

The speaker-addressee relation in imperatives*

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1 The puzzle of embedded imperatives

It is well known that many languages do not allow imperatives in their canonical forms to be embedded. Italian is an example of such a language, as we see in (1): a clause with a verb in the imperative morphological form cannot occur in a complement clause. However, there are languages that allow imperatives in their canonical form to be embedded somewhat freely. Korean is an example of such a language, as we see in (2): a clause with the sentence final particle *-(u)la*, which marks it as imperative, can occur in a complement clause. Moreover, there are also languages that allow embedded imperatives only in severely restricted circumstances. English is one of them, as we see in (3): as has been argued in Crnić and Trinh (2009, 2011), the canonical imperative form can occur as a complement clause under the verb *say*, at least for some speakers:

- (1) a. Chiamaci quando sei pronto.
 call-IMP-us when are-2ND SG ready
 ‘Call us when you’re ready.’
 b. *Ha ordinato chiamaci quando sei pronto.
 has ordered call-us when are-2ND SG ready
 Intended meaning: ‘He/she ordered that you call us when you’re ready.’
- (2) a. Onul-un ilccik ka-la.
 today-TOP early go-IMP
 ‘Go early today.’
 b. Sensayngnim-i onul-un ilccik ka-la-ko cisiha/malssumha/pwuthakhasi-ess-ta.
 teacher-NOM today-TOP early go-IMP-COMP order/say/request.HON-PAST-DEC
 ‘The teacher ordered/said/requested (for us to) to go early today.’
- (3) a. Call my mom.
 b. John_i said call his_i mom. (Crnić and Trinh 2011, (6))

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Previous work on embedded imperatives has focused more on the restrictions observed in one or several languages (see Zanuttini et al. 2012 for references), and less on the variation that we see across languages (Kaufmann 2014 being a notable exception). Our goal in this paper is to focus on the pattern as a whole and explain the contrast between the most extreme cases, i.e. between languages that do not allow embedding at all and languages that seem to allow embedding with any semantically appropriate predicate.

The core intuition that we will pursue is the following:

- Imperatives frequently encode a social/hierarchical relation between the speaker and the addressee. When they do, they cannot be embedded.

In other words, the idea that we are pursuing is that restrictions on embedding are not due to the unembeddability of illocutionary force (Han 1998, Green 2000), but rather to this ‘social’ meaning.

Before we launch into an exploration of this intuition, we need to make a few clarifications. The first concerns what is (and what is not) our object of investigation. We focus on sentential forms that are conventionally paired with directive illocutionary force. This can include a variety of syntactic forms. For Italian, we will include the canonical imperative with a verb in the imperative verbal form (4), so-called ‘polite imperatives’ with a verb in the subjunctive form (5), and infinitival directives (6), which are used to issue a directive to people in general (as opposed to a particular individual):¹

- (4) Chiama-ci quando sei pronto. (canonical imperative)
 call-IMP-US when are-2ND.SG ready
 ‘Call us when you’re ready.’
- (5) Venga, si accomodi. (polite imperative)
 come-SUBJ.3S self make.comfortable-SUBJ.3S
 ‘Come in, make yourself comfortable.’
- (6) Rispettare l’ambiente! (infinitival directive)
 respect-INF the-environment
 ‘Respect the environment!’

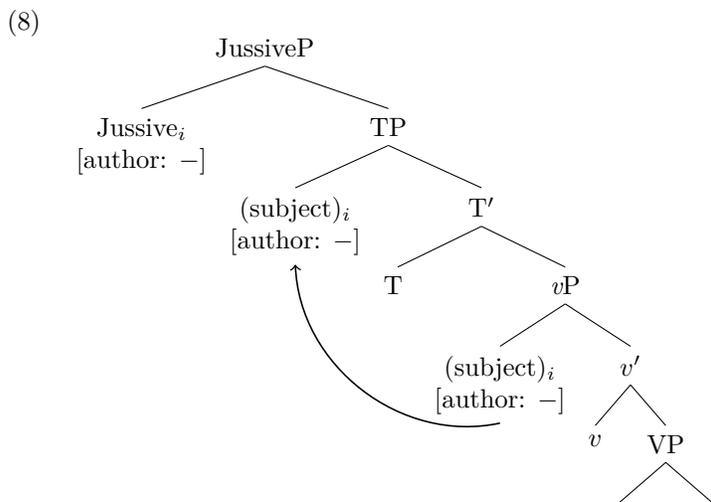
We do not include in our object of investigation sentences that, though conventionally paired with a different illocutionary force, can be used to perform a directive speech act. For example, declaratives are conventionally associated with the force of asserting; however they can be used to impose a requirement, especially in the presence of a deontic modal, as in the example in (7a). Such declaratives, like all declaratives, can be embedded, as we see in (7b):

- (7) a. One must not park here.
 b. She said that one must not park here.

¹In Portner et al. (to appear), we make a distinction between a broad notion of addressee that includes people in general and a more specific one, the INTERLOCUTOR-ADDRESSEE, which applies to the particular addressee with whom the speaker is interacting in a speech event. In this paper, when we say ‘addressee’, we mean the interlocutor-addressee, and when we intend the broader notion, we say ‘people in general’.

Because the pairing of a declarative with directive force is indirect, there is no puzzle for why embedding is possible: what is being embedded is a declarative, not an imperative clause.

The second clarification is that we assume, following Zanuttini et al. (2012) that imperatives (and other jussive clauses, i.e. exhortatives and promissives) contain a functional head in their clausal structure, the JUSSIVE head. In imperatives, the Jussive head bears a 2nd person feature, which we represent here as [author: -].² The Jussive head binds the subject and agrees in person with it, giving rise to the well-known person-restriction on imperative subjects. (This structure also leads to a property-type denotation that explains its force.)



