korean

2.1 Variants of sweet taste

In Korean, a remarkable number of morpho-phonological variants are available for conveying a single taste ‘sweet’, for instance, with extremely subtle differences in terms of the gradience of: (i) a given taste (literal meaning); (ii) a given situation (extended, figurative meaning); and (iii) even a speaker’s emotional attitude associated with either the taste or the situation (expressive meaning). The following list illustrates 13 frequently used variants of ‘sweet’, which is not an exhaustive list:²

- (1) 13 variants of *tal-ta* ‘sweet’
 - i. *tal-ta* ‘sweet’
 - ii. ***tal-tal-hata*** ‘sweet like honey or sugar, savory sweet.pos.att’
 - iii. ***ta-ti-tal-ta*** ‘extremely sweet; extremely considerate and affectionate.pos.att’
 - iv. ***tal-khom-ssapssal-hata*** ‘bitter sweet.pos.att’
 - v. ***tal-khom-ssupssul-hata*** ‘bitter sweet.neg.att’
 - vi. *tal-khom-saykhum-hata* ‘savory sweet and slightly sour’
 - vii. ***tal-ccakcikun-hata*** ‘somewhat savory sweetish in the weak sense.pos.att; content and pleased.pos.att’
 - viii. ***tal-chakcikun-hata*** ‘somewhat savory sweetish in the strong sense.pos.att; content and pleased.pos.att’
 - ix. *tal-kom-hata* ‘savory sweet in the weak sense’

2. Note that only variants with emotional attitudes (i.e. ETTs) are bold-faced in the list, in which ‘pos.att’ denotes ‘positive attitude’; ‘neg.att’ denotes ‘negative attitude’; neutral attitude is not marked. The definition for each variant here is a literal translation of its dictionary definition (*Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008), while its emotional attitude is posited based on the author’s intuition (who is a native speaker of Korean) corroborated by empirical distributional facts such as compatibility with other expressives.

- x. *tal-khom-hata* 'savory sweet in the strong sense.pos.att; intriguingly charming or ingratiating.pos.att; comfortable and cozy.pos.att'
- xi. *tal-khum-hata* 'very savory sweet'
- xii. *tul-khum-hata* 'somewhat sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att'
- xiii. *tul-ccekcikun-hata* 'slightly sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att'

First, in the literal dimension of meaning, most variants of 'sweet' convey fine-grained distinction with respect to the intensity of the taste as in (iii) *ta-ti-tal-ta* 'extremely sweet', (xi) *tal-khum-hata* 'very savory sweet'. Furthermore, there are some variants of 'sweet' for conveying mixture of tastes such as (iv) *tal-khom-ssapssal-hata* 'bitter sweet.pos.att' and (vi) *tal-khom-saykhum-hata* 'savory sweet and slightly sour'.

Second, what's also interesting in these examples is that they have undergone *semantic extension*, conveying a figurative meaning: the inherent meaning of sweet taste is stretched to the figurative meaning that goes beyond the taste. In both variants (vii) *tal-ccakcikun-hata* and (viii) *tal-chakcikun-hata*, for instance, the sweetness could be either about the somewhat savory sweetish taste of a food item or about the situation. The secondary dictionary meaning for these variants is thus defined as 'content and pleased'. Likewise, the literal meaning in (x) *tal-khom-hata* 'savory sweet in the strong sense' is extended to the figurative meaning such as 'intriguingly charming or ingratiating' or 'comfortable and cozy'. Such semantic extension of 'sweet taste' to positive figurative sense seems to be quite universal. The dictionary definition of *sweet* in English, for instance, includes both the figurative meaning 'pleasing to the mind or feelings', as in (2b-c), and the literal one 'pleasing to the taste', as in (2a), as its primary meaning (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 1828).

- (2) a. She likes her coffee *sweet*. [English]
- b. She has a *sweet* smile.
- c. It was *sweet* of her to take care of them.

Finally, and most importantly, there are many variants of 'sweet' that can express a speaker's emotional attitude in Korean. For one thing, positive attitudes of a sweet taste can be conveyed, as in (vii) *tal-ccakcikun-hata* 'somewhat savory sweetish in the weak sense.pos.att', and (iv) *tal-khom-ssapssal-hata* 'bitter sweet.pos.att'. In the following example, a speaker's positive attitude is expressed by the vowel choice in *tal-* and the degree of positive attitude is expressed by the consonant choice *-ccakcikun* (weak.pos.att) vs. *-chakcikun* (strong.pos.att):

- (3) khephi-nun ssapssalayha-myenseto **tal-chakcikun-hata**.
 coffee-Top somewhat.bitter-while somewhat.savory.sweet.**pos.att**-Decl
 a. descriptive (literal): 'Coffee is somewhat bitter yet somewhat savory sweet.'
 b. expressive: 'I feel very positively about the sweet taste.'
 (example taken from *Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008)

Considering the inherent positivity and general preference toward the sweet taste, the concurrent inflection of positive attitude is unsurprising, as we observed in English also. The crucial difference, however, is that in Korean negative attitudes also can be reflected in the sweet taste as in (v) *tal-khom-ssupssul-hata* 'bitter sweet.neg.att', (xii) *tul-khum-hata* 'somewhat sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att' and (xiii) *tul-ccekcikun-hata* 'slightly sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att'. The following example from a novel reveals the hero's negative attitude toward the sweet taste of some gum:

- (4) tampay-nun sikumthelthelhay-ss-ko kkem-un mwullengmwulleng
 cigarette-Top sour.astringent.neg.att-Pst-and gum-Top squashy
tulccekcikunhal-ppwun-i-ess-ta.
 slightly.sweet.in.unappetizing.way.**neg.att**-just-be-Pst-Decl
 a. descriptive (literal): 'The cigarette was sour and astringent, and the gum was just squashy and slightly sweet.'
 b. expressive: 'I feel negatively toward the unappetizingly slightly sweet taste of the gum.'
 (Y.-H. Park, 'Menamen songpa-gang' 1977)

We term this kind of positive and negative emotive variants *Emotive Taste Terms* (ETTs), which are bold-faced in the list of variants for 'sweet' above.

2.2 Variants of bitter taste

Just like the taste term for 'sweet', *ssu-ta* 'bitter' exhibits three dimensional meaning: (i) literal meaning on the taste; (ii) figurative meaning on the situation; and (iii) expressive meaning with negative, neutral, and positive emotional variants; most frequently used variants are the following, which is also not an exhaustive list:

- (5) 8 variants of *ssu-ta* 'bitter'
- i. *ssap-ssa-lay-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter.pos.att'
 - ii. *ssap-ssa-lum-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter.pos.att'
 - iii. *ssap-ssal-hata* 'somewhat bitter.pos.att'

- iv. *ssu-ta* 'bitter; displeased or distressed.neg.att; wretched due to illness.neg.att'
- v. *ssu-ti-ssu-ta* 'extremely bitter.neg.att; extremely distressed.neg.att'
- vi. *ssup-ssu-ley-hata* 'somewhat bitter.neg.att; somewhat displeased or distressed.neg.att'
- vii. *ssup-ssu-lum-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter.neg.att; somewhat displeased or distressed.neg.att'
- viii. *ssup-ssul-hata* 'somewhat bitter.neg.att; somewhat displeased or distressed.neg.att'

With 'bitter' also, most variants convey a fine-grained distinction with respect to the intensity of the taste as in (i) *ssap-ssa-lay-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter', (v) *ssu-ti-ssu-ta* 'extremely bitter', etc. Some variants of 'bitter' can carry mixture of tastes as in *talkhom-ssapssal-hata* 'bitter sweet.pos.att'.

