

## What Korean Promissives tell us about Jussive Clause Types

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### 1. Introduction: The clause type of promissives

Sentences like (1) in Korean exemplify a clause type that is cross-linguistically rare, promissives:

- (1) PROMISSIVE  
 Nayil cemsiyim-ul sa-**ma**.  
 tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-PRM  
 ‘I will buy lunch tomorrow.’

Sentence (1) can only be used with the force of promising. The type is marked by the sentence-final particle *-ma*, analogous to the sentence final particles in imperatives (*-la*), exhortatives (*-ca*), declaratives, and interrogatives in (2)-(5):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(2) IMPERATIVE<br/>       Cemsiyim-ul mek-<b>ela</b>.<br/>       lunch-ACC eat-IMP<br/>       ‘Eat lunch!’</p>            | <p>(3) EXHORTATIVE<br/>       Cemsiyim-ul mek-<b>ca</b>.<br/>       lunch-ACC eat-EXH<br/>       ‘Let’s eat lunch.’</p>              |
| <p>(4) DECLARATIVE<br/>       Cemsiyim-ul mek-ess-<b>ta</b>.<br/>       lunch-ACC eat-PAST-DEC<br/>       ‘I ate lunch.’</p> | <p>(5) INTERROGATIVE<br/>       Cemsiyim-ul mek-ess-<b>ni</b>?<br/>       lunch-ACC eat-PAST-INT<br/>       ‘Did you eat lunch?’</p> |

The study of promissives gives us a better insight into the nature of clause typing. More specifically, we argue the following:

1. Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are members of a single clause type, jussives (Pak et al. 2004).
2. Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are distinguished by the person features of their subjects.

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3. The person features of the subject are connected through agreement with a functional projection that hosts the sentence final particles.

## 2. The jussive clause types and their subjects

The traditional view is that each sentence final particle marks a different clause type (Ahn & Yoon 1989, Whitman 1989, and Brandner 2004 among others). In particular, it is assumed that *-ma*, *-la*, and *-ca* mark promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives, respectively.

In contrast, our proposal is the following:

Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are all members of a single clause type, which we label 'jussives'.

Intuitively:

- Imperatives add a requirement to the addressee's "To-do List".
- Promissives add a requirement to the speaker's "To-do List".
- Exhortatives add a requirement to both the speaker's and the addressee's "To-do List".

Empirical evidence for our proposal comes from the fact that promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives share a significant number of similarities (cf. Pak et al. 2004):

1. When embedded, they have null subjects (except in special cases involving focus):

### (6)a. IMPERATIVE

John-i Tom-ekey [(*\*Ney-ka/\*Tom-i*) cip-ey ka-**la**]-ko mal-ha-ess-ta.  
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(you/Tom-NOM) home-to go-IMP]-COMP say-do-PAST-DEC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John ordered Tom to go home.'

### b. EXHORTATIVE

John-i Tom-ekey [(*\*wuli-ka*) cip-ey ka-**ca**]-ko mal-ha-ess-ta  
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(we-NOM) home-to go-EXH]-COMP say-do-PAST-DEC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John said to Tom let's go home.' (indirect speech)

### c. PROMISSIVE

John-i Tom-ekey [(*\*nay-ka/\*John-i*) nayil tasi o-**ma**]-ko mal-ha-ess-ta  
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(I/John-NOM) tomorrow again come-PRM]-COMP say-do- PAST-DEC  
 (Intended meaning) 'John promised Tom that he would come back tomorrow.'

2. They do not allow special mood particles<sup>1</sup>, e.g. *-te* (retrospective), *-kwun* (apperceptive), *-ci* (suppositive), and *-ney* (apprehensive) (in Cinque's (1999) terminology, evidential and evaluative elements):

## (7) a. IMPERATIVE

\*Ne cemsim-ul mek-te/kwun/-ci/-ney-**la**.  
you lunch-ACC eat-RTR/APE/SUP/APR-IMP

## b. EXHORTATIVE

\*Wuli cemsim-ul mek-te/kwun/-ci/-ney-**ca**.  
we lunch-ACC eat-RTR/APE/SUP/APR-EXH

## c. PROMISSIVE

\*Nay-ka nayil cemsim-ul sa-te/kwun/-ci/-ney-**ma**.  
I-NOM tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-RTR/APE/SUP/APR-PRM

3. They allow the negative marker *-mal* which, in other clause types, only occurs in the presence of deontic modality (Han & Lee 2002):

## (8) a. IMPERATIVE

Mek-ci \**an(i)/mal*-a-**la**.  
eat-NOM NEG-a-IMP  
'Do not eat.'

