



Illocutionary Force in (and out of) Syntax: Evidence from Korean Negative Imperatives

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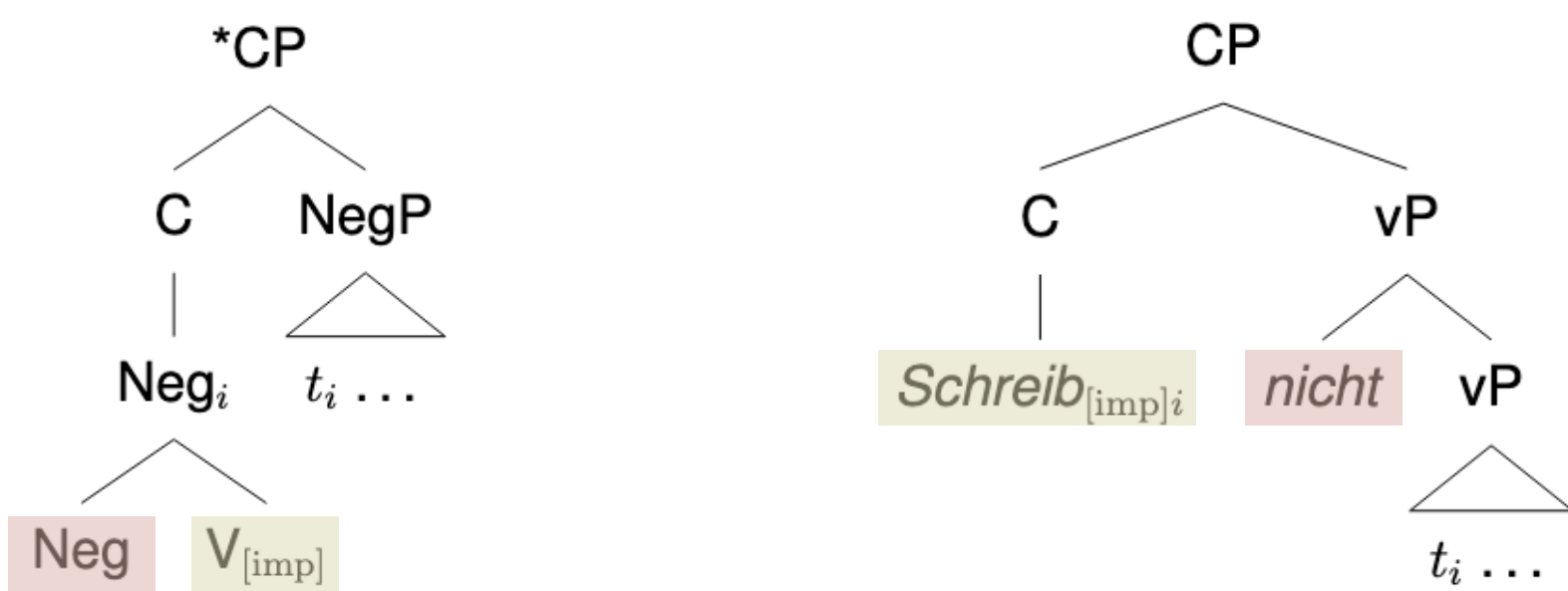
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The Representation of Imperatives

Syntax: Compatibility with Negation

- Languages differ in whether they allow Negative Imperatives (NIs).
 - *Mi grapse to! (Modern Greek)
NEG write.2SG.IMP it
 - (Na) mi to grapsis!
NA NEG it write.2SG.SUBJ
'Don't write it!'
 - Schreib nicht! (German)
write.2SG.IMP NEG
'Don't write!'
- Han (2001): "NIs are unavailable in some languages because the syntax derives a structure in which the operator encoding directive force arrives within the c-command domain of negation."
- Modern Greek
- German



Semantics: Variability in Force

- Like other clause types, imperatives exhibit great variability in force.
 - Please, don't rain! (Wish)
 - A: It's getting warm. Can I open the window?
B: Sure. Go ahead. Open it! (Acquiescence)
- "Weak" uses like (5-6) support a minimal semantics (Portner 2007).
 - [[eat rice!]] = λx : x is the addressee. x eats rice
- Conflict! : The syntactic literature relies on the presence of a force operator, whereas the semantic literature seeks to weaken or minimize the denotational semantics of imperatives.