Regarding the variants of taste terms with the inflection of the speaker's emotional stance, what's interesting is the fact that the majority of variants for 'bitter' tend to concern negative attitude, while most variants of 'sweet' above reflect positive attitude. Negative attitudes are reflected in variants of the bitter taste as in (v) *ssu-ti-ssu-ta* 'extremely bitter.neg.att', (vi) *ssup-ssu-ley-hata* 'somewhat bitter.neg.att', etc. The fundamental connection between bitter taste and negative attitude is also shown by the fact that even the basic taste term *ssu-ta* 'bitter' carries a negative sense in its secondary dictionary meanings:

- (6) na-to ku *ssun* kyenghem-ul ha-n salam-i-yo.
 I-also that distressing.neg.att experience-Acc do-Rel person-be-Decl
 'I also had that distressing experience.'

(S.H. Ham, *History and nationality* 1979)

Furthermore, as observed in the variants of 'sweet' above, these variants of 'bitter' seem to have undergone *semantic extension*, but, in the case of 'bitter', towards the opposite direction to the negative axis: the typical aversion to bitter taste is extended to a negative meaning toward the situation. This seems to be a general tendency across languages: In English, the primary definition of *bitter* concerns both 'bitter acrid taste', as in (7a), and 'distasteful or distressing to the mind', as in (7b) (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 1828).

- (7) a. a *bitter* beer [English]
 b. a *bitter* sense of shame

Notice that even the basic term *ssu-ta* 'bitter' above conveys two types of negative figurative meaning, 'displeased or distressed' and 'wretched due to illness', as potential secondary meanings. Likewise, the secondary dictionary definitions for

other variants of 'bitter' include 'extremely distressed' for (v) *ssu-ti-ssu-ta*, and 'somewhat displeased or distressed' for (vi) *ssup-ssu-ley-hata*.

- (8) ku-nun pwuthak-ul keceltangha-ca messukha-ko
 he-Top favor-Acc denied-after awkward-and
ssupssuleyha-ess-ta.
 somewhat.displeased.**neg.att**-Pst-Dec
 'He felt awkward and somewhat displeased after being denied the favor.'
 (example taken from *Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008)

In these variants, the negativity may concern either a literal bitter taste of a food item or a figurative bitterness of the situation. We assume, however, that the extended meaning 'displeased' for these variants exists in descriptive dimension, while the negative emotional attitude is supplemented in expressive dimension.

The semantic extension of the positive variants, on the other hand, does not seem as established as that of negative counterparts, since the positive meaning is not explicitly defined as the secondary meaning in the dictionary. Instead, these positive variants deliver a positive sense about the situation, as in (10), as well as the taste itself, as in (9), at the expressive level:³

- (9) khephi-potanun **ssapssalha**-n mas-i issnun nokcha-ka
 coffee-than somewhat.bitter.**pos.att** taste-Nom be coh-ta.
 green.tea-Nom
 like-Decl
 a. descriptive (literal): 'I like green tea with somewhat bitter taste better than coffee.'
 b. expressive: 'I feel positively toward the somewhat bitter taste.'
 (example taken from *Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008)
- (10) **talkhom-ssapssalum**-han lomaynsu
 somewhat.bitter.sweet.**pos.att**-Adn romance
 c. descriptive (figurative): 'A somewhat bittersweet romance'
 d. expressive: 'I feel positively toward the somewhat bittersweet romance.'

3. The positive emotional attitude of *talkhom-ssapssalum-han* in (10) is further supported by the oddity of the following example with a negative variant; it is due to the conflict with the inherent positive meaning of 'romance':

(i) # **tulkhum-ssupssulum**-han lomaynsu
 somewhat.bitter.sweet.**neg.att**-Adn romance

Given the observation so far, it is tempting to conclude that the frequent association of negative attitude with bitter taste is just a natural consequence of semantic extension from the general dispreference or negative emotion associated with bitterness per se, rather than a grammatical device for systematically marking the speaker's emotional attitude as we argue. An important piece of evidence to support our analysis of the emotional attitude as a *Conventional Implicature* (CI) marker, however, comes from the fact that positive attitudes also can be conveyed within the realm of bitter taste or situation as in (i) *ssap-ssa-lay-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter.pos.att', and (iii) *ssap-ssal-hata* 'somewhat bitter.pos.att'. Recall also the positive attitude in the mixture of taste as in (iv) *talkhom-ssapssal-hata* 'bitter sweet.pos.att'.

2.3 Variants of salty taste

The taste term *cca-ta* 'salty' exhibits the following variants, which is once again not an exhaustive list:

- (11) 7 variants of *cca-ta* 'salty'
 - i. *cca-ta* 'salty; stingy (in vulgar language).neg.att'
 - ii. *cca-ti-cca-ta* 'extremely salty; extremely stingy (in vulgar language).neg.att'
 - iii. *ccap-colum-hata* 'somewhat salty'
 - iv. *ccap-cca-lay-hata* 'somewhat salty (taste or smell)'
 - v. *ccap-cca-lum-hata* 'somewhat salty (taste or smell)'
 - vi. *ccap-ccal-hata* 'somewhat savory salty.pos.att; orderly and staunch work or behavior.pos.att; becoming substantial and rich.pos.att'
 - vii. *ccip-ccil-hata* 'somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att; unsatisfactory work or behavior.neg.att'

Similar to the taste adjectives for 'sweet' and 'bitter', most variants for 'salty' convey a fine-grained distinction with respect to the intensity of the taste as in (ii) *cca-ti-cca-ta* 'extremely salty' and (iii) *ccap-colum-hata* 'somewhat salty'. One interesting typical connotation with the salty taste in Korean concerns being 'stingy', as shown from the fact that the secondary dictionary meaning of the basic term *cca-ta* 'salty' is 'stingy (in vulgar language)', and that of an intensive variant means 'extremely stingy'.

Likewise, in English, *salty* exhibits semantic extension toward a negative direction: besides the basic taste of containing salt as in (12a), it could also mean 'crude' as in (12b) (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 1828), or 'upset' or 'depressing' as in (12c) in a slang term.