The structure of our paper is as follows. In section 2 we review the proposal we made in Portner et al. (to appear) concerning the grammatical encoding of the speaker-addressee relation, which invokes two features: STATUS and FORMAL. In section 3 we provide the semantic/pragmatic analysis of the [status] and [formal] features, largely following our previous work but also extending it in several ways. In section 4 we outline our analysis of the restrictions on embedded imperatives in Korean and Italian. Finally, in section 5 we summarize our proposals.

2 Syntax of the speaker-addressee relation

We aim to explain the unembeddability of imperatives (when they are in fact unembeddable) in terms of the fact that they encode information about the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee. We thus begin by presenting some ideas on the grammatical means that languages have at their disposal to encode information on the social relation between speaker and addressee, based on Portner et al. (to appear) where we present them in greater detail.

²In this system, the speaker and the addressee are considered the participants in the conversation, following Halle (1997), Harley and Ritter (2002), Bejar (2003), and Nevins (2007), among others. We represent the second person feature as [author: -].

Languages express the social relation between speaker and addressee — whether the two are on equal footing (e.g. close friends, peers at work) or whether one is somehow socially superior to the other (e.g., older, a boss at the workplace, etc.) — in a variety of ways. Some are encoded in the syntactic representation, for example allocutive agreement (Antonov 2015; Oyharçabal 1993; Haddican 2015), ‘polite’ and ‘familiar’ pronouns (like French *vous* versus *tu*), politeness markers like Japanese *mas* (Harada 1976; Miyagawa 2012, among others), honorifics and speech style particles in Korean.³ In Portner et al. (to appear) we propose that, when encoded in the syntax, information about the hierarchical relation between a speaker and their interlocutor is expressed with the features [status] and [formal] in a functional category labeled ‘little *c*’ (for *context*). The feature [status] has values that relate the speaker and addressee, e.g. $S \leq A$ or $S \geq A$, while the feature [formal] has values + or –.⁴ Moreover, we argue that cP cannot be embedded because it encodes a type of performative meaning (we’ll elaborate on this in section 3). In other words, the feature [status] only occurs in main clauses.

In Portner et al. (to appear) we also propose that the grammatical means for expressing the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee fall into two broad classes:

1. We label elements of the first class CONTENT-ORIENTED MARKERS OF POLITENESS. Such elements convey information on the speaker’s relation to the *referent* of a noun phrase. An example are the honorifics of Japanese and Korean (also called ‘referent honorifics’ or ‘propositional honorifics’). Another example are the second person pronouns of many Indo-European languages: they express information on the hierarchical relation between the speaker and the referent of the pronoun, which is always the addressee. These pronouns are sometimes referred to as ‘familiar’ and ‘polite’ pronouns, or as *T* and *V* forms, respectively (after French *tu/vous*). We see an example from Italian in (9):

- (9) Gli infermieri **ti/Le** porteranno un bicchiere d’acqua.
 the nurses you.FAM/you.POL will-bring a glass of-water
 ‘The nurses will bring you a glass of water.’

The *ti* form of the 2nd person pronoun is appropriate when the speaker is socially higher than the addressee (for example, an adult talking to a child) or equal to the addressee (for example, a relative or close friend), whereas the *Le* form is appropriate when the speaker is socially lower or not on familiar terms with the addressee (for example, two adults who do not know each other). Elements of this class can readily be embedded, as we see in the case of the 2nd person pronouns in Italian:

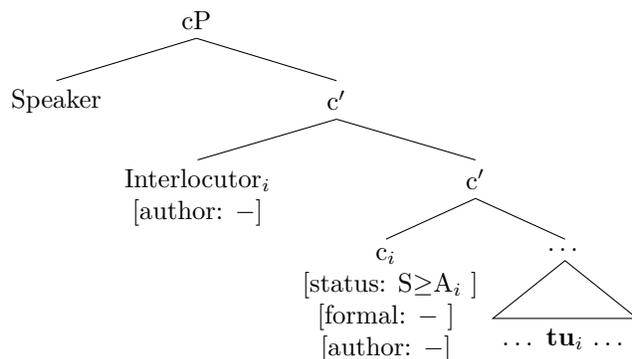
- (10) Hanno detto che gli infermieri **ti/Le** porteranno un bicchiere d’acqua.
 have said that the nurses you.FAM/you.POL will-bring a glass of-water
 ‘They said that the nurses will bring you a glass of water.’

³The term *politeness* is sometimes used to refer to various means of expressing the relation between speaker and addressee, especially when they convey deference, respect or honorification. In addition to the means that we discuss in this paper, languages also employ other ways of expressing politeness, for example forms of address (like *Sir*, *Madam*), certain lexical items (like *please*, *sorry*), and certain speech registers.

⁴The projection cP is related to the Speech Act projections/layers of Speas and Tenny (2003), Miyagawa (2012), Haegeman and Hill (2013), Zu (2018), etc.

In Portner et al. (to appear) we argue that, though pronouns express a value for the [status] feature ($S \geq A$ for *tu*, $S \leq A$ for *Lei*), the [status] feature is interpreted only in the root *c*. It appears on the pronouns as a result of agreement with *c*, just as has been argued for the case of person features (Baker 2008, Kratzer 2009). As illustrated in the schematic representation below for *tu* in Italian, the [status] feature is in *c*:

(11)



2. We label elements of the second class UTTERANCE-ORIENTED MARKERS OF POLITENESS. The interesting property of such elements is that they convey information on the speaker's relation to the addressee without introducing the addressee into the semantics as a referent. An example is a group of sentence final particles of Korean traditionally called 'speech style particles'. These particles convey information on the relation between speaker and addressee and on the formality of the utterance context, and in addition mark clause type. For example, the formal (deferential) speech style particle *-supnita*, exemplified in (12), indicates that the addressee is older or socially higher than the speaker, the context of utterance is formal, and the sentence is a declarative:

- (12) Ecey pi-ka o-ass-**supnita**.
 yesterday rain-NOM come-PAST-DEC.FORMAL
 'It rained yesterday.'

