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# AGREEMENT IN PROMISSIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND EXHORTATIVE CLAUSES

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**Abstract.** One of the unique features of Korean is that it marks sentences used to promise with the same grammatical mechanism – a paradigm of sentence final particles – with which it marks other clause types, like declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. In this paper we investigate this cross-linguistically rare type of PROMISSIVES and argue that they are members of the broader clause type of JUSSIVES, along with imperatives and exhortatives. However, within the jussive clause type, promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives differ from each other in having not only different sentence final particles but also different subjects. We argue that these two differences are correlated in such a way as to distinguish the three distinct clause types, promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives. We specifically argue that the jussive particle (sentence final particle in jussive clauses) is the head of a Jussive Phrase which carries person features and that the jussive particle enters an agreement relation with the subject. In studying various types of subjects allowed in both root and embedded jussive clauses we further argue that the Jussive head, as well as null pronouns in Korean has a shiftable person features while overt pronouns have unshiftable person features.

Keywords: clause types, promissive, imperative, exhortative, jussive, agreement, sentence final particles, person features, (un)shiftable person features

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Most languages express the illocutionary force of promising with a declarative, e.g., “I promise I’ll buy lunch tomorrow” or simply “I’ll buy lunch tomorrow”. Korean is special for two reasons:

• Korean has distinct sentential forms for expressing a promise. A promissive in plain style is shown in (1):

- (1) PROMISSIVE  
 nayil cemsim-ul sa-**ma**.  
 tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-PRM  
 'I will buy lunch tomorrow.'

• These promissive forms are characterized by the presence of a sentence final particle, which is the same grammatical mechanism used to mark clause types that are universal, declaratives and interrogatives:

- (2) DECLARATIVE  
 cemsim-ul mek-ess-ta.  
 lunch-ACC eat-PST-DC  
 'I ate lunch.'

- (3) INTERROGATIVE  
 cemsim-ul mek-ess-**ni**?  
 lunch-ACC eat-PST-Q  
 'Did you eat lunch?'

In addition to promissives, we will discuss two other, closely related, clause types, imperatives and exhortatives.<sup>1</sup> These are also marked by distinct sentence final particles:

- (4) IMPERATIVE  
 cemsim-ul sa-**la**.  
 lunch-ACC buy-IMP  
 'Buy lunch!'

- (5) EXHORTATIVE  
 cemsim-ul sa-**ca**.  
 lunch-ACC buy-EXH  
 'Let's buy lunch.'

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<sup>1</sup> We use the following abbreviations in this paper (along with the list of abbreviations in the KL Style guidelines): APE (apperceptive), APR (apprehensive), EXH (exhortative), PRES (present), PRM (promissive).

We argue that promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives constitute a broader clause type, *JUSSIVES*. Our study of jussives leads us to two significant conclusions. First, they reveal the presence of agreement in Korean, a language that is typically thought of as lacking agreement; and second, they lead to the discovery of an element (the null subjects of these clause types) with the properties of a shiftable indexical of the kind discussed by Schlenker (2003) and others.

There are a number of complexities in the clause type system that we should mention, though we will not focus on them here. There are a number of other sentence final particles which can occur in promissives. One of these is represented by *-(u)lkey*, illustrated in (6); this form only occurs in root clauses and indicates a particular speech style:

- (6) *nayil cemsim-ul sa-lkey.*  
 tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-PRM.intimate  
 'I will buy lunch tomorrow.' (intimate style)

We choose to focus on *-ma* rather than *-(u)lkey* because it is minimally different from the imperative and exhortative particles with which we will compare it. In addition, speech style is itself a complex phenomenon at the morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels, and we would not be able to do justice to it in the context of this study of the jussive clause types.

There are other particles that can be used in jussive clauses which will be set aside because they do not give rise to distinct sentential forms. For example, *-e/a* can be used in the intimate style for all clause types. Such particles seem to mark only speech style, and so we do not discuss them here.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. THE JUSSIVE CLAUSE TYPE

Promissives share a number of significant properties with imperatives and exhortatives. We argue that these similarities show that promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives all belong to a single, broader clause type (cf. Pak et al. 2004, 2008). Note that we do not attempt to provide an analysis of these similarities in this paper. Our only aim in discussing them is to motivate an account that treats all of the jussive clauses in a parallel fashion.