- (12) a. I think the soup tastes *salty*. [English]
 b. *salty* language
 c. Don't be a *salty* bitch. (example from 'Urban Dictionary.com')

Given the potentially negative connotation (of being stingy) in the basic term of salty taste in Korean, an association of negative attitude is anticipated: in the variant (vii) *ccip-ccil-hata*, the speaker's negative emotional attitude may concern either the literal salty taste, meaning 'somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att', as in (13a), or the extended meaning concerning the situation 'unsatisfactory work or behavior.neg.att', as in (13b):

- (13) a. **ccipccilha-n** ttam-i ip-ulo tuleo-ass-ta.
somewhat.unsavory.salty.neg.att sweat-Nom mouth-into enter-Pst-Decl
'Somewhat unsavory salty sweat got into my mouth.'
(example taken from *Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008)
- b. Yongi-nun kaywunchika anh-ta. tewuk kipwun-i nappwu-ko
Y.-Top refreshed Neg-Decl more feeling-Nom bad-and
ccipccilha-ta.
unsatisfactory.neg.att
'Yongi doesn't feel refreshed. He's feeling worse and unsatisfactory.'
(Kyung-li Park, *Thoci* 1969–1994)

What is surprising about ‘salty’ in Korean, however, is that despite the inherently negative connotation of being stingy with saltiness, positive variants also exist. In (vi) *ccap-ccal-hata*, the positive attitude may concern either the basic taste meaning ‘somewhat savory salty.pos.att’, or extended meanings such as ‘orderly and staunch work or behavior.pos.att’ or ‘becoming substantial and rich.pos.att’. That is, the positive emotion operates in the expressive dimension, and both the literal meaning of a given taste and the figurative meaning of a given situation operate in the descriptive dimension.

2.4 Derivation of taste terms

An important question arises at this point: how can the Korean language allow the flexibility of expressing such a variety of aspects with a single basic taste term? The sophisticated system for conveying extremely nuanced emotional attitudes with taste terms is built upon two main kinds of derivation. First, Korean makes extensive use of phonological alternations of consonants and vowels. Second, Korean is an agglutinative language, allowing productive and cumulative morphological permutations such as prefixation, suffixation, or reduplication. Thus the morpho-phonological system of generating extremely gradient expressions

allows the speaker to gracefully deliver the delicate meaning differences regarding their emotional attitude as well as the subtle differences in the quality/quantity of taste.

It is well known that phoneme variation gives rise to intensification effect in Korean: First, alternations of vowels observe the following rules of *vowel harmony*: (i) *yan* (bright) vowels such as /a/, /ay/, /o/ have a strong tendency to avoid co-occurrence with *yin* (dark) vowels such as /e/, /ey/, /u/ within the word boundary; and (ii) the vowel type in the stem (i.e. *yin* vs. *yang*) regulates the vowel type in its suffix. In taste terms, the series of *yan* vowels in the stem of a base taste term tends to associate with a diminutive or moderate connotation, conveying the quality of a given taste being savory or pleasant, while the alternation to *yin* vowels triggers the opposite attitudes of being unsavory or unpleasant. In a subtype of the *tal-ta*-series 'sweet', for instance, vowel alternations between (i) the *yang* vowel /a/ and the *yin* vowel /u/ in the stem and (ii) /a/ and /e/ in the suffix, i.e. between *tal-chakcikun-hata* and *tul-ccekcikun-hata*, correlate with positive and negative emotional attitude toward the sweet taste, respectively.

Besides the vowel alternations, consonant alternations bring about additional connotation shift: in the following variants, the alternation /k/ vs. /k^h/ in the suffixes *-kom* vs. *-khom* 'savory' and the alternation /tɕ/ vs. /tɕ^h/ in the suffixes *-ccakcikun* vs. *-chakcikun* 'somewhat (un)savory' indicate non-emphatic weak sense vs. emphatic strong sense or feel of the speaker.

In addition to the phoneme variation, morphological variation conveys nuanced meaning differences in Korean. In taste terms, several suffixes are available to trigger various connotation shifts. The series of *-kom/khom/khum* concerns the quality, marking the savoriness, and the series of *-lay/ley/lum* concerns the quantity, marking the weaker intensity, of taste. Another possible variation is reduplication along with the infixation of *-ti* which seems to give rise to an emphatic effect like 'very', as in *ta-ti-tal-ta*. Reduplication without *-ti*, *tal-tal-hata*, on the other hand, typically co-occurs with *lum/lay/ley/l*-series to mark the weaker intensity of the taste.

3. The meaning of taste terms in Korean

3.1 Emotive taste terms as expressives

It is generally difficult to articulate subtle emotional attitude of a speaker with only descriptive items; speakers thus employ *expressive items* to convey their subjective perspective. Representative examples of expressives include epithets such as *damn* and *bastard* in English which carry expressive information concerning

a speaker's emotional attitude of the utterance. Potts (2005 et seq.) suggests that the expressive content can be understood as *conventional implicature* (CI), stating that they have "a dramatic impact on how current and future utterances are perceived" (Potts 2007a, 8).

Besides the epithets with negative attitude, a variety of items have been identified as expressives across languages. For instance, adverbials such as *yoku* and *yokumo*, expressing speaker's surprise, in Japanese are analyzed as expressive elements (McCready 2004). Likewise, intensifiers such as *sau*, *total*, and *voll* in German, roughly translated as 'totally', are identified as expressive intensifiers (Gutzmann & Turgay 2012).

Another type of expressives is found in the realm of honorification system in the sense that, as Potts (2007b) notes, it reveals the speaker's attitude. Honorifics in Japanese (Potts 2005; Potts and Kawahara 2004) and Korean (Kim and Sells 2007), for example, have been classified as expressives. In a similar vein, informal and formal pronouns in German have been treated as expressives also, since they can inform the addressee of the expressive setting such as the relationship between speaker and hearer (Potts 2007b). (We will return to the discussion of honorification as expressives in Section 5.5.) Furthermore, there are still other types of expressives such as 'even' items in Greek, and metalinguistic 'more' and 'than' particles in Greek and Korean (Giannakiodou and Yoon 2011).

For these emotionally charged items, Potts (2007a, 1) notes that they have "an immediate and powerful impact on the context" and "a speaker's expressives indicate that she is in a heightened emotional state. They can tell us if she is angry or elated, frustrated or at ease, powerful or subordinated" (Potts 2007a, 8). Similarly, ETTs in Korean express a speaker's heightened emotional stance which is the canonical property of expressives. When a speaker employs one of the emotional variants of the basic taste term, the effect of utterance becomes more emphatic. The lexical selection among different variants of taste terms can thus be understood as a speaker's tactful strategy to establish their emotive stance.

Before jumping to the conclusion, let us examine ETTs with the typical properties of expressives (Potts 2005, 2007a) to see whether our analysis of ETTs as expressives is on the right track. An ETT, as a stance marker, is expected to exhibit the hallmarks of expressive. First, ETTs exhibit *independence*. Independence means that the expressive content of pejoratives like *bastard* contributes to the expressive dimension of meaning that is detached from the semantic at-issue dimension. In Potts' example 'That bastard Frederic is famous', what is asserted is 'Frederic is famous' (descriptive meaning), but what is additionally expressed is 'Frederic is a bastard in my opinion' (expressive meaning). Likewise, the at-issue meaning of the ETT *ccipccilha* is 'somewhat unsavory salty', but it simultaneously expresses the speaker's negative attitude toward the literal dimension of salty taste:

- (14) **ccipccilha-n** **ttam-i** **ip-ulo** **tuleo-ass-ta.**
 somewhat.unsavory.salty sweat-Nom mouth-into enter-Pst-Decl
 a. descriptive meaning (literal): ‘Salty sweat got into my mouth.’
 b. expressive meaning: ‘I feel very negatively toward the unsavory salty taste.’