Data

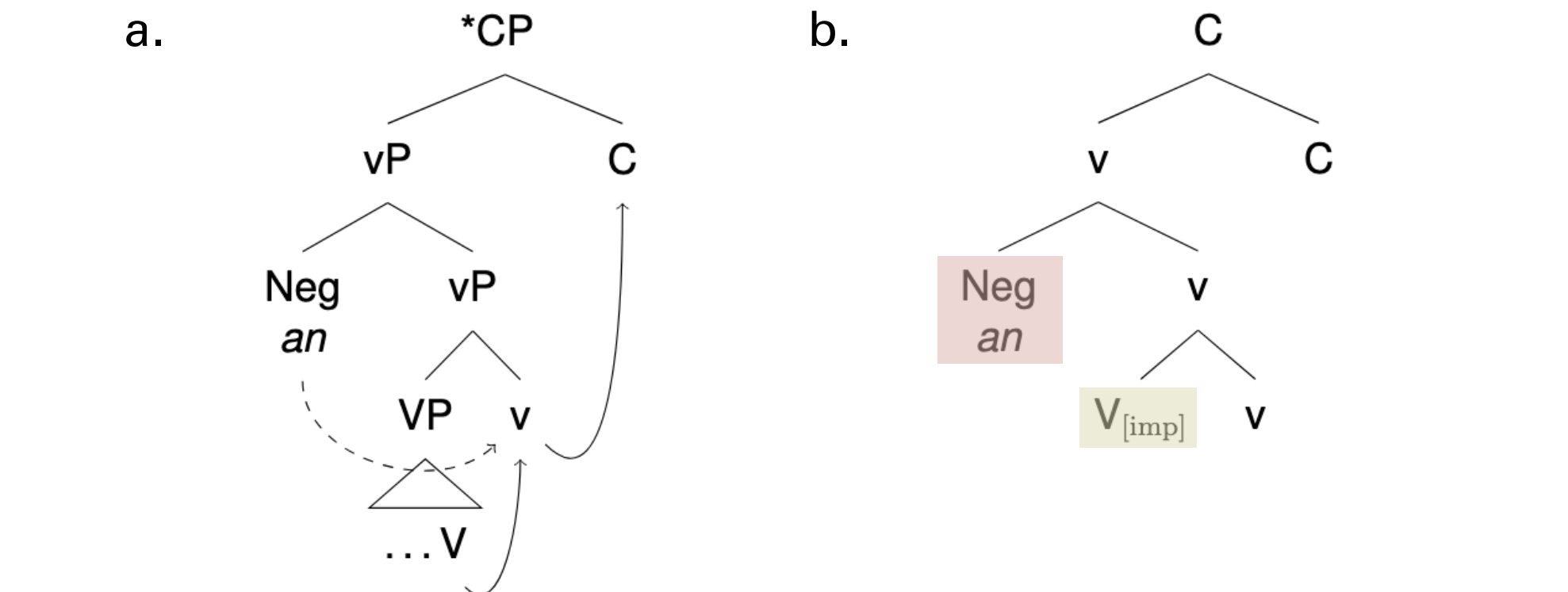
- Two types of negation: short form *an*, which immediately precedes the verb, and long form *ani*, which follows the verb with do-support.
 - John-i pap-ul *an* mek-ess-ta.
John-NOM rice-ACC NEG eat-PST-DECL
 - John-i pap-ul mek-ci *ani* ha-yess-ta.
John-NOM rice-ACC eat-CI NEG do-PST-DECL
'John didn't eat rice.'
- Crucially, Korean NIs cannot be formed with either *an* or *ani*. Instead, they require a special form, *mal*.
 - *Pap-ul *an* mek-ela!
rice-ACC NEG eat-IMP
 - *Pap-ul mek-ci *ani* ha-yela!
rice-ACC eat-CI NEG do-IMP
 - Pap-ul mek-ci *mal*-ala!
rice-ACC eat-CI MAL-IMP
'Don't eat rice!'
- New data: in "weak" NIs, *an* is exceptionally grammatical.
 - A, nayil ceypal pi *an* wa-la. (Wish)
ah tomorrow please rain NEG come-IMP
'Ah, please don't rain tomorrow.'
 - A: Ce pap an mek-eto.tway-yo?
I rice NEG eat-can-POL
'Is it okay if I don't eat rice?'
B: ?Kulay, *an* mek-ela. (Acquiescence)
okay NEG eat-IMP
'Okay, don't eat it.'