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<sup>2</sup> Also note that we are not providing an analysis of indirect speech acts, for example declarative sentences used to make a promise (e.g., I will buy lunch tomorrow.) or questions used to give an order (e.g., Can you pass me the salt?). Such cases occur in all language, and we assume that they have a pragmatic explanation.

The jussive clauses are alike in the following ways: First, while the subjects of embedded declaratives and interrogatives can freely be overt or null, embedded promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are alike in that they do not normally allow overt subjects, as illustrated in (7-8). An overt subject can occur only in special circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

- (7) a. DECLARATIVE  
 john-i tom-eykey [mary-ka cip-ey kass-**ta**]-ko  
 John-NOM tom-DAT [mary-NOM home-to went-DC]-COMP  
 malhayss-ta.  
 said-DC  
 'John told Tom that Mary went home.'
- b. INTERROGATIVE  
 john-i tom-eykey [mary-ka cip-ey kass-**nya**]-ko  
 John-NOM tom-DAT [mary-NOM home-to went-Q]-COMP  
 muless-ta.  
 asked-DC  
 'John asked Tom whether Mary went home.'

<sup>3</sup> In embedded promissives, an overt subject is possible only if it is a (heavily stressed) reflexive pronoun in combination with an overt focalizer. In embedded imperatives, an overt subject is possible only if it refers to a subset of referents of the indirect object of the matrix; and in embedded exhortatives, only if it refers to a subset of the indirect object and matrix subject. Additionally, in both embedded imperatives and exhortatives, the subject must be combined with the (contrastive) topic marker *-nun*. These facts are illustrated in (i)-(iii):

- (i) PROMISSIVE  
 sensayngnim-kkeyse haksayngtul-eykey [tangsin-i ttekpoki-lul sa-  
 teacher-NOM students-DAT [self-FOC rice cake-ACC buy-  
 ma]-ko malssumha-si-ess-ta.  
 PRM]-COMP say-HON-PST-DC  
 'The teacher said to the students that he promises to buy rice cake.'
- (ii) IMPERATIVE  
 john-i haksayngtul-eykey [swukcey-lul ta han salamtul-  
 John-NOM students-DAT [homework-ACC all finish people-  
 un cip-ey ka-la]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 (contrastive)TOP home-to go-IMP]-COMP said-DC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John told the students that those who have finished  
 their homework should go home.'
- (iii) EXHORTATIVE  
 john-i haksayngtul-eykey [ttekpoki-lul mek-ko sip-un  
 John-NOM students-DAT [rice cake-ACC eat want-PRES  
 salamtul-un kati ka-ca]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 people- (contrastive) TOP together go-EXH]-COMP said-DC  
 'John said to the students that those people who want to eat rice cake go with him.'

- (8) a. PROMISSIVE  
 john-i tom-eykey [(*\*nay-ka*/*\*mary-ka*) nayil  
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(I/Mary-NOM) tomorrow  
 tasi o-**ma**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 again come-PRM]-COMP said-DC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John promised Tom that he would come back tomorrow.'
- b. IMPERATIVE  
 john-i tom-eykey [(*\*ney* /*\*mary-ka*) cip-ey  
 John-NOM tom-DAT [(you/mary-NOM) home-to  
 ka-**la**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 go-IMP]-COMP said-DC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John ordered Tom to go home.'
- c. EXHORTATIVE  
 john-i tom-eykey [(*\*wuli-ka*) cip-ey ka-**ca**]-  
 John-NOM tom-DAT [(we-NOM) home-to go-EXH]-  
 ko malhayss-ta.  
 COMP said-DC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John said to Tom that he and Tom should go home.'