A positive attitude, on the other hand, can be reflected in ETT toward the figurative at-issue dimension of sweet, i.e. satisfactory, situation, as shown in the following example:

- (15) **mochelem** **talkhomha-key** **swui-ess-ta.**
 after.a.long.time comfortable.and.cozy-Adv rest-Pst-Decl.
 a. descriptive meaning (figurative): ‘It’s been a long time since I took such a sweet (comfortable and cozy) rest.’
 b. expressive meaning: ‘I feel very positively toward the rest.’
 (example taken from *Dictionary of the National Institute of Korean Language* 2008)

Second, ETTs show *nondisplaceability*. Since expressives always comment on the utterance situation itself, they cannot report on past events, attitudes, or emotions, unless they are in quotations (Potts 2007a, 5). ETTs in Korean also exhibit such immediate impact on the context:

- (16) **ecey** **ccipccilha-n** **ttam-i** **ip-ulo** **tuleo-ass-ta.**
 yesterday somewhat.unsavory.salty sweat-Nom mouth-into enter-Pst-Decl
 a. descriptive meaning (literal): ‘Salty sweat got into my mouth yesterday.’
 b. expressive meaning: ‘I feel very negatively toward the unsavory salty taste.’
 – #sayngkakhayponi sasil sangkhoay-hayss-e!
 on.reflection actually refreshing-Pst-Decl
 ‘#Now that I think about it, it was actually refreshing!’

Here the lexical choice of the negative emotive variant *ccipccilha* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att’, over neutral or positive variants, indicates that the speaker expresses their *currently effective* negative emotion even though the propositional content concerns an event in the past. This is shown by the infelicitous continuation ‘#Now that I think about it, it was refreshing!’ with a conflicting attitude. This means that the effect of negative emotional attitude must be tied to the time of utterance.

Within the system of CI logic, the multidimensional meaning can be represented as the following: (i) the literal descriptive meaning of the sentence with the type ϵ (at-issue type) is ‘salty’ or (ii) the figurative meaning of the sentence with the type ϵ is ‘unsatisfactory’; and (iii) the conventionalized implicature with the type ϵ (CI type) is ‘I feel negatively toward the x (as it was unpleasant or unsavory)’:

- (17) *ccipccilha-n* X
 a. at issue (literal): salty(x): e ; or
 b. at issue (figurative): unsatisfactory(situation): e ; and
 c. CI: negative-attitude(the-speaker)(x): ε

Finally, as CIs, ETTs in Korean exhibit *ineffability*. Each variant of ‘salty’, for instance, conveys its own connotational nuance in terms of the speaker’s positive or negative emotional attitude, in addition to the taste or situation. Employing an ETT thus means that the speaker has made a deliberate choice of a particular variant among abundant morpho-phonological alternatives for denoting the same taste. This involves a complicated (albeit effortless) process of achieving a complex combination of altered consonants, vowels, and/or suffixes. We assume that this is a tactful strategy of conveying an extremely subtle yet nuanced meaning of the taste in the context, hence a paraphrase with non-expressive elements would not maintain its unique flavor of a particular variant like *ccipccilhan* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att’.

Given the properties of taste terms so far, we conclude that ETTs in Korean is a subtype of expressive elements, akin to the aforementioned expressive elements.

3.2 The effect of emotive taste terms in context

Within Potts’ (2007a, (37)) system, the result of uttering an expressive is captured as an operation on the context. The context contains various parameters including an expressive setting c_s , which consists of a set of Expressive Indices (EIs). EIs are the main objects manipulated by expressive denotations, defined as “a triple $\langle a \ I \ b \rangle$, $I \in [-1, 1]$.” EIs are the essential basis for expressive domains in expressive items (e.g. *damn*). These indices are defined via numerical intervals $I \subseteq [-1, 1]$, and encode the degree and orientation of the expressive. In the triple $\langle a \ I \ b \rangle$, an individual a is at expressive level I for an individual b . The innovation of expressive intervals is its flexibility to encode the gradience in emotional stance from neutral to very positive or negative. Emotive relations are defined by manipulating I to proper subintervals of $[-1, 1]$, in which more positive numbers represent more positive expressive relationship, and more negative numbers mean more negative expressive relationship. Since EIs are merely entities, the nuanced connotation of expressives is difficult to be perfectly translated by a paraphrase, i.e. ineffability. Instead, EIs allow the propositional implications: in $\langle [[\text{tom}]] \ [-.5, 0] \ [[\text{jerry}]] \rangle$, we infer a proposition along the line of ‘Tom feels negatively toward Jerry’. The numerical indices allow us to represent the emotive relation between the judge and the referent. The EI of ETTs thus needs to indicate the intensity and polarity

of emotional attitude. Building on Giannakidou and Yoon (2011; Yoon 2011, 2015), we propose the following expressive indices of ETTs:

(18) *Expressive indices (EI) of emotive taste terms*

- i. *Emotive taste terms* contain expressive indices $\langle a \text{ I } e \rangle$, where a is the individual anchor, e the referent the individual anchor refers to, and $I \subseteq [-1, 1]$.
- ii. The index I is an attitude towards e that may be either (a) *buletic* state or (b) *epistemic* state. An ETT's index ranges through both the positive and negative interval:
 - a. *ETT*: $\langle e, \epsilon \rangle$: An ETT combines descriptive content e (the type of entities for the referent) and expressive content ϵ .
 - b. $[[\text{emotive taste terms}]]_c$: $\lambda e.e$ (identity function); c is the context
 - c. Expressive content of *emotive taste terms* in c :
Emotive taste terms contain an expressive index (EI) $\langle a \text{ I } e \rangle$, where a is the individual anchor, e the referent the individual anchor refers to; and I ranges between $[-1, 1]$.
 - d. The expressive index varies among the subtypes of emotive taste terms: e.g., weak negative *tul-ccekcikun-hata* 'slightly sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att' with $[-1, 0]$, strong positive *ta-ti-tal-ta* 'extremely sweet; extremely considerate and affectionate.pos.att' with $[.5, 1]$, etc. (cf. neutral taste term *tal-ta* 'sweet' with $[-1, 1]$)

First, the provision in (18a) shows that ETTs have variants with differing strength and polarity of emotion (weak vs. strong, positive vs. negative taste terms). Second, (18b) states that the expressive interval I may concern either *buletic* or *epistemic* state of a given taste: for instance, I may concern a *buletic* state if an individual expresses desirability toward a given stimulus – an ETT variant may convey negative feelings about a given taste (or situation) such as being unsavory or unpleasant, or positive emotions such as being savory or pleasant; or I may concern an *epistemic* state such as degree of certainty about the speaker's perception of the taste (e.g. *ssup-ssu-lum-hata* 'seemingly somewhat bitter.neg.att; somewhat displeased or distressed.neg.att'). Finally, the provision in (18ii-d) states that there are multiple subcategories of ETTs with different degrees of expressive indices. For instance, weak negative ETTs like *tul-ccekcikun-hata* 'slightly sweet in unsavory/unpleasant way.neg.att' with $[-1, 0]$, weak positive ETTs like *tal-ccakcikun-hata* 'somewhat savory sweetish in the weak sense.pos.att; content and pleased.pos.att' with $[0, 1]$, or strong positive ETTs like *ta-ti-tal-ta* 'extremely sweet; extremely considerate and affectionate.pos.att' with $[.5, 1]$, and the neutral taste term *tal-ta* 'sweet' with $[-1, 1]$.