Proposal

- Han's (2001) cross-linguistic account extends naturally to the Korean data in (9) given the syntax of the relevant negation markers.
- An articulated clausal structure for imperatives explains the exceptional grammaticality of *an* in "weak" NIs (10-11).

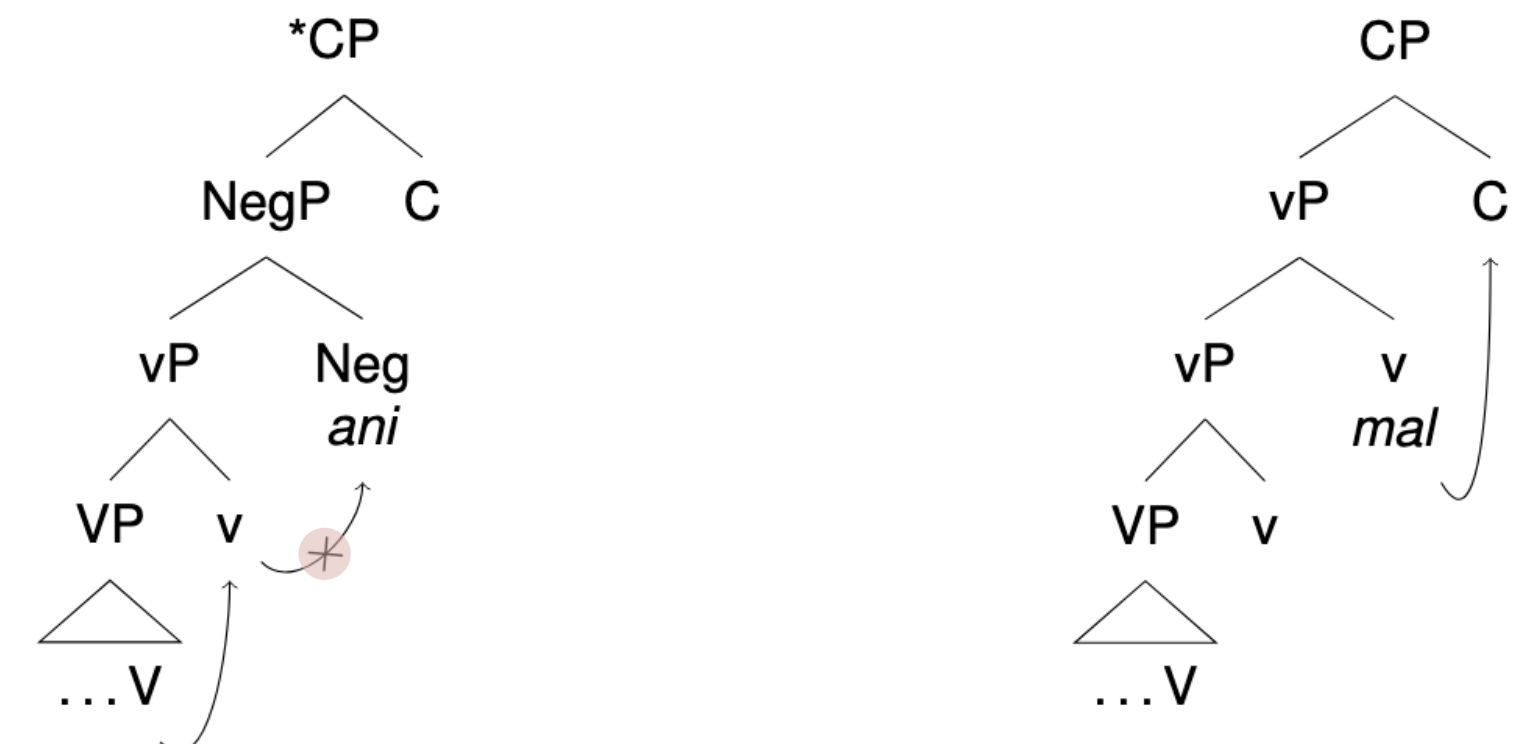
Part I: Korean Negative Imperatives

- Following Han & Lee (2007), I analyze *an* as a left adjunct to vP that later cliticizes to v, and *ani* as a Neg head that blocks verb movement.
- Historical evidence supports analyzing *mal* as an auxiliary verb derived from 'stop' (Park 2010); note the lack of do-support in (9c).
- Two Requirements for Imperatives
 - Syntactic: V-to-C movement (formally, [uv*] on C)
 - Interpretational: *Neg >> Force
- an*-NIs (9a): violate (12b) [(13a) derives the head complex in (13b)]



