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언어학박사 학위논문

**The syntax of jussives:
speaker and hearer
at the syntax-discourse interface**

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**The syntax of jussives:
speaker and hearer
at the syntax-discourse interface**

by

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Abstract

The syntax of jussives: speaker and hearer at the syntax-discourse interface

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Korean is known to have poor morphology in the verbal domain since the predicate is not at all inflected based on sentential argumentation. Thus, some might argue that the language completely lacks Agreement unlike Indo-European languages. However, it contains various sentential particles, the promissive *-ma*, imperative *-la*, and exhortative *-ca*, for instance, which type a clause and express a speaker or hearer's emotion or attitude toward an uttered proposition or property. Thus, it is arguable that Korean has rich morphology associated with a speaker or hearer in the clausal domain, contra the verbal one. In line with this, this thesis investigates how a person feature in the clausal domain affects a semantic interpretation and a syntactic distribution of an argument within TP focusing on matrix jussives (imperatives, exhortatives, and promissives) in Korean, and supports the idea that there exists a functional head bearing a person feature in jussives, contra non-jussives such as declaratives or interrogatives. By doing so, this thesis expects to broaden our understanding of the clausal domain, and, consequently, of the relation of words and the world.

A subject of jussives has a first or second person orientation: in an unmarked sense, imperative subjects are second person, promissive subjects

first person, and exhortative subjects first and second person (typical jussives). However, this thesis focuses on data in which a jussive subject does not completely accord or disaccord with a clausal type. Specifically, in exhortatives, a subject can be either a speaker or a hearer, which is called non-typical exhortatives here. Building on Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) analysis that there exists a functional head *Jussive* in jussive constructions, which contains an interpretable/valued person feature and restricts an interpretation of a subject by Agreement, this thesis proposes *subset probing*, in which a first and a second person on the exhortative Jussive head probe down independently from each other, and a subject can Agree with just one of them. Providing the syntactic analysis on the seemingly pragmatic effects, this study elaborates the structure of jussives, and provides a unified approach on the sub-types of jussives: (non-)typical jussives, which is a result of Agree by Jussive (total or subset probing) on the one hand, and indirect order or optatives, which results from the absence of Agree, on the other hand.

Also, a Jussive head restricts a distribution of further embedded elements: when an R-expression occurs with a first or second person meaning in jussives, it always precedes a co-referential pronominal from beginning to end in the derivation. This thesis proposes *Person Feature Intervention* (PFI), in which a co-indexed interpretable person feature functions as an intervenor to block binding by C (Jussive in jussive clauses) under the assumption that a functional head, rather than an antecedent DP, is a binder (Kratzer 2009). PFI is applied to multiple applications of binding. When the C tries to bind a bound element, and meets with an interpretable person feature of the same kind, the binding operation terminates and the C does not further search for a lower goal. That is, when a first or second person R-expression comes after a co-referential pronominal in jussives, the R-expression cannot be bound by Jussive, and the derivation crashes due to the remaining uninterpretable person feature on the Jussive.

In addition, this thesis proves that jussive subjects are different from

other DPs which show a first or second person orientation in non-jussives, those being imposters (Collins and Postal 2012) and vocatives. Imposters have a first or second person denotation, but can function as a third person in a syntactic operation (Agree). Also, since vocatives are basically used to draw a hearer's attention, an R-expression which is used as a vocative has a second person meaning unambiguously. Thus, these two constructions deserve to be compared to jussive subjects in regard to the personal interpretation. However, the imposter approach to jussive subjects is rejected based on empirical evidence. First, in terms of familiarity, an R-expression imposter has to express a speaker and hearer's relation, but a jussive subject does not necessarily do so. Additionally, bare numerals ([numeral+classifier]) can be a jussive subject, but not an imposter. This thesis tentatively argues that D (D_{FAM}) in Korean is defective, and anchored to a conversational participant unlike definite Ds such as English *the*. Vocatives do not behave in a parallel way with jussive subjects either, in terms of co-occurrence with bare numerals or demonstratives.

Overall, this thesis argues that a first or second person feature that is not inherent in DP comes from a clausal domain. In jussives, the Jussive head is in charge of the person feature, whereas, in non-jussives, D_{FAM} mediates the association with a noun phrase and contextual information. This accords with DP-CP parallelism (Szabolcsi 1987, 1994) in that the functional heads in DP and CP, D_{FAM} and Jussive respectively, encodes a person feature.

Keywords: CP, Jussives (Imperatives, Exhortatives, Promissives), person features, Agree, binding, intervention, imposters

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Abbreviations

acc	accusative	LF	Logical Form
adn	adnominal	ModP	Modality Projection
Agr	Agree	Neg	Negation
AspP	Aspectual Projection	NegP	Negation Projection
C/comp	complementizer	nom	nominative
cl	classifier	NP	Noun Projection
cop	copula	Op	Operator
CP	Complementizer Projection	p/Per	person
D	determiner	PF	Phonological Form
dat	dative	PFI	Person Feature Intervention
Dec/decl	declarative	pl	plural
dim	diminutive	POV	point-of-view
DP	Determiner Projection	PP	Postpositional Projection
<i>dxP</i>	Deixis Projection	pres	present
excl	exclusive	prm/Prm	promissive
exh/Exh	exhortative	Q	Question
F	functional head	refl	reflexive
f/fem	feminine	sa	higher speech act head
FAM	familiar	SA	Speech Act
Fin	finite	saP	higher speech act projection
Foc	Focus	SAP	Speech Act Projection
FocP	Focus Projection	SenP	Sentience Projection
ForceP	Force Projection	sg/sing	singular
FP	Functional Projection	sp	sentential particle
gen	genitive	Spec	specifier
hon	honorific	T	Tense
<i>i</i>	interpretable	top/Top	topic
<i>iF</i>	interpretable feature	TopP	Topic Projection
imp/Imp	imperative	TP	Tense Projection
incl	inclusive	<i>u</i>	uninterpretable
inf	infinitive	<i>uF</i>	uninterpretable feature
Infl	Inflectional	<i>v</i>	functional verb
int	interrogative	V	Verb
IP	Inflectional Projection	voc	vocative
IV	intransitive verb	<i>vP</i>	functional verb projection
J	Jussive	VP	Verb Projection
JP	Jussive Projection		

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the study

This thesis investigates the syntax and semantics of jussive clauses in which the subject is anchored to discourse participants, the speaker and/or hearer. In particular, the thesis examines how a person feature in a clausal domain influences syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation of a noun phrase in jussive clauses.

In discussing the syntax and semantics of jussive clauses, this study pays special attention to Korean. Korean employs a variety of sentential markers to the right of a tense marker. Jussive markers are one such affix attached to a verbal stem to indicate a discourse function of a clause. Representative jussive clauses include imperative, exhortative, and promissive clauses. An imperative clause is used to issue orders, an exhortative clause to make a suggestion, and a promissive clause to express the speaker's commitment. These three clausal types have been packaged into a single category, *Jussive*. In Korean, different types of jussive markers such as the promissive marker *-ma*, the imperative marker *-la*, and the exhortative marker *-ca* are observed. Semantically, the promissive marker *-ma* indicates a speaker's willingness to perform an action denoted by a verbal predicate. The imperative marker *-la* is used to issue an order to dictate a hearer's performance, and the exhortative marker *-ca* denotes that the speaker and the hearer will perform a collaborative action. Some representative examples are given in (1):

- (1) Jussives (Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1234, adapted)
- a. (Ney-ka) cemsim-ul sa-*la*. [imperative]
 you-nom lunch-acc buy-imp
 '(You) buy lunch.'
- b. (Nay-ka) cemsim-ul sa-*ma*. [promissive]
 I-nom lunch-acc buy-prm
 Int. '(I) promise to buy lunch.'
- c. (Wuli-ka) cemsim-ul sa-*ca*. [exhortative]
 we-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 'Let's buy lunch.'

This thesis capitalizes on the fact that jussive clauses in Korean exhibit a similar semantic orientation in spite of their morphological differences; namely, that jussive clauses are interpreted with respect to specific conversational participants (such as the speaker and the hearer) without overtly introducing them in the clause. This study investigates how the invisible speaker and hearer are introduced in the syntactic structure of jussive clauses and how they are interpreted in different types of jussive clauses.

Jussive clauses have been investigated by many linguists since Jespersen (1940), who observed the semantic orientation of imperative clauses towards the second person, the addressee (see also Thorne (1966); McCawley (1968); Downing (1969)). To explain characteristics of jussives, this study builds on and further develops the proposal of Zanuttini et al. (2012), which ascribe the interpretative restriction of jussive clauses to *the Jussive head* (see Section 3.2 for reviews of previous approaches). Specifically, this study advocates the claim that C (here, Jussive) carries a person feature (Bennis 2006, 2007; cf. Zanuttini et al. 2012). In addition, following Chomsky (2004), this study assumes that C builds an Agree relationship with T (see also Richards 2007 and Miyagawa 2012). Extending the notion that C contains a person feature, furthermore, this study proposes that C (the jussive head) establishes an Agree relationship not only with T but also with a noun phrase other than

the subject, which contributes to a peculiar syntactic and semantic interpretation of subjects in jussive clauses.

As for empirical evidence, this study examines some novel data which have been unnoticed in generative grammar, regarded as mere pragmatic effects. First, I investigate the case that person features of a subject do not completely conform to typical jussive interpretations. I will call these clauses *non-typical exhortative*. In typical jussive exhortatives such as (1)c, both the speaker and hearer are required to agree on the order, and both of them are asked to perform the order. In non-typical exhortatives, by contrast, both speaker and hearer are required to agree to the order, but only one of them is expected to perform the order, as in (2). In (2)a, only the speaker is asked to perform the action and in (2)b, only the hearer is asked to perform the action, despite the fact that the exhortative marker *-ca* is used in the clause.

(2) Non-typical exhortatives: (Seo and Hoe 2015: 3)

a. (Ipeney) nay-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time I-nom lunch-acc buy-exh

Lit. 'Let's *I* buy lunch (this time).'

Int. 'I wish for *myself* to buy lunch under *our* agreement (this time).'

b. (Ipeney) ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time you-nom lunch-acc buy-exh

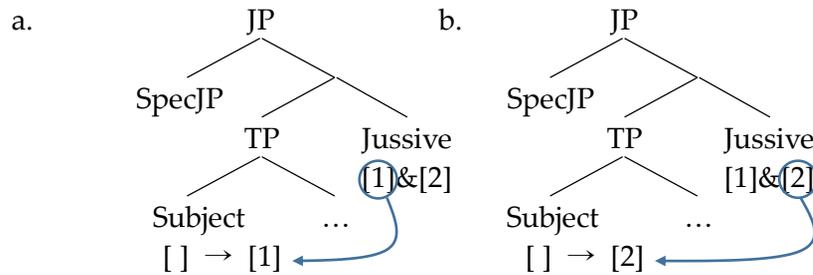
Lit. 'Let's *you* buy lunch (this time).'

Int. 'I wish for *you* to buy lunch under *our* agreement (this time).'

To explain non-typical exhortatives, this study argues that person features of the jussive head can be split into two (i.e. first and second person), and that they function as an independent probe and participate in an Agree relation independently. I call this type of probing *subset probing*. I show that this proposal accounts for all the sub-types of jussive constructions without additional stipulations. I will argue that the diverse interpretations of jussive subjects are in fact dependent on the degree of agreement with C and nominals. When the person features on the jussive head fully agree with the

subject, we get typical jussive interpretation. If, however, the person features on the jussive head partially agrees with the subject (*subset probing*), we obtain non-typical exhortatives, as in (2).¹ A schematic representation of subset probing is depicted in (3) (see Chapter 3):

(3) Structure of JussiveP (JP) under subset probing



This study also examines the role of locality in jussive agreement, which I call *person intervention effects*. I show that there is a particular ordering restriction in interpreting a non-pronominal with a first or second person meaning in jussive clauses: namely, a non-third person R-expression² has to

¹ Although this thesis only concerns person features, it presupposes that φ -features such as number and gender as well as person can operate independently of each other instead of being glued together. For instance, in English, a subject and a finite verb Agree with each other only with regard to person and number, but not gender, namely, third person singular Agreement. Also, in Spanish, an adjectival predicate Agrees with its subject in terms of number and gender, but not person, as given in (i). Thus, this thesis sustains the idea that a subset or a singleton of feature bundles on X(P) can participate in a syntactic operation. In particular, Harley and Ritter (2002) argue for a feature geometric analysis, which is structured, against a feature bundle system, which is flat and unordered. See Harley and Ritter (2002) and its references for details on φ -features.

(i) (Nosotras) somos gord-*as* (*gord-amos)[.]
 we.f.pl are.1p[lural]S[subject] fat-*f.p[lural]* fat-1p[lural]
 ‘We are fat.’ (Baker 2011: 876) [Spanish]

² R-expression in this thesis is a referentially independent noun phrase such as a proper name (e.g. Mary) and a definite description (e.g., the linguist) in accordance with traditional Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). Thus, this term is used for a non-pronominal non-anaphoric nominal.

precede a coreferential pronominal throughout the derivation. A representative example is given in (4).

- (4) a. *Inho-ka_i* [*ney_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-*la*.
 Inho-nom your friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **Ney-ka_i* [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-*la*.
 you-nom I. friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- c. * [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul_{*j*} *ney-ka_i* *e_j* teyliko wa-*la*.
 I. friend-acc you-nom bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- d. * [*Ney_i* chinkwu]-lul_{*j*} *Inho-ka_i* *e_j* teyliko wa-*la*.
 your friend-acc I.-nom bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)

As shown in in (4)a, the subject *Inho-ka* may be coindexed with the second person pronoun *ney* ‘your’. Interestingly, however, when *ney* ‘you’ precedes *Inho*, as in (4)b, the R-expression *Inho* must be interpreted as third person, not as second person, in contrast to (4)a. Furthermore, scrambled sentences in (4)c and (4)d are all ungrammatical when *Inho* refers to the second person. Previous studies have discussed why (4)a is grammatical with the reading that a proper noun is interpreted as second person (Zanuttini et al. 2012)³. Crucially, however, it has not been discussed why (4)(b-d) are ungrammatical with the reading that the proper noun is interpreted as second person.

This study explains the relationship between person interpretation and

³ Refer to Bolinger (1967), Cohen (1976), Davies (1986), Zhang (1990), Kessler (1995), Platzack and Rosengren (1994, 1998), Potsdam (1998), Rupp (1999, 2003), Zanuttini (2008), and Medeiros (2013) for a second person anaphor which is anteceded by a quantificational or a proper name subject in English imperatives.

word order, seen above, by *general locality effects in syntax*. I propose that the person feature of a pronominal phrase is fixed by morphology (and the lexicon), so that their interpretation cannot be altered in syntax. In contrast, I assume that the value of R-expressions (e.g. proper nouns) is not determined until syntactic agreement is established. This means that R-expressions can be interpreted as first person (speaker) or second person (hearer), or as third person depending on the syntactic context. When the person feature of an R-expression is probed by a discourse-oriented element (here, the jussive head), it may receive the first or second person interpretation. If no agreement is established in syntax, an R-expression will be interpreted as the third person by default. In this thesis, I will show that this account has the desirable consequence of explaining data like (4) through feature intervention effects. In particular, when a pronoun intervenes and thus blocks the Agree relationship between the jussive head and an R-expression, the R-expression cannot be interpreted as a first or second person. The schematic derivation is presented in (5). In Chapter 4, I present how this account explains various interactions between R-expressions, pronouns, and jussive heads in syntax and semantics.

(5) * [... X[*i*Person] ... ZP[*i*Person] ... YP[*u*Person] ...]
|-----⊘-----|

In the final chapter, I critically review and refute alternative accounts that analyze interpretative restrictions on jussive subjects as a subtype of imposter construction, in which a covert DP internal pronoun determines the person feature of the entire DP in which it is embedded. R-expressions can have a first or second person meaning in some (non-jussive) contexts, as in (6)b, in which case they are called *imposters* (Collins and Postal 2012).

- (6) a. Kunyang *enni-ka* os-ul pillyecwe-la.
 Just elder.sister-nom clothes-acc lend-imp
 Int. '(you) just lend clothes (to your little sister)!'
- b. Kulayse *enni-ka* os-ul pillyecwess-nya?
 so elder.sister-nom clothes-acc lent-int
 Int. 'Did (you) lend clothes (to your little sister) then?'

The final chapter will show that first or second person R-expressions in jussives do not pattern with those in non-jussives, both from syntactic and semantic perspectives. Although the *ennis* 'elder sister' in (6) can be second person in both (a) and (b), the one in (b) is more restricted than the one in (a) in that it is legitimate only when the hearer is the speaker's elder sister. However, there is not such a limitation on the subject in jussives, and a hearer may or may not be a speaker's elder sister.⁴

To explain such an interpretative restriction on imposter constructions, this thesis introduces a *familiar D* (D_{FAM}) which is anchored to conversational context (participant, place, time) for Korean as a sub-type of determiner. Two contrary opinions have been proposed regarding the structure of a nominal phrase in a determiner-less language like Korean: whether DP is present or not (refer to Bowers (1991), Longobardi (1994), Cheng and Sybesma (1999), Rappaport (2000), Bašić (2004), Pereltsvaig (2007), among others, for universal DP hypotheses, and Zlatić (1997), Chierchia (1998), Dayal (2004, 2009), Bošković (2005, 2008, 2012, 2013), Ko and Seo (2012), among others, for parametrized DP analyses). This thesis argues that there is D in Korean, which is a deictic center linking DP and C. This means that a non-third person denotation of an R-expression is dependent on an external element in the clausal domain. This conclusion is in harmony with the main proposal of

⁴ Some might think that *enni* 'elder sister' in (6)b can also be read as a second person irrespective of the speaker and hearer's relation. However, I will show in Section 5.1.2.2 that it cannot function as a genuine second person DP which binds a co-referential pronominal when it is associated with a third party.

this thesis that the Jussive head contains a person feature mediating relations between TP and context.

1.2. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 critically reviews the previous literature on sentential form and force. Chapter 3 introduces non-typical exhortatives and proposes the theory of *subset probing*. I will argue that the first and second person features on a functional head can participate in a binding relation with a noun phrase in jussive clauses independently from each other. I also discuss how optatives and conditionals can be understood under the current proposal. Chapter 4 addresses Person Feature Intervention effects in jussives. I argue that an interpretable person feature may function as an intervenor to block binding by the Jussive head. In Chapter 5, the syntax of jussive-like interpretations with imposters will be discussed. I argue that the syntax of jussives cannot be subsumed under the imposter analysis, in which the DP-internal notional pronoun crucially licenses the discrepancy between form and meaning. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis.

2. General background on sentential form and force

In this chapter, I present an overview of previous studies on clausal domains in order to provide background knowledge for the main discussion. In particular, the relationship between *form* and *force* will be discussed, and a brief summary of a CP-syntax and clausal types in Korean will be provided.

A sentence contains three information parts: (a) propositional *content*, (b) *illocutionary force*, and (c) *form*. It is well-known that illocutionary force and morphological/syntactic form are not always paired via a one-to-one mapping. For instance, various clausal “forms” may be employed to deliver the illocutionary force of “compliment,” such as in declaratives (7)a, exclamatives (7)b, and interrogatives (7)c.

- (7) a. You did a good job.
- b. What a good job you were doing!
- c. Did you do these all by yourself?

Strictly speaking, the number of types of illocutionary force might be infinite. *Wish* can be divided into *wish-for*, where a speaker wants an event to happen, and *wish-against*, where a speaker wants an event not to happen. In this way we can arrive at a vast number of illocutionary forces, even more than kinds of performative predicates.

Importantly, however, a specific illocutionary force is conventionally associated with a given form. This is called *sentential force* (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990/2000). That is, when declaratives are given without a context including intonation, it is understood as delivering assertive force. The same goes for interrogatives – requesting an answer, imperatives – requesting an action, promissives – making a promise, optatives – expressing wish, and so on.

The performative function of sentences has been widely investigated since Austin (1962). Austin classifies illocutionary acts into five types: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, expositives, and behabitives. Verdictives deliver a finding based on evidence or reasons, as in *acquit*, *hold*, and *calculate*; exercitives provide a decision, as in *order*, *command*, *direct*, and *plead*; commissives make a commitment to do something, as in *promise*, *vow*, and *pledge*; expositives present a descriptive explanation, as in *affirm*, *deny*, *emphasize*, *illustrate*, and *answer*; behabitives are an expressive response to others' behavior, as in *thank*, *apologize*, *deplore*, and *drink*.

Austin's (1962) research plays a leading role in defining a function of sentences, but Searle (1976) pointed out shortcomings with Austin (1962), specifically that it does not distinguish performative acts from performative predicates. Verdictives and Expositives do not have fundamental differences in illocutionary force in that both of them deliver assertion, for instance. Some predicates have an illocutionary force in themselves, but others do not. When a speaker says *I order you to sit down*, the sentence can be understood as having an *ordering* force. In contrast, when *I still hold that the government's economic policies are mistaken*⁵ is uttered, it is difficult to say that it has a *holding* force. See Searle (1976) for details of shortcomings of Austin (1962).

To limit the number of types of speech acts, Searle (1976) concentrates on a speaker's purpose of utterance, the *illocutionary point*. He proposes five categories as basic speech acts: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Representatives are a speaker's belief that an uttered proposition is true. Directives are a speaker's desire about a hearer's action (including answering), and commissives are a speaker's intention of doing something. Expressives are a speaker's mental attitude. Declarations get a proposition to accord with a reality, and vice versa. Regarding relations

⁵ This example is taken from Naver dictionary:

<<http://endic.naver.com/enkrEntry.nhn?sLn=kr&entryId=d1d5e7995bdb4b9abd0f92edc0fb1a5a&query=I+hold+thtat>>, [Access: Jan 15, 2017].

between the world and words, representatives fit words to the world, directives and commissives fit the world to words, and declarations match words and the world bi-directionally. This study is interested in directives and commissives which are distinguished from representatives with the future tense in that the latter does not adjust the world to words.

Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet (1990/2000) argue for one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, which they call *sentential force*. According to them, sentential force is “what the grammar assigns to the sentence to indicate how that content is conventionally presented (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 2000: 213)”, and produces change in a discourse context. To be specific, declarative force is a statement which enriches common ground⁶ and excludes any inconsistent possibilities from the set of live possibilities by which a truth value is unsettled. Also, an interrogative force is “a set of propositions[, ... and] indicates that the common ground is to include some family of propositions whose membership is to be identified (*ibid.*: 219)”. An imperative force “maps the discourse structure at one stage into a new structure (*ibid.*: 224)”. Since sentential force refers to a conventional pair of form and force, it is closely associated with clausal types.

Semantic sentential force is universal, but its syntactic representation, the types of clauses where it appears, is language-specific. All languages have declaratives with a distinctive grammar, but promissives may or may not be an independent clause. Thus, Sadock and Zwicky (1985) establish the criterion on clausal typing in (8), which has something in common with Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet’s (1990, 2000) sentential force.

⁶ Common ground is shared knowledge between conversational participants (Stalnaker 1978, 2002). Also, refer to Schiffer (1972), Lewis (1969), Grice (1975).

- (8) Sadock and Zwicky's (1985: 158-159) clause typing criteria
- a. There are sets of corresponding sentences, the members of which differ only in belonging to different types.
 - b. The types are mutually exclusive, no sentences being simultaneously of two different types.

Following the criterion, Sadock and Zwicky propose three major clausal types due to their universality: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Also, they treat exclamatives, imprecatives, and optatives as minor clausal types since not all languages have them.

Clausal types can be expressed by two primary manners: a syntactic construction (word order) and morpho-syntactic marking. Many European languages, such as English and German, belong to the first group. For instance, in English, declaratives have an SVO word order, but interrogatives are marked by fronting an auxiliary or a *wh*-word. In addition, imperatives have a covert subject unlike other clauses. In this class, a clausal type is determined mainly by word order.

In contrast, Korean adopts the latter strategy as an agglutinative language, and a particle that appears at the end of a predicate discriminates clausal types from each other, as shown in (1): *-ma*, *-la*, *-ca* for jussives.⁷ Apart

⁷ Researchers have not achieved consensus on clausal types in Korean. For instance, Choi (1937), Nam (2001), and Lim (2011) suggest four types of clauses in Korean: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, and *Exhortatives*; Hong (1947), five types: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, *Promissives*, and *Exclamatives*; Suh (1976) and Pak (2008), five types: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, *Exhortatives*, and *Promissives*; Ko (1974), eight types: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, *Exhortatives*, *Promissives*, *Exclamatives*, *Permissives*, and *Premonitives*; Kim (1960), nine types: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, *Exhortatives*, *Exclamatives*, *Permissives*, *Premonitives*, *Optatives*, and *Presumptives*; and Sohn (1999), nine types: *Declaratives*, *Interrogatives*, *Imperatives*, *Exhortatives*, *Promissives*, *Exclamatives*, *Permissives*, *Premonitives*, and *Apperceptives*. Refer to Pak (2008) for the summary of literature on clausal types in Korean.

from jussives, *-ta*, and *-ney* are used for declaratives, while *-ni*, *-nya*, *-ka*, and *-kka* for interrogatives, and *-key* apart from *-la* for imperatives (Pak 2008). I refer to the particles as *sentential particles*.⁸ ⁹ The full representation of Pak's classification is given in (9).

⁸ The particles which end a sentence in Korean are referred to as various terms in the literature, such as sentence end(ing) particles, sentence enders, sentence final particles, and so on (Sohn 1999, Strauss 2005, Pak 2008, Rhee 2012, among others). In some studies, some of the terms are used interchangeably instead of being unified. Among others, Pak (2008) calls them sentence end particles and classifies them into three sub-types, again: (i) special mood particles, which carry an additional mood meaning other than a clausal typing function such as reportive *-te-la* and *-tay(-yo)*, suppositive/committal *-ci*, and so on; (ii) speech style particles, which are related to honorificity in the first row in (9); and (iii) clause typing particles, which are used for a specific clause type exclusively (e.g. plain *-ta* and familiar *-ney* for a declarative clause typing particle in (9)). In this thesis, I call them sentential particles avoiding the positional term 'end(ing)' since the particles cannot be at the end of the sentence due to the scrambling in Korean. I appreciate Prof. Juwon Kim reminding me of this issue.

⁹ For other languages which utilize particles to specify a type of clause, refer to Sybesma and Li (2007) and Simpson (2014) for Chinese, Sadock and Zwicky (1985) for Hidatsa, Schelfhout et al. (2005) for Dutch, Haegeman (2014) for West Flemish, Bayer (2001, 2012) for modal particles in German, Munaro and Poletto (2002) and Penello and Chinellato (2008) for Italian dialects.

(9) Pak's (2008) classification of sentential particles

Speech style	Clausal types				
	Dec	Int	Imp	Exh	Prm
Plain	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ni, -nya</i>	<i>-(a/e)-la</i>	<i>-ca</i>	<i>-(u)ma</i>
Intimate	<i>-a/-e</i>	<i>-a/-e</i>	<i>-a/-e</i>	<i>-a/-e</i>	<i>-(u)l-key, -a/-e</i>
Familiar	<i>-ney</i>	<i>-na, ((n)u)n-ka-a-yo/-e-yo</i>	<i>-((u)si-key(na)</i>	<i>-sey(-na)</i>	<i>-(u)m-sey</i>
Polite	<i>-a-yo/-e-yo</i>	<i>-na-yo, -((n)u)n-ka-yo</i>	<i>-((u)si)-a-yo/-e-yo</i>	<i>-a-yo/-e-yo</i>	<i>-l-key-yo, -a-yo/-e-yo</i>
Semiformal	<i>-o/-uo/-so</i>	<i>-o/-uo/-so</i>	<i>-((u)si)-o/-uo/-so</i>	<i>-p-si-ta</i>	<i>-li-ta/-kess-o</i>
Fomal	<i>-(su)p-ni-ta</i>	<i>-(su)p-ni-kka</i>	<i>-((u)si-p)-si-o</i>	<i>-(u)-si-p-si-ta</i>	<i>-o-li-ta/-kess-sup-ni-ta</i>
Super-polite	<i>-na-i-ta</i>	<i>-nai-kka</i>	<i>-((u)si-op)-so-se</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-kess-na-i-ta</i>

Both strategies are assumed in the literature to be related to the complementizer position in the syntactic structure (Chung and McCloskey 1987; Rizzi 1990; Yang 1994, 2000; Ahn 1996; Cheng 1997, among many others). According to Cheng (1997), the sentential particle (Typing Particle, in her term) is base-generated in the C head in line with Bach and Harnish (1979) and Bresnan (1972), and bears some feature indicating a type of a clause such as [+wh]. However, in languages without a sentential particle, a syntactic structure, i.e. word order, manifests a sentential type: for instance, in English, *wh*-words are fronted to express a *wh*-interrogative clause. Chomsky (1986) explains that *wh*-words move to SpecCP, and in turn, the head C gets the clause typing [+wh] feature due to Spec-Head Agreement.¹⁰

¹⁰ Refer to Yang (2000) for the relation between clausal typing and PF-LF interfaces, which focuses on English interrogative constructions.

The C head expresses the type of the clause, but also is associated with information structure, such as focus and topic. As C attracts a *wh*-element, it draws overt or covert movement of a focused or topicalized phrase. Chomsky suggests that SpecCP is a locus of a scopal element:

The natural assumption is that C may have an operator feature (which we can take to be the Q- or wh-feature standardly assumed in C in such cases), and that this feature is a morphological property of such operators as wh-. For appropriate C, the operators raise for feature checking to the checking domain of C: [Spec, CP], or adjunction to Spec (absorption), thereby satisfying their scopal properties. Topicalization and focus could be treated the same way. (Chomsky 2015: 183, first published in 1995)

Furthermore, the C-domain encodes discourse information shared by conversational participants. Sometimes, C indicates honorific relation between a speaker and a hearer or it may also express a speaker or hearer's attitude.¹¹ Given that clausal marking, too, can be regarded as encoding a speaker's intention toward a proposition, the functions of sentential particles are consistent in involving a conversational context. Thus, the Jussive head, which types a clause as imperative, exhortative, or promissive, serves the

¹¹ As mentioned in footnote 8, some sentential particles can express an additional mood meaning as well as a clausal typing function, such as the suppositive *-ci*. Pak (2008) refers to them as special mood particles. Being marked with a punctuation mark in (i), the sentences which *-ci* is attached to can be understood as declaratives, interrogatives, or jussives, according to the intonation. That is, this particle can end a sentence, but does not specify the sentence type by itself, unlike clause typing particles such as the imperative *-la*. Instead, it delivers a speaker's attitude on the proposition (or property) regarding assurance (see Lee 1991 for details). Thus, this supports the idea that the C-domain encodes discourse information.

- (i) Kim-kwun-i cemsim-ul sa-ci{./!/}
 K.-Mr.-nom lunch-acc buy-sp.committal
 Declaratives: '(I am sure that) Mr. Kim buys lunch.'
 Interrogatives: 'Mr. Kim (will) buy lunch(, is that right)?'
 Imperatives: 'Mr. Kim (=you) buy lunch!'

interface between a word and the world as a C element. This is in line with Bayer (2004) which argues that the C-projection is outwards oriented and in charge of interface with a discourse context, contrasting with V- and T-domains.

A fine-grained CP structure has been discussed actively since Rizzi (1997), referred to as the split CP-hypothesis. According to Rizzi (1997), a complementizer functions as the interface between a propositional content and a superordinate structure for discourse, hence it expresses at least two kinds of information: one facing the outside force and the other facing the inside TP. As already mentioned above, it serves as a focus or topic position. Focus and topic are different from each other in that the former is associated with new information and the latter with old information. Thus, splitting CP into several layers is persuasive, and Rizzi (1997) suggests the following structure for CP:

(10)... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin IP

The Force projection encodes a type of clause. The Fin projection encodes finiteness in the CP domain. As a peripheral domain, the two are responsible for interfaces: the former with discourse (or a matrix predicate when it is an embedded CP) and the latter with its complement IP regarding finiteness, tense, or mood, and so on. The topic and focus projections can be in the middle as an optional projection. After Rizzi (1997) advocated such a cartographic analysis on CP, many researchers adopted and developed it, such as Hill's (2002) research on the Romanian CP¹².

Imperatives have been known to show relatively limited properties compared to declaratives or interrogatives. For instance, in English, a verbal

¹² Also, Hoekstra (1993) demonstrates that an embedded CP can be complex (i.e. CP-recursions) based on Dutch dialects where three complementizers can co-occur in embedded contexts.

stem is employed for an imperative clause, and a modal expression is incompatible. In addition, it cannot be embedded.¹³ This implies that the construction at issue is closely associated with finiteness, and its T is somewhat defective. Thus, many syntacticians have postulated a special T or Infl (Rupp 1999, Jensen 2003), special C (Bennis 2006, 2007), or a functional head between C and T (Zanuttini et al. 2012). Thus, according to Rizzi (1997), it is conceivable that the Jussive head for a direct command is a Fin head which selects a defective TP as its complement. It is at least close to the Fin head, and does not seem to be located in a higher C-domain when considering the movement data discussed in Chapter 4.¹⁴

Recently, ForceP has splintered again into (a) an illocutionary force, which is called the Speech Act projection (SAP), and (b) a clausal typing projection, in compliance with the notion of Speas and Tenny (2003), in which a functional head (Speech Act) implements a performative structure. On the SAP, refer to Haegeman (2002), Hill (2007), Coniglio and Zegrean (2012), Miyagawa (2012), Haegeman and Hill (2013), Bayer (2015), and so forth. Most importantly, Haegeman strongly endorses the presence of SAP in the highest C-domain.

Haegeman and Hill (2013) provide a syntactic analysis on pragmatic markers appearing in the edge positions of an utterance in Romanian and West Flemish. The particles are expressive, and signal a speaker's attitude or commitment towards the content of an utterance. They can express

¹³ Note that the unembeddability of imperatives' is not universal. English imperatives cannot be embedded, but Korean jussives are embeddable. Refer to Portner (2007), Park (2011), Lee (2012), Zanuttini et al. (2012), Lee and Park (2014), and Seo and Hoe (2015) for Korean, and Kaufmann and Poschmann (2013) for Modern High German.

¹⁴ In Chapter 4, we will see that object scrambling with the accusative marker *-lul* and object topicalization with the topic marker *-nun* or without any marker behave differently in terms of binding. This corroborates the lower position of the jussive head in the C-domain. See Section 4.4.2 for details.

so, the thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the relation of words and the world presented in language.¹⁵

¹⁵ There is one note on “order” in terms of the scope of the thesis. An order can be expressed with various clausal types. For instance, an indirect order can be delivered with a declarative or an interrogative clause, as in (i). However, I will not discuss the indirect order here. Also, embedded jussives as in (ii) are outside of the main concern, as well. I will focus on the syntax and semantics of jussive clauses that appear as a main clause.

- (i) a. Ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-nun kes-i-ya.
 you-nom lunch-acc buy-adn thing-cop-sp.casual
 ‘You will buy lunch.’
- b. Ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-llyay?
 you-nom lunch-acc buy-sp.intention
 ‘Will you buy lunch?’
- (ii) Sensayngnim-un M.-eykey [{H./ku}-ka aph-ey ancu-la]-ko
 teacher-top M.-dat H./he-nom front-in sit-imp-comp
 myenglyenghayssta.
 ordered
 Int. ‘A teacher ordered Mina that Hoya (should) sit in the front row.’

(From Seo & Hoe 2015: 22)

3. Subset probing in exhortatives

This chapter focuses on a person interpretation in exhortatives, which is a sub-class of jussive constructions issuing orders to both a speaker and a hearer. So far, previous studies on jussives have investigated subjects which are completely accordant with a jussive construction in which it occurs in: namely, a second person subject in imperatives, a first person in promissives, and a first person inclusive in exhortatives. However, this chapter will show that a half accordant subject is allowed in exhortatives, and this is syntactically restricted just as in the case of unmarked jussives.

It has been widely known that the jussive subject is understood depending on its structure. Korean exhibits an interpretative restriction on the jussive subject, as given in (13): an imperative subject is always read as a second person regardless of the overt realization, as in (13)a, a promissive subject is first person, as in (13)b, and an exhortative subject is first person inclusive¹⁶, as in (13)c. These are a canonical interpretation of a jussive subject and I will call them *typical jussives*.

- (13) Typical jussives: =(1)
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a. (Ney-ka) cemsim-ul sa-la. | b. (Nay-ka) cemsim-ul sa-ma. |
| you-nom lunch-acc buy-imp | I-nom lunch-acc buy-prm |
| '(You) buy lunch.' | Int. '(I) promise to buy lunch.' |
| c. (Wuli-ka) cemsim-ul sa-ca. | |
| we-nom lunch-acc buy-exh | |
| 'Let's buy lunch.' | (Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1234, adapted) |

However, a realization of jussive subjects is more complicated than (13): (14) shows that either a speaker or a hearer can be asked to execute an order

¹⁶ A first person plural meaning is divided into two cases: one includes a second person and the other excludes it. The former is referred to as first person inclusive and the latter as first person exclusive.

with an exhortative construction, which is referred to as a *non-typical exhortative*¹⁷.

(14) Non-typical exhortatives: =(2)

- | | | | |
|-------------|--|-----------|-----------|
| a. (Ipeney) | nay-ka | cemsim-ul | sa-ca. |
| | this.time | I-nom | lunch-acc |
| | | | buy-exh |
| | Lit. 'Let's <i>I</i> buy lunch (this time).' | | |
| | Int. 'I wish for <i>myself</i> to buy lunch under <i>our</i> agreement (this time).' | | |
| b. (Ipeney) | ney-ka | cemsim-ul | sa-ca. |
| | this.time | you-nom | lunch-acc |
| | | | buy-exh |
| | Lit. 'Let's <i>you</i> buy lunch (this time).' | | |
| | Int. 'I wish for <i>you</i> to buy lunch under <i>our</i> agreement (this time).' | | |

(Seo and Hoe 2015: 3, adapted)

This contrasts with typical exhortatives, like in (13)c, which asks both a speaker and a hearer to carry out an order jointly. The non-typical exhortatives have only rarely been observed so far in descriptive grammar and have been considered as pragmatic effects (Im and Chang 1995, Ko 1998, Youn 1998, An 2006). However, I will show in this chapter that non-typical exhortatives are part of typical exhortatives regulated by the syntactic operation, Agree (Kratzer 2009)¹⁸.

To explain the non-typical exhortative data, I will argue as follows: (A) a person feature in the C domain participates in binding as an independent probe (Baker 2008) and furthermore, first and second person features can

¹⁷ The non-typical exhortative data have already been reported in the journal *Studies in Generative Grammar* vol. 25 as the result of the collaborated work with Dr. Semoon Hoe. I cite the key issues and argument from the work, but will develop the discussion. Seo and Hoe (2015) will be summarized in Section 3.3.1.

Also, since a jussive subject which is half-dependent on its clausal type is only available in exhortatives, non-typical exhortatives are equal to non-typical jussives. However, I will call them non-typical exhortatives to avoid confusion.

¹⁸ See Section 3.3.2 about the Agree theory that this thesis adopts.

behave separately even when they coexist on the same head; and (B) what appears in a specifier of JussiveP (SpecJP) is different from an agent (a jussive subject) which is presumably in a specifier of TP (SpecTP)¹⁹. I will prove that SpecJP is related to a conversational participant and that a jussive subject is an agent.

3.1. Data

Before entering into a full discussion of non-typical exhortatives, all the types of jussive data will be provided: typical jussives, indirect orders²⁰, and non-typical exhortatives.

In unmarked contexts, a jussive subject fully accords with a person feature of a (sub-)type of jussive construction: an imperative subject is the hearer (15), an exhortative one is the speaker and hearer (16), and a promissive one is the speaker.

(15) Somebody strike a light, will you? ((15)-(16) from Aikhenvald 2010: 68)

(16) Let's go.

(17)a. Siedi-ti!	b. Andiamo.	[Italian]
Sit.imp-refl.2sg	go.1p.pl.	
'Sit!' (Portner 2004: 246)	'Let's go!'	

Since the subject in (15) is read as the hearer in the imperative construction,

¹⁹ The subject of a clause might be in a specifier of *v*P in Korean. Miyagawa (2005) argues that in a language which exhibits poor morphology regarding ϕ -Agreement, such as Japanese and Korean, SpecTP is occupied by a focused DP via C to T inheritance of a focus feature. Under this analysis, a subject is not necessarily on SpecTP in Korean. However, I will put the subject in TP for convenience, in this thesis.

²⁰ A third person command is referred to as *indirect order* in this study since such sentences intend a hearer to deliver the command to a third person.

the subject of the tag has to be the second person pronoun rather than the morphologically matched third person one. Next, exhortatives utilize an analytic form, *let*-construction in English, but it seems to have been grammaticalized as the exhortative *let's*-construction which has not been further analyzed (Krug 2004). Canonically, their subject is anchored to both a speaker and hearer as in (16), hence *shall we* will be used as the tag phrase. Italian imperatives and exhortatives are given in (17), too. Although promissives are unattested in English and Italian, this construction has proven to be available in other languages such as Korean. These are typical jussives that much literature has been interested in.

Also, a third person can be a subject of imperatives. In such sentences, the third party is a performer, and the second person hearer is a messenger²¹. That is, the third person command is understood as an indirect order (indirect order, henceforth). However, not all languages can constitute it, and there are cross-linguistic variations (Aikhenvald 2010). Italian freely allows it, employing a subjunctive form as in (18). In English, it is relatively uncommon compared to Italian, but possible, as shown in (19).

(18) Indirect order in Italian: (Zanuttini et al. 2012, adapted)

- a. Signor Rossi, che nessuno si siede in prima fila!
 Mr. R. that no.one self sit in first row
 Lit. 'Mr. Rossi, (see to it that) nobody sit in the first row.'

b. [_{JP} Signor Rossi Jussive [_{TP} nessuno T_{subjunctive} [_{VP} si siede in prima fila]]]

(19) Counselors, everyone be packed up and ready to go in half an hour!
 (Potsdam 1998)

²¹ Aikhenvald (2010: 69) mentions that indirect order bears "the trace of the canonical person reference" in that it has prior condition for the presence of a hearer who will pass a command to a third person.

Here, in (18) and (19), entities that *nessuno* and *everyone* denote do not belong to the same group with the hearers *Signor Rossi* and *counselors*, so they are completely third person. Instead, according to Potsdam (1998), the vocative hearers and the subjects build a control relationship in an extra-linguistic domain such as social or military situations. Although such a pragmatic aid is required, a genuine third person subject is an available option under jussive constructions in some languages.

However, not all third person jussive subjects are understood as an indirect order. Aikhenvald (2010) presents (20) as a third person command, but it seems to be difficult to be analyzed as an indirect order. According to her, the third person command is not common in English, but it is natural when it is coordinated with a second person command. That is, an indirect order meaning is fed by a coordination containing a second person. Thus, the subjects *you* and *John* belong to the same group, and can be analyzed to have a covert partitive construction, [*you*_[sg] of *you*_[pl]] and [*John* of *you*_[pl]]. The null partitive hypothesis was mentioned in Zanuttini et al. (2012: 1247-1248), as well. If this is on the right track, (20) is not different from canonical second person imperatives. It may be described as a third person command in that the subject has a third person form, but this has to be distinguished from a genuine non-partitive third person command which is named as an indirect order here.

