

THE COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN EXPRESSIVE ELEMENTS: KINSHIP TERMS, PRONOUNS, AND RACIAL SLURS IN VIETNAMESE

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Abstract

The present study investigates the Compatibility Condition (CC) for multiple expressive elements in Vietnamese. We identify Vietnamese kinship terms, pronouns, and racial slurs as expressives (i.e. conventional implicature (Potts 2005)), where different expressive items interact. We find that there are co-occurrences of expressives with different attitudes (e.g. weak/strong negative) and with expressive elements that have honorific and antihonorific properties. Under controlled occurrences, we examine what CC is and how it is measured. We propose the CC model and the CC index for occurrences of Vietnamese emotive-expressives and honorific-expressives. Furthermore, the CC may be intentionally flouted as a repair strategy. Finally, we show that emotion and honorific dimensions operate interdependently or autonomously and provide support for autonomy. The implication found is that interaction exists among various Vietnamese expressives, necessitating the compatibility constraint, while supporting multidimensionality (Potts 2005 et seq.), with at least two expressive dimensions.

Keywords: multidimensionality, Compatibility Condition, kinship terms, pronouns, slurs, emotive vs. honorific expressives, Vietnamese

ISO 639-3 codes: vie, kor

1. Introduction

Expressives such as *damn* and *bastard* refer to elements with expressive content of a speaker's emotional attitude that can be understood as conventional implicature (hereafter CI),¹ namely, an utterance modifier in the sense of Potts (2005, 2007). CI, as coined by Grice (1975), is what is implicated by the conventional meaning of the words that are used. This is separate from conversational implicature. These items are known to reveal information about a speaker's heightened emotional perspective of the utterance. As Potts (2007b) notes, they "have a dramatic impact on how current and future utterances are perceived." The core property of expressives is *perspective dependence*: when uttered, they have "an immediate and powerful impact on the context" (Potts 2007b:1), and "a speaker's expressive indicates 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 2007b:8). The expressive content thus offers information that otherwise would not have been made obvious to the audience, since it is difficult to articulate what precisely speakers want to express with respect to their emotional attitude toward the content using only descriptive content. Typically, expressives have been defined through their expressive properties, as shown in (1).

¹ Important abbreviations to note: CC = *Compatibility Condition*; CCI = *Compatibility Condition Index*; CCM = *Compatibility Condition Model*; CI = conventional implicature; E-expressive = emotive-expressive; EI = Expressive Indices; H-expressive = honorific-expressive;

- (1) *That bastard Kresge is famous.*
 a. Descriptive: Kresge is famous.
 b. Expressive: Kresge is a {bastard/bad in the speaker's opinion}. (Potts 2007a:168)

Besides expressives that contain strong negative content such as epithets, as shown in example (1), a variety of expressive elements have been identified in recent literature across languages. For instance, research on two Japanese adverbials, *yoku* and *yokumo*, has shown that expressive content is not limited to epithets (McCready 2004). These two adverbials express surprise and place attitudinal scope over a proposition. Importantly, there are differences between the two: *yoku* gives positive attitudinal information whereas *yokumo* gives negative attitudinal information. McCready suggests that without an established context in the real world or prior discourse, the two expressive adverbials would not contain expressive content. Others have shown that German intensifiers such as *sau*, *total*, and *voll* are expressive intensifiers that are different from standard intensifiers and can occur before determiners and still strengthen adjectives within DPs (Gutzmann & Turgay 2012). Additionally, informal and formal German pronouns are examples of expressives as well. These pronouns can inform a listener of an expressive setting, such as the difference in relationship between speaker and listener.

- (2) *Ich ruf' dich an.* [German]
 I call you.familiar on
 'I'll give you a call.' (Potts 2007a:190)

- (3) *Ich rufe sie an.*
 I call you.formal on
 'I'll give you a call.' (Potts 2007a:190)

These German sentences display the property of independence, a property that will be further discussed in section 3.1. The propositional content is unchanged, but they are different at the expressive level. Sentence (2) has set the familiar, possibly intimate, relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. In a sense, it can be assumed that the speaker in sentence (2) has a more positive attitude towards the hearer. Sentence (3), on the other hand, offers a more formal setting in that the participants in the utterance may not have a close relationship and thus may be associated with a more negative attitude.

Other types of expressives have been found in the honorific system in Japanese and Korean. Proper use of honorifics is tricky yet important because it reveals the speaker's attitude; for instance, in Japanese, use of too few honorifics may seem disrespectful, but use of too many honorifics can seem sarcastic (Potts 2007b). When honorifics are added on a subject, as in (4b), the expressive content from honorifics added to the subject offers information to the audience that the speaker respects the subject. Antihonorific information can be added instead, as in (4c), which informs the audience that the speaker does not honor or respect the subject. Rather, the speaker holds some negative attitude toward the subject.

- (4) a. *Sam-ga warat-ta.* [Japanese]
 Sam-NOM laugh-PAST
 'Sam laughed.'
 b. *Sam-ga o-warai-ninat-ta.*
 Sam-NOM subj.hon-laugh-subj.hon-PAST
 i. 'Sam laughed.'
 ii. 'The speaker honors Sam.' [subject honorific]
 c. *Sam-ga warai-yagat-ta.*
 Sam-NOM laugh-antihon-PAST
 i. 'Sam laughed.'
 ii. 'The speaker views Sam negatively.' [antihonorific] (Potts & Kawahara 2004:253)

Both (4b) and (4c) have the same descriptive content as (4a), while containing separate expressive content as well.

Likewise, Korean honorification is an “act of paying respect, just like bowing, lowering one’s voice, etc.” (Kim & Sells 2007). The honorific system in general is thought to be a syntactic phenomenon where the honorific markings indicate subject-verb agreement, yet, “honoring an argument recognizes that its referent has some social superiority in the speech context” (Kim & Sells 2007). While Potts (2007) uses expressives such as *damn* and *bastard* to show how expressive content can induce negative settings, Kim and Sells (2007) introduces honorifics as expressive elements with positive values.

The honorifics with expressive content will now be referred to as honorific-expressives (hereafter h-expressives). H-expressives differ from emotive-expressives (hereafter e-expressives) in that they include information about respect and deference from the speaker to the referent. E-expressives, on the other hand, convey positive or negative emotional attitude. The Korean honorific *nim* ‘Sir/Madam’, as in (5a), is the positive value honorific that attaches to the form *sensayng* ‘teacher’, while the subject honorific marker *si* attaches to the verb *ka* ‘go’. The effect is a respectful, positive attitude. Sentence (5b) does not include the honorific *nim*, but it includes *si*, which still evokes a respectful, positive attitude. On the other hand, if the subject honorific marker *si* co-occurs with the subject *koyangi* ‘cat’, as in (5c), it gives rise to oddity due to the incompatibility in expressive dimension. That is, a cat would not typically be shown respect.

- (5) a. *sensayng-nim-i* *ka-si-ess-ta.* [Korean]
 teacher-Hon-Nom go-Hon-Past-Decl
- b. *sensayng-i* *ka-si-ess-ta.*
 teacher-Nom go-Hon-Past-Decl
 ‘The teacher went.’
- c. *koyangi-ka* *ka-(*si-)ess-ta.*
 cat-Nom go-(*Hon-)Past-Decl
 ‘The cat went.’ (Sells & Kim 2007:306)

In the present study, we investigate expressives in Vietnamese, identifying kinship terms, pronouns, and ethnic slurs as expressive elements. Given that the core property of expressives is *perspective dependence*, we will show the perspective-inducing property of certain Vietnamese terms of address. The current analysis of the expressive elements adopts the CC by Yoon (2015). Originally, the CC was used to show the relationship between two different types of expressive elements in Korean and how these two different expressive types occurred in conjunction with each other. Since the Vietnamese expressive elements of focus have these properties, the CC is an appropriate framework. In order to properly deduce the expressivity of Vietnamese terms of address, the example sentences and the semantic-pragmatic judgments provided in the present study were made by 10 native speakers of Vietnamese.