Second, Korean has a number of particles that express distinctions concerning, for example, the kind of evidence on which knowledge is based, or whether or not that knowledge is presupposed -- evidential and evaluative particles, respectively. These are *-te* (*retrospective*), *-kwun* (*apperceptive*), *-ci* (*suppositional/suppositional*), and *-ney* (*apprehensive*). None of these can occur in promissives, imperatives, or exhortatives, once again showing that these three clause types behave the same way.<sup>4, 5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A reviewer suggests that the reason that these particles do not occur in jussives is because they are sentence final particles themselves and therefore are in complementary distribution with the jussive particles. This cannot be correct, because some of these particles do co-occur with one another, as well as with declarative and interrogative sentence final particles, suggesting that these particles are not sentence final particles. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (i) john-i pelsse cemsim-ul mek-*te-kwun*(-a).  
 John-NOM already lunch-ACC eat-RETRO-APE(-intimate)  
 '(I saw that) John is already eating lunch.'
- (ii) john-i pelsse cemsim-ul mek-*te-la*.  
 John-NOM already lunch-ACC eat-RETRO-DC  
 '(I saw that) John is already eating lunch.'
- (iii) john-i pelsse cemsim-ul mek-*te-la-ci*?  
 John-NOM already lunch-ACC eat-RETRO-DC-SUPP

- (9) a. PROMISSIVE  
       \*nay-ka cip-ey ka-te/kwun/ci/ney-**ma**.  
       I-NOM home-DAT go-RETRO/APE/SUPP/APR-PRM
- b. IMPERATIVE  
       \*ne cip-ey ka-te/kwun/ci/ney-**la**.  
       you home-DAT go-RETRO/APE/SUPP/APR-IMP
- c. EXHORTATIVE  
       \*wuli cip-ey ka-te/kwun/ci/ney-**ca**.  
       we home-DAT go-RETRO/APE/SUPP/APR-EXH

Third, in addition to the ordinary negative marker *ani*-, Korean also has a negative marker *mal*- which, in declaratives and interrogatives, only occurs in the presence of deontic modality (Han & Lee 2007). In promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives the negative marker *mal*- can occur without an overt element expressing deontic modality:<sup>6</sup>

- (10) a. PROMISSIVE  
       ka-ci *an(i)h/mal*-u-ma.  
       go-CI NEG(+do)-u-PRM  
       ‘I promise not to go.’
- b. IMPERATIVE  
       ka-ci \**an(i)/mal*-a-la.  
       go-CI NEG-a-IMP  
       ‘Don’t go.’
- c. EXHORTATIVE  
       ka-ci \**an(i)/mal*-ca.  
       go-CI NEG-EXH  
       ‘Let’s not go.’

---

‘(I heard that) John is already eating lunch. Is that right?’

Another reviewer comments that sentence (iii) is underlyingly a complex sentence with the following structure:

(iv) ...te-la]-ko ha-ci?  
       RETRO-DC]-COMP do-SUPP?

If this is correct, it supports our argument even more that these evidential and evaluative particles are not sentence final particles.

<sup>5</sup> For additional discussion of these particles, see Martin (1992), Sohn (1999), Cinque (1999), among others.

<sup>6</sup> We refer the readers to Pak et al. (2004, 2008) for a discussion of the fact that both *ani* and *mal* are possible in promissives.

Fourth, promissives, imperatives and exhortatives are alike in not allowing tense markers:

- (11) a. PROMISSIVE  
           \*ka-ess/ul/nun-**ma**.  
           go-PST/FUT/PRES-PRM  
       b. IMPERATIVE  
           \*ka-ess/ul/nun-**la**.  
           go-PST/FUT/PRES-IMP  
       c. EXHORTATIVE  
           \*ka-ess/ul/nun-**ca**.  
           go-PST/FUT/PRES-EXH

The fifth property promissives, imperatives and exhortatives share is that they can be conjoined by *-(kuli)ko* ‘and’ and *-kena* ‘or’, coordinators that can only conjoin clauses of the same type (for example, they can conjoin a declarative with a declarative, but not with an interrogative). The fact that they can conjoin imperatives with promissives and exhortatives suggests that these sentence types share the property that *-(kuli)ko* and *-kena* are sensitive to:

- (12) a. IMPERATIVE and PROMISSIVE with *-(kuli)ko*  
           ne-nun sakwa-lul mek(-ela. **kuli)ko** na-nun pay-lul  
           you-FOC apple-ACC eat(-IMP)-and I-TOP pear-ACC  
           mek-u-ma.  
           eat-u-PRM  
           ‘You eat an apple and I promise to eat a pear.’  
       b. IMPERATIVE and EXHORTATIVE with *-ko*  
           minswu, ne-nun cip-ey ka(-la. **kuli)ko** yenghi-  
           Minswu, you-FOC home-to go-and yenghi-  
           wa na-nun hakkyo-ey ka-ca.  
           and I-TOP school-to go-EXH  
           ‘Minswu, you go home and Yenghi and I, let’s go to school.’  
       c. IMPERATIVE and EXHORTATIVE with *-kena*  
           john, ne cip-ey honca ka-**kena** na-lang tosekwan-ey  
           John, you home-to alone go-or I-with library-to  
           ka-ca.  
           go-EXH  
           ‘John, either you go home by yourself or let’s go to the library with me.’



Note that the imperative particle may be present or dropped in (12a-b); though it must be dropped with the conjunction *-kena* in (12c), the imperative interpretation is still clear. On the basis of this syntactic evidence, we argue that promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are all members of a single clause type, which we label jussive.

In addition to the syntactic evidence, it also makes intuitive sense to group promissives together with imperatives and exhortatives. Just as imperatives are requirements or directives aimed at getting the addressee to do something, exhortatives are requirements or directives aimed at both the speaker and the addressee, and promissives are requirements or directives aimed at the speaker him or herself. So in the imperative in (4), the addressee is to buy lunch; in the exhortative in (5) both the speaker and addressee are to; and in the promissive in (1), the speaker is to. This is, in essence, what these sentences share: they all convey that an action is to be performed by one (or more) of the participants in the conversation, speaker and/or addressee. Metaphorically, we can think of the set of actions that is presupposed that some individual will perform as a “To-do List” (cf. Portner 2004, 2007, where an explicit semantics is given). In this context, imperatives add a requirement to the addressee’s To-do List; exhortatives add a requirement to both the addressee’s and speaker’s To-do Lists; and promissives add a requirement to the speaker’s To-do List. In sum, we can view jussive clauses as those with the canonical function of adding a requirement to some individual in the conversational context.

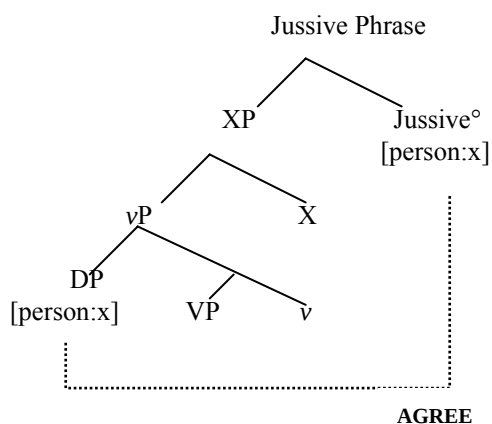
### 3. THE ROLE OF THE SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES

Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives share many properties but they differ in having different sentence final particles: promissives are marked by the particle *-ma*, imperatives by *-la*, and exhortatives by *-ca*, as shown in (1,4,5). They also differ in having different subjects; in promissives the subject is always the speaker, in imperatives the addressee, and in exhortatives the speaker and addressee. The subjects refer to (or quantify over) the individual(s) whose To-do list is affected by the utterance. We argue that these two differences are correlated in such a way as to distinguish the three distinct clause types, promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives, within the broader class of jussives. Specifically, we claim the following:

1. The jussive particle (sentence final particle in jussive clauses) is the head of a Jussive Phrase which carries person features.
2. The jussive particle enters an agreement relation with the subject.

We follow Chomsky (2000, 2001) in implementing agreement as a relation between a functional head and a c-commanded maximal projection. These claims can be represented structurally as in (13).<sup>7,8</sup>

(13) CLAUSAL STRUCTURE OF JUSSIVES AND AGREE RELATION



The XP in this structure represents any functional projection which may intervene between vP and the Jussive Phrase; there is evidence that aspect can occur in this position,<sup>9</sup> and it has been suggested that tense can be present as well. In

<sup>7</sup> The tree represents the head final word order of the language. One may adopt a head initial phrase structure and explain the word order as a result of movement, as proposed in the literature (cf. Kayne 1994).

