

Slovenian Imperatives

You Can't Always Embed What You Want!

Adrian Stegovec and Magdalena Kaufmann
adrian.stegovec@uconn.edu magdalena.kaufmann@uconn.edu
University of Connecticut

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I The status of embedded imperatives

- Traditional view: Imperatives cannot appear in embedded contexts (Sadock and Zwicky 1985, Han 2000, ...);
- Current view: possible, but with various restrictions (Korean, Japanese, Old Scandinavian, German, Slovenian, Ancient Greek, ..., even English, (Crnič and Trinh 2009)).

I.1 Goals of the talk

- ⇒ Identifying where Slovenian stands in the embedded imperatives typology;
- ⇒ Identifying semantic restrictions on imperative embedding;
- ⇒ Evaluating how the new data fits in existent semantic theories of imperatives.

2 The case of Slovenian

Slovenian has a dedicated morphological imperative verb form, normally marked by the presence of an imperative suffix.

“delati” (= to work/do/make)	singular	dual	plural
1st person	***	dela-j-va	dela-j-mo
2nd person	dela-j	dela-j-ta	dela-j-te
3rd person	***	***	***

The possibility for Slovenian imperatives to appear in embedded environments was noted by Rus (2005), Dvořák (2005), Dvořák and Zimmermann (2008), focusing on the fact as such and syntactic/morphological restrictions.

Two types of embedded environments: *reported speech* (1) and *relative clauses* (2).

- (1) *Mama je rekla, da pospravi sobo!*
mom is said_{FEM.SG} that tidy up_{IMP.2P.SG} room_{ACC}
‘Mom said that you should tidy up your room!’
- (2) *Na mizi je kozarec vina, ki ga daj mami.*
on table_{LOC} is glass wine_{GEN} which it_{ACC} give_{IMP.2P.SG} mom_{DAT}
‘The glass of wine which you should give to mom is on the table.’

In this talk we will focus only on 2nd person singular imperatives, focusing mostly on their canonical ORDER function — extensions in future work.

3 Imperatives in reported speech

3.1 Evidence for proper embedding

Besides the presence of the complementizer (“da” = *that*), there is additional evidence for the proper embedding of imperatives, such as extraction out of the embedded imperative clause with *questions* (3) and *focus movement* (4).

- (3) *Koga_i sem rekel, da pokliči t_i?*
whom did say_{MASC.SG}, that call_{IMP.2P.SG}
Who did I say that you should call?
- (4) *Marko_i sem rekel, da pokliči t_i!*
Marko_{ACC} did say_{MASC.SG}, that call_{IMP.2P.SG}
It was *Marko* that I said you should call!

Importantly, with embedded imperatives in reported speech, the original utterance **need not be** an imperative sentence (5).

- (5) $c_1: A \Rightarrow B$ (Peter should listen) | $c_@: B \Rightarrow$ Peter
 - a. *Peter bi moral poslušati.*
Peter would should listen_{INF}.
‘Peter should listen.’
 - b. *Rekel je, da poslušaj!*
said_{MASC.SG} is that listen_{IMP.2P.SG}
‘He said that you should listen.’

Furthermore, an implication in the original utterance, can also be expressed with an imperative in the report (6).

(6) **(Participants:** Marko, Janez, Peter)

c_1 : Marko \Rightarrow Janez (“everyone should listen”) | $c_{@}$: Janez \Rightarrow Peter

a. *A ne bi bilo lepo, če bi vsi poslušali?*
Q not would be nice if would everyone listened_{3P.PL}
‘Wouldn’t it be nice if everyone listened?’

b. *Rekel je, da poslušaj!*
said_{MASC.SG} is that listen_{IMP.2P.SG}
‘He said that you should listen.’

Clearly, Slovenian imperative morphology can occur in **non-quotational** speech reports.

3.2 Interpretative properties

- Main-clause 2p imperatives typically serve the *actual speaker* ($S_{@}$) to *direct* the *actual addressee* ($A_{@}$) to behave in a certain way;
- The subject of a 2p imperative is understood to be the actual addressee (overt or covert 2p pronoun);
- Speech reports involve a sequence of contexts $c_1, \dots, c_{@}$, where c_1 is the *original context* that is reported in c_{1+n} , etc.; $c_{@}$ is the *actual context*;
- Simple one-step embedding: $c_2 = c_{@}$.
- Throughout, we use S_1 and A_1 for *speaker* and *addressee* in a context c_1 .

What does an embedded imperative express?