We start in section 2 by introducing Vietnamese expressives; in 2.1, we identify Vietnamese terms of address such as kinship terms and pronouns as h-expressive items, akin to honorifics in Korean and Japanese; and in 2.2, we examine how these kinship terms and pronouns work alongside ethnic slurs, showing that Vietnamese slurs fall into the category of e-expressive items. In section 3, we explore the expressive dimension in Vietnamese; in 3.1, we show how Vietnamese expressive items exhibit the signature properties of expressives; and in 3.2, we propose the index system for Vietnamese expressives. In section 4, we raise two questions: (i) Given that the multiple occurrences of identical expressives are possible (e.g. *Damn, I left my damn keys in the damn car.*), we ask whether co-occurrences of expressives with different attitudes, that is, different strength of attitudes (e.g. weak and strong negative items) or conflicting attitudes (e.g. positive and negative items), are possible; and (ii) whether their occurrence within one utterance is somehow controlled, what their CC is, and how to measure the degree of the compatibility. We propose the CC for multiple expressive elements in Vietnamese, showing the systematicity of how various expressive items actively interact with one another. The CC, we argue, is highly applicable in other languages (cf. Yoon 2015 for Korean). Furthermore, we show how the CC may be intentionally flouted for special pragmatic effects such as repair strategy in Vietnamese, in addition to the previously noted sarcasm, hyperbole, humor, or irony. In section 5, regarding the question of whether emotion and honorific dimensions operate interdependently or autonomously, we show how Vietnamese facts support the autonomy hypothesis. The conclusion follows in section 6.

2. Two kinds of expressives: H vs. E expressives

2.1 Kinship terms and pronouns as H(onorific)-expressives

Vietnamese kinship terms and pronouns are similar to honorifics. They not only set the relationship, familiar or not, between the speaker, hearer, and third-party referent, but, similar to Korean honorifics (Kim & Sells 2007), they set the level of respect and honor the speaker has towards the referent.

2.1.1 Kinship terms

In Vietnamese, a variety of kinship terms that are used in social situations outside of addressing familial relations can be used in place of pronouns. They have more flexibility than pronouns since this type of Vietnamese kinship terms “can be used for person references as address terms, including first person singular referent, second person singular referent, and third person singular reference” (Le 2013:33). Social factors are considered when making decisions regarding kinship terms. Factors include age, gender, social status, also intimacy and acquaintance (Le 2013:35).

Kinship terms can be understood as honorifics in the sense that these terms can elevate a person’s status and inform the audience of the level of respect one can have for the other. In this vein, we argue that they are a subtype of expressives, along with honorifics in Japanese and Korean, for instance, since they also establish contextual settings between the relationship of speaker and hearer. Table 1 offers a list of most common Vietnamese kinship terms. However, ones that denote specific familial relationships are not used in general social settings (e.g., *ông nội*). One person in Vietnamese is not identified only by one term since “each individual in society has more than one role to play”, and “everyone is expected to speak in a proper way to maintain the role one holds” (Le 2013:200).

Table 1: List of Vietnamese kinship terms

Kinship terms for general use	Literal references
<i>anh</i>	elder brother
<i>chị</i>	elder sister
<i>em</i>	younger sibling
<i>cháu</i>	grandchild, nephew, niece
<i>bác</i>	uncle, father’s elder brother/sister (senior referent)
<i>con</i>	child (son or daughter)
<i>chú</i>	uncle, father’s younger brother (junior uncle)
<i>cô</i>	auntie, father’s sister (either senior or junior)
Kinship terms family specific	
<i>ba, bố, cha, tía</i> ²	father, male parent
<i>mẹ, má</i> ³	mother, female parent
<i>ông bác</i>	a parent’s bác
<i>ông chú</i>	father’s chú
<i>bà cô</i>	father’s cô
<i>ông nội</i>	paternal grandfather

(adapted from Luong 1990, Nguyen 1995)

2.1.2 Pronouns

We identify another subtype of expressive elements, namely, Vietnamese pronouns, which are important in that they exhibit a much more sophisticated system of nuanced levels of honorific expressive content than previously noted second-person pronouns with two-way distinctions in German or French. Vietnamese pronouns are another set of terms of address conveying expressive content because Vietnamese pronouns are a way to address someone, and in addition, “the use of Vietnamese personal pronouns pragmatically implies either intimacy/familiarity, among close friends of the same age, or a lack of deference and high degree of

² Any of these four forms can be used depending on the dialect that is spoken.

³ Similar to the previous selections, any of these two can be used depending on the dialect that is spoken.

arrogance towards the addressee and/or third-party pronominal referent of superior age” (Luong 1990; Pham 2010:22). It can set the context of relationship and generally inform the audience of the solidarity between speaker and hearer. Most of the pronouns that can be found in Vietnamese are shown in Table 2. There may be multiple pronouns due to dialectal differences, but they are mutually intelligible across varieties of Vietnamese.

Table 2. Vietnamese pronouns

Persons	Pronoun - formal	Pronoun - informal
P1 singular	<i>tôi, mình</i>	<i>tao, ta, tớ</i> ⁴
P1 plural	<i>chúng tôi, mình, chúng mình</i>	<i>chúng tao, ta/ chúng ta, chúng tớ</i> ⁵
P2 singular	<i>mình</i>	<i>mày, mi</i> ⁶
P2 plural	--	<i>chúng mày, bay, chúng bay</i> ⁷
P3 singular	<i>hắn, y</i>	<i>nó</i>
P3 plural	<i>chúng, họ</i>	<i>chúng nó</i>

(adapted from Ngo 2006)

Vietnamese informal pronouns can be understood as humilifics since their use is not to honor or to show respect towards others, but to represent the intimacy/familiarity between speaker and hearer. Formal pronouns, on the other hand, are understood as honorifics instead. Speakers use formal pronouns as a distancing strategy between them and the addressee. Pronouns convey an overall complex array of information in a contextual setting, including expressive content. With Vietnamese personal pronouns or any other pronouns, if they are used incorrectly, then it is possible to offend the addressee. This is especially the case if the addressee is someone who is regarded highly while a more familiar pronoun is used in place.

2.2 Racial slurs as E(motive)-expressives

In the previous subsection, we have shown that kinship terms and pronouns in Vietnamese offer a level of honorific expressivity, that is, information about how much a speaker respects another or how much honor the speaker wants to convey embedded with the choice of address terms. Furthermore, various sentential categories and honorific inflections in languages like Japanese and Korean reflect h-expressive information (Kim & Sells 2007; Potts & Kawahara 2004; Yoon 2015). Other items, on the other hand, offer expressive content that conveys emotional attitudinal information. In Vietnamese, for instance, emotional attitude is reflected in *ethnic slurs*. Since this is the case, slurs for Chinese persons, in particular, are used in this study. The current analysis of slurs is mainly based on the discussion of three racial terms: *người hoa* ‘Chinese’, *tàu*⁸ ‘Chinaman’, and *chệt* ‘chink’. These are all different expressions in Vietnamese for a Chinese person and were chosen due to their different levels of expressivity. *Người hoa* (person-Chinese), which is generally considered the most politically correct and positive attitude-informing of the three, is the English equivalent of ‘Chinese person’. The term *tàu* is less formal, more colloquial, more derogatory, and less positive when used. The term *tàu* is comparable to the English term ‘Chinaman’. The most offensive of the three is *chệt*. This term is used to indicate a negative feeling towards the group and is strictly used for males. The term *chệt* is similar in tone to the English racial epithet ‘chink’. We focus on these terms because they offer valuable resources for the gradient nature of slurs, ranging from positive or neutral to negative attitude toward the ethnic group.

⁴ These include dialectal variations. The native Vietnamese speaker consultants advised that any of these can be used depending on the dialect.

⁵ Similar to the previous note, these words include dialectal variations that can be used depending on the dialect.