<sup>8</sup> In jussive clauses that do not contain one of the distinct jussive particles (*-ma*, *-ulkey*, *-la*, *-ca*), we would assume that a null jussive particle is present. For example, in a sentence containing the intimate particle *-e/a*, used as an imperative, we assume that *-e/a* marks speech style and a null version of *-la* agrees with the subject. See Pak et al. (in prep) for a broader discussion of this issue.

<sup>9</sup> The following examples show that the progressive marker *-ko-iss* can occur in jussive clauses in Korean:

- (i) a. PROMISSIVE  
mek-ko-iss-uma  
eat-PROG-PRM  
'I promise to be eating.'
- b. IMPERATIVE  
mek-ko-iss-ela  
eat-PROG-IMP  
'Be eating.'

some languages, including Korean, negation may occur in this position. Our interest in this paper is on the jussive particles and their relation to the subject; so we leave an exploration of the details of this part of clausal structure aside. If one or more projections are present above vP, the subject might raise into their specifier position; we assume that the specifier will not be projected unless it is occupied, as is implied by recent discussion of phrase structure (e.g., Chomsky 1995).

As illustrated in (13), our proposal is that the jussive head enters an AGREE relation with the subject. It could not AGREE with the object, which is within the VP, because that would constitute a violation of the locality constraint on AGREE discussed in the references cited (i.e., the subject intervenes between the jussive head and the object). One might wonder whether  $X^{\circ}$  could be tense and agree with the subject instead, but of course there's no evidence for tense having phi-features in Korean (nor in imperatives in other languages, for that matter).

We assume that phi-features are interpretable on argument DPs but not on functional heads. We utilize the presuppositional analysis of person features (Cooper (1979), Heim and Kratzer (1998), Schlenker (2003), Sauerland (2004)), according to which the feature [person: 1] leads to a presupposition that the DP refers to the speaker or (if plural) a group containing the speaker. Similarly, [person: 2] leads to a presupposition that the DP refers to (a group containing) the addressee. Following Harley and Ritter (2002), and Baker (2008), among others, we assume that third person noun phrases lack the person feature entirely, and propose that such DPs can only be used if it is not presupposed that they refer to the speaker, the addressee, or a group containing either.

There is a range of possible subjects in jussive clauses: null subjects, pronominal subjects, and referential subjects.<sup>10</sup> In the cases of null and pronominal subjects, as in (14,15), the agreement relation will ensure that the subject has the correct interpretation:

(14) NULL SUBJECTS

a. PROMISSIVE

nayil        cemsim-ul    sa-**ma**.  
tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-PRM

---

c. EXHORTATIVE

mek-ko-iss-ca  
eat-PROG-EXH  
'Let's be eating.'

<sup>10</sup> Quantificational subjects are also possible, but we won't discuss them here.

'I will buy lunch tomorrow.'

b. IMPERATIVE

cemsim-ul mek-**ela**.<sup>11</sup>

lunch-ACC eat-IMP

'Eat lunch!'

c. EXHORTATIVE

cemsim-ul mek-**ca**.

lunch-ACC eat-EXH

'Let's eat lunch.'

(15) PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS

a. PROMISSIVE

nay-ka cemsim-ul sa-**ma**.

I-NOM lunch-ACC buy-PRM

'I promise to buy lunch.'

b. IMPERATIVE

ney-ka cemsim-ul mek-**ela**.

you-NOM lunch-ACC eat-IMP

'You eat lunch!'

c. EXHORTATIVE

wuli-ka cemsim-ul mek-**ca**.

we-NOM lunch-ACC eat-EXH

'Let's you and I eat lunch.'

Matters are more complex with referential subjects. In general noun phrases headed by a common noun or name are third person. (Recall that we are assuming that third person noun phrases lack person specification.) Typically third person noun phrases do not refer to the speaker or addressee, but in some cases they do:

(16) a. Mommy loves her baby.

b. Where did mommy put her coat?

In declaratives and interrogatives, such examples are syntactically third person, as shown by the verb agreement and form of the anaphor in (16). The facts are similar in Korean, though we do not see the verb agreement and the third person anaphor is either null or a repetition of the noun:

<sup>11</sup> There is discussion in the literature about whether *-ela* is a single morpheme or two. Han and Lee (2007) claim that it is a single imperative morpheme, while Pak (2008) and Pak et al. (2008) argue that *-e* is a speech style particle.