The speech style particles of Korean (other than the plain particles, which we'll discuss below) can only be used when there is a specific, direct addressee (and not when one is addressing people in general). In fact, when it is addressed to a specific addressee, a sentence *must* contain a speech style particle. Other examples of utterance-oriented markers are allocutive agreement, Japanese *-mas*, addressee agreement in Jingpo discussed by Zu (2018), and possibly some of the discourse particles of West Flemish and Romanian as described by Haegeman and Hill (2013).

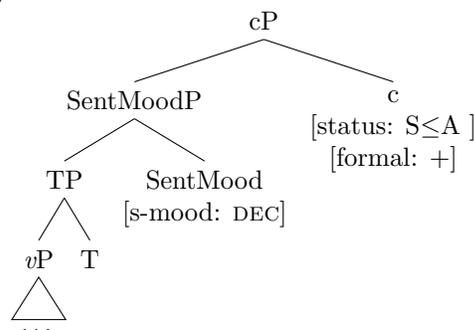
Unlike content-oriented markers of politeness, utterance-oriented markers of politeness cannot be freely embedded, as shown in (13):⁵

⁵Embedding of utterance-oriented markers is allowed in specific contexts in Japanese (Harada 1976, Miyagawa 2012) and Magahi (Baker and Alok 2019).

- (13) *Inho-ka [ecey pi-ka o-ass-**supnita**-ko] malhayss-supnita.
 Inho-NOM [yesterday rain-NOM come-PAST-DEC.FORMAL-COMP] said-DEC.FORMAL
 Intended meaning: ‘Inho said that it rained yesterday.’

In Portner et al. (to appear), we assume that the clause typing information is encoded in a functional projection called Sentence Mood Phrase (following Ahn and Yoon 1989, among others). We propose that the speech style particles are the overt realization of two functional heads, namely the head of SentMood and the head of cP:

- (14) Speech style particles



The speech style particles convey information on the relation between speaker and addressee via the [status] feature in c. Because they are the realization of the head of cP, a clause with a speech style particle, like (12) contains the cP projection and therefore cannot be embedded, thus accounting for the ungrammaticality of (13).

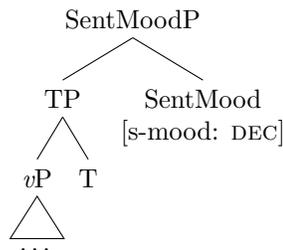
Korean also has a class of sentence final particles (*-ta* for declaratives, *-nya/-ni* for interrogatives, *-(u)la* for imperatives, *-ca* for exhortatives,) that mark clause type but do not convey any information on the hierarchical relation between the speaker and addressee. We will refer to them as PLAIN PARTICLES.⁶ These particles can only be used when the speaker doesn’t have a specific, direct addressee. They are commonly used in newspaper articles, personal diaries, professional journals, mottos and protest cries — contexts where the speaker is addressing people in general. For example, (15) is a declarative sentence with a plain particle that would be appropriate in a newspaper article:

- (15) Mwun taythonglyeng-i pwukhan-ul pangmuwnha-ess-**ta**.
 Moon president-NOM North.Korea-ACC visit-PAST-DEC.**plain**
 ‘The President Moon visited North Korea.’

Because the plain particles do not express any information concerning the relation between speaker and addressee, but only clause type, we analyze them as lacking the cP projection. The information about clause type is brought in by the head of the SentMoodP, as before. The clausal structure of sentences such as (15) is as shown below:

⁶They are traditionally called ‘plain speech style particles’, but we simplify their informal label because, in our analysis, they are different from speech style particles and do not mark speech style.

(16) Plain particles



Because clauses with plain particles do not have a cP, they can occur in embedded contexts. An example is shown in (17):

- (17) [Mwun taythonglyeng-i pwukhan-ul pangmuwnha-ess-**ta**-ko] Yenhap nyusu-ka
 Moon president-NOM North.Korea-ACC visit-PAST-DEC.**plain**-COMP Yenhap News-NOM
 onul potoha-ess-ta.
 today report-PAST-DEC.PLAIN
 ‘The Yenhap News reported today that President Moon visited North Korea.’

In sum, we have proposed that information concerning the hierarchical relation between the speaker and an addressee that is a direct interlocutor, when encoded in the syntax, is expressed via the [status] feature in the head of cP. This feature is always interpreted in c. It can appear on pronouns (in both matrix and complement clauses) as a result of agreement with c. It is spelled out in the markers of politeness like the speech style particles of Korean; because c is mostly restricted to root contexts, the distribution of these elements is also similarly restricted.

3 Semantics of the speaker-addressee relation

With this syntactic analysis in place, we now turn to the semantics of c and the [status] and [formal] features. Our semantic proposals are based on four key ideas:

1. A component of the discourse context, the PARTICIPANT STRUCTURE, represents the social/hierarchical relation between the speaker and interlocutor-addressee.
2. The [status] feature establishes the relation between participants in the participant structure.
3. The [formal] feature encodes information about which actual social relation is being represented.
4. Phrases that update the participant structure have a meaning in the ‘politeness dimension’ π , and they cannot be embedded. Our analysis of these properties is closely related to prior work by Chierchia (1984), Potts and Kawahara (2004), Potts (2005), and McCready (2014).