(20) You make the dinner and John do the washing up. No? All right then,
John cook and you wash up. (Aikhenvald 2010: 68)

Korean, which is the main concern of this study, manifests all the subtypes of typical jussives regarding person features. It has imperatives (21)a, promissives (21)b, and exhortatives (21)c. Korean employs a sentential particle to mark a sentence type or to express the speaker's intent, as

mentioned in Chapter 2.²² In jussive constructions, too, a sentential particle is attached to a predicate: *-la* for imperatives (21)a, *-ma* for promissives (21)b, and *-ca* for exhortatives (21)c. Under a normal circumstance, imperatives employ a second person subject, promissives a first person one, and exhortatives a first person inclusive one. This patterns with the typical jussives in English and Italian.

- (21)a. (Ney-ka) cemsim-ul sa-la. b. (Nay-ka)cemsim-ul sa-ma.=(13)
 you-nom lunch-acc buy-imp I-nom lunch-acc buy-prm
 ‘(You) buy lunch.’ Int. ‘(I) promise to buy lunch.’
- c. (Wuli-ka) cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 we-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 ‘Let’s buy lunch.’ (Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1234, adapted)

However, Korean does not substantiate indirect order. As shown in (22), the imperative marker does not allow the third person subject *Hoya* despite an intended indirect command.²³ The ungrammaticality of (22) seems to be slightly improved with a contrastive meaning such as *Mina* is another candidate for the agent of the ordered action or *Hoya* is selected from a group that *Mina* belongs to. In that case, the third person subject can be considered as a subset of a hearer group and analyzed as a covert partitive construction

²² Also, a sentential particle can express a relation between a speaker and hearer as a politeness marker, which is a speech style particle in Pak’s (2008) term. Refer to Pak (2008) for a classification of sentential particles and their usages.

²³ The same goes with the promissives or exhortative marker. Both do not allow indirect order just like the imperative case (22)-(23). Although, exhortatives seem to be compatible with a third person subject, but it does not have an indirect ordering force. Instead, only agreement between a speaker and a hearer is asked. Such extended meaning of exhortatives will be mentioned below, again.

as in (20).²⁴ However, (23), which is not capable of utilizing such a context, is completely ruled out. *Rossi kwun* ‘Mr. Rossi’ is not included in the audience group when he is a staff member for a performance. In this case, there is no room for improvement.

(22) Indirect order in Korean: (Seo and Hoe 2015: 22, adapted)

[Scenario: Mina is a class leader and her homeroom teacher transmits instructions to other student, Hoya, through Mina.]

Teacher: *Mina-ya, (ipeney) Hoya-ka aph-ey anca-la!
 M.-voc this.time H.-nom front-in sit-imp
 Lit. ‘Mina, (see to it that) Hoya sit in the front row.’

(23)* Rossi kwun_i, kwankayk-tul amwuto_j aphcwul-ey
 R. Mr. audience-pl no.one front.row-in
 ancci ma-la!
 sit not(deontic)-imp

Lit. ‘Mr. Rossi, (see to it that) no audiences sit in the first row.’

(Seo and Hoe 2015: 4, adapted)

Still, one might argue that indirect order is possible in Korean, too, though somewhat degraded. That is, (23) seems to be fine with a causative meaning for some speakers, and this intuition is confirmed by an overt embedded causative construction as shown in (24). When the causative particle *-key*²⁵ is inserted with a supportive light verb *ha* ‘do’, the

²⁴ Prof. Jongho Jun (p.c.) also commented that (22) is quite acceptable when it is coordinated with a second person subject. As mentioned above, it is ameliorated by a covert partitive construction which can be analyzed as a typical jussive. In Korean, when a genuine third person subject is used with an imperative marker, the sentence has an extended meaning like optatives, which will be discussed in Section 3.6.1.

²⁵ Refer to Shibatani (1973), Kim (1994), Yeo (2005), and Park (2013), among many others, on semantics and syntax of periphrastic causatives.

ungrammatical (23) becomes grammatical in (24).²⁶ This is differentiated from typical jussives which resist embedding the causative construction under the jussive marker. For instance, (13) becomes absolutely ungrammatical when the causative construction is added, as in (25). Of course, (25) is grammatical when a covert third person subject, such as *Rossi kwun-i* ‘Mr. Rossi-nom’, exists within the embedded clause. That is an indirect command, which is not the intended meaning, however.

- (24) Rossi kwun_i, kwankayk-tul amwuto_j aphcwul-ey cf.(23)
 R. Mr. audience-pl no.one front.row-in
 anc-key haci ma-la!
 sit-causative do not(deontic)-imp
 Lit. ‘Mr. Rossi, do not let any audience sit in the first row.’
- (25)a. *(Ney-ka) cemsim-ul sa-key hay-la. cf.(13)
 you-nom lunch-acc buy-causative do-imp
 Int. ‘(You) buy lunch.’
- b. *(Nay-ka) cemsim-ul sa-key ha-ma.
 I-nom lunch-acc buy-causative do-prm
 Int. ‘(I) promise to buy lunch.’
- c. *(Wuli-ka) cemsim-ul sa-key ha-ca.
 we-nom lunch-acc buy-causative do-exh
 Int. ‘Let’s buy lunch.’

In addition, the intuition is clearer when a third person subject is not bare, and contains a demonstrative, which cannot be read as non-third person at all. This is given in (26)-(27).

²⁶ Some Korean native speakers who accept (23) as being grammatical seem to be able to re-analyze it as an embedded causative construction as in (24). However, such a reanalyzed interpretation is not up for discussion in this thesis.

- (26)* Kyay-ka cemsim-ul {sa-ma/la/ca}.
 that.kid-nom lunch-acc buy-prm/imp/exh
 [prm] Lit. '(I) promise for that kid to buy lunch.'
 [imp] Lit. 'That kid buy lunch.'
 [exh] Lit. 'Let's that kid buy lunch.'
- (27) Kyay-ka cemsim-ul sa-key {ha-ma/la²⁷/ca}.
 that.kid-nom lunch-acc buy-causative do-prm/imp/exh
 [prm] Lit. '(I) promise to let that kid to buy lunch.'
 [imp] Lit. 'Let that kid buy lunch.'
 [exh] Lit. 'Let's let that kid buy lunch.'

The contrast between (24)/(27) and (25) shows that the indirect order and typical jussives contain different internal structures in Korean. Indirect orders contain an embedded construction and its matrix and embedded subjects are disconnected. In contrast, typical jussives do not allow such embedding with an intended canonical meaning. From this, we know that indirect order has a more complex structure than typical jussives in Korean. Since the causative meaning of indirect order is not the major concern of this thesis, I will not go into details.

Lastly, the sub-type of exhortatives is worth considering: a subject of exhortatives is not a sum of a first and a second person, but only one of them, as shown in (28).

²⁷ The exact form of *ha-* 'do' with an imperative *la* is *hay*.

- (28) Non-typical exhortatives: =(14)
- a. (Ipeney) nay-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time I-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 Lit. 'Let's *I* buy lunch (this time).'
- Int. 'I wish for *myself* to buy lunch under *our* agreement (this time).'
- b. (Ipeney) ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time you-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 Lit. 'Let's *you* buy lunch (this time).'
- Int. 'I wish for *you* to buy lunch under *our* agreement (this time).'
- (Seo and Hoe 2015: 3, adapted)

The exhortative subjects are *na* 'I' and *ne* 'you', and these are not exactly identical to what the jussive marker denotes. Instead, they establish the subset relation. This construction lies somewhere between typical jussives in (13) and indirect order in (18) in that it does not exactly correspond to the exhortative construction, but it is not completely unrelated to the construction, either. Thus, this has been dealt with under pragmatic effects. I refer to these partially dependent data as non-typical exhortatives, and will treat them in syntax.

In this subsection, three types of jussive constructions have been discussed: typical jussives, indirect orders, and non-typical exhortatives. Whether or not those sub-types of jussives are available depends on properties of a language. So far, typical jussive and indirect order have received much attention in generative grammar, but non-typical exhortatives have not been given in the spotlight. However, I will show that they are a sub-type of typical jussives, and a unified analysis is available for the three types of jussives below.

3.2. Previous studies

A personal restriction on a jussive subject has been one of the major concerns

in the literature on imperatives, and there exist three types of approaches according to Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) classification: a lexical approach, a performative approach, and a syntactic category approach. This thesis adopts the last, and assumes that there is a functional category in which a person feature is specified in jussive constructions, following Zanuttini et al. (2012).

3.2.1. Non-syntactic approaches

Lexical approaches postulate a special lexical entry only for imperative subjects. That is, *you* in jussives and *you* in non-jussives are mere homonyms. For instance, Schmerling (1982) explains the interpretative restriction of an imperatives subject as a categorical selection (IMP/IV²⁸). She points out that *you* in imperatives always denotes the membership of audiences, unlike in other clauses.

Under this kind of analysis, non-pronominal subjects of imperatives such as proper names have to be treated as having a different sub-categorization depending on a clausal type. That is, the proper name *Tom* would have a different sub-categorization depending on clausal types, such as $\text{Tom}_{[\text{imp}]}$, $\text{Tom}_{[\text{prm}]}$, $\text{Tom}_{[\text{exh}]}$, and $\text{Tom}_{[\text{elsewhere}]}$. This approach might make a syntactic structure simple, but the lexicon is overloaded with information.

Meanwhile, performative approaches introduce a performative predicate or an operator, which binds the second person in imperatives (Downing 1969; Beukema and Coopmans 1989; Han 1998, 2000). This types of analyses regards an imperative subject as analogous to a Control construction. The difference is that imperatives employ a predicate that is abstract.

²⁸ IV stands for an intransitive verb, and it can be derived, or not.

3.2.2. Syntactic approaches

3.2.2.1. Syntactic category approaches in general

Functional head approaches hypothesize the presence of a functional projection around T or C (Rupp 1999, Jensen 2003, Bennis 2006, 2007, a series of studies by Zanuttini, Pak and Portner). There are variations on exactly which head is in charge of the syntax and semantics of imperatives. Rupp (1999) and Jensen (2003) argue that jussives contain a special T or Infl, and Bennis (2006, 2007) claims that jussives are different from non-jussives in C. Meanwhile, Zanuttini et al. (2012) regard a head in charge of jussive meaning as lying between T and C. In this subsection, Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) analysis will be reviewed in detail, which this thesis follows in general.

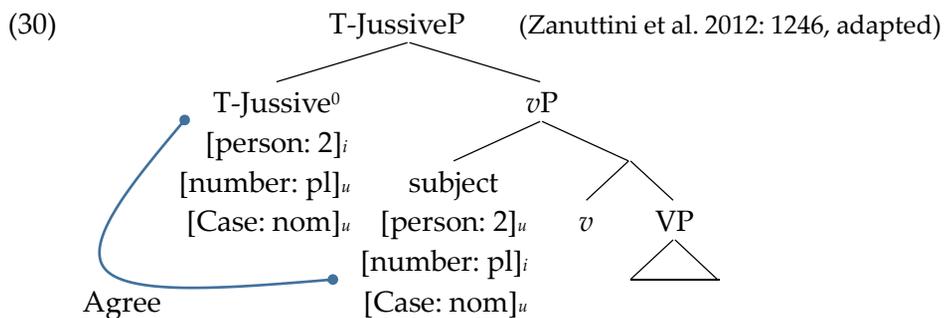
3.2.2.2. Zanuttini et al. (2012)

Zanuttini et al. (2012) restrict the subject of jussives to a non-third person by introducing a Jussive head which contains an interpretable person feature. Their analysis covers all the non-third person cases and various non-pronominal subjects.

As presented above, an interpretation of subjects is fixed to a hearer in imperative clauses in English. A subject is always read as a hearer regardless of an overt realization of a second person pronoun in imperatives, as in (29)a. Furthermore, the same is true of R-expressions and quantifiers, which are apparently third person, as in (29)(b-c).

- (29) a. (You) eat your dinner! (Schmerling 1982 from Zanuttini et al. 2012)
 b. Kids, Mary wash yourself, John take the dog for a walk!
 c. Everyone wash yourself! ((b-c) from Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1238)

To explain the second person orientation of an imperative subject, a functional head is proposed from the perspective of syntax, and this head, which lies between T and C, Zanuttini et al. (2012) call *Jussive*. Since an aspectual or a negative element can be inserted under the Jussive projection, other heads are expected to exist between *v*P and JussiveP, and T is one of them (Pak et al. 2008: 165). The Jussive head bears a valued interpretable second person feature, and T and Jussive constitute a single cluster of heads via T-to-Jussive movement. They bind a subject which it Agrees with, and the values of φ -features are shared in the end. This way an imperative subject is syntactically determined to be a hearer. The analysis assumes that a subject of jussives is a minimal pronoun in the sense of Kratzer (2009), which does not have full information on its φ -features. This is depicted as follows:²⁹



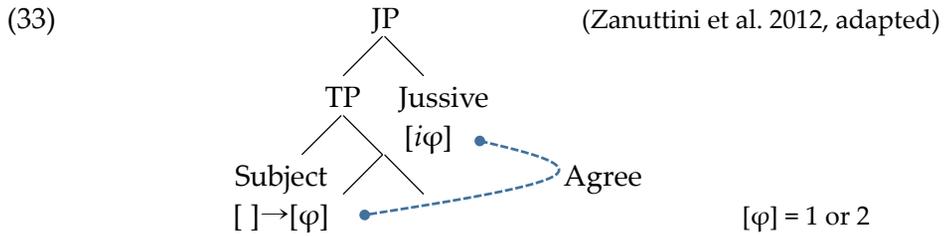
Their approach can be easily extended to English exhortatives, in (31).³⁰ In this case, first and second person features exist on the Jussive head, and a subject is understood as a first person inclusive in the same manner of an imperative subject.

(31) Let's go out.

²⁹ A Jussive projection has additional C-layers above JussiveP, but this thesis will omit the higher projections such as TopP, ForceP, and so on, for convenience's sake.

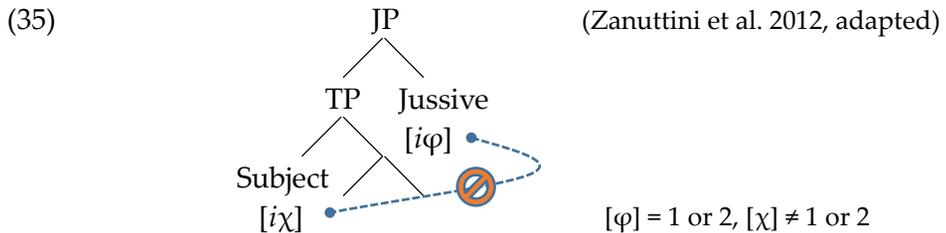
³⁰ As Zanuttini et al. (2012) point out, *let's* is not equal to the imperative *let us* construction in that the latter excludes a hearer from an uttered action. Thus, *let's* is not analyzable (Krug 2004).

exhortatives, and promissives altogether.



However, (33) cannot explain an indirect order by imperatives in English, as in (34). Here, the hearers, *counselors*, are not an imperative subject that is being asked to carry out the order. Instead, a set of individuals who *everyone* denotes is the genuine imperative subject, and *counselors* are asked to lead the subject to do so. For this, Zanuttini et al. (2012) argue that such an indirect order results from the absence of Agree, as shown in (35).

(34) Counselors, everyone be packed up and ready to go in half an hour!
 =(19)



Since the Jussive head and the agentive subject, *everyone* in (34), are disconnected in (35), the subject need not to be decided by the Jussive head. However, due to the presence of Jussive, the hearers, *counselors* in (34), undertake a messenger role. Zanuttini et al. (2012) successfully explains both the canonical jussive and indirect order under the unified account.

So far, what the literature has concentrated on jussives is complete accord or discord between a subject and a clausal type. An interpretation of a jussive subject totally depends on the jussive type in (29)-(32), while it does not in (34). Under the Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) system, as well, Agreement is

seen to be all or nothing. However, the world of jussives is not that neat. In the following subsection, I will make a proposal embracing a *half*-dependent subject of non-typical exhortatives.

3.3. Proposal

Seo and Hoe (2015) explore the syntactic properties of non-typical exhortatives and prove that they are a sub-type of typical jussives. This section reviews Seo and Hoe's (2015) idea and elaborates further on the detailed relation between a jussive subject, which is an agent on SpecTP, and SpecJP. To be more specific, SpecJP can be morphologically realized as a discourse argument independently of a jussive subject.

3.3.1. Subset probing: Seo and Hoe (2015)

Seo and Hoe (2015) argue that person features on a Jussive head are not amalgamated with each other, so they can probe an unvalued goal separately. This idea explains the fact that a non-typical exhortative subject is still limited to a conversational participant in compliance with typical jussives. Consequently, three types of jussives can be accounted for under the unified approach which uses the functional head *Jussive* and the syntactic operation Agree.

Unlike the typical exhortative subject in (32)c, the non-typical exhortative subjects, which are repeated in (36), are constituted solely by a speaker or a hearer.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----------|-----------|---------|
| (36)a. (Ipeney) | nay-ka | cemsim-ul | sa-ca. | =(14) |
| | this.time | I-nom | lunch-acc | buy-exh |
| | Lit. 'Let's I buy lunch (this time).' | | | |
| | Int. 'I wish for <i>myself</i> to buy lunch under <i>our</i> agreement (this time).' | | | |

b. (Ipeney) ney-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time you-nom lunch-acc buy-exh

Lit. 'Let's *you* buy lunch (this time).'

Int. 'I wish for *you* to buy lunch under *our* agreement (this time).'

(Seo and Hoe 2015: 3, adapted)

They contain an exhortative sentential particle *-ca*, but their subject conforms rather to promissives' or imperatives'. Hence, they are *incomplete* in terms of a canonical exhortative reading which is an ordering speech act targeting both a speaker and hearer in accordance with Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) analysis.

This has been understood as indirect speech to politely inform a hearer of a speaker's will or a command. However, we could not obtain a satisfactory explanation from the pragmatic analysis with reference to why a subject of non-typical exhortatives still belongs to a conversational participant. If its loose interpretative restriction is ascribed to pragmatics, it becomes difficult to rule out an indirect order reading from non-typical exhortatives.

Also, possibility that a full-fledged DP is inserted as a non-typical exhortative subject is rejected, too, as repeated in (37).

(37)*Kyay-ka cemsim-ul {sa-ma/la/ca}. =(26)
 that.kid-nom lunch-acc buy-prm/imp/exh
 [prm] Lit. '(I) promise for that kid to buy lunch.'
 [imp] Lit. 'That kid buy lunch.'
 [exh] Lit. 'Let's that kid buy lunch.'

If a semantically/syntactically complete DP, which lacks formal features (Kratzer 2009), is inserted as a subject rather than a minimal pronoun, as in (36), we cannot explain why the third person subject in (37) is not allowed in these constructions. To account for this, we have to stipulate an additional

rule to exclude a third person subject from jussives, which is undesirable. Furthermore, under this analysis, we stipulate that the first person inclusive exhortative head can match with a given subset of the first person inclusive on a jussive subject. If the subject bears the first person feature only as in (36)a, it is plausible for the first person on a subject to match with the first and second person of the Jussive head. However, when it comes to the second person case in (36)b, such an explanation is hard to maintain. It is counter-intuitive for the second person feature on the jussive subject to match the first and second person feature on the Jussive, neglecting the first person feature, which determines the person feature of the summed feature.³²

Seo and Hoe (2015) assume that a jussive marker in Korean specifies a conversational participant's perspective. Specifically, a Jussive head is a functional head which introduces a lambda operator pertaining to a non-third person feature (Zanuttini et al. 2012). But the person feature on Jussive is related to a point-of-view (POV) rather than a subject in Seo and Hoe (2015) as follows:

³² Although this is not mentioned in Seo and Hoe (2015), underspecification of distributed morphology is also not adopted, in a similar vein. If vocabulary insertion is underspecified compared to the syntactic person feature of the Jussive head, [1] and [2], a realization of the second person feature is problematic in this approach, as well. As the sum of a first and second person feature is considered as a first person, an insertion of a second person pronoun is unavailable even though it is a genuine subset of the given syntactic feature. Again, a marked feature, i.e. the second person feature, cannot trump an unmarked one when vocabulary is inserted. The underspecification of vocabulary insertion must follow the logical selection of feature complexes (Halle and Marantz 1994: 278).

(38) Korean jussive markers and POV feature specification³³

- a. *-ma*: A speaker's benefit/obligation [1]
- b. *-la*: A hearer's obligation [2]
- c. *-ca*: Benefit of a speaker and a hearer [1]&[2] (Seo and Heo 2015: 9)

In Korean, the promissive marker *-ma* specifies a speaker's benefit or obligation, the imperative marker *-la*, a hearer's obligation, and the exhortative marker *-ca*, a speaker and hearer's benefit. This is based on the assumption that conversational participants behave cooperatively³⁴ in a conversation. Thus, a speaker utters a command which is the most beneficial for a point-of-viewer among possible alternatives.

In other words, the benefit in (38) means that the promised/ordered/proposed action lies on the topmost ranking among the alternative actions based on a designated conversational participant's perspective. Under such a semantics of promissives, a speaker's commitment to an uttered action is straightforwardly presupposed. Likewise, a hearer's commitment is forced in imperatives, and a speaker and hearer's

³³ In Seo and Hoe (2015), conversational participants are called Author and Addressee, but here I will call them speaker and hearer.

³⁴ The notion 'cooperative' is different from Grice's (1957) Cooperative Principle. Rather, I will use the term with a naïve sense under the assumption that conversational participants try to find the best proposition in an ordering set of alternatives. A more elaborated definition should be given in the future, however.

commitment is presupposed in exhortatives.³⁵

A grammatical realization of a point-of-view has been reported in Badiotto which is a Rhaeto-Romance language spoken in northern Italy (refer to Munaro and Poletto (2002), Poletto and Zanuttini (2003), Portner (2007), and so forth, on sentential final particles in Badiotto). Badiotto uses various sentential markers which determine a sentential type or express modal properties. The point-of-view markers which occur in jussives are given in (39): a hearer's benefit is marked with *ma* whereas a speaker's is with *mo*. This is summed up in (40).

³⁵ Prof. Seunggho Nam and Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) pointed out that *benefit* seems to be inappropriate in semantics of jussives, in particular, promissives. According to Prof. Nam, a hearer's point of view is more significant to promissives since they cannot be modified by the sentential adverb *wenkhentay/palakentay* 'hopefully', but by *wenha(nta)myen* 'if you would like', as below:

- (i) {^{ok}*Wenhantamyen*/ **Wenkhentay*} (nay-ka) cemsim-ul sa-ma.
if.you.would.like/ hopefully I-nom lunch-acc buy-prm
'^{ok}If you would like/ *Hopefully} (I) promise (to) buy lunch.'

However, it still seems to be difficult to deny (38)a since the incompatibility of promissives and the sentential adverb 'hopefully' results from a semantic clash.

Specifically speaking, promissives do not require a hearer's permission at all, but it expresses a speaker's unilateral intention/commitment to do something. Meanwhile, the ill-matched adverb, *wenkhentay/palakentay* 'hopefully' is incompatible with a commitment reading. Since it is a desiderative adverb, the degree of a speaker's commitment cannot be as high as the one of promissives'. In contrast, the conditional adverb *wenha(nta)myen* 'if you would like' can easily modify promissives since it does not affect a speaker's commitment, and only provides an appropriate condition. That is, the speaker will commit himself to the uttered property 'buy lunch' when the hearer wants. In a similar vein, the adverb *ceypal* 'please' cannot occur in promissives, either. I will leave the adverb issue and the specific semantics of jussives for future research. I am thankful to Prof. Nam and Prof. Park for raising these issues.

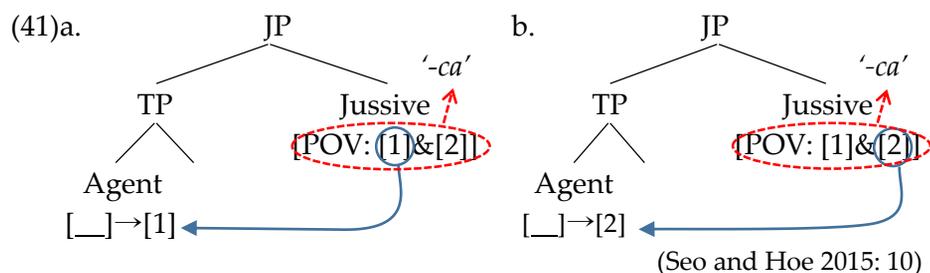
- (39)a. Tète ma n dé de vacanza!
 take.yourself *ma* a day of vacation
 ‘Take a day off for vacation!’ (2nd sing. Imp)
- b. Arjigneme mo cà le bagn!
 prepare.me *mo* here the bath
 ‘Get my bath ready!’ (Poletto and Zanuttini 2003: 2-5)
- (40)a. *ma*: permission for the benefit of the addressee
 b. *mo*: order for the benefit of the author (Seo and Hoe 2015: 16)

Such data show that a point-of-view can be easily coupled with a jussive construction. Korean cases are slightly different from Badiotto in that the two are inseparable, and a single jussive marker denotes a type of clauses and a point-of-view simultaneously.³⁶

Also, under the functional category analysis, even in the case of non-typical exhortatives, we cannot deny that both first and second person features exist on the proposed Jussive head in exhortatives. This is because the construction always indicates that both of them *agree on* a suggested order. What makes the non-typical exhortatives special is that an action is performed by only one of the consenters contra typical exhortatives: a consenter is not necessarily identical to a performer in jussives, but they have a keen relation since the latter is a subset of the former at least. This implies that the first and second person features on Jussive do not have to behave as a bundle.

³⁶ I cannot give a full explanation regarding such inter-language differences, but can only surmise on it. A sentential particle in Korean is a portmanteau: it expresses a speaker’s attitude, marks a clausal type, and so on. Accordingly, a single sentential marker is forced into taking charge of multiple functions when required: to be specific, *-ma*, *-la*, and *-ca* are responsible for marking sentential type as jussive and expressing a point-of-view in Korean jussives at the same time. In contrast, Badiotto uses a syntactic structure for jussives and a morphological marker for point-of-view separately.

Under the assumptions above, Seo and Hoe (2015) argue that only one of the non-third person POV features on the exhortative head can participate in Agree and regulates a jussive subject. This is referred to as *subset probing*. Seo and Hoe (2015) hypothesize that person features on Jussive can probe independently. The detailed description is given below:³⁷



When a first person feature probes a jussive subject (Agent³⁸ in Seo and Hoe 2015), the latter gets a first person value as in (41)a, which partially matches the exhortative head. The same goes for the second person case as in (41)b.

This can successfully explain properties of non-typical exhortatives. First, the consenters are both first and second person, so the Jussive head

³⁷ Only features which are relevant to discussion will be given in a tree diagram for readability. Thus, a [singular] feature will be omitted since it is unmarked. In terms of a [plural] feature, see (49).

³⁸ A jussive subject is usually an agent of an ordered event, so we called it Agent. However, as mentioned in footnote 14 of Seo and Hoe (2015), it can have other theta roles such as an experiencer as below:

- (i) Kongpwu-lul culkye-la!
 study-acc enjoy-imp
 ‘Enjoy studying!’
 - (ii) Kathi cwuk-ca!
 together die-exh
 Int. ‘Let’s die together!’
- (Seo & Hoe 2015: 8)

Thus, the notion of Agent does not exactly match the definition of the thematic role, instead, it indicates a performer in a broad sense.

bears both features, and consequently it is realized as *-ca*.³⁹ However, only the first *or* second person is read as an agentive jussive subject because just one of them participates in Agreeing between the POV on the Jussive head and a specifier of TP (henceforth J-Agree) via subset probing. Nonetheless, the subject is limited to one of the conversational participants due to the application of Agree. Accordingly, a third person subject is prohibited even in the subset probing case; pragmatic and lexical analyses could not resolve this issue as mentioned earlier. Since a person feature on Jussive is interpretable⁴⁰ and valued, the remaining feature of subset probing, which does not participate in J-Agree, does not result in any problem in syntax.

3.3.2. Proposal: Predication and J-Agree

This thesis follows Seo and Hoe's (2015) subset probing on non-typical exhortatives; furthermore, the specifier of the Jussive head will be further elaborated.

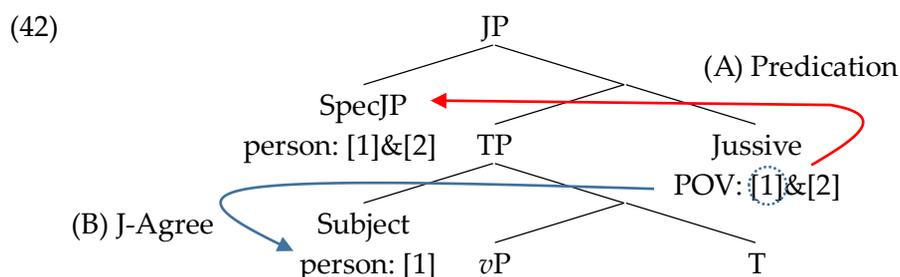
In Zanuttini et al. (2012), T and Jussive constitute a feature bundle through T-to-Jussive head movement, and probe and restrict a subject together as a complex T-Jussive head, as mentioned in Section 3.2.2.2. This lessens the burden of the Jussive head probing down without an

³⁹ Seo and Hoe's (2015) feature composition of the first person inclusive feature accords with the decomposition of person features, which is a traditional morphological technique. However, this decomposition does not cause insertion of two different morphemes into a single syntactic terminal node at all, and the exhortative head is always realized as the single morpheme *-ca* indicating the first person inclusive. Accordingly, the two splintered branches/nodes are not posited under the Exhortative head for the decomposed non-third person features. Thus, Seo and Hoe's (2015) idea is irrelevant to distributed morphology's *fission* which is a morphological operation splitting a syntactic terminal into more than one (refer to Halle (1990, 1997) and Embick and Noyer (2007) on distributive morphology).

⁴⁰ Seo and Hoe (2015) assume that an interpretable feature can probe a goal. Refer to Watanabe (2004) on the relevant discussion, among many others.

uninterpretable feature alone. That is, an uninterpretable feature on T, a Case feature, makes the complex head active in probing. Seo and Hoe (2015) remain silent with reference to the exact relation between the two projections.

This study will show that POV person feature information is realized on a specifier of JussiveP independently of the jussive subject. In (42), Jussive bears both the first and the second person POV feature as an exhortative construction.



Under the Spec-Head predication relation (A), a specifier of JussiveP always has identical φ -features with a Jussive head, hence it is anchored to the first person inclusive reading. According to Kratzer (2009), Spec-Head Agreement under Binding by a λ -operator causes the unification of φ -feature sets. Thus, SpecJP denotes a conversational participant who agrees on an uttered activity. I will show that the consenter is lexically realized in Section 3.5. In contrast, the Jussive and SpecTP are not under the predication relation, but the Jussive binds SpecTP as a λ -operator. I refer to this relation (B) as J-

Agree, and it is assumed to allow a subset match unlike Predication (A).⁴¹ The J-Agree of (B) is similar to Kratzer's (2009) Transmission in that a probe is a λ -operator, but it does not require unification of an entire φ -feature set of a binder and a bindee, unlike Transmission. Thus, an exhortative subject can only be first person via the subset probing in Seo and Hoe (2015). The same goes for the second person exhortative subject in (36)b, but I will omit

⁴¹ Prof. Heejeong Ko commented that there seem to be two tiers of Agreement: Predication as an instance of semantic Agreement and J-Agree as an instance of syntactic Agreement. As I know, the notion of semantic Agree is usually employed when form and meaning are mismatched, and semantic features override morphological features such as a plural Agreement with a singular group subject.

However, since Predication, in this thesis, completely matches features on Jussive, it appears to be difficult to distinguish the semantic Agree from the morphosyntactic Agree. Rather, J-Agree is more like the semantic Agree in that the first and second person features on Jussive Agree with the first person subject, in (42), *to the eye*.

On number mismatch, as well, Danon (2012, 2014) argues that plural Agreement with a singular noun is a result of syntactic Agree, while singular Agreement with a plural noun is lack of Agree. They are differentiated from each other in that the latter is restricted to environments where a non-thematic subject is permitted in various languages such as Hebrew, English, and so on.

This thesis is dealing with both Predication and J-Agree as a result of syntactic Agree, but I admit that they have different qualities. Although I attribute them to different syntactic positions as of now, semantic Agree is required to be checked. I thank Prof. Ko for her comment, and I will leave this issue for future study.

the graphic representation, here.^{42 43}

As disconnecting Jussive from T, unlike in Zanuttini et al. (2012), J-Agree solely depends on the presupposition of the lambda operator on the Jussive head. In Zanuttini et al. (2012), an uninterpretable Case feature on T activates the probing of the complex T-Jussive head in line with Chomsky (2000,

⁴² The two kinds of Agree in this thesis can co-exist without rendering grammar too complex. In fact, the Agrees are not different from each other despite the individual naming, but only differ in their positions. That is, the Spec-Head relation is too close to allow the partial unification of features, but the specifier of a complement admits that. Thanks to Prof. Jong Un Park for raising this issue.

⁴³ At this moment in time, I speculate that *sentience* of conversational participants affects the selection of POV features. Speas and Tenny (2003) argue for the presence of the sentience layer for seat of knowledge, which is located between the Speech Act layer and the CP layer. Following them, SpeechActP (SAP) and SentienceP (SenP) can be posited above JussiveP, and the Sentience head regulates which conversational participant is sentient as sketched below:

- (i) Typical exhortatives: [_{SAP} Speaker_i ... Addressee_j ... [_{SenP} Seat of knowledge_{i&j} ... [_{JP} Spec]P_{i&j} Jussive_{i&j}(sentient) [_{TP} J-subject_{i&j} ...]]]]
- (ii) Non-typical exhortatives with a first person subject: [_{SAP} Speaker_i ... Addressee_j ... [_{SenP} Seat of knowledge_i ... [_{JP} Spec]P_i(sentient)_{i&j} Jussive_{i&j} [_{TP} J-subject_i ...]]]]
- (iii) Non-typical exhortatives with a second person subject: [_{SAP} Speaker_i ... Addressee_j ... [_{SenP} Seat of knowledge_j ... [_{JP} Spec]P_{i&j}(sentient) Jussive_{i&j} [_{TP} J-subject_j ...]]]]

Refer to Speas and Tenny (2003) for SAP and SenP, and to Zu (2015) and Miyagawa (In press) for relation between seat of knowledge and Agreement. I appreciate Prof. Miyagawa for leading my concern with sentience. However, this will be further investigated in future work.

2001).⁴⁴ However, in the proposed J-Agree, the probe, Jussive, contains an interpretable valued person feature by definition, it does not need to participate in any syntactic operation for itself at all. Instead, a minimal pronoun in a subject position is necessary to enter into an Agree relation to be properly licensed. Thus, J-Agree has an underlying assumption that Agree can be activated when either a probe or goal bears an uninterpretable or unvalued person feature, which is further modified from Pesetsky and Torrego (2007).⁴⁵

This proposal is substantiated by theoretical and empirical evidence. First, theoretically, given the non-typical exhortatives, it is odd that a head (Jussive) and a specifier (SpecJP) have a different person feature from each other within the same projection, especially in the second person case where the head is the first person (inclusive) and the specifier is the second person at the end. Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) suggested that SpecTP moves to SpecJP only when there is all-at-once Agree (i.e. total probing). Such an analysis overburdens syntax since non-typical exhortatives are a result of Agree as proved in the previous subsections. Agree-or-not is a simple cue for movement, but Agree-all-together-or-some is not. This is because the feature that does not participate in Agree affects the movement of the Agreed

⁴⁴ In Chomsky (2000, 2001), interpretability and valuation are biconditional: when a feature is uninterpretable, it is unvalued, and when it is interpretable, it is valued (Chomsky 2001: 5). Since an uninterpretable feature should be eliminated before Spell-Out via Agree, it makes a probe activated. However, according to Pesetsky and Torrego (2007), the T feature on the Tense head, which is interpretable unvalued, functions as a probe. Thus, they argue that an unvalued feature is a necessary condition for probing. Also, Zeijlstra (2012) proposes upward probing such that a c-commanded probe contains an uninterpretable feature.

⁴⁵ This reminds us of Lasnik's (1993) Enlightened Self-Interest, in which an uninterpretable person feature can be either on a probe or a goal, and can be checked through a syntactic operation (i.e., movement), but I postpone stating it firmly now. This is because I suspect that a person feature on Jussive might be unvalued at least in Korean, based on the unavailability of the indirect order reading. I will leave this for future study, and appreciate Prof. Heejeong Ko for reminding me of this issue.

element.

Next, as empirical evidence, I will provide discourse argument data which is fully dependent on a jussive construction, but have different properties from an agentive subject on SpecTP. I will argue that they are a realization of SpecJP, which will be discussed in Section 3.5 at length. Also, a partitive reading of subset probing provides indirect evidence for the independent status of SpecJP. These will be discussed in detail below.

3.3.2.1. Total Probing: Probe or not

Total probing is bifurcated into two sub-cases: (i) complete accordance with a construction, typical jussive, and (ii) complete discordance, indirect order. As summarized above, Zanuttini et al. (2012) explain the interpretative restrictions on a jussive subject through the introduction of the functional head, Jussive, and the syntactic operation, Agree. Following Seo and Hoe (2015), this thesis keeps them intact for the cases of total probing by and large, and it will be presented briefly.

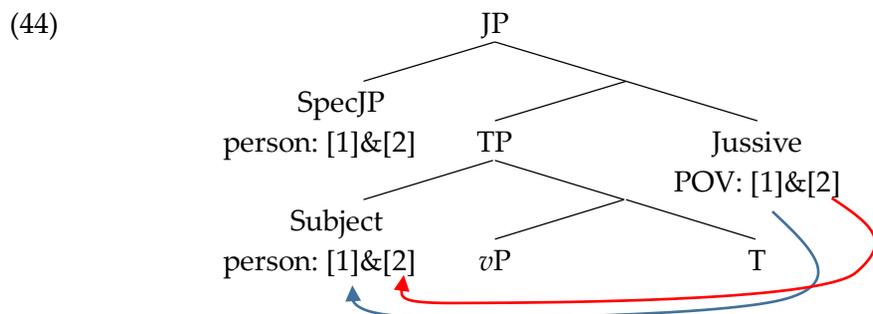
3.3.2.1.1. Typical jussives

The interpretative restriction on a typical jussive subject results from the process of Agree between a Jussive head and a subject following, Zanuttini et al. (2012). However, in the case of J-Agree, such a restriction result from the POV feature on the Jussive, in line with Seo and Hoe's (2015) argument. That is to say, the Jussive head signifies from whose perspective an ordered activity is given, i.e. point-of-viewers, and among them, who will carry out the order, i.e. a performer that is a jussive subject, is decided via J-Agree. Total probing is unmarked compared with subset probing, and it is readily understood without much context.

The *total probing* of Jussive successfully accounts for typical jussive data, as Zanuttini et al. (2012) have already proven. The relevant data is repeated in (43), which conveys only the typical-exhortative case. Total probing is when an entire set of probing features on a relevant head takes part in probing a goal: in jussives, all the POV person features on the Jussive head probe a subject without exception.

- (43) (Wuli-ka) cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 we-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 ‘Let’s buy lunch.’ (Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1234, adapted)

Thus, the first and second person features on an exhortative Jussive head probe down in typical exhortatives, so both a point-of-viewer (SpecJP) and a performer (a jussive subject) are first person inclusive. This does not discriminate an activated probe from a deactivated probe so that it is easily interpreted without much context, in contrast with subset probing. The delineation is given in (44). It resembles Zanuttini et al.’s (2012) analysis on jussive in (30)/(33) except that a first and second person feature participates in Agreeing independently. Also, it is different from Seo and Hoe (2015) which do not specify SpecJP. The canonical promissives and imperatives in (32) are forced to undergo total probing since they have a single POV on a Jussive head. I will omit their graphic representations.



3.3.2.1.2. Indirect order

Indirect order can be classified as another case of total probing in that J-Agree does not occur at all: namely, *no probing*. Here, Jussive does not enter into a dependent relation with a jussive subject, the latter can have a third person feature, and it is read as giving orders to a third party via a hearer.

Indirect order constructions lack Agree between Jussive and a specifier of TP in compliance with Zanuttini et al. (2012). According to them, Italian allows indirect order since it contains subjunctive verbal forms such that T can yield a person feature to its specifier, unrelated to a Jussive head. In contrast, Korean cannot have a person feature on T due to the lack of a subjunctive T in a matrix jussive clause, hence it cannot license indirect order at all, as in (45).⁴⁶ Seo and Hoe (2015) follow their idea, and so does this thesis. This is because the presence or absence of Agree can put together the two contrasting cases without much stipulation.⁴⁷

(45)* Rossi kwun_i, kwankayk-tul amwuto_j aphcwul-ey
R. Mr. audience-pl no.one front.row-in
ancci ma-la!
sit not(deontic)-imp

Lit. 'Mr. Rossi, (see to it that) no audiences sit in the first row.'

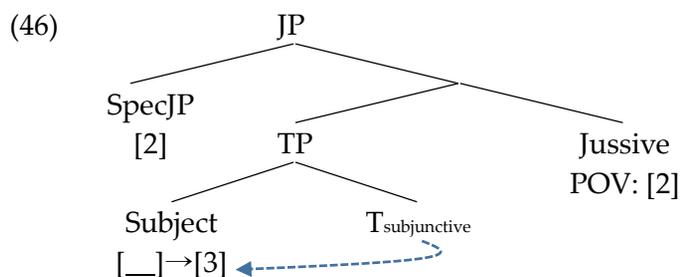
(Seo and Hoe 2015: 4, adapted)

However, this study distinguishes SpecJP from SpecTP unlike the previous two, and SpecJP is understood as a consenter who maintains a point-of-view on an uttered order, so he or she delivers an order to a third

⁴⁶ When Jussive bears a first person feature for *-ma* or a first and second person feature for *-ca*, indirect order is not possible, either. See (56)-(58) and Section 3.4.2.2 for details.

⁴⁷ However, a non-directive meaning seems to allow a third person subject as in optatives. This will be discussed in Section 3.6.

person subject. We do not need to make a sudden stipulation that Jussive binds a vocative phrase, as in Zanuttini et al. (2012).⁴⁸ In addition, it will be proven in Section 3.5 and 5.2 that a vocative has different qualities from a SpecJP or a jussive subject. The non-probing case is depicted in (46).