⁶ Similar to the previous note, these differences are dialectal.

⁷ Again, these are dialectal variations of the second person plural expression.

⁸ As noted by one of the reviewers, *tàu* translates to “boat” in English. It was suggested that there may be a connection between the non-human boat and the term used to address persons who are of Chinese nationality in a derogatory manner. While there could be a connection, the inanimacy of the term is beyond the scope of our argument. In addition, as a counter-argument, the politically correct term *hoa* translates to “flower” in English, which is also an inanimate object. Based on this information, the inanimacy of the object may not be a determining factor of the derogatory nature of *tàu*.

Just like other typical expressive elements such as epithets, when a speaker uses a slur, the utterance becomes more emphatic. The choice of particular ethnic slur is then neither redundant nor a mere reflex of linguistic or cultural environment, but a means to encode the speaker's emotive stance. We will show that slurs in Vietnamese as a stance marker exhibit the expressive properties.

Before we move on to the discussion of core properties of expressives, one more comment on the nature of racial slurs is in order. In previous literature, there has been a debate on whether ethnic slurs are purely expressive elements or more complex items. Hedger (2012, 2013) proposes *pure expressivism* for slurs; building on Kaplan's framework for severing descriptive and expressive content, Hedger claims that racial slurs express contempt without any descriptive content (cf. Kaplan 1999, Kratzer 1999, Potts 2003, 2005, Potts & Kawahara 2004, Pullum & Rawlins 2007, Richard 2008, Potts et al. 2009 for other types of expressives). This claim, however, is challenged by *hybrid analyses*, assuming that slurs share the extension of their neutral counterpart (Croom 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014a, 2004b, Whiting 2013, Boisvert 2008, Schroeder 2008, Williamson 2009, McCready 2010, Gutzmann 2011, Hay 2013). Bianchi (2014:35) argues that slurs refer to "derogatory terms targeting individuals and groups of individuals on the basis of race, nationality, religion, gender or sexual orientation" and Croom (2013: 179) further argues that slurs are "used by speakers primarily to identify members that possess certain descriptive features (e.g., race) and to derogate them on that basis".

We argue that racial slurs in Vietnamese support the hybrid approach as well. In addition to the derogatory attitude in the expressive dimension, Vietnamese slurs like *chệt* 'chink', for instance, also convey multiple layers of meanings: (i) the racial identity of the target group of referent (i.e. 'Chinese people'); (ii) one particular characteristic of the racial group reflected in the etymology of a slurring term⁹; and (iii) the racial identity of the usual attitude holder of the slur (i.e. 'Vietnamese people'). The second meaning here corresponds to the characteristics of expressive elements in that the expressive conventional implicature (CI hereafter) tends to preserve its conventional meaning.

3. Expressive dimension of Vietnamese kinship terms, pronouns, and slurs

3.1 Hallmark properties of expressives

In this subsection, we show that Vietnamese kinship terms not only hold honorific information but also contain properties of expressivity as prescribed by Potts (2007a). Potts offers six properties of expressives: i) independence, ii) nondisplaceability, iii) perspective dependence, iv) descriptive ineffability, v) immediacy, and vi) repeatability. Each of these properties are briefly defined below and are given Vietnamese pronouns and/or kinship equivalents to display how these pronouns and kinship terms are truly expressives in their own right.

I. Independence. Expressive content contributes a dimension of meaning that is separate from regular descriptive content. The expressive content of a phrase can be changed or removed without affecting its descriptive content. For example, in (6), the use of *bastard* does not take away from the descriptive content that Kresge is famous. What this does instead is that it reveals that Kresge is seen negatively by the speaker, as in (6b).

- (6) *That bastard Kresge is famous.*
 a. Descriptive: Kresge is famous.
 b. Expressive: Kresge is a {bastard/bad in the speaker's opinion}¹⁰. (Potts 2007a:168)

The two dimensions of meaning, however, are not completely independent of each other; the expressive can find its argument from the descriptive. Together, the two give an attitude of the speaker scoffing at the thought that Kresge is famous. Without the expressive, the nuanced interpretation would not be understood.

⁹ Native Vietnamese speaker consultants reported that *chệt* was originally a Chinese term for the younger brother of someone's father but has since been misunderstood and now used as a derogatory slur.

¹⁰ The bracketed notation is from Potts (2015a). Potts used it to denote that the expressive information is separate from the descriptive content.

The independence property is also shown in the use of kinship terms in Vietnamese. Sentence (7) is an example of two kinship terms in use, *cháu*, for niece/nephew/grandchild (in the case of sentence (7) only niece/nephew is used), and *cô*, for younger aunt. The speaker is the niece/nephew, while the addressee is the younger aunt.

- (7) **Cháu** đã ăn bánh ngọt cô cho cháu. [V(ietnamese)]
younger.REL.N.1 PST eat bread sweet **older.REL.F.2.HON** give **younger.REL.N.1**
 a. Descriptive: I ate the cake you gave me.
 b. Expressive: I (who you are superior to, who I show respect to), ate the cake that you (who is my superior and who I show respect to) gave me.

If the speaker *cháu* decided to use the formal pronoun *tôi* ‘I’, in place of *cháu*, then she would establish a different expressive meaning. A possible expressive meaning could be that of ‘I, who wants to distance him/herself from you and who might not show much respect to you’ since the speaker would not be deferring herself to the younger aunt, *cô*.

II. Nondisplaceability. Expressives predicate something of an immediate utterance situation. Expressives thus cannot (outside of direct quotation) be used to report on past events, attitudes, or emotions, nor can they express mere possibilities, conjectures, or suppositions. They consistently provide something about the utterance situation itself, and there cannot be expressive mismatches (Potts 2007).

In sentences (8a-d), the use of *bastard* has set the premise for a negative attitude towards *Kresge*. Using *bastard* presupposes a negative attitude or a certain scope that does not cover the infelicitous statements¹¹ following the use of *bastard*. Attempting to repair an already established negative connotation with *#He’s a good guy* is problematic as shown in (8a), (8b), and (8d) since the establishment of *bastard* has been made. In (8c), although the speaker continues the negative connotation with the use of *bastard* and following with *mean*, the attitude has been established with *arrives on time* in the first part of the phrase. Typically, commenting on a timely arrival is not associated with negative attitude.

- (8) a. *That bastard Kresge isn’t late for work.* (#He’s a good guy.)
 b. *It’s just false that that bastard Kresge is late for work.* (#He’s a good guy.)
 c. *#If that bastard Kresge arrives on time, he should be fired for being so mean.*
 d. *Maybe that bastard Kresge will be late again.* (#Then again, maybe he’s not a bastard.)
 (Potts 2007a:170)

This shows that these sentences can only be understood with the possibility of negative attitude as being very imminent. Likewise, in the Vietnamese example (9), the kinship terms establish the aunt-niece/nephew relationship with a complex (i.e. familiar yet somewhat respectful) attitude that the speaker has towards *cô*.

- (9) **Cháu** đã ăn bánh ngọt cô cho #tôi. [V]
younger.REL.N.1 PST eat bread sweet **older.REL.F.2.Hon** give **1.formal**
 ‘I ate the pastry that you bought me already.’

Using the formal pronoun *tôi* ‘I’ in (9) is infelicitous since the relationship has already been settled as being closer than the distant and formal *tôi*.

III. Perspective dependence. Expressive content is evaluated from a particular perspective. In general, the perspective is the speaker’s, but there can be deviations if conditions are right (Potts 2007).

Adopting Lasersohn’s (2005) idea of a contextual *judge*, Potts (2007a) assumes the following: Judge c_J for a context c is an individual, other elements consist of a speaker c_A , a time c_T , a location c_L , and a world c_W :

¹¹ The infelicitous statements are denoted by the use of the hashmark (#) at the beginning of the phrase.

