On Korean Negative Imperatives

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Abstract

Korean has two types of negation: short form *an* and long form *ani*. However, negative imperatives cannot be formed with either of these; instead, they require a special form, *mal*. I show that this pattern follows from the syntactic requirement of verb movement and a general semantic constraint that force cannot be negated (Han 2001). This analysis situates Korean within the cross-linguistic landscape without any language-specific stipulations and straightforwardly accounts for the acquisition data. I then turn to one notable exception: short form *an* is unexpectedly grammatical in "weak" imperatives. I account for this fact by proposing that "weak" and "strong" imperatives differ syntactically, with only the latter having a syntactic projection of illocutionary force.

1 Introduction

Korean has two types of sentential negation: short form *an* and long form *ani*. Short form *an* precedes the verb, as shown in (1a). Long form *ani* follows the verb and requires *do*-support, as shown in (1b).[1]

(1) a. John-i pap-ul *an* mek-ess-ta.
John-NOM rice-ACC NEG eat-PST-DECL
b. 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.'

However, negative imperatives in Korean cannot be formed with either *an* or *ani*, as in (2a) and (2b). Instead, they require a special form, *mal*, as in (2c). The special form *mal* follows the verb but does not require *do*-support.

(2) a. *Pap-ul *an* mek-ela!
rice-ACC NEG eat-IMP
b. *Pap-ul mek-ci *ani* ha-yela!
rice-ACC eat-CI NEG do-IMP

[1] In this paper, I remain agnostic about the exact status of *-ci* attached to the verb. See, however, Lee (2023) for an analysis that treats *-ci* as a nominalizer that does not introduce a clause boundary.

c. Pap-ul mek-ci *mal*-ala!
rice-ACC eat-CI MAL-IMP
'Don't eat rice!'

As is well known, imperatives have functions beyond issuing commands (Schmerling 1982). For example, an imperative may express a speaker's wishes, as in *Please don't rain!* Interestingly, such imperatives exceptionally allow the short form *an*, as in (3a). In contrast, the grammaticality judgments for *ani* and *mal* remain unchanged—*ani* is ungrammatical and *mal* is grammatical—as in (3b) and (3c).

(3) a. A, nayil ceypal pi *an* wa-la.
ah tomorrow please rain NEG come-IMP
b. *A, nayil ceypal pi o-ci *ani* ha-yela.
ah tomorrow please rain come-CI NEG do-IMP
c. A, nayil ceypal pi o-ci *mal*-ala.
ah tomorrow please rain come-CI MAL-IMP
'Ah, please don't rain tomorrow.'

The main puzzles I aim to address in this paper are as follows: (i) Why are the two types of sentential negation—*an* and *ani*—ungrammatical in imperatives, and how is *mal* different from them? (ii) What makes (3a) an exception, and how can we account for the fact that the grammaticality of negation in imperatives appears to depend on their use (*command* vs. *wish*)? I first demonstrate that the pattern in (2) straightforwardly follows from an independently motivated assumption about imperative syntax together with a general semantic constraint. I then argue that the exceptional cases can be accounted for if "weak" imperatives lack a syntactic projection of illocutionary force.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews two strands of previous research: the syntactic literature on negative imperatives across languages and the semantic literature on the diverse uses of imperatives. This discussion will highlight a major divide between the two approaches. In section 3, I examine the syntactic properties of Korean negation and show how the pattern of Korean negative imperatives largely fits within the cross-linguistic picture. In section 4, I present novel data, along the lines of (3), showing that short form *an* is exceptionally grammatical in imperatives in their non-directive uses. To account for these exceptions, I propose that such imperatives are syntactically distinct from canonical imperatives and discuss some alternative analytical options.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Negative imperatives across languages

The ungrammaticality of regular negation in imperatives is by no means a Korean-specific phenomenon. This is illustrated below for Modern Greek (4), Spanish (5), and Italian (6); the first two languages employ subjunctives to express negative commands, while Italian uses infinitivals (Han 2001).[2]

(4) a. *Mi grapse to! (Modern Greek)
NEG write.2SG.IMP it
b. (Na) mi to grapsis!
NA NEG it write.2SG.SUBJ
'Don't write it!'