- (17) emma-nun (emma) aki-lul salanghay-yo.  
 mommy-TOP (mommy) baby-ACC love-DC (polite)  
 'Mommy loves (mommy's) baby.'

When we turn to jussive clauses, matters are different. First, let's look at English imperatives. Though verb agreement is never present in imperatives, we find that a second person anaphor is possible, as in (18). We take this to show that the imperative subject has syntactically active second person features (Zanuttini 2008):

- (18) a. Kids, Gabriel comb your hair, Dani put on your shoes.  
 b. Boys raise your hands, girls wiggle your fingers.

The key point here is that, in imperatives, we see both a semantic and a syntactic effect. That is, *Gabriel* in (18a) refers to the addressee and is syntactically second person.

In Korean, both promissives and imperatives exhibit that effect, as shown in (19):

- (19) a. PROMISSIVE  
 emma-nun nay/emma il-ul ha-ma.  
 mommy-TOP my/mommy work-ACC do-PRM  
 (Intended meaning) 'Mommy will do her work.'  
 b. IMPERATIVE  
 inho-nun ney/inho il-ul hay-la.  
 Inho-TOP your/Inho work-ACC do-IMP  
 'Inho do your work.'

We take this to show that the subjects of these jussive sentences have syntactically active first or second person features. The fact that the anaphor agreement pattern in (18-19) occurs only in jussives shows that the person features in question come not from the noun phrases themselves, but rather from elsewhere in the structure. According to our account, they are transmitted to the subjects from the Jussive head by AGREE. In the non-jussive examples (16-17) the subjects do not have first or second person features, and the fact that these noun phrases can be interpreted as referring to the speaker or addressee must be explained in terms of some pragmatic mechanism.

#### 4. SHIFTING INDEXICALS

Korean allows embedded jussives, and their subjects exhibit some interesting properties. Overt pronominal subjects are not in general possible in embedded clauses (see note 3 for a brief mention of the special circumstances in which they are possible):

- (20) a. \*ku salam-i inho-eykey [nay-ka swuni-lul  
that person-NOM inho-DAT [I-NOM swuni-ACC  
towacwu-**ma**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
help-PRM]-COMP said-DC  
'He said to Inho that he promises to help Swuni.'
- b. \*ku salam-i inho-eykey [ney-ka swuni-lul  
that person-NOM inho-DAT [you-NOM swuni-ACC  
towacwu-**la**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
help-IMP]-COMP said-DC  
'He told Inho to help Swuni.'
- c. \*ku salam-i inho-eykey [wuli-ka swuni-lul  
that person-NOM inho-DAT [we-NOM swuni-ACC  
towacwu-**ca**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
help-EXH]-COMP said-DC  
'He told Inho let's help Swuni.'

As we mentioned in Section 2, the subject of an embedded jussive is typically null. These null subjects must be bound by a noun phrase in the matrix clause. Specifically, the subject of an embedded promissive must be bound by the matrix subject. Similarly, the subject of an embedded imperative must be bound by the matrix dative, and the subject of an embedded exhortative be linked to both the matrix subject and dative, as in (21):<sup>12, 13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> If the embedded clause is a direct quote (in which case, the direct quotative particle *-lako* is used), the embedded clause shows the properties of a root clause, as expected.

<sup>13</sup> One might try to analyze (21) as being similar to the English structures in (i):

- (i) a. He promised Inho that he would help Swuni.  
b. He promised Inho PRO to help Swuni.

In both of these English structures, the embedded subject is third person. If we were to adopt such an analysis for Korean embedded jussives, we would in effect be treating the jussive particles differently in root and embedded clauses. That is, we'd be saying that they have person features in root clauses, but do nothing in embedded ones. This type of non-uniform analysis is clearly less desirable than a uniform one.