Theoretical implications of the current proposal on the CI of ETTs then include the generalization that the function of ETTs may be incorporated as part of the grammar along with typical expressive elements. That is, ETTs are reflexes of *grammaticalization of perspective* and *subjective mode*, akin to other phenomena such as predicates of personal taste (Lasersohn 2009), mood choice (Yoon 2011, 2013), or metalinguistic comparatives (Giannakidou and Yoon 2009, 2011).⁴

4. Compatibility condition for multiple expressives

In Section 5, we discuss how ETTs interact with other kinds of expressives, examining compatibility between multiple expressive items based on the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* for multiple expressives (Yoon 2015, Figure 1):

4.1 Compatibility between ETTs and expressive nouns

Korean makes extensive use of expressive elements: a speaker can reveal subtle emotional attitudes ranging from negative to positive emotion by means of a variety of sentential categories such as nouns, verbs, functional adverbs, case particles, and complementizers. These emotive elements can be classified into three categories: positive/honorific, neutral, and negative/antihonorific (Giannakidou and Yoon 2009, 2011).

4. Thus the meaning of ETTs can be understood along the lines of predicates of personal taste like *fun* in the sense of Lasersohn (2009). One of the hallmarks of predicates of personal taste concerns the problem of *faultless disagreement*: “A: Kissing is fun. B: No, kissing is not fun.” The following example shows that such faultless disagreement is also possible with Korean ETTs:

- (i) *Context: Kim and Lee are roommates. Kim likes Mrs. Park, an old lady next door, but Lee hates her. Mrs. Park baked an apple pie for them this morning, and they are discussing the taste of the pie:*

Kim: phai-ka cengmal tal-khom-hata.

pie-Nom really savory.sweet.in.the.strong.sense.pos.att-Decl

‘This pie is really savory sweet.’

Lee: aniya, tul-ccekikun-hata.

no slightly.sweet.in.unsavory/unpleasant.way.neg.att-Decl

‘No, it is slightly sweet in unsavory, unpleasant way.’

The crucial difference here is that, unlike predicates of personal taste, the faultless disagreement with ETTs concerns the meaning in another dimension, i.e. on the expressive level. On the semantic at-issue level, both speakers, Kim and Lee, assert the same fact that Ms. Park’s pie has a sweet taste. The disagreement concerns two speakers’ subjective perception of the emotive nature of the sweet taste.

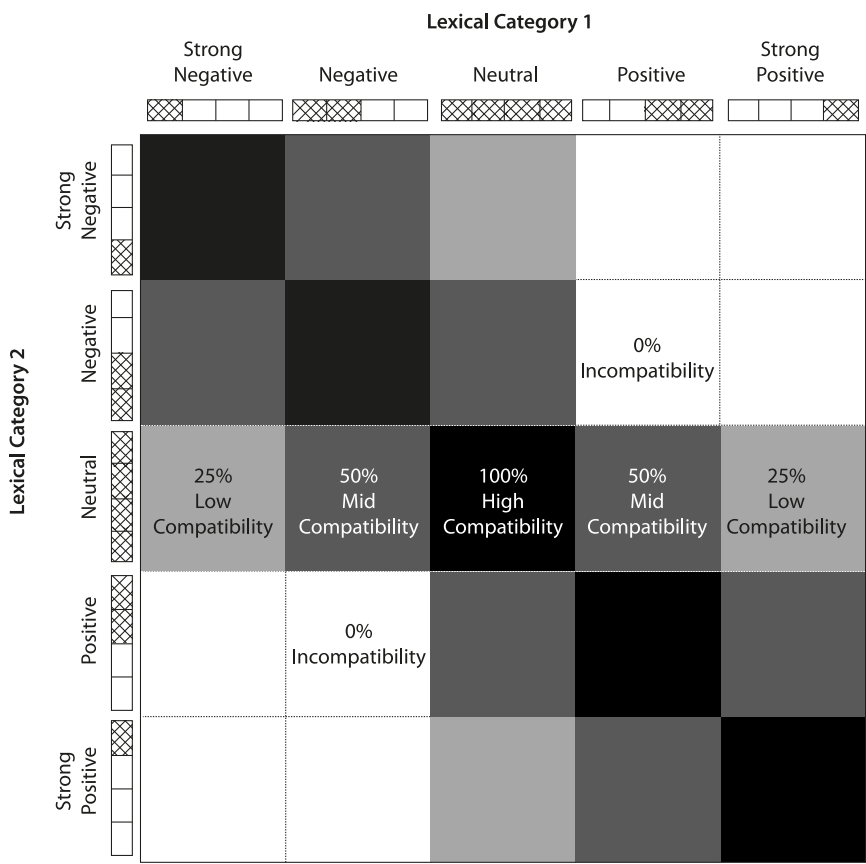


Figure 1. Compatibility Condition Model (CCM) for multiple expressives The figure shows the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* for multiple expressives with varying degrees of attitudes: from strongly negative with *Expressive Index* (EI) $[-1,-.5]$ (marked as $\text{X} \square \square \square \square$), through negative $[-1,0]$, neutral $[-1,1]$, positive $[0,1]$, to strongly positive $[.5,1]$. For the combination of (expressive) lexical category 1 and (expressive) lexical category 2, the Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) calculates the degree of their compatibility. The black squares indicate the regions of high compatibility with CCI of 100%, the dark gray ones, the regions of mid-compatibility with CCI of 50%, and so on.

To begin, we can test the compatibility between ETTs and the following variants for ‘guy’ that convey different degrees of emotional attitude toward the referent (Yoon 2015): (i) *saykki* ‘bastard’ with the strong negative Expressive Index (EI) $[-1,-.5]$; (ii) *nom* or *casik* ‘jerk’ with the weak negative EI $[-1,0]$; (iii) *namca* ‘man, guy’ with the neutral EI $[-1,1]$; (iv) *ssi* ‘Mr./Ms.’ with the weak positive EI

[0,1]; and (v) *nim* and *pwun* ‘sir, the honorable’ with the strong positive EI [.5,1].⁵ Furthermore, emotional variants for nouns like ‘smell’ and ‘taste’ exhibit systematic compatibility patterns with the variants with corresponding EIs:

Table 1. The compatibility of ETTs and expressive nouns

ETT emotive nouns	<i>tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssu</i> <i>l-hata</i> ‘sweet/salty/bitter .neg.att’ [-1,-.5]	<i>tal/cca/ssu-ta</i> ‘sweet/salty/bitter.ne ut.att’ [-1,1]	<i>talkhom/ccapccal/ssap</i> <i>ssal-hata</i> ‘sweet/salty/bitter .pos.att’ [.5,1]
<i>saykki</i> ‘bastard’ [-1,-.5] <i>akchwuy</i> ‘stink’ <i>mastaykali</i> ‘taste.neg.att’	high compatibility		
<i>nom, casik</i> ‘jerk’ [-1,0]	mid compatibility		
<i>namca</i> ‘man/guy’ [-1,1] <i>naymsay</i> ‘smell’ <i>mas</i> ‘taste’	low compatibility		
<i>ssi</i> ‘Mr./Ms.’ [0,1]	incompatibility		
<i>pwun, nim</i> ‘sir’ [.5,1] <i>hyangki</i> ‘aroma’ <i>phwungmi</i> ‘savoriness’			