(5) a. *¡No lee lo! (Spanish)
NEG read.2SG.IMP it
b. ¡No lo leas!
NEG it read.2SG.SUBJ
'Don't read it!'

(6) a. *Non telefonale! (Italian)
NEG call.2SG.IMP-her
b. Non telefonarele!
NEG call.INF-her
'Don't call her!'

By contrast, German (7), French (8), and Bulgarian (9) allow negative imperatives.

(7) Schreib nicht! (German)
write.2SG.IMP NEG
'Don't write!'

(8) Ne chante pas! (French)
NE sing.2SG.IMP NEG
'Don't sing!'

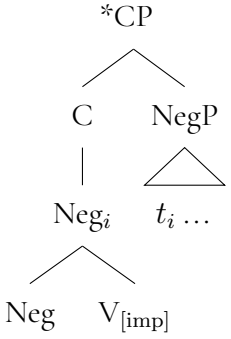
(9) Ne četi! (Bulgarian)
NEG read.2SG.IMP
'Don't read!'

[2] How subjunctives and infinitivals come to convey directive force is an interesting and important issue on its own. However, I take this topic to be beyond the scope of present paper, which is mainly concerned with the (un)grammaticality of negation in imperatives. Interested readers are referred to Han (2001). Note also that in Korean, negative commands are expressed by means of a special marker *mal* under an imperative form, as previously shown in (2c).

A theory of this cross-linguistic pattern must therefore identify the factor that determines whether the combination of negation and imperatives is licit in a given language. Han (1998, 2000, 2001) and Zeijlstra (2006, 2013) develop one such account. They propose that "negative imperatives 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, where it is interpreted as being negated."

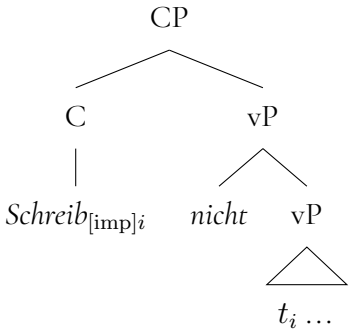
In their analysis, the imperative operator in C enters into an agreement relation with the verb and attracts it, and the verb carrying the imperative feature is interpreted as the locus of directive force. This explains the ungrammaticality of negative imperatives in Modern Greek, Spanish, and Italian. In all three languages, negation functions as a clitic attached to the verb. When V-to-C movement occurs, the resulting configuration places negation in a c-commanding position over the verb, as illustrated in (10).[3]

(10) (Modern Greek, Spanish, Italian)



By contrast, in languages where negation is phrasal and does not have clitic status, negative imperatives are predicted to be grammatical. This is illustrated below for the case of German.

(11) (German)

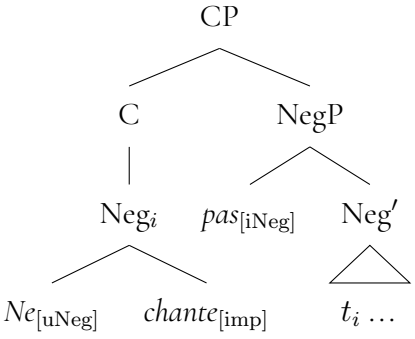


Zeijlstra adds to this picture that the interpretability of negation also plays a role. This is illustrated below for French (12) and Bulgarian (13). In French, while *ne* cliti-

[3]Following Zanuttini (1991) and Han (2000), I assume that imperatives lack a TP projection.

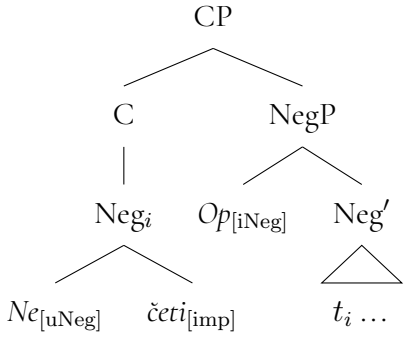
cizes onto the verb, it is *pas* that carries semantic negation. The situation is similar in Bulgarian, except that the element bearing semantic negation is phonologically null, as argued by Zeijlstra (2004) based on evidence from negative concord.