Our semantics builds on the analysis of Portner et al. (to appear), but for reasons of space we cannot review all of the arguments given there. For further discussion, especially with regard to restrictions on embeddability and comparisons with other approaches, please see that paper.

We develop our semantics for the features in *c* within a dynamic framework, specifically a version of dynamic pragmatics. A dynamic approach is appropriate because the social meaning conveyed by [status] is ‘performative’, in that using [status] with a particular value counts as an attempt to create the social relation it indicates. We can see this dynamicness in the following examples.

In (18), one speaker (‘mom’) varies her choice of speech style to create a pragmatic effect. In her first utterance, she uses the intimate style, typical for a parent speaking to a child. The intimate style places the speaker above the addressee with [status: $S > A$], but in her second utterance, she switches to polite style with [status: $S \leq A$], the same style that Inho uses in speaking to her.⁷ Mom’s use of polite style temporarily elevates Inho to equal status as his mom, reinforcing the praise that she offers for his good grade.

(18) *Pretense*

- Mom: Inho-ya, onul sihem cal poass-e?
 Inho-VOC.INTIMATE, today test well done.INT.INTIMATE?
 ‘Inho, did you do well on the test today?’
- Inho: Ney, emma. 100 cem pat-ass-**eyo**.
 Yes, mom. 100 point receive-PAST-DEC.POLITE
 ‘Yes, mom. I got 100.’
- Mom: Wa! Cengmal? Cham calhayss-**eyo**!
 Wow! Really? Indeed well.done-DEC.POLITE
 ‘Wow! You did really well!’

In (19), a boss and assistant Kim use a typical pattern of speech style marking for the office setting. Both use the formal style, which marks the formality of the relation ([formal: +]) and that the speaker is equal to or below the addressee in status ([status: $S \leq A$]). The primary reason for using the formal style here is to indicate formality, while the value of [status] (perhaps surprising on the part of the boss) serves each speaker to give deference to the addressee. Even though the boss has higher status and power in the office hierarchy, it is polite not to insist on this status in moment to moment interactions.

(19) *Showing deference*

- Boss: Kim tayli, onul hoyuy ilceng-i ettehkey toy-**pnikka**?
 Kim tayli.TITLE, today meeting schedule-NOM how become-INT.FORMAL
 ‘Assistant Kim, what is today’s meeting schedule?’
- Kim: 3 si-ey makhething hoyuy-ka iss-**supnita**.
 3 o’clock-at marketing meeting-NOM exist-DEC.FORMAL
 ‘There is a marketing meeting at 3 o’clock.’

Example (20) is a continuation of (19). Here the boss changes to the intimate style, which is not formal ([formal: –]). This shift represents an attempt on the part of the speaker to change the social relation between interlocutors that is understood to be operative in the context. There could be

⁷The intimate speech style can be used when the speaker is either higher than or equal to the addressee, or the speaker and addressee are in a close relation, such as close friends, siblings, etc.

many reasons for this. For example, perhaps the boss and assistant have worked together for many years and have developed some personal concern for one another; in such a case, the boss might switch styles as a prelude to comforting the assistant on a difficult personal situation. Another possibility is that the boss seeks to create an inappropriate level of intimacy with a subordinate. When assistant Kim replies, retaining the formal style, she can be seen as resisting the switch to intimacy proposed by the boss. The fact that the boss nevertheless persists with intimate style suggests that the second possibility (the harassing boss) is what is actually going on.

(20) *Shift to intimacy*

Boss: Kuntey onul cenyek-ey yaksok iss-e?
By.the.way today evening-at plan have-INT.INTIMATE

‘By the way, do you have any plans for this evening?’

Kim: Aniyoy eps-supnita.
No. not.have-DEC.FORMAL.

‘No. I don’t.’

Boss: Yaksok epsumyen cenyek-ina kathi ha-**lkka**?
plan have.not.if dinner-or.something together do-INT(SUGGEST).INTIMATE

‘If you have no plans, shall we have dinner or something?’

3.1 Sketch of the formal theory

Next we give a semantics/pragmatics framework that aims to capture the performative character of speech style marking. First, we introduce into the formal model of the context a component, the **participant structure**, which represents the social relation between speaker and addressee:

(21) The **context** c is a pair $\langle P, cs \rangle$, where:

- i. the **participant structure** P is a triple $\langle J, O, h \rangle$, where
 - J is an n -tuple of individuals ($n \geq 1$), the **participants**,
 - O is an ordered set $\langle N, \prec \rangle$ with n members,
 - h is a function from J to subsets of N ;
- ii. cs is the **context set**, a set of tuples $\langle x, y, t, w \rangle$

The participant structure can be visualized as in Figure 1. P1 and P2 are the participants (the members of J); N_1 and N_2 are ranks in the social hierarchy O , with the ‘upper’ N_2 ranked higher than the ‘lower’ N_1 ; and the arrows represent the function h from participants to ranks:

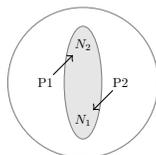


Figure 1: The participant structure

Next we turn to the semantics of the [status] feature. As exemplified in (22), this feature denotes a function of the same kind as h , and in the tradition of multidimensional approaches deriving from Potts (2005), its denotation is in a separate dimension π (for ‘politeness’).