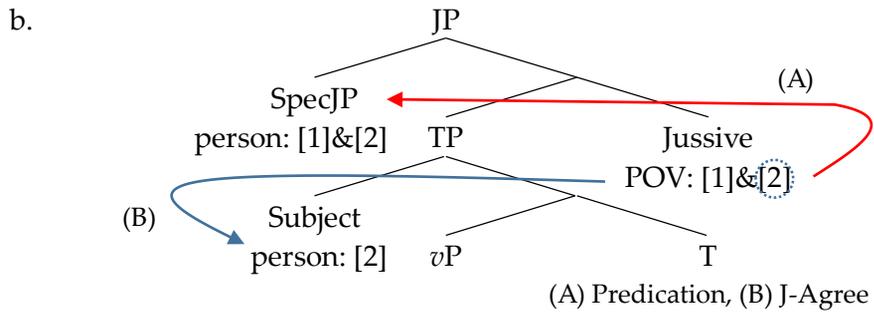
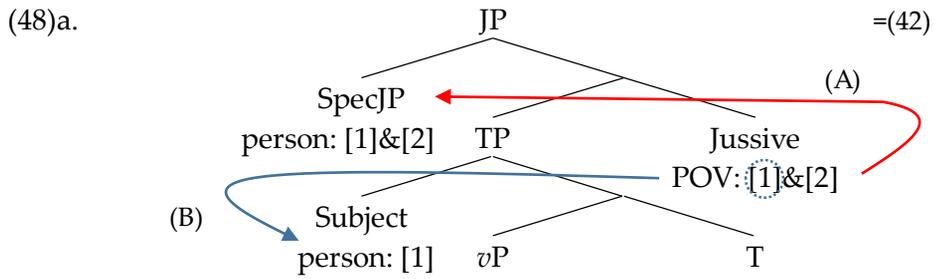
3.4. Analysis

3.4.1. Non-typical exhortatives by subset probing

Non-typical exhortatives show a discrepancy between a point-of-viewer and a performer: their subject, which is a performer, is a part of point-of-viewers. Given that a person feature on Jussive denotes a point-of-viewer rather than a subject, the special properties of non-typical exhortatives are easily resolved.

As proposed in the previous section, non-typical exhortatives are derived by subset probing. That is to say, either a first or second person feature is chosen from POVs on an exhortative head and Agrees with a jussive subject in SpecTP. Nonetheless, the Jussive head is still understood as bearing both the conversational participants because subset probing does not presume deletion of a deactivated feature. This process has already been presented in (42), but the relevant data and structure are repeated in (47)-

⁴⁸ Vocatives will be discussed in Section 5.2 that they have different qualities from a jussive subject.



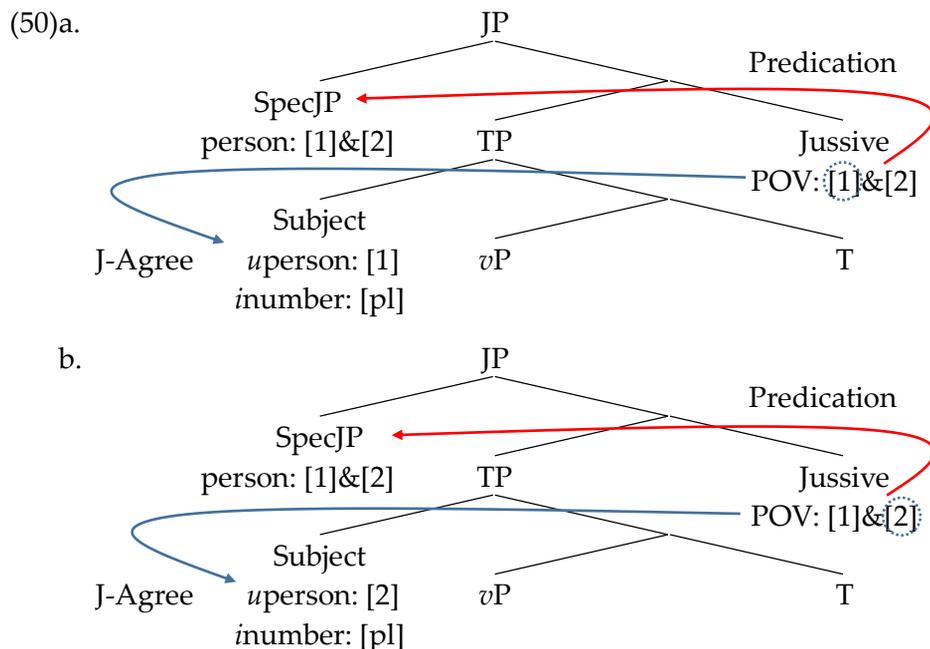
A number feature is not inherited from Jussive, and it is an inborn feature of a nominal head unlike a person feature.⁵⁰ Thus, non-typical exhortative subjects are not limited to the singular. This is instantiated in (49).

- (49)a. (Ipeney) wuli-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time we-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 Int. 'I wish *we*_{excl} will buy lunch under *our*_{incl} agreement (this time).'

⁵⁰ Kratzer (2009: 230) mentions that a number feature is detached from other φ -feature sets, such as person and gender features, and heads its own projection in line with Ritter's (1993) argument for a separate functional head for number. Accordingly, even inclusive person is not directly associated with plural number, and some languages have an inclusive singular as pointed out in Harley and Ritter (2002): emphatic pronouns in Kalihna, which is a Carib language, have a four-person (first person exclusive, first person inclusive, second, third) and two-number system. They argue that those exceptional combinations of person and number are accounted for under the feature geometric analysis where morphological features including the person feature are dependent but structurally associated in line with Clements (1985) and Sagey (1986).

b. (Ipeney) nehuy-ka cemsim-ul sa-ca.
 this.time you.pl-nom lunch-acc buy-exh
 Int. 'I wish *you* (excluding me/us) will buy lunch under *our*_{incl}
 agreement (this time).'

(49)a is a plural counterpart of (47)a, so *wuli* 'we' is intended to be read exclusively⁵¹ as a non-typical exhortative subject. The first person POV feature J-Agrees with the plural subject in (49)a yielding the first person exclusive subject as described in (50)a. Also, (49)b is a plural counterpart of (47)b, *nehuy* 'you.pl' is employed; the second person POV feature J-Agrees with the plural subject yielding the second person plural subject as in (50)b.⁵² Also, note that an agent of agreeing on an uttered action is always first person inclusive no matter which POV J-Agrees with the subject. This is because a point-of-viewer is not subject to subset probing.



⁵¹ Korean does not differentiate a first person exclusive pronoun from an inclusive one morphologically. The only exclusive pronoun is the singular *na* 'I'.

⁵² Although I omit the number feature specification in Jussive and SpecJP, they inherit the plural person feature from Jussive.

On the contrary, honorificity is consistently specified as [-honorific] in Jussives with *-ma*, *-la*, and *-ca* particle. The jussive particles cannot be used when a hearer is superior to a speaker, and in that case, the discourse particle *-yo* is employed, which conveys a speaker and hearer's relation: a hearer is equal to or superior to a speaker. In addition, the honorific second person pronoun *tangsin* 'you.hon' cannot co-occur with the jussive markers.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| (51)a. Ney-ka/*Tangsin-i | cip-ey | ka- la . |
| you-nom/you.hon-nom | home-to | go-imp |
| 'Go home.' | | |
| b. Tangsin-i/*Ney-ka | cip-ey | ka- yo . |
| you.hon-nom/you-nom | home-to | go-sp.polite |
| 'Go home.' | | |

In (51)a, the imperative particle *-la* does not match the honorific pronoun *tangsin*, whereas, in (51)b, the polite sentential particle *-yo* can only co-occur with *tangsin*. This indicates that *-ma/la/ca* can be inserted into the Jussive head specified in [-honorific], but *-yo* is employed when the Jussive head is [+honorific].⁵³ Refer to Choi (2016b) for a detailed explanation on *-yo* and the relation with jussives.⁵⁴ The honorificity specification will be completely omitted throughout the thesis since it is beyond its scope.

⁵³ The Dutch C is not specified in politeness, at all. According to Bennis (2007), an unpronounced subject (*pro*) is not allowed in Dutch when a verb is inflected for [second person], [polite]. Bennis explains that *pro* and C are unspecified in politeness, they cannot Agree with and eliminate the uninterpretable polite feature on a verb. Thus, the subject has to be overt and specified in second person and polite when the verb is inflected for [second person], [polite].

⁵⁴ As pointed out by Choi (2016b), the position of *-yo* is higher than the Jussive head since, in the acquisition process, kids often use the combination of the jussive marker and the discourse particle such as *-ca-yo*. Adult speakers do not allow it. Choi places *-yo* on the Speech Act head, outside ForceP, which is the locus of the jussive particle in his analysis.

Also, a subject of non-typical exhortatives is predicted to be unpronounced since it is licensed by obligatory Agree. Although a covert subject is not common in this construction, it is possible in principle since it is derived by a syntactic operation, just like typical jussives. This is borne out in (52).

- (52)a. (Mina-ya,) yak kkok mek-ca.
 M.-voc medicine surely eat-exh
 ‘Mina, take (your) medicine no matter what.’ (Seo and Hoe 2015: 7)
- b. Kyeylan-ina kwup-ca.
 egg-dim fry-exh
 Lit. ‘Let’s fry an egg.’ (without any hearer) (Seo and Hoe 2015: 29)

In (52)a, a doctor gives directions to *Mina* with the non-typical exhortative sentence. In this situation, the doctor cannot be read as an actor regardless of the presence of the second person subject. Thus, the unpronounced element (*pro*) in this construction is licensed by Agree as pro-drop in Romance languages. Although Korean is classified as a Topic-drop language, which is discourse-oriented (Huang 1984), pro-drop by Agree is available in the C-domain, which displays rich morphologies.

This appears to be similar to a so-called nurse-*we* construction⁵⁵. Thus, some might argue that the non-typical exhortative reading is not derived by subset probing, but by an extended meaning of a first person plural pronoun. It is true that *wuli* ‘we’ can be inserted in (52)a, but it is not a true subject, because the nominative marker *-ka* cannot be attached to *wuli*⁵⁶ as in (53)a. In contrast, the second person pronoun can be inserted with the nominative marker as in (53)b, although it requires some focus expressed with an accent

⁵⁵ Collins (2014: 3) mentions that a person feature of nurse-*we* construction seems to have an inherent person feature.

⁵⁶ I will discuss such Case-less *wuli* as a discourse argument in Section 3.5.

on the subject.⁵⁷ Thus, the genuine unpronounced subject is the second person, which is derived by subset probing.

- (53)a. (Mina-ya,) *wuli(*-ka)* yak kkok mek-ca.
 M.-voc we-nom medicine surely eat-exh
 ‘Mina, take (your) medicine no matter what.’
- b. (Mina-ya,) *ney(-ka)* yak kkok mek-ca.
 M.-voc you-nom medicine surely eat-exh
 ‘Mina, take (your) medicine no matter what.’

Also, in (52)b, the speaker talks to himself or herself, and the subject is understood as the first person despite not being pronounced. A soliloquy might suppose an imaginary hearer who is in fact a speaker himself or herself; (52)b would be a typical jussive sentence, then. However, people can say a soliloquy even when a hearer is present. In this case, assuming a first person hearer is not easy. Moreover, a speaker intends a hearer to listen to his or her soliloquy in many instances. Accordingly, such analysis is hard to hold. In contrast, subset probing can account for soliloquy data as well, irrespective of whether a hearer is present or not. The first person subject is licensed under the exhortative marker due to the unfused feature composition of a Jussive head.

Some may still argue that (52) is a pragmatic use of exhortatives since they require rich context, but not all non-typical exhortatives do so. For instance, when two obligatory animate arguments are distributed to an agent and a theme/patient, non-typical exhortatives are easily understood even when given out of the blue, as shown in (54).

⁵⁷ This goes along the lines of Zanuttini et al.’s (2012: 1257) mention that an overt subject of jussives tends to require a contrastive meaning.

non-typical exhortative reading.⁶⁰ In fact, the latter, in particular the (ii) reading in (54), comes uppermost to our mind among alternatives, especially when it is uttered out of the blue. This is because there is no other context, which provides a hittee who is not a conversational participant.⁶¹ Thus, (54) shows that a non-typical exhortative reading can sometimes be a primary interpretation.⁶²

Meanwhile, note that the patients in (54)a and the agents in (54)b include an indefinite individual *someone*, and it may be read as including

⁶⁰ A second person non-typical exhortative subject is not always available. When a predicate requires symmetric arguments such as *po-* 'see' or *manna-* 'meet', non-typical exhortatives are understood to have a first person subject. For instance, (i) is interpreted as (a) or (b), but not (c). (c) is not filtered out by syntax, but by semantic interpretation. That is, that *I meet you* is equivalent to that *you meet me* in a truth-conditional aspect (cf. *tayli-* 'hit' in (54) which requires asymmetric arguments). However, due to (ii), a second person subject goes against our intuition.

- (i) Hakkyo kunch-e-yse manna-ca.
 school near-at meet-exh
 (a) 'Let's meet near (my/your/our) school.' [Typical Exh]
 (b) 'I'll meet you near (my/your/our) school.' [Non-typical Exh]
 (c) #'You'll meet me near (my/your/our) school.' [Non-typical Exh]
- (ii) Semantic Interpretation (Kim (1998: 69) along with Yang (1991))
 The speaker cannot empathize with someone else more than with himself.

⁶¹ There is another non-typical reading as written in (54)(a-iii). It is more minor than (54)(a-ii), and it is hard to bring to mind without any prior information. However, when the hearer is a pacifist, and refuses to hit someone, but (s)he is being forced to do so, the speaker can utter this sentence. The possible denotation set of the hittee includes the speaker.

⁶² The same goes for an antonym *mac-* 'being hit', and the detailed explanation is omitted. However, according to a predicate, preference for an agent's person feature may differ. The first person agent is preferable in the *hit* case, while the second person in the *being hit* case. Although subset probing does not distinguish markedness of person features, the preference on an agent seems to be based on world knowledge.

conversational participants in the non-typical readings given in (ii)-(iii). However, since subset probing does not distribute different features to different arguments, the first or second person patient in (54)a is not a result of J-Agree, but simple co-reference. To be specific, in (54)(a-ii), the subject is the speaker, and the object can be read as the hearer. However, the second person on the object is not inherited from the Jussive head. Only a conversational participant is salient in exhortatives without an additional context, so it is easy to be called out.

Nevertheless, as the first and second person POV features of the exhortative head are not fully realized as a jussive subject in non-typical exhortatives, it is true that they require rich context compared to typical jussives. This is predictable theory-internally. A subject of non-typical exhortatives does not follow the Subset Principle in (55) as to the Agreeing exhortative head, hence it is more marked than a typical jussive subject especially when an interpretation of a subject depends solely on the Jussive head due to lack of pronunciation of arguments. However, it still obeys the Subset Principle as regards to a person feature of non-typical exhortative subjects under the subset probing analysis. Only one of the first and second person features probes downward from Jussive, hence the first or second person (c)overt subject of the non-typical exhortatives is the most specific lexical element in line with Subset Principle.⁶³

(55) Subset Principle (Halle 1997 among many others):

A vocabulary item V is inserted into a functional morpheme M iff

(i) and (ii) hold:

(i) The morpho-syntactic features of V are a subset of the morpho-syntactic features of M.

(ii) V is the most specific vocabulary item that satisfies (i).

⁶³ Also, the non-typical exhortative head follows Subset Principle, too. This is because the exhortative *-ca* marker is inserted fully corresponding to the exhortative POV feature, independently of the non-typical exhortative subject.

On the contrary, typical exhortatives are automatically understood with or without an overt subject. This is because person features on a Jussive head are identical to person features of a subject in typical jussives, and it obeys the Subset Principle. The reading is totally dependent on the construction itself, so it is effortless.

Although subset probing appears to yield a loose relation between a Jussive head and a subject, it does not diminish obligatory Agree in Korean jussives. That is, indirect order is not permitted even in the exhortative construction as presented above. Some speakers judge it acceptable, but as stated in (24), a third person subject can (in fact, should) be embedded within a causative construction in matrix jussives, contra non-third person counterparts.

However, some third person subjects seem to be acceptable, as shown in (56), which has already been mentioned in Seo and Hoe (2015). The third person subject *wuli ay* 'our kid' is quite acceptable as a jussive subject. In Seo and Hoe (2015: 13), it was stated that it is possible only when an agent can be regarded as "a part of a group denoted by an exhortative head" and the third person subject represents the group. Namely, it is understood as an extended 'we'⁶⁴. For example, in ungrammatical (57), *my rival* and *I* or *my rival* and *you* do not constitute a first or a second person group, and so they cannot participate in a common activity: *taking second place*. In this case, it is totally unacceptable as a directive jussive, which updates a conversational participant's To-do list. It is clearer in (58) that the given activity *bearing daughter* is impossible to be shared.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ A representative of a second person's group can be a subject of exhortatives, i.e. *nehuy ay* 'your.pl kid' can substitute for *wuli ay* in (56) under the situation that a mom tells [her friend] that it is her son's turn for the slide. This is an extended 'you.pl' case.

⁶⁵ As Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) pointed out, the contrast between (56) and (57) may be evidence that contextual information is somehow essential in deriving a non-typical exhortative reading.

(56)[Situation: A mom tells other kids that it is her son's turn to use a slide in the playground.] ((56)-(58), Seo and Hoe 2015: 13, adapted)

Ipeney-nun [wuli ay]-ka tha-ca.
 this.time-top our kid-nom slide-exh

Int. 'Let's *our kid* go down the slide this time.'

(57)*Ipeney-nun [nay/ney laipel]-i 2tung ha-ca.⁶⁶
 this.time-top my/your rival-nom second.place do-exh

Int. 'Let's *my/your rival* take second place.'

(58)*Ipeney-nun [wuli/nehuy emma]-to ttal-ul nah-ca.
 this.time-top our/your mom-also daughter-acc bear-exh

Int. 'Let's *my/your mom* bear a daughter.'

Thus, *wuli ay* 'our kid' in (56) is acceptable since it is re-interpreted as a group with a speaker. I attribute this to feature composition of first person plural (especially the exclusive one), [1+ α]. That is, the relevant case is when a third person entity α comes to the fore and a first person individual determining an entire person feature is covert. The structure is roughly depicted in (59) which contains a covert coordinate construction.⁶⁷ Non-third

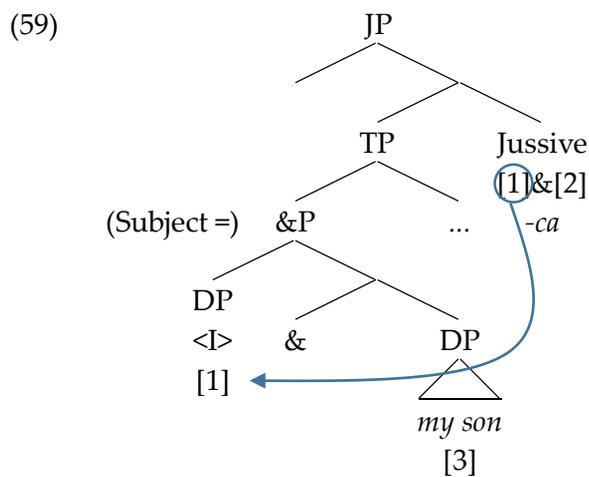
⁶⁶ In (57), although *your rival* appears to be marginally acceptable compared to *my rival*, no one's To-do list is updating in either case. Thus, they are not true exhortatives, but optatives. In addition, when the sentence with *my rival* is uttered with a tone of saying a New Year's resolution, it becomes quite acceptable since it is read as optatives again. This becomes clear when the sentence contains *-keyss-*, which is a speaker-oriented suffix marking a speaker's volition in place of a Jussive marker as below:

(i) * [Nay laipel]-i 2tung ha-keyss-e.
 my rival-nom second.place do-KEYSS-sp
 Int. 'I am willing for my rival to take second place.'

(i) is fine when *-keyss-* has an epistemic reading which is presumptive, but it is totally ungrammatical under the intended meaning because of the first person orientation in the volitional reading. This is indirect evidence that the marginal acceptability of (57) does not result from a jussive meaning.

⁶⁷ A bracket in <I> signifies an unpronounced lexical entry.

person is more marked than a third person, hence the former determines a person feature of an extended noun phrase which embeds them. However, a third person can be a foreground in our mind given a context. Here, a jussive structure provides a context where a &P can be read as a first person. That is, since a person feature of a subject (&P) comes from the external head (Jussive) in jussives; the third person part of the subject can be pronounced alone with an entire first person reading. The same will go for a second person case: *nehuy ay* 'your.pl kid' with feature composition of [2+ α].



3.4.2. Total probing cases

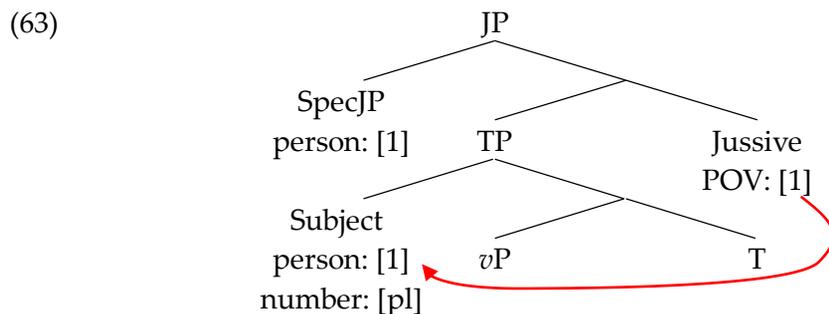
3.4.2.1. Typical jussives by total probing

Typical jussives are straightforwardly explained as a case of total probing following Zanuttini et al. (2012).

A subject of typical jussives completely accords with its construction. This is because all the POV features participate in probing without exception. That is, in (60)a, the second person POV feature probes down, and the subject is valued as a second person, as depicted in (61)a. SpecJP is also valued as the second person under the predication relation with a Jussive head. The

with SpecTP, and the subject with an inherent plural feature is read as the first person plural. Korean does not distinguish first person plural exclusive from inclusive in a morphological manner, but a first person plural subject in the promissive (62) is always understood exclusively since the feature specification of a promissive head excludes the second person, as had given in (38). Thus, {[1], [pl]} is pronounced as *wuli* ‘we’ in Korean, but it is structurally determined as a first person exclusive. This can be directly extended to the second person plural case, and I will skip a detailed discussion on it.

- (62) *Wuli-ka cemsim-ul sa-ma.*
 we-nom lunch-acc buy-prm
 Int. ‘(I) promise for us to buy lunch.’



3.4.2.2. Indirect order by no probing

In Korean, a speaker cannot give orders to a third party through a hearer using jussive constructions. Zanuttini et al. (2012) ascribe its failure to a property of T in Korean, and Seo and Hoe (2015) take their analysis as it is.

A third person subject (both morphologically and semantically) cannot be a subject in jussives. The data is presented above, and repeated here. When a subject is third person in imperatives, the sentence is read as an indirect order in languages like Italian and English. However, in (64), any jussive marker cannot license a third person subject even though it is

supposed to be read as indirect order in Korean. Zanuttini et al. (2012) explain that this is because T does not have a person feature in Korean, unlike Italian, as in (65), and this study follows their argument.

(64) Indirect order in Korean: (Seo and Hoe 2015: 22, adapted)

[Scenario: Mina is a class leader and her homeroom teacher transmits instructions to another student, Hoya, through Mina.]

Teacher: *Mina-ya, (ipeney) Hoya-ka aph-ey ≐ (22)

M.-voc this.time H.-nom front-in

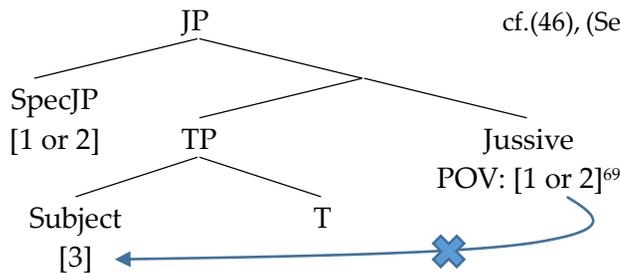
{ancu-ma/anca-la/anc-ca}.

sit-prm/sit-imp/sit-exh

Lit. 'Mina, (I promise/See to it that/Let's)

Hoya sit in the front row.'⁶⁸

(65) cf.(46), (Seo and Hoe 2015: 15)



Accordingly, in Korean, there is no intervenor blocking J-Agree between the Jussive head and a jussive subject due to the defective property of T. Under an intended indirect order reading, a subject has a third person. However, T in Korean does not bear an inherent person feature, and the Jussive head can probe down, passing by T, binding the jussive subject. Then the inherent third person of the jussive subject and the first or second person

⁶⁸ Indirect order gives an order to a third person through a hearer. Thus, this reading is impossible when a speaker is included in a messenger as in promissive or exhortative cases in principle since it is not indirect anymore. However, I tested availability of indirect order in Korean using every jussive marker.

⁶⁹ Here, POV is described as [1 or 2] to embrace all the sub-types of jussive as a matter of convenience.

on the Jussive head conflict with each other, and it yields ungrammaticality, as in (64)-(65).

Nevertheless, this thesis will show that a third person subject is allowed in some matrix jussive contexts in Korean, too, unlike Zanuttini et al. (2012) and Seo and Hoe (2015). The third person subject cannot be interpreted as indirect order without an overt (or at least, salient) causative construction under the imperative marker, but it can have another extended meaning, an optative meaning. This will be discussed at length in Section 3.6.1.

3.5. POV as a discourse argument

In non-typical exhortatives, it is less preferable to hypothesize a partially realized noun phrase in SpecJP since it is difficult to assume a subset relation under the predication relation between the Jussive head and its specifier. Thus, I posit the independent status of SpecJP separated from the jussive subject in SpecTP in this subsection.

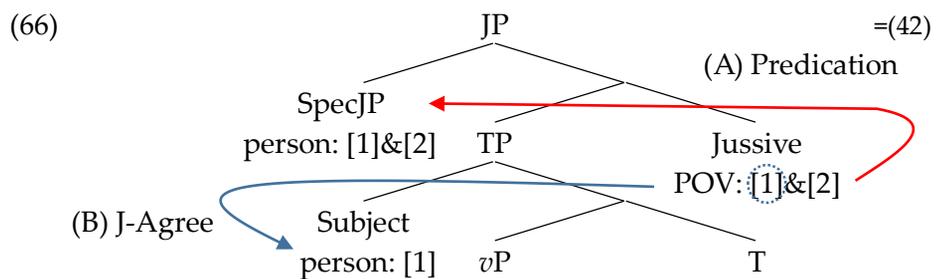
Following Kratzer (2009), there are three types of feature sharing operations: (i) Predication, (ii) Feature Transmission under Binding, and (iii) Agree. They are distinguished from each other by types of a binder and syntactic position. A head and its specifier establish a Predication relation, which is the most local relationship. A binder and a bindee in the other two do not need to be as close as in Predication, though they do require a locality condition. Also the first two (i-ii) host a lambda operator on a binder, while the last (iii) does not.

Kratzer (2009) treats the three operations in the same manner in that all of them achieve feature *unification* of a binder and a bindee. However, a bindee can get the same kinds of feature from different binders simultaneously, such as in Partial Control cases. This is impossible for the Predication relation in which a bindee is immediately dominated by a

binder's maximal projection. Thus, I assume that Predication is a strict case of feature unification, while the other two are not necessarily so.

Coupling this assumption with non-typical exhortatives, I argue that it is not that SpecJP is occupied by a jussive subject. Instead, a point-of-viewer on the Jussive head is realized there, which is always identical with a Jussive head, but can be different from a jussive subject. This argument applies aptly to all the sub-types of jussives: typical-, non-typical-, and indirect order. Specifically, typical jussives are the instance that SpecJP and a jussive subject are identical unlike non-typical exhortative and indirect order. In contrast, non-typical ones exhibit a subset relation, and indirect order has a completely different element on SpecTP than SpecJP.

If we adopt Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) T-Jussive complex head as it is, it would not capture the differences and similarities between typical- and non-typical exhortatives. In (66), (A) indicates Predication, and (B) J-Agree.⁷⁰ SpecJP is directly dominated by a maximal projection of the Jussive head, which bears an inherent person feature, whereas a jussive subject is under the C-command domain. Thus, the former has to be identical to a binder, but the latter can get a part of a binder's features.



Independent status of SpecJP is proven by a pragmatic element. An overt pronoun, which denotes the same person feature with a Jussive head,

⁷⁰ As has already been mentioned, (B) does not fit into Kratzer's (2009) Feature Transmission under Binding or Agree. However, I call it J-Agree to distinguish Predication.

can be pronounced in addition to an agent of an ordered action as in (67).

- (67) a. **Na** (icey), *nay-ka* *wuncenha-ma*.
I now I-nom drive-prm
Int. 'I promise to drive (a car) now (in my point of view).'
- b. **Ne** (icey), *ney-ka* *wuncenhay-la*.
you now you-nom drive-imp
Int. 'Drive (a car) now (in your point of view).'
- c. **Wuli** (icey), *wuli-ka* *wuncenha-ca*.
we now we-nom drive-exh
Int. 'Let's you and me drive (a car) now (in our point of view).'

This expression is often employed when a speaker hesitates to give an order or tries to call a hearer's attention, hence it accompanies a contour tone on its last syllable, which is a typical tone of hesitation or begging. Semantically, it indicates that the command is relevant to a conversational participant. Thus, it is a kind of topic element, but different from other topics in that it is reliant on a Jussive head. In this regard, it can be regarded as a *discourse argument* here.

SpecJP is proven to have the same denotation with what the construction refers to, as shown in the contrast between (67) and (68): in (67), it has to be the first person under the promissive marker, the second person under the imperative marker, and the first person inclusive under the exhortative marker. When the first person *na* 'I' occurs in imperatives as in (68)b, the sentence becomes ungrammatical contra (67)b. If it were an ordinary topic, this would be acceptable, contrary to fact: we can think of a situation where the speaker begins to speak with *na* 'I', since the following command is related to the speaker as well. This is conceivable enough, but the grammaticality is not salvaged, at all.

- (68) a. ?**Ne** (icey), *nay-ka* wuncenha-*ma*.
 you now I-nom drive-prm
 Int. ‘I promise to drive (a car) now (in your point of view).’
- b. ***Na** (icey), *ney-ka* wuncenhay-*la*.
 I now you-nom drive-imp
 Int. ‘You drive (a car) now (in my point of view).’
- c. ***Na** (icey), *wuli-ka* wuncenha-*ca*.
 I now we-nom drive-exh
 Int. ‘Let’s you and me drive (a car) now (in my point of view).’

The same goes for (68)c. When an exhortative sentence has *na* ‘I’ as its discourse argument, the sentence is ungrammatical contrary to *wuli* ‘we’ in (67)c.⁷¹ Meanwhile, when *ne* ‘you’ is used with a promissive marker in (68)a, the sentence seems to be quite acceptable compared to (68)(a-b). However, this is affected by a vocative reading, which does not express the hearer’s relevance to the order.⁷²

In contrast, when the pronoun is accompanied by a predicate in which an interjection *issci/isscanha* ‘be’ is used, the grammaticality of (68) improves as in (69), where the relevance between the preceding phrase and the following utterance is expressed. This implies that the strict anchoring of a first or second person pronoun to its construction in (67) results from the structural position which they are merged into since they are not just an

⁷¹ (68)c indicates that the discourse arguments Agree with the number feature of the jussive subject, [plural] here. As previously mentioned in (49), a number feature is not specified on Jussive, and it is inherited from a jussive subject (DP) via J-Agree. In turn, Jussive passes down to the inherited number feature to SpecJP under Predication, which requires a full identity of features. The discourse arguments may be associated with the higher Speech Act Phrase in that they are a participants-oriented topical element as Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) commented. However, I put them in the lower CP position (SpecJP) due the the given number match.

⁷² It is the same for the case of a second person pronoun in exhortatives, so I will omit the relevant data.

ordinary topic.

- (69) a. *Ne-issci/isscanha* (icey), *nay-ka* *wuncenha-ma*.
you-be now I-nom drive-prm
Int. 'I promise to drive (a car) now (in your point of view).'
- b. ?*Na-issci/isscanha* (icey), *ney-ka* *wuncenhay-la*.
I-be now you-nom drive-imp
Int. 'You drive (a car) now (in my point of view).'
- c. ?*Na-issci/isscanha* (icey), *wuli-ka* *wuncenha-ca*.
I-be now we-nom drive-exh
Int. 'Let's you and me drive (a car) now (in my point of view).'

Note that SpecJP is not a vocative. First, it cannot co-occur with the vocative particle *-ya*, which can follow a vocative expression marking the function overtly. This is given in (70).

- (70) a. **Na-ya* (icey), *nay-ka* *wuncenha-ma*.
I-voc now I-nom drive-prm
Int. '**I!** I promise to drive (a car) now.'
- b. **Ne-ya* (icey), *ney-ka* *wuncenhay-la*.
you-voc now you-nom drive-imp
Int. '**You!** Drive (a car) now.'
- c. **Wuli-ya* (icey), *wuli-ka* *wuncenha-ca*.
we-voc now we-nom drive-exh
Int. '**We!** Let's you and me drive (a car) now.'

One might argue that the particle does not occur with a pronoun even in the vocative case⁷³. However, SpecJP is different from vocatives in other respects.

⁷³ (70)b is grammatical when the vocative particle *-ya* is deleted, and only the second person pronoun *ne* 'you' has a high flat tone as a vocative phrase. Thus, the incompatibility of the discourse argument and the vocative particle is not strong evidence that the former is not a vocative phrase.

Vocatives are fundamentally addressing a hearer to attract their attention, so that it is inherently second person. However, SpecJP is not limited to a hearer, but to conversational participants: a hearer and a speaker. Also, vocatives do not have any restriction with reference to construction, and it can appear in any type of clause.

In addition, SpecJP is not an ordinary topic, either. It can only be related to a Jussive head; it has to be identical to the given Jussive head, as shown in (67)-(69). For that reason, it is considered as a discourse argument, which is related to a higher-level. An ordinary topic, on the contrary, can target various linguistic elements such as an object or a locative phrase, which is related to low-level thematic elements. In this line of reasoning, we can expect that SpecJP is not compatible with a Case marker, since it is not base-generated within TP. This prediction is borne out, as in (71).⁷⁴

- (71) Mina-ya [JP **wuli**(*-ka/lul), [FP wuli-nun [TP {nay/ney/wuli}-ka
M.voc we(*-nom/acc) we-top I/you/we-nom
wuncenha]]-ca].
drive-exh
Int. 'Mina, (in) our (case, in contrast to others), let's {I/you/we} drive
in *our* point of view.'

A discourse argument cannot appear with a Case particle, either nominative or accusative. This shows that the SpecJP is not a simple duplication of a thematic argument, especially a jussive subject. Plus, (71) shows a full configuration of topic(-like) elements: [Vocative] – [SpecJP] – [Contrastive Topic] – [subject]. Here, unless the Case particles follow SpecJP, the sentence is totally grammatical.

However, it is unclear whether a topic marker *-nun* can be attached to

⁷⁴ That a discourse argument cannot accompany the nominative marker has briefly been mentioned in (53).

SpecJP. When *-nun* follows a SpecJP candidate, it is strongly interpreted as a contrastive topic. It is difficult to detach the discourse argument reading from the contrastive reading since the former can be reargued as a special type of topic. Accordingly, we cannot say that SpecJP does not allow *-nun* attachment, at all. Nonetheless, other discourse-level elements do not allow attachment of *-nun*, such as vocatives, adverbs introducing discourse like *ceki* ‘there’, and so on. It is clear that SpecJP strongly prefers being alone.

Another property of SpecJP, which is important in this study, is that subset probing is not allowed due to the Predication relation with the Jussive head. (68)c has already shown that the first person pronoun is inappropriate in exhortative constructions. Also, as additionally given in (72), the second person pronoun cannot be intended as a second person point-of-view under the exhortative marker.

- (72) *Mina-ya **ne** wuli-ka wuncenha-ca.
 M.-voc you we-nom drive-exh
 Int. ‘Mina, in *your point-of-view*, let’s *we* drive a car.’

In (72), when the case-less *ne* ‘you’ has a contouring tone for a discourse argument, instead of a high flat tone for a vocative phrase, the sentence is unacceptable. This contrasts with the grammatical (67)c with the first and second person discourse argument under the exhortative marker. This supports the idea that such a discourse argument is located in SpecJP, which is not subject to subset probing due to the Predication relation.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ In contrast, the case-less *ne* ‘you’ is acceptable under the exhortative marker in (72) only when the subject is second person. The case-less *ne* in this environment seems to be a simple repetition of the subject, and the genuine discourse argument *wuli* ‘we’ in SpecJP is unpronounced in this case.

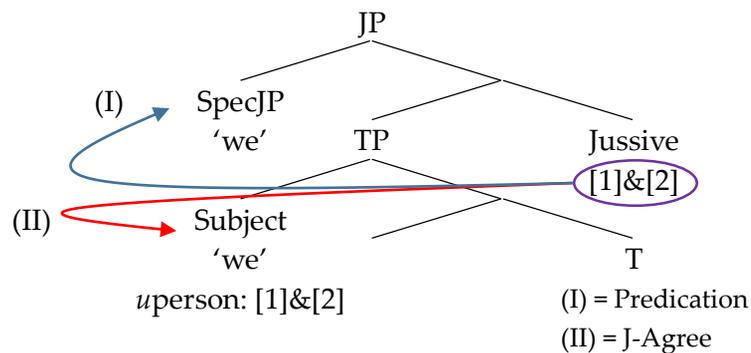
- (i) Mina-ya **ne** ney-ka wuncenha-ca.
 M.-voc you you-nom drive-exh
 ‘Mina, let’s *you* drive a car.’

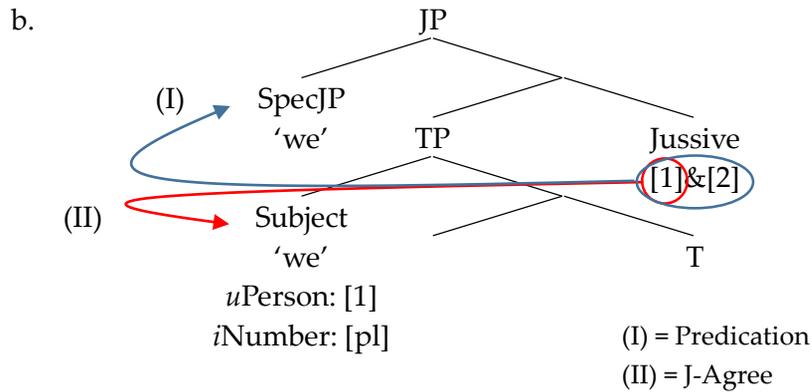
Thus, when SpecJP is a first person plural in exhortatives, it is always read inclusively. Korean does not distinguish a first person exclusive pronoun from a first person inclusive one in morphology. However, it can be structurally disambiguated, and the SpecJP is a good example of it. In (73), the first *wuli* (SpecJP) is always understood as a first and second person, whereas the second *wuli* which contains a nominative Case marker (a jussive subject) may or may not include the hearer in its denotation.

- (73) Mina-ya, [JP **wuli** [TP *wuli*-ka ney cemsim-ul sa]-ca].
 M.-voc we.incl we-nom your lunch-acc buy-exh
 Int. 'Mina, let's we (including or excluding you) buy your lunch in our (including you) point of view.'

This is because the Jussive head bears the inherent first and second person feature unlike the T head which is defective and bound by the Jussive head. Unlike the predication relation, the T head and a jussive subject are subject to subset probing. As a result, within exhortatives, SpecJP is always anchored to the first person inclusive but a jussive subject is ambiguous between the first person inclusive and exclusive. This is depicted in (74).

(74)a.





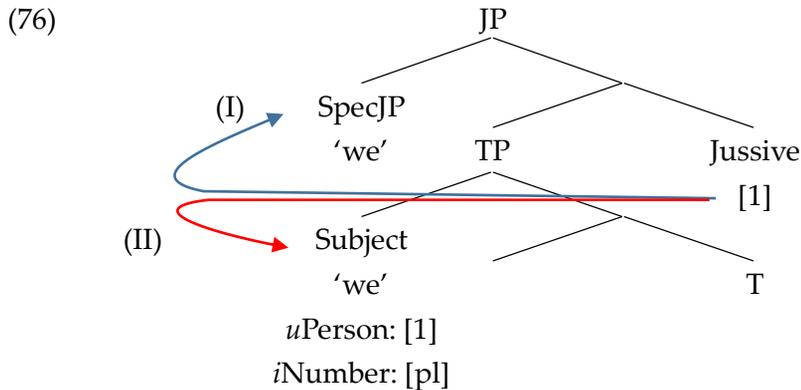
In (74)(a-b), (I) denotes the Predication relation between Jussive and SpecJP, and it requires the complete identicalness of the two. In contrast, (II) denotes the J-Agree between Jussive and a jussive subject: in (a), total probing occurs,⁷⁶ and the jussive subject inherits both the first and second person value from Jussive, and, in (b), subset probing operates, and the jussive subject inherits either first or second person value from the Jussive head. Since (73) has a first person plural subject, the person feature that the jussive subject inherits from Jussive is the first person in (74)b.

In contrast, when a promissive SpecJP is a first person plural, it is always read exclusively. As shown in (75), the point-of-viewer *wuli* 'we' cannot include the second person in its denotation. The same goes for the second *wuli* which is a jussive subject: it cannot be read as a first person inclusive at all, unlike the previous exhortative case. This is due to the fact that the Jussive head never contains the second person feature in promissives. This is illustrated in (76). Since the person feature on the Jussive head is homogeneous, SpecJP and a jussive subject cannot help bearing the same person feature despite the different binding relations.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Although J-agree is depicted with the single arrow, it is constituted in the two instances of J-agree by a first person and a second person, respectively.

⁷⁷ The number feature on SpecJP is not inherent, contra the person feature, and it comes from the jussive subject through the Jussive head.

- (75) Mina-ya, [JP **wuli** [TP wuli-ka cemsim-ul sa]-ma].
 M.-voc we.excl we.excl-nom lunch-acc buy-prm
 Int. 'Mina, I promise for *us* (excluding you) to buy (somebody's)
 lunch in *our* (excluding you) point of view.'



3.6. Extended usages: Optatives and conditionals

3.6.1. Optative usages of jussives

A third person subject is allowed in Korean jussives when it is understood as an extended meaning such as making a wish (optatives). An optative construction does not have its own sentential particle or syntactic operation for clausal typing in this language; instead, they borrow other constructions such as imperatives, declaratives⁷⁸, conditionals⁷⁹, and so on.⁸⁰ Meanwhile, a conditional use of jussives seems to allow a third person subject, but in fact,

⁷⁸ To express an optative meaning with declaratives, a psych predicate is usually used: *sip-* 'want', *coh-* 'like', and so on.

⁷⁹ Conditionals with perfect aspect are employed, such as *-ess-u-myen* 'past-U-if' for an optative meaning. *-U-* is a phonological linker.

⁸⁰ Thus, unlike jussives, the term 'optatives' does not refer to a sentence type, but a performative force. However, for convenience, I will call an optative reading *optatives* in this study.

it has to be categorized as a canonical jussive, which is regulated by J-Agree. An observation of extended usages enriches the discussion on jussives, and situates Korean jussives within a cross-linguistic pattern.