(12)



(French)

(13)



(Bulgarian)

The bottom line is that cross-linguistic variation in the grammaticality of negative imperatives straightforwardly follows from (i) the fact that V-to-C movement occurs in imperatives, and (ii) a general semantic constraint that negation must not take scope over force.

2.2 Imperatives and semantic theorizing

Imperatives have also drawn great interest in the semantic literature, in particular because of their variability in force. In addition to command uses, imperatives can be uttered to express warnings, requests, wishes, and so on.

(14)
a. Stand at attention! *Command*
b. Don't touch the hot plate! *Warning*
c. Hand me the salt, please. *Request*
d. Please, don't rain! *Wish*
e. Come to dinner tonight(, if you like). *Invitation*
f. A: How do I get to Harlem? – B: Take the A-train. *(Disinterested) Advice*
g. A: I am cold, can I close the window? – B: Sure, close it. *Acquiescence*
h. Go left! Go right! I don't care. *Indifference*

In order to capture this variability, scholars have proposed weakening the semantics of imperatives from their traditional directive force. Kaufmann (2012) argues that imperatives contain a covert necessity modal along with a presuppositional component that ensures that imperatives only be used performatively. Condoravdi & Lauer (2012) propose that imperatives are associated with the speaker's *effective preference*.

However, von Fintel & Iatridou (2017) argue that a modal or preference-based semantics of imperatives falls short in accounting for two "weak" uses of imperatives:

acquiescence and *indifference*. (15B′) and (15B″) are clearly stronger than (15B); (16b) and (16c) sound incoherent, unlike (16a).[4]

(15) A: I am cold, can I close the window?
B: Sure, close it.
B′: Sure, #you must/should close it.
B″: Sure, #I want you to close it.

(16) a. Go left! Go right! I don't care.
b. #You must go left. You must go right. I don't care.
c. #I want you to go left. I want you to go right. I don't care.

In light of these observations, von Fintel & Iatridou argue for Portner's (2007) minimal semantics under a proposalist construal. According to Portner (2007), imperatives denote properties restricted to the addressee, as in (17), with the discourse effect of updating the addressee's To-Do List (TDL) carried out by dynamic pragmatics. This effect is taken to be indirect in von Fintel & Iatridou (2017); the denotation of an imperative is proposed as a possible addition to the addressee's TDL. This is illustrated in (18), following Farkas & Bruce's (2010) influential discourse model (see also Linhares 2025, for a similar implementation).[5]

(17) $[\![\text{eat rice}]\!] = \lambda x$: x is the addressee. x eats rice

(18)

	Table	TDL_B	TDL_B*
A: Eat rice!	$\{\langle \text{TDL}_\text{B}, [\![\text{eat rice}]\!]\rangle\}$	—	$\{[\![\text{eat rice}]\!]\}$
B: Okay!	—	$\{[\![\text{eat rice}]\!]\}$	$\{[\![\text{eat rice}]\!]\}$

All in all, the semantic literature on imperatives aims to weaken or minimize their denotational semantics to explain their variable uses. As discussed in von Fintel & Iatridou (2017), this line of analysis runs directly counter to the syntactic account of negative imperatives outlined above, as it crucially relies on the syntactic presence of a force operator. I propose that this apparent divide in the current literature can be reconciled from the perspective that "weak" and "strong" imperatives are represented differently in the syntax. But let us first turn to Korean negative imperatives, which will provide empirical evidence in support of this view.

[4]However, Kaufmann (2023) notes that *indifference* uses generalize across different clause types, as shown in (i). She therefore suggests that they involve a general mechanism for suspending speaker commitment, one that is orthogonal to the conventional semantic meaning of imperatives.

(i) She went left, she went right, what do I care.

[5]As pointed out by Condoravdi & Lauer (2012), even a proposalist construal of Portner's semantics cannot account for wish uses, as they lack volitional addressees or addressees altogether.