## b. EXHORTATIVE

Mek-ci \**an(i)/mal*-**ca**  
eat-NOM NEG-EXH  
'Let's not eat.'

## c. PROMISSIVE

Mek-ci *an(i)h/mal*-u-**ma**  
eat-NOM NEG(+do)-u-PRM  
'I promise not to eat.'

<sup>1</sup> All of these special mood particles are compatible with declaratives and the retrospective *-te* and the suppositive *-ci* are also allowed in interrogatives:

- (i) a. John-i cemsim-ul mek-ess-**tey-yo**./?  
John-NOM lunch-ACC eat-PAST-RTR-POL  
'John ate lunch./Did John eat lunch?'  
b. John-i cemsim-ul mek-ess-**ci-yo**./?  
John-NOM lunch-ACC eat-PAST-SUPP-POL  
'(Of course,) John ate lunch./John ate lunch, right?'  
c. John-i cemsim-ul mek-ess-**kwun-yo**./\*?  
John-NOM lunch-ACC eat-PAST-APPE-POL  
'(Ah,) you ate lunch.'  
d. John-i cemsim-ul mek-ess-**ney-yo**./\*?  
John-NOM lunch-ACC eat-PAST-APPR-POL  
'John ate lunch.'

4. They do not allow tense markers:

- (9) a. IMPERATIVE  
 \*Mek-ess/-ul/-nun-e-**la**  
 eat-PAST/FUT/PRES-SP-IMP
- b. EXHORTATIVE  
 \*Mek-ess/-ul/-nun-**ca**  
 eat-PAST/FUT/PRES-EXH
- c. PROMISSIVE  
 \*Mek-ess/-ul/-nun-u-**ma**  
 eat-PAST/FUT/PRES-PRM

5. They can be conjoined by *-ko* ‘and’ and *-kena* ‘or’, coordinators that can only conjoin clauses of the same type:

- (10)a. Declarative and interrogative with *-ko*  
 \*John-un sakwa-lul mek-ess-**ko** ne-nun pay-ul mek-ess-ni?  
 John-FOC apple-ACC eat-PAST-and you-FOC pear-ACC eat-PAST-INT  
 (Intended meaning) ‘John ate an apple and did you eat a pear?’
- b. Imperative and interrogative with *-kena*  
 \*John-un sakwa-lul mek-**kena** pay-ul mek-ess-ni?  
 John-FOC apple-ACC eat-or pear-ACC eat-PAST-INT  
 (Intended meaning) ‘John eat an apple or did he eat a pear?’
- c. Imperative and promissive with *-ko*  
 Ne-nun sakwa-lul mek-**ko** na-nun pay-lul mek-u-ma  
 you-FOC apple-ACC eat-and I-FOC pear-ACC eat-u-PRM  
 ‘You eat an apple and I promise to eat a pear.’
- d. Imperative and exhortative with *-ko*  
 Minwoo-nun cip-ey ka-**ko** Yenghee-wa na-nun hakkyo-ey ka-ca.  
 Minsoo-FOC home-to go-and Yenghee-and I-FOC school-to go-EXH  
 ‘Minwoo go home and Yenghee and I, let’s go to school.’
- e. Imperative and exhortative with *-kena*  
 John, cip-ey honca ka-**kena** animyun na-lang tosekwan-ey ka-ca  
 John, home-to alone go-or if not I-with library-to go-EXH  
 ‘John, either you go home by yourself or let’s go to the library with me.’

These five pieces of evidence lead us to propose that promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are all members of a single clause type.

In our view, the key difference among the jussives is simply the interpretation of their subjects:

- Promissive subjects are associated with the speaker,
- imperative subjects with the addressee, and
- exhortative subjects with the speaker+addressee.

Our central theoretical claim in this paper is the following:

The jussive particles agree with and express the person features of the subject.

As an implementation of this idea, we propose that the jussive particles head a functional projection with person features, which we label “Participant Phrase”. The Participant head enters an agreement relation with the subject noun phrase.

### 3. The Participant Phrase

- The Participant Phrase is independently motivated as it plays a role in explaining another prominent aspect of Korean grammar: the speech style particles. (cf. Pak 2004, Kim-Renaud & Pak to appear)

Korean matrix sentences *always* end with a sentence final particle -- more specifically, a speech style particle. Some speech styles in declaratives are illustrated as in (11):

- (11) Na-nun cemsim-ul mek-ess-**e/eyo/so/supnita**.  
 I-TOP lunch-ACC eat-PAST-*Intimate/Polite/Semiformal/Formal*  
 ‘I ate lunch.’

The speech style particles encode the relationship between speaker and addressee. For example, the particle *supnita* is used when the speaker is “lower” than the addressee in age or social status, and their relationship is formal.