In the Aikhenvald's (2010: 397) extensive typological work on imperatives, she classifies the canonicity of jussive as in (77): the second person feature is canonical, while the first person exclusive one is non-canonical. The first person inclusive feature is "the most common non-canonical", and the third person feature is less common than the first person inclusive but more common than the first person exclusive.⁸¹ Thus, the availability of jussives in a language is predictable since it is transitive: i.e., when a language has a less common type of jussives, then it will have a more common type of jussive.

(77)Canonicity of jussive		(Aikhenvald 2010: 397)	
Non-canonical values		Canonical values	
1sg and/or 1 st exclusive	> 3 sg or pl	1 st inclusive; non-singular	> 2p (sg, pl, or non-singular)
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)

Korean appears to go against Aikhenvald's (2010) prediction in that it has the most non-canonical type, promissives, whereas it does not have the less non-canonical type, third-person command (indirect order). However, a third-person subject accompanying a jussive marker can form a licit

⁸¹ By contrast, van der Auwera et al. (2003: 56) defer their decision on the canonicity relation between exhortatives and indirect order. However, in their system, too, second person (singular) imperatives are most canonical, and the first person exclusive promissives are least canonical.

construction in Korean, as a matter of fact. This is substantiated in (78).⁸²

(78) Sokaythingnye(-ka) ceypal yeyppe-la! (Yugyeong Park p.c.)
blind.date.girl(-nom) please pretty-imp
Int. 'Please let my date be pretty!'

The subject is third person, and it does not give any order to a date through the hearer. Instead, it expresses the speaker's wish regardless of the hearer⁸³. In (78), neither the hearer nor the agent *sokaythingnye* 'date' can fulfill the speaker's desire. Accordingly, there is no agent whose To-do list is updated. The sentence is still grammatical when the exhortative marker *-ca* is substituted for the imperative marker *-la*.⁸⁴ Along these lines, Korean corresponds to Aikhenvald's (2010) prediction on the canonicity of jussives in a broad sense.

Such extended uses of jussives are common in other languages.

⁸² Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) pointed out that optatives do not go well with a first person in that when (78) has the promissive *-ma*, the sentence is completely ruled out, and when it has the exhortative *-ca*, the sentence is not as natural as (78). However, when the imperative *-la* in (79) is replaced with the exhortative *-ca*, the result is more acceptable than (78) with *-ca*. Thus, whether optatives resist a first person or not is required to be further investigated.

⁸³ It is possible that there is no hearer at an utterance place.

⁸⁴ The sentence is perfect when the nominative marker *-ka* is omitted. On the other hand, it is a little bit degraded when *-ka* follows the third person subject. I cannot explain why for now, and can give only speculation that the Case-less subject can be understood as a vocative phrase. That is, a speaker may utter the sentence as a typical jussive clause supposing that a hearer is present, so it is considered to be more natural than the Case marked one. However, since Korean native speakers judge the latter grammatical, too, I treat them indiscriminately.

Moreover, *sokaythingnye* can be followed by the vocative particle *-ya* as *sokaythingnye-ya*, as Prof. Seungho Nam (p.c.) pointed out. It is the case that the speaker utters (78) as if the date were present in the utterance place. This seems to correspond to the Dutch data in (114).

Aikhenvald (2010) points out that the meaning of non-canonical imperatives, namely, promissives and indirect order in this study, is somewhat extended: “first person commands slide into permissions and suggestions, and third person commands often express wishes rather than straightforward orders” (Aikhenvald 2010: 397). As mentioned before, optatives share similar semantics with true jussives in that both update a hearer’s To-do list as per an uttered order except that the former does not require a hearer to fulfill the order⁸⁵. This allows optatives to borrow the syntax of jussives’ or vice versa. Now I will discuss properties of optatives in Korean further.

As optatives allow a third person subject under a jussive marker in Korean, optatives do not show any interpretative restriction on a subject: any person can be a subject. The relevant data is given in (79).

(79)[Context: before being declared scores of a test]

Ceypal	{ney/nay/Hyeki}-ka	1tung	hay-la!
please	you/I/Hyeki-nom	first.place	do-imp
Int. ‘I wish you/I/Hyeki will get first place’			

Here, the second person *ne* ‘you’, the first person *na* ‘I’⁸⁶, and the third person *Hyeki*, all are appropriate subjects with the imperative marker. The second person subject can be easily read as an imperative, too, but consider a situation where a test has already been taken; there is nothing that a hearer

⁸⁵ This also has been mentioned in Zanuttini et al. (2012:1254) in footnote 30 by Patrick Grosz’s personal comment.

⁸⁶ Prof. Seungho Nam (p.c.) mentioned that the first person subject was not natural in (79), but this is not true. Some people might find that the first person optative subject is odd, especially when it is uttered simultaneously with a relevant activity. However, the first person subject is not restrained by grammar. As shown in (i), the first person subject is perfect under the intended optative reading.

(i) Ceypal nay-ka ppophye-la!
 please I-nom being.selected-imp
 Int. ‘I wish I will be selected.’

can do to get first prize except for manipulating the test result. Thus, a second person subject can have an optative reading with an imperative marker.

Plus, a subject is not required to be [+agentive] in optatives, as proven in (80). Directive jussives are supposed to update a non-third person's To-do list so that the person carries out an ordered activity. Accordingly, the subject is inherently [+agentive]. However, optatives do not set a specific person who actualizes a speaker's desire; instead, an entire proposition including a subject is asked to be realized.⁸⁷

(80)Cenhwapeyl-i wullye-la!
 telephone.ring-nom ring-imp
 Int. 'I wish (the) phone will ring.'

There are no restrictions on the types of a predicate in optatives unlike jussives.⁸⁸ The stative predicate, *being pretty* in (78), is allowed under the imperative particle, contra genuine jussives, and the same goes for inchoative *el-* 'freeze' and *nok-* 'melt', emotive *hayngpokha-* 'happy' and *cilwuha-* 'boring', etc. The relevant data is given with *cilwuha-* 'boring' as its predicate in (81). Even an auxiliary predicate *i-* 'be' can be used under an imperative marker, as in (82), and this is in sharp contrast to genuine imperatives.

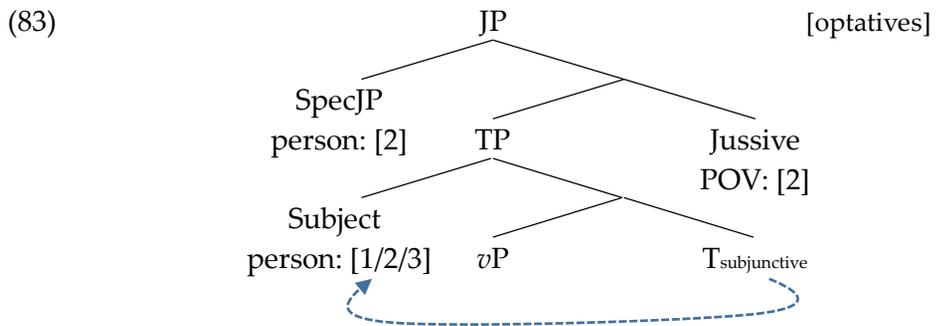
(81)Ceypal phathi-ka cilwuhay-la!
 please party-nom boring-imp
 Int. 'I wish (the) party will be boring.'

⁸⁷ According to Portner (2007), imperatives denote a property. Optatives seem to denote a proposition like declaratives in that a speaker expresses his/her attitude toward an entire proposition to be realized in possible worlds. It is distinguished from declaratives in that the proposition in optatives does not denote a fact. Refer to Grosz (2014) for optative semantics.

⁸⁸ Refer to Lee, Nam, and Kang (1998) on classification of predicates in Korean.

(82) Ceypal Hyeki-ka 1tung-i-e-la!
 please H.-nom first.place-cop-*e*⁸⁹-imp
 Int. 'I wish Hyeki will be the first.'

I argue that this is because optatives select a different T other than true jussives in Korean, namely, a subjunctive T (cf. Park 2010)⁹⁰. Coupling with J-Agree, this idea straightforwardly explains the lack of an interpretative restriction on an optative subject. The subjunctive T bears an independent person feature, so that it plays an intervenor of J-Agree between the Jussive head and an optative subject. This is depicted in (83).



The different TP property of optatives' is proven by their tense: compared to jussive, optatives allow a wider range of tense or aspect in their complement TP. Optatives are irrealis, like true jussives, and their event time

⁸⁹ *-e-* is a phonological linker as *-u-* in footnote 79.

⁹⁰ Park (2010) also argues that jussives with *-malla/ca* have a subjunctive mood. His idea is supported by the fact that jussives are embeddable and imperatives can have a desiderative meaning (i.e., optatives).

In the literature, several sub-types have been proposed on subjunctives: intensional and polarity distinctions in Quer (1998) and mandative, optative, and counterfactual distinctions in Portner (1992), etc. The sub-types have been known to behave differently with reference to negation, tense, and so forth. Thus, the subjunctive analysis on optatives in this thesis will require further investigation in a future study.

is usually affected by speech time⁹¹, but they can denote event time, which precedes speech time unlike true jussives. To be concrete, they can have the past tense marker *-ess* as in (84).⁹² A past tense in optatives is used when a desired event has already occurred, but the speaker does not know what really happened.

(84) Ceypal phathi-ka cilwuhay-ss-e-la!
 please party-nom boring-past-*e*-imp
 Int. 'I wish (the) party had been boring.'

Also, as has already been shown in (79)-(82), an optative T can have a subject with a full-fledged φ -feature. This means that a specifier of an optative TP is independent from the jussive construction. According to Landau (2004), a subjunctive T bears [+Agr], which specifies φ -features; Alboiu (2007) mentions that it is φ -complete, and Zanuttini et al. (2012) assume that it contains φ -features. Thus, that optatives and true jussives select different types of TP as their complement is persuasive, based on empirical data, and this accords with literature on the subjunctive, as well.

My argument appears to disagree with Anand and Hacquard (2013) who argue that Romance languages take subjunctive as a complement of directive or desiderative predicates. The same subjunctive TP is hypothesized for true jussives and optatives, there. However, their analysis is restricted to an embedded clause unlike in this study, where matrix

⁹¹ Refer to Reichenbach (1947) on the notion of speech time and event time.

⁹² *-ess* is ambiguous in that it functions as a tense marker and as an aspect marker. Thus, there are three parties by and large: (i) a tense marker approach, in which an aspectual meaning is derived from a tense marker; (ii) an aspect marker approach, in which a tense meaning is derived from an aspect marker; and (iii) a homonym approach in which there are two different *-ess* markers. In this dissertation, I take no positions on the exact properties and terms with regards to *-ess*, and refer to it as tense marker just for convenience, as of now. Refer to Yang (2008), Yeom (2010a, b), and their references for details on *-ess*.

jussives are the main concern. I believe the proposal that a desiderative Jussive head for optatives selects a subjunctive T, unlike a directive Jussive head for true jussives, at least in matrix clauses in Korean, does not go against their proposal.⁹³

In line with Anand and Hacquard (2013), an epistemic modal is not allowed in Korean optatives. Anand and Hacquard show that directives and desideratives, which take subjunctive as their complement, cannot embed epistemics. The semi-modal *have to* is tested, since an auxiliary such as *must*, being considered to be a modal, is not allowed in the complement of *wish*. This is given in (85). The Korean modal expression *-ya ha-* ‘must’ is ambiguous between an epistemic and a deontic reading.⁹⁴ However, optative contexts disambiguate its meaning: it can be read as a deontic meaning only. Note that (86) is totally ungrammatical regardless of the meaning of *-ya ha-* ‘must’ when it is intended to be read as imperatives. It is certain that T of directive jussives is extremely limited compared to optatives, and it cannot contain a modal expression, such as deontic or epistemic, or a temporal expression⁹⁵.

(85) John wishes that Paul had to be innocent. *epistemic
(Anand and Hacquard 2013: 3)

⁹³ According to Zanuttini et al. (2012: 1245), T under a directive Jussive carries a future-oriented tense feature and lacks all or some φ -features. This is a special type of T distinguished from indicative and subjunctive, but they do not exactly define what type of T is. They only assume that T bears a Case feature. I follow their assumption on T for directive jussives, and its exact property is put aside for future study.

⁹⁴ I will leave open the question of whether *-ya ha-* in Korean can be treated the same as *have to* in English.

⁹⁵ Thus, some might assume that jussives lack TPs as Zanuttini (1996) argues for Italian, Modern Greek, and Spanish, and only an extended verbal projection AspP can be posited under a mood selecting CP-layer. As mentioned in footnote 93, I will postpone the decision at present.

(86) Ceypal Hyeki-ka ppalli ka-ya hay-la.
 please H.-nom early go-YA do-imp
 Int. 'I wish Hyeki had to leave early.'

One might argue that jussives do not allow a past tense marker due to semantic clash⁹⁶, but in fact it is not related to this. Of course, we cannot issue orders about an event that has already taken place. However, imagine such situation that a speaker's order is to accomplish carrying out an action by a reference time. This is related to a perfect meaning, but *-ess* still cannot be utilized, although there is no semantic mismatch.

(87)* Chwusek-kkaci nonmwun choko-lul ta sse-ss-e-la.
Chwusek-by thesis draft-acc all write-past-*e*-imp
 Int. '(I wish she) had finish a draft of (her) thesis by Korean
 Thanksgiving Day.'

In (87), the past marker *-ess* is intended to have a perfective reading, but the sentence is completely ungrammatical when it is used as an order to a specific hearer unless *-ess* is omitted. Thus, the directive jussives can bear a perfective sense, but it is not overtly marked in a matrix clause in a syntactic

⁹⁶ Jussives can have a progressive aspect as shown below:

(i) Pap mek-ko iss-e-la!
 rice eat-ko be-*e*-imp
 Lit. 'Be eating a meal!'

Thus, it is not true that jussives do not allow any aspectual or tense marker at all. Instead, it is highly restricted in jussives compared to other clausal types due to the defective properties of T.

manner, unlike optatives.⁹⁷ On the other hand, (87) is perfect with an optative reading, especially when the unpronounced subject is intended to be a third person. The contrast between jussives and optatives results from the different properties of Ts as given in (83).

Furthermore, due to the different properties of T-complements, optatives can employ a different form of negations from true jussives. Korean allows a negative jussive unlike many Indo-European languages⁹⁸, and there are two kinds of negation in Korean: *an(h)* and *mal*. *Mal* is used in deontic environments such as imperatives, exhortatives, declaratives, and so forth, whereas *an(h)*⁹⁹ is used elsewhere. The relevant data are given below:

⁹⁷ Prof. Seungho Nam (p.c.) mentioned that when the subject in (87) was changed into the second person pronominal, the sentence would be grammatical with an imperative sense. I do not agree with this intuition, however. For the imperative reading to be acceptable, the perfective sense has to be expressed with an auxiliary predicate such as *noh-* ‘put’:

- (i) Chwusek-kkaci nonmwun choko-lul ta sse noh-a-la.
 Chwusek-by thesis draft-acc all write put-*a*-imp
 ‘Finish your thesis by Korean Thanksgiving Day.’

Of course, the perfective aspect has already been expressed by the adverb *ta* ‘all.’

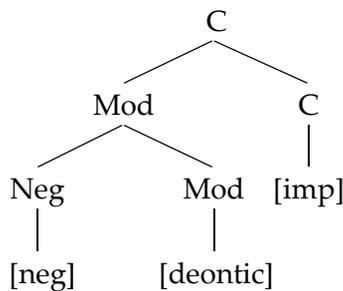
⁹⁸ The lack of negative imperatives in those languages has received various explanations. Zanuttini (1996) proposes a structural analysis as NegP requires TP, which is lacking in imperatives. Rivero and Terzi (1995), Bošković (2004), and Zeijlstra (2006) attempt a movement approach: a negative element obstructs movement of a verb to C.

⁹⁹ There are two types of negative constructions in Korean: a short form negation (88)a and a long form negation (88)b. They exhibit semantic and syntactic differences, but these are not the main concern of this study. Short form negation has been analyzed as an adverb which is adjoined in VP (Park 1994; Sohn 1995; Han and Lee 2002, 2007), while long form negation a head of NegP (Sohn 1995; Han and Lee 2002, 2007).

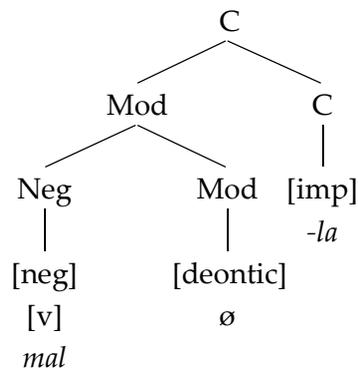
- (88)a. Chayk-ul an sa-ss-ta. (88)-(89) from Lee & Park
 book-acc neg buy-past-decl (2015: 476, adapted)
 'I did not buy a/the book.'
- b. Chayk-ul sa-ci anh-ass-ta.
 book-acc buy-*ci* neg-past-decl
 'I did not buy a/the book.'
- (89)a. *Chayk-ul an sa-la.
 book-acc neg buy-imp
 'Don't buy a/the book!'
- b. *Chayk-ul sa-ci anh-a-la.
 book-acc buy-*ci* neg-*a*-imp
 'Don't buy a/the book!'
- c. Chayk-ul sa-ci mal-la.
 book-acc buy-*ci* neg-imp
 'Don't buy a/the book!'

To explain this special type of negation in jussives, among others, Han and Lee (2007) propose ModP where a deontic modality is specified separately from C where a clausal type (force) is specified, and Neg is a head of NegP taking *v*P as its complement. Here, the insertion of negation is determined by morphological operations (*do* support and fusion) as in (90)b.

(90)a. *Output of syntax*



b. *Morphological operation*



(Han & Lee 2007: 385-386, adapted)

Lee and Park (2015) agree in their idea that a deontic modality plays a crucial

role determining a type of negation, but they exploit a Jussive head and suggest a [+deontic] feature on it. These studies can successfully explain a selectional restriction of negative imperatives, but cannot be extended to the optative case directly. According to Chung and Timberlake (1985: 247), optatives also have a deontic sense. Coupling this intuition with the deontic feature analysis on the *mal* negation, it is predicted that optatives only allow the *mal* negation, just like true imperatives. However, this prediction is not borne out.

In particular, when imperatives have an optative reading, both *mal* and *an(h)* are allowed, as shown in (91). This contrasts sharply with true imperatives, where only *mal* is available, but this has gone unnoticed so far.

(91)[Context: when a speaker wants to be alone in her room]

- a. Lwummey-ka onul tuleoci *mal*-(l)a.
 roommate-nom today come.into neg-imp
 Int. 'I wish my roommate will not come home today.'
- b. Lwummey-ka onul *an* tulewa-la.
 roommate-nom today neg come.into-imp
 Int. 'I wish my roommate will not come home today.'

(91)(a) uses the deontic negation *mal* to express a speaker's wish that a roommate's coming back will not happen, and (91)(b) uses *an* for it. They are completely interchangeable, since there are no semantic differences which can be detected: in both cases the speaker thinks that it is desirable for her roommate not to come home. Taking Han and Lee (2007) and Lee and Park (2015) as they are, (91)(a) should have a deontic meaning, while (91)b should not. However, this difference is not noticeable. Thus, at the very least, negative optatives cannot be explained solely by a deontic modality or

feature, and it is persuasive that the two types of Ts are assumed.¹⁰⁰

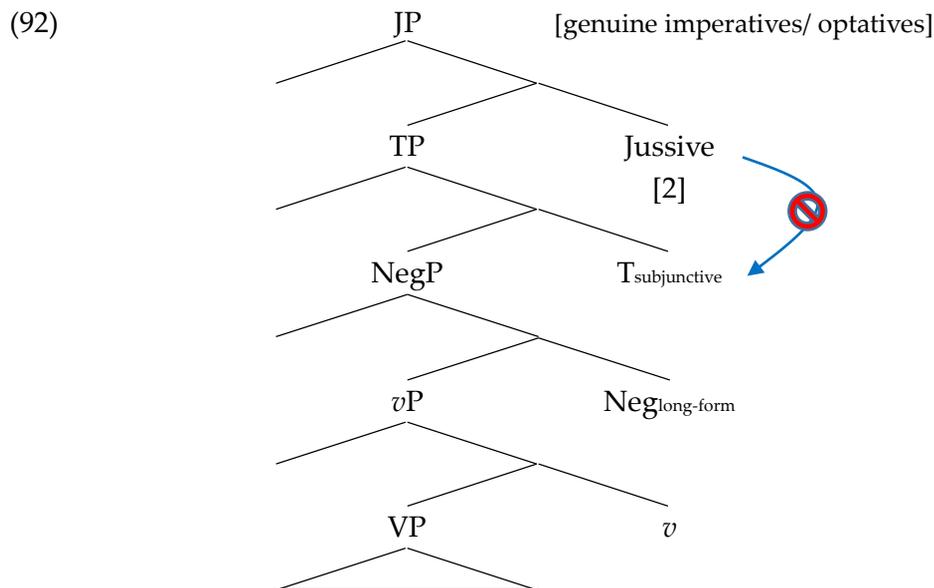
Although I do not follow Han and Lee (2007) as it is, I agree with their basic idea that a deontic meaning influences a choice of negations, since it is available only under (extended) jussive constructions. However, I provisionally argue that the linear adjacency of a Neg and Jussive head affects the negation selection based on optative data. Under the subjunctive analysis, the Neg head does not enter into a relation with Jussive due to the blocking of T, which it is φ -complete. Thus, the non-deontic negation *an* or *anh* can be inserted when a proposition is negated, just like non-jussive clauses. Nonetheless, when the subjunctive T is morphophonologically null, the Neg and Jussive are linearly adjacent, so *mal* can be employed. As mentioned in footnote 100, the long form negation *ahn* can be inserted when the Tense head is pronounced with the past tense as *-e/ass-*. In this environment, my informants disallow the *mal* negation. This shows that the linear adjacency affects the choice of negation in (extended) jussive

¹⁰⁰ When the short form negation *an* in (91)b is substituted with the long form negation *anh*, the sentence is less acceptable. However, a long form negation *ahn* can be used as well, especially when *-a/ess-* ‘past’ occurs.

- (i) Lwummey-ka onul tuleo-ci anh-ass-e-la.
roommate-nom today come.into-ci neg-past-e-imp
Int. ‘I wish my roommate had not come home today.’

On his or her way home, a speaker can utter (i) without any given knowledge on a roommate’s returning home; the sentence with *anh* is perfect.

constructions.¹⁰¹



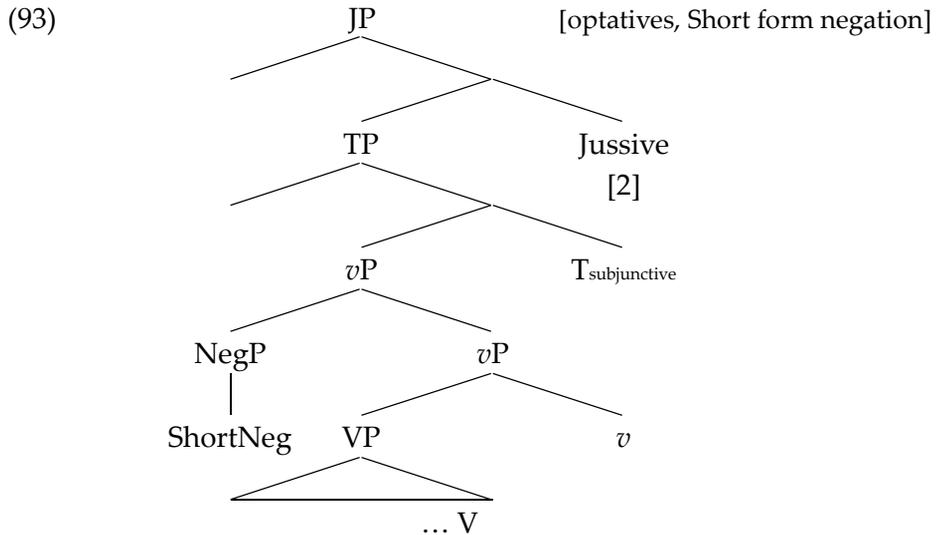
Also, short form negation in optatives is straightforward. Combining my structure of optatives and Han and Lee's (2007) analysis on short negation, (93) can be drawn for an entire negative optative structure. In this structure, only *an* can be inserted, and *mal* is not allowed since the NegP does not satisfy the adjacency condition. Han and Lee (2007) argue that *mal* cannot be inserted since there is no *do* support in (93) due to the presence of a lexical verb. Such an explanation has something in common with the analysis here on *mal* in that the lexical verb hinders the negation and Jussive from entering

¹⁰¹ However, data that contain the *mal* negation after the past tense marker has been observed in web searches with the keyword of *mal-ass-e-la* as follows:

- (i) Nwunchichayci mal-ass-e-la ceypal.
 get.wind.of neg-past-e-imp please
 'I hope (she) did not get wind of (what is going on).'
- (<http://gall.dcinside.com/board/view/?id=ne&no=227498&page=3812>,
 [Access: Jan 15, 2017])

I got 33 sentences containing *mal-ass-e-la* with an optative sense through google search. Thus, a closer investigation is required for a use of negation in optatives, but I do not include (i) in the present analysis and will leave it for future research.

a close relation.¹⁰²



Another subjunctive environment regarding jussives is the case of an embedded jussive. Seo and Hoe (2015) show that embedded jussives do not regulate a person feature of an embedded subject directly. Accordingly, an indirect order reading can be obtained, as in (94). Also, we show that non-typical exhortatives are unavailable in embedded contexts as shown in (95).¹⁰³ To explain such properties of embedded jussives, Seo and Hoe argue that a subject of an embedded jussive clause is subject to an obligatory Control rather than J-Agree, unlike its matrix counterpart. They attribute this to a subjunctive T in embedded jussives which obstructs J-Agree (refer to Park (2010) and its references for a detailed analysis on Korean embedded jussives).

¹⁰² To derive a proper word order, Han and Lee (2007) suggest V-to-C movement via *v* and T, Neg cliticizes to *v*, V and *v* are reordered. In this thesis, I will leave open the reordering process.

¹⁰³ The unavailability of (95)(ii) is somewhat controversial, but refer to Seo and Hoe (2015) for a relevant discussion.

(94) Sensayngnim-un M.-eykey [{H./ku}-ka aph-ey ancula]-ko
 teacher-top M.-dat H./he-nom front-in sit-imp-comp
 myenglyenghayssta.

ordered

Int. 'A teacher ordered Mina that Hoya (should) sit in the front row.'

(95) M.-nun H.-eykey [han tay-man ttayli-ca]-ko ceyanhayssta.
 M.-top H.-dat one punch(cl)-only hit-exh-comp suggested

(i) 'Mina suggested to Hoya that they (should) hit (someone) just once.'

(ii) '?? Mina suggested to Hoya that she (should) hit him just once.'

((94)-(95) from Seo and Hoe 2015: 19, 22; adapted)

If this study is on the correct track, the *an(h)* negation is expected to be possible in embedded contexts, as in optatives. This is because subjunctive Ts are less restricted than defective Ts. It is true that the *mal* negation is most natural in embedded imperatives, too, as in (96). However, unlike matrix cases, *an(h)* does not seem to be completely ruled out, as given in (97)-(98). This shows that there is a clear preference for *mal* over *an(h)* in embedded imperatives, but *an(h)* is still allowed. Although (97)-(98) do not seem to be grammatical according to school grammar, it is crystal-clear that matrix counterparts of (97)-(98) is completely ungrammatical. This is because the structure of the embedded jussives provides both possibilities, but one is preferred to the other for an independent reason. That is, a subjunctive T can embed both types of negation, *an(h)* and *mal*, in embedded jussives, but the latter is favored for ease of processing as the more specified negation. However, this is a provisional answer as of now.

(96) S.-nun M.-eykey [{H./ku}-ka aph-ey anc-ci mal-la]-ko
 S.-top M.-dat H./he-nom front-in sit-ci neg-imp-comp
 myenglyenghayssta.

ordered

Int. 'A teacher ordered Mina that Hoya (should) not sit in the front row.'

- (97) Ikyengkyu ttal Iyeylim-un appa-wa tayhwa-lul
 I. daughter I.-top dad-with conversation-acc
 ayey an ha-la-ko ha-myen kulel swu-to iss-ta-myense
 never neg do-imp-comp do-if so able-too be-decl-as
 Int. 'As Ikyengkyu's daughter, IYeylim, (says that) if (someone)
 orders (her) not to talk with (her) dad, (she) can do so, (...)'¹⁰⁴
- (98) 20tay yeca-tul-i ce-kathun silswu-lul
 twenties woman-pl-nom I.humble-like mistake-acc
 panpokha-ci anh-u-la-ko.
 repeat-ci neg-u-imp-comp
 Int. 'for women in their twenties not to repeat mistakes like me'¹⁰⁵

This subsection shows that a genuine third person noun phrase can be a subject with a jussive marker when it has an optative reading. The optatives show less restrictive properties than true jussives, updating a conversational participant's To-do list with reference to tense or negation. This is attributed

¹⁰⁴ This sentence is taken from an online article: <<http://www.true-story.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=38068>> [Access: Jan. 15, 2017]. When googling with *an ha-la-ko* 'neg do-imp-comp', I get quite a lot results.

¹⁰⁵ This data is taken from a website, as well: <<http://busangonggam.tistory.com/9>> [Access: Jan. 15, 2017]. Interestingly, the keyword with the long form negation *ha-ci anh-u-la-ko* 'do-ci neg-u-imp-comp' usually co-occurs with emotive predicates such as *cilwuha-* 'wearisome', *simsimha-* 'bored', *sepsepha-* 'disappointed', and so on. However, a detailed observation and analysis on the relevant pattern will be left to future research.

to T, which is argued to be subjunctive with an optative meaning.¹⁰⁶

3.6.2. Conditional usages of jussives

Another candidate where discrepancy between a jussive construction and a subject is allowed is the conditional usage, and this is referred to as *conditionals*.¹⁰⁷ However, a conditional imperative exhibits similar restrictions to a genuine jussive updating a conversational participant's To-do list.

All jussives can be easily contextualized as in the English case in (99). According to Aikhenvald (2010), contextualization of jussives is a common strategy in many languages. That is, an expected result is given before or after a jussive clause: *be quiet, and the baby can sleep well; be quiet, or the baby can't sleep well*.

(99) These children of yours keep out of my garden,
or I'll set the dog on them. (Aikhenvald 2010: 69)

Korean also uses jussive constructions to express a conditional meaning, and the usage seems to impose a relatively loose restriction on a subject

¹⁰⁶ As Prof. Seungho Nam (p.c.) pointed out, premonitives (or admonitives), which deliver a warning to a hearer are marked by the sentential particle *-lla* in Korean, which can be further decomposed into *-l-* and *-la*. Some might think that the final *-la* is the same particle as the jussive particle. Admonitives are irrealis in common with jussives. However, according to Pak (2008: 144-145), the *-l-* is a presumptive particle and *-la* is an allomorph of the declarative particle *-ta*. That is, premonitives are a subclass of declaratives in Korean under Pak's (2008) analysis. I agree with this since *-ta* can often replace *-la* in Gyeongsang dialect: namely, *-lta*. In this thesis, I will not discuss premonitives in depth, and refer the reader to Pak (2008) on premonitives in Korean.

¹⁰⁷ This is a conditional construction since it is usually followed by an expected result.

regarding a person feature, as in (100).

(100) Yeca-ka 100nyen hay po-a-la!¹⁰⁸
 woman-nom 100.year do try-a-imp
 Int. 'Let a woman try (it) for 100 years!'

Conditional jussives are not limited to any person, hence (100) can be conditional whether a subject is non-third person or not. Such conditional imperatives contain distinctive intonation: a sentence-final high flat or contour tone, and this seems to contribute to introducing a counter proposition, unlike the English data, and always bears an ironic sense¹⁰⁹.

Some might argue that *yeca* 'woman' is re-interpreted as a second person who is distant, so that (100) is just an extended use of typical imperatives. However, a third person demonstrative proves that a genuine third person subject is licensed under the imperative marker as in (101).

¹⁰⁸ This data is taken from the website:

<<http://www.ibulgyo.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=137277>> [Access: Jan 15, 2017].

In an original context, (100) is uttered targeting a female addressee, a Buddhist nun, so it is a canonical imperative. However, even when two male conversational participants talk without any female participants and the gibberish is said, it is still perfect. It is read as a conditional sentence like '*if a woman tries (it) for 100 years*'. Furthermore, it implies the opposite meaning of the uttered order, and can be followed by a sentence like '*it is not possible*' or '*a woman can never succeed it*'.

¹⁰⁹ Gunlogson (2003) investigates declarative questions with a rising intonation. Unlike declaratives with a falling intonation, the rising one can function as a question, which has a biased meaning. Gunlogson argues that the rising intonation does not have an inherent property of questioning, but that it "attributes commitment to the Addressee (ibid.: 93)." Thus, if a high flat or contour tone is assumed to be the same as the rising tone of declarative questions, it can be analyzed as the lack of a speaker's commitment, too. Accordingly, an ordered set is not closed, and it can imply an opposite property as well: {*do P, do not P*} in a naïve term, and an ironic meaning arises.

(101)Kyay-ka 100nyen hay po-a-la!
 that.kid-nom 100.year do try-a-imp
 Int. 'Let the kid try (it) for 100 years!'

Nevertheless, a loose personal restriction on a subject is illusory, in fact, contrary to the optative cases. This is because a third person subject is only allowed with an auxiliary predicate *po-* 'try' which is originally a verb of perception, *see*. This item brings about a hypothetical meaning, so it can be easily coordinated with a conditional imperative. When conditional imperatives contain a non-third person subject, the auxiliary is not necessary as in (102).

(102)(Kulay,) Halwu congil ca-la!
 yeah day all sleep-imp
 Int. 'All right, sleep all day!' (You idiot!)

In contrast, when *po-* is removed from (100), the subject can only be read as a hearer; (101) becomes completely ungrammatical without *po-* since *kyay*

imperatives so far pattern with genuine jussives rather than optatives. Thus, in all respects, they are a sub-type of directive jussives with a special property: depending on an intonation, the order can be related to either an uttered action or an inverted one.¹¹¹ Accordingly, they cannot be analyzed as having a subjunctive T.

(104)* (Ney-ka) chengso-lul ta hay-ss-e-la!
 you-nom cleaning-acc all do-past-*e*-imp
 Lit. 'Tidy (it) all up!'

3.7. Cross-linguistic support on subset probing

Non-typical exhortatives are not limited to Korean, and they are found cross-linguistically. This study provides relevant data in English and Dutch.

English does not seem to have a special construction for exhortatives, since it borrows the *let*-imperatives to propose a speaker and a hearer for a joint action, as in *let's*. This point of view regards *let's* as a mere contracted form of *let us*.

However, the opposing view argues that *let's* has already been grammaticalized into an independent lexical entry which marks the clausal type exhortatives, and hence can no longer be further divided anymore (Krug 2004). Davies (1986) argues that *let's* is indivisible as an introductory marker in that the *let us* construction is ambiguous in imperative and exhortative meanings, but the *let's* is read as only exhortatives. Also, only *let's* allows an additional realization of an agent of an uttered suggestion contra *let us*. This has already been pointed out by Fries (1952: 103) who presents duplicate uses of *us* with *let's* as its evidence: '*let's us take the elite type and not wait for others.*' (Fries 1952: 104, recited from The NCTE

¹¹¹ See footnote 109 for the effect of intonation on interpretation.

committee on Current English Usage (1955: 115). This demonstrates that 's has not retained the full semantics of the pronoun *us*. Plus, as Mastop (2005) pointed out, *let's* cannot be preceded by a second person pronoun *you*.¹¹² According to Fries (1952), *let's*, as a single morpheme, makes a sentence into a request or a proposal to impose on people, including the speaker.¹¹³

Let's is further extended to encompass various subjects other than a first person inclusive, which is referred to as non-typical exhortatives in this study. According to Krug (2009: 333), it is used when an action is about to start in which both conversational participants are involved. (105)a is understood to have a first person agent as a promissive subject and the imperative equivalent is '*Let me give you a hand.*'¹¹⁴. Also, an agent of (105)b is only second person, like an imperative clause. The singular subjects of (105) are confirmed by a tag-question in (106): a first person non-typical *let's* can take *shall I* as its tag, and a second person, *will you*.

- (105)a. Let's give you a hand. (Quirk et al. 1985, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 10)
b. Let's wash your hands. (Cole 1975, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 11)
c. Let's you and me go for a walk. (Collins 2004)

¹¹² This contrasts with the imperative *let us* construction which the second person pronoun precedes.

- (i) a. *You let's take our clothes off! (Mastop 2005: 86)
b. You let us take our clothes off!

¹¹³ Under a performative approach, Quirk et al. (1985) argue that *let's* as a *first-person imperative* is analyzed to contain a performative predicate *suggest* and a first person subject. However, this study pursues the syntactic analysis, so the performative one is not the main concern.

¹¹⁴ (105)a and its *let us* counterpart are semantically equivalent according to Lawton Hogan (p.c.). In contrast, in terms of Dutch *laten* constructions, semantic differences are detected depending on Case of an agent. See (111) to (114) for details.

(106)a. Let's share, shall I?¹¹⁵

b. Let's go child, will you?

(Collins 2004, adapted)

Non-typical *let's* has been reported in previous studies, and a grammaticalization analysis has been provided. Quirk et al. (1985) mention that such a usage is very colloquial, and *let's* is used as an introductory particle. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10-13) argue in their study on grammaticalization that, of *let's*, the meaning of *let* becomes more general, and the cliticized 's is experiencing loss of meaning from an independent word to a mere phonemic element through a clitic. That is, a typical exhortative meaning is in a clitic stage; in some dialects, it has been further de-semanticized into a phonemic element, which allows a non-typical usage.

The current analysis can straightforwardly account for these English data. The first and second person POV features on the exhortative Jussive head probe down independently, so that only one of them can Agree with a jussive subject. Specifically speaking, as subset probing, the first person feature takes part in J-Agreeing in (105)a, while the second person one in (105)b; both the first and second person features J-Agree with a jussive subject in (105)c as total probing.

Also, in parallel with an imperative case, indirect order is predicted to be possible in English exhortatives. This study assumes that indirect order in English and Italian contains a subjunctive construction under Jussive. In detail, a Jussive head with first and second person POV features has a subjunctive T, which is φ -complete, and a jussive subject and SpecJP can be dissimilar to each other: the jussive subject can be third person, unlike the SpecJP, with both the first and second person. This is borne out in (107). This contrasts with Korean, in which it cannot be interpreted as an indirect order sense, even in an extended exhortative construction.

¹¹⁵ This data is taken from a website: <<http://nestdesignstudio.com.au/2015/07/>>. (Access: Sep 26, 2016)

(107) *Let's him and him fight.* You kind of just watch.

(Krug 2004, re-cited from Mastop 2005)

Unfortunately, this analysis does not give an explanation for why a jussive subject of English non-typical exhortatives does not get nominative Case. I presume that this comes from an original structure of an imperative *let* construction. That is, *let* is a raising construction, so the subject of an embedded predicate raises to an object position of a matrix predicate. Thus, the accusative Case of the agent in exhortatives are assigned by the matrix predicate *let*. According to Davies (1986), *let's* is indistinguishable from *let us* regarding a syntactic structure; they only differ semantically. As cited previously, *let's* has been experiencing grammaticalization, changing from being involved in an embedded construction to a lexical (modal) item, but this change is currently underway. In fact, according to Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10), a nominative subject is not completely ruled out. It is possible in some dialects, as in (108). This case would be a fully grammaticalized

instance of *let's*.¹¹⁶

(108) *Let's you and I do it.*

(Krug 2009: 337)

Also, a subject of non-typical exhortatives should be unpronounced in English. When non-typical subjects are overt as in (109), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is in sharp contrast to Korean. Although (109) is understood to have a single agent in a semantic perspective, the agent cannot be overtly realized, regardless of the type of Case. Not all subjects are disallowed from being realized overtly; typical exhortatives can have an overt subject *you and me* as given in (105)c. Also, a third person subject in (107) has to be overt to have the intended meaning. Moreover, the subject of non-typical exhortatives can be pronounced if it is not a pronoun as shown in

¹¹⁶ I surmise that the *let's* constructions also contain a Jussive projection since it is required to update a To-do list of conversational participants as exhortatives. However, I do not present an exact structure in this thesis, and will leave it for future research. Refer to Davies (1986) and Potsdam (1998), among many others, on exhortative constructions.

Also, Prof. Jong Un Park (p.c.) suggested a possibility that SpecTP did not value a structural nominative Case under Jussive. Instead, it is a position of a default case. The T in Jussive is not only φ -incomplete, but also can be considered to be infinitival which is [-Tense]. Thus, it is plausible that it is not a locus of the structural nominative Case. Rather, a default accusative case is assigned to the SpecTP in English jussives. With that said, the nominative marker of jussive subjects in Korean might not be the result of a structural Case assignment, but a default case. On Korean nominative marker, there have been two competing approaches: specifically, the default and the structural Case.

However, the default Case assignment on the SpecTP in jussives is likely to conflict with Dutch, which allows a nominative subject in the *laten*-construction corresponding to the English *let*-construction. Also, some English dialects allow a nominative subject in exhortatives as in (108).

Thus, I leave it to future research to determine which of the two approaches is correct for Case/case assignment on SpecTP in jussives. See Schütze (2001) for a discussion of a default case, and Levin (2016) and its references for a Korean Case/case analysis. Thanks to Prof. Park for his suggestion.

(110). Here, *everybody* does not contain a speaker in its denotation, as the following subordinate clause discriminates the action of the first person from the second person; *everybody* refers to the second person only.

- (109)a. *Let's *I/me* give you a hand. cf.(105)a
 b. *Let's *you* wash your hands. cf.(105)b
 (110)Let's *everybody* stay where we can see you, please...
 (Krug 2009: 335)

Dutch is a case in point, which has an overt pronominal non-typical subject. exhortative constructions in Dutch also utilize *laten* 'let' as in English, but one difference is that Dutch exhortatives can have a nominative subject. Mastop (2005: 87-92) reports that the *laten* construction allows an overt subject which is either accusative or nominative. When it has the accusative subject as in (111)b, the whole construction is ambiguous between an imperative reading and an exhortative reading, just as in the English *let us* case. On the other hand, when the subject is nominative as in (111)a, the whole construction is exclusively read as exhortative, as with *let's* in English.

- (111)a. Laten wij_{NOM} een bordspel spelen. (Mastop 2005: 87,
 let.pl we a board-game play.inf adapted)
 'Let's play a board game.'
 b. Laat ons_{ACC} de grens passeren.
 let us the border cross-inf
 'Let us cross the border.'

There exists an additional difference regarding verbal inflection: the accusative case in (111)b has a verb with an uninflected imperative form, whereas a verb of the nominative form in (111)a Agrees with the subject. Also, when the speaker asks for the hearer's permission, only an accusative type *laten* construction is appropriate.

Furthermore, the Dutch *laten* construction allows a singular subject, just

as with Korean exhortatives. However, second person cannot be a subject of *laten* exhortatives. As shown in (112), first person can be a subject of the *laten* construction; it can have both nominative and accusative Case as the previous first person inclusive case.