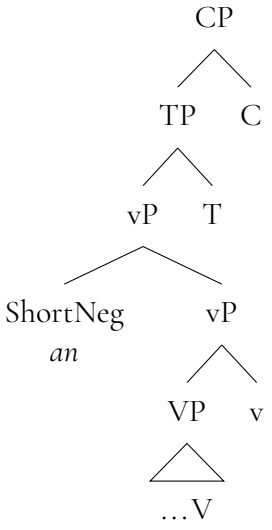
3 Korean negative imperatives

In this section, I demonstrate that the syntactic properties of sentential negation and *mal*, coupled with Han and Zeijlstra's analysis of negative imperatives, straightforwardly account for the Korean pattern. As shown in (1), repeated below as (19), *an* immediately precedes the verb, whereas *ani* follows the verb and requires *do*-support.

(19) a. John-i pap-ul *an* mek-ess-ta.
John-NOM rice-ACC NEG eat-PST-DECL
b. 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.'

This has led researchers to analyze short form *an* as a left adjunct of vP that later cliticizes to v, and long form *ani* as a Neg head that blocks the verb from coming together with inflectional morphemes such as tense (Han & Lee 2007).

(20) a.



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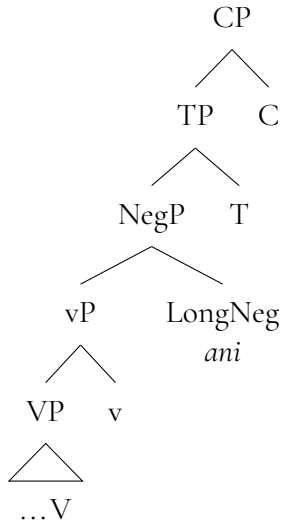


The pattern of Korean negative imperatives is repeated below in (21). Note, again, that *mal* is required instead of the regular negations *an* and *ani* in imperatives.

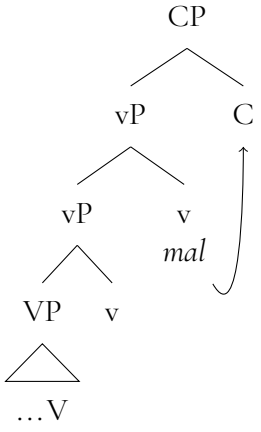
(21) a. *Pap-ul *an* mek-ela!
rice-ACC NEG eat-IMP
b. *Pap-ul mek-ci *ani* ha-yela!
rice-ACC eat-CI NEG do-IMP
c. Pap-ul mek-ci *mal*-ala!
rice-ACC eat-CI MAL-IMP
'Don't eat rice!'

Han & Lee (2007) put forth an interesting perspective on the morphosyntactic nature of *mal*. Building on Halle & Marantz's (1993, 1994) Distributed Morphology framework, they argue that *mal* is a contextual spell-out of *ani ha* 'NEG do'. However, I argue against this view, drawing on *mal*'s diverse use as an auxiliary verb and supporting historical evidence.[6] Park (2010) studies *mal* from a diachronic perspective, showing that it likely grammaticalized from a middle verb meaning "stop".[7] In fact, this meaning is preserved in modern Korean (22a), alongside the eventual interpretation in (22b), neither of which arises when *mal* is replaced with *ani ha*.

(22) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ta {*mal*/**ani ha*}-ass-ta.
John-NOM rice-ACC eat-TA MAL-PST-DECL
'John stopped eating rice.'
b. John-i yasik-ul mek-ko {*mal*/**ani ha*}-ass-ta.
John-NOM late-night-snack-ACC eat-KO MAL-PST-DECL
'John ended up eating a late-night snack.'

I therefore take *mal* to be an auxiliary verb derived from "stop", fully grammaticalized in its prohibitive use, having lost the presuppositional component of "stop".[8] That *mal* must be verbal in category is evidenced by its lack of *do*-support. Understanding *mal* in this way straightforwardly explains why it is compatible with imperatives. V-to-C movement in imperatives can be understood in terms of a probe searching for a goal with the feature [v]. *Mal*, being a viable target in this sense, moves to C instead of the lexical verb, an instance of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990).