- (10) a. $[[me]]^{w,t,c} = c_A$ (is the speaker/agent of c)
 b. $[[fun]]^{w,t,c} =$ the set of things that c_J finds fun in world w at time t

The idea of (10b) is rejected based on sentence (11). In (11), the judge of *fun* is not the speaker. *John* and *Mary* are the judges of the utterance since the attitudes and emotions towards fun are different for *John* and *Mary*. The speaker is simply reporting based on what *John* and *Mary* feel.

- (11) *John thinks that roller coasters are fun, but Mary thinks that roller coasters are not fun.*
 (Potts 2007a:174)

The same can be said for sentence (12). The speaker is not the judge of the utterance, even though the speaker is the one who uses the term *bastard*. The speaker does not believe that *Webster* is the *bastard*; the speaker's *father* is the judge in this utterance and is the one who believes that *Webster* is the *bastard*.

- (12) *My father screamed that he would never allow me to marry that bastard Webster.*
 (Potts 2007a:172)

This can similarly be applied in Vietnamese. In (13), a parent is speaking to her child, not only conveying the relationship between herself and her child, but also hinting at the attitude the child has towards the older uncle, *bác*. The child is the judge here. With the use of these kinship terms, the parent has set the context between the child and an older uncle. The parent could easily use an older brother term instead; however, the parent is mindful of the child's relationship with the older uncle, *bác*.

- (13) **Con** cần nói câu cảm ơn với **bác** kia. [V]
younger.REL.N.2 need say phrase thanks to **older.REL.3.Hon** DEM
 'You need to say thank you to that aunt.'

IV. Descriptive ineffability. As expressive elements, kinship terms, pronouns, and slurs in Vietnamese show ineffability, which means that it is difficult to find any equivalent expression to convey the precise meaning difference carried by a particular kinship term like *bác*, for instance. This property can be applied to kinship terms and slurs since the choice of these terms tends to be influenced by the socio-cultural relations.

V. Immediacy. Like performatives, expressives achieve their intended act simply by being uttered; they do not offer content so much as inflict it. Expressives function solely on the contextual level. The immediacy property gives the study of expressives pressing social significance (Potts 2007a).

Take for instance an example from Potts (2007a) where a superintendent is attempting to make a stance against racism clear in a speech, but using offensive terms instead makes the stance murky: "N-----s come in all colors. To me, a n----r is someone who doesn't respect themselves or others". The words have been said, and the damage is done. In the statement, the superintendent is saying that a certain group comes "in all colors" which shows that the superintendent does not intend to give an offensive speech. However, the speech makes the superintendent's stance unclear since the offensive terms were uttered.

A situation similar to the superintendent can be seen in (14) where the speaker has made his/her position clear. The speaker has called the doctor *nó* and the speaker cannot reverse the effects. To clarify, the term *nó* is the informal singular third person pronoun and, as so, is considered less polite.

- (14) **Con**_i kia làm bác sĩ nhưng **nó**_i hõn lão lắm. [V]
younger.REL.3 DEM do doctor but **3s** rude intensifier
 'That chick is a doctor, but she is very rude.'

V. Repeatability. If a speaker repeatedly uses an expressive term, the effect is generally one of strengthening the emotive content rather than one of redundancy (Potts 2007a). With each use of *damn* in (15a-c), the expressive content strengthens the negative attitude further.

- (15) a. *Damn, I left my keys in the car.*
 b. *Damn, I left my damn keys in the car.*
 c. *Damn, I left my damn keys in the damn car.* (Potts 2007a:182)

Vietnamese has some honorific markers, and the use of the honorifics in combination with the kinship terms can be understood along the lines of the expressive property of repeatability. Although the instance in example (16) is not necessarily repeated, the strengthening function still occurs when using the kinship terms in addition with the honorific markers. One honorific marker, *đạ*, with the use of the kinship term *bác*, in (16), elevates the level of respect that the niece/nephew has for the *bác*. Also, the use of the kinship term *bác* is further strengthened when used in a dialogue, as is the case in example (16), where Speaker B uses the same terms of address and adds on the honorific markers. That is, the use of the second honorific, *vâng*, elevates the socio-cultural status of *bác* even further.

- (16) Speaker A: *Con mua bánh cho bác, nhé?* [V]
 younger.REL.N.2 buy bread for older.REL.N.1.hon okay
 ‘You buy the bread for me, okay?’
 Speaker B: *Đạ vâng, con mua bánh cho bác đượ.*
 hon hon younger.REL.1 buy bread for older.REL.N.2.hon able
 ‘I can buy the bread for you.’

Given the quite consistent parallels between typical pejorative expressives and Vietnamese kinship terms and pronouns, it seems plausible to include the latter as a subcase of expressive elements.

3.2 Expressive index

Recall the *descriptive ineffability* (Potts 2007a) of expressives: speakers are generally unable to articulate the precise nuanced meanings for a wide range of discourse particles. They instead resort to illustrating where the words can be appropriately used. Potts thus develops a system to denote the level of expressivity, namely, the level of negativity/positivity the arguments have towards each other. Expressive Indices (EI hereafter) are the main objects operated by expressive denotations, as in the following definition (Potts 2007a:177).

- (17) An *expressive index* is a triple $\langle a \mathbf{I} b \rangle$, where a and b are in the domain of entities $\mathbf{I} \subseteq [-1, 1]$.

Within this system, EIs are the foundation for expressive domains and are posited in each expressive lexical item.

- (18) The relation that $x \sqsubseteq y$ holds iff x is a subinterval of the interval y .
 $\langle a \mathbf{I} b \rangle$ can be read as a is at expressive level \mathbf{I} for b .
 If $\mathbf{I} = [-1, 1]$ then a has no feelings towards b . (Potts 2007a:177, 178)

These indices are designed to correctly encode the degree of emotion as well as the orientation of the expressive, and they are defined via numerical intervals $\mathbf{I} = [-1, 1]$. The -1 indicates the negative end of the expressive spectrum while the positive 1 indicates the positive end of the expressive spectrum. The triple $\langle a \mathbf{I} b \rangle$ indicates that an individual a is at expressive level \mathbf{I} for an individual b . Encoding emotional stance via expressive intervals gives the flexibility of marking various levels of attitudes from very neutral to very positive or negative. Emotive relations are defined by how we specify \mathbf{I} to proper subintervals of $[-1, 1]$; the more positive the numbers, the more positive the expressive relationship, and vice versa. The numbers in the index are considered to be generalizations of the level of expressivity given by the expressive content. Thus, the index is an estimation of the expressivity.

The innovation of this index system is to overcome the *descriptive ineffability* of expressives—it is difficult to paraphrase expressive content using descriptive terms only. EIs are merely entities, and hence they are not easily paraphrased. Instead, what they have is propositional implications, as follows.

- (19) a. <[[tom]][-5,0][[jerry]]>: Tom feels negatively towards Jerry.
 b. <[[ali]][-8,1][[jerry]]> : Ali essentially feels indifferent to Jerry.
 c. <[[kevin]][9,1][[jerry]]>: Kevin is wild about Jerry.
 d. <[[tom]][-1,-.5][[jerry]]>
 e. <[[sam]][-1,-.52][[jerry]]>: Tom and Sam basically agree about Jerry.

(Potts 2007a:178)

The indices in (19a-d) represent the attitude that the judge, *Tom*, *Ali*, *Kevin*, or *Sam* emotes about *Jerry*. The farther along the negative scale of the index, the more negatively one's emotions are towards another. The farther along the positive scale of the index, the more positive one's emotions become towards another. If *Tom* were to call *Jerry* a *bastard*, then the index would be altered to be a subset of the index in (19a) and possibly be <[[tom]][-5,-.2][[jerry]]>. The new index is a subset of the previous index, while also displaying that it has moved to a more negative position on the scale of the previous index. We can thus infer propositions something along the line of Tom feels negatively toward Jerry. Crucially, the indices are built by relating two individuals by means of I.

This allows us to incorporate the analysis of Vietnamese expressives within this background. Coming back to sentence (14), repeated here in (20), the application of the index can be seen from through speaker's focus which is on the person who is a doctor.

