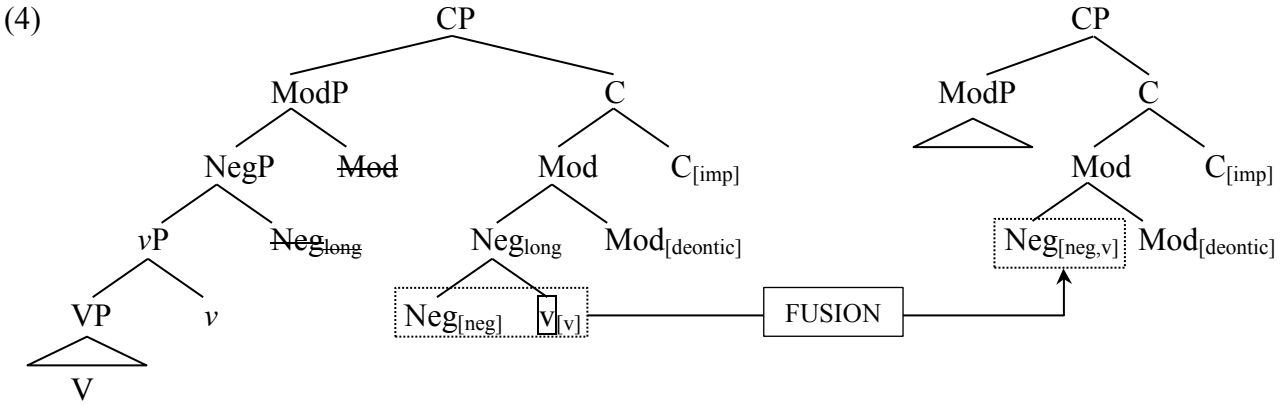
How to Negate Jussive Clauses in Korean

Jussive clauses in Korean include three types of clauses: imperatives (1a), exhortatives (2a), promissives (3a). Each type is indicated by a designated sentence-final particle: imperative *-la*, exhortative *-la*, promissive *-la*. When jussive clauses are negated, a different pattern emerges. Both imperatives and exhortatives involve *mal* negation; long/short negation yields ungrammaticality for imperatives/exhortatives (1b/2b vs. 1c/2c/1d/2d). The fact is the exact opposite for promissives (3b vs. 3c/3d). This paper proposes a unified account that can capture the differing negation patterns between imperatives/exhortatives and promissives.

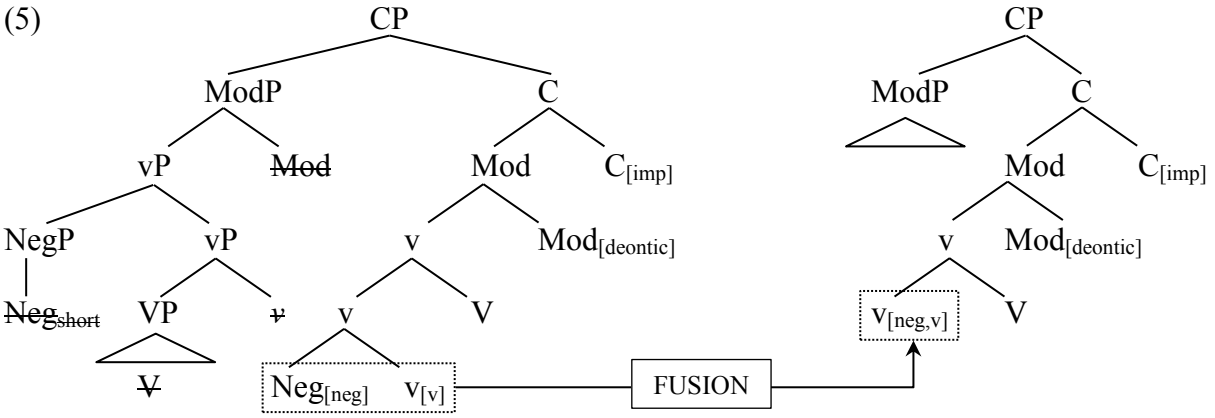
(1a)	Mek-ela.	(1b)	Mek-ci	mal-ala.	(1c)	*Mek-ci	ani	ha-la.	(1d)	*An	mek-ela.
	eat-IMP		eat-CI	NEG-IMP		eat-CI	NEG	do-IMP		NEG	eat-IMP
	'Eat.'		'Don't eat.'								
(2a)	Mek-ca.	(2b)	Mek-ci	mal-ca.	(2c)	*Mek-ci	ani	ha-ca.	(2d)	*An	mek-ca.
	eat-EXH		eat-CI	NEG-EXH		eat-CI	NEG	do-EXH		NEG	eat-EXH
	'Let's eat.'		'Let's not eat.'								
(3a)	Mek-uma.	(3b)	*Mek-ci	mal-uma.	(3c)	Mek-ci	ani	ha-ma.	(3d)	An	mek-uma.
	eat-PRM		eat-CI	NEG-PRM		eat-CI	NEG	do-PRM		NEG	eat-PRM
	'I will eat.'		'I will not eat.'			'I will not eat.'				'I will not eat.'	

Han&Lee 2007 (H&L) proposes a Distributed Morphology account of negative imperatives. (4) is for long negation and (5) for short negation. In (4), Neg_{long} blocks head-movement from below and head-moves upto C. Due to the lack of verbal element, do-insertion occurs (cf. $\boxed{v}$). $Mod_{[deonctic]}$ forces fusion of Neg and $\boxed{v}$. $Neg_{[neg,v]}$ is realized as *mal*; $Mod_{[deontic]}$ as ∅; $C_{[imp]}$ as *la*. In (5), short negation is derived via cliticization of Neg_{short} to v. Nothing blocks head-movement of V upto C. Neg and v are fused in the context of $Mod_{[deontic]}$. $v_{[neg,v]}$ is realized as *mal*; V as a corresponding vocabulary item; $Mod_{[deontic]}$ as ∅; $C_{[imp]}$ as *la*. However, containing two verbal elements *mal* and V yields morphological ill-formedness.

(4)



(5)



This account makes a wrong prediction that promissives involve *mal* negation like imperatives/exhortatives (3b vs. 1b/2b). In order to capture this difference, I argue that updating the context of Neg-$\boxed{v}$/v fusion solves this issue. I assume with Zanuttini et al. (2012) that jussive morphemes bear person—[2] for imperative *-la*,

[1+2] for exhortative *-ca*, and [1] for promissive *-ma*. Both imperatives and exhortatives bear [2], while promissives don't. Thus [2] is the defining feature that distinguishes imperatives/exhortatives from promissives. This leads to modification of the context for fusion: Neg and $\boxed{v}$/v undergo fusion in the context of $C_{[2]}$. Neg-$\boxed{v}$/v fusion thus cannot operate in promissives whose head lacks [2]. Thus, *mal* negation is more related to person borne on the C head, rather than modality of the clause. Despite the irrelevance of the modality in deriving *mal* negation, the fact that non-jussive clauses—declaratives/interrogatives—do not involve *mal* negation still follows since neither declarative nor interrogative head does not bear person.

[*Word Count: 500*]

References

Han, C., & Lee, C-M. 2007. On negative imperatives in Korean. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38(2): 373-394.

Zanuttini, R., Pak, M., & Portner, P. 2012. A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive, and exhortative subjects. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 30(4): 1231-1274.