(23)



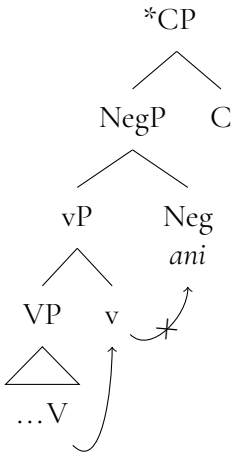
[6] In Lee (2025), I also show that a contextual spell-out analysis of *mal* is untenable, since *mal* and *ani ha* are freely interchangeable in various contexts, contrary to the theory's prediction.

[7] van der Auwera (2006) shows that prohibitive markers derived from "stop"-type verbs are well attested cross-linguistically, e.g., in Kru, Seychelles Creole, Kwaio, and Welsh.

[8] This roughly yields the following semantics: $\lambda p.\lambda t.\forall t' : t < t' \rightarrow \neg p(t')$. Whether this semantics can capture all uses of *mal*—including (22a) and (22b)—remains to be seen.

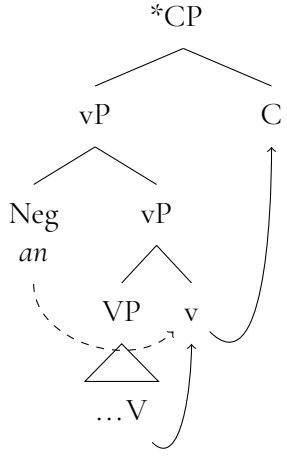
On the other hand, this requirement cannot be satisfied in the case of long form *ani*, since it is a syntactic head that blocks verb movement.

(24)



Short form *an* resembles the negative markers in Modern Greek, Spanish, and Italian, in that it cliticizes onto the verb. This results in a head complex, illustrated in (25b), where negation takes scope over the force operator, i.e., $V_{[imp]}$.

(25) a.



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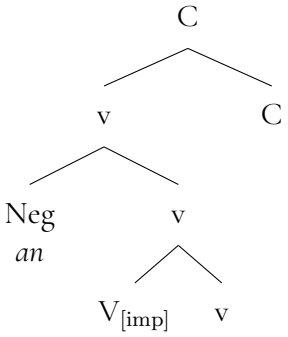


Interestingly, as noted by Lee (1988, 1993) and discussed in Han & Lee (2007), young Korean children around the age of 2 sometimes produce negative imperatives with short form *an*, as in (26).

(26) a. (To the child's father, leaving for school)
Appa, hakkyo *an* ka!
daddy school NEG go
'Daddy, don't go to school!'

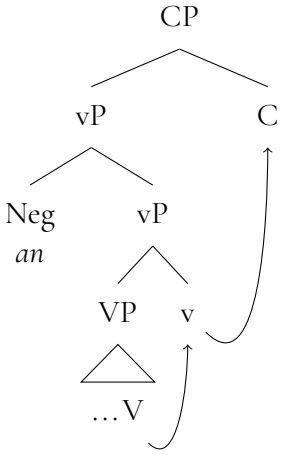
b. *An* pwul kke-yo!
NEG light turn.off-POL
'Don't turn off the light!' (Lee 1993)

This, too, can be easily accounted for by the present analysis. Han & Park (1994) show that children around the same age occasionally fail to cliticize *an* onto the verb, as shown in (27). Specifically, they produce sentences in which *an* and the verb are separated by an object or an adverb.

(27) a. Na *an* pap mek-e.
I NEG rice eat-DECL.PLAIN
'I do not eat rice.'
b. *An* mak uwl-e.
NEG much cry-DECL.PLAIN
'(I) do not cry much.' (Cho & Hong 1988)

If children have not yet acquired the clitic status of *an*, negative imperatives using *an* are predicted to be grammatical. The verb can move up to C, leaving *an* in its base position, thereby satisfying both syntactic and semantic requirements.