In Korean, knowing with which speech style particle to end a sentence is essential, as one cannot produce an utterance without a speech style particle. This knowledge is based on the awareness of the relationship between speaker and addressee, plus the level of formality of their relationship.

The Participant head encodes the relationship between the speaker and addressee in terms of two dimensions: hierarchy and formality/intimacy. We can represent its content in terms of features:

- S stands for the feature [Person: 1];
- A stands for the feature [Person: 2];
- these features can be the arguments of the relations  $>$ ,  $<$ ,  $\geq$ ,  $\leq$ , and  $r$ .

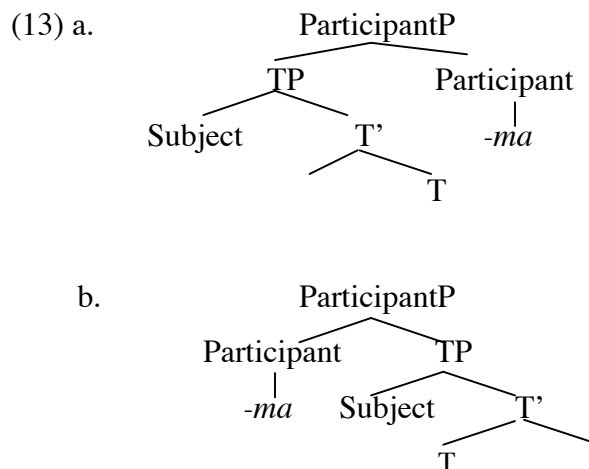
The relevant hierarchical relations are  $S > A$ ,  $S < A$ ,  $S \geq A$ ,  $S \leq A$ , and  $S r A$  for unmarked value. In addition, the [+/- Formal] feature reflects formality or lack of formality (intimacy).

(12) and (12') are two alternative ways of representing how these features can combine, and how such combinations can be spelled out in declaratives<sup>2</sup>:

- (12) a. [Person: 1] ≥ [Person: 2], [+Formal] ---> *uo*  
 b. [Person: 1] > [Person: 2], [+Formal] ---> *ney*  
 c. [Person: 1] < [Person: 2], [+Formal] ---> *supnita*  
 d. [Person: 1] *r* [Person: 2], [+Formal] ---> *ta*  
 e. [Person: 1] ≤ [Person: 2], [-Formal] ---> *yo*  
 f. [Person: 1] ≥ [Person: 2], [-Formal] ---> *e*
- (12') a. [Arg1: S], [Arg2: A], [Relation: ≥], [Formal: +] ---> *uo*  
 b. [Arg1: S], [Arg2: A], [Relation: >], [Formal: +] ---> *ney*  
 c. [Arg1: A], [Arg2: S], [Relation: >], [Formal: +] ---> *supnita*  
 d. [Arg1: S], [Arg2: A], [Relation: *r*], [Formal: +] ---> *ta*  
 e. [Arg1: A], [Arg2: S], [Relation: ≥], [Formal: -] ---> *yo*  
 f. [Arg1: S], [Arg2: A], [Relation: ≥], [Formal: -] ---> *e*

- Our proposal is that the jussive particles serve the speech style function, and in addition also mark the person feature of the subject, i.e., speaker, addressee, or both. More precisely, there is agreement between the Participant head and the subject in person features:
  - The promissive particle *-ma* agrees with the subject in the feature value [Person: 1], 'speaker';
  - The imperative particle *-ela* agrees in the feature value [Person: 2], 'addressee'; and
  - The exhortative particle *-ca* agrees in both.

Let us assume that the Participant head c-commands the subject, as follows (a and b only differ in being head final and head initial, respectively):



<sup>2</sup>The particles *-uo*, *-yo*, and *-e* can occur in interrogatives and imperatives as well.

- Agreement in this proposal can be formalized as the Agree relation (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). The mechanics are a bit different from Chomsky's version of Agree, along the lines of Pesetsky & Torrego (to appear) and Zanuttini (2005).

We propose that the Participant head contains a person feature that is interpretable but lacks a value. By entering an Agree relation with the subject, in its c-command domain, the unvalued person feature of the Participant head acquires a value. That is, Agree in this case is triggered by the need of an interpretable feature to have a value.