- Who is directing?
- Who is being directed (i.e., what does the imperative subject refer to)?
- What is the scope of the obligation?

3.2.1 For comparison: Korean

Korean embedded imperatives have been studied in detail (Portner 2007, Zanuttini et al. 2012). In Korean, all three aspects of the imperative meaning *must shift* and be interpreted against the original context — c_1 (7).

(7) *ku salam-i inho-eykey [swuni-lul towacwu-la]-ko malhayss-ta.*
that person_{NOM} inho_{DAT} [swuni_{ACC} help_{IMP}]-COMP said_{DC}
 $c_{@}$: ‘He told Inho_i PRO_i to help Swuni.’ / c_1 : ‘Inho, help Swuni!’

Korean: The imperative is used to describe what S_1 told A_1 to do with respect to their future; $S_{@}$ is asserting a description of this to $A_{@}$ (no directive speech act in $c_{@}$). In contrast, ordinary indexicals (personal or temporal pronouns) are interpreted against $c_{@}$.

3.2.2 The case of Slovenian

As in Korean, the embedded imperative expresses a direction given by the S_1 in c_1 ; but who is being directed *must not shift*, the imperative subject is interpreted against the actual context — $c_{@}$ (8) (2p imperative subject: $A_{@}$).

(8) *Žare₁ \Rightarrow Jure₂: Marko₃ je rekel Petru₄, da mu_{3,4,k} pomagaj₂.*
Marko_{NOM} is said Peter_{DAT} that him_{DAT} help_{IMP}.

$\text{Žare} \Rightarrow \text{Jure}$: ‘Marko said to Peter that you (= $A_{@}$) should help him.’
(c_1 : Marko \Rightarrow Peter: “Jure should really help me/you/Goga.”)

3.2.3 Testing the scope of the obligation: Distancing

Matrix imperatives cannot continue with “*but I don’t want you to do it*” (9) — (*quasi*)-*directive* [complication ignored here: disinterested *advice*] — no *distancing* (Kaufmann 2012, Condoravdi and Lauer 2012):

(9) *#Listen to John, but I don’t want you to do that.*

For embedded imperatives in Slovenian, the directee is $A_{@}$, but the directing speech act takes place in c_1 — $S_{@}$ *can* (12), but S_1 *cannot* distance himself. Evidence: (i) faithfulness of report, (10); (ii) (in)consistency, (11):¹

¹For ease of exposition and clarity, we list most examples with out the glossed Slovenian original, but only include the English version with a marked use of the morphological imperative form.

- (10) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow John: *George should listen to you, but I don't want that.*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow George: #*Paul said to me that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me.*
 a. *George bi te moral poslušati, ampak jaz nočem tega.*
 George would you_{ACC} should listen_{INF.} but I not want that
 'George should listen to you, but I don't want that.'
 b. #*Paul mi je rekel, da me poslušaj!*
 Paul me_{DAT} is said that me_{ACC} listen_{IMP.}
 'Paul said to me that you should listen to me.'
 c. *Paul mi je rekel, da bi me moral poslušati.*
 Paul me_{DAT} is said that would me_{ACC} should listen_{IMP.}
 'Paul said to me that you should listen to me.'
- (11) #*Paul said to me that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me, but he added that he didn't want you to do it.*
- (12) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow John: *George should really listen to you!*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow George: *Paul said to me that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me, but I don't want that.*

3.3 Constellations for imperatives in reported speech

Slovenian seems maximally unrestricted – 'φ!' steps in for 'should φ'

- Morphological restrictions (no corresponding imperative form);
- Restrictions on embedding predicates (Dvořák 2005, Dvořák and Zimmermann 2008);
- Gaps due to the semantic properties of imperatives.

In this talk, we discuss only cases that are unproblematic with respect to the first two types of restrictions.

- First relevant restriction: distancing in $c_{@}$, but not in c_1 .

In the following, we consider participant constellations.

3.3.1 'Proxy' constellations

Canonical cases of embedded imperatives in reported speech involve a "wish" expressed by S_1 to A_1 , for $A_{@}$ to perform P, 'proxied' by $S_{@}$ (13).

- (13) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow **John**: *George should really listen to you!*
 $c_{@}$: **John** \Rightarrow George: *Paul said to me that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*
 a. *Paul mi je rekel, da me poslušaj!*
 Paul me_{DAT} is said that me_{ACC} listen_{IMP.}
 'Paul said to me that you should listen to me!'

Importantly, the 'proxy' for the directed expression need not be A_1 , but can be substituted by an EAVESDROPPER in c_1 (E_1) (14).