(28)



Before moving on to the next section, a brief note about verb movement is in order. Here, I assume—without argument—that V-to-C movement is required of imperatives in Korean as well. Whether such movement exists in Korean is highly debated, particularly because proving in either direction is extremely difficult, given its head-final status (cf. Han et al. 2007, Zeijlstra 2024). Nevertheless, verb positions are known to be exceptionally high in imperatives compared to declaratives and interrogatives cross-linguistically. With this assumption, a parsimonious account of Korean negative imperatives becomes possible, showing how they align with the cross-linguistic pattern without resorting to language-specific stipulations.

4 "Weak" imperatives and negation

As mentioned in the introduction, there are exceptions: "weak" imperatives appear to allow short form *an*. This is illustrated below for *wish* (29), *sarcasm* (30), and *acquiescence* (31). Long form *ani* remains ungrammatical, and *mal* grammatical, for these uses—although omitted here, see (3) for the *wish* case.

(29) A, nayil ceypal pi *an* wa-la. *Wish*
ah tomorrow please rain NEG come-IMP
'Ah, please don't rain tomorrow.'

(30) Ne kulehkey kyeysok pap *an* mek-ela. *Sarcasm*
you like.that continuously rice NEG eat-IMP
'Yeah, keep not eating, sure, that'll work.'

(31) 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.'

What these imperative uses have in common is that they do not seem to direct or prompt the addressee to carry out the action denoted by the sentence radical. In Portner's terms, they lack the context-update effect of adding the property denoted by the imperative clause to the addressee's TDL. Therefore, it sounds infelicitous to follow up a "weak" imperative with *Okay!*, which would otherwise signal acceptance of the proposed addition. This is illustrated below for *sarcasm*:

(32) A: Ne kulehkey kyeysok pap an mek-ela.
you like.that continuously rice NEG eat-IMP
'Yeah, keep not eating, sure, that'll work.'
B: ??Ney!
yes
'Okay!'

It is important to note that, "weak" imperatives under this characterization refer only to a subset of the non-command uses of imperatives discussed in the literature. For example, *invitation* uses do suggest that the addressee perform the denoted action and are felicitious with an *Okay!* response.[9]

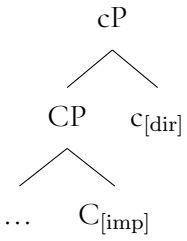
[9] Among the examples in (14), *command*, *warning*, *request*, and *invitation* (possibly also *advice*) belong to "strong" imperatives in this sense. These uses do not exceptionally permit short form *an*.

(33) A: Cenyek mek-ule hanpen wa-la!
dinner eat-in.order.to once come-IMP
'Come over for dinner sometime!'
B: Ney!
yes
'Okay!'

As discussed in the previous sections, the grammaticality of negative imperatives in a given language crucially depends on the syntactic properties of negation in that language. This suggests that the present puzzle—namely, that *an* is exceptionally grammatical in "weak" imperatives—is likewise syntactic in nature. The question, then, is how the difference in use, or the presence versus absence of a context-updating effect, can be reflected in syntax. Recent work has directly addressed this question, most notably in the line of research on the *syntacticization of discourse* (Speas & Tenny 2003, Haegeman & Hill 2013, Portner et al. 2019, Miyagawa 2022, among others).

In this paper, I adapt Portner et al.'s (2019) CP–cP system. CP encodes clause type and cP encodes illocutionary force. Building on the intuition that "weak" imperatives lack a certain context-updating effect, I posit that "strong" and "weak" imperatives differ syntactically; only the former projects a cP layer.[10] I further assume that both C and c value the relevant features on the closest verbal element and attract it, so that it appears at the topmost position of the syntactic structure. The peripheral syntactic representations of "strong" and "weak" imperatives are shown in (34a) and (34b), respectively.

(34) a.



