

Agreement and the Subjects of Jussive Clauses in Korean

Miok Pak, Paul Portner and Raffaella Zanuttini

Georgetown University

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. First, it has a distinct sentential form for sentences used for expressing a promise, as shown in (1):

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

Distinct sentential forms exist not only for promissives, but also for other “directive” sentence types, namely imperatives and exhortatives:¹

- (2) Cemsium-ul mek-e-**la**. (IMPERATIVE)
lunch-ACC eat-SSP-IMP
‘Eat lunch!’
- (3) Cemsium-ul mek-**ca**. (EXHORTATIVE)
lunch-ACC eat-EXH
‘Let’s eat lunch.’

Second, these sentential 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:

¹ The gloss SSP stands for Speech Style Particle, a particle that expresses the level of formality of the speech situation and the relation between the speaker and the addressee in terms of social ranking and/or age (cf. Kwon 1992, Martin (1992), Sohn (1999), Nam (2001), Pak (2004), among others).

- (4) Cemsium-ul mek-ess-**ta**. (DECLARATIVE)
 lunch-ACC eat-PAST-DEC
 ‘I ate lunch.’
- (5) Cemsium-ul mek-ess-**ni**? (INTERROGATIVE)
 lunch-ACC eat-PAST-INT
 ‘Did you eat lunch?’

In this paper, we investigate Korean promissives along with imperatives and exhortatives because they provide an interesting case study for understanding the notion of clause typing syntactically and semantically. What is particularly intriguing about these constructions in Korean is that they reveal the presence of agreement in a language that is typically thought of as lacking agreement, and lead to the discovery of an element with the properties of a shiftable indexical of the kind recently discussed by Schlenker (2003) and others.

2. Members of the Jussive Clause Type

Promissives share a number of significant properties with imperatives and exhortatives. The similarities can be briefly described as follows.² 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 can only have overt subjects in special circumstances, as illustrated by the following data:³

- (6) a. PROMISSIVE
 John-i Tom-ekey [(**nay-ka*/**Mary-ka*) nayil tasi o-**ma**]-ko
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(I/Mary-NOM) tomorrow again come-PRM]-COMP
 mal-ha-ess-ta.
 say-do-PAST-DEC
 (Intended meaning) ‘John promised Tom that he would come back tomorrow.’
- b. IMPERATIVE
 John-i Tom-ekey [(**Ney* /**Mary-ka*) cip-ey ka-**la**]-ko
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [(you/Mary-NOM) home-to go-IMP]-COMP
 mal-ha-ess-ta.
 say-do-PAST-DEC
 (Intended meaning) ‘John ordered Tom to go home.’
- c. 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)

² For a detailed discussion of the similarities among promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives, see Pak et al. (2004, 2006).

³ An overt subject is possible in embedded promissives only if it is a (heavily stressed) reflexive pronoun in combination with an overt focalizer. In embedded exhortatives and imperatives, an overt subject is possible only if it refers to a subset of referents of the indirect object of the matrix; in addition, it must be combined with the topic marker *nun*. For a more detailed discussion, see Pak et al. (2006).

Agreement and Subjects of Korean Jussive Clauses

- (7) a. DECLARATIVE
 John-i Tom-ekey [Mary-ka cip-ey ka-ess-**ta**]- ko
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [Mary-NOM home-to go-PAST-DEC]-COMP
 mal-ha-ess-ta.
 Say-do-PAST-DEC
 'John told Tom that Mary went home.'
- b. INTERROGATIVE
 John-i Tom-ekey [Mary-ka cip-ey ka-ess-**nya**]- ko
 John-NOM Tom-DAT [Mary-NOM home-to go-PAST-INT]-COMP
 mwul-ess-ta.
 ask-PAST-DEC
 'John asked Tom whether Mary went 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. None of them can occur in promissives, imperatives, or exhortatives:

- (8) a. PROMISSIVE
 *Nay-ka nayil cemsim-ul sa-te/kwun/-ci/-**ney-ma**.
 I-NOM tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-RTR/APE/SUP/APR-PRM
- b. IMPERATIVE
 *Ne cemsim-ul mek-te/kwun/-ci/-**ney-la**.
 you lunch-ACC eat-RTR/APE/SUP/APR-IMP
- c. EXHORTATIVE
 *Wuli cemsim-ul mek-te/kwun/-ci/-**ney-ca**.
 we lunch-ACC eat-RTR/APE/SUP/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 2002). In promissives, imperatives, and exhortatives the negative marker *mal-* can occur without an overt element expressing deontic modality.⁴