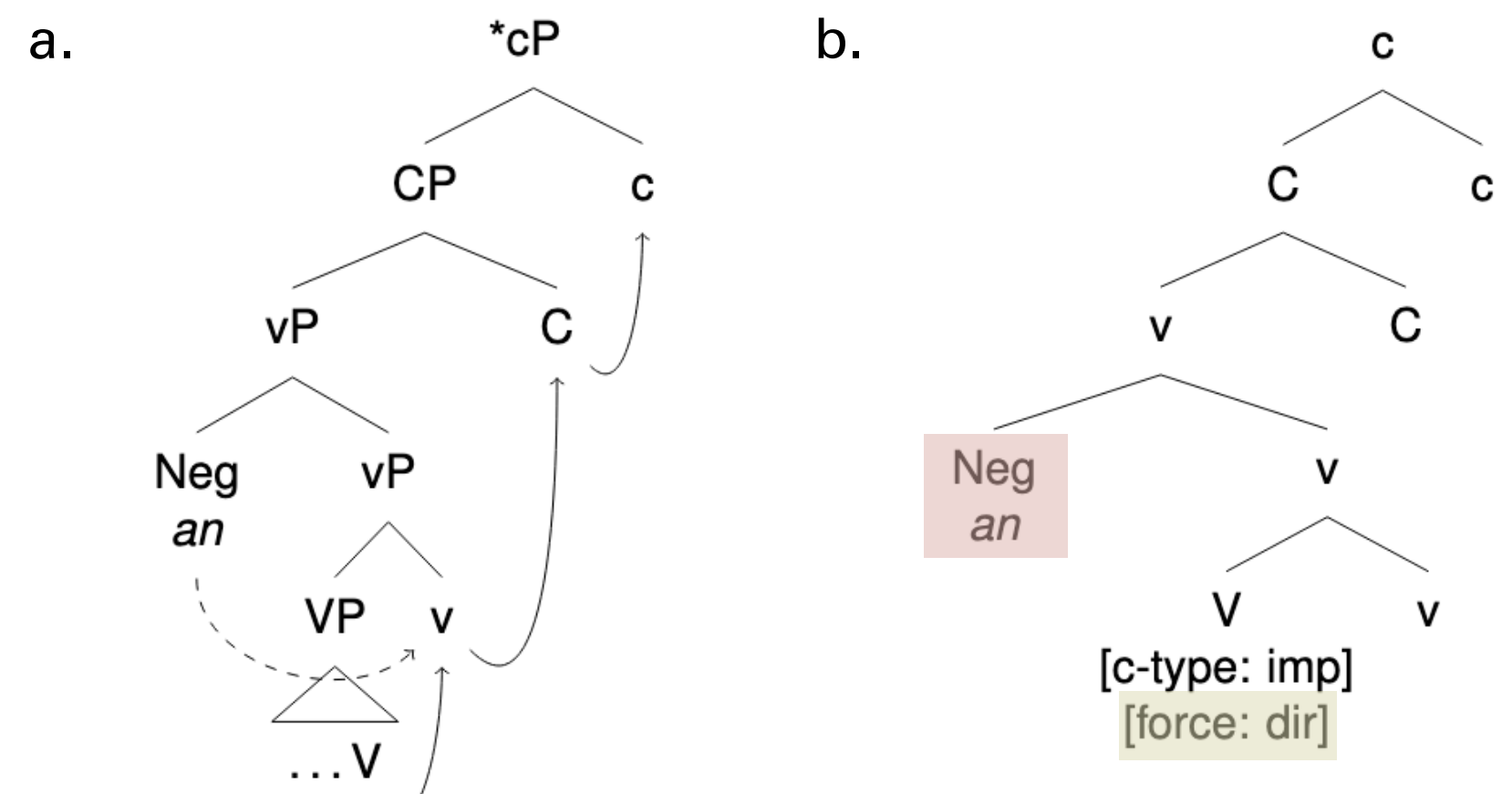
14) ani-NIs (9b): violate (12a)