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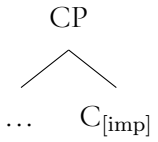


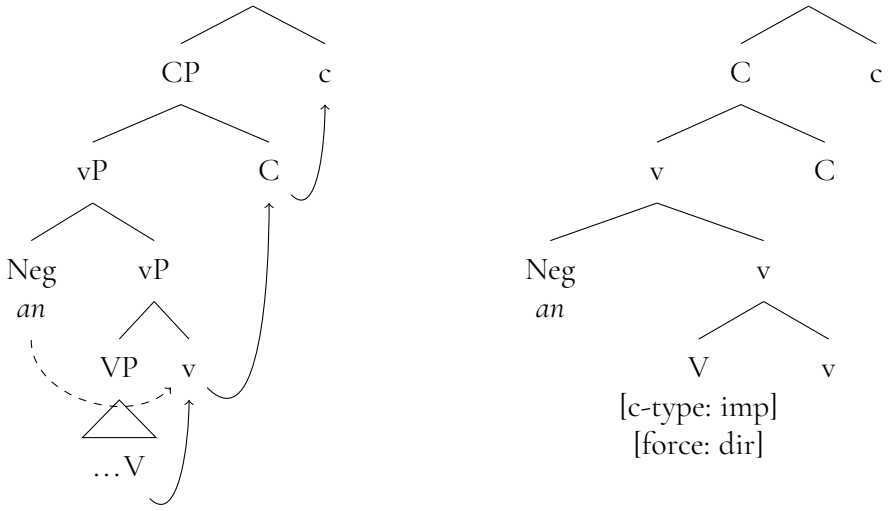
[10] In Portner et al. (2019), cP encodes the speaker–addressee relation (e.g., politeness) and is projected only when a specific interlocutor-addressee is present. Therefore, their analysis also predicts that *wish* imperatives are syntactically distinct from "strong" imperatives, whereas this distinction is less clear for *sarcasm* and *acquiescence* uses. Note also that, as Portner et al. (2019) correctly observe, the imperative morpheme *la* must occupy a position lower than C, given its cooccurrence with the complementizer *ko* in embedded contexts.

(i) Mary-ka John-eykey [pap-ul mek-ula-ko] mal-ha-yess-ta.
Mary-NOM John-DAT rice-ACC eat-IMP-COMP speech-do-PST-DECL
'Mary told John to eat rice.'

Here, I use their terminology in a slightly modified sense, for expository purposes. What matters here is that there exists a syntactic projection for illocutionary force above that for clause type.

Let us first see how the revised syntactic structure fares with "strong" imperatives. They exhibit the context-updating effect of adding the property denoted by the imperative clause—hence the projection cP for illocutionary force—and disallow short form *an*. When the verb moves to c, the cliticization of *an* results in the head complex structure shown in (35b). In this configuration, *an* c-commands the verb bearing the force-related feature [dir]. Therefore, we preserve Han and Zeijlstra's intuition that what goes wrong in impossible negative imperatives is the scopal relation between negation and the force operator.

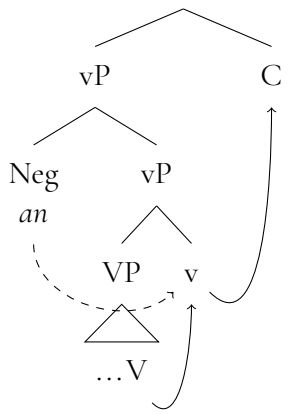
(35) a. *cP b. c



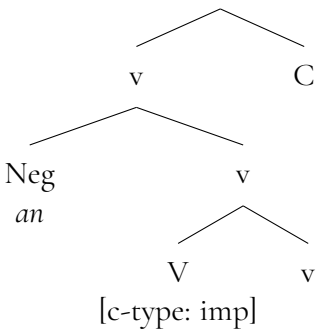
"Weak" imperatives, on the other hand, lack the discourse effect of updating the addressee's TDL and therefore do not project the cP layer. The resulting head complex, formed by V-to-C movement and Neg-cliticization, is shown in (36b). Importantly, the verb in this configuration lacks the force-related feature [dir]. The feature [imp] is a clause-type feature, resulting from agreement with C (or with some lower head encoding clause type, see footnote 10). This analysis therefore derives the contrast between "weak" and "strong" imperatives with respect to their compatibility with short form *an*. Because "weak" imperatives lack the syntactic projection for illocutionary force, they vacuously satisfy the semantic constraint that negation must not take scope over force.[11]

[11]The question is, then, how "weak" imperatives acquire speech act force. In other words, how does an imperative come to express a *wish* or a *sarcastic remark*? I suggest that "weak" imperatives acquire their force via a post-syntactic pragmatic process, the exact nature of which remains to be fully understood. The general idea is that syntax projects illocutionary force only when it is canonically associated with the clause type: *assertion* for declaratives, *question* for interrogatives, and *command* for imperatives. I leave further investigation to future research, including whether this view connects closely with the notion of *default strength of speech acts* (von Fintel & Iatridou 2017).