As in the *Compatibility Condition Model (CCM)* in Figure 1 above, the degree of shading in Table 1 reflects the degree of their compatibility: the black cells indicate the regions of high compatibility between expressive lexical category 1 and expressive lexical category 2; the dark gray cells indicate the regions of mid-compatibility; the light gray cells indicate the regions of low compatibility; and the white cells indicate the regions of incompatibility. From Table 1 we can predict that a strong negative ETT like *ccip-ccil-hata* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att; unsatisfactory work or behavior.neg.att’ with [-1,-.5] is most compatible with the strong negative terms such as *saykki* ‘bastard’, *akchwuy* ‘stink’, or *mastaykali* ‘taste.neg.att’ which has the identical index of [-1,-.5]. A medium level of compatibility is expected with the weak negative nouns like *nom* ‘jerk’ [-1,0]. A low level of compatibility is anticipated with neutral nouns such as *namca* ‘guy’, *naymsay* ‘smell’, or *mas* ‘taste’ with [-1,1]. Furthermore, both weak positive nouns like *ssi* ‘Mr./Ms.’ and strong ones such as *pwun* ‘sir’, *hyangki* ‘aroma’, and *phwungmi* ‘savoriness’ are predicted to be incompatible. On the other hand, a strong positive ETT like *ccap-ccal-hata* ‘somewhat savory salty.pos.att; orderly and staunch work or behavior.pos.att; becoming substantial and rich.pos.att’ with the EI [.5,1], is incompatible with strong negative terms like *saykki* ‘bastard’, *akchwuy* ‘stink’, or

5. One might wonder how the taste term can modify these variants for ‘guy’, but it is to some extent possible via the *semantic extension* from the meaning of ETTs. For instance, we can describe a person’s character as stingy with *ccata* ‘salty’.

mastaykali ‘taste.neg.att’, or even weak negative one *nom* ‘jerk’. However, it is moderately compatible with weak positive noun like *ssi* ‘Mr./Ms.’ [0,1] and highly compatible with strong positive terms like *pwun/nim* ‘sir’, *hyangki* ‘aroma’, and *phwungmi* ‘savoriness’ with the matching index of [.5,1]. The compatibility paradigm is borne out in the following data, which reveals oddity only in incompatible cases:

- (19) a. *ccipccilhan* {*akchwuy* /*naymsay* /*#hyangki*}
salty.neg.att stink.neg.att /smell.neut.att /aroma.pos.att
b. *ccan* {*akchwuy* /*naymsay* /*hyangki*}
salty.neut.att stink.neg.att /smell.neut.att /aroma.pos.att
c. *ccapccalhan* {*#akchwuy* /*naymsay* /*hyangki*}
salty.pos.att stink.neg.att /smell.neut.att /aroma.pos.att

In order to measure the degree of compatibility between two (or more) expressive elements with an Expressive Index, we adopt the simplified *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* that Yoon (2015, (38)) suggests:

$$(20) \text{ Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)} \\ = \frac{\text{length of overlapped range of narrow Expressive Index (EI)}}{\text{length of broad Expressive Index (EI)}} \times 100 (\%)$$

The simplified equation in (20) shows how the strength of EI affects the compatibility constraint: weak negative items, for instance, may contribute about half of the strong negative elements. In the case of *ccip-ccil-hata* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att’ with [−1,−.5], the EI length of which is 0.5, and *nom* ‘jerk’ [−1,0], the EI length of which is 1, the CCI is 50%; we thus anticipate mid-compatibility for the interfacial bonding of the two emotive lexical items.

The CCI allows us to calculate the approximate degree of compatibility between variants of emotive nouns and ETTs, hence predicts the co-occurrence patterns of expressives, as summarized in Table 2, refined from Table 1 above:

The *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI)* indicates how natural the co-occurrence of multiple expressives is. Thus the 100% of CCI means that the strong negative ETTs like *ccip-ccil-hata* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att’ with [−1,−.5] most naturally and frequently occur with the strong negative nouns such as *saykki* ‘bastard’ or *akchwi* ‘stink’ which has the perfectly matching index of [−1,−.5]. The 50% of CCI predicts that it occurs less frequently with the weak negative terms like *nom* or *casik* ‘jerk’ [−1,0]. On the other hand, due to the lack of 0% regions for the neutral terms such as *namca* ‘guy’, *naymsay* ‘smell’, *mas* ‘taste’ [−1,1], any kind of ETTs can occur. Also, the same pattern is predicted with positive ETTs. Our prediction is borne out in the following examples in which only regions with 0% compatibility give rise to oddity:

Table 2. *Compatibility Condition Index (CCI) of ETTs and expressive nouns*

ETT emotive nouns	<i>tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssu</i> <i>l-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter .neg.att' [-1,-.5]	<i>tal/cca/ssu-ta</i> 'sweet/salty/ bitter.ne ut.att' [-1,1]	<i>talkhom/ccapccal/ssapssa</i> <i>l-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter .pos.att' [.5,1]
<i>saykki</i> 'bastard' <i>akchwuy</i> 'stink' <i>mastaykali</i> 'taste.neg. att' [-1,-.5]	CCI: 100% high compatibility	25%	0%
<i>nom,casik</i> 'jerk' [-1,0]	CCI: 50% mid compatibility	50%	0%
<i>namca</i> 'man/guy' <i>naymsay</i> 'smell' <i>mas</i> 'taste' [-1,1]	CCI: 25% low compatibility	100%	25%
<i>ssi</i> 'Mr./Ms.' [0,1]	CCI: 0% incompatibility	50%	50%
<i>pwun, nim</i> 'sir' <i>hyangki</i> 'aroma' <i>phwungmi</i> 'savoriness' [.5,1]	0%	25%	100%

(21) *ETTs with various emotive nouns*

- a. {#ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ ✓ ccipccilhan} {saykki/akchwi/mattaykali}
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att bastard/stink/taste.neg.att
'The (C_{CI}{positively/plain/negatively}) salty bastard/stink/taste'
- b. {#ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ ✓ ccipccilhan} {nom/casik}
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att jerk
'The (C_{CI}{positively/plain/negatively}) salty jerk'
- c. {✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ ✓ ccipccilhan} {namca/naymsay/mas}
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att man/smell/taste
'The (C_{CI}{positively/plain/negatively}) salty man/smell/taste'
- d. {✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/#ccipccilhan} Brown-ssi
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att Mr. Brown
'The (C_{CI}{positively/plain/negatively}) salty Mr. Brown'
- e. {✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/#ccipccilhan} kyoswu.nim/hayngki/phwungmi
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att Professor.hon/aroma/savoriness
'The (C_{CI}{positively/plain/negatively}) salty Professor/aroma/savoriness'
N.B. Figurative meanings for variants of 'salty' and 'person':
'The {#salty.pos.att/stingy.neut.att/unsatisfactory.neg.att} bastard/jerk/
man/Mr. Brown/Professor'

4.2 Compatibility between ETTs and expressive case markers

Korean is known for its sophisticated honorification system, in which a respectful attitude is reflected in honorific case markers like *kkeyse* ‘Nom.hon’, whereas a disrespectful attitude can be conveyed also by derogatory particles like *ttawi* ‘lit. ilk (enumerative particle)’ (Yoon 2015). Assuming that these (anti-)honorific markers are a subtype of expressives (Kim and Sells 2007), we can test the compatibility between these (anti-)honorific case markers and ETTs.