- The internal feature composition of the jussive particles is the same as that of the speech style particles, but they enter an Agree relation with the subject and agree with it in the value of one of the person features. Let us illustrate with the case of the particles *-ma* and *-ela*:<sup>3</sup>

## (14) PROMISSIVE

┌───────────┐									
	particle	...	subject	→	<i>-ma</i>	...	subject		
	[Pers: ?] ≥ [Pers: 2]		[Pers: 1]		[Pers: 1][i] ≥ [Pers: 2]		[Pers: 1][i]		
	[-Formal]				[-Formal]				

## (15) IMPERATIVE

┌───────────┐									
	particle	...	subject	→	<i>-ela</i>	...	subject		
	[Pers: 1] ≥ [Pers: ?]		[Pers: 2]		[Pers: 1] ≥ [Pers: 2][i]		[Pers: 2][i]		
	[-Formal]				[-Formal]				

<sup>3</sup>The case of *-ca* is somewhat more complex, and we can't consider it properly without a good idea of the feature composition of a subject that refers to the speaker and addressee (first person plural inclusive). Part of the puzzle here is that Korean lacks such a pronoun in general, and so we would want to derive the subject's interpretation in this case from the fact that the sentence is exhortative. If we assume that the first plural pronoun is ambiguous between [Person: 1], [Person: 2] and [Person: 1], [Person: 3], only the former will yield a set of values for the particle which can be spelled out as *-ca*:

particle	...	subject	-->	<i>-ca</i>	...	subject
[Pers: ?] ≥		[Pers: 1]		[Pers: 1][i] ≥		[Pers: 1][i]
[Pers: ?]		[Pers: 2]		[Pers: 2][j]		[Pers: 2][j]
[-Formal]				[-Formal]		

Were the subject to have features [Person: 1], [Person: 3], there's no way to achieve a set of features for the particle which could be spelled out -- combinations like [Person: 1] ≥ [Person: 3] and [Person: 1] ≥ [Person: 1] are impossible.

- In the end, the three kinds of jussive sentences have (partial) representations like the following:

## (16)a PROMISSIVE

*-ma* ... subject  
 [Pers: 1][*i*]≥[Person: 2], [-Formal] ... [Pers: 1][*i*]

## b IMPERATIVE

*-ela* ... subject  
 [Pers: 1][*i*]≥[Person: 2], [-Formal] ... [Pers: 2][*i*]

## c EXHORTATIVE

*-ca* ... subject  
 [Pers: 1][*i*]≥[Person: 2][*i*], [-Formal] ... [Pers: 1][*i*], [Pers: 2][*i*]

Our analysis treats promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives as alike except for the person features of their subjects. In this paper, we have not analyzed the "directive" quality of jussives; that is, we have not said how jussives differ from other clause types (in particular from declaratives with *-e*). Speaking generally, the intuition is that the subjects of jussive clauses are special, as witnessed by the special syntactic properties of imperative subjects, and the agreement relation seen here is a reflex of this.

In other work, we have argued that imperatives denote properties formed by abstracting over the subject (Pak et al. 2004, Portner 2005). This feature of their meaning is connected to the agreement process described here because we think that the fact that the subject agrees with the Participant head marks it for binding by a higher operator (the Participant head itself or a modal like element).

#### 4. Quantified Subjects

Jussives clauses also allow quantified subjects:

- (17)a Nayil            motwuta    tasiy    o-**ma**  
 tomorrow    everyone    again    come-PRM  
 'Everyone will come back tomorrow.'
- b Nayil            motwuta    tasiy    o-a-**la**  
 tomorrow    everyone    again    come-IMP  
 'Everyone come back tomorrow.'
- c Nayil            motwuta    tasiy    o-**ca**  
 tomorrow    everyone    again    come-EXH  
 'Let's all come back tomorrow.'

In (16)a, the subject is interpreted as quantifying over the set of speakers, in (16)b over the set of addressees, and in (16)c over a set consisting of the speaker(s) and addressee(s).

We follow e.g. Stanley and Zsabó (2000) in assuming that the domain over which a quantifier ranges is syntactically represented as a variable. We propose that this variable may have person features like other nominal elements, and in jussives this element gives its person features to the jussive particles. In other words, this variable plays a role similar to that of the subjects of the simpler promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives discussed in section 3. If the variable has first and/or second person features, it's possible to share this feature with the Participant head and derive a jussive particle; if it only has [Person: 3], it will be impossible to fill in the missing values of the jussive particles in (14). Only a speech style particle that is lexically specified with all of its feature values (e.g., those in (12)) will be possible, deriving a declarative or interrogative sentence.

## 5. Conclusion

Main points of this paper:

1. Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives are members of a single clause type, jussives.
2. Promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives differ in the person features of their subjects.
3. Jussive particles reside in the Participant Phrase, and express the speaker-addressee relationship, like other speech style particles.
4. The subjects of jussive sentences are special in the fact that they agree with the Participant head in person features.

These conclusions now need to be set in a broader context which can derive the directive meaning of jussives, and which can explain cross-linguistic differences in jussive syntax (including the lack of promissives in other languages).

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