- (112)a. Laat ik_{NOM} een eitje bakken. (Mastop 2005: 88,
 let I an egg-dim fry-inf adapted)
 ‘Let me fry an egg.’
- b. Laat mij_{ACC} Uw postzegelverzameling bekijken.
 let me your.polite stamp.collection view-inf
 ‘Let me view your stamp collection.’

In (112)a, the first person subject has the nominative Case, and the sentence gets an exhortative reading unambiguously. Also, in (112)b, the subject has the accusative Case, and the sentence can be read as either exhortatives or imperatives. According to Mastop, (112)a has a soliloquy meaning. Such a reading is natural in Korean as well, and non-typical exhortatives, especially with a first person subject, can be easily interpreted as a monologue. This has already been pointed out in (52)b, and is repeated here.

- (113) Kyeylan-ina kwup-ca. =(52)b
 egg-dim fry-exh
 Lit. ‘Let’s fry an egg.’ (without any hearer) (Seo & Hoe 2015: 29)

(113) is the Korean counterpart of (112)a. Although this study does not investigate such usage in depth, (112)-(113) show that there are universal tendencies in the extended meanings of jussives.

Lastly, the Dutch *laten* constructions allow a third person subject, too. The data is presented in (114). The third person case is also divided into a nominative type on the one hand and an accusative type on the other hand.

- (114)a. Laten z_{NOM} eerst maar eens tonen wat ze kinnen.
 let.pl they first PART PART show.inf what they can.inf
 ‘Let them first show what they are capable of.’
- b. Laat hen_{ACC} eens een dansje doen.
 let them PART a dance-dim do.inf
 ‘Let them do a little dance.’ (Mastop 2005: 88, some corrections)

According to Mastop (2005), the hearer has authority over a third person actor to make them commit an act in the accusative type: in (114)b, the hearer can be a puppeteer, and a third person a marionette. On the other hand, the nominative type cannot have such a sense. Instead, (114)a is a shifted imperative clause where a third person is assumed to be present in an utterance place as an Operator which “marks an intensional shift[,] quite like modal and tense operators do in modal logic” (Mastop 2005: 90).

As has already been mentioned, some Korean native speakers judge indirect orders grammatical in exhortatives. However, this does not cause an actor’s To-do list to update, and what is updated in reality is a speaker and hearer’s agreement about an action, which a third party will conduct. Mastop’s (2005) analysis gives an answer about the Korean data to a degree. First, Korean does not have an accusative subject even in exhortatives, so a hearer cannot be read as an authority in this manner. In addition, even in the nominative case, a third person cannot freely function as the Operator, unlike in Dutch. Thus, Korean speakers cannot summon a third person to a conversational context in exhortatives, either; only the speaker and the hearer can be the subject of a command.

So far, we have observed that there are cross-linguistic similarities and differences with reference to jussives. It is true that there are certain tendencies, but the overt realization of non-typical subjects is complicated. Thus, it requires more detailed observation and careful analysis, but I will leave this for future research.

3.8. Summary

In this chapter, subset probing in exhortatives has been mainly treated in jussive constructions. Non-typical exhortative data have been mentioned in previous studies, but it was considered only as a pragmatic effect. This study sheds new light on the grammatical status of non-typical exhortatives as an extension of Seo and Hoe (2015), and tries to specify an exact property of SpecJP, which is under the predication relation with a Jussive head, and to extend the analysis to other types of atypical jussive constructions, such as optatives and conditionals.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ As Prof. Seungho Nam (p.c.) pointed out, subset probing can be re-interpreted as a loose relation between a discourse argument and a thematic argument which is mediated by a functional head in the C-domain. We can find another instance of such a case with reference to binding which will be discussed in later chapters. When subject R-expressions have a first or second person denotation in (non-)jussives in English, they allow either a first/second person pronominal or a third person one (see Section 4.5 and 5.1.3.1 for details). I think this is due to the influence of the C-domain.

4. Person Feature Intervention

In jussive constructions, noun phrases with non-third person meanings are closely related to the Jussive head as shown in the previous chapter. I assume that the functional head *Jussive* J-Agrees with a jussive subject and a bound element within its c-commanding domain simultaneously à la Hiraiwa's (2001) Multiple Agree. Thus, all the non-third person elements are correlated in jussive constructions. In this chapter, I will pay attention to the strictly restricted ordering of non-third person elements in jussives. This is surprising since scrambling is allowed in Korean. From this, I will argue that an interpretable person feature is the key to the solution.

4.1. Puzzles

As it is widely known, a third person R-expression can have a first or second person pronominal bound element (bindee, hereafter) in jussive constructions, as in (115) (Downing 1969, Davies 1986, Potsdam 1998, Jensen 2003, Rupp 2003, Zanuttini 2008, Zanuttini et al. 2012). The imperative subject is *Mary*, but the co-referential anaphor is *yourself*, not *herself*. Korean behaves the same way. In (116), *Inho* and *emma* 'mom' refer to the hearer and the speaker respectively in the conversational context. Hence, *Inho* can license the second person pronominal *ne-uy* (*ney*) 'your' in (116)a, *Emma-hako Inho* 'mommy and Inho' can license the first person inclusive *wuli-uy* 'our' in (116)b, and *emma* 'mommy' can license the first person singular *na-uy* (*nay*) 'my' in (116)c. Though such R-expressions are considered to be third person by default, 'your/our/my', rather than 'his/their/her', are employed as co-

indexed possessives in jussives, just like in English.¹¹⁸

(115) Kids, *Mary_i* wash *yourself_i*, John take the dog for a walk! = (29)b

(116)a. *Inho-ka_i* [*ne_i/*ku-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-*la*.
 Inho-nom you/he-gen friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)

b. *Emma-hako Inho-ka_i* [*wuli_i/*kutul-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul
 mom-and Inho-nom we/they-gen friend-acc
 teyliko o-*ca*.
 bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)

c. *Emma-ka_i* [*na_i/*kunya-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-*ma*.
 mom-nom I/she-gen friend-acc bring come-prm
 ‘Mommy will bring her friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

This is a unique property of jussives in Korean, since it is not allowed in other clauses according to Zanuttini et al. (2012). Of course, an apparently third person R-expression can be read as a hearer or a speaker in other clauses, as well, but the non-third person pronominal is not permitted, as shown in the declaratives in (117).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ An R-expression can get a first or second person reading easily when a speaker or a hearer is a child, as Prof. Jong Un Park and Prof. Heejeong Ko pointed out. That is, kids, parents, or teachers often use R-expressions to refer to a conversational participant. It is true that a first person R-expression is typical of baby talk, yet there are inter-speaker variations. Some people use an R-expression more than a first person pronoun even among adults. Also, a second person R-expression is common among adult speakers in lieu of the pronoun *tangsin* ‘you.hon’ due to an extralinguistic reason, namely, politeness.

¹¹⁹ An R-expression which is interpreted as a first or a second person in declaratives or interrogatives will be discussed in the Chapter 5.

- (117)a. *Inho*-ka [(**ney*) sinpal]-ul sin-nun-*ta*.
 Inho-nom your shoes-acc put.on-pres-decl
 Intended meaning: ‘Inho_i (= hearer) is putting on his_i shoes.’
- b. *Emma*-ka [(**nay*) sinpal]-ul sin-nun-*ta*.
 mom-nom my shoes-acc put.on-pres-decl
 Intended meaning: ‘Mommy_i (= speaker) is putting on her_i shoes.’
- ((115)-(117)from Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1240-1241, adapted)

Here, *Inho* and *emma* ‘mom’ do not permit the non-third person pronominal, though they are interpreted as the hearer and speaker in the given situation. This is not a universal phenomenon, though, considering Collins and Postal’s (2012) imposters. Collins and Postal (2012: 5) investigate properties of an imposter, which “is a notionally X person DP that is grammatically Y person[,] (X≠Y)[.]” According to them, imposters can Agree with either an outer shell with a third person feature (an immediate antecedent) or an AUTHOR/ADDRESSEE, which is an argument of a higher performative predicate (an ultimate antecedent¹²⁰) depending on a language-specific rule. For example, English allows non-third person feature Agreement when an imposter is plural.¹²¹ However, I do not treat third person subjects in Korean jussives as imposters or adopt Collins and Postal’s (2012) analysis. This is because such non-third person feature Agreement is structurally determined in Korean, especially within a jussive construction, not by an imposter itself.

One might argue that a subject is automatically understood as a hearer in imperatives, hence *ney* ‘your’ is licensed as a bound anaphor easily, unlike other clauses. Also, the same might go for the other jussives: exhortatives and promissives. However, the relation between a subject and an anaphoric element in jussives, if thoroughly examined, is not as simple as it appears. A

¹²⁰ See Section 5.1.3.1 for a definition of the ultimate antecedent.

¹²¹ Relevant data is provided in (i). See Section 5.1.3.1 and 5.1.6 for English imposters.

(i) Jerome and Daddy are enjoying ourselves/themselves on the beach.
 (C&P 2012: 108)

jussive subject and its bound anaphor show limited properties when a pronominal element and an R-expression are employed together.

First of all, a bound R-expression is not allowed under a pronominal subject, as shown in (118):

- (118)a. **Ney-ka_i* [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-la.
 you-nom I. friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **Wuli-ka_i* [*emma-hako Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ca.
 we-nom mom-and I. friend-acc bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)
- c. **Nay-ka_i* [*emma_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ma.
 I-nom mom friend-acc bring come-prm
 ‘I will bring my friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

The pronoun and R-expression have switched positions with each other, as compared with (116), and this yields the ungrammatical sentence (118). From the contrast between (116) and (118), we can see that only a subject R-expression can license a bound pronominal, while a pronominal subject cannot license a bound R-expression. This puzzle can be resolved into the simple Condition C effect. However, the next puzzle regarding scrambling alters the story.

The ungrammaticality of (118) is not at all salvaged by scrambling. Korean allows scrambling which may affect a binding relation (Lee 1993,

1994; Cho 1994; Sohn 1995; Ahn and Cho 2009; among many others)¹²². However, the dislocation of the object containing a bound anaphor in (118) turns out to be ungrammatical, as presented in (119).

- (119)a. **[Inho_i chinkwu]-lul_j ney-ka_i e_j teyliko wa-la.* cf.(118)
 I. friend-acc you-nom bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **[Emma-hako Inho_i chinkwu]-lul_j wuli-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ca.*
 mom-and I. friend-acc we-nom bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)

¹²² As cited in (i)-(ii), Binding Condition regarding an R-expression can be altered by scrambling. (i-a) is ungrammatical since the R-expression *Minswu* is bound by the co-indexed pronominal *ku* ‘him’, but the grammaticality is salvaged after scrambling of the object as in (b-c). In contrast, the grammatical (ii-a) becomes ungrammatical after scrambling in (ii-b) due to the violation of Binding Condition C. However, when a binder is a subject, it has been known that the binding relation is not influenced by scrambling. However, observing (116), (118)-(120), the result of scrambling does not show consistency in the data at issue, although the binder is a subject.

- (i) a. **Yenghuy-ka ku_i-eykey [Minswu_i-uy sacin-ul] poyecwuessta.*
 Y.-nom him-dat M.-gen picture-acc showed
 ‘Yenghuy showed him Minswu’s picture.’
 b. *Yenghuy-ka [Minswu_i-uy sacin-ul]_j ku_i-eykey t_j poyecwuessta.*
 c. *[Minswu_i-uy sacin-ul]_j Yenghuy-ka ku_i-eykey t_j poyecwuessta.*
- (ii) a. *[Minswu_i-uy tongsayng]-i ku_i-eykey sacin-ul poyecwuessta.*
 M.-gen brother-nom him-dat picture-acc showed
 ‘Minswu’s brother showed him a picture.’
 b. **[Ku_i-eykey]_j [Minswu_i-uy tongsayng]-i t_j sacin-ul poyecwuessta.*
- (iii) a. **Ku_i-ka [Minswu_i-uy emma-lul] cohahanta.*
 he-nom M.-gen mother-acc like
 ‘He likes Minswu’s mother.’
 b. **[Minswu_i-uy emma-lul]_j ku_i-ka t_j cohahanta.*
 [(i-ii) Lee (1993:28), (iii) Lee (1993: 31), with minor adaptations]

- c. **[Emma_i chinkwu]-lul_j nay-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ma.*
 mom friend-acc I-nom bring come-prm
 ‘I will bring my friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

As scrambling does not affect the binding relation, it seems to be an instance of A'-scrambling (Saito 1985, Webelhuth 1989, among many others). However, this does not look very promising when we consider the other scrambling data in (120).

Surprisingly, the grammatical sentence in (116) becomes ungrammatical after the scrambling of the objects shown below:

- (120)a. **[Ney_i chinkwu]-lul_j Inho-ka_i e_j teyliko wa-la.* cf.(116)
 your friend-acc I.-nom bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **[Wuli_i chinkwu-lul_j] emma-hako Inho-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ca.*
 our friend-acc mom-and I.-nom bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)
- c. **[Nay_i chinkwu]-lul_j emma-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ma.*
 my friend-acc mom-nom bring come-prm
 ‘Mommy will bring her friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

In line with the result of (119), the grammaticality of (116) is expected to be maintained in (120) after scrambling, but this turns out to be false. Here, scrambling ruins the grammaticality of (116). Thus, (119) and (120) show that scrambling can only deteriorate grammaticality regarding binding in

over the subject *Hyeki-ka* ‘Hyeki-nom,’ unlike in (119)-(120). Thus, (a phrase with) a bound anaphor is mobile as in other clauses in principle.¹²⁴ This implies that the interaction of a pronominal element and an R-expression with a non-third person reading *does* matter.

Thus, I generalize that a co-referential pronominal element can never precede an R-expression with a first or second person reading *throughout the derivation* (in jussives). When a co-referential pronoun is a jussive subject, a co-referential R-expression within an object is ruled out from the beginning, as in (118)-(119). In contrast, when a co-referential pronominal element is in an object position, a co-referential R-expression subject is possible, but the word order is fixed in the original position, and the object cannot move forward, passing through the subject as in (120), contrasting with (116). That is, an R-expression with a non-third person reading should come before a co-referential pronominal element any time they co-occur.

4.2. Proposal

4.2.1. Person Feature Intervention

When two co-referential but qualitatively different elements co-occur in jussives, their positions are not free from constraint. Their inherent properties must be required to be examined. To be more specific, the interpretability of a person feature on a noun must be taken into consideration.

What a pronominal element distinguishes from an R-expression is that it can bear an inherent person feature. That is, regarding syntactic features, the generalization in the previous section is paraphrased as an interpretable person feature can never precede an uninterpretable person feature of the

¹²⁴ The same goes for the first person cases in promissives and exhortatives, too.

same kind in the entire process of the derivation in jussives, as depicted in (122).

(122)* [*i*Person: φ] > [*u*Person: φ] ($>$ means ‘precede’.)

Moreover, as I follow Zanuttini et al.’s (2012) analysis on the Jussive head, the entire map of the person feature of (122) is as follows:

(123)* [_{Jussive} *i*Person: φ] > [_{Pronominal DP} *i*Person: φ] > [_{R-expression DP} *u*Person: φ]

If this is on the right track, (123) shows that when a Jussive head binds its bindee in its c-commanding domain, it cannot jump over another interpretable person feature when they share the same kind of a feature.

To solve this puzzle, I propose *Person Feature Intervention* (PFI) in J-binding, such that a DP with an interpretable person feature acts as an intervenor between a licenser and a licensee when they all contain the same kind of a feature.

(124)* [... X[*i*Person] ... ZP[*i*Person] ... YP[*u*Person]...]


According to (124), the Jussive head (X) and R-expression (YP) cannot enter into a relation due to the intervention of a co-referential pronominal element (ZP) in J-binding. This proposal accords with (Relativized) Minimality in that the closest probe can probe a goal bearing a feature of the same kind (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1992, 1995).

4.2.2. Assumptions

In addition to the above proposal, I present additional assumptions with reference to the interpretation of an R-expression, a Jussive head, and an

anaphoric element.

First, an R-expression, understood as a hearer or a speaker, should be directly interpreted by C. When an R-expression is read as a third person, it is introduced into the numeration with its reference. On the other hand, when it is read as non-third person, it does not arise with its reference, but rather, the referent varies with the conversational discourse. Thus, it must be licensed by C directly, not via other DPs. Furthermore, as a side effect of this, all the copies of non-third person R-expressions must be properly licensed by C for the consistency of its reading (*Full Interpretation of Copies*). I assume that the special properties of non-third person R-expressions make a lower copy special, too.¹²⁵

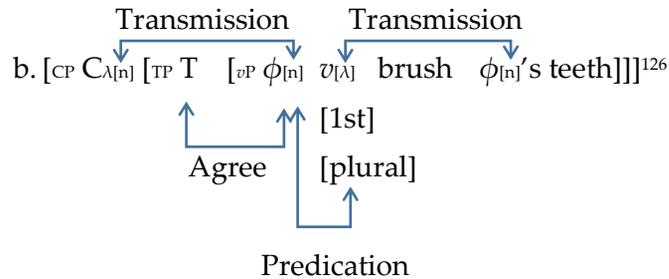
Next, in accordance with Zanuttini et al. (2012), a functional head 'Jussive' is posited above TP, which bears an interpretable person feature and licenses a jussive subject via Agree as a λ -operator. Therefore, the C which licenses the non-third person R-expression is the Jussive head in this study.

Departing from Zanuttini et al. (2012), I assume that an anaphoric element which co-refers with a subject is licensed by the Jussive head, instead of the subject DP, within jussives. Thus, I refer to this as J-binding. This follows Kratzer's (2009) argument that a functional head is in charge of pronominal binding. Kratzer extensively shows how a bound pronoun is

¹²⁵ Comparing a proper name and a pronominal which are co-referential third person, the proper name is understood as new information since the pronominal is defined as depending on the proper name. The same goes for a first or second person case. When someone refers to themselves as a proper name rather than a first person pronoun, which is an unmarked expression, (s)he has an additional intention, other than referring to themselves, namely, emphasizing the referent's identity. According to Kuno and Kaburaki (1977: 656), more emphasized expressions in pragmatics are more prominent in syntax, too. It is predictable that a more prominent proper name comes before a less prominent pronominal. The Person Feature Intervention proposed here is a syntactic manifestation of such a pragmatic factor. I am indebted to Prof. Hyun-Kwon Yang for the pragmatic consideration.

licensed by a function head (v), not by an antecedent DP, in German and English.

(125)a. We are the only people who brush our teeth. (Kratzer 2009: 202)



Also, I adopt Hiraiwa's (2001) Multiple Agree when the Jussive head binds a jussive subject and other anaphoric elements together.¹²⁷ Thus, PFI is a blocking effect such that an interpretable person feature stops further application of J-binding.

Lastly, I assume that the third person feature is the default value. The third person has been regarded as different from the non-third persons in other studies, as well, since Benveniste (1966). In this study, I argue that when a nominal phrase does not get a person value by the narrow syntax, it

¹²⁶ (125)b is the structure of the embedded clause in (125)a.

¹²⁷ According to Baker's (2008) Person Licensing Condition (PLC), a first and a second person pronoun have to be bound by the closest operator: S operator for a first person pronoun and A operator for a second person pronoun. The definition of PLC is as follows:

- (i) The Person Licensing Condition (PLC):
 - a. A DP/NP is first person only if it is locally bound by the closest c-commanding S or by another element that is first person.
 - b. A DP/NP is second person only if it is locally bound by the closest c-commanding A or by another element that is first person.
 - c. Otherwise, a DP/NP is third person.

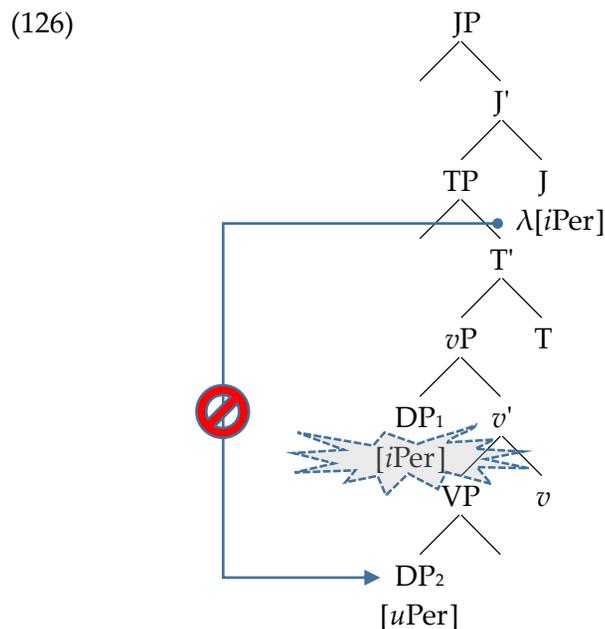
In this thesis, I assume that the Jussive head is the closest c-commanding operator, which binds first and second person pronominals.

gets third person by default. However, a specific representation of a third person feature will be left open, whether its value is zero, third, null, etc.

4.2.3. Schematization

In this subsection, a tree representation of Person Feature Intervention within Jussives is presented based on the given assumptions.

In jussive constructions, there always exists JussiveP above TP, and a subject inherits a person feature from the head (Zanuttini et al. 2012). Also, an anaphoric element inside JP is licensed by Jussive as previously assumed. This is depicted as follows:



In (126), the Jussive head meets the DP₁ which has the same interpretable person feature, before reaching DP₂. Thus, DP₁ operates as an *intervenor*, and Person Feature Intervention occurs. Accordingly, the direct association

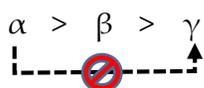
between Jussive and DP₂ is prohibited.¹²⁸

4.2.4. Independent support for Person Feature Intervention

My proposal is not completely new, and it has been widely known that various grammatical elements can cause an intervention effect. This subsection presents a brief summary of three analyses on intervention effects: Defective Intervention Effects, Rule H, and Feature Intervention on Chinese *wh*-interpretation.

It is well-known that there is a phenomenon where the dative Case works as an intervenor, which is called the Defective Intervention Effect (Chomsky 2000, Hiraiwa 2001). Chomsky's (2000) Defective Intervention Constraint (DIC) is representational, in which an intervening *inactive* goal (β) blocks Agreement between a probe (α) and another goal (γ) as in (127). In contrast, Hiraiwa (2001) argues that DIC is a derivational condition in that only an "already inactive [goal] at the point of the derivation" plays an intervenor in Multiple Agree.¹²⁹

(127) Defective Intervention Constraint: Chomsky (2000: 123, 2001: 13)



(*Agree (α , γ), β and γ are matching goals for the probe α , and β is inactive due to a prior Agree with some other probe.)

¹²⁸ Note that *v* does not enter into a feature unification relation with T and Jussive in (126), unlike the embedded clause of (125)a, which is given in (125)b. According to Kratzer (2009), a perspectival *v* carries an uninterpretable φ -feature, and inherits the φ -feature via Predication. A perspectival relative clause in (125) exemplifies the perspectival *v*, which is "merged into positions where they are part of a predicative DP whose subject is a matching 1st or 2nd person pronoun. (*ibid.*: 198)" I thank Dr. Semoon Hoe and Dr. Theodore Levin for the relevant comments.

¹²⁹ PFI is a kind of derivational approach on representational data.

Fox's (2000: 111) Rule H regarding a pronoun interpretation is similar to my PFI analysis. When there are multiple candidates for a binder, and they yield the same interpretation, as in (128), a local relation is considered to be a proper binder, namely (128)a. This is supported by VP-ellipsis data (refer to Fox (2000) for a detailed analysis).

- (128)[Every boy thought that he likes his mother.] (Fox 2000: 110)
 a. every boy $\lambda x(x \text{ thought that } x \lambda y(y \text{ likes } y\text{'s mother}))$ [local binding]
 b. every boy $\lambda x(x \text{ thought that } x \lambda y(y \text{ likes } x\text{'s mother}))$
 [non-local binding]

(129)Rule H: A variable, x , cannot be bound by an antecedent, α , in cases where a more local antecedent, β , could bind x and yield the same semantic interpretation.

Rule H is an economy principle about binding between DPs. However, extending the range of binder and bindee, it can be understood as a general economy principle. In terms of PFI, a noun phrase with an inherent person feature, which corresponds to β in (129), is a competitor of a Jussive head, which corresponds to α in (129). Both binders produce the same reading, hence the more local binder (the noun phrase) is chosen as the appropriate one under the extended notion of Rule H. However, a discourse-linked property of the R-expression resists the binding by the noun phrase, and the relevant configuration becomes illicit.

Also, a focus feature plays as an intervenor in Yang's (2012) Feature Intervention analysis on Chinese *wh*-interpretation. *Wh*-arguments in Chinese have been known to be insensitive to intervention effects (Huang 1982; Aoun and Li 1993a, 1993b; Tsai 1999, 2008; among many others), but this is not always the case. According to Yang's (2012) observation, when subjects are involved with a focus feature, they become sensitive to intervention effects. To explain this property of Chinese intervention effects, he proposes the Feature Intervention cited in (130). In addition, it operates under the Minimalist system, and Feature Intervention occurs when there is

movement of features.¹³⁰

(130) Yang's (2012: 61) Feature Intervention:

The dependency between X and Y is blocked by an intervening Z which bears the feature of the same kind as X and Y.

(131)* [_[iF1] X_[#F4] ... [Z_[iF1] ... [... Y_[_⊥ iF2, iF3] ...]]



Likewise, various elements have been treated as intervenors, interrupting dependency, for example, Case or a focus feature in other studies, although these are not directly associated with our study. Thus, it is not illogical that an interpretable person feature can be an intervenor, as in PFI.

4.3. Analysis

Let's apply the proposal to the specific data that were presented in 4.1.

The grammatical cases, (116) and (121), are presented first. They have an R-expression subject, which can license the non-third person pronominal,

¹³⁰ Yang (p.c.) points out that my proposal might be problematic in the Minimalist system, in that feature intervention occurs without any movement. Although I do not hypothesize movement of features, I think PFI in (124) can be re-written employing a movement approach as well. Movement approaches on anaphors are not rare, in which the dependency with an antecedent and anaphors are guaranteed by movement. Among movement approaches on binding, some researchers hypothesize covert movement at LF and others an overt movement at Syntax (refer to Lidz and Idsardi 1998; Hornstein 2001, 2007; Kayne 2002; Grohmann 2003, among many others). Regarding the data at issue, we can adjust PFI as follows: when a bound person feature tries to move to a bindee, it cannot jump over an interpretable person feature when they have the same reference, and the movement terminates at the intermediate position. However, it is not a legitimate binder of R-expression, and the derivation crashes. In this dissertation, however, I will not employ the movement approach.

ne-uy 'your', *wuli-uy* 'our' and *na-uy* 'my', or an identical bound R-expression, as repeated below:

- (132)a. *Inho-ka_i* [*ne_i/*ku-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-la. =(116)
 Inho-nom you/he-gen friend-acc bring come-imp
 'Inho bring your friend.' (Inho = hearer)
- b. *Emma-hako Inho-ka_i* [*wuli_i/*kutul-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul
 mommy-and Inho-nom we/they-gen friend-acc
 teyliko o-ca.
 bring come-exh (Mom=speaker, Inho=hearer)
 'Mommy and Inho bring our friend.'
- c. *Emma-ka_i* [*na_i/*kunye-uy_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ma.
 mom-nom I/she-gen friend-acc bring come-prm
 'Mommy will bring her friend.' (Mom = speaker)

- (133)(*Hyeki-ka*) [*Hyeki* os]-ul kolla-la. =(121)
 H.-nom H. clothes-acc pick.out-imp
 'Pick out your clothes.' (Hyeki = hearer)

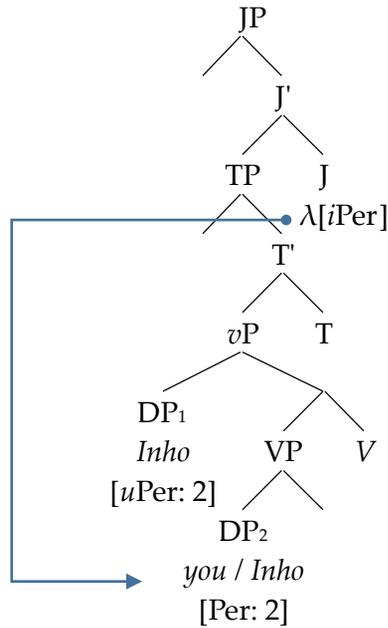
The subjects in (132)-(133) are non-third person R-expressions, so they are not introduced with an interpretable person feature. Instead, they have to be bound by a Jussive head, and inherit its person feature. For this reason, these subjects do not act as an intervenor in J-binding, so that Jussive can access DP₂ easily. Thus, DP₂ is licensed correctly whether it is interpretable, as in (132), or not, as in (133).¹³¹

¹³¹ DP₂ in (134) can be properly interpreted irrespective of its interpretability. When it is pronominal *ney* 'your', it can be introduced with an interpretable valued person feature, and it enters into a matching relation with the Jussive head bearing a second person feature. Also, when it is an R-expression such as *Inho*, its uninterpretable person feature Agrees with Jussive, and inherits the second person feature from the latter.

Needless to say, the Jussive's access to DP₁ is simple, so it is omitted in (134).

(134)

=(132)a, (133)

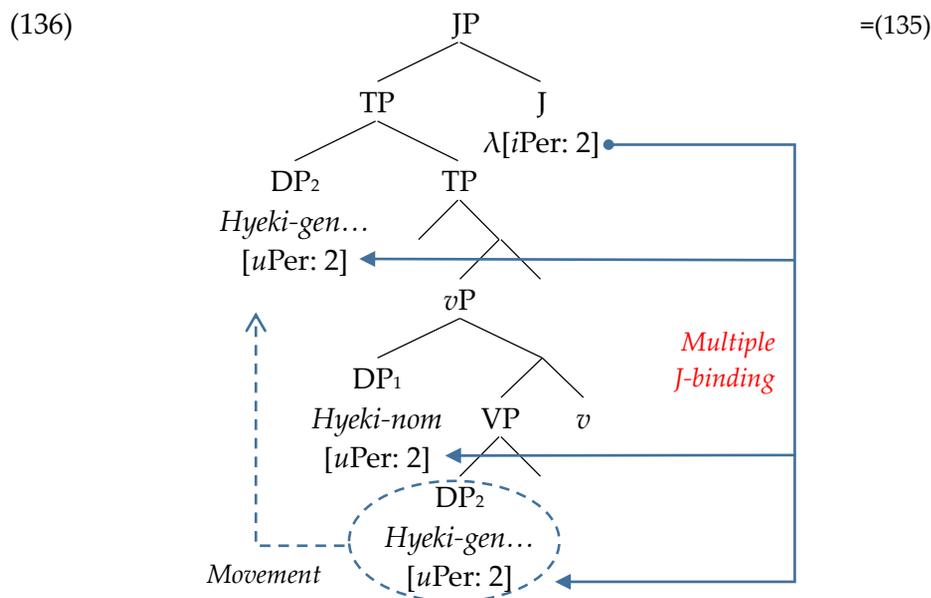


Another grammatical example involves scrambling. I generalized that sentences are grammatical unless co-referential arguments with an interpretable person feature precede any copies of an R-expression throughout the derivation in Section 4.1. When we have two identical R-expressions in our data, an object containing a bindee is movable due to the absence of an interpretable person feature, as mentioned in (121):

(135) [*Hyeki-uy os*]-ul_i (*Hyeki-ka*) e_i kolla-la. ≐ (121)
 H.-gen clothes-acc H.-nom pick.out-imp
 ‘Pick your clothes.’ (Hyeki = hearer)

The object *Hyeki-uy os-ul* may move forward, passing through the subject *Hyeki-ka*, and (135) is grammatical, unlike (119)-(120). This is due to the fact

that there are no intervenors at all in the derivation, as depicted in (136).¹³² This thesis assumes that scrambling targets the SpecTP position, which is distinguished from topicalization (Müller and Sternefeld (1993), Kim (1998: 55)). Consequently, the application of J-binding takes place after the TP-internal scrambling, which precedes the merge of the Jussive head.¹³³



¹³² A covert Jussive subject can freely allow a bound R-expression as marked with brackets in (135), and Prof. Jun Abe (p.c.) pointed out that a *pro* is usually treated in the same manner as a *wh*-trace. If the covert Jussive subject is *pro* in Korean, this might be problematic for my analysis. Thus, under the PFI, the covert Jussive subject is a minimal pronoun without interpretable person features. According to Kratzer (2009), PRO is always a minimal pronoun, but *pro* can be introduced with an inherent person feature. Han (1998, 2000) argues that a jussive subject is PRO while Zhang (1990), Platzack and Rosengren (1994, 1998), and Potsdam (1998) argue that it is *pro*. I am noncommittal about this issue now, I will contemplate it more deeply. I am thankful to Prof. Jun Abe (p.c.) who mentioned this issue to me and Prof. Seungho Nam and Prof. Jong Un Park who reminded me of the relation between a null subject and PFI.

¹³³ Topicalization is assumed to occupy the left-most position here. The analyses on topicalization is discussed in Section 4.4.2.

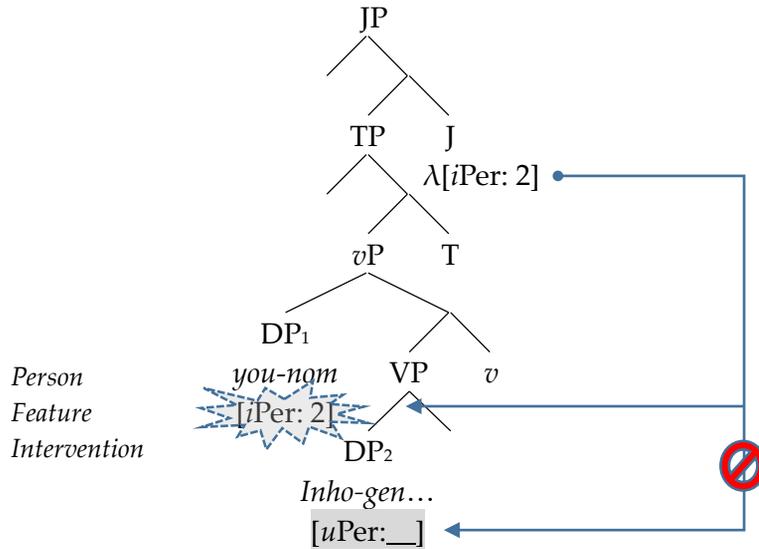
Here, all the copies of an R-expression in both DP₁ and DP₂ are properly licensed by Jussive since there are no interpretable person features to prevent an anteceded R-expression from Agreeing with Jussive directly. Thus, both DP₁ and DP₂ can successfully get the non-third person value without any problem.

The third case is ungrammatical data where the pronominal subject ‘you, we, or I’ precedes an object, which contains a bound R-expression as in (118), which is repeated in (137):

- (137)a. **Ney-ka_i* [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-la. =(118)
 you-nom I. friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **Wuli-ka_i* [*emma-hako Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ca.
 we-nom mom-and I. friend-acc bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)
- c. **Nay-ka_i* [*emma_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ma.
 I-nom mom friend-acc bring come-prm
 ‘I will bring my friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

Here, the pronominal subject bears an interpretable person feature, so it functions as an intervenor against the multiple application of J-binding, as is shown below:

(138)



Jussive tries to bind DP₁ and DP₂ like the previous cases, but the interpretable person feature on the subject *ney-ka* ‘you-nom’ induces Person Feature Intervention.¹³⁴ As a result, DP₂ fails to get the non-third person value, so the sentence becomes ungrammatical when *Inho* or *emma* ‘mom’ is the hearer or speaker, respectively. Of course, DP₂ can have a third person feature by default as in the other clauses. In that case, the sentence is grammatical, but it does not have the intended meaning.

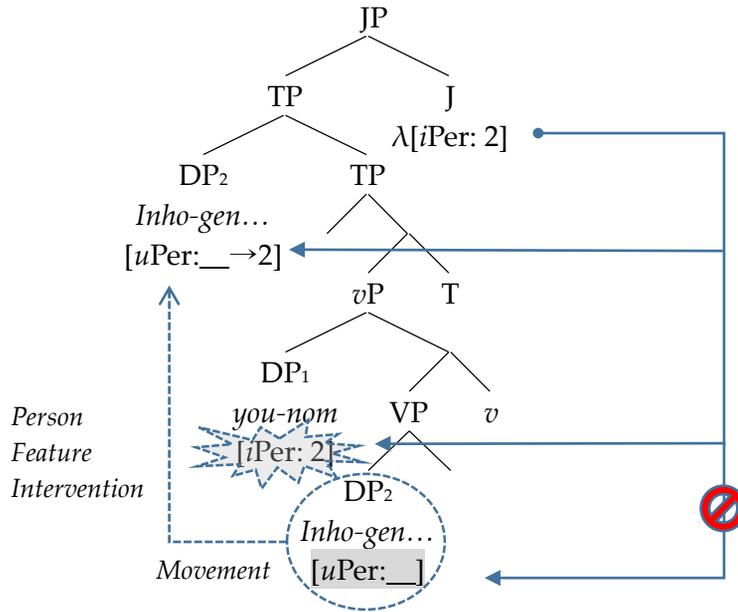
Other ungrammatical cases contain a scrambled object as in (119)-(120), and their base sentences have a co-referential R-expression and pronominal element at the same time, as repeated below:

¹³⁴ Since I emphasize that SpecTP is a locus of a minimal pronoun in jussives in Chapter 3, the pronominal subject, which is φ -complete, appears to conflict with the previous story. SpecTP in a jussive construction is an environment which licenses a minimal pronoun, however, it is not exclusive to it.

- (139)a. **[Inho_i chinkwu]-lul_j ney-ka_i e_j teyliko wa-la.* =(119)
 I. friend-acc you-nom bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **[Emma-hako Inho_i chinkwu]-lul wuli-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ca.*
 mom-and I. friend-acc we-nom bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)
- c. **[Emma_i chinkwu]-lul_j nay-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ma.*
 mom friend-acc I-nom bring come-prm
 ‘I will bring my friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)
- (140)a. **[Ney_i chinkwu]-lul_j Inho-ka_i e_j teyliko wa-la.* =(120)
 your friend-acc I.-nom bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **[Wuli_i chinkwu]-lul_j emma-hako Inho-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ca.*
 our friend-acc mom-and I.-nom bring come-exh
 ‘Let’s bring our friend.’ (Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)
- c. **[Nay_i chinkwu]-lul_j emma-ka_i e_j teyliko o-ma.*
 my friend-acc mom-nom bring come-prm
 ‘Mommy will bring her friend.’ (Mommy = speaker)

In (139)a, the object with the bound R-expression *Inho chinkwu-lul* ‘Inho’s friend’ is scrambled, passing through the pronominal subject *ney-ka* ‘you-nom’. This sentence is ruled out under my proposal, Person Feature Intervention, which is coupled with the assumption on copies, Full Interpretation of Copies, as shown below:

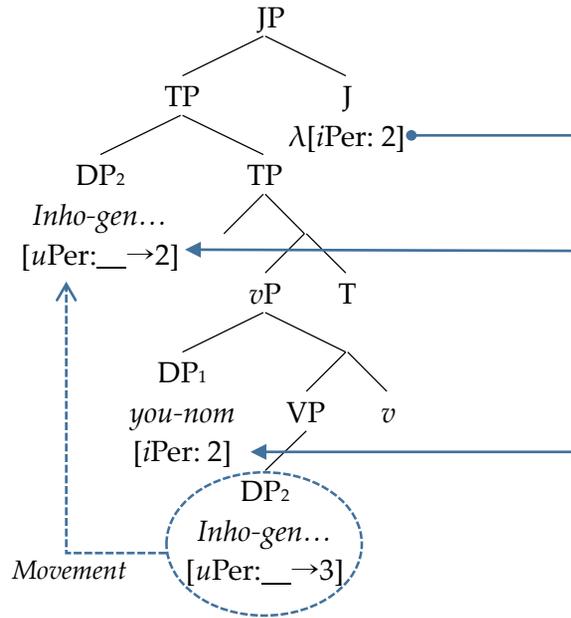
(141)



DP₂ has to be directly J-bound to get the second person feature as intended. However, pronominal DP₁ bears an interpretable person feature, so it causes Person Feature Intervention, and it terminates the multiple J-binding derivation. For that reason, the lower copy of DP₂ remains unvalued.

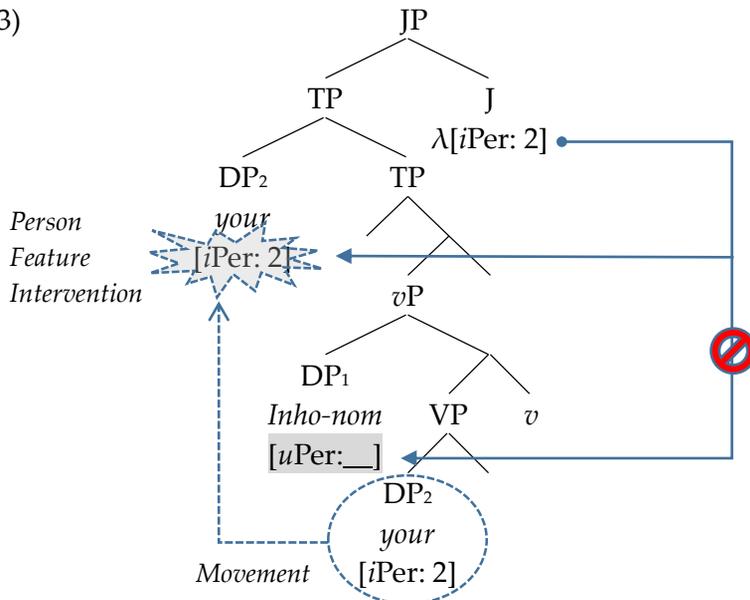
It can have the default third person value, as in the previous case. However, the higher copy and the lower one become inconsistent: the higher one with the second person feature and the lower one with the third person feature. Thus, the sentence is ungrammatical again, as shown in (142). Plus, when the higher copy has the default third person value, as well, the sentence is grammatical, but the meaning is not as intended.

(142)



The last ungrammatical case is when a pronominal in an object precedes a subject R-expression as the result of scrambling, as in (120), repeated in (140). It is ungrammatical since the moved copy containing the pronominal obstructs J-binding of the subject R-expression. This is represented in (143).

(143)



Here, DP₁ has to be directly J-bound, but the upper copy of DP₂ has an interpretable person feature. Hence, J-binding of DP₁ is prohibited. DP₁ can have the third person feature by default. It is, however, still ungrammatical, since the third person subject is not allowed in Korean imperatives, although it is intended to have an indirect order sense.