- (21) a. ku salam-i inho-eykey [swuni-lul towacwu-  
 that person-NOM inho-DAT [swuni-ACC help-  
**ma**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 PRM]-COMP said-DC  
 'He said to Inho that he promises to help Swuni.'
- b. ku salam-i inho-eykey [swuni-lul towacwu-  
 that person-NOM inho-DAT [swuni-ACC help-  
**la**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 IMP]-COMP said-DC  
 'He told Inho to help Swuni.'
- c. ku salam-i inho-eykey [swuni-lul towacwu-  
 that person-NOM inho-DAT [swuni-ACC help-  
**ca**]-ko malhayss-ta.  
 EXH]-COMP said-DC  
 'He told Inho let's help Swuni.' (indirect speech)

In this they differ from the null subjects of declaratives and interrogatives, which either can be bound from the matrix clause or can get their reference from context.<sup>14</sup>

- (22) na-nun [swuni-lul towacwu-lke(t-i)-la]-ko  
 I-TOP [swuni-ACC help-will-(CPL)-DC]-COMP  
 sayngkakhhan-ta.  
 think-DC  
 I think that I/he/she/they will help Swuni.

Given our proposal that the subjects of jussive clauses acquire person features from the jussive head, it is easy to describe the interpretation of the null subject of an embedded jussive: it is the speaker (if the particle is *-ma*), or addressee (if the particle is *-la*) of the reported speech act. This compares with the subject of a root jussive, which refers to the speaker and/or addressee of the actual conversation. Hence, in (21a) the null subject of the embedded promissive refers not to the actual speaker of the utterance but to the referent of the matrix subject, i.e. the speaker of the reported speech act. The subject of the embedded imperative in (21b) co-refers with the matrix dative *Inho*, who is the addressee of the reported speech act, not the addressee of the actual conversation. As for the em-

<sup>14</sup> The embedded sentence final particle *-la* is an allomorphic variant of the declarative sentence final particle *-ta*, which occurs in embedded copula constructions.

bedded exhortative (21c), the embedded subject refers to the speaker and addressee of the reported utterance, and not of the actual speech act.

In order to explain these properties, we make use of the idea that the null subjects of Korean jussives are shiftable indexicals. A shiftable indexical is a pronominal element which refers to a participant of the actual speech act in root clauses and a participant of a reported speech act in embedded contexts. There are several different approaches to these elements in the literature (see Schlenker 2003, von Stechow 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004), and for our purposes it does not matter which one we adopt. For concreteness, we follow Schlenker (2003). In his theory, all indexicals are interpreted with respect to a context, and certain operators are context-shifters. That is, they make a reported context available for the interpretation of indexicals within their scope. We interpret this proposal in terms of person features. In particular, we make the following hypotheses:

- 1) There is a difference between shiftable and unshiftable person features:
  - a. Shiftable features may get their reference from a reported context (Schlenker's  $\pm$ actual);
  - b. Unshiftable features always get their reference from the actual context (his  $+$ actual).
- 2) The jussive head has shiftable person features;
- 3) Any verb embedding a jussive clause in Korean is a context-shifter.

As far as we know, there is no other source of shiftable person features in Korean.

The hypotheses above lead us to expect the following agreement patterns for null and overt subjects of promissives:<sup>15</sup>

- (23) a. Null subject
- |                                                |                                   |          |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Jussive <sup>0</sup> <sub>[shiftable: 1]</sub> | pro <sub>[shiftable: ]</sub> ...  | [AGREE]→ |
| Jussive <sup>0</sup> <sub>[shiftable: 1]</sub> | pro <sub>[shiftable: 1]</sub> ... |          |
- b. Overt first person subject
- |                                                                 |                                                    |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Jussive <sup>0</sup> <sub>[shiftable: 1]</sub>                  | nay <sub>[unshiftable: 1]</sub> ...                | [AGREE]→ |
| Jussive <sup>0</sup> <sub>[shiftable: 1] [unshiftable: 1]</sub> | nay <sub>[unshiftable: 1] [shiftable: 1]</sub> ... |          |

A null subject, for example that in (21a), ends up with a representation like (23a), where [shiftable:1] represents the shiftable first person feature of the particle. If this representation is in a root clause, the subject will refer to the speaker, since no embedding operator has shifted its reference. If embedded

<sup>15</sup> -nay in (23b) is the nominative form of *I* 'na' in Korean.