- (9) a. PROMISSIVE
 Mek-ci *an(i)h/mal-u-ma*.
 eat-NOM NEG(+do)-u-PRM
 'I promise not to eat.'
- b. IMPERATIVE
 Mek-ci **an(i)/mal-a-la*.
 eat-NOM NEG-a-IMP
 'Do not eat.'
- c. EXHORTATIVE
 Mek-ci **an(i)/mal-ca*.
 eat-NOM NEG-EXH
 'Let's not eat.'

⁴ We refer the readers to Pak et al. (2004, 2006) 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:

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

The fifth property promissives, imperatives and exhortatives share is that they can be conjoined by *-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 they share the property that *-ko* and *-kena* are sensitive to:

- (11) a. 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.’
 b. 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.’
 c. 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.’

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 (2), the addressee is to eat lunch; in the exhortative in (3) 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 it is presupposed that some individual will perform as a “To-do List” (cf. Portner 2004, where an explicit semantics is given). In this context,

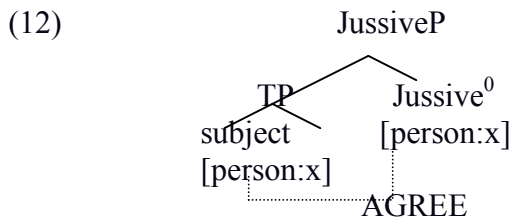
imperatives add a requirement to the addressee’s To-do List; exhortatives add a requirement to both the addressee’s and speaker’s To-do Lists; and promissives add a requirement to the speaker’s To-do List. In sum, we can view jussive clauses as those with the canonical function of adding a requirement 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 (1-3). 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.

These claims can be represented structurally as in (12):⁵



If there is an agreement relation between the jussive particle and the subject in terms of person features, one question is whether the person features originate on the particle, the subject, or both. There is a range of possible subjects in jussive clauses: null subjects, pronominal subjects, and referential subjects, and an examination of the properties of all of them will help us understand the precise nature of agreement in Korean jussives.⁶ Let us first consider null subjects and pronominal subjects:

(13) NULL SUBJECTS

- a. Nayil cemsiyim-ul sa-*ma*. (PROMISSIVE)
 tomorrow lunch-ACC buy-PRM

⁵ 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).

⁶ Quantificational subjects are also possible, but we won’t discuss them here due to space limitations.

- ‘I will buy lunch tomorrow.’
- b. Cemsim-ul mek-e-*la*. (IMPERATIVE)
lunch-ACC eat-SSP-IMP
‘Eat lunch!’
- c. Cemsim-ul mek-*ca*. (EXHORTATIVE)
lunch-ACC eat-EXH
‘Let’s eat lunch.’

(14) PRONOMINAL SUBJECTS

- a. Nay-ka cemsim-ul sa-*ma*. (PROMISSIVE)
I-NOM lunch-ACC buy-PRM
‘I promise to buy lunch.’
- b. Ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-*la*. (IMPERATIVE)
You-NOM lunch-ACC buy-IMP
‘You buy lunch!’
- c. Wuli-ka cemsim-ul sa-*ca*. (EXHORTATIVE)
You-NOM lunch-ACC buy-EXH
‘Let’s you and I buy lunch.’

Null and overt pronominals occur in a wide range of contexts in Korean, including those in which there is no suggestion of agreement (e.g., as the subject of a declarative). In such cases, the interpreted person features of the pronominals must originate with the pronominal itself. Thus, the null subjects in (13) and the pronominal subjects in (14) suggest that the person features originate on the subjects; the Jussive head could have an uninterpretable person feature lacking a value, and acquire a value once it enters an agreement relation with the subject. With the presupposition that first person (or [person: 1]) feature refers to the speaker, second person (or [person: 2]) to the addressee, and first and second person features to the speaker and the addressee inclusively, we can achieve the correct meaning; the first person in (14a), for example, refers to the speaker.⁷

However, the referential subjects cannot work this way. Examine the following sentences:

(15) REFERENTIAL SUBJECTS

- a. Emma-ka masissnun kansik cwu-*ma*. (PROMISSIVE)
mommy-NOM delicious snack give-PRM
‘Mommy promises to give you a delicious snack.’
- b. Inho-ka simpwulum-lul hay-*la*. (IMPERATIVE)
Inho-NOM errand-ACC do-IMP
‘Inho run the errand!’
- c. Emma-lang Inho-ka kati chengso ha-*ca*. (EXHORTATIVE)

⁷ We do not go into the semantics of jussive particles in this paper. Pak et al. (2006) presents a semantic analysis of jussives which incorporates the idea that person features introduce presuppositions that they refer to speaker and/or addressee. We refer the readers to Cooper (1979), Heim and Kratzer (1998), Schlenker (2003), Sauerland (2004), among others for detailed descriptions of a presuppositional analysis of person features.

Agreement and Subjects of Korean Jussive Clauses

Mommy-with Inho-NOM together clean do-EXH
'Let's clean together, mommy and Inho.'

Emma ('mommy') and *Inho* are typically third person phrases, and do not usually refer to the speaker or addressee. Yet in promissives they are interpreted as referring to the speaker (15a), in imperatives to the addressee (15b), and in exhortatives to the speaker and addressee together (15c). Thus, we propose that it is the jussive particles that come from the lexicon complete with person features; for example, *-ma* with [person:1] and *-la* with [person:2], and the features are passed on to the subject. Assuming that third person is actually the lack of person specification (cf. Harley and Ritter 2002, Baker to appear, among others), the subjects themselves are lexically devoid of features. Thus, in (15a), for example, *-ma* transmits the first person feature to *emma*. (*-la* and *-ca* work similarly). While it is hard to find syntactic (as opposed to interpretive) evidence of such feature passing in Korean, English provides us with such evidence:

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

In imperatives (and only in imperatives) referential subjects can bind 2nd person anaphors (*your* in the examples above), thus exhibiting evidence for the presence of 2nd person features (cf. Zanuttini 2007). We represent the agree relation as in (17):

- (17) Jussive⁰_[person: x] subject ... [AGREE]→
Jussive⁰_[person: x] subject_[person: x] ...

If the jussive particles carry person features, we must rethink the analysis of null and overt pronominals. Agreement in these cases must involve feature matching between the pronominal and the jussive head, both of which have their own person features. Thus, agreement can involve either feature matching or feature passing, depending on the environment. This case is also represented by (17), if we assume that agreement triggers feature passing, and that if a feature is already present on the target, passing fails if the feature values are not identical. (In other words, agreement involves a simple form of unification.)

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):

- (18) a. *Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [nay-ka Sooni-lul towacwu-**ma**]-ko
He-NOM Inho-DAT [I-NOM Sooni-ACC help-PRM]-COMP
malhayss-ta.
said-DEC
'He said to Inho that I promise to help Sooni.'

- b. *Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [ney-ka Sooni-lul towacwu-**la**]-ko
 He-NOM Inho-DAT [you-NOM Sooni-ACC help-IMP]-COMP
 malhayss-ta.
 said- DEC
 ‘He told Inho to help Sooni.’
- c. *Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [wuli-ka Sooni-lul towacwu-**ca**]-ko
 He-NOM Inho-DAT [we-NOM Sooni-ACC help-IMP]-COMP
 malhayss-ta.
 said-DEC
 ‘He told Inho let’s help Sooni.’

The pronominal subject of the embedded clause in (18a) cannot be used to refer to the matrix subject. Hence, *I* and *he* cannot be coreferential. There are two ways for the subject of the embedded promissive to be coreferential with the matrix subject. One way is for the embedded promissive to be a direct quotation, in which case the complementizer is not *-ko* but *-lako*. The other is for the subject of the embedded promissive to be null, as in the following sentence:

- (19) Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [Sooni-lul towacwu-**ma**]-ko malhayss-ta.
 He-NOM Inho-DAT [Sooni-ACC help-PRM]-COMP said-DEC
 ‘He said to Inho that he promises to help Sooni.’

In (19) the embedded null subject refers to the matrix subject (it is coreferential with *Kuiy-ka* ‘he’). Similarly, the subject of the embedded imperative in (18b) cannot corefer with the matrix dative *Inho*. In order to allow the coreference, either the embedded clause has to be a direct quotation or the embedded subject has to be null. The same story goes for the embedded exhortative in (18c). The embedded subject has to be null to refer to the referent of the matrix subject *he* and the referent of the matrix dative *Inho*.