- (14) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow **George**: *Ringo should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$: **John** \Rightarrow Ringo: *Paul said to George that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*

3.3.2 Re-iteration

The second 'template' for imperatives in embedded contexts are instances of *re-iteration* of the original utterance. As long as $A_1 = A_{@}$, they can either be re-iterated by S_1 himself ($S_1 = S_{@}$) (15), or by $E_1 (= S_{@})$ (16).

- (15) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow John: *You should really listen to me!*
 $c_{@}$: Paul \Rightarrow John: *I said to you that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*
- (16) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow **George**: *You should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow **George**: *Paul said to you that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*
- (17) c_1 : **Paul** \Rightarrow George: *John should really listen to me!*
 $c_{@}$: **Paul** \Rightarrow John: *I said to him that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*

3.3.3 Impossible: Reverting back to the speaker

Two person constellations (18,19), seem to show the impossibility of reverting the direction of the imperative back to S_1 :

- (18) c_1 : **Paul** \Rightarrow John: *I should really listen to you!*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow **Paul**: #*You said to me that you* LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} *to me!*
 a. #*Rekel si mi, da me poslušaj!*
 said_{2.SG.} are me_{DAT} that me_{ACC} listen_{IMP.}
 'You said to me, that you should listen to me.'

b. *Rekel si mi, da me moraš poslušati.*
 said_{2.SG.} are me_{DAT} that me_{ACC} must/should listen_{INF.}
 ‘You said to me, that you should listen to me.’

- (19) c_1 : **Paul** \Rightarrow George: *I should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow **Paul**: #*You said to him that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me!*

3.3.4 Impossible: Self-reporting a self-imposition

A third impossible constellation (20), seems to display the impossibility of self-imposing the “wish” in c_1 (in contrast to (17)):

- (20) c_1 : **Paul** \Rightarrow **Paul**: *John should really listen to me!*
 $c_{@}$: **Paul** \Rightarrow John: #*I said to myself that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me!*

4 Towards an analysis

Slovenian imperatives can appear in finite complement clauses introduced by a complementizer:

\Rightarrow Straightforward for a propositional analysis of imperatives (Kaufmann 2012, Condoravdi and Lauer 2012); problematic for an analysis of imperatives in terms of properties and To-Do-Lists (Portner 2005), action terms (Asher and Lascarides 2003, Barker 2010), or speech acts (Krifka 2014)

Embedded imperatives can always be paraphrased by “*you should*” — squares well with Kaufmann’s (2012) analysis in terms of modalized propositions; core assumptions:

- Level of semantic at-issue meaning: ‘! ϕ ’ \approx ‘*you should/must* ϕ ’;
- Modal verbs behave performatively (orders, advice, permission,...) given particular contextual constellations (von Wright 1969, Kamp 1973)
- Imperatives can only occur felicitously in such constellations — ensured by *presuppositional meaning component*;

4.1 Contexts for performative modals and imperatives

We adopt Kratzer’s (1991) semantics for modal verbs:

- Modals are interpreted w.r.t. a modal base f (specifying the relevant facts) and an ordering source g (specifying criteria for comparing them, e.g. rules, preferences,...).
- If a set of comparatively best worlds exists for all worlds (no infinite approximation, limit assumption), we consider those the accessible worlds via accessibility relation $R^{f,g}$.
- Imperatives contain a covert operator OP_{Imp} that is interpreted like *must*.

$$(21) \quad \llbracket must \rrbracket = \llbracket OP_{Imp} \rrbracket = \lambda c. \lambda p. \forall w' [w_c R^{f_c, g_c} w' \rightarrow p(w')]$$

Contexts:

- $c = \langle S, A, CS, \Pi, f, g \rangle$
- CS : *context under discussion* — the set of possible worlds compatible with mutual joint belief for purposes of ongoing conversation of all actual participants (Stalnaker 1978);
- Π : *question under discussion* — a partition of CS (possibly trivial);
- f : salient modal base;
- g : salient ordering source.

Practical context for α :

- Π is a decision problem for α : written Π_α^Δ (each cell: a future course of α events that α could choose);
- g gives rules, preferences, or goals;
- CS entails that f, g characterize the modality relevant to resolve Π_α^Δ (*decisive modality*);

Some hallmarks of being the decisive modality (Kaufmann and Kaufmann 2012):

- for any $q \in \Pi_\alpha^\Delta$, α tries to find out if $\Box^{f,g} q$
- if α believes that $\Box^{f,g} q$, then α will try to realize q
- if S (or A) believes that $\Box^{f,g} q$, then it is not the case that S (or A) wants that $\neg q$
- ...