(22) ETTs with honorific nominative case markers

{ ✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ #ccipccilhan }₁
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att
ttam-ihungkenhan haynye(pwun)-**kkeyse**₂ tuleo-(si)ess-ta.
sweat-soaked woman.diver-Nom.**hon** enter-Pst-Decl
‘The (C_Ihonorable)₂ woman diver soaked with (C_I{positively/plain/negatively})₁ salty sweat came in.’

(23) ETTs with neutral (regular) nominative case markers

{ ✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ ✓ ccipccilhan }₁ ttam-ihungkenhan
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att sweat-soaked
haynye-**ka**₂ tuleo-ass-ta.
woman.diver-Nom.**neut** enter-Pst-Decl
‘The woman diver soaked with (C_I{positively/plain/negatively})₁ salty sweat came in.’

(24) ETTs with anti-honorific nominative case markers

{ #ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/ ✓ ccipccilhan }₁ ttam-ihungkenhan
salty.pos/salty.neut/salty.neg.att sweat-soaked
haynye-**ttawi.ka**₂ tuleo-ass-ta.
woman.diver-Nom.**anti.hon** enter-Pst-Decl
‘The (C_Idishonorable)₂ woman diver soaked with (C_I{positively/plain/negatively})₁ salty sweat came in.’

First, the negative emotion reflected in the variant of *ccip-ccil-hata* ‘somewhat unsavory salty.neg.att’ renders it incompatible with honorific nominative case markers like *kkeyse*. Furthermore, all variants of ETTs can occur with neutral case markers like *ka*, and the strong positive variant like *ccap-ccal-hata* ‘somewhat savory salty.pos.att’ sounds odd with case markers with negative attitude like *ttawi.ka*. The compatibility condition between ETTs and case markers can be summarized as follows:

As such, the systematic pattern further supports Yoon’s Compatibility Condition Model (CCM). The advantage of CCM is to allow us to predict how an

Table 3. Compatibility of ETTs and case markers

ETT\case markers	<i>tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssul-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter.neg.att' [-1,-.5]	<i>tal/cca/ssu-ta</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter.neut.att' [-1,1]	<i>talkhom/ccapccal/ssapsal-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter.pos.att' [.5,1]
<i>ttawi-ka</i> 'Nom.anti.hon'	high compatibility		
<i>ttawi-eykey</i> 'Dat.anti.hon' [-1,-.5]			
<i>ka</i> 'Nom.neut'	low compatibility		
<i>eykey</i> 'Dat.neut' [-1,1]			
<i>kkeyse</i> 'Nom.hon'	incompatibility		
<i>kkey</i> 'Dat.hon' [.5,1]			

expressive item would interact with another expressive item, while also suggesting appropriate Expressive Indices (EI) of ETTs and case markers. For instance, Kim and Sells' (2007) assumption that honorific case markers like *kkeyse* and *kkey* have an EI of [.5,1] is supported by their incompatibility with negative ETTs such as *tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssul-hata* 'sweet/salty/bitter.neg.att' [-1,-.5]. Neutral case markers like *ka* and *eykey* with [-1,1] are immune to any emotive state, hence occur with any variant of ETT. Finally, anti-honorific case markers like *ttawi-ka* and *ttawi-eykey* with [-1,-.5] are expected to be incompatible with positive ETTs like *talkhom/ccapccal/ssapsal-hata* 'sweet/salty/bitter.pos.att' with [.5,1]. In sum, the Compatibility Condition for the expressive elements between ETTs and case markers is predicted from the numerical indices of emotional attitude of each expressive element.

4.3 Compatibility between ETTs and expressive verbs

Along with the emotive nouns and (anti-)honorific case markers, the subject honorific marker *-si* on verbs or copulas has been analyzed as expressives with positive attitude. We assume the subject honorific marking *-si* on verbs is an expressive marker of the strong positive attitude with the narrow positive range of [.5,1] (Kim and Sells 2007), hence incompatible with negative ETTs like *tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssul-hata* 'sweet/salty/bitter.neg.att' with a strong negative index [-1,-.5].⁶

6. Honorific attitude and emotional attitude have been treated together in the previous literature. It has been shown that honorific speech tends to be more emotionally constrained while non-honorific speech is more emotionally free in Japanese (Dunn 2010), and Japanese honorification has been analyzed as expressives along with other emotional kinds such as *damn* (Potts and Kawahara 2004). As a reviewer points out, however, it is important to note that they do not always go hand in hand. One attempt to tease them apart is found in Yoon (2015), which will be discussed in Section 4.4.

(25) *ETTs with subject honorific verbs*
halmeni-ka sonswu kkulhi-si₂-n
grandmother-Nom from.scratch cook-Subj.**Hon**-Gen
{ ✓ ccapccalhan/ ✓ ccan/#ccipccilhan }₁ kwuk
salty.**pos**/salty.**neut**/salty.**neg.att** soup
'the (C_I{positively/plain/negatively})₁ salty soup that my (C_Ihonorable)₂ grand-
mother made from scratch'

The emotional attitude, on the other hand, can be further supplemented by verbal expressives with negative attitude. Negative verbal inflections like *V-peli* express a negative attitude toward the content of the proposition by putting an extra emphasis on the completion of action or state; thus the speaker's resentment is expressed on the irrecoverability (Joe and Lee 2002; Choe 2004; Yoon 2015). Assuming that the negative index of the verbal inflection *peli* is [-1,-.5], the strong negative emotion reflected in verbal morphology explains why it is most natural with negative ETTs like *tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssul-hata* 'sweet/salty/bitter.neg.att', tolerable with neutral ETTs like *tan/ccan/ssun* 'sweet/salty/bitter.neut.att', but odd with the positive ETTs like *talkhom/ccapccal/ssapssal-hata* 'sweet/salty/bitter.pos.att':

(26) *ETTs with negative verbs*
umsik-i {#talkhomhakey/ ✓ talkey/ ✓ tulkhumhakey }₁
food-Nom sweet.**pos**/sweet.**neut**/sweet.**neg.att**
toye.**peli**₂-ess-ta.
become.**neg**-Pst-Decl
'The food (C_Iresentfully)₂ has become (C_I{positively/plain/negatively})₁ sweet.'