My analysis, however, has a potential problem in explaining how the specifier of DP₂ can affect the DP₁ which is out of the phrase that it is the specifier of. Under Kayne's (1994) definition of Asymmetric c-command, a specifier can c-command out of the whole DP. Also, in anaphor binding, a so-called *sub-command* has been known to be possible in Chinese (Tang 1989) and Korean (Kim et al. 2005). In English, variable binding permits the sub-command. Thus, 'c-command out' is possible, but restricted in terms of a language or a linguistic environment. The possibility of sub-command might be a clue to my problem, but as for now, I am still not sure. Moreover, DP₂ is not a probe of DP₁, and Jussive is the probe in J-Agree. The essence of my proposal is that, in the application of multiple binding by the Jussive head, an interpretable person feature on a goal finishes the further probing of the Jussive. Thus, in terms of the probe, Jussive, the possessor bindee inside DP₂ is not at all problematic, since the possessor is located in the Jussive's c-commanding domain. In addition, my data does not come down to a simple precedence issue considering the ungrammaticality of (142), where an R-expression precedes a pronoun.¹³⁵

4.4. Further data

4.4.1. Expected movement: Leftward scrambling

I will extend the proposed analysis to data containing different types of bound elements in Korean in this subsection.

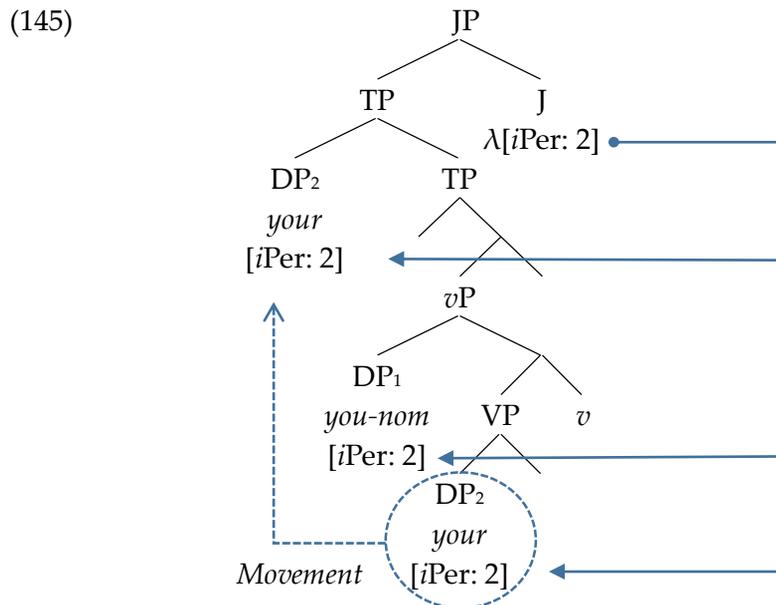
¹³⁵ I appreciate Dr. Yasutada Sudo reminding me of this issue.

4.4.1.1. Co-referential pronominal elements

It is expected that the two co-referential arguments with an interpretable person feature can change their positions freely, just like the case of the two identical R-expressions in (121) and (135) above.

- (144) ([*Ney os*]-ul_i) *ney-ka* ([*ney os*]-ul_i) *kolla-la*.
 your clothes-acc you-nom your clothes-acc pick.out-imp
 ‘Pick out your clothes.’

Regardless of the movement of the object, (144) is grammatical since there are no uninterpretable person features to be blocked from the beginning. The proposed analysis successfully predicts this, and the analysis is given below:



From this, we might think that scrambling is allowed when a subject and a bindee are identical, such as ‘Hyeki-nom Hyeki-gen’ in (121) and ‘you-nom you-gen’ in (144). However, co-referential arguments are not required to be morphologically identical to be movable. This will be discussed in the following section.

4.4.1.2. Co-referential reciprocals

Scrambling is predicted to be possible in principle unless an interpretable person feature does not precede any uninterpretable person feature. Supporting evidence is put forward in (146) in which a *reciprocal* is used as a co-referential item.

When reciprocals are used as a co-referential argument with an R-expression, scrambling is freely allowed as shown below.

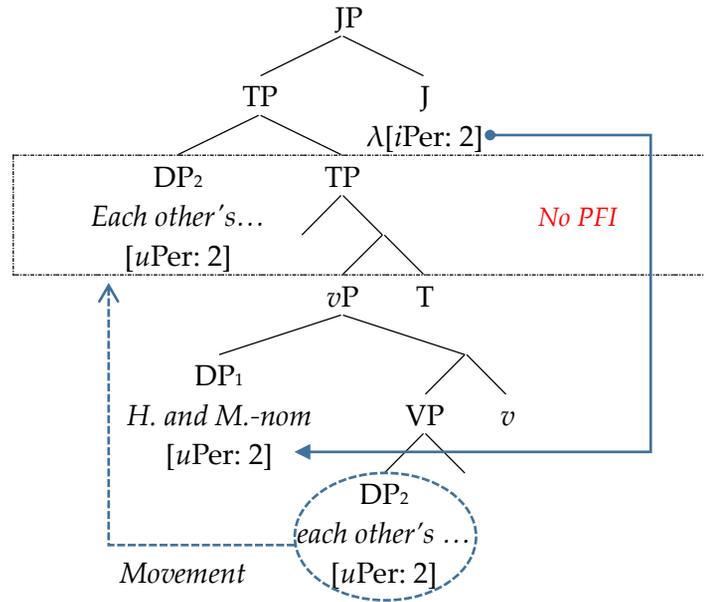
- (146)a. [Hyeki-wa Mina]_i-ka [selo_i-uy nonmwun]-ul ilke-la.
H.-and M.-nom each.other-gen paper-acc read-imp
'Hyeki and Mina (= hearers) read each other's paper!'
- b. [Selo_i-uy nonmwun]-ul_j [Hyeki-wa Mina]_i-ka _{ej}
each.other-gen paper-acc H.-and M.-nom
ilke-la.
read-imp
'Hyeki and Mina (= hearers) read each other's paper!'

Though the two co-referential elements, *Hyeki-wa Mina* and *selo*, are morphologically different from each other, the object which contains *selo* can move forward through the subject as in (146)b.

This shows that the higher copy of DP₂ does not cause Person Feature Intervention, as shown in (147). As marked with the dotted box in the tree, the reciprocal *selo* 'each other' does not trigger Person Feature Intervention after scrambling. This proves that *selo* does not have any interpretable person feature under the proposed analysis.

(147)

=(146)b

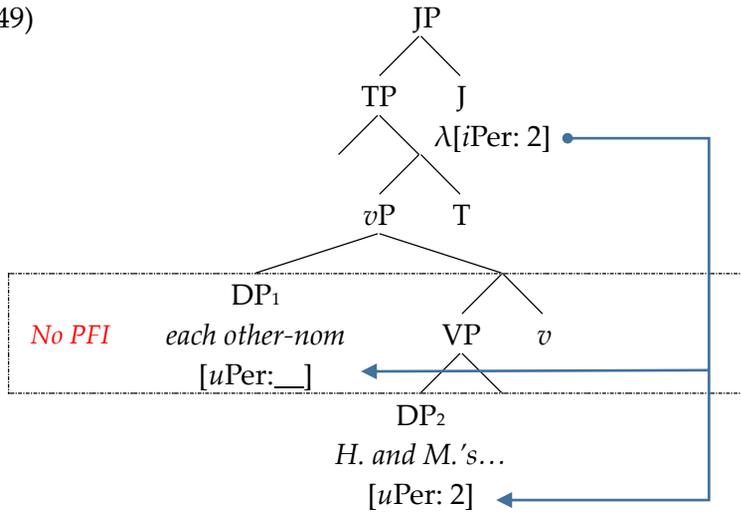


Note, however, that reciprocals are distinguished from R-expressions regarding a type of binding. They are treated as a co-referential element with an uninterpretable person feature, just like a non-third person R-expression here. However, they are bound by an antecedent DP, which I will refer to as A-binding, unlike an R-expression bound by a functional head (Jussive, here).

- (148)a. **Selo*_i-ka [[*Hyeki-wa Mina*]_i-uy nonmwun]-ul ilke-la.
 each.other-nom H.-and M.-gen paper-acc read-imp
 ‘Hyeki and Mina (= hearers) read each other’s paper!’
- b. [[*Hyeki-wa Mina*]_i-uy nonmwun]-ul_j *selo*_i-ka *e_j* ilke-la.
 H.-and M.-gen paper-acc each.other-nom read-imp
 ‘Hyeki and Mina (= hearers) read each other’s paper!’

(148)a is ungrammatical since there are no DP antecedents for *selo* ‘each other’, but it becomes grammatical when the object is scrambled as in (148)b. This contrasts with the ungrammatical scrambling data in (119)-(120). As shown in (149), DP₁ can be J-bound without problems under the proposed analysis, so the ungrammaticality of (148)a resides in *selo* ‘each other’, but not in J-binding.

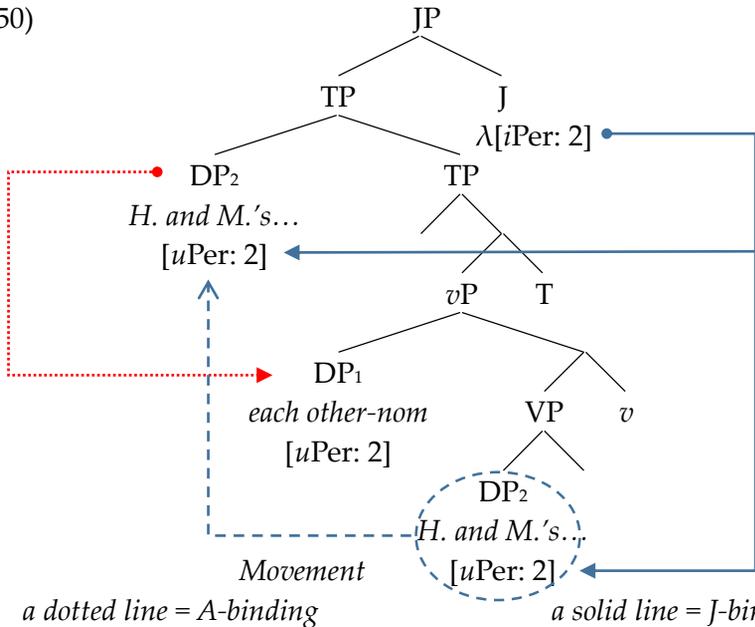
(149)



=(148)a

However, when the co-referential R-expression is scrambled before the reciprocal subject, it feeds the A-binding of the reciprocal as in (148)b. Since reciprocals are A-bound by a DP antecedent, the moved DP₂ with the co-referential R-expression can A-bind the reciprocal DP₁, and give a proper interpretation, as depicted below:

(150)



=(148)b

Apart from the fact that DP₁ can get its reference after the DP₂ has moved, multiple applications of J-binding are possible due to the absence of an

interpretable person feature. Consequently, all the co-referential arguments can get the same second person value.

Furthermore, reciprocals show a free distribution with a co-referential pronominal element, as well, as long as A-binding is available.

- (151)a. *Nehuyi*-ka [*selo*-uy nonmwun]-ul ilke-la. cf.(146)
 you.pl-nom each.other-gen paper-acc read-imp
 'Read each other's paper!'
- b. [*Selo*-uy nonmwun]-ul_j *nehuyi*-ka e_j ilke-la.
 each.other-gen paper-acc you.pl-nom read-imp
 'Read each other's paper!'

This can be anticipated under my approach because the reciprocal *selo* with an uninterpretable person feature is licensed by a subject DP *nehuy* 'you.pl', so it is not subject to Person Feature Intervention, which the pronominal subject might induce in (151)a. Also, in (151)b, the reference of *selo* is maintained after the scrambling. This indicates that A-binding is derivational, contra J-binding, which is representational.

As in the previous R-expression case, the reciprocal subject has to follow a co-referential pronominal.

- (152)a. **Selo*-ka [*nehuyi*-uy nonmwun]-ul ilke-la. cf.(148)
 each.other-nom you.pl-gen paper-acc read-imp
 'Read each other's paper!'
- b. [*Nehuyi*-uy nonmwun]-ul_j *selo*-ka e_j ilke-la.
 you.pl-gen paper-acc each.other-nom read-imp
 'Read each other's paper!'

(152)a is ungrammatical because the reciprocal *selo* is unlicensed, as in (148)a. In contrast, (152)b becomes grammatical as the result of scrambling of the object since the *nehuy* 'you.pl' inside the moved argument can A-bind the

reciprocal *selo* ‘each other’. This is the property of A-binding as mentioned above. Although *selo* bears an uninterpretable person feature like a co-referential R-expression, *selo* is properly bound by movement, unlike the R-expression.¹³⁶

This subsection implies that there are two types of binding depending on an antecedent: DP vs. Jussive. Kratzer (2009) convincingly argues that a variable (fake indexical) is bound by a functional head, not by a nominal antecedent. However, (148)b and (152)b show that a reciprocal *selo* ‘each other’ is bound by DP, and object scrambling feeds ordinary A-binding. The different properties of J-binding and A-binding prove the two types of binding, contrasting between a functional head and a maximal projection.

4.4.2. Unexpected movement: Rightward dislocation and topicalization

In this subsection, I will present a rightward dislocation case that shows different properties from leftward scrambling data.

The ungrammatical *pronoun-first, R-expression-second* sequence in (118)

¹³⁶ I will reserve comment on whether this analysis can be applied to the anaphor *caki* ‘self’ in Korean. Above all, *caki* has been known to be a third person anaphor resisting co-indexation with a first or second person (Lee 1973, Han and Storoshenko 2012, among many others). Thus, it does not freely occur in jussive contexts, which is anchored to a speaker or hearer. However, as K. Choi (2014) generalizes that an antecedent of *caki* has to be [-speaker], *caki* can be anteceded by a second person as cited in (i) (Chang 1986, Im 1987, K. Choi 2014).

- (i) Ne-to: caki-uyi hemwul-ul com sayngkakhaye-la.
 you-too self-gen fault-acc please think-imp
 ‘You, too, think of (your) fault, please!’ (Im 1987: 124)

Still, the nominative marked second person subject *ney-ka* ‘you-nom’ cannot bind *caki* ‘self’. Thus, to extend the proposed PFI to *caki*, the property and distribution of *caki* must be investigated. I appreciate Prof. Jong Un Park reminding me of this issue.

is not salvaged by rightward dislocation, just as in the previous leftward scrambling, as follows:

- (153)* *Ney-ka_i e_j ilke-la [Hyeki-uy_i nonmwun-ul]_j*. cf.(119)
 you-nom read-imp H.-gen paper-acc
 Int. 'Hyeki read your paper!' (Hyeki = hearer)

The object *Hyeki-uy nonmwun-ul* 'H.'s paper-acc' moved rightward from the originally ungrammatical sentence, and the result is still ungrammatical. This is predictable under my proposal since the original copy of the object remains unlicensed due to the intervention of the pronominal subject. That is, Person Feature Intervention occurs whether the object moved or not. This seems to be parallel to the leftward scrambling case, in that rightward dislocation does not feed J-binding.

Surprisingly, rightward dislocation also does not bleed J-binding, unlike leftward scrambling.

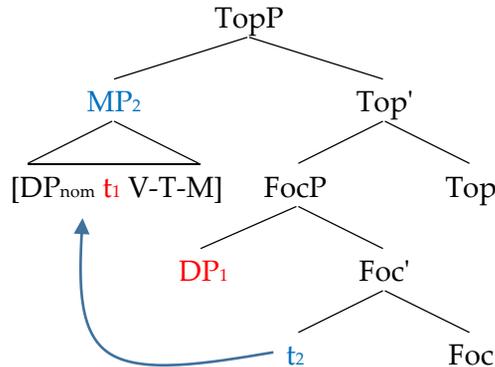
- (154)*Hyeki-ka_i e_j ilke-la [ney_i nonmwun-ul]_j*. cf.(120)
 H.-nom read-imp your paper-acc
 Int. 'Hyeki read your paper!' (Hyeki = hearer)

The object *ney nonmwun-ul* 'your paper-acc' has moved rightward from the grammatical position, and the result is grammatical again. (154) will be incorrectly predicted to be ungrammatical under my analysis *if* rightward dislocation is treated in the same manner as leftward scrambling.

However, rightward dislocation has to be handled in a different way than leftward scrambling (Choe 1987; Ahn 1988; Lee 2009, 2011; Chung 2012; Ko 2015, among others). First, as exhibited in the contrast between (153)-(154) and (119)-(120), rightward dislocation does not affect the binding relation, contra leftward scrambling. Also, when a quantifier moves from a sentence containing negation, leftward scrambling shows quantifier scope ambiguity

regarding negation, whereas rightward dislocation does not. Thus, (153)-(154) are not problematic if I assume that rightward dislocation targets a high C above JP (e.g. a focus position in Ko (2015) as cited below¹³⁷). Then the moved phrase does not affect the binding relation inside JP anymore.

(155) Ko's (2015: 16) rightward dislocation of arguments



Besides rightward dislocation, other peripheral elements, such as hanging topic and topic marker *-nun* phrase, do not seem to affect J-binding. The ungrammatical leftward scrambling data in (119)-(120) become acceptable when the accusative Case marker is omitted.

- (156)a. [Hyeki_i os]_j, ney_i-ka e_j kolla-la. cf. (119)a
 H. clothes you-nom pick.out-imp
 ‘Hyeki pick out your clothes.’ (Hyeki = hearer)
- b. [Ney_i os]_j, Hyeki_i-ka e_j kolla-la. cf. (120)a
 your clothes H.-nom pick.out-imp
 ‘Hyeki pick out your clothes.’ (Hyeki = hearer)

In (156), the accusative marker *-lul* is omitted. 3 out of 9 native Korean speakers judge (156)a grammatical, 3 of them judge it acceptable but not

¹³⁷ In contrast to the rightward dislocation of arguments, Ko (2015) argues that rightward dislocation of adjuncts is formulated by sideward movement and concatenation following Hornstein and Nunes (2008). Refer to Ko (2015) for details on rightward dislocation.

perfect. Compared to (119)a, which all 9 native Korean speakers judge to be ungrammatical, the result of (156) is a significant improvement.¹³⁸ Also, for (156)b, 4 out of 9 native Korean speakers consider it grammatical, and 2 of them acceptable but not perfect. In contrast, (120)a is judged to be ungrammatical by 7 out of 9 native Korean speakers.

Also, when the topic marker *-(n)un* is attached to the object in place of the accusative marker *-(l)ul*, the grammaticality improves compared to (119)-(120). This is displayed below:

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---|------------------------|----------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (157)a. | [Hyeki _i os]-un _j , | ney _i -ka | <i>e_j</i> | kolla-la. | cf. (119)a |
| | H. | clothes-top | you-nom | pick.out-imp | |
| | 'Hyeki pick out your clothes.' | | | | (Hyeki = hearer) |
| b. | [Ney _i os]-un _j , | Hyeki _i -ka | <i>e_j</i> | kolla-la. | cf. (120)a |
| | your | clothes-top | H.-nom | pick.out-imp | |
| | 'Hyeki pick out your clothes.' | | | | (Hyeki = hearer) |

For (157)a, 3 out of 9 native Korean speakers judge it grammatical and 1 of them regards it as acceptable but not perfect. For (157)b, 2 out of 9 speakers judge it grammatical and 2 of them judge it acceptable but not perfect. The result is worse than the hanging topic cases in (156), but still better than the original accusative cases in (119)-(120).

Scrambling and topicalization have been considered to be different syntactic operations. For example, the former disallows a resumptive pronoun in a gapped position, unlike the latter (refer to Kang (1986: 250-253) for different properties of scrambling and topicalization in Korean). Thus, it is not strange that (119)-(120) and (156)-(157) behave differently. (See also

¹³⁸ Of the 11 native Korean speakers tested, one of them judged all the sentences grammatical, and another one judged them all ungrammatical. Thus, I regarded them as outliers and counted them out from the analysis. Besides these two, 4 speakers judged (116) to be perfect, and they thought that (119)-(120) were completely ungrammatical.

Cho (1994).)

To discuss topic phrases in Korean, review of analyses on *-nun* phrases would be in order, since discussions on Korean topics focus on *-nun* phrases. *-Nun* is known to be ambiguous in that it can be attached to both a topic and a contrastive element in a sentence¹³⁹. Thus, semantic analyses of *-nun* are mainly interested in which usage is basic. Hence, by and large, they are divided into two categories: (a) derivational and (b) non-derivational analyses. The former, on the one hand, includes the opposite two sides: (i) topic-base vs. (ii) contrastive-base. According to Park (1998), the topic use forms the basis of *-nun*, and the contrastive use is derived from it (a-i). In contrast, Lee and Chae (1999) argue that the topic use of *-nun* is derived from the contrastive one (a-ii). On the other hand, Oh (1971) takes the non-derivational approach (b), the two *-nuns* are treated as homonyms: the topicalizing *-nun* is a realization of a [+topic] feature, and the contrastive *-nun* is a contextual particle marking a contextual relation, which is inserted via a pre-cyclic rule. Jun (2006) analyzes the two types of *-nun* as independent phenomena as well. This is because the two usages are associated with a different kinds of information structure fundamentally: topic and focus are involved with *givenness* as old and new information, respectively, but contrastiveness is not. Accordingly, both contrastive topic and contrastive focus are available. In that respect, Jun (2006) argues that it is not the case that one is derived from the other.

Syntactic analyses on *-nun* are bifurcated in a broad sense, too: base-generation vs. movement. The base-generation analysis advocates that *-nun* phrases are generated in the highest domain of a clause in line with Kang (1986) on Korean and English. According to Kang (1986), topic phrases are base-generated in the left-most topic node in Korean since it allows a

¹³⁹ *-Nun* in Korean often has often been compared to *-wa* in Japanese due to the similar usages. Japanese *-wa* also has a dual function: (i) topicalization and (ii) contrasting (Kuno 1970).

Browning (1987) argue that topicalization in English (e.g. *John, I like.*) is derived via phrasal movement, which is adjoined to IP, which they call SS-adjunction. They claim that there is no movement of a null Operator in topicalization. Oh (1971) advances a phrasal movement analysis on Korean topicalization as a post-cyclic rule¹⁴¹. According to him, a definite noun phrase moves to the sentence initial position, leaving a trace, and *-nun* attaches to it for the [+topic] feature, which is adjoined to S.

Another type of movement approach is regarding Operator. Choe (1991) argues that Korean topicalization involves a null operator movement contra focalization, which is derived by a syntactic focus movement, such as *wh*-movement. According to Choe (1991), *-nun* phrases are base-generated in the sentential initial position, and *-nun* constitutes a TC head, which mediates topic and comment in a clause. A pronominal null Operator which is a kind of *pro*, as Browning (1987) assumes, moves from IP to SpecTCP at LF, so that it does not yield the Subjacency effect (cf. Chomsky's (1977) Subjacency effects on English topics¹⁴² and Saito's (1985) PP-topicalization in Japanese¹⁴³). In (159), β corresponds to IP, and τ to a category which contains a topic phrase. However, Choe (1991) argues that the τ is lower than SpecCP

¹⁴¹ That topicalization is unavailable within embedded clauses means that the operation is applied to the topmost sentences. In that sense, it is a post-cyclic rule which is applied after all the cyclic rules have applied (refer to Oh 1971: 141-142). This has already been mentioned in Kuno (1970) in terms of Japanese, but he further argues that a topicalized element is de-topicalized (i.e. neutralization) in an embedded clause, which Oh (*ibid.*) opposes.

¹⁴² English allows topicalization within an embedded clause and exhibits Subjacency effects contra Korean topicalization (Chomsky 1977).

¹⁴³ According to Saito (1985), PP can be topicalized, and PP-wa 'PP-top' can appear in a sentence-initial position, but it disallows a resumptive pronoun and obeys Subjacency. This contrasts with NP/DP-topicalization. Choe (1991) agrees with his observation, and argues that the same goes with Korean because PP-topics are in fact contrastive, hence are derived from a different operation from a non-contrastive topic. The former is formed by movement of contrastive focus (cf. Kang 1986).

and appears in an IP-internal position¹⁴⁴ because a topic phrase cannot move rightward outside a quotative CP¹⁴⁵. Kim (1991, 1998) supports the movement of the Operator in topicalization based on its unavailability within complex noun phrases and adjunct clauses¹⁴⁶. This indicates that topicalization obeys Subjacency since it contains the movement operation. Thus, Kim (1998) argues that it moves phrasally at the Syntax level, contra Choe (1991).

(159)Choe's (1991: 264) topic constructions in Korean

... [_Y NP_i [_{TC}P Spec [_{TC}' ... [_β ... 0_i ...] [_{TC} -*nun*]]]]

→ ... [_Y NP_i-*nun* [_{TC}P 0_i [_{TC}' ... [_β ... *t_i*...] [_{TC} *t_j*]]]]

(160)Kim's (1998: 60) topic constructions in Korean

[_{TopP} Johni-un [_{CP} Op_i [_{IP} ku_i-uy emeni-ka *t_i* salanghan-ta]]]

Some researchers utilize both the above approaches as a hybrid analysis. Bak (1981) and Ura (1995) argue that argument topics involve movement,

¹⁴⁴ This thesis assumes that scrambling is distinguished from *-nun*-marked topics regarding the final position: the former is on SpecTP, and the latter is above that (presumably, SpecTopP). Thus, it seems to run counter to Choe's (1991) analysis. However, topic phrases still occupy the highest position in Choe (1991) compared to other left-peripheral elements such as focus or a contrastive topic/focus.

¹⁴⁵ Topic phrases can undergo rightward movement, but they cannot follow the *-ko* complement in an embedded clause. However, as Ko (2015) stated, right dislocation is a root phenomenon, thus, the reason topics cannot follow *-ko* is that they are independent from the topic position. Refer to Choe (1991: 267-268) for the relevant data.

¹⁴⁶ Extraction is not possible from complex noun phrases such as relative clauses or complement clauses. This phenomenon is referred to as CNPC (Complex noun phrase constraint). In Korean, Kim (1998) shows that topicalization is not possible from complement clauses, in which a head noun requires a factive complement such as *sasil* 'fact'. Another constraint on movement is related to adjuncts: extractions are not allowed from adjunct clauses (Adjunct constraint). In Kim (1998), when a subordinate clause is headed by *ttay* 'when', topicalization is not legitimate. These constraints are subsumed under Subjacency (Chomsky 1986), which movement cannot cross over more than one barrier.

whereas other gapless topics, with the exception of double subject constructions, are base-generated. Also, Gil (1998) provides the Island-sensitivity of topicalization as evidence for the movement analysis on the gapped construction. In contrast, the gap-less one is accounted for in terms of aboutness. Likewise, the different analyses on Korean topicalization come from the discordant judgments on Subjacency in the relevant data. This means that, in order to give an exact and inclusive analysis for topicalization in Korean, we should reevaluate all the data which have been discussed in literature. This is out of the scope of this dissertation, and it will be left for future study.

Meanwhile, this dissertation assumes that bare topics without any particle are a hanging topic. In Hong's (1994) incorporation analysis on the Case drop phenomena in Korean¹⁴⁷, a Case-less DP is forced to be a topic when it is not in a complement position of a predicate. It is supported by the fact that a Case-less *wh*-phrase is not allowed at all when it is not adjacent to a predicate.¹⁴⁸ Ahn and Cho (2007) show that Caseless bare noun phrases are

¹⁴⁷ Hong (1994) argues that the Case drop is a consequence of incorporation of an adjacent DP into a predicate. Thus, the Case drop is not possible in a specifier position. Refer to Hong (1994) for a detailed analysis. Also, refer to An (2012, 2014), Hong (2013), Park (2014), and Lee (2015), among others, for the genitive Case drop in a nominal phrase.

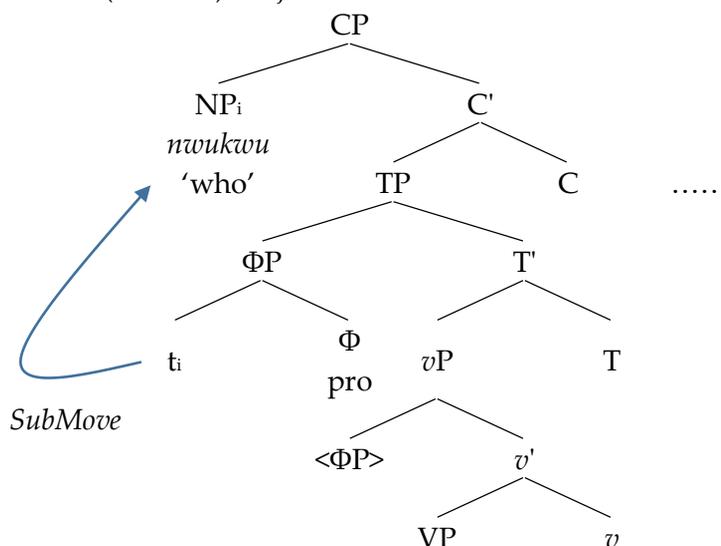
¹⁴⁸ The relevant data is presented here.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (i) | Chelswu | cengmal | Yenghuy-lul | salanghay. | (Hong 1994: 25) |
| | C. | really | Y.-acc | love | |
| | 'Chelswu really loves Yenghuy.' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (ii) | *Nwukwu | cengmal | Yenghuy-lul | salangha-ni? | (Hong 1994: 26) |
| | who | really | Y.-acc | love-int | |
| | Int. 'Who really loves Yenghuy?' | | | | |

According to Hong (1994), the Case-less (nominative) Chelswu in (i) is allowed since it is a topic which is not in an A-position, whereas the Case-less (nominative) *wh*-phrase *nwukwu* 'who' in (ii) is ungrammatical since a *wh*-phrase cannot get a topic interpretation due to its focus nature.

closely related to discourse in a subject position, whereas they are not in an object position. They argue that a subject bare noun phrase is left-dislocated from the subject null resumptive *pro* to the left-peripheral position as sub-extraction following Boeckx (2003). As a result, a chain is formed between the two, and the D-link property is derived. In contrast, an object bare noun phrase constitutes a syntactic complex predicate with a subcategorizing verb. Their proposal is corroborated by various kinds of asymmetries between the two: “high occurrence rate of bare NP objects, person/definiteness effects in bare NP subjects, and presence or absence of D-linked interpretation for bare WHs (Ahn and Cho 2007: 65)”. Ahn and Cho’s subject bare NP construction cited in (161).

(161) Ahn & Cho’s (2007: 60) subject bare NP constructions



Furthermore, in Japanese, Takita (2014) argues that bare topics are equivalent to hanging topics in Romance and other languages although he discusses only right-dislocated ones. He provides evidence for a similar property of bare topics in Japanese and hanging topics, regarding root properties, reconstruction effects, and island insensitivity. Since the Korean counterparts pattern with Japanese data, too, Korean can be placed under the hanging topic approach, as with Japanese. According to Takita (2014),

bare topics are base-generated in the highest position in a clause without any particles, and establish a dependency relation with a relevant gap in TP without movement. This is in accordance with Benincà and Poletto (2004) which propose two kinds of topics: base-generated hanging topics in the highest position over ForceP, and the derived Clitic Left Dislocation in a lower topic position below ForceP.

Lumping right dislocation (153)-(154), hanging topic (156), and topic phrases (157) together, the higher CP elements than JP do not seem to affect J-binding. Although different views have been postulated on their formation, there is no doubt that their final position occupies a higher position in CP layers than JP in terms of syntactic and semantic perspectives. Depending on different theories, the position may be filled by movement or base-generation. This thesis does not take any determined attitude on them, but argues that the left- or right-most positions are immune to the PFI effects of Jussive.

4.5. Cross-linguistic variations on binding: English

Returning to (115), an R-expression subject can license both second and third person anaphors in imperatives in English, unlike Korean. In (162), the subject of imperatives, *Mary* and *John*, are understood as hearers, and a second person anaphor *yourself* is employed. (163) is identical to (162) except that the hearer *Mary* binds the third person anaphor *herself*. This is not predicted under the functional category approach, which this dissertation adopts. This is because a jussive subject is grammatically non-third person in jussives when J-Agree is established. Thus, the third person binding in typical-jussives must be answered.

(162) Kids, *Mary*_i wash *yourself*_i, John take the dog for a walk! =(115)

(Zanuttini et al. 2012)

(163) Mary wash *herself*_i, and John take the dog for a walk! (Potsdam 1998)

Zanuttini et al. (2012) have briefly discussed the issue focusing on a quantificational subject, as given in (164). When *everyone* is a subject of imperatives, an object can be either *yourself* or *himself*, as with the previous proper name subject. They argue that this is attributed to a partitive construction. Specifically, the *everyone* in (164) is read as *everyone of you*, and a non-third person anaphor is realized when a set part, *you*, functions as a binder, and the third person anaphor is realized when the entire phrase functions as a binder.¹⁴⁹ This is supported by the fact that the quantificational phrase can bind first or second person bindees in non-jussives. Also, they mention the proper name subject in (162)-(163) as a speaker variation in their footnote 22, but do not give any explanation.

(164) Everyone wash himself. (Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1248)

This thesis provisionally proposes that such tolerance of English is due to a property of *v*. Kratzer (2009) extensively shows that *v* in English bears a person feature, unlike Korean. As described in (165)-(166), when *v* is introduced with an inherent person feature independently from Jussive, and binds XP2 before the Jussive head is merged, XP2 can have a different person feature from its Jussive head, in so far as there is not a semantic clash. Since, by the multiple application of J-binding, Jussive, XP1, and XP2 share features in the end, the different person features on XP1 and XP2 seem to be inappropriate. However, as represented in (166), I assume that the lower co-referential item with a third person feature bears a default value, hence it is free from the featural crash. The morphological realization of the bound elements can be either default (namely, third person) or non-third person.

¹⁴⁹ To be exact, Zanuttini et al. (2012) mention that “in sentences with quantificational subjects in English, a bound element exhibits either the person feature of the partitive phrase, or a default person value. (*ibid.*: 1248)” I take the default person value to be a result of the binding by the entire *everyone* phrase, but I might misunderstand their explanation.

(165)[_{JP} Jussive_{λ[n]} [_{TP} T [_{vP} XP1 *v*_[m] [_{VP} XP2'steeth]]]]

(166)a. *v* is merged with a [default] person feature.

b. *v* binds XP1/2, and XP1/2 becomes XP1/2_[def].

c. A defective T is merged.

d. Jussive_{λ[n]} is merged with a non-third person feature, and binds XP1/2. The XP1/2 becomes XP1/2_[φ] ([φ] ≠ [3]).

I admit that there is a possibility that XPs in (165)-(166) get two person features from *v* and Jussive, respectively. This could be problematic under the assumption on features that “a bundle of features can contain at most one instance of a given feature (Zanuttini et al. (2012: 1243).” However, we do not assume that a person feature exists on a head as a tied unit, and this is proven by the non-typical exhortative data in Chapter 3. In this regard, I argue that even a singular noun can have different but compossible person features at the same time.¹⁵⁰ In addition, it has to get a plural reading when contradictory person features occur on a head simultaneously: namely, [1] and [2] on the exhortative head.

If this is on the right track, the lack of person features on Korean *v* brings about the limited realization of a bound element in jussives compared with English. Since Korean does not have a person feature on *v*, XP1 and XP2 have no features to share before the merger of Jussive, and they only create a chain by (166)c. As a result, only the realization of non-third person feature is available.

This might also be due to the property of a special DP in English, which has a third person form but a non-third person meaning. Such a noun phrase can license both third and non-third person bindees within non-jussive constructions as well, in English, and this is called an imposter (Collins and Postal 2012). This is in sharp contrast with Korean, in which a non-third

¹⁵⁰ Kayne (2000), Harley and Ritter (2002), and Rezac (2006) argue that a third person lacks a person feature.

person R-expression cannot bind a third person bindee in any clausal type. Thus, the wider possibilities of binding at issue in English are ascribable to a DP-internal property rather than a binding mechanism in a verbal domain. The imposter analysis will be discussed in a later chapter.

4.6. Summary

The main purpose of this chapter has been to exhibit a restriction on binding within jussive constructions and to argue that an interpretable person feature functions as an intervenor for person feature valuation.

Restricted distribution of (anaphoric) R-expressions with a non-third person feature is caused by an interpretable person feature. That is, I have shown that ZP can be an intervenor for X's binding of YP in (167) since what is important in Person Feature Intervention is the feature. This sheds light on the possibility that the Binding Condition C effect is analyzed as the result of Feature Intervention.

$$(167)^* [\dots X[iPerson] \dots ZP[iPerson] \dots YP[uPerson] \dots] \quad = (124)$$

|-----⊘-----|

In addition, I have proven that a bindee within jussives is not licensed by a jussive subject, but by a Jussive head. This analysis accords with Kratzer's (2009) argument that variable binding is accomplished by a functional head. However, unlike Kratzer (2009), a co-referential noun phrase can affect binding even though it is not a licenser when it bears an inherent person feature. Also, my analysis has shown that there are two types of binding with reference to an antecedent type based on reciprocal data: a maximal projection (NP/DP) and a functional head (Jussive and *v*).

5. Alternative analyses on a subject of jussives

5.1. A subject of jussives is not an imposter

In the recent research trend of generative syntax, morpho-semantic discrepancies of noun phrases have been in the spotlight since Collins and Postal's (2012) influential study on imposters. In Korean, too, the imposter analysis has been introduced to explain a non-third person R-expression in non-jussives (Kim 2015), and it has been extended to jussive constructions (Choi 2016a). However, the non-third person R-expressions do not behave in a parallel way in jussives and non-jussives. Thus, this chapter will demonstrate that a jussive subject is not just an imposter. They have an intersection relation, but are not in an inclusion relation, at least in Korean.

5.1.1. Backgrounds: A non-third person noun phrase in non-jussives

So far, this study has attested to the presence of the Jussive head and J-Agree in jussives. However, a common noun which is regarded as third person can have a first or second person reading in non-jussives, such as in declaratives or interrogatives. In this case, the meaning of the noun phrase is not determined by a clausal structure, but by context, contra jussive cases. Thus, the non-third person R-expressions in jussives and non-jussives cannot be treated identically.

As has already been discussed, within jussives, an R-expression subject which is morphologically third person can bind a non-third person pronominal, specifically, a second person bindee in imperatives, a first person bindee in promissives, and a first person inclusive bindee in exhortatives. The relevant data is repeated in (168). In (168)b, the proper name *Mary* binds a second person anaphor *yourself* in the imperative clause; in (168)c, the quantifier *everyone* binds *yourself*. The same goes for Korean,

which is demonstrated in (169). The R-expressions *Inho* and *emma* ‘mom’ can bind a non-third person pronominal. In my analysis, this is analyzed as the *external* element, the Jussive head, deciding an interpretation of an apparently third person noun, in line with Zanuttini et al. (2012), which argue that a jussive subject depends on the upper functional head, Jussive. This approach straightforwardly accounts for the given data, in which the jussive subject, *Mary*, *everyone*, *Inho*, or *emma* ‘mom’, is grammatically identical to *you* or *I*.

(168)a. (You) eat your dinner! = (29)

b. Kids, Mary wash yourself, John take the dog for a walk!

c. Everyone wash yourself!

((a) from Schmerling 1982, (b-c) from Zanuttini et al. 2012: 1238)

(169)a. *Inho-ka:* [ne:/*ku-uy_i chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-la. = (116)

Inho-nom you/he-gen friend-acc bring come-imp

‘Inho bring your friend.’

(Inho = hearer)

b. *Emma-hako Inho-ka:* [ɔwuli:/*kutul-uy_i chinkwu]-lul

mom-and Inho-nom we/they-gen friend-acc

teyliko o-ca.

bring come-exh

‘Let’s bring our friend.’

(Mommy = speaker, Inho = hearer)

c. *Emma-ka:* [nai:/*kunye-uy_i chinkwu]-lul teyliko o-ma.

mom-nom I/she-gen friend-acc bring come-prm

‘Mommy will bring her friend.’

(Mommy = speaker)

However, an apparently third person noun can have a non-third person reading in other clauses, too. Non-jussives can have an R-expression argument with a non-third person meaning, as given in (170), but Zanuttini et al. (2012) mention that it cannot bind a non-third person pronoun in non-jussives. Instead, the identical nouns are obligatorily employed as a bindee, as in (171).

- (170)a. Imo-ka_i cikum cal ha-ko iss-ni?
 aunt-nom now well do-comp be-int
 Int. Am I (=aunt) doing well?’
- b. Hyeki-ka cikum mwe ha-ko siph-ni?
 H.-nom now what do-comp want-int
 Int. ‘What do you (=Hyeki) want to do now?’
- (171)a. Emma-ka_i emma_i cikcang-eyse-nun choysen-ul
 mommy-nom mommy work-at-top best-acc
 ta ha-ko iss-e.
 all do-comp be-decl
 ‘Mommy_i is doing my_i best at my work.’ (Mommy = speaker)
- b. Inho_i-ka elyewun sanghwang-eyse-to Inho_i wichi-eyse
 I.-nom difficult situation-at-also I. position-at
 choysen-ul ta hayss-ney.
 best-acc all did-sp (Inho = hearer)
 ‘Inho_i did all he could do in his_i place despite some difficulties.’
 (Choi 2016a: 6, some corrections)

However, Choi (2016a) provides the data in which the second co-referential nouns in (171) are replaced with non-third person pronominals as grammatical instances, in opposition to Zanuttini et al.’s (2012) observation. However, the judgement is quite controversial as Zanuttini et al. (2012) has rejected this data, and it requires a contrastive meaning compared to the repetition case in (171). That is, for (172) to be natural, another situation is required, such as *mom’s housework*, which is contrastively evaluated. For that reason, when the topic marker *-nun* is omitted, the grammaticalness is

5.1.2.1. Disambiguation by the Jussive head

A clausal structure may disambiguate the meaning of a noun phrase, and relevant data will be presented in this subsection.

A jussive subject is forced into having a non-third person reading. To be specific, a morphologically third person R-expression can only be read as a non-third person in jussives, but it can be read as an ordinary third person in non-jussives. This contrast is exemplified in (173).

- (173)a. Hyeki-ka ney elkwul-ul kulye-la.
 H.-nom your face-acc draw-imp
 (i) * 'Hyeki_i draw your_j face (portrait).' [i≠j]
 (ii) √ 'Hyeki_i draw your_i face (self-portrait).'
- b. Hyeki-ka ney elkwul-ul kulyess-ni?
 H.-nom your face-acc drew-int
 (i) √ 'Did Hyeki_i draw your_j face (portrait)?' [i≠j] (genuine [3])
 (ii) √ 'Did Hyeki_i draw your_i face (self-portrait)?' (imposter)¹⁵²
- c. Hyeki-ka ney elkwul-ul kulyess-ney.
 H.-nom your face-acc drew-sp
 (i) √ 'Hyeki_i draw your_j face (portrait).' [i≠j] (genuine [3])
 (ii) √ 'Hyeki_i draw your_i face (self-portrait).' (imposter)

In (173)a, the sentence employs the imperative particle *-la*, so that it is always read as an imperative construction. Accordingly, the subject *Hyeki* is anchored to a second person. In contrast, (173)(b-c) are an interrogative and declarative sentence, respectively, where the subjects may or may not be a third person. Depending on context, *Hyeki* can denote a hearer or a third person.

¹⁵² Collins and Postal (2012) refer to an apparent third person noun phrase with a non-third person reading as imposter. This will be discussed below in detail.

The same goes for an embedded pronominal subject which is co-indexed with a matrix R-expression subject and gets a non-third person reading as in (174).