- (22) a. $\llbracket [\text{status: S<A}] \rrbracket^\pi = h : h(P_1) = \{N_1\}$ and $h(P_2) = \{N_2\}$
 b. $\llbracket [\text{status: S>A}] \rrbracket^\pi = h : h(P_1) = \{N_2\}$ and $h(P_2) = \{N_1\}$
 c. $\llbracket [\text{status: S}\leq\text{A}] \rrbracket^\pi = h : h(P_1) = \{N_1\}$ and $h(P_2) = \{N_1, N_2\}$

Finally we turn to the definition of contextual update. When contextual update occurs, it sets the relation h in the participant structure to the one in the sentence’s politeness dimension; in other words, the [status] feature determines the position of the participants in the contextual hierarchy going forward. The definition in (23) also incorporates the effect of assertion, and this part is only appropriate to declarative clauses. The definitions for interrogatives and imperatives would differ in appropriate ways (for example, as in Portner 2004 and Roberts 2012).⁸

- (23) For utterance u of a declarative cP ϕ ,
- i. If the speaker of $u = P_1$, set h in the participant structure to $\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^\pi$:
 - $c + u = \langle \langle J_c, O_c, h_{c'} \rangle, cs' \rangle$, where
 - $h_{c'} = \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^\pi$,
 - $cs' = cs_c \cap \llbracket \phi \rrbracket^P$
 - ii. If the speaker of $u = P_2$, set h in the participant structure to $switch(\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^\pi)$:
 - $c + u = \langle \langle J_c, O_c, h_{c'} \rangle, cs' \rangle$, where
 - $h_{c'} = switch(\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^\pi)$,
 - $cs' = cs_c \cap switch(\llbracket \phi \rrbracket^P)$

Figure 2 illustrates how the participant structure could evolve in a conversation over the course of several turns. It begins with a context where no social relation is represented in P . In the first turn, P1 uses a sentence with [status: S>A], establishing this relation in the second context. P2 then uses a sentence with [status: S<A]; this represents the same social relation as P1’s first turn, since the speaker and addressee have reversed, and so the participant structure is unaffected. Finally, P1 uses a different status feature, [status: S≤A], establishing a different social relation in the last participant structure.

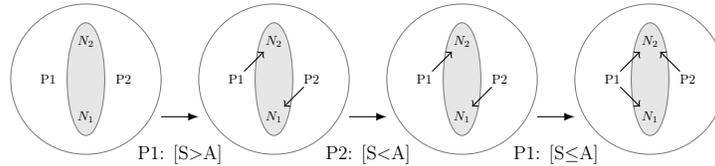


Figure 2: Updating the participant structure

⁸See Portner (2018) for more extensive discussion of the how the sentence moods are to be analyzed. In (23ii), $switch(X)$ exchanges the positions of P1 and P2 in X .

3.2 Formality and the interpretation of the participant structure

The hierarchical relation modeled by the participant structure has to be linked to the rest of the participants' assumptions about how they are related to one another in the situation. For example, it would not make sense for a young child to use a particle that encodes [status: S>A] to their grandparent, unless something very special is going on. We achieve this with the following ALIGNMENT PRINCIPLE:

- (24) **Alignment between participant structure and context set.** For every context c such that cs_c entails that there is a unique most salient social relation H involving the participants in the conversation, the ordering assigned to the participants in the participant structure in c is compatible with H .

Informally, the alignment principle says that the social relation encoded in the participant structure has to match the common assumptions in the common ground about how the participants are in fact related. In some cases, the alignment principle will simply reflect a salient relation already established in the context (for example, when a grandchild uses [status: S<A] to a grandparent), while in others the use of a form that marks the relation can cause a different hierarchy to become the most salient, as in examples (18)-(20).

Thus far, we have focused on the meaning of the [status] feature because, in our system, status is directly represented in the participant structure. The [formal] feature, in contrast, has been left without a semantics, but the alignment principle suggests a way to understand its contribution. The alignment principle says that there is a salient social relation H which aligns with the hierarchical relation in the participant structure; formality can be seen as a property of H . For example, a relation between boss and employee or between teacher and student would typically be formal, and so if c has the feature [formal: +] and if the salient relation between the participants is that P1 is P2's boss, the alignment principle is satisfied. In contrast, the relation between a parent and child or between friends would be informal.

In future work, we hope to provide a more explicit analysis of formality within this framework, but at present we can note a few key points that should be integrated into such an analysis:

1. Formality and hierarchy can become closely related in context. While formal situations often involve clear differences of hierarchy and authority, it may be that in certain informal situations, hierarchy is neutralized in the sense that participants are never assigned different ranks. For example, the informal pronouns of Italian and other European languages are typically associated with less hierarchical situations, and we may want to allow for two-participant contexts in which there is only a single rank to which both participants must be mapped.
2. Formal and informal social relations also differ in flexibility and autonomy, that is in the extent to which the expectations associated with a social relation can be negotiated by the participants themselves, as opposed to being fixed in the broader culture. Formal relations tend to be less flexible and offer less autonomy to individuals in deciding on expectations and allowed behaviors.
3. Formality is closely related to other psychological and sociopragmatic concepts, such as affection and social distance. It is difficult to know in advance what properties that are connected

to formality should be integrated into the semantic/pragmatic analysis of the feature [formal]. Ultimately, it might be useful to allow contextual properties to ‘activate’ different aspects of the participant structure.⁹

Although there is obviously much more to be explored as we try to give a semantic analysis of cP, we already have enough of an understanding to return to our main topic here, the embeddability of imperatives. Among our proposals, what’s essential is that the features in c, [status] and [formal], have a distinct kind of semantic contribution that is plausibly linked to their not being embeddable. This idea sets the stage for our analysis of imperatives in complement clauses.

4 Embedded imperatives lack cP

We now develop an analysis of the restrictions on embedded imperatives. Our main idea can be described as follows:

- As with the declarative clauses discussed in section 2, imperatives can be embedded when they lack cP and cannot be embedded when they contain cP. This is because the meaning c expresses is in the ‘politeness dimension’ discussed in section 3.