under a verb like “say”, the matrix verb shifts the reference of the shiftable person feature to the perspective of the reported speech act; this results in the embedded subject referring to the speaker of the reported speech act, i.e. the matrix subject. Thus in (21a), it is the referent of ‘*that person*’, the matrix subject, who promises to help *Swuni*. When the subject is an overt pronominal as in (20a), we have the representation in (23b). A first person pronoun (e.g., ‘*I*’) represents the feature [unshiftable:1]. In contrast, the jussive head introduces the feature [shiftable:1]. In a root clause, this combination of features is consistent because the meaning of [shiftable:1] corresponds to that of [unshiftable:1]; that is, they both require that the pronoun refer to the speaker. However, if the pronoun is embedded, there will be a conflict: [shiftable:1] says that the pronoun should co-refer with the matrix subject, while [unshiftable:1] requires that it refer to the actual speaker of the utterance. Since these are not in general the same, the embedded subject cannot refer to anything. This combination of features, [shiftable:1] and [unshiftable:1], is only consistent when the matrix subject happens to refer to the speaker. As we see in (24), such cases are grammatical, as predicted by our analysis:

- (24) *nay-ka inho-eykey [nay-ka swuni-lul towacwu-ma]-*  
       I-NOM inho-DAT [I-NOM swuni-ACC help-PRM]-  
       *ko malhayss-ta.*  
       COMP said-DC  
       ‘I said to Inho that I promise to help Swuni.’

## 5. CONCLUSION

We have investigated jussive clauses in Korean. We focused on Korean for two reasons: Because it has a rare clause type, promissives, and because it marks clause types uniformly through a system of sentence final particles. Jussive clauses share syntactic properties and are semantically similar: they are all directives, adding a requirement to some individual’s To-do List. They differ, however, in which individual’s To-do List is to be updated. Promissives are directed at the speaker, imperatives at the addressee(s), and exhortatives at a group containing both. This intuitive characterization is rooted in grammar: promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are marked by different sentence-final particles, and the particular individual whose To-do List is to be updated is always the referent of the clause’s subject. Our aim in this paper has been to provide a formal syntactic analysis that accounts for these grammatical properties.

One linguistic intuition that we have tried to express is the following: the sentence final particle in jussives enters a syntactic relation with the subject of the clause that results in the sharing of person features. Our idea is that jussive clauses are virtually identical, and are distinguished from one another precisely by the particle they contain, each specifying whose To-do list is affected by the content of the clause. We have suggested viewing the syntactic relation that holds between the particle and the subject as an agreement relation, as this is one of the mechanisms made available by current syntactic theory. An alternative way of conceiving of the syntactic relation that holds between the particle and the subject would be as a binding relation, since that is also a relation that results in the presence of the same feature in two distinct positions. If we took that route, we would view the particle *-ma* as the overt realization of a Speaker operator, *-la* as the realization of an Addressee operator, and *-ca* as that of an operator that ranges over a set containing pairs consisting of both speaker and addressee. The idea that each clause contains a range of operators with functions along these lines has been proposed by Baker (2008), and similar ideas can be found elsewhere in the literature (Haegeman 2006, Sigurðsson 2004, Speas 2004, Tenny 2000, and references therein).

Our paper is relevant to two other general issues as well. One is the way in which we should classify languages in terms of their agreement properties. It is typically assumed that Korean and other similar languages like Japanese lack overt agreement in phi-features, but if our analysis is correct, one needs to think carefully about the role of sentence final particles before accepting such a claim. At least one should not assume that a language that lacks subject-verb agreement lacks phi-feature agreement in general.

The second general issue concerns the relevance of our analysis to jussives (in particular, imperatives) in other languages. Should we claim that imperatives cross-linguistically involve agreement between a functional head and the subject? We are not certain, but it is plausible in light of the properties shared by imperatives across languages. Imperative subjects are frequently special: For example, they are constrained to refer to (or quantify over) the addressee(s) and they may be expressed by forms different from other subjects (e.g. as null elements, even in languages like English that do not typically allow null subjects). We suggest that these properties should be explained in terms of the subject agreeing with an element with second person features (cf. Bennis 2006, Jensen 2003, Zanuttini 2008).

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