- (174)a. Imo-ka emma-hanthey nay-ka silswuhayssnun-ci
 aunt-nom mom-to I-nom mistook-whether
 mwulepo-ma.
 ask-prm
 (i) * '(I_i) promise that (the) aunt_i will ask (the) mom whether I
 made mistake.' (i≠j)
 (ii) √ '(I, your) aunt_i, will ask (your) mom whether I made a
 mistake.'
- b. Imo-ka emma-hanthey nay-ka silswuhayssnun-ci
 aunt-nom mom-to I-nom mistook-whether
 mwulepwass-ci.
 asked-sp.committal¹⁵³ (i≠j≠k)
 (i) √ '(The) aunt_i asked (the) mom_j whether I_k had made mistake.'
 (ii) √ '(I, your) aunt_i asked (your) mom that I_i had made mistake.'
- c. Imo-ka emma-hanthey nay-ka silswuhayssnun-ci
 aunt-nom mom-to I-nom mistook-whether
 mwut-ten?
 ask-int.evidential (i≠j≠k)
 (i) √ 'Did (the) aunt_i ask (the) mom_j that I_k had made mistake?'
 (ii) 'Did (I, your) aunt_i ask (your) mom that I_i had made
 mistake?'¹⁵⁴

Here, all the embedded clauses contain the first person pronominal *na(y)* 'I', which co-refers to the reference of the matrix subject *imo* 'aunt'. (174)a bears the promissive particle in the matrix clause, so its subject always denotes the

¹⁵³ See footnote 11 for the committal *-ci*.

¹⁵⁴ (174)c is acceptable supposing the situation that the speaker does not remember what she said to her sister since she drank too much.

speaker, and binds the embedded pronominal, which is co-indexed. In contrast, the sentential particle in (174)(b-c) is *-ci* and *-ten*, and the sentences are a declarative and interrogative clause, respectively. Again, the subject noun phrases are ambiguous, and their meaning is determined by discourse. The subject *imo* 'aunt' may or may not bind the embedded pronominal subject in (174)(b-c).

This indicates interpretation of a noun phrase is affected by a clausal construction, an external element to DP. In jussives, therefore, an imposter approach on the non-third person R-expression is not sufficient to explain this environment. A jussive subject is always read as a non-third person: namely, a second person within imperatives in (173)a. Also, it has a first person reading under the promissive or exhortative particle as in the promissive case in (174)a. In contrast, non-jussives do not impose such an interpretative restriction on their R-expression subject. Its interpretation is solely reliant on discourse. Thus, an interpretation of a subject in jussives is achieved by a syntactic operation, unlike the non-jussive cases.

Although the non-jussive case is involved in the discourse issue as well, it has also been investigated in generative syntax (refer to Collins and Postal (2012) for English; Das (2014) for Bangla; Dudley (2014) and Vázquez Rojas (2014) for Spanish; Kallulli (2014) for Albanian; Kaufman (2014) for Indonesian; Servidio (2014) for Italian; Soare (2014) for French and Romanian; Wang (2014) for Mandarin Chinese; Wood and Sigurðsson (2014) for Icelandic; Kim (2015) and Choi (2016a) for Korean). This is because not all R-expressions can be read as non-third person in themselves, and they require certain conditions, which are syntactic or semanto-pragmatic. Collins and Postal (2012) have lead such discussions, and they attribute this to a DP internal structure. Collins and Postal (2012) name such R-expressions with a non-third meaning as *imposters*, which is a notionally *n* person, but a grammatically *m* person DP ($n \neq m$). I will also refer to a non-third person R-expression occurring in non-jussives as an *imposter* in this study. In contrast, such noun phrases in jussives will be called a jussive subject, as in the

previous chapters.

5.1.2.2. An imposter is more restricted than a jussive subject

In addition, an imposter displays more limited properties than a jussive subject. All imposters can be the subject of jussives, but not all jussive subjects are imposters at least in Korean. It is true that a jussive construction provides a straightforward environment for an interpretation of imposters. For that reason, a jussive subject might be regarded as an imposter occurring in jussives. However, this subsection will show that they are not exactly identical to each other, apart from the disambiguation by the jussive construction given above.

There is a contextual constraint on imposters which is not applied to jussive subjects rigorously: a referred imposter has to be fully identified in the utterance context when it is a bare noun. As cited below, limited constructions of noun phrases are used as imposters in Korean, and those nouns in (175) can have an imposter reading. Among them, bare nouns which are intended to refer to a speaker or a hearer are usually relational nouns, such as kinship terms and occupations. When a relational noun is introduced with an imposter reading, both individuals who establish the relation have to be present in the conversational context as a speaker-hearer pair in non-jussives, which has gone unnoticed up to this point.

(175)List of Korean imposters

(Kim 2015: 144-145)

a. 1st person imposters:

- (i) Personal names
- (ii) *This* + common nouns denoting humans (e.g., *pon/i kica* ‘this journalist’, *pon cakka* ‘this author’)
- (iii) Common nouns that denote occupation and social status of the referent (e.g., *sensayngnim* ‘teacher’)
- (iv) Kinship terms (e.g., *emma* ‘mommy’, *appa* ‘daddy’, *imo* ‘aunt’, *samchon* ‘uncle’)

b. 2nd person imposters:

- (i) Personal names
- (ii) Common nouns that denote humans
- (iii) Common nouns that denote occupation and social status of the referent (e.g., *sensayngnim* ‘teacher’, *kyoswunim* ‘professor’, *sacangnim* ‘boss’)
- (iv) Kinship terms (e.g., *emma* ‘mommy’, *appa* ‘daddy’, *imo* ‘aunt’, *samchon* ‘uncle’)

For instance, in (170)-(172), *emma* ‘mom’ and *imo* ‘aunt’ can be read as a non-third person only when the speaker utters the sentence to her son and her nephew, respectively. When the hearer is not her son or her nephew, it is read as a third person in non-jussives (170)-(171). Consequently, if (172), which is repeated in (176), is uttered toward a subject’s friend, a non-third person pronominal becomes completely unacceptable, though it is obvious that she is the mom of her son.

(176)a. Emma-ka_i nay_i cikcang-eyse-nun choysen-ul =(172)
 mommy-nom my work-at-top best-acc
 ta ha-ko iss-e.
 all do-comp be-sp
 ‘Mommy_i is doing my_i best at my work.’ (Mommy = speaker)

b. Inho-ka elyewun sanghwang-eyse-to
 I-nom difficult situation-at-also
 ney wichi-eyse choysen-ul ta hayss-ney.
 your position-at best-acc all did-sp

‘Inho_i did all he could do in his_i place despite some difficulties.’

(Inho = hearer) (Choi 2016a: 6, some corrections)

This means that the unpronounced pair of an imposter, *her son*, has to be immediately referential in an utterance context. On the other hand, in jussives, this contextual condition is not necessary. It is natural when a subject expresses a connection with a speaker and a hearer in jussives, of course, but, it does not have to do so.

This contrast between jussives and non-jussives is clearly illustrated in (177)-(178). (177) is felicitous when the speaker *is* or *is not* the hearer’s little sister.

(177)Kunyang enni-ka os-ul pillyecwe-la.

Just elder.sister-nom clothes-acc lend-imp

Int.‘(you) just lend clothes (to your little sister)!’

Speaker: (i) √ a hearer’s little sister, (ii) √ a hearer’s friend

[Scenario for (i)]: Two sisters are having a quarrel over borrowing clothes.

[Scenario for (ii)]: Two sisters had a quarrel over borrowing clothes, and the elder sister’s friend heard about it.

When the speaker is the hearer’s little sister, which is the (i) reading, the interpretation is simple, and *enni* is easily read as the second person. Also, when the speaker is not the hearer’s little sister, a friend, as intended in the (ii) reading, the sentence is still acceptable. It tends to have a capacity reading: i.e. ‘as a big sister, (you) lend (your) clothes.’ When a speaker is the hearer’s little sister, the capacity reading is possible, but it is not always salient.

The imposter reading in non-jussives is possible only when a speaker is the hearer's little sister in (178).

- (178)Kulayse enni-ka os-ul pillyecwess-nya?
 so elder.sister-nom clothes-acc lent-int
 Int. 'Did (you) lend clothes (to your little sister) then?'
 Speaker: (i) √ a hearer's little sister (ii) # a hearer's friend¹⁵⁵

The hearer's friends can refer to their friend by the kinship term *enni*, but it is differentiated from the intended imposter reading. The hearer can utter (178) to ask whether the person who lent the clothes is an elder sister, rather than a little sister. Here, *enni* can be identical to the hearer if one of the hearer's properties is a someone's elder sister. However, it does not directly denote the hearer, and it is a mere co-reference.

This observation is solidified when the data contains a binding expression as in (179). Although Zanuttini et al. (2012) do not permit the binding in (179)b, it is quite acceptable to many native Koreans as briefly stated in (172) in the contrastive sense.

- (179)a. Kunyang enni-ka ney os-ul pillyecwe-la.
 Just elder.sister-nom your clothes-acc lend-imp
 Int. '(you) just lend your clothes (to your little sister)!'
 Speaker: (i) √ a hearer's little sister (ii) √ a hearer's friend
 b. Kulayse enni-ka ney os-ul pillyecwess-nya?
 so elder.sister-nom your clothes-acc lent-int
 Int. 'Did (you) lend your clothes (to your little sister) then?'
 Speaker: (i) √ a hearer's little sister (ii) * A hearer's friend

However, a jussive subject can freely license the second person pronominal

¹⁵⁵ The # marker indicates the sentence is grammatical, but it is not accepted in the intended meaning, here, the imposter reading.

irrespective of the extralinguistic relationship between the speaker and hearer, as in (179)a. On the other hand, (179)(b-ii) is totally ungrammatical when the subject does not express the speaker and hearer's relation. When the elder sister is not the speaker's, it can be inferred to be the hearer, as mentioned in (178), but it cannot bind the non-third person pronominal as in (179)(b-ii). This indicates that *enni* in (179)(b-ii) does not directly denote a hearer, and so it is not second person, especially in a grammatical perspective, contra the imposter (b-i) case. Consequently, it cannot license the second person pronominal item at all.¹⁵⁶

Thus, an imposter expresses relations between conversational participants: a speaker and a hearer.¹⁵⁷ Information on an unuttered pair of relational nouns is important in interpreting imposters contrary to a jussive subject. In particular, the relation is usually under the *possessor-possessee* relation: when a hearer is called *enni* 'elder.sister', this means that the hearer is the speaker's elder sister, not someone else's. Hence a bare noun imposter can be understood as if containing an unpronounced possessive pronoun, *my* for a second person imposter and *your* for a first person imposter in

¹⁵⁶ In (179), the interrogative particle *-nya* is employed to mark its clausal type unambiguously. However, this *-nya* is not usually used in an utterance to superiors, hence some Korean speakers may feel uncomfortable with (179)b due to the politeness factor. However, replacing *-nya* with *-e* does not affect the discussion.

¹⁵⁷ Regarding imposters, this study is mainly interested in the bare noun type which is originally indefinite. This is because inherently definite imposters, such as proper names and *this*-NP types, are not influenced in any way by linguistic-external relations. Proper names freely allow non-third person binding with an imposter reading since they do not depend on other individuals to define their reference and refer to an individual independently. Also, a reference of a *this*-NP type imposter is determined deictically.

(180).¹⁵⁸

- (180)a. (Ney) emma-ka_i nay_i cikcang-eyse-nun choysen-ul
your mommy-nom my work-at-top best-acc
ta ha-ko iss-e.
all do-comp be-sp
'(Your) mommy_i is doing my_i best at my work.' (Mom = speaker)
- b. Kulayse (nay) enni-ka¹⁵⁹ ney os-ul
so my elder.sister-nom your clothes-acc
pillyecwess-nya?
lent-int (i ≠ j)
Int. 'Did my_i sister_j lend your_j clothes (to your_j little sister_i) then?'

This does not seem to be a special property of Korean imposters. Dudley (2014) provides a list of Spanish imposters, and among them, kinship imposters are required to attach a possessor before a noun. (181) is an instance of a first person imposter, and all the phrases contain the second person genitive pronoun as a possessor of a head noun. However, according to Vázquez Rojas (2014), the possessor is often unpronounced these days.

¹⁵⁸ Since a meaning of imposter is tangential to a clausal type, a second person imposter can be used in declaratives, as in (176)b, and a first person imposter can be used in interrogatives, as in (174)c, unlike (180). *Inho* in (176)b is a proper name, hence it has a different quality from a common noun in terms of definiteness/specificity. However, it can be preceded by *wuli/nehuy* 'our/your.pl', and the second person *Inho* in (176)b can be substituted with *wuli Inho*. See footnote 159 for such a usage of *wuli*. I appreciate Prof. Jong Un Park leading me to this issue.

¹⁵⁹ When the possessor *nay* 'my' is uttered with *enni* denoting a hearer, the expression is not natural unlike *ney* 'your' with *emma* 'mom' denoting a speaker in (a). This seems to be ascribable to a pragmatic reason: Korean native speakers prefer the first person plural genitive pronoun *wuli* 'our' to the singular one *nay* 'my' when the possessee is a family member or a group to which a speaker belongs: namely, *my school* is referred to as *wuli hakkyo* 'our school' and *my husband* as *wuli namphyen* 'our husband'. Nonetheless, the less natural *nay* 'my' is used for convenience's sake in (180)b.

Such a tendency appears to come from contextual saliency. Korean bare imposters do not require an obligatory overt possessor, but such an effect can be detected, unlike a jussive subject, as presented in (177)-(179).

(181) Kinship imposters in Spanish (Dudley 2014: 43)

[second person possessive ('your') + various kinship terms]

- a. tu hijo 'your son'
- b. tu abuelo 'your grandfather'
- c. tu hija 'your daughter'

5.1.3. Previous analyses on imposters

Although imposters are determined by context, they have some restrictions on their formation or interpretation. Thus, their internal structure has been studied within syntax and Collins and Postal's (2012) idea has been actively discussed and studied lately. Thus, imposters are not the main concern of this thesis, but a brief summary of Collins and Postal (2012) deserves to be introduced here. In addition, this subsection will convey how their analysis has been applied to Korean data.

5.1.3.1. Collins and Postal (2012)

A notional non-third person reading of R-expressions calls for a complex internal structure due to the contradiction of form and meaning. Thus, Collins and Postal (2012) attribute such discrepancies to an unpronounced pronoun within an extended nominal projection. This is distinguished from the lexical approach in that it does not depend solely on the meaning of an individual lexical item.

We have non-third person pronouns to refer to a speaker and a hearer, but other forms of noun phrases, which are non-pronominal, are often used

as non-third person.

(182)a. Mummy will spank Johnny. (C&P 2012: 11)

b. Daddy is enjoying himself/*myself. (C&P 2012: 20)

In (182), two kinds of imposters are used: a common noun *mummy* and *daddy* denoting a speaker, and a proper name *Johnny* denoting a hearer. And such noun phrases, which are not pronouns, but denote non-third persons, are named as imposters by Collins and Postal (2012), as has already been mentioned. Also, the comprehensive list of English imposters is presented in (183): head nouns of imposters are representative properties of a referent, personal name, relational nouns such as kinship terms and occupation or rank. This is very similar to the previous Korean case in (175).

(183)List of English imposters (C&P 2012: 7)

a. 1st person imposters:

- (i) Yours truly, your faithful correspondent, the (present) author(s), the present reviewer(s), the undersigned, the court, the (present) writer(s)
- (ii) Personal names
- (iii) Diminutive kinship terms: Daddy, Mommy, Auntie, Granny, Gramps
- (iv) Nondiminutive kinship terms plus a personal name:
Uncle + Name, Aunt + Name, Cousin + Name, Grampa + Name, Gramma + Name

b. 2nd person imposters:

- (i) Madam, the + Common Noun denoting ranks in a military organization (the general/colonel, etc.), the Holy Father, my lord, my lady, baby/darling/dear/dearest/love[, ...] the reader, the attentive listener, my colleague from South Carolina (legislative context)
- (ii) The elements of (iii), especially when talking to very small children and pets (*Does Bobby want to go to the movies?*)

- (iii) The elements of (aiii)
- (iv) Possibly with some strain, the elements of (aiv)

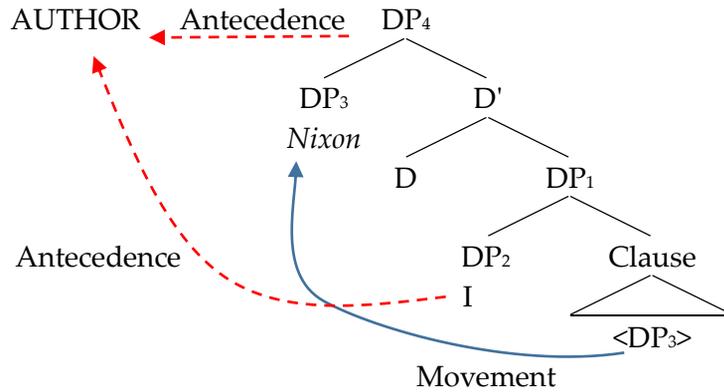
Note that (182)a is equivalent of ‘*I will spank you* (C&P 2012: 11)’ semantically, but the verbal form of (182)b has to be *is* instead of *am*, and the *Daddy* denoting a speaker cannot bind a first person anaphor *myself*. Therefore, Collins and Postal (2012) define imposters as in (184). To explain such a twofold property, they argue that (English) imposters are derived from an appositive structure, which contains a covert pronoun determining a notional meaning.¹⁶⁰ Both the entire DP and the notional pronoun are anteceded by the first person AUTHOR¹⁶¹, and they get the first person reading. However, the grammatical feature of the entire DP is determined by the highest DP (DP₃, here), hence, the imposter (DP₄) has a third person feature. Consequently, it participates in Agree with the third person feature, and *is* and *himself* are employed in (182)b. The definition and internal structure are given in (184)-(185).

- (184) Definition of imposters: (C&P 2012: 5)
 An imposter is a notionally X person DP that is grammatically Y person, X ≠ Y.

¹⁶⁰ For this reason, Collins and Postal’s (2012) analysis on imposters in non-jussives can be referred to as *DP-internal analysis* as opposed to Zanuttini et al.’s (2012) Jussive head analysis on jussive subjects. In the DP-internal analysis, a notional pronoun determines the entire DP, in which it is embedded. On the contrary, Zanuttini et al. (2012) can be classified as *DP-external analysis* in that a DP-external Jussive head on a clausal domain influences an interpretation of DPs.

¹⁶¹ This is in line with the DP-external analysis, in a sense, that an interpretation of DP depends on an external functional head, *SpeechAct⁰*, in which a person feature comes from an outside element of DPs in the imposter analysis, too. Refer to (11)-(12) and footnote 54 for Speech Act Projection.

(185) Collins and Postal's (2012: 66) structure of an imposter



Their analysis on imposters has been extended to various languages, and the relevant linguistic phenomena have been enriched. For instance, in Mandarin Chinese (Wang 2014) and Indonesian (Kaufman 2014), grammatical features of imposters always conform to a notional pronoun, just like in Korean. That is to say, a first person imposter takes part in Agreement with a first person feature, and a second person imposter with a second person feature.¹⁶² In contrast, Bangla (Das 2014), which has both verbal and pronominal Agreement, participates in Agree with a grammatical third person feature, consistently ignoring a notional non-third person feature. However, other languages, including English, exhibit blended properties: what joins in the Agree operation between a notional and a grammatical feature is dependent on language-internal rules with reference to number and person features.

Collins and Postal (2012) ascribe the cross-linguistic variations regarding binding to an antecedent issue: whether a language allows an

¹⁶² Interestingly, all the three languages do not have a morphology of verbal Agreement, and only pronominal binding can be tested.

immediate antecedent or *ultimate antecedent*¹⁶³. The definitions for these terms are given in (186)-(187).

(186) Immediate antecedent (C&P 2012: 28)

Node A *immediately antecedes* node B if and only if A antecedes B and there is no C such that A antecedes C and C antecedes B.

(187) Ultimate antecedent (C&P 2012: 28)

Node A *ultimately antecedes* B if and only if A antecedes B and there is no C that antecedes A.

In (182)b, the imposter subject *daddy* can only bind the third person anaphor *himself*, but not the first person *myself*. Under their notion of antecedent,

¹⁶³ The kinds of antecedents are further generalized in terms of *sources* to embody various antecedents which correspond to neither immediate nor ultimate antecedents. Instead, positing primary and secondary sources, for which the definitions are given below, these can give explanations for partitive and coordinate constructions as well. While an immediate antecedent is equivalent to a primary source, an ultimate antecedent is a sub-type of secondary source. In this study, however, other kinds of secondary sources are not important, so I take Collins and Postal's (2012) analysis on Agreement, laying stress on antecedent.

(i) Definition: primary source (C&P 2012: 188)

A is a *primary source* for B if and only if
a. A immediately antecedes B, or
b. A is a key conjunct of B, or
c. A shares a lexical basis with B.

(ii) Definition: Source (*ibid.*: 156)

A is a *source* for B if and only if
a. A is a primary source for B or
b. there is a C that is a source for B and
[i.] A is a primary source for C, or
[ii.] C is a predicate nominal and A is C's subject, or
[iii.] C is a partitive DP and A is C's set DP.

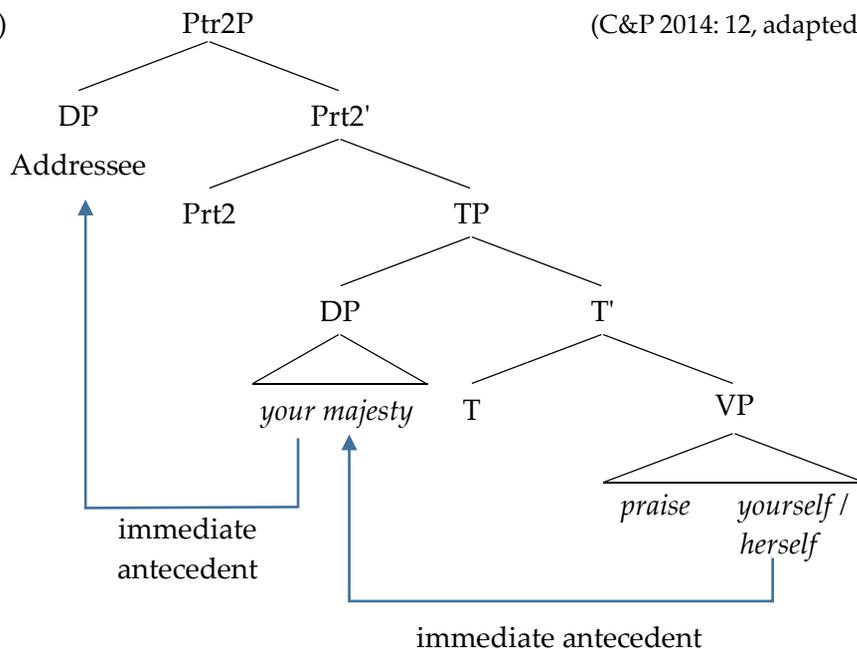
(iii) Definition: secondary source (*ibid.*: 156)

A is a *secondary source* for B if and only if A is a source for B and not a primary source for B.

(182)b is a result of binding by immediate antecedent: *daddy* is an immediate antecedent of *himself* since there are no antecedents between them. Due to a language-specific reason, the ultimate antecedent *AUTHOR* cannot be a proper antecedent in this sentence. Since plural imposters in English allow non-third person pronominal Agreement, the choice of antecedent seems to be related to the number feature, but it does not seem to be conclusive. This is because other types of imposters such as so-called camouflage DPs can antecede a non-third person pronominal when it is singular as in (188). As depicted in (189), a bound element can choose the immediate antecedent *your majesty* and the ultimate antecedent *Addressee* as its binder, hence *herself* and *yourself* are available, respectively. Under this approach, Mandarin Chinese, Indonesian, and Korean are analyzed as adopting ultimate antecedents only, but Bangla chooses immediate antecedents exclusively. English takes both strategies.

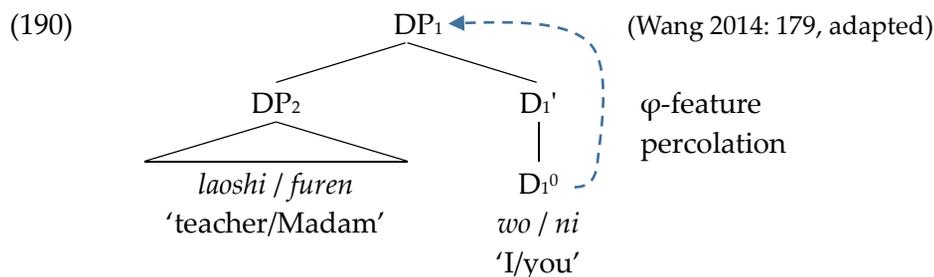
(188)[Your₁ Majesty]₁ should praise yourself₁/herself₁. (C&P 2014: 11)

(189) (C&P 2014: 12, adapted)



However, as argued in Wang (2014) for Mandarin Chinese, an imposter candidate in Korean might not be a true imposter. Rather, it is a complex DP that contains a covert pronoun which heads the entire DP. This is depicted

in (190).



I agree with Wang’s idea since imposter candidates in Korean and Mandarin Chinese do not correspond to Collins and Postal’s definition of imposters.¹⁶⁴ Regardless of whether this study follows Collins and Postal (2012) or Wang (2014), the key point for explaining a Korean-type imposter (candidate) is that the non-third person pronoun determines a person feature of an entire imposter phrase. Thus, this study will not present any particular view as of now.

5.1.3.2. Applying Collins and Postal (2012) to Korean

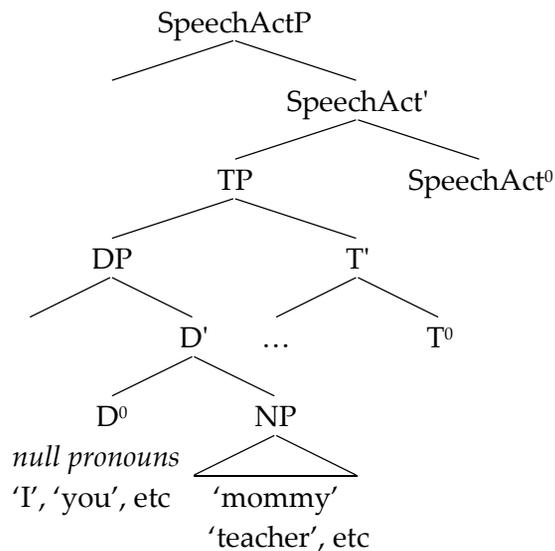
There are ways to apply Collins and Postal’s (2012) imposter analysis to similar noun phrases in Korean. Kim (2015) tries to account for the notionally non-third person noun phrase in Korean as an extension of Collins and Postal (2012), also Choi (2016a) further claims that a jussive subject is an instance of imposters. Thus, their discussions on Korean imposter(-like) constructions are worthy of note since non-third person valuation of a noun phrase is the main concern of this study.

¹⁶⁴ Wang (2014) refers to an imposter candidate in Mandarin Chinese as a *pseudo-imposter* since it is both notionally and grammatically non-third person unlike English singular imposters which is notionally non-third person but grammatically third person. Korean is the same as Mandarin Chinese regarding this matter, hence, *pseudo-imposter* seems to be an appropriate term for Korean imposter candidates, too.

Kim (2015) investigates a non-third person R-expression in Korean under Collins and Postal's (2012) imposter analysis. Also, she classifies Korean imposter constructions as already presented in (175). To explain those noun phrases, she posits a null pronoun on D which projects DP and determines a person feature of an entire DP. The D is associated with a higher C head, *SpeechAct*, as a notional pronoun in Collins and Postal (2012) is bound by the upper AUTHOR or ADDRESSEE. Kim's analysis is depicted in (191). Since Korean imposters function as non-third person regarding binding, there is no movement in (191). This reminds us of Wang's (2014) complex DP analysis on Mandarin pseudo-imposters. However, in Wang (2014), an overt R-expression occupies the specifier of DP, but in Kim (2015), it is located in the complement position.

(191) Kim's (2015) structure of Korean imposters

(Kim 2015: 156)



Kim's (2015) approach can cover imposters in all the clausal types including jussives although she does not mention it explicitly, and the list of Korean imposters is well-organized. However, she has not paid attention to the fact that the null pronoun, which determines the person feature of an imposter as the head of a noun phrase, is not freely allowed. As a *pro*-drop language, a noun phrase is often unpronounced when it is easily inferable from discourse context. A covert pronoun in Kim (2015) is licensed by the

upper SpeechAct head, and this seems to be automatic since there are no restrictions. It is predicted then that imposters are possible without limitation if there are no semantic clashes. However, this is not true.

As mentioned in the previous subsections, discourse context holds information on an unpronounced pair of relational nouns for an imposter usage. A bare noun *emma* 'mom' cannot be an imposter when the referent is someone else's mom. That is, '<I> (his) mommy' cannot be the source of the imposter *emma*. Kim's (2015) analysis seems to have difficulty in restricting this predictable but unacceptable interpretation. (191) cannot prevent the third person possessor *his* from occurring within the NP complement of D.

One might wonder if Korean imposters have to be bare to the exclusion of a notional part, the D⁰ in Kim (2015), which a pronoun or demonstrative occupies. However, this is incorrect because a complex noun phrase occurs in the R-expression part, namely the NP complement in Kim (2015). As shown in (192)a, a possessive pronoun can appear in an imposter construction. Here, the entire imposter always denotes the speaker since the possessor is the hearer. In addition, an imposter can be included in another noun phrase: the possessive R-expression *emma* 'mom' in (192)b can be understood as an imposter. This implies that the size of the complement NP in Kim (2015) is quite roomy.

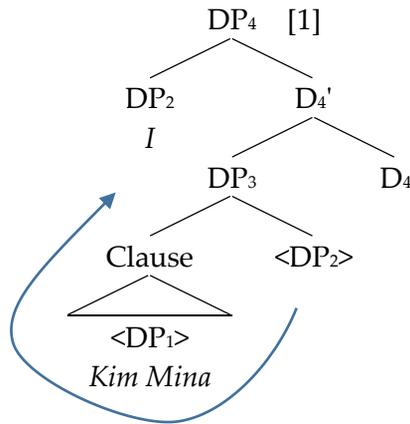
- (192)a. Ney enni-ka cikcep kwuwun ppang-i-ta.
 your elder.sister-nom in.person bake.adn bread-cop-decl
 ‘(This) is bread that your sister made myself.’(your sister = speaker)
- b. [[Emma] ttal]-i nwukwu-ya?
 mom daughter-nom who-sp
 ‘Who is mom’s daughter?’
- (i) mom = speaker, mom’s daughter = hearer
 (ii) mom = hearer, mom’s daughter = speaker
 (iii) mom = speaker/hearer/[3] mom’s daughter = [3]¹⁶⁵

I do not claim that Kim’s (2015) structure in (191) is incorrect. What I would like to point out is that it cannot explain the problem that has just been raised, hence it needs elaboration. Nonetheless, the internal structure of imposters in Korean remains questionable. In particular, imposters are derived from an appositive structure in English according to Collins and Postal (2012). As Kim (2015) pointed out, appositive structures are unclear in Korean, and so the relation with imposters is not conclusive, either. As Wang (2014) argued in Mandarin Chinese, Korean imposters might be irrelevant to the appositive structure. Thus, the internal structure of imposters’ needs to be further investigated.

Meanwhile, Choi (2016a) argues that a jussive subject is an imposter, and a Jussive projection à la Zanuttini et al. (2012) is not required to license its subject. Choi’s (2016a) structure on imposters in Korean is represented in (193), which is the same with Collins and Postal’s (2012) structure in (185), except for the head-finality and the movement of a notional pronoun. To explain the non-third person binding in Korean imposters, Choi (2016a) hypothesizes that a notional pronoun (DP₂) raises to the highest SpecDP, which projects its person feature to an entire DP (DP₄). In contrast, DP₁ remains in situ, unlike English, in Collins and Postal (2012). Also, DP₂ checks a speaker or a hearer feature in connection with the upper SpeechAct domain.

¹⁶⁵ The entire subject *emma ttal* is not an imposter in (192)(b-iii).

(193)Choi's structure on Korean imposters: (Choi 2016a: 19, adapted)



Choi's (2016a) analysis can explain why Korean imposters are non-third person both notionally and grammatically, contra English, but the argument overgeneralizes both imposters and a jussive subject. First, the formation of an imposter does not reflect the core interpretation: namely, the relation between a speaker and a hearer. It cannot rule out '<I> (his) mommy' as imposter material, like Kim (2015). What is more crucial is that it overlooks the special property of jussive subjects, which I presented in Section 5.1.2. It is too radical to take an imposter and a jussive subject together.

5.1.4. Interim summary

Summing up, the imposter analyses can explain the imposter reading cross-linguistically in general, but it is difficult to extend to a jussive subject directly.

First, a jussive subject is limited to a non-third person reading, and it does not show an ambivalent property. This forms a striking contrast to ambiguous readings of R-expressions in non-jussives: an imposter or a genuine third person reading, as shown in (173)-(174). It appears that the distribution of jussive subjects is merely included in the distribution of R-expressions in non-jussives. However, this is a structural property of jussive

subjects. When the imposter analyses are adopted for a jussive subject, it does not give any solution on why a subject is obligatorily non-third person oriented in jussives. In contrast, it is straightforwardly settled if we follow the Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) functional head analysis on jussives setting aside imposters as an independent phenomenon.

Further, the two cannot be treated indiscriminately, considering *someone else's elder sister*. This is because its Korean counterpart can be a jussive subject, but can never be an imposter, which is demonstrated in (179). The imposter use of R-expressions requires more restrictions on discourse than a jussive subject in that an unpronounced pair of relational nouns should be immediately understood as a conversational participant only in imposters. That is, when an R-expression denotes a speaker as an imposter, it implies information with a hearer, and vice versa. In contrast, when an R-expression appears in a subject position in jussives, it does not have an additional implication on other conversational participant. This shows that an imposter and a jussive subject require different analyses.

The imposter analyses do not offer a comprehensive solution to the issue of the jussive subject. This is demonstrated by both the interpretative and syntactic respects. They resemble each other, but their non-third person denotation comes from a different source. The source is solely syntactic in jussives, but more pragmatic in imposters, however.

5.1.5. Tentative solution: Familiar D for Korean imposters

5.1.5.1. DP_{FAM} over NP

An imposter must be immediately fully specified by discourse, unlike a jussive subject. The Jussive head is only associated with updating the To-do list of conversational participants. In contrast, bare common noun imposters do not only refer to a denoted conversational participant, but also express a

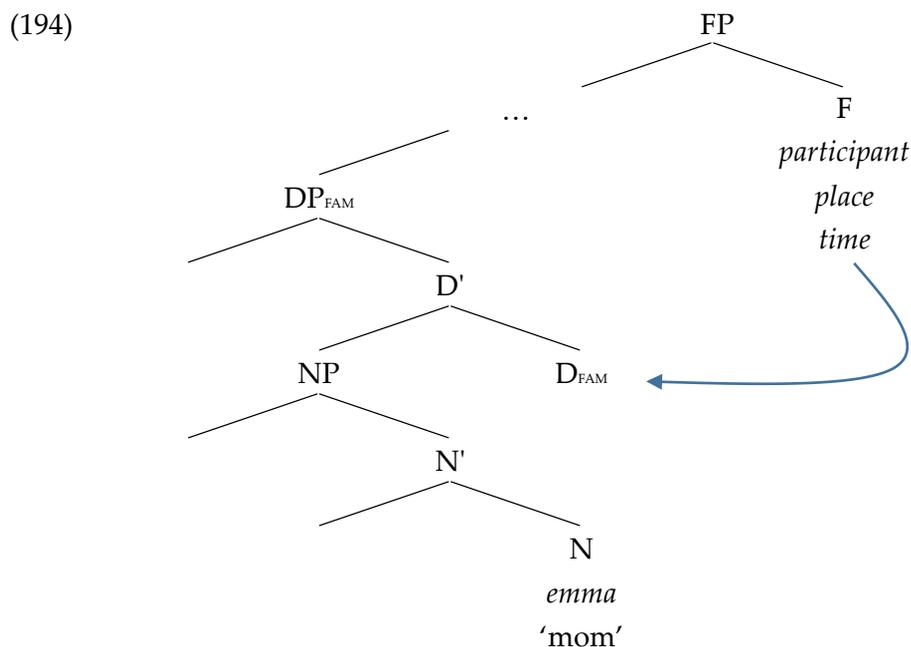
relation between the conversational participants in an utterance context. This implies that familiarity affects interpretation of imposters, contra a jussive subject.

I propose that Korean projects a Familiar D projection (hereafter, D_{FAM} or DP_{FAM}). It has to be bound by a conversational context: utterance time, place, and participants, hence it is in close connection with a deictic expression (refer to Kirsner 1979, 1993; Hanks 1992; Laury 1997; Strauss 2002; Enfield 2003, and among others, for discourse analyses on Demonstratives). It is not special that a determiner is bound by context. For instance, as has already been discussed in previous studies, *which*, as a D-linked interrogative determiner, requires a specific set, unlike *what*, so it cannot be uttered in out-of-blue situations.¹⁶⁶ The context set of *which* can be decided in various ways. In his study on the interrogative quantifier *which* under the theory of generalized quantifiers, Rexach (1997) mentions that what determines the set is “previous context sets, the universe of discourse, the situation in which the sentence is uttered, etc. (*ibid.*: 413)” Similarly, D_{FAM} always asks for a specific domain to be properly interpreted, but it is evaluated only by an immediate situation.

The tree representation of my argument is presented in (194): D_{FAM} is bound by a functional head F in a C-domain. The head is reified into Jussive

¹⁶⁶ Saint-Dizier (1988) analyzes *many*, *few*, and *little* as context-dependent determiners which have a relative meaning in the situation and “cannot in general be represented by default logic (*ibid.*: 556).” Although the relative meaning is associated with a distributivity since he was dealing with a quantifier as a research subject, it is fundamentally parallel with D_{FAM} in that their meaning is determined by the situation in which they occur.

in jussive clauses and SpeechAct in non-jussive clauses in this study.¹⁶⁷



Since the jussive head is introduced with an interpretable valued person feature, D_{FAM} of jussive subjects does not depend on context, but it is licensed solely by the syntactic structure. As a result, it is always anchored to conversational participants unambiguously, as shown in Section 5.1.2.1. On the other hand, in non-jussives, there is no functional head which contains an inherent/valued person feature and restricts an interpretation of DPs in Korean. Consequently, D_{FAM} of imposters is entirely reliant upon an utterance context, and it should express a speaker and hearer's relation contra jussive subjects. Meanwhile, when it is not bound by F, it gets a default reading

¹⁶⁷ Depending on theories, this can be Speaker or Hearer in the style of Poletto (2000) or Rizzi's (1997) Fin in the style of Bianchi (2003), etc.

As mentioned in footnote 151, a mood particle, which conveys an additional meaning, such as committal, evidential, epistemic, and so on, eases an imposter interpretation. Thus, the F head would be closely related to a mood projection. However, I will postpone a definite decision on it.

regarding a personal interpretation, namely, third person.¹⁶⁸

Likewise, the D_{FAM} is different from English *the* type D, which specifies definiteness. The Korean D is more like a discourse holder than a definiteness marker. The various semantic/pragmatic function of D have already been discussed; familiarity is one of its functions, as well (Hawkins (1978, recited from Vieira's (1998) review study on definiteness), Ionin et al. (2004), Ionin et al. (2011)). As Ionin et al. (2004) pointed out, in English textbooks for L2 learners, whether both a speaker and a hearer know a referent is emphasized as a key factor for using *the*. However, familiarity is not a crucial feature of English D, contra Korean, but definiteness is. For this reason, when Korean L1 speakers learn the English determiner, *a* and *the*, they show a fluctuation between definiteness and specificity (Ionin et al. 2004) or presuppositionality (Ionin et al. 2011). For instance, Korean-L1 learners over-use *the* in a presuppositional but indefinite context.¹⁶⁹ This accords with the proposed D_{FAM} analysis: the different property of D in Korean (D_{FAM}) causes L1-transfer, which affects Korean learner's interpretation and production of English determiner *the*.

¹⁶⁸ The proposed D_{FAM} is similar to Kim (2015), in that imposters in Korean do not contain an appositive construction, hence, there is no DP-internal movement. However, I attribute the imposter reading to the quality of D itself, rather than a (c)overt notional pronoun. However, this is a preliminary solution to be further developed.

¹⁶⁹ The definitions of (in)definiteness and presuppositionality are cited in (i) from Ionin et al. (2011).

- (i) a. Definiteness: A sentence of the form [def A] B presupposes that there exists at least one individual which is A and that there exists at most one individual which is A, and asserts that the unique individual which is A is also B.
- b. Indefiniteness: A sentence of the form [indef A] B asserts there exists at least one individual which is both A and B.
- c. Presuppositionality: A sentence of the form [pres A] B presupposes that there exists at least one individual which is A, and asserts that there exists at least one individual which is both A and B.

Note that Korean lacks a definite article entirely. Since Abney (1987) and Bowers (1987) have assumed that a determiner takes NP as its complement and projects its own projection, DP, the universal DP hypothesis has become influential (Bowers 1991; Longobardi 1994; Cheng and Sybesma 1999; Rappaport 2000; Bašić 2004; Pereltsvaig 2007, among others). Against the universal DP hypotheses, others argue that the DP projection can be parameterized (Zlatic 1997; Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004, 2009; Bošković 2005, 2008, 2012, 2013; Ko and Seo 2012, among others). Among them, Bošković strongly advocates the non-universal DP approach in his series of studies, and specifically argues that DP is projected iff an article is present in a language. His proposal is supported by various syntactic and semantic data on extraction, scrambling, clitic doubling, relative clauses, quantifier scope, *pro*-drop, and so on.

In the middle of the two opposing views on D in determiner-less languages, it is arguable that Korean does not have a projection for definiteness, but D_{FAM} is used to encode familiarity/presuppositionality as a sub-type of D. This suggestion coincides with the universal DP hypotheses in that there is D in Korean which lacks an article. Also, on the other hand, it accommodates the parameterized DP hypotheses, since properties of D can vary depending on a language. In compliance with this, Schwarz (2009, 2013) divides definite articles into two types: strong and weak. The strong one is anaphoric, and the weak one is situationally unique. English *the* is ambiguous, but some languages employ distinct articles such as Fering or German (refer to Schwarz (2009, 2013) for details). Considering the imposter data, Korean seems to lack a strong determiner, and it only has a weak one, D_{FAM} , which is context-dependent.

5.1.5.2. Justification: Uniqueness requirements

For R-expressions to be used as imposters, they have to be identified uniquely in a given context. In article languages, the uniqueness is usually

encoded in D. However, Korean employs a different functional head to specify relevance apart from definiteness. This study argues that the functional head is D_{FAM} .