- (20) **Con_i** *kia* *làm* *bác sĩ* *nhưng* *nó_i* *hỗn* *láo* *lắm.* [V]
younger.REL.N.3 DEM do doctor but **3s** rude intensifier
 'That chick is a doctor, but she is very rude.'

The speaker uses the third-person singular pronoun *nó*, which is used either in familiar circumstances or for a speaker who believes that the subject spoken of is inferior to the speaker. Also, the speaker addresses the doctor as the kinship term for child *con*. Using *con* would normally mean that the speaker is either superior to the referent or that there is a familiar relationship, similar to using the pronoun *nó*, and would potentially have an index such as <[[speaker]][-5,0][[doctor]]>, as Tom feels towards Jerry in (19a) above. In this context, however, both the pronoun and the kinship term are employed to express that the speaker feels negatively towards the doctor. If the speaker were truly feeling positively about the doctor, then the sentence (22), shown below, could be used in place.

- (21) **Cô** *kia* *làm* *bác sĩ* *và* **cô** *hiền.* [V]
older.REL.F.3 DEM make doctor CONJ **older.REL.F.3** kind
 'That miss is a doctor and she is kind.'

By referring to the doctor as *cô* instead of *con*, in (21), the speaker acknowledges that the speaker should defer to the doctor, and the index may possibly be <[[speaker]][0,.5][[doctor]]>. The difference in expressive dimension between the terms used in (20) and (21) can be specified in their different numerical values in EI.

On the other hand, along with earlier works on other expressives (Whiting 2013, Boisvert 2008, Schroeder 2008, Williamson 2009, McCreedy 2010, Croom 2010, 2013, 2014, Gutzmann 2011, Hay 2013), we assume that ethnic slurs in Vietnamese convey emotional expressive relations between an individual and a certain *racial group* and the EI of these ethnic slurs ranges in the negative interval only.¹²

¹² It is important to note, however, that the assumption of EI of slurs with the negative interval would only not apply in some exceptional cases: if in-group speakers use the relevant slur in conversation with one another as a term of endearment, it does not range in the negative interval only. Another exceptional case is when slurs are used in hip-hop music without necessarily ranging in the negative interval only. For this flip-flop of bipolar emotional index for certain slurs, see Yoon (2015). The proposed semantics of Vietnamese slurs as expressives is restricted to the canonical derogatory use of slurs.

4. Compatibility of multiple expressives

4.1 Compatibility Condition between kinship terms and racial slurs

In previous literature (Yoon 2015, cf. Kim & Sells 2007, Potts & Kawahara 2004), it is noted that Korean racial slurs are a kind of expressive conveying derogatory attitude. When the expressive elements are combined with honorifics, however, these ethnic slurs are only compatible with certain honorifics. Yoon further explains this point through an instance of the Korean word *ppalkayngi* ‘commie’, a slur for North Koreans. The occurrence of the slur with the honorific case marker *kkeyse* is considered infelicitous due to the mismatch between the honorific attitude and the derogatory one.

- (22) Slurs with honorific nominative case markers
 #*Ppalkayngi*₁-*kkeyse*₂ *tuleo*-(*si*)*ess-ta*. [Korean]
 commie.**neg.att**-Nom.**hon** enter-Pst-Decl
 ‘The (CI₁unlikable) (CI₂honorable) commie came.’ (Yoon 2015:11)

The following *Compatibility Condition Index* (hereafter CCI; Yoon 2015:14) is suggested to estimate the approximate percentage of compatibility between expressive elements. The co-occurrence of these two expressive elements in Korean is banned because the CCI is calculated to be 0%. Capitalizing on the following equation of CCI, we will show how to predict the co-occurrence patterns of multiple expressives across lexical categories in Vietnamese.

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

Furthermore, based on the following Compatibility Condition Model (hereafter CCM; Yoon 2015:15) for multiple expressives, we will show how the CCI that we posit for expressive items can correctly predict the empirical distributional pattern of various expressive items in Vietnamese.

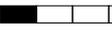
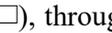
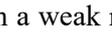
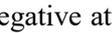
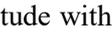
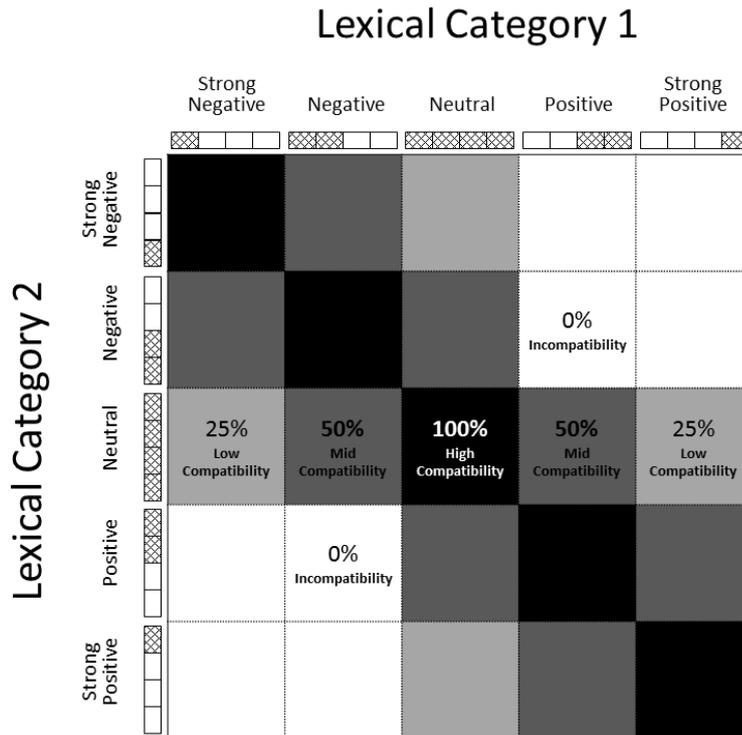
The CCM in figure 1 is designed to predict the systematic pattern for the co-occurrences of multiple expressives with different degrees and orientation of attitudes. The attitudes of expressive lexical item range from a strong negative attitude with the Expressive Index (EI: à la Potts 2007) [-1,-.5] (which is depicted as the shading of the leftmost slot in the four-squared bar: ) through a weak negative attitude with EI [-1,0] () a neutral attitude with EI [-1,1] () a weak positive attitude with EI [0,1] () to a strong positive attitude with EI [.5,1] (). Between expressive lexical category 1 and expressive lexical category 2, the above equation of the CCI allows us to measure the degree of their compatibility. In the CCM, the black squares, for instance, denote the regions of high compatibility (CCI of 100%), the dark gray squares denote the regions of mid-compatibility (CCI of 50%), the light gray squares denote the regions of low compatibility (CCI of 25%), and the white squares denote the regions of incompatibility between two expressive lexical items (CCI of 0%).

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 ) 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.

With CCM and CCI in hand, we can predict the co-occurrence patterns of Vietnamese kinship terms/pronouns and racial terms. This accounts for why there are certain terms of address that are allowed to occur with a particular set of racial terms, while there are others that are not permissible.

Recall that there are three levels of severity when it comes to racial terms for Chinese in Vietnamese. The most politically correct and polite term is *người hoa* ‘Chinese’, as shown in (24). The kinship terms *chú* ‘uncle’ and *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ felicitously occur with *người hoa* since they are terms of respect, while the term *thằng* ‘guy’ does not convey respect. In fact, the term denotes antihonorification, and is thus infelicitous, when occurring with the politically correct racial term *người hoa* due to the mismatch with regard to the level of respect.

- (24) **{#Thằng/chú/ông}** *người* [V]
 guy.3.ANTIHON/older.REL.M.3.HON/older.REL.M.3.HON person
hoa mua trái cây.
Chinese buys fruit
 ‘The Chinese {guy/man/sir} buys fruit.’