An imperative 'OP_{Imp}(you)P!' presupposes:

- *Epistemic Authority*: S has perfect knowledge of f and g ((Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984));
- *Epistemic Uncertainty*: before the imperative, S considered possible both $P(\alpha)$ and $\neg P(\alpha)$
- *Practicality*:
 - the context is practical for the addressee
 - $P(A)$ answers the decision problem Π_A^Δ (eliminates all but one cell [simplification])

[Case ignored here: If the context cannot be construed as practical for the addressee, imperatives express a wish of the speaker, e.g. "Please don't have broken another vase!", cf. (Kaufmann 2012)]

Presuppose p in the sense of Stalnaker (2002):

'To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information — as common ground among the participants in the conversation [*entailed by CS*].', p. 701.

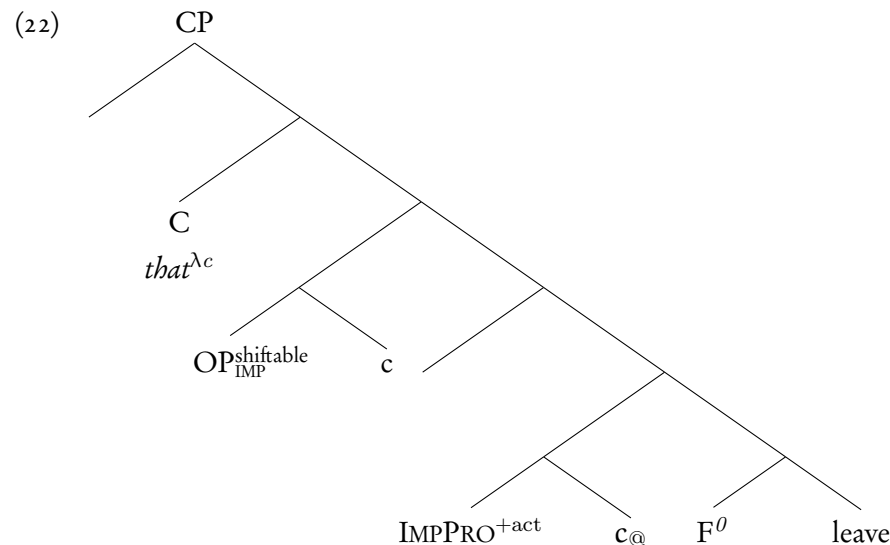
4.2 Predicting Slovenian

- In some languages, (some) indexicals can shift (Schlenker 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004, Anand 2006)
- For Slovenian imperatives:
 - conditions ensuring a practical context have to be anchored to c_I (similar to Crnič and Trinh's (2009) observations about English)
 - the imperative presuppositions are shiftably indexical
 - the person feature is a strict indexical

4.2.1 Slovenian with shifted indexicality

- The presuppositional meaning component depends on the original context (shifted), the imperative subject is the actual addressee (not shifted).
 \Rightarrow imperatives in Slovenian depend on two contexts at the same time.

- Schlenker (2003), Anand and Nevins (2004): each element depends on one context only; Slovenian imperatives have to contain more than one indexical (alternative: elements combine with sequences of context)
- *da* 'that' can bind a context variable; *rekel* 'say' combines with abstracts over contexts



Alternative: making the presuppositional part depend on an utterance *event* (not a context; cf. Crnič and Trinh (2009), drawing on Hacquard (2006) for modals).

4.2.2 Holding our predictions against the data

Correct predictions:

- Distancing in the actual but not the original context (repeated from (12) vs. (11)) — follows from *Decisive Modality* + *Epistemic Authority*:

(23) John \Rightarrow George: *Paul said to me that you LISTEN_{2P,IMP.} to me, but I don't want that.*

(24) *#Paul said to me that you LISTEN_{2P,IMP.} to me, but he added that he didn't want you to do it.*

- Additional restriction: S has to hold it possible — follows from *Epistemic Uncertainty*