We argue that both Korean and Italian have sentences in which the functional head Jussive combines with c and sentences where Jussive occurs without c, and that only the ones without c can be embedded. When linguists make a general statement that imperatives cannot be embedded in a certain language (e.g. Italian), they are typically only thinking of morphologically canonical imperatives. The reason these forms cannot be embedded is that they necessarily involve c in their derivation. Such languages can also have imperatives without c, which can be embedded, but their morphological form is one that is typically not recognized as imperative (e.g., Italian infinitival directives).

4.1 Korean

There are two types of imperatives in Korean, one that has a speech style particle (like the declaratives discussed in section 2) and one that doesn’t. As an illustration of the former type, consider (25), a polite imperative that is used when the speaker is either lower than or equal to the addressee:

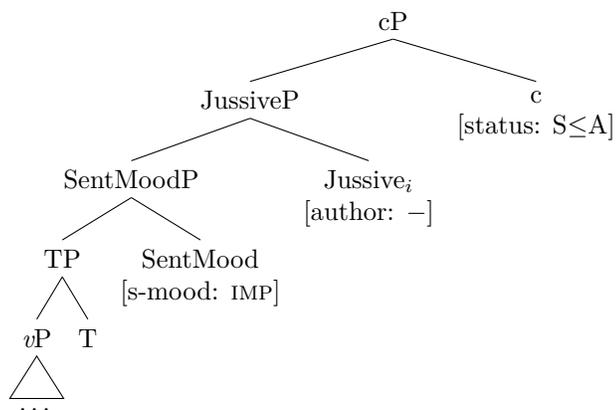
- (25) Nayil wuli cip-ey o-si-eyo!
tomorrow our house-to come-HON-IMP.POLITE
‘Come to my house tomorrow!’

We argue that the structure of an imperative with a speech style particle has both c and Jussive. For instance, the structure of (25) has c with the feature [status: S≤A] and Jussive with the feature [author: –]. Jussive binds the subject and agrees with it, as shown in (26):¹⁰

⁹As pointed out by Chris Potts, there may be a connection here to the ideas of Eckert (2008).

¹⁰As in declaratives as represented in (11), [formal: ±] and [author: –] are also present on c, but we leave them out of the discussion here for clarity. Concerning the [author] feature, we assume that when Interlocutor is present

(26) Imperative with a speech style particle in Korean



The speech style particle *-eyo* in (25) is the overt realization of three features: [status] (in *c*), [author: -] (in Jussive) and the sentential mood feature in SentMood.

In our analysis, *c* with the [status] feature cannot be embedded. This is indeed what we find; (26) cannot occur in a complement position:

(27) *Inho-ka nayil cip-ey o-si-eyo-ko malhayss-supnita.
 Inho-NOM tomorrow house-to come-HON-IMP.POLITE-COMP said-DEC.FORMAL
 Intended meaning: ‘Inho said come to his house tomorrow.’

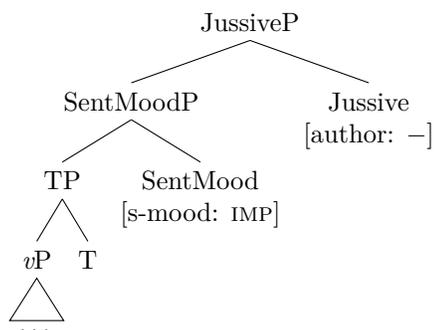
Korean also has imperatives that do not mark speech style. These are imperatives with the plain impertive particle *-(u)la*, which are normally used when there is no specific addressee, hence mostly in writings, mottos or protest cries that address people in general. An example is given in (28):

(28) Mithwu-ey ungtapha-**la!**
 #metoo-to respond-IMP.PLAIN
 ‘Respond to #metoo!’ (addressed to the government or a company)

Given that the relation between speaker and addressee is not expressed, we propose that this type of imperative contains Jussive but not *c*, as seen in (29):

(i.e., when the clause is not in the plain form), it has [author: -] and binds the Jussive head, which in turn binds the subject. We also leave Interlocutor out of (26) and other trees below to allow us to focus on the crucial relations.

- (29) Imperative with a plain particle in Korean



In (29), the feature [author: -] in the Jussive head and the [s-mood: IMP] feature in SentMood together spell out as the plain imperative particle *-(u)la*.

Since this structure lacks *c* with the [status] feature, our analysis predicts that it should be possible in both root and embedded clauses. Indeed this is the only type of imperative that can occur as a complement clause (as well as a root clause), as shown in (30):

- (30) Inho-ka mithwu-ey ungtapha-**la**-ko malhayss-supnita.
 Inho-NOM #metoo-to respond-IMP.PLAIN-COMP said-DEC.FORMAL
 ‘Inho said respond to #metoo!’

Our proposal that information on the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee is encoded in the feature [status] in *c* makes an interesting prediction regarding second person pronouns. All forms of second person pronouns in Korean (*tangsin*, *caney*, and *ne*) convey information on the speaker-addressee relation. For example, *ne* is used only when the speaker is either higher than or equal to the addressee. We thus assume that they mark both second person (i.e., [author: -]) and a value for the [status] feature (cf. Portner et al. to appear). If we are correct in assuming that the [status] feature is in *c*, we then predict that a second person pronoun is possible when *c* is present in the root clause and is not possible when *c* is absent.