The picture becomes different with a more common but more derogative term *tàu* ‘Chinaman’, as shown in (25).

- (25) **{Thằng/chú/ông}** **tàu** [V]
 guy.3.ANTIHON/older.REL.M.3.HON/older.REL.M.3.HON Chinaman
mua trái cây
 buys fruit
 ‘The Chinaman {guy/man/sir} buys fruit.’

All three kinship terms, *thằng*, *chú*, and *ông* can occur with the more common racial term *tàu* found in (25). Although the special term can be used with the kinship terms that convey honorification such as *chú* and *ông*, the combination of *chú* or *ông* with *tàu* is not nearly as respectful as the occurrence of the politically correct term *người hoa*.

Among the three racial terms, as reported by the native Vietnamese speaker consultants, the most severe one is *chệt* ‘chink’, found in (26). A description of how *chệt* can be used with *ông* purposefully in sarcastic situations is explained in section 4.3.

- (26) **{Thằng/chú/ông}** **chệt** [V]
 guy.3.ANTIHON/older.REL.M.3.HON/older.REL.M.3.HON **chink.M**
mua trái cây
 buys fruit
 ‘The Chink buys fruit.’

In sum, the kinship terms *chú* ‘uncle’ and *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ can occur felicitously with all three racial terms, whereas the term of reference *thằng* ‘guy’ is only compatible with the terms *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ and *chệt* ‘chink’, but not *người hoa* ‘Chinese’. Note that, although *chú* and *ông* can each occur felicitously with any of the racial terms, the levels of politeness differ. *Chú* is a less formal term than *ông* and cannot be used towards individuals who are on the higher end of a social hierarchy (i.e. presidents, kings, and ministers). Thus, occurrences of *chú* have a sense of less respect than occurrences of *ông*. We thus assume that these kinship terms have a more positive EI than *thằng* ‘guy’, with *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ being higher on the EI than *chú* ‘uncle’. In particular, we posit that *ông*, meaning grandpa or sir, has an EI of [.5,1] which conveys that there is a high level of respect and/or a strong positive attitude. *Chú* ‘younger uncle’ has an EI of [-1,1], which conveys that there may be a certain level of respect for *chú*, but it is a more neutral term, and the level of respect is not as high as *ông*. *Thằng* ‘guy’, on the other hand, has an EI [-1,-.5], which means that there is no respect for the referent, and the term holds a strong negative emotion.

On the other hand, the EI for the racial terms addressed can then be [-1,-.5] for the strong negative term *chệt* ‘chink’; [-1,1] for the neutral term *tàu* ‘Chinaman’; and [.5,1] for the strong positive term *người hoa* ‘Chinese’.

With the EI for each expressive element in hand, we are ready to propose the CCM for kinship terms/terms of address with racial terms in Vietnamese. The CC is displayed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. CC of kinship terms/terms of address with racial terms

racial terms kinship terms/ terms of address	<i>chệt</i> ‘chink’ [-1,-.5]	<i>tàu</i> ‘Chinaman’ [-1,1]	<i>người hoa</i> ‘Chinese’ [.5,1]
<i>thằng</i> ‘guy’ [-1,-.5]	high compatibility	low compatibility	incompatibility
<i>chú</i> ‘younger uncle’ [-1,1]	low compatibility	high compatibility	low compatibility
<i>ông</i> ‘grandpa/sir’ [.5,1]	incompatibility	low compatibility	high compatibility

In light of what is shown here, we can conclude that the expressive indices of kinship terms and racial terms seem to dynamically interact. Crucially, we assume that the CC here is gauged based on the EI for each expressive item.

First, anti-honorific terms such as *thằng* ‘guy’ have an index of narrow negative range [-1,-.5] since they are strongly pejorative and well-suited to racial slurs like *chệt* ‘chink’ with strong negative emotion with EI of [-1,-.5]. Thus, *thằng* is most compatible with the most derogatory term *chệt*, and there is a high compatibility with the occurrence of both terms; *thằng* touches *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ at 25%. Hence, there is a low compatibility, and *thằng* reveals incompatibility with the term *người hoa* ‘Chinese’.

Second, neutral kinship terms like *chú* ‘uncle’ are indifferent to emotive state, with the whole range of index [-1,1], which consequently allows them to co-occur with nouns with any range of emotional attitude. For instance, the negative slur *chệt* ‘chink’ can also co-occur with *chú*, which is most neutral, but the CCI for the two barely touch at the 25% mark, and so there is a low compatibility. The term *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ is colloquially used and informal, and the EI for *tàu* matches the EI for *chú*. Thus, there is a high compatibility (100%), and there is a low compatibility (25%) for the co-occurrence of *người hoa* ‘Chinese’ and *chú* ‘uncle’.

Finally, given that kinship terms like *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ have an index of narrow positive range [.5,1] between the attitude holder (the judge) and the subject, this positive index prohibits any potential overlap with even weak negative slurs like *chệt* ‘chink’ with a narrow negative index [-1,-.5]. However, these two are possible in intentionally flouted situations such as sarcasm, which will be further explained in section 4.3. *Ông* touches *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ at 25%, and hence there is a low compatibility; the most politically correct and inoffensive racial term, *người hoa* ‘Chinese’, precisely overlaps with the EI for *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ and so there is a high compatibility (100%) between the two items. (Note that, despite the theoretical incompatibility between *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ and *chệt* ‘chink’, the combination of these items does appear in real usage, as shown in (27) above. We will return to this point in section 4.3.)

As such, we can see the CC for the expressive elements between kinship terms and racial slurs in Vietnamese, with specification in terms of numerical index of emotional attitude, at a glance.

The current analysis of Vietnamese expressives implies that language is equipped with a tool for simultaneously conveying multi-layered emotional states of an individual within an utterance. This is strongly reminiscent of other types of expressives, the meaning of which can be captured by the multidimensionality of CI logic (Potts 2005).

4.2 CC between slurs and emotive predicates

The specific EI for each racial term that we posited above can be further supported by CC between slurs and emotive predicates. For one thing, the use of *chệt* ‘chink’ is improbable in positively charged predicates like ‘respected’, as in (27), due to the conflicting attitude with the derogatory flavor conveyed by *chệt*.

- (27) *Người #chệt được kính trọng.* [V]
 person **chink.M** receives respect
 ‘The chink is respected.’

On the other hand, the somewhat more neutral term *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ can be respected, as seen in sentence (28).

- (28) *Người tàu được kính trọng.* [V]
 person **Chinese** receives respect
 ‘The Chinaman is respected.’

Finally, the most respectful term *người hoa* is perfectly compatible with the predicate ‘respected’, as in (29).

- (29) *Người hoa được kính trọng.* [V]
 person **Chinese** receives respect
 ‘The Chinese person is respected.’

In sentences that have negative attitudes, on the other hand, such as calling someone *ngu* ‘stupid’, as in (30-32), the most derogatory term *chệt* ‘chink’ and the neutral term *tàu* ‘Chinaman’ are pragmatically acceptable.

(30) *Người chệt đó ngu.* [V]
 person **chink.male** DEM stupid
 ‘The chink is stupid.’

(31) *Người tàu đó ngu.* [V]
 person **Chinese** DEM stupid
 ‘The Chinaman is stupid.’

However, calling a *người hoa* ‘Chinese’ *ngu* ‘stupid’ sounds odd, and thus, it is in violation to do so, as seen in (32).

(32) *#Người hoa đó ngu.* [V]
 person **Chinese** DEM stupid
 ‘The Chinese person is ridiculous.’

Given the empirical distribution, we suggest that the CC for racial terms in positively-charged and negatively-charged sentences be modeled as in Table 4.