- (25) c_1 : Paul \Rightarrow George: *Ringo should really listen to John, but I know he won't.*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow Ringo: #*Paul said to George that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me, but he knows you won't.*
- (26) *Ringo bi moral poslušati Johna, ampak vem, da ga ne bo.*
 Ringo would should listen_{INF.} John_{ACC} but know_{IPS} that him not will
 'Ringo should listen to John, but I know he won't.'
- (27) # *Paul je rekel Georgu, da me poslušaj, (ampak ve, da ...)*
 Paul is said George_{DAT} that me_{ACC} listen_{IMP.} (but knows that ...)
 'Paul said to George that you should listen to me (but he knows you won't)'
- Proxy constellations in reports with explicit addressees (like 13) suggest that S_1 wanted/expected A_1 (here, John) to ensure that the directive speech act gets passed on to $A_{@}$ (here, George).
- (28) John \Rightarrow George: *Paul said to me that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me!*
 a. *Paul mi je rekel, da me poslušaj!*
 Paul me_{DAT} is said that me_{ACC} listen_{IMP.}
 'Paul said to me that you should listen to me!'

We take this to be an implication arising from *decisive modality* that can be canceled by 'but he also said that I should not interfere' [details to be worked out].

Loose ends:

- Apparently, the presence of an addressee α blocks self-imposition — no reverting back to the speaker ((29), repeated from (18)); but eavesdroppers are marginally acceptable (30–32).
- (29) c_1 : **Paul** \Rightarrow John: *I should really listen to you!*
 $c_{@}$: John \Rightarrow **Paul**: #*You said to me that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me!*
- (30) c_1 **Paul** \Rightarrow Paul: *I should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$ John \Rightarrow **Paul**: ?*You said to yourself that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to me!*
- (31) c_1 **Paul** \Rightarrow **Paul**: *I should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$ John \Rightarrow John: ?*He said to himself that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to yourself!*
- (32) c_1 Paul \Rightarrow Paul: *I should really listen to John!*
 $c_{@}$ Paul \Rightarrow Paul: ?*You said to yourself that you LISTEN_{2P.IMP.} to John!*

5 Relative clauses

Imperatives appear in both non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses, as seen in (33) and (34):

- (33) *To je piva_i, ki jo_i spij, in to je piva_j, ki jo_j daj tatu.*
 this is beer_i that her_i drink_{IMP.} and this is beer_j that her_j give_{IMP.} dad_{DAT}
 'This is the beer you should drink and this is the beer you should give dad.'
- (34) *Na mizi so vsi članki_i, ki jih_i preberi do jutri.*
 on table_{LOC} are all papers_{NOM}, that them read_{IMP.} by tomorrow
 'All the papers that you should read by tomorrow are on the table.'

Again, we find restrictions that originate from the presuppositional meaning component of imperatives: Embedded imperatives cannot be used when there is no possibility to perform action P in $c_{@}$ (35).

- (35) # *Knjiga, ki jo kupi, je razprodana.*
 book that her buy_{IMP.} is sold out
 'The book which you should buy is sold out.'

This contrasts with (36), where the implied future availability of the book makes possible the use of the embedded imperative.

- (36) *Knjiga, ki jo kupi takoj, ko bo na voljo, še ni izšla.*
 book which her buy immediately when will on available yet not out
 'The book, which you should as soon as its available, is not out yet.'

\Rightarrow The contrast is expected in view of *Epistemic Uncertainty*.

Cross-linguistically, imperatives in restrictive relative clauses are even rarer than in reported speech (Slovenian, Ancient Greek, ... (Medeiros 2013)).

To some extent, this may have syntactic reasons. German has V2 relatives, which are interpreted restrictively (Gärtner 2000) and can contain imperatives:

- (37) *Diese Platte hat eine Seite, die hör dir lieber nicht an.*
 this disk has one side that listen_{IMP.2P.} you_{DAT} better not to
 'This disk has one side that you should rather not listen to.'

To understand: interaction between imperative semantics and specific semantic and pragmatic contribution of these constructions.

6 Conclusions

- ⇒ The Slovenian data presented here brings to light a number of interesting issues concerning the semantics of imperatives and the restrictions on their appearance in embedded contexts;
- ⇒ Although the overall permissiveness of embedded imperatives in Slovenian is surprising, the exhibited semantic restrictions are mostly in line with Kaufmann's (2012) propositional proposal, although some fine tuning might be required to capture all restrictions;
- ⇒ Slovenian embedded imperatives exhibit an interesting case of shifted indexicality as imperatives in embedded contexts depend on two contexts at the same time: c_1 for the meaning component and $c_@$ for the imperative subject (violation of 'shift together', (Anand 2006)).
- ⇒ Future work: dual and plural imperatives, 1p imperatives, speech acts other than orders (wishes, advice, permissions), different matrix predicates, different types of relative clauses (Holler 2005),...

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