This prediction seems to be correct, as we see in (31) and (32):

- (31) Ne(-nun) nayil wuli cip-ey o-**ala**!
 you(-TOP) tomorrow our house-to come-IMP.SPEECH STYLE
 ‘You come to my house tomorrow.’
- (32) *Ne(-nun) mithwu-ey ungtapha-**la**!
 you(-TOP) #metoo-to respond-IMP.PLAIN STYLE
 Intended meaning: ‘You respond to #metoo!’ (to a specific person)

The structure for (31) contains *c* with [status: $S \geq A$]: the speech style particle *-ala* is used when the speaker is either higher than or equal to the addressee. The presence of *c* makes possible the occurrence of the second person pronoun *ne*, which has the same value for the [status] feature, namely [status: $S \geq A$]. In contrast, the structure for (32) does not contain *c* with a [status] feature;

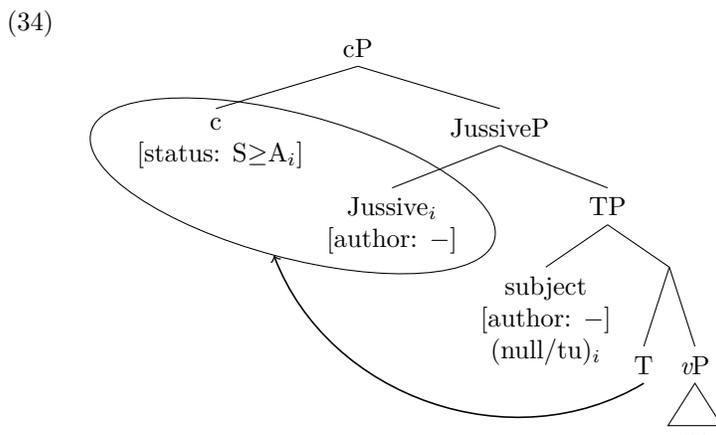
the sentence is an imperative with the plain imperative particle *-(u)la*, which spells out only the features of SentMood and the Jussive head, and is used when there is no specific addressee. The absence of *c* from this structure makes the occurrence of the second person pronoun *ne* impossible.

4.2 Italian

In Italian, there are two subtypes of imperatives that mark the speaker-addressee relation: the canonical imperative and the polite imperative. The canonical imperative, exemplified in (33), marks the ‘familiar’ relation between speaker and addressee; it is appropriately used to an addressee who is a relative or a close friend, or who is lower than the speaker (or equal to the speaker but in an informal context):

- (33) *Porta-mi l’acqua.* (canonical imperative)
 bring.IMP-me the-water
 ‘Bring me the water.’

Because a canonical imperative conveys information on the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee, in our analysis it contains *c*. We thus propose that the structure for (33) contains *c* with the [status] feature, along with the Jussive head, which binds the subject and agrees with it. We further propose that *J* and *c* form a single head, hosting both [status: $S \geq A$] and [author: –], as shown below:

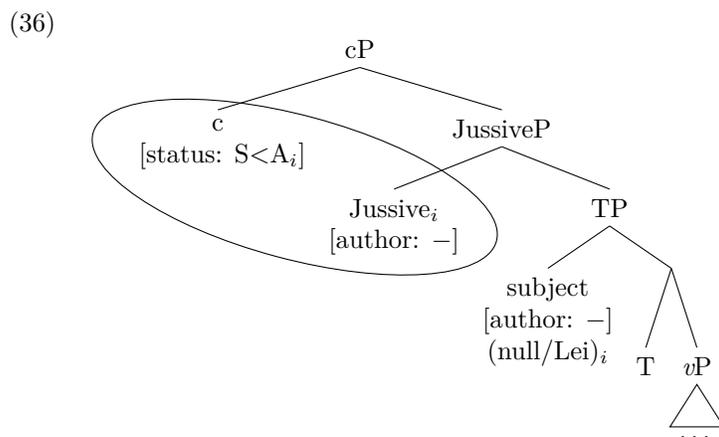


T raises to the *J*+*c* head and this results in the canonical imperative verb form.

The polite imperative exhibits a verbal form in the subjunctive and marks the ‘polite’ relation between speaker and addressee; it is appropriately used to an addressee who is not a relative or a close friend, or who is higher than the speaker (or equal to the speaker but in a formal context). A sentence like (35), for example, can be used with an addressee who is higher than the speaker in some sense and expresses the speaker’s politeness toward the addressee:

- (35) Mi porti l'acqua, per favore. (polite imperative)
 me bring.SUBJ the-water for favor
 'Would you bring me the water, please.'

Because a polite imperative conveys information on the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee, in our analysis it contains *c* (just as with the canonical imperatives). We thus propose that the structure for (35) contains *c* with the feature [status: S<A], along with the Jussive head with the feature [author: -], which binds the subject and agrees with it. As with the canonical imperative, Jussive and *c* constitute a single head. However, in this case the head *c*+J selects the subjunctive form and *T* does not raise.¹¹ The clausal structure for a polite imperative is illustrated in (36):



In our approach, a structure that contains *c* with the [status] feature cannot be embedded. This is clearly true of canonical imperatives, like (33), as we see in (37):

- (37) *Ha ordinato porta-mi l'acqua.
 has ordered bring.IMP-me the-water
 Intended meaning: 'He/she has ordered that you bring me the water.'

We think that it is also true of polite imperatives, though it is harder to tell. This is because, as we see in (38), a clause with a subjunctive verb can occur in complement position:

- (38) Ha ordinato che porti l'acqua.
 has ordered that bring.SUBJ the-water
 'He/she ordered that you bring me the water.'