The reference of the null subject of an embedded clause is easy to describe in a general way: it refers to the speaker (if first person), or addressee (if second person) 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 (19) 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 (20a) 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 embedded exhortatives, the embedded subject refers to the speaker and addressee of the reported utterance, and not of the actual speech act:

- (20) a. Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [Sooni-lul towacwu-**la**]-ko malhayss-ta.
 He-NOM Inho-DAT [Sooni-ACC help-IMP]-COMP said-DEC
 ‘He told Inho to help Sooni.’
- b. Kuiy-ka Inho-ekey [Sooni-lul towacwu-**ca**]-ko malhayss-ta.
 He-NOM Inho-DAT [Sooni-ACC help-EXH]-COMP said-DEC
 ‘He told Inho let’s help Sooni.’ (indirect speech)

In order to explain these properties, we make use of the idea that certain elements have shiftable person features (cf. e.g. Schlenker 2003, Anand & Nevins 2004), that is, person features that refer to the participant of the actual conversation when they occur in a root clause, and to the participants of the reported conversation when they occur in the scope of certain predicates. In particular, we make the following hypotheses:

- 1) the jussive head and null pronouns has shiftable person features;
- 2) overt pronouns have unshiftable person features;
- 3) a verb like “say” in Korean is a context-shifter.

We now need to revise the schematic representation of the Agree relation from that given in (17). The pattern we argue for is as follows:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|--|----------|
| (21) | a. | Jussive ⁰ _[shiftable: 1] | pro _[shiftable:] ... | [AGREE]→ |
| | | Jussive ⁰ _[shiftable: 1] | pro _[shiftable: 1] ... | |
| | b. | Jussive ⁰ _[shiftable: 1] | I _[unshiftable:1] ... | [AGREE]→ |
| | | Jussive ⁰ _{[shiftable: 1][unshiftable:1]} | I _{[unshiftable:1][shiftable: 1]} ... | |

A null subject, for example that in (19), ends up with a representation like (21a), 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 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 (20a), it is the referent of ‘*he*’, the matrix subject, who promises to help *Sooni*. When the subject is an overt pronominal as in (18a), we have the representation in (21b). 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 (22), such cases are grammatical, as predicted by our analysis:

- | | |
|------|--|
| (22) | Nay-ka Inho-ekey [Nay-ka Sooni-lul towacwu- ma]-ko malhayss-ta.
I-NOM Inho-DAT [I-NOM Sooni-ACC help-PRM]-COMP said-DEC
‘I said to Inho that I promise to help Sooni.’ |
|------|--|

5. Conclusion

We have investigated a rare form of sentence type, promissives in Korean. We have provided arguments for grouping promissives with the more common sentence types of

imperatives and exhortatives to constitute the clause type of jussives. Not only do they share some syntactic properties, they also share an intuitive semantic commonality: 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 in the literature (cf. Baker to appear, Haegeman 2006, Sigurðsson 2004, Tenny 2001, Zanuttini 2007, and references therein), but we could not explore this approach here due to space limitations.

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 by any means, but it is worth thinking about some of the common properties of imperatives in light of this kind of analysis. 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). It doesn't seem crazy to think about these properties in terms of the subject agreeing with an element with second person features. We leave this issue for future study (cf. Zanuttini 2007).