Imposters usually call for a definite construction in many languages. A definite constraint on imposters is attested as follows: imposters with (i) a definite article (*the undersigned*), (ii) a proximate singular demonstrative article (*this reporter*), (iii) a proximate plural demonstrative article (refer to Wood (2009) on *þessir* ‘these’ in Icelandic imposters), (iv) possessive DPs (*your faithful servant*), and (v) proper nouns (*Nixon*). Some imposters can be used without a definite expression: kinship terms and occupational titles, but an indefinite article such as *a/an* is seldom employed.

There are some examples of indefinite noun phrases seeming to function as an imposter in English, as shown in (195) (Vázquez Rojas 2014). However, they cannot antecede a first person plural pronoun when they are coordinated with another noun phrase, as in (196)a. This contrasts with a true imposter case in (196)b. Thus, Vázquez Rojas (2014) analyzes that the imposter-like noun phrases in (195) as denoting a *kind* which the speaker is a member of, rather than directly referring to the speaker.¹⁷⁰

(195)a. A girl can dream, can't I? [(195)-(196), Vázquez Rojas (2014: 243)]

b. A guy wants to have some soup and this is what happens to me.

(196)a. *A guy and Barbara are going to get some cold beers for ourselves now.

b. This reporter and Barbara are going to get some cold beers for ourselves now.

¹⁷⁰ This is a similar case to the Korean data in (179)b. When the R-expression *enni* ‘elder sister’ does not express the speaker and hearer’s relation, it cannot bind a first or second person pronominal, as in (196)a. That is, the speaker or hearer meaning can be inferred from the kind-denoting reading, but it is not a genuine first or second person DP.

However, an indefinite construction is not completely excluded from imposters. According to Vázquez Rojas (2014), indefinite imposters are not productive, but attested in Spanish as *un servidor* ‘a servant’ in (197)-(198), in which a first person binding is available. In addition, *un servidor* with a first person meaning is allowed in context where an indefinite phrase is rejected (Vázquez Rojas 2014: 244-246). This means that the imposter *un servidor* is syntactically definite, notwithstanding the presence of the indefinite article *un(os)*.

(197)a. Es la especialidad de *un servidor* testificar
 be.3sg the.fem specialty of a servant testify.inf
 por *mí mismo* en qué condiciones están esos lugares.
 by 1sg.refl self in what conditions be.3pl those places
 ‘It is the specialty of yours truly to ascertain for myself the
 conditions in which those places are.’

b. *Es la especialidad de *Pedro* testificar
 be.3sg the.fem specialty of P. testify.inf
 por *mí mismo* en qué condiciones están esos lugares.
 by 1sg.refl self in what conditions are those places
 ‘It’s Pedro’s specialty to ascertain for myself the conditions in
 which those places are.’ Vázquez Rojas (2014: 241)

(198) *Unos servidores vamos a seguir intentando que*
 a.pl servant.pl go.1pl to continue trying that
 esta página sea de tu interés.
 this page be.subjunctive of your interest
 ‘Yours truly (pl) will continue trying to make this website catch
 your interest.’ Vázquez Rojas (2014: 242)

She claims that the indefinite imposters contain a more complex structure compared to simple indefinite noun phrases: (i) a head noun refers to a capacity in the sense of de Swart et al. (2007), and (ii) the entire imposter contains a covert deictic element anchoring it to [+proximal]. As mentioned

in (177), an R-expression jussive subject which does not express a speaker and hearer's relation has a capacity reading in Korean, too. The covert deictic element in Spanish parallels with the D_{FAM} of Korean in that it is licensed by an utterance context, and so associated with a deictic meaning.

If the definite requirement is categorical, the use of an indefinite article in Spanish imposters is still incoherent. For this, Vázquez Rojas (2014) argues that the definite restriction on imposters arises, in fact, from its requirement of *minimal situation*. To satisfy this condition, an entire imposter phrase usually contains a definite article, a demonstrative, or a possessive pronoun. However, by violating it, *politeness effect* is achieved. That is, the indefinite imposter *un servidor* does not imply that there is a unique servant, unlike the definite counterpart, *su servidor* 'your servant', hence it brings about the improvement of politeness. Refer to Vázquez Rojas (2014) for a specific analysis of the indefinite imposter.¹⁷¹

However, bare imposters in Korean do not display humility, unlike the indefinite imposter in Spanish *un servidor* since the former satisfies the minimal situation condition, unlike the latter, which employs an indefinite article. When D_{FAM} is bound by a conversational participant, the entire noun phrase is interpreted as presuppositional, hence it meets the minimal situation condition. By virtue of D_{FAM} , a covert possessor for a bare R-expression imposter is limited to an opposite conversational participant from

¹⁷¹ According to Vázquez Rojas (2014), *un servidor* means *un servidor de usted* 'a servant of yours' like a Korean imposter *emma* '(your) mom'. However, she has not considered the relation in question between a possessor and binding: i.e. whether a non-third person binding is possible with *un servidor* when its covert possessor is not anchored to an addressee.

a referent of imposters in Korean.¹⁷²

5.1.6. Cross-linguistic differences

If Korean has a different type of D from English, it is predicted that the familiarity condition on Korean imposters will not apply to English. This is confirmed by empirical evidence.

English is a determiner language, so it can satisfy the uniqueness condition of imposters (Vázquez Rojas 2014) with a definite D without leaning on familiarity, as Korean does. This prediction is borne out in (199)(a-b).

- (199)a. Jerome and Daddy are enjoying ourselves/themselves on the beach. (C&P 2012: 108)
- b. Daddy discovered his/*my childhood treasure today.
- c. (Your) Daddy is going to get you an ice-cream cone. (*ibid.*: 2)

(199)(a-b) can be meant for his wife to hear them. In this situation, the daddy

¹⁷² Although this thesis focuses on a bare noun imposter, Korean imposters can accompany a definite expression such as demonstratives, notional pronouns, or possessive pronouns as presented in (202). Among them, demonstratives and notional pronouns are a deictic expression, so the suggested D_{FAM} analysis calls for illuminating the relation between D_{FAM} and demonstratives/notional pronouns. I presume that $SpecDP_{FAM}$ is their position, but nothing is certain. In J. Choi's (2014) analysis on Pronoun-Noun Constructions (*we the linguists*) and Demonstrative-Noun Constructions (*these the linguists*) in Greek, demonstratives and pronouns base-generate in $Spec-dxP$, which is the locus of deixis, and move to $SpecDP$. The dxP seems to be similar to D_{FAM} , but it needs a closer investigation. Refer to J. Choi (2014) and its references on Pronoun/Demonstrative-Noun Constructions.

is not the hearer's, but rather the hearer's children's.¹⁷³ This means that, in English, imposters do not necessarily encode the familiarity between conversational participants. Of course, it is the most natural when the imposters in (199) express a relationship between the speaker and hearer: i.e. the speaker is a hearer's daddy. Hence, Collins and Postal put *your* in brackets in (199)c. Also, the third party is limited to a person that is related with the speaker and hearer both. That is, the hearer in (199) has to be either Jerome, his other kid, or at least, Jerome's mom, who is his wife, with an imposter reading. This means that the familiarity condition on English imposters does not operate at the syntactic level, but at the pragmatic one.

In contrast, in Korean, a bare noun imposter cannot express a speaker or hearer's relation with a third party, as previously mentioned. The relevant data is given in (200). The third party is closely related to both conversational participants, their son, but *appa* 'dad' cannot have an imposter reading. Some might argue that (200) is acceptable with an intended meaning of his wife as a hearer. However, singular cases are much worse than the plural (200). (201) cannot be used with an imposter meaning when his wife is a hearer unless she is pregnant. Thus, in (200), coordinating with *Hyeki*, which is an intended possessor of the imposter *appa* 'dad', seems to affect the acceptability since the preceding conjunct can bind the null possessor and give a definite sense.

¹⁷³ According to Lawton Hogan (p.c.), a speaker's referring to himself/herself as Daddy/Mom to his/her partner, not to his/her child, is annoyingly cute, but is acceptable.

(202) Yaytul-a, onul [i sinipsawen]-i
 kids-voc today this new.employee-nom
 ches walkup-ul patass-e.
 first salary-acc received-sp
 ‘Girls, today this new employee (=I) received (my) first paycheck.’

5.1.7. Imposters and Person Feature Intervention

Interestingly, some imposters behave similarly with a jussive subject in terms of the *PFI effects*, which were discussed in Chapter 4. This supports imposter analyses that a notional pronoun or D in imposters is licensed by a functional head associated with mood (Collins and Postal 2012, Wang 2014, Kim 2015, and Choi 2016a, among others).

A first or second person R-expression in jussives has to precede a co-indexed pronominal throughout the derivation as repeated in (203).¹⁷⁵ It can follow a co-indexed element such as an identical R-expression or a reciprocal, as repeated in (204). I have attributed this contrast to the interpretability of person features. Multiple application of J-binding is blocked by an inherent person feature of a pronoun in (203)(b-d). Since R-expressions and reciprocals bear an uninterpretable person feature, they do not obstruct the multiple J-binding of Jussives, as in (204), regardless of scrambling. Also, the ungrammaticality of (203)c demonstrates that the unpronounced lower copy for which e_j stands is important due to the special property of a non-third person R-expression.

(203)a. *Inho-ka* [ne_i/*ku-uy_i chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-la. = (116)a
 Inho-nom you/he-gen friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)

¹⁷⁵ The jussive data are presented in (203) with only the imperative cases, for the sake of space.

- b. **Ney-ka_i* [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul teyliko wa-*la*. = (118)a
 you-nom I. friend-acc bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- c. * [*Inho_i* chinkwu]-lul_j *ney-ka_i* *e_j* teyliko wa-*la*. = (119)a
 I. friend-acc you-nom bring come-imp
 ‘You bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)
- d. * [*Ney_i* chinkwu]-lul_j *Inho-ka_i* *e_j* teyliko wa-*la*. = (120)a
 your friend-acc I.-nom bring come-imp
 ‘Inho bring your friend.’ (Inho = hearer)

- (204)a. [*Hyeki-uy* os]-ul_i (*Hyeki-ka*) *e_i* kolla-*la*. = (135)
 H.-gen clothes-acc H.-nom pick.out-imp
 ‘Hyeki pick your clothes.’ (Hyeki = hearer)
- b. [*Selo_i-uy* nonmwun]-ul_j [*Hyeki-wa Mina*]_i-ka *e_j* = (146)b
 each.other-gen paper-acc H.-and M.-nom
 ilke-*la*.
 read-imp
 ‘Hyeki and Mina (= hearers) read each other’s paper!’

Similarly, proper name imposters also have to precede a co-indexed pronoun. Five out of ten native speakers allowed a subject imposter to bind a pronominal genitive phrase in (205)a.¹⁷⁶ Among them, two excluded (205)(b-d), but the remaining three permit some: two accepted (205)c whereas one accepted (205)d. Thus, (205)a is regarded as acceptable but not grammatical, and (205)(b-d) as ungrammatical.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Only one speaker judged (205)a to be completely grammatical, the remaining four consider it acceptable but not perfect.

¹⁷⁷ People who considered (205)a ungrammatical judged (205)(b-d) ungrammatical, too, except for one person who judged (205)(b-c) to be acceptable but not perfect.

- (205)a. ?*Inho*-ka_i [*ney*_i chinkwu]-lul teyliko wass-ni?
 Inho-nom your friend-acc bring came-int
 ‘Did Inho bring your friend?’ (Inho = hearer)
- b. **Ney*-ka_i [*Inho*_i chinkwu]-lul teyliko wass-ni?
 you-nom I. friend-acc bring came-int
 ‘Did you bring Inho’s friend?’ (Inho = hearer)
- c. * [*Inho*_i chinkwu]-lul_j *ney*-ka_i *e*_j teyliko wass-ni?
 I. friend-acc you-nom bring came-int
 ‘Did you bring Inho’s friend?’ (Inho = hearer)
- d. * [*Ney*_i chinkwu]-lul_j *Inho*-ka_i *e*_j teyliko wass-ni?
 your friend-acc I.-nom bring came-int
 ‘Did Inho bring your friend?’ (Inho = hearer)

If imposter analyses are on the right track, the ungrammatical result of (205)(b-d) is predictable. In the imposter analyses, a notional pronoun within an extended nominal projection has to be licensed by an upper functional head which bears information on conversational participants. This is parallel with a jussive subject in that both are valued by a functional head in a C-domain: one by SpeechAct and the other by Jussive. For that reason, it is expected that (205)(b-d) will be judged ungrammatical. That is, the intervention effects are caused by an inherent person feature on an overt pronominal, as in the case of jussives in (203).

In contrast, a common noun imposter dislikes pronominal binding from the outset, contrasting with the previous proper name case, and all the data in (206) are judged to be ungrammatical. Three of ten native Korean speakers judged it acceptable but not grammatical, and the rest considered it ungrammatical. For (206)(b-d), only two people accept (b-c) as acceptable but not grammatical, and the others judged it to be ungrammatical. Choi (2016a) argues that an imposter can bind a pronominal expression, and I also accept his judgment, depending on the context. However, (206)a indicates that the possibility of pronominal binding varies by the imposter type. Common

proves that the subject position of jussives has a grammatical second person feature, regardless of the noun type. It is obtained by the syntactic operation, J-Agree, in an automatic manner. However, imposters are more context-dependent and their internal structures seem to vary by imposter types. Thus, the unified imposter analysis might require revision.

In sum, in terms of the PFI effects, the proper name type of imposter behaves similarly to a jussive subject. A pronominal binding is available only when an imposter precedes a co-indexed pronominal element throughout derivation, as well. This indicates that imposters are licensed by a C-domain as a jussive subject. However, the common noun imposter in (206) confirms that not all imposters can bind a non-third person pronominal, unlike a jussive subject.

5.1.8. Further data regarding interpretative restrictions on jussives: A bare numeral case

A bare numeral phrase which consists of a numeral and a classifier is not usually used as a subject in Korean. However, when it occurs in a subject position, it gets somewhat different interpretations depending on syntactic environments, i.e., jussives vs. non-jussives.

Under imperatives, a bare numeral subject cannot have a non-specific indefinite cardinal reading since indirect order is disallowed in Korean; but it is easily understood as a partitive or a cardinal reading insofar as a hearer is included in imperatives as shown in (207). First, a partitive reading is readily comprehensible in this environment. Hearers or a group including a hearer constitutes an entire set, and a specific number of people, which is specified by the numeral, is selected from the set. Next, a cardinal reading seems to be unavailable at first glance. This is because the cardinal reading of a bare numeral tends to be non-specific, hence, a third person. However, a third person subject is not allowed in Korean jussives with a canonical

commanding sense, as shown in Chapter 3, and the intended cardinal reading appears to be impossible. On second look, however, (207) can have a cardinal reading as presented in (ii) where the uttered number includes a hearer. This case has nothing to do with the specificity of an entire set. A speaker does not care about who will be included besides a hearer.

- (207) Ipen hakhoy-eyse-nun 3myeng-i palphyohay-la.
 this conference-in-top 3.person(cl)-nom present-imp
 (i) #‘3 (*excluding you*) present (their paper) at this conference.’
 (Indirect order; (non)specific, cardinal)
 (ii) ‘3 (*including you*) present (*your* paper) at this conference.’
 (non-specific, cardinal, collective)
 (iii) ‘3 (of *you*) present (*your* paper) at this conference.’ (partitive)

In contrast, a definite cardinal reading is difficult to obtain from (207). When the entire uttered number of people are identifiable in the discourse, and a speaker refers them with a bare numeral phrase without a pronoun or a demonstrative, a common noun is employed rather than a classifier: *sey salam* ‘three people’ for (207).¹⁸⁰

In addition, a non-specific cardinal reading cannot have a distributive sense, unlike a partitive reading. Specifically, in the sense of (207)-(ii), the presentation event occurs once collectively. However, with (207)-(iii), the event can occur once collectively or multiple times distributively. This is because a hearer is mandatory only in (207)-(ii); accordingly, his or her To-do list is updated exclusively. As a result, the collective reading is derived. On the other hand, multiple hearers are mandatory in (207)-(iii), hence, the order can be performed both distributively or collectively.

¹⁸⁰ When the phrase accompanies a pointing gesture or the proximal demonstrative *i* ‘this’, or when there is an antecedent in a previous utterance, the bare numeral can be interpreted as a definite cardinal sense. This is because the gesture, demonstrative, and antecedent provide a definite set.

Although it looks complicated, it can be summarized by saying that a hearer has to be included in an uttered number when a bare numeral subject is a jussive subject. For (207) to be grammatical, the subject has to be read as a second person under the imperative particle. The meanings of a bare numeral subject of jussives are given in (208).

(208) Semantics of a bare numeral jussive subject:

- a. Cardinal non-specific collective: (207)ii
 $\lambda x \lambda e [\text{present a paper}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e) = \uparrow x \ \& \ x \leq 3 \ \& \ \text{Addressees} = x' \ \& \ x' \subset x]$
- b. Partitive distributive: (207)iii
 $\lambda x \lambda e [\text{present a paper}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e) = x \ \& \ x \leq 3 \ \& \ x \subset \text{Addressees}]$
- c. Partitive collective: (207)iii
 $\lambda x \lambda e [\text{present a paper}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e) = \uparrow x \ \& \ x \leq 3 \ \& \ x \subset \text{Addressees}]$

Non-jussives have fewer interpretative restrictions than jussives regarding interpretation of a bare numeral, but an imposter reading is not possible. (209) can be read cardinally or partitively, specifically/anaphorically or non-specifically. (209)(a-b)(i) is appropriate contrary to the unacceptable case in (207)(i). This contrast comes from the personal interpretative restriction on a jussive subject.

Despite the wider range of interpretations, a non-third person reading (i.e., an imposter reading) seems to be unavailable with a bare numeral phrase in non-jussives. A bare numeral can be definite when it has a linguistic or contextual antecedent (shared knowledge), which is omitted here. This describes the (209)(a-b)(ii) case. However, it cannot be used with an imposter reading. Even when there are three hearers in the utterance context, and the three is intended to be the referent of the uttered number, it is not read as directly substituting for a non-third person pronoun. For an imposter reading, a numeral has to have an associate head noun, *salam* 'man',

for instance.^{181 182}

- (209)a. Ipen hakhoy-eyse-nun 3myeng-i palphyohayss-ni?
this conference-in-top 3.cl(person)-nom presented-int
(i) 'Did (some) 3 people present (their) paper at this conference?
(non-specific, cardinal)
(ii) 'Did (the) 3 present (their paper) at this conference?'
(anaphoric, cardinal)
(iii)# 'Did (*you*) 3 present (*your* paper) at this conference?'
(imposter, cardinal)
(iv)'Did 3 (of you/them) present (your/their paper) at this
conference?' (partitive)

¹⁸¹ The unavailability of an imposter reading is more clear with a numeral *han* 'one': *han myeng* 'one cl(person)' has a difficult time referring to an individual directly. When *3myeng* in (209)b is substituted with *han myeng*, it cannot refer to a speaker even with a demonstrative: *i han myeng* 'this one cl(person)' is completely unnatural with the intended reading. Thus, in non-jussives, *han myeng* cannot have a non-third person sense at all, and it has a non-specific cardinal reading only. This can be ascribed to the non-specific nature of *han* 'one', and it cannot designate a specific hearer even in imperatives, and only a partitive reading is available in this environment. That is, *han myeng* can occur in a position that has a non-third person orientation (jussives), but it cannot have a non-third person denotation in non-jussives at all.

¹⁸² When *nehuy* 'you.pl' precedes *3myeng* '3.cl(person)', the sentences can be read only as (iii) due to the definiteness.

- b. Ipen hakhoy-eyse-nun 3myeng-i palphyohayss-ci.
 this conference-in-top 3.cl(person)-nom presented-sp
 (i) '3 people presented (their) paper at this conference.'
 (non-specific, cardinal)
 (ii) '(The) 3 presented (their paper) at this conference.'
 (anaphoric, cardinal)
 (iii)# '(We) 3 presented (*our* paper) at this conference.'
 (imposter, cardinal)
 (iv)'3 (of us/you/them) presented (our/your/their paper) at this
 conference. (partitive)

Before leaving this section, I'd like to mention that a non-specific cardinal reading is relatively easily derived in exhortatives. It is quite fine even when a conversational participant is not included in (an indirect order reading), as shown in (210)-(i). This seems to result from an extended meaning of exhortatives for some Korean speakers, and such interpretative tolerance comes from the basic meaning of the construction: *agreement* and *To-do list updating*¹⁸³. Thus, in an extended sense, some speakers use exhortatives for asking the hearer's consent without updating their To-do list. For that reason, exhortatives allow a wider range of interpretation compared to other jussives, as previously discussed in Chapter 3. However, such extended meanings are not a main concern of this study.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ The semantics of exhortatives is composed of (i) agreement between conversational participants, and (ii) To-do list updating. This is differentiated from imperatives and promissives in that they do not require any consent from a hearer, and update a speaker or hearer's To-do list unilaterally.

¹⁸⁴ I will leave this issue for future research.

(210) Ipen hakhoy-eyse-nun 3myeng-i palphyoha-ca.
this conference-in-top 3.cl(person)-nom present-exh

(i) ?'Let's 3 present (their paper) at this conference.'

(Indirect order; non-sp./cardinal)

(ii) 'Let's 3 (of you/us) present (your/our paper) at this conference.'

((Non-)typical; (non)-sp/partitive)

So far, it has been shown that a bare numeral behaves differently in jussives and non-jussives. It cannot be construed as an imposter in non-jussives, but can appear in a jussive subject position which is non-third person oriented. However, I will leave a detailed analysis on bare numerals for future research.

5.2. A subject of jussives is not a vocative, either

One might also think that an agentive nominal in jussives is not a subject, but a vocative phrase. This has been debated intensively in the literature on imperative subjects since Downing (1969). Under the unified analysis on imperatives, exhortatives, and promissives, the vocative analysis is less convincing on a jussive subject, since subjects of exhortatives and promissives show a first person restriction rather than a second person one. Adding to this, this subsection will focus on Korean data, which shows different properties between a jussive subject and vocatives. Specifically, numeral phrases and an occurrence of demonstratives will be discussed here.

5.2.1. Bare numeral phrases

A bare numeral phrase with a classifier can be a jussive subject, as previously discussed. Relevant data is given in (211). (211) seems to be somewhat degraded at first glance, but under a classroom environment, teachers can utter it, even as the first remark of an end-of-day meeting, targeting students who are salient hearers in the context. Jussives impose an interpretative

restriction on their subject, so that the subject is automatically read as either a speaker or a hearer.¹⁸⁵

(211)[Context: A homeroom teacher speaks at an end-of-day meeting.]

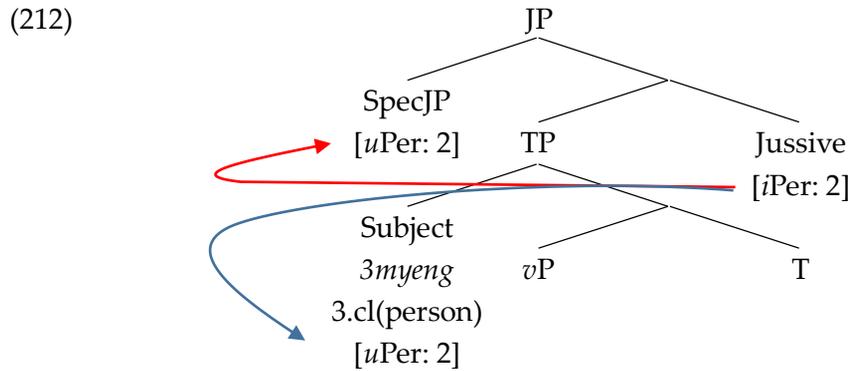
- a. Onul-un 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul hay-la.
today-top 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-imp
'Three of you clean the classroom today.'
- b. Onul-un 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul ha-ma.
today-top 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-prm
'I promise that three (of us) will clean the classroom today.'
- c. Onul-un 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul ha-ca.
today-top 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-exh
Lit. 'Let's three (of you) clean the classroom today.'

The partitive reading of indefinite subjects in imperatives has already been mentioned in Jespersen (1964), and discussed in Downing (1969: 581). Both studies point out that a seemingly third person subject in imperatives are, in fact, second person. In addition, Downing (1969) argues that they all have a partitive meaning. Under the performative analysis, he argues that an embedded subject has a subset relation with an indirect second person object of a higher performative predicate.

Although this thesis does not adopt his analysis directly, the original intuition is accepted. The partitive sense can be easily accounted for under the analysis that SpecJP is distinguished from the jussive subject on SpecTP. The proposed structure is provided in (212). SpecJP has a second person feature only, and it is read as an entire hearer set. In contrast, a jussive subject

¹⁸⁵ The speaker should be included in an agent of an ordered action in promissives, hence the teacher in the given context has to be one of the three people in (211)b. Although the situation is not natural based on our world knowledge, the grammaticality of the sentence is not affected at all. Assuming that it is uttered by a class president who cleans the classroom every day to be a good model to classmates, the sentence is natural.

gets a second person value from Jussive, but it can have an additional meaning that a lexical entry has. As a result, although both SpecJP and the jussive subject have a second person value, the jussive subject can denote a part of the hearer set depending on its content.¹⁸⁶



In contrast, the numeral phrase is totally disallowed in vocatives, contrary to the jussive subjects in (211). Since a vocative particle *-(y)a* cannot co-occur with a numeral expression, only a distinctive intonation is used to mark a vocative usage, which is a high flat tone with a following pause¹⁸⁷. Nevertheless, bare numerals can never be used as vocatives with the aid of intonation, as seen in (213).

(213)[Context: a homeroom teacher speaks at an end-of-day meeting.]

- a. *3myeng, kyosil chengso-lul hay-la.
 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-imp
 '(Listen, you) three, clean the classroom.'

¹⁸⁶ The subset relation is important not only with a numeral subject in this section, but also with the non-typical subject in Chapter 3. In a broad sense, the non-typical subject also can be regarded as a partitive reading: the superset is the speaker and the hearer, and the subset is either of them.

¹⁸⁷ A falling intonation with a following pause can be employed on vocatives, especially under a scolding context.

- b. *3myeng, kyosil chengso-lul ha-ma.
 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-prm
 Lit. '(Listen, you) three, I/we promise to clean the classroom.'
- c. *3myeng, kyosil chengso-lul ha-ca.
 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-exh
 Lit. '(Listen, you) three, let's clean the classroom.'

Furthermore, the partitive reading cannot salvage the ungrammaticality of (213). Vocatives with a numeral, bare or not, cannot have a partitive reading from the outset: when (213)b has an overt set and formal noun with a partitive meaning *cwung* 'among', the sentence is still ungrammatical, as give in (214)¹⁸⁸.

- (214)*Nehuy/Wuli cwung 3myeng, kyosil chengso-lul ha-ma.
 you.pl/we among 3.cl(person) classroomcleaning-acc do-prm
 Lit. '(Listen,) three of you/us, I/we will clean the classroom.'

For (213) to be grammatical, overt deictic expressions such as a second person pronoun or a locative adverb are necessary, as in (215), and the subject is not partitive at all, but definite and specific.

- (215)a. [Nehuy/Keki 3myeng], kyosil chengso-lul hay-la. cf. (213)
 you/there 3.cl(person) classroomcleaning-acc do-imp
 'You/There three, clean the classroom.'
- b. [Nehuy/Keki 3myeng,] kyosil chengso-lul ha-ma.
 you/there 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-prm
 Lit. 'You/There three, (I/we promise to) clean the classroom.'

¹⁸⁸ Only promissive data is considered in terms of the partitive construction since, in the other jussives, vocatives with such an overt partitive construction are easily misunderstood as a subject in which the nominative Case particle *-ka* is omitted, and are hard to distinguish from the intended vocative reading.

- c. [Nehuy/Keki 3myeng], kyosil chengso-lul ha-ca.
 you/there 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-exh
 Lit. 'You/There three, let's clean the classroom.'

Unlike vocatives, the numeral phrase with an overt partitive construction in (214) can be used as a jussive subject. The data are represented in (216), and the subjects get the same interpretation with the one in (211). Thus, the overt partitive construction reconfirm that a jussive subject is different from a vocative.

- (216)a. Nehuy cwung 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul
 you.pl among 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc
 hay-la.
 do-imp
 'Three of you clean the classroom.'
- b. Wuli cwung 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul ha-ma.
 we among 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-prm
 '(I promise) three of us (to) clean the classroom.'
- c. Wuli cwung 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul ha-ca.
 we among 3.cl(person)-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-exh
 Lit. 'Let's three of us clean the classroom.'

Here, we can think of a definite requirement in vocatives which is interpreted depending on 'here' and 'now' context. Since it does not allow a (c)overt partitive construction, contra a jussive subject, the vocatives seem to denote a definite entity. However, not all vocatives do so: *someone/somebody*

can be used as vocatives in English.¹⁸⁹ The Korean counterpart *amwuna* cannot stand alone as a vocative phrase; when *amwuna* precedes the numeral phrase in (213)a, and denotes an indefinite hearer, the vocative becomes legitimate as in (217).¹⁹⁰ Thus, semantic and syntactic properties of vocatives have to be further studied, though I concentrate on the different properties of vocatives and jussive subjects in this thesis.

(217)[Amwuna 3myeng], kyosil chengso-lul hay-la. cf.(213)a
 anyone 3.cl(person) classroom cleaning-acc do-imp
 '(Listen, someone) three, clean the classroom.'

5.2.2. Demonstratives

A vocative phrase also does not pattern with a jussive subject regarding co-occurrence with demonstratives.

Subjects of promissives can co-occur with the proximal demonstrative *i*

¹⁸⁹ Downing (1969) argues that the vocative use of *somebody* is only allowed in imperatives, but Davies (1986) allows the vocative *somebody* in other clausal types such as declaratives. According to Zwicky (1974), vocatives have two functions: (i) *calls*, attracting a hearer's attention, and (ii) *addresses*, emphasizing the contact of conversational participants. Haegeman and Hill (2013) also mention the two functions of vocatives, attention seeking and bonding, as mentioned in Chapter 2 with reference to Speech Act Projection. The two functions are derived from their different syntactic positions in Haegeman and Hill (2013).

The indefinite vocatives seem to perform the first function, calling an undefined hearer. Refer to Haegeman and Hill (2013) and its references for a detailed analysis on a syntactic position of vocatives.

¹⁹⁰ According to Yoon (2008), *amwuna* and *nwukuna*, the Korean counterpart of *anyone*, are a free choice item (Giannakidou 2001). In particular, the former is non-specific indefinite and the latter is specific indefinite. Interestingly, vocatives, which seem to require definiteness, allow the non-specific *amwuna* within them, as in (217), whereas the specific *nukwuna* is rejected. Refer to Yoon (2008) and Giannakidou (2001) for free choice items.

'this' as in (218). However, imperative and exhortative subjects do not seem to allow any demonstrative, whether it is the proximal *i* 'this' or distal *ce/ku* 'that'. This seems to show that demonstratives do not go well with the second person feature in Korean.

- (218)I imo-ka Hyeki chayk-ul sa cwu-ma.
 this aunt-nom H. book-acc buy give-prm
 'This aunt (=I) promises to buy Hyeki's book.'

A subject of imperatives and exhortatives can co-occur with *i* 'this' under a limited environment, either (i) with a contrastive sense or (ii) in a numeral phrase, however. When there are two people with the same name, *SinCayhyek* in an utterance place and a speaker intends to issue a command to one of them, we can say (219)a.¹⁹¹ Also, as discussed in the previous subsection, a numeral subject is read as a partitive, and is compatible with a demonstrative; in (219)b, the subject *i 3myeng* is interpreted as 'this three of you'. Furthermore, (b) has a contrastive meaning, just as (a) does.

- (219)a. Onul-un i SinCayhyek-i kyosil chengso-lul hay-la.
 today-top this S.-nom classroom cleaning-acc do-imp
 Int. 'This SinCayhyek clean the classroom today(, but not the other SinCayhyek).'
- b. Onul-un i 3myeng-i kyosil chengso-lul hay-la.
 today-top this 3.cl(person)-nom classroomcleaning-acc do-imp
 Int. 'These 3 people clean the classroom today(, but not other students).'

On the contrary, demonstratives do not occur in vocative constructions

¹⁹¹ When the exhortative marker *-ca* is substituted with the imperative marker *-la* in (219), the sentence is still grammatical. I will omit the exhortative case, though.

5.3. Summary

This chapter has been devoted to excluding alternative analyses on the subject of jussives. Some researchers argue that an imperative subject can be treated as another instance of imposters or vocatives based on an interpretative restriction on a second person feature. However, imposters and vocatives have different properties from jussive subjects in syntactic and semantic respects.

Studies on imposters have been flourishing since Collins and Postal (2012), and there has been an attempt to apply the imposter analysis to the jussive subject. Both are similar with reference to discrepancy between form and meaning. However, in this section, I have shown that not all jussive subjects can get the imposter analyses. Most importantly, a jussive subject does not require the familiarity condition, unlike imposters, so that a given expression does not have to reflect a speaker and hearer's relation. Also, a bare numeral cannot be an imposter, but can be a jussive subject.

It has also been suspected that a jussive subject might be a vocative phrase, but they are different from each other in form and meaning. This thesis follows Portner's (2007) idea that a function of imperatives is updating a hearer's To-do list, and adopts Zanuttini et al.'s (2012) assumption that promissives and exhortatives also update the To-do list of the speaker's and the speaker and hearer's, respectively, in the same manner as imperatives. Thus, subjects of the three clauses fall under the same group, i.e., jussives. In this sense, the vocative analyses narrow down the range of discussions to the second person orientation. Moreover, jussive subjects can freely co-occur with a demonstrative and partitive expression, whereas vocatives cannot. In addition, a bare numeral can be a jussive subject, but not an imposter.

Based on these data, vocatives and imposters seem to come into closer relation than the subject of jussives. However, I shall refrain from delving

into further detail.

6. Concluding remarks

Korean has been known to have poor inflectional morphology in the verbal domain compared to Germanic or Romance languages. This is because a predicate is totally uninflected by a subject or an object in Korean. However, it has a rich system of sentential particles to express a speaker or a hearer's emotion or attitude toward a proposition/property. This dissertation has concentrated on a person feature on the Jussive, and investigated how the feature interacts with an argument in TP. Jussives are a good issue to identify the influence of C in Korean since their semantics is realized as an overt marker: the promissive *-ma*, the imperative *-la*, and the exhortative *-ca*, and a lower argument which is co-indexed with a jussive subject, syntactically restricted in the jussive construction.

So far, the literature on jussives has covered typical jussives and indirect order cases, and non-typical exhortatives have been put down to pragmatic effects. This thesis proposed subset probing, and observed that jussive data were bifurcated into complete accordance/discordance on the one hand, and partial accordance on the other hand. As a result, non-typical exhortatives have been brought into line with typical jussives since their subject is still anchored to a conversational participant.

Also, this thesis elaborated on a jussive structure from previous studies, namely, subset probing implies that two specifier positions, SpecTP and SpecJP, have to be activated independently (at least in Korean), considering non-typical exhortative data. To be in accordance with a binding relation (Kratzer 2009), SpecJP cannot be analyzed as a position of a non-typical exhortative subject. This is because the Spec-Head predication relation subsumes an equative relation. Instead, SpecTP is an appropriate position, which can inherit a feature partially from a Jussive head. Also, this thesis shows that an optative meaning of jussives get construed as a case with the absence of J-Agree in Korean matrix jussives.

Further embedded elements are influenced by a Jussive head, i.e., when an R-expression occurs with a first or second person meaning in jussives, it always precedes a pronominal co-indexed element throughout the derivation. This is explained by Person Feature Intervention (PFI) in that a co-indexed interpretable person feature functions as an intervenor. PFI is applied to J-binding, which is always mediated by the functional head, Jussive. Kratzer (2009) argues that a binder is a functional head which is in an extended verbal domain, rather than DP/NP, but Korean lacks a verbal inflection, so that it is difficult to assure the presence of an interpretable φ -features on *v*. However, jussive constructions verify that a functional head can be a binder in Korean, too. Whether it can be extended to *v* in Korean requires further investigation, however.

Furthermore, the investigation on jussives gives us a hint on the DP-structure. Vocatives and imposters have been compared to a jussive subject in that all of them have a personal restriction. However, this dissertation has rejected the imposter approach to jussive subjects based on empirical evidence. In particular, a jussive subject appears to be included in imposters, but this is not true. It has come out that imposters are more restricted than the jussive subject in terms of familiarity. From this, it is arguable that Korean, which is an article-less language, has a defective DP-projection, D_{FAM} , hosting only familiarity/presuppositionality rather than definiteness. The D is not inherently definite, so that it has to be bound by an utterance context, in particular, conversational participants. However, this argument is provisional. Also, it has been shown that jussive subjects are different from vocatives, as well, based on syntactic and semantic factors.

This dissertation has enriched relevant data, and extended the discussion on jussives. Starting from a jussive subject, it determines the relation with a VP-internal argument, thereby proving a binding operation in Korean. Also, a proposed DP_{FAM} structure accords with DP-CP parallelism (Szabolcsi 1987, 1994). The arguments in this thesis imply that a first or second person that is not inherent requires an outer shell, which mediates a

noun phrase with a context, namely, Jussive in a verbal domain and D_{FAM} in a nominal domain.

However, there are some important issues which have not been included in this thesis. First, what restricts subset probing or PFI still remains to be answered. This thesis ascribes the special property to discourse, but does not firmly state which aspect is associated with the selection of POV features from the Jussive head in exhortatives or what makes a non-third person R-expression special and puts it before a coreferential pronominal. Also, this thesis has only focused on contrasting jussive subjects with imposters and vocatives, but bringing an analysis of the three together will provide us with global perspectives on Terms of Addresser/Addressee. Answering these remaining issues will strengthen the arguments of this thesis, showing how the proposed syntactic analyses are related to the real world.

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명령·제안·약속문 통사론: 통사-담화 접합부의 인칭 자질

본고에서는 담화 참여자인 화자나 청자의 태도가 통사 구조에 미치는 영향에 주목하여 생성문법의 관점에서 통사-담화 접합부에 대해 고찰하였다. 특히 한국어 명령·제안·약속문을 논의의 대상으로 삼아 문장종결표지 '-라/자/마'가 명시적으로 실현된 문장을 분석 대상으로 삼았다.

명령·제안·약속문은 행위주가 화자나 청자로 고정되어 해석이 된다는 점에서 많은 연구자들의 관심을 받아 왔다. 명령문은 2인칭, 제안문은 1인칭과 2인칭, 약속문은 1인칭 주어를 가지며, 이러한 해석은 주어의 발화와는 무관하다. 이는 문장의 유형이 주어의 의미를 제한하고 영형 주어를 인허하는 것으로 평서문이나 의문문과는 구별되는 명령·제안·약속문의 범언어적인 특징이다.

본고에서는 명령·제안·약속문의 구조에 대하여, 보문소절(CP)의 일종인 명령절(JussiveP)의 핵(Jussive)에 인칭 자질이 명시되어 있으며 (Zanuttini et al. 2012), 이 명령-핵(Jussive)이 시제절(TP) 내부에 위치하는 논항의 의미적 해석과 통사적 분포에 영향을 미침을 주장하였다. 이로써 명령·제안·약속문의 내부 구조를 세분화하고, 명령-핵이 가지는 인칭 정보의 본질을 드러내었다.

본고에서는 특히 기존에 화용적인 현상으로 간주되던 비전형적인 제안문에 주목하였다. 전형적인 제안문은 무표적인 상황에서 1+2인칭 주어를 가지지만, 담화 맥락에 따라 1인칭 혹은 2인칭이 단독으로 주어로 쓰이는 비전형적인 제안문이 나타나기도 한다. 예컨대 “내가/네가 점심을 사자.” 하고 말하면, 이는 화자나 청자가 단독으로 점심을 살 것을 요청하는 것으로서 제안문의 주어는 1+2인칭의 부분 집합에 해당한다. 이러한 비전형적인 제안문에 대해, 본고는 명령·제안·약속문을 형성하는 명령

-핵에 위치하는 1·2인칭 자질이 각기 독립적으로 목표물(goal)을 탐침(probe)한다는 가정 하에 둘 중 하나만 주어의 해석에 관여하는 것을 허용하는 부분 탐침(subset probing)이 일어남을 주장하였다. 이로써 비전형적인 제안문도 전형적인 제안문과 마찬가지로 통사적 기제인 일치(Agree)에 의해 인허됨을 증명하고, 명령·제안·약속문의 여러 하위 부류((비)전형적인 명령·제안문·약속문, 간접 명령문, 기원문)에 대해 통합적인 해석을 제시하였다.

본고는 또한 명령·제안·약속문에서 명령-핵이 주어보다 아래에 있는 요소의 통사적 분포에도 영향을 미침을 확인하였다. 서로 공지시하는 지시 표현(R-expression)과 대명사류(pronominal)가 목적어의 소유 구문과 주어에 동시에 나타날 때에는, 지시 표현이 대명사류에 항상 선행해야 한다. 이러한 관찰을 근거로 본고는 대명사류의 해석적인 1·2인칭 자질(interpretable person feature)이 지시 표현의 비해석적인 1·2인칭 자질(uninterpretable person feature)과 보문소(complementizer)의 일치를 방해한다는 인칭 자질 방해(Person Feature Intervention)를 주장하였다. 이는 지시 표현이 1·2인칭으로 해석되는 경우에는 고유의 지시를 가지지 않고, 보문소에 의존하여 해석되어야 하는 특성에서 기인한다.

본고에서 수행한 명령·제안·약속문 연구는 명사구의 구조를 밝히는 데에도 기여할 수 있다. 본고에서는 명령-핵의 존재를 입증하는 과정에서, 명령·제안·약속문의 주어를 평서문이나 의문문에 나타나는 1·2인칭 지시 표현(imposter) 및 호격(vocative) 구문과 비교·대조하였다. 이때, 특히 평서문·의문문에서 1·2인칭으로 해석되는 지시 표현과 명령·제안·약속문의 주어의 차이를 밝히면서, 전자가 담화 참여자에 의존하여 해석되는 것을 근거로 한국어 명사구의 한정사(determiner)가 한정성(definiteness)를 표시하는 영어 한정사와 달리 담화 맥락의 제한을 받는 불완전한 한정사(D_{FAM})임을 주장하였다.

이상의 발견을 종합한 본고의 주장은 명사구의 비해석적인 1·2인칭 자질이 문장 층위에서 온다는 것이다. 명령·제안·약속문의 논항은 보문소의 일종인 명령-핵이 지니는 인칭 자질에 의존하여 해석이 제한되며, 따라서 논항 간 분포의 제약도 발생한다. 또한 평서문·의문문에서 1·2인칭

으로 해석되는 지시 표현의 경우에는 명사구의 해석과 담화 맥락과의 관계를 맥락 의존적인 한정사가 매개함으로써 그러한 해석이 가능해진다. 요약하면, 본 연구는 명사구의 인칭 해석에 기능 범주(명령-핵과 한정사)가 관여함을 밝히고, 문장 층위와 어떠한 상호작용을 맺는지 확인한 것이라고 할 수 있다.

주요어: 보문소구, 명령문, 제안문, 약속문, 인칭 자질, 일치, 결속, 방해, 간섭, 문맥의존적인 1·2인칭 명사구

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