Table 4. CCM for racial terms and negatively to positively-charged predicates

emotive predicates \ racial terms	<i>ngu</i> ‘stupid’ [-1,-.5] strong negative	<i>mua trái cây</i> ‘buys fruit’ [-1,1] neutral	<i>kính trọng</i> ‘respect’ [.5,1] strong positive
<i>chệt</i> ‘chink’ [-1,-.5]	high compatibility	low compatibility	incompatible
<i>tàu</i> ‘Chinaman’ [-1,1]	low compatibility	high compatibility	low compatibility
<i>người hoa</i> ‘Chinese’ [.5,1]	Incompatibility	low compatibility	high compatibility

4.3 Possible exceptions to CC

Thus far, we have shown that, according to the CC in Vietnamese, it would be incompatible for derogatory racial slurs like *chệt* ‘chink’ with EI [-1,-.5] to appear with honorific kinship terms like *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ [.5,1] since there is no overlap whatsoever within the EI of the two terms. The co-occurrence paradigm in Vietnamese that we suggested in section 4.2 captures only well-behaved cases, such as co-occurrences of multiple expressives either within the negative index only or the positive index. In practice, however, the otherwise illicit mixture of elements with opposite attitudes does appear. For instance, native Vietnamese speaker consultants find the sentence (33) acceptable.

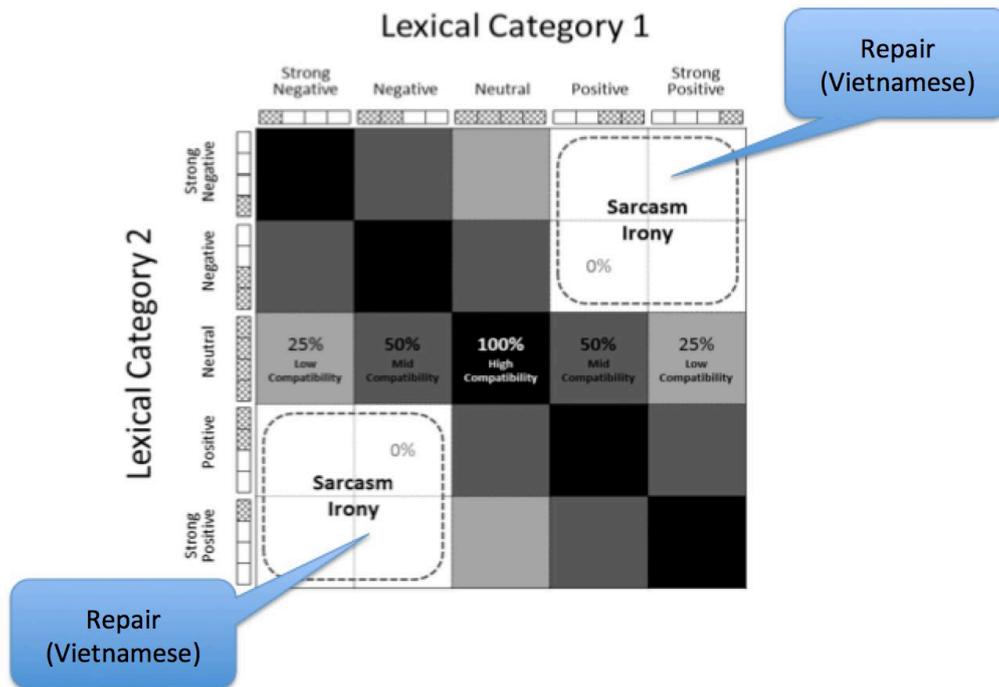
(33) *Ông chệt mua trái cây.* [V]
 older.REL.M.3.HON **chink.m** buys fruit
 ‘Sir. Chink buys fruit.’

Then our account of CCM needs to be able to explain why a slightly different picture is shown in real usage. Does this mean that the CCM in Table 3 does not correctly capture the co-occurrence constraint of the *ông* and *chệt*? In normal circumstances, the CCM correctly predicts the usage of multiple expressive elements. However, there are times when, as observed above, the honorific expressive terms like *ông* are allowed with negative expressive items like *chệt*. In those special instances, the combination *ông chệt* is employed for certain pragmatic effects. In other languages, it has been noted that such otherwise illicit combination gives rise to stronger pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, humor, or hyperbole (see Okamoto 2002, 2007 for Japanese; Brown 2013 for Korean). In Vietnamese, however, the combination seems to be employed to repair the highly negative expressive content of *chệt*. Thus, we argue, the juxtaposition of apparently conflicting attitudes is not an error at all, but rather speakers’ pragmatic strategy. Given this, our model needs to be revised to incorporate the fact that, despite the CCM’s prediction for their incompatibility, there

seem to be rare cases of co-occurrences of the honorific expressive item with the emotionally negative expressive term.

Furthermore, most of the examples with elements of conflicting attitudes are typically uttered in a sarcastic tone of voice. Such deliberate flouting of the CC is one of the speaker’s strategies to indirectly project a scornful attitude toward a target racial group or individual, as discussed in Korean (Yoon 2015), or the speaker’s repair strategy for strongly offensive terms. In the CCM for multiple expressives, these pragmatic effects are achieved in the regions of incompatibility with the CCI of 0%, as marked by the dotted square (Yoon 2015: Fig. 2). Given that the contribution of Vietnamese data is to add to the list a *repair strategy*, we propose to revise the CCM as follows.

Figure 2. Sarcasm/irony/repair regions in CCM for multiple expressives



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

In Vietnamese, the idea of the h-expressive *ông* ‘grandpa’ and the e-expressive *chết* ‘chink’ occurring together can happen in the cases of the ironic repair; the repair permits the h-expressive *ông* to make the use of the e-expressive *chết* seem less severe. The intention is not a trivialization as with the sarcastic usage, but using the term *chết* is not as harsh or severe as without the occurrence of *ông*.

However, it is important to note that these cases of flouting are not something that is freely allowed with any kind of combinations of conflicting attitudes, but only arises with certain examples. The intention of sarcasm or repair does not apply to other terms in Vietnamese. The occurrence of *thằng người hoa*, for instance, is considered infelicitous by the native Vietnamese speaker consultants. The semantico-pragmatic unacceptability of *thằng người hoa* may be attributed to the high level of positivity that *người hoa* evokes such that the antihonorific *thằng* cannot combine with due to its lower status.

We close our discussion on pragmatic effects by looking at similar examples found in Korean, which shows that this is a crosslinguistic phenomenon. Yoon (2015) notes that the combination of expressive items with obviously conflicting attitudes such as a strong negative slur and a high honorific form are quite frequently found, as shown in the high number of hits on Google search for *ppalkayngi-pwun* and *ppalkayngi-nim* ‘commie[-1,-.5]’+‘the honorable[.5,1]’.

- (34) a. *Ppalkayngi-pwun*: 6,490 hits on Google search (June 27, 2014) [Korean]
 commie.neg.att-sir.hon
 b. *Ppalkayngi-nim*: 32,700 hits on Google search (June 27, 2014)
 commie.neg.att-sir.hon
 ‘The (C_Idishonorable) commie, the (C_Ihonorable) being.’ (Yoon 2015:42)

The current findings in Vietnamese shed light on the compatibility of expressive elements. In exploring interactions of various expressive items, we aim to tackle two main issues: first, what are constraints on compatibility and how should the degree of compatibility be measured; second, how strict is the CC of expressives, and what happens if the condition is flouted?

To resolve these issues, adopting the CC has an important advantage: by positing EIs for all expressive elements, we can predict and exclude exceptional cases. For instance, by specifying an EI for each expressive item, we can enrich the sentiment lexicon with pragmatic information with regards to the negative/positive polarity of emotion as well as the degree of emotional attitude. Furthermore, by specifying the sarcasm/irony regions in CCM, we can predict the exceptional cases with conflicting emotions to convey certain pragmatic effects.