However, we think that the embedded clause in this case is not a polite imperative but rather a declarative with a verb in the subjunctive form, without Jussive and *c*. This view is supported by

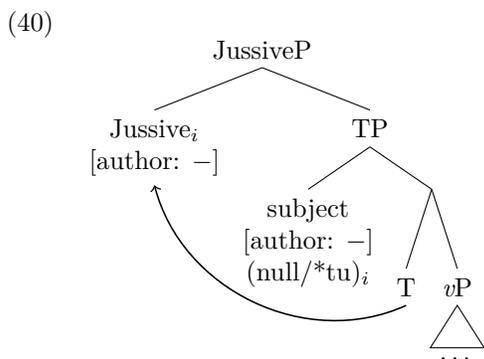
¹¹As to why *T* does not raise, we do not have a clear idea; maybe it has something to do with the 'fake' third person feature in this type of imperatives.

the fact that (38) does not exhibit the interpretive restriction of the subject that is characteristic of imperatives, namely that the subject denotes the addressee(s) or quantify over the set of addressees (Schmerling 1975). In (38), the subject could refer to the addressee, to the speaker or to a third party; the verbal endings for the present subjunctive do not make person distinctions in the singular and the usual restrictions that hold on the subject of imperatives do not hold here. We take this to be evidence that the complement clause is an embedded declarative, not an embedded imperative.

Italian has an imperative that more or less corresponds to the Korean plain imperative, what we call an infinitival directive. This is exemplified in (39):

- (39) Rispettare l'ambiente. (infinitival directive)
 respect.INF the-environment
 'Respect the environment.'

(39) has a verb in the infinitive and has directive force: it issues a command that is not directed towards a specific addressee but rather towards people in general. Infinitival directives are appropriate in the absence of a specific addressee and do not mark the relation between speaker and addressee. We therefore analyze them as containing the Jussive head but not *c*. We propose that the Jussive head in such cases selects infinitive T, which raises to it:



Given our analysis, we expect that the structure in (40) can occur in complement position, since it lacks *c*. However, as in the case of subjunctive polite imperatives, this is somewhat difficult to tell: when infinitival directives occur in a complement position, they have the same PF form as a regular control infinitive, such as *She told him to leave*. The embedding of this type of clause, where the subject must refer to the addressee of the reported speech, is handled by control theory and we do not have direct evidence on the question of whether the embedded clause is an infinitival imperative with a Jussive head but no *c*.

While we cannot provide direct evidence, the following examples seem to support our idea that there is no *c* in infinitival directives. In infinitival directives, a second person pronoun is not possible (just as in the case of Korean plain imperatives like (32)):

- (41) Dopo l'esame, restituire le calcolatrici agli insegnanti.
 after the-exam return the calculators to.the teachers
 'After the exam, return the calculators to the teachers.'

- (42) *Dopo l'esame, restituire le calcolatrici ai tuoi insegnanti.
 after the-exam return the calculators to.the your teachers
 Intended meaning: 'After the exam, return the calculators to your teachers.'
- (43) Dopo l'esame, restituire le calcolatrici ai propri insegnanti.
 after the-exam return the calculators to.the own teachers
 'After the exam, return the calculators to one's own teachers.'

In Italian (as in Korean) second person pronouns express information on the hierarchical relation between speaker and addressee. We thus assume that they mark both second person (i.e., [author: -]) and a value for the [status] feature (cf. Portner et al. to appear). As we said in the previous section, if we are correct in assuming that the status feature is interpreted in *c*, we predict that a second person pronoun is possible when *c* is present and not possible when *c* is absent. As shown by the examples above, the overt second person pronoun *tuoi* 'your' cannot occur in an infinitival directive. The only possessive pronoun that can occur in these sentences is *propri* 'one's', which is not second person and does not mark status. This supports our idea that the infinitival directive does not contain the functional head *c* and that the second person pronouns (both familiar and polite) mark both [status] and [author: -]. They cannot occur in infinitival directives because the functional head *c* with the [status] feature is missing.

5 Summary

In this paper we pursued a new idea about the restrictions on embedding of imperatives. Contrary to the proposal that the directive force of imperatives is the reason for their unembeddability (Han 1998), we propose that what restricts their embeddability is the expressive information about the speaker-addressee relation that they often encode. In so doing, we examined Korean and Italian, two languages that show distinct properties regarding the embedding of imperatives. For Korean, we proposed that imperatives can be embedded because the language makes available an imperative form, namely the plain form, that does not mark the relation between the speaker and addressee. In Italian, the canonical imperatives always carry a feature that expresses information about the relation between the conversation participants. Hence, they cannot be embedded. However, just as the Korean plain imperatives, Italian has an imperatives form that is used (not towards a specific addressee but) towards people in general, i.e. infinitival directives. This form shares many similarities with the Korean plain imperatives, such as their 'generic addressee' meaning, no second person pronouns, and their embeddability. These shared properties naturally fall out from our analysis that they both lack the functional projection *c* with the feature [status].

As mentioned in section 1, previous work on embedded imperatives has focused more on the restrictions in one or several languages. In this paper, we focused on the variations across languages, by looking at Korean and Italian, two languages that display contrasting patterns. Our analysis showed that in these two languages the same reason is responsible for restricting the embedding of imperatives, namely that the functional projection that encodes information on the relation between the speaker and addressee cannot be embedded due to its performative meaning in the 'politeness dimension'. Interestingly, this restriction is not limited to imperatives, but holds in declaratives too, as we saw in section 2. As a matter of fact, though we didn't discuss them here, it holds in all clause types in Korean, including interrogatives, exhortatives, etc. Hence, if our analysis is correct,

what causes restrictions on the embeddability of imperatives is not unique to them. Rather it is a general property that is shared across clause types. In our view, what is special about imperatives is simply that the restrictions are more noticeable, because in some languages, the presence of *c* is required to derive the morphological form traditionally labeled as ‘imperative’.

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