(36) a.



b.



A notable advantage of the present analysis is that the reasoning behind the grammaticality of *mal* and the ungrammaticality of long form *ani* remains the same regardless of whether cP is projected or not. *Mal* is allowed in negative imperatives because it is an auxiliary verb with a prohibitive meaning that moves, instead of the lexical verb, to the highest position in the syntax as an instance of Relativized Minimality. Long form *ani* is banned in negative imperatives because it prevents the verb from undergoing the movement that the syntax requires. These are properties that remain constant irrespective of the presence or absence of cP.

Before concluding, I would like to consider some alternative theoretical possibilities. As an objection to the idea that syntactic representations vary depending on use, one might be tempted to locate this distinction entirely in pragmatics. For example, one could argue that the problem arises when a negative property is added to someone's TDL, since the notion of doing so is not sufficiently clear.[12] However, such a move overlooks the observation by Han and Zeijlstra that the grammaticality of negative imperatives in a given language appears to depend on the syntactic properties of negation. It is unclear at the moment how a pragmatic approach could account for this kind of cross-linguistic variation.

The second option is to replace the idea of an independent projection of illocutionary force with a force-associated feature optionally realized on C. The prediction would essentially be the same under an analysis that posits the directive feature [dir] on C only in "strong" imperatives but not in "weak" imperatives. However, emerging work under the *syntacticization of discourse* perspective (e.g., Portner et al. 2019, Miyagawa 2022, etc.) offer morphosyntactic evidence for a distinct illocutionary force projection in syntax. I therefore model the difference between "weak" and "strong" imperatives here as a structural optionality, i.e., the presence or absence of cP.

[12]The effect of uttering a negative imperative may instead be closer to adding a property to someone's *Not-To-Do List*.

5 Conclusion

The representation of imperatives at the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interfaces remains a matter of long-standing debate in the literature. Syntactic and semantic theories appear to diverge fundamentally; syntactic approaches struggle to capture "weak" imperative uses, whereas semantic accounts are silent on the cross-linguistic variation in negative imperatives. The central claim of the present paper—that illocutionary force is sometimes projected in syntax and sometimes not—offers a new perspective on this issue. "Weak" and "strong" imperatives differ syntactically, with consequences for their pragmatic effects and their interaction with negation.

Indeed, to address this theoretical divide, it is necessary to examine negative imperatives in "weak" uses and see if they behave differently from their "strong" counterparts. This constitutes the empirical contribution of the present paper. We observed that whereas neither type of sentential negation—short form *an* nor long form *ani*—is grammatical in "strong" imperatives, *an* is exceptionally allowed in "weak" ones. To account for this pattern, I first established that the Han–Zeijlstra analysis straightforwardly extends to Korean and then showed how the "weak" cases can be captured under the assumption that they lack a syntactic projection of illocutionary force.

While the primary empirical evidence in this paper comes from Korean, the analysis could benefit from additional cross-linguistic data. The prediction is that negative markers like *an*—phrasal, clitic-like, and semantically negative—will exhibit a similar distribution in other languages. If Zeijlstra's (2013) analysis of the ban on sentence-initial negation in V2 languages is on the right track, we also predict exceptions to this phenomenon in force-less environments. Imperative-and-Declaratives (Kaufmann 2012, von Fintel & Iatridou 2017) provide another potentially illuminating comparison, though they are not discussed here because they are not attested in Korean. I hope that pursuing this line of inquiry in other languages will shed further light on the representation of imperatives across different grammatical levels.

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