5. Autonomy of emotive and honorific dimension: multidimensionality

In the previous sections, we have concentrated on how the honorific expressive and the emotive expressive can affect one another and the respective indices of expressivity. In this section, we will observe the independent behavior of e-expressives and h-expressives. In previous literature, these two dimensions of expressive meaning have been treated alike. The uniform approach for emotion dimension and honorific dimension seems plausible at first glance considering their commonalities. For one thing, both e-expressives and h-expressives reveal their conformity to the CI properties discussed in section 2. Furthermore, these two kinds of expressive elements, namely, the attitudes of being deferential and emotionally positive, tend to go hand in hand, and their differences are extremely subtle to tease apart. For this reason, the autonomy of different expressive dimensions is not easy to detect. The e-dimension and h-dimension may thus be closely linked, which is why they have tacitly been assumed to be two of the same kind of dimension. We argue, however, that the emotive and honorific dimensions are in actuality not necessarily dependent on each other. Vietnamese data offers evidence with regard to the question of whether we can just dismiss their potentially significant differences between negative emotion and disrespectful attitude, on the one hand, and differences between positive emotion and deferential attitude, on the other.

Below, we provide arguments against the uniform approach, showing that there are cases, albeit rare, where the two dimensions function separately. Relevant data in Vietnamese shows that the two dimensions are autonomous and function independently. The e-expressive and h-expressive maintain the indices of expressivity of the respective individual expressive terms, and the h-expressive is capable of fulfilling and expressing cultural norms in statements that may be either positively or negatively charged.

First, let us start with English examples which exhibit apparently conflicting multidimensional attitudes. In (35), if a speaker is under social obligation to use the title *sir* in the honorific dimension but, in emotional dimension, intends to express a negative emotional stance by employing *bastard* or *how dare you*, the speaker may say something like in (35).

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

Second, as shown in Korean (Yoon 2015), a statement that includes honorific forms *kkeyse* and *si* added to a high executive *hoycangnim*, as in (36), is still capable of expressing negativity toward the content of proposition ‘the president has sold his stocks’ with *pe- .*

- (36) *Hoycangnim-kkeyse₁* *cwusik-ul* *maykakhay-peli₂-si₃-ess-e.* [Korean]
 president-Nom.hon stock-Acc sell-neg.att-subj.hon-Pst-Decl
 ‘The (C₁honorable)₁ (C₁honorable)₃ president has (C₁regreattably)₂ sold his stocks.’

This sentence shows that the honorific dimension holds a change in the emotive dimension which reveals the autonomy of each of the expressive dimensions. Vietnamese, we argue, exhibits autonomy in both the e-dimension and h-dimension. It seems that there is an honorific system, at least among pronouns and kinship terms in Vietnamese even if these are not honorific verbal inflections, as seen in Korean, but this honorific dimension does not necessarily have to correspond to an emotive component. The emotive dimension, likewise, does not depend on honorification. In what follows, we show the autonomy of the e-expressive, particularly *người chệt*, and the h-expressive, such as *ông*. Recall that *chệt* is the offensive racial slur for Chinese, and *ông* ‘grandpa or sir’ is reserved towards a highly-regarded individual. *Ông* and *chệt* can be used in the same neutral statement, but the effect is different.

In (37) and (38), some fairly neutral statements expressing the eating of a plate of rice at a restaurant by each *ông* and *chệt*, offer evidence to the division between the e-expressive and h-expressive.

- (37) *Ông* *kia* *ăn* *phần* *com.* [V]
 older.REL.M.3.HON DEM eat portion rice
 ‘That man is eating a rice plate.’¹³
- (38) *Người chệt* *kia* *ăn* *phần* *com.*
 person chink.M.3 DEM eats portion rice
 ‘That chink is eating a rice plate.’

The politeness that is expressed with *ông* in (37) can be used to address any male that the speaker wants to show politeness to. The use of *chệt* in (38), on the other hand, includes the speaker’s negative attitude towards the third party, which holds the idea that the e-expressive encodes a subjective emotional attitude. This politeness of *ông* in 37 can be void of any emotive as well, whereas the use of *chệt* in (38) sparks a negative attitude. There are no honorifics in use in sentence (38), but the e-expressive remains. Therefore, the h-expressive or e-expressive can appear independently.

To further support the abovementioned, in (39), the statement offers a positive attitude with the predicate *được kính trọng* ‘respected.’ The male, *ông*, is given respect and honor by being addressed as so. This does not seem out of the ordinary since the sentence is accompanied with the politically correct racial term for Chinese, *người hoa*.

- (39) *Ông* *người* *hoa* *được* *kính trọng.* [V]
 older.REL.M.3.HON person Chinese receives respect
 ‘The Chinese sir is respected.’

Sentence (40), on the other hand, does not relay a positive attitude even with the occurrence of *ông*, which is an h-expressive. Instead, a fairly negative attitude is expressed with the use of both *chệt* ‘chink’ and *ngu* ‘stupid’.

- (40) *Ông* *chệt* *đó* *ngu.* [V]
 older.REL.M.3.HON chink.M DEM stupid
 ‘The chink sir is stupid.’

As we can see in (40), *ông*, an honorific term is still being used even with such a negative statement *chệt*, offers evidence that there is autonomy in each the e-dimension and h-dimension. One is not necessarily linked to the other.

¹³ The phrase *phần com* is literally translated to mean “a portion of rice”. However, native Vietnamese speakers do not consider *phần com* as simply “a portion of rice”. Native Vietnamese speaker consultants have explained that the phrase *phần com* is a common way to express a rice plate.

6. Conclusion

In exploring various types of expressives in Vietnamese, the goal of the present study was to examine how different expressive elements interact with one another. The Vietnamese data supports earlier observations that multiple occurrences of expressives are possible (see Potts 2005 for multiple occurrences of *damn* in English, Potts & Kawahara 2004 for Japanese honorifics, and Kim & Sells 2007 for Korean honorifics). This has been shown through the occurrences of e-expressives, such as ethnic slurs, and h-expressives, such as kinship terms, together in the Vietnamese data. For a deeper understanding of the nature of this multidimensionality, we have shown how the newfound empirical data with various possible combinations of expressive items in Vietnamese provide insight on the nature of expressive dimension.

In order to understand how speakers constrain the (in)compatibility of expressive elements, we have shown that the dynamic paradigm of differing expressive elements occurring together, such as e-expressives and h-expressives, hints at the CC, suggesting how a language like Vietnamese may constrain the (im)possible co-occurrences of various types of expressives. Investigating the pattern of multiple occurrences of various expressives in Vietnamese, including even ones with conflicting attitudes, we have proposed a CCM and CCI for Vietnamese expressives. In doing so, we revisited the common assumption of the nature of multidimensionality, asking whether emotion and honorific dimensions operate autonomously; we have suggested that we need to draw a borderline between the positive/negative emotive expressives like slurs or pejoratives and the honorific expressives like (anti-)honorifics and their ilk like Vietnamese kinship terms or pronouns. We argued against the traditional uniform treatment for the two types of expressives, showing that e-expressives and h-expressives operate independently of each other (section 5), although they interact to some extent.

Furthermore, we have shown that there are exceptional cases to such semantic constraints. Based on the real usages of deliberate flouting of the CC, we have shown how people intentionally employ the juxtaposition of opposite attitudes for certain pragmatic effects such as sarcasm, irony, hyperbole, and humor. Crucially, Vietnamese data adds a newfound repair strategy to that list of pragmatic effects. Particularly, this is the case when the h-expressive *ông* and e-expressive *chết* are used together as seen previously in example (33).

In sum, after examining the mechanism of the intercommunication system amongst multiple expressive elements and multiple expressive dimensions, we suggested the semantic constraints and the pragmatic nonconformity of Vietnamese expressives. The implications of our study are as follows: (i) the empirical findings in Vietnamese are extremely revealing in that they further support Potts' (2005 et seq.) notion of multidimensionality by showing the necessity of separated dimensions of emotive expressives and honorific expressives; (ii) the repair strategy shown in Vietnamese suggests a revision for the previous CCM (see Fig. 2 above); and (iii) based on the crucial distribution pattern for a variety of expressives, we show how to predict the CC for various kinds of expressive elements in language.

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