References

- Baker, M. to appear. *The Syntax of Agreement and Concord*. To be published with Cambridge University Press.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, R. 1979. The interpretation of pronouns. In F. Heny & H. Schnelle (eds.), *Selections from the Third Groningen Round Table, Syntax and Semantics*, Volume 10. New York: Academic Press. 61-92.
- Davies, E. E. 1986. *The English Imperative*. London: Croom Helm.
- Haegeman, L. (2006) "Argument fronting in English, Romance CLLD, and the Left Periphery." In Zanuttini, R. et al. (eds.) *Crosslinguistic Research in Syntax and Semantics: Negation, Tense and Clausal Architecture*. Georgetown University Press, Washington, DC, pp. 27-52.
- Han, Chung Hye & Chungmin Lee. 2002. On negative imperatives in Korean. In *Proceedings of the 16th Pacific Asia Conference on Language, Information and Computation*. The Korean Society for Language and Information.
- Han, C.-H. 1998. *The structure and interpretation of imperatives: mood and force in Universal Grammar*. PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Harley, H. and E. Ritter. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78:482-526.
- Hausser, R. 1980. Surface Compositionality and the Semantics of Mood. In F. Kiefer and J. Searle, eds., *Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics*, Dordrecht: Reidel. 71-95
- Heim, I. and A. Kratzer. 1998. *Semantics in Generative Grammar*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kayne, R. 1994 *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. MIT Press. Chapters 1-5, 8.
- Kwuon, J-I. 1992. *Hankwuke tongosalon*. (Korean Verb Theory). Seoul: Minum Press.
- Marantz, A. 1997. No escape from Syntax: Don't try a morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. Ms., MIT.
- Martin, S. E. 1992. *A Reference Grammar of Korean: A Complete Guide to the Grammar and History of the Korean Language*. Rutland, Vermont, & Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- Miyagawa, S. 2006. Person Agreement at C. Manuscript. MIT.
- Moravcsik, E. A. 1978. Agreement. In Joseph H. Greenberg (eds.), *Universals of Human Language: IV: Syntax*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 331-374.
- Pak, M. 2004. Sentence types in Korean. Manuscript, Georgetown University.
- Pak, M., P. Portner, & R. Zanuttini. 2004. Deriving Clause Types: Focusing on Korean, in *Proceedings of Linguistic Society of Korea 2004*. Yonsei Institute of Language and Information Studies. Hanshin. Seoul. Korea. 359-368.
- Pak, M., P. Portner, & R. Zanuttini. 2006. The Syntax and Semantics of Jussive Clauses in Korean. Manuscript, Georgetown University.
- Pak, M. in prep. "Investigating the role of sentence end particles in Korean." Manuscript, Georgetown University.
- Palmer, F. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2nd edition.

- Pesetsky, D. and E. Torrego. to appear. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In S. Karimi, V. Samiiian, and W. Wilkins (eds.) *Clever and right: A festschrift for Joe Emonds*. Mouton. URL <http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/www/pesetsky/PesetskyTorregoAgreepaper.pdf>.
- Platzack, C. and I. Rosengren. 1994. On the subject of imperatives. *Sprache und Pragmatik* 34, 26-67.
- Portner, P. and R. Zanuttini. 2000. The force of negation in Wh exclamatives and interrogatives. In L. Horn and Y. Kato, editors, *Studies in Negation and Polarity: Syntactic and Semantic Perspectives*. Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford. 201–39.
- Portner, P. 2004. The Semantics of Imperatives within a Theory of Clause Types. In Watanabe, R. and R. B. Young (eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory 14*. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications. Available at semanticsarchive.net.
- Portner, P. 2006. Imperatives and modals. Manuscript, Georgetown University. Available at semanticsarchive.net.
- Potsdam, E. 1996. *Syntactic Issues in English Imperatives*. PhD thesis, University of California at Santa Cruz.
- Sadock, J.M. and A. Zwicky. 1985. “Speech act distinctions in syntax.” In T. Shopen (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 155–196.
- Sauerland, U. 2004. A comprehensive semantics for agreement. Paper presented at the Phi-Workshop, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. August 2004.
- Schlenker, P. 2003. A plea for monsters. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 26:29–120.
- Sigurðsson, H. 2004. “The Syntax of Person, Tense and speech features.” *Rivista di Linguistica/Italian Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 16, N. 1, pp. 219-251.
- Sohn, H.-M. 1999. The Korean language. Cambridge Language Surveys. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tenny, C. 2000. “Core events and adverbial modification.” In Tenny, C. and J. Pustejovsky (eds.) *Events as Grammatical Objects*. CSLI Publications, Stanford, CA, pp. 285-334.
- Zanuttini, R. and P. Portner. 2003. “Exclamative clauses: At the syntax-semantics interface.” *Language*, 79(1):39–81.
- Zanuttini, R. 2007. Addressing the Addressee: Imperatives Subjects in English. Manuscript, Georgetown University.

Department of Linguistics
Georgetown University
37th & O Street, NW
Washington, DC 20057

pakm@gwu.edu
portnerp@georgetown.edu
zanuttir@georgetown.edu