15) mal-NIs (9c): well-formed

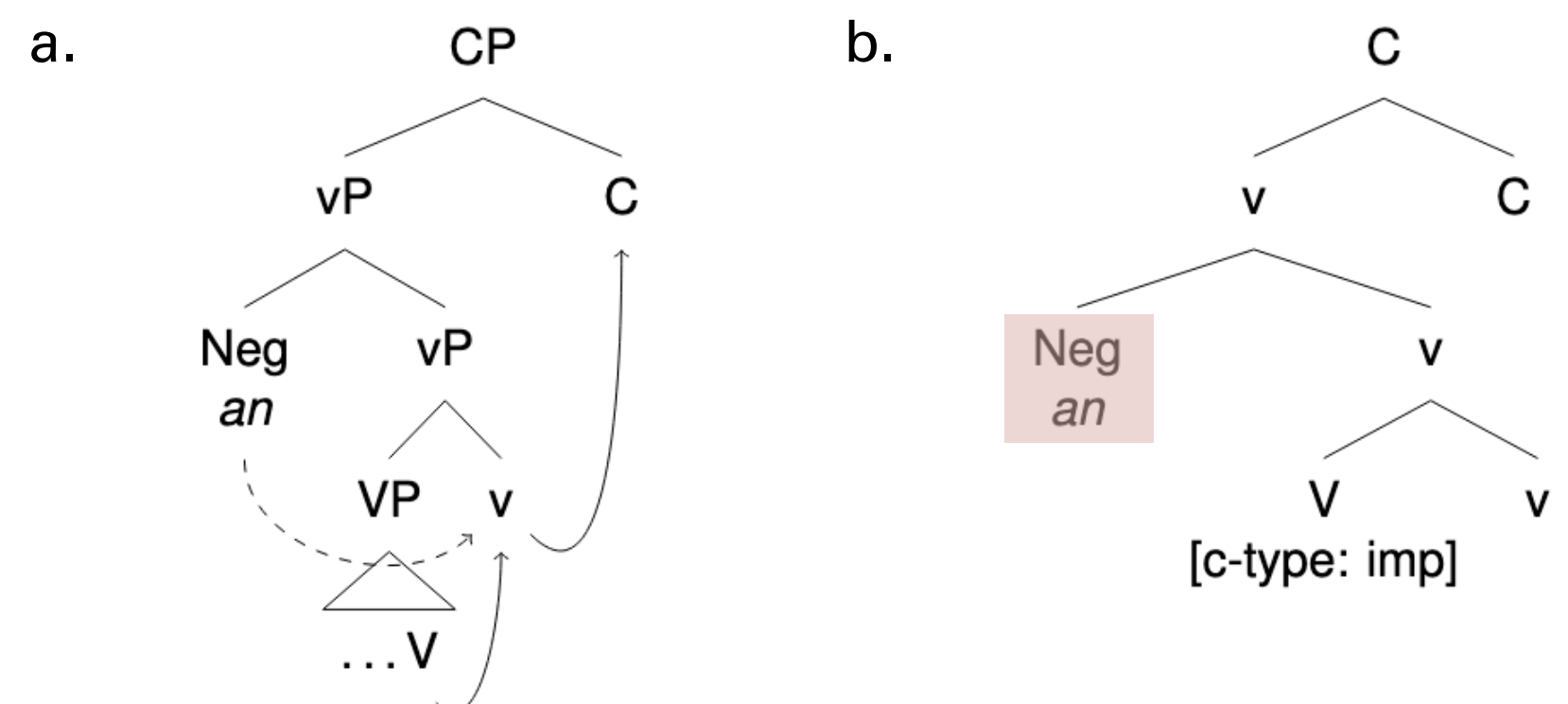


Part II: "Weak" Imperatives and Negation

- I adopt Portner et al.'s (2019) CP-cP system for the syntactic projections of sentence type and illocutionary force, respectively.
- I posit that "strong" and "weak" imperatives differ syntactically; only the former projects a cP layer with a directive force feature.
- 16) "Strong" NIs with *an* (revised from 13)



17) "Weak" NIs with *an*



- The reasoning behind the (un)grammaticality of *ani* and *mal* remains the same regardless of the presence/absence of cP (cf. 14-15).

References

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