The compatibility pattern so far is summarized as follows:

Table 4. Compatibility of ETTs and (anti-)honorific verbal markers

ETTs (anti-)honorific verbal markers	<i>tulkhum/ccipccil/ssupssul-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter .neg.att' [-1,-.5]	<i>tal/cca/ssu-ta</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter.neut.att' [-1,1]	<i>talkhom/ccapccal/ssapssal-hata</i> 'sweet/salty/bitter .pos.att' [.5,1]
<i>-peli</i> 'neg.att' [-1,-.5]	high compatibility		
<i>ø</i> 'neut.att' [-1,1]	low compatibility		
<i>-si</i> 'Subj.hon' [.5,1]	incompatibility		

4.4 Compatibility condition, cumulative effects, and multidimensionality

The observations so far follow the *Compatibility Condition* (Yoon 2015; Yae and Yoon 2017), which assumes “the polarity (either negative or positive attitude axis) of expressives must match with one another within an utterance, while the strength (e.g., weak or strong negativity) at the expressive level does not have to be precisely identical.” The co-occurrence patterns of multiple expressives reveal how the emotional attitude in ETTs interacts with different emotive elements within the sentence. Given the facts, we conclude first that the expressive component of ETTs is sensitive to that of other elements. Second, the polarity (i.e. negative or positive axis of emotional attitude) must either agree with that of its environment, or at least be tolerable with the environment. Finally, the degree of strength of a given attitude is not required to precisely match with another attitudinal component in the sentence, but there must be sufficient overlap between EIs of two expressive elements (e.g. 25% overlap).

Regarding the question of how precisely expressive elements have an impact on one another, we need to know whether the multiple markings of expressives should be understood as a kind of attitude agreement effect, or a more accumulative effect with significant systematic strengthening. Just like the interaction between ethnic slurs and other expressives discussed in Yoon (2015), ETTs exhibit similar kind of cumulative effects. In the following example with four instances of expressive items, the collective effects of one anti-honorific element and three negative-expressive elements result an extremely strong negative attitude:

- (27) **ccipccilhan**₁ **akchwui**₂-**ttawika**₃
 salty.neg.att stink.neg.att-Nom.anti.hon
 oncipaney phecyepeli₄-ess-ta.
 throughout.house spread.neg.att-Pst-Decl
 ‘The (_{CI}damn)₃ (_{CI}negatively salty)₁ (_{CI}stink)₂ (_{CI}regrettably)₄ spread throughout the house.’

Before closing our discussion, let us briefly tackle one more important issue regarding multidimensionality, i.e. the question on the widely assumed correlation between honorific and positive emotional dimension, and antihonorific and negative emotional dimension. The question of *autonomy of different expressive dimensions* is a tricky issue, since the two dimensions tend to go hand in hand and their differences are rather subtle to tear apart. As Yoon (2015, 20) notes, however, each dimension seems to function independently. In the following examples with apparently conflicting multidimensional attitudes, the speaker needs to conform to the social obligation of addressing the hearer with the proper title *sir* but simultaneously intends to convey a negative emotional stance with *bastard* or *how dare you*:

- (28) a. “Sir, You Bastard” [English]
 (book title by G.F. Newman, 1970, UK)
 b. “How dare you, sir!”
 (spoken by the waiter, Jack, to a rude patron at an upscale restaurant, “*Will & Grace*” *NBC TV series*) (Yoon 2015, (50))

Likewise, in the following example in Korean, the speaker is socially obliged to use honorific forms for the CEO of the company, while expresses negative emotion toward the descriptive content with the negative expressive verbal suffix *pel*.

- (29) Hoycangnim-**kkeyse**₁ cwusik-ul maykakhay-**pel**₂-**si**₃-ess-e.
 CEO-Nom.**hon** stock-Acc sell-**neg.att**-subj.**hon**-Pst-Decl
 ‘The (C₁honorable)₁ (C₁honorable)₃ CEO has (C₁regreatably)₂ sold his stocks.’
 (Yoon 2015, (51))

Furthermore, as a reviewer correctly points out, the combination of negative ETTs and honorific markers, *ccipccilhan*{*Brown-ssi/kyoswu.nim*} in (21d,e) above seems possible in a proper context, although these honorifics generally tend to co-occur with positive or neutral variants of ETTs. (This tendency is because a speaker typically drops such an honorific title when expressing a negative emotion toward the referent, unless uttered in a sarcastic tone of voice.)

ETTts thus confirm that there can be separate expressive dimensions for emotion and honorification, just as there are distinct descriptive dimensions for literal and figurative meanings as we argue.

To summarize the discussion so far, the compatibility condition of ETTs and other expressive items importantly reveals the specific requirement on the emotive range of each item. We take this fact to argue that we can add ETTs to the list of expressives for conveying multilayered meanings.

5. Conclusion

In examining different connotational nuances in Korean emotive taste terms, we have first shown the systematicity of how various derivations can be achieved by systematic phonological and morphological alternations. The main goal of this study, however, is to show that the possible variants systematically convey a speaker’s positive or negative emotional attitude via the choice of a particular derivation of the base taste term. Regarding the emotional aspect, we have proposed that the attitudinal component of ETT is an expressive element that can be understood as *Conventional Implicature* in the sense of Potts (2005), i.e. the emotional attitude in ETTs exists in another expressive dimension with a specific emotional index for each taste term with respect to strength and polarity of the

attitude. Attesting the CI status of ETTs with general properties of CI, we propose that the meaning of ETTs in Korean is a novel *hybrid type* of expressive element since ETTs also convey the descriptive meaning concerning quantity/quality of the taste or situation; we thus can achieve the precise connotational differences among variants of ETTs. This implies that the meaning of ETTs can be analyzed as at least three dimensional: first, the semantic literal dimension in which the indication of taste is conveyed by the base taste term (and certain derivational morphology); second, the figurative dimension in which the meaning of a given taste is stretched to the semantically extended meaning regarding the situation; and, finally, the pragmatic expressive dimension in which emotive state of the speaker is reflected in the choice of derivational morpho-phonology for the native taste terms. We furthermore showed how expressive dimension can be further split into emotive and honorific dimensions.

Another main goal of the current study is to investigate whether ETTs conform to the theory of the *Compatibility Condition Model* (CCM) and the *Compatibility Condition Index* (CCI) (Yoon 2015). Examining the dynamic paradigm of multiple expressives, we have shown how the compatibility between ETTs and various other expressives importantly reveals the precise contribution of the emotive range of each expressive item. We take the observed parallels with previously discussed expressives to conclude that ETTs should be added to the category of expressives in Korean. As a strategy for conveying the amalgam of multifaceted meanings, ETTs can be understood as a reflex of the *grammaticalization* of the attitude holder's complex attitudinal stance, combining multiple (non-conflicting) subjective modes into a single utterance.

Regarding the notion of expressives, the investigation on Korean data is particularly telling since its extensive uses of expressives across lexical categories offer a valid testing ground for the interaction of various expressive items, and, we assume, the findings are highly applicable to other languages.

The implications of our study are the following: First, the investigation of the meaning differences in variants of ETTs and their interaction with other expressives importantly reveals the *systematicity* of expressives, which means that we should include them as part of our grammar. Second, by identifying another important case of expressive element in language, our analysis of ETTs with respect to four distinct dimensions of meaning enriches the notion of *multidimensionality* (Potts 2005 et seq.). Finally, the grammaticality of sentences with ETTs and other expressives further supports the *compatibility condition* (Yoon 2015).

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