The Puzzle

Conjoined Imperatives

- Jespersen (1909, 1924) notes that conjoined imperatives often carry a conditional meaning:
  - Take honor from me, and my life is done [from *Richard II*].

  - Sage   das, und du   wirst verhöhnt [German].
    Say.IMP that, and you will   be mocked.

  - Dos   moi   pou   stō,   kai tēn gēn   kinēsō [Greek].
    Give.IMP me [a] place to stand, and the Earth I shall move.

- Since such cases often lack the classic directive force of standard imperatives, Jesperson calls them **pseudo-imperatives**.
- We will instead follow Schwager/Kaufmann (2006, 2012) who calls this construction **Imperative-and-Declarative** or **IaD**.

Unlike Imperatives, IaDs can...

- Describe something other than an instruction:
  - See anything suspicious and you should inform the authorities immediately.
- Convey the opposite of the speaker's desire or suggestion:
  - Come one step closer and I'll shoot.
  - Take the A train and you won't get there until after dark.
- And generally take forms not available to standalone imperatives:
  - *Come any closer!
  - Come any closer and I'll shoot.
  - *Tempt him$_i$ enough! [Every senator]$_i$ will succumb to corruption.
  - Tempt him$_i$ enough and [every senator]$_i$ will succumb to corruption.

What's at stake?

(Besides an analysis of IaDs)

- Is there a syntactic imperative speech act operator?
- Do imperatives convey their speech act semantically (i.e., not purely pragmatically)?
- Recently, von Fintel & Iatridou (2015) conclude "No" for both, but we disagree.

Sneak Preview

1. Importantly, some proposed examples are actually **Non**-imperatives **a**nd **D**eclaratives (**NonaDs**).
2. Plus, there are two different types of actual IaDs:
   a. **Na**rrow-scope **IaDs** (**NaIaDs**), where an imperative operator IMP scopes under a conjunction.
   b. **Tr**ans-clausal **IaDs** (**TrIaDs**), where the imperative operator scopes over a conjunction.
3. All IaDs involve true morphological/syntactic imperatives.
4. All IaDs involve true semantic/pragmatic imperatives.

NaIaD:
&P
CP$_1$ &′
IMP   TP$_1$ and   CP$_2$

TrIaD: CP$_1$
IMP   &P
TP$_1$ &′
and   TP$_2$
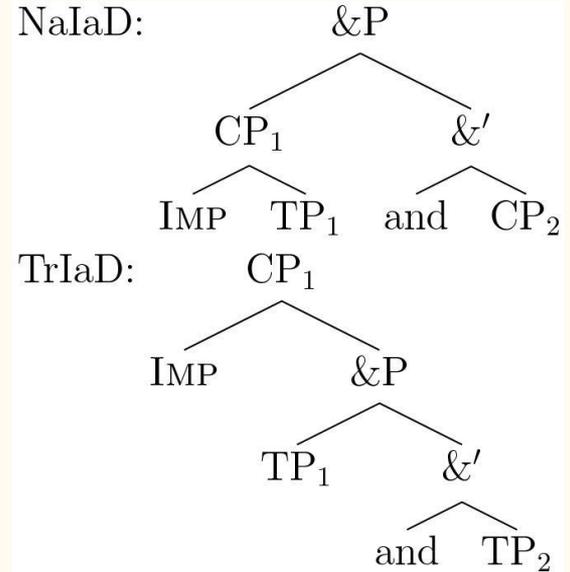
Preliminaries

Note 1: All IaDs are true syntactic imperatives

- Languages with unambiguous imperative morphology use it in IaDs:
  - Sage   das,   und du   wirst verhöhnt [German].
    Say.IMP   that, and you will   be mocked.

  - Dos   moi   pou   stō,   kai tēn   gēn   kinēsō [Greek].
    Give.IMP me [a] place   to stand,   and the Earth I shall move.

- English imperative subjects can bind 2nd-person pronouns:
  - $Anybody_i$ touch $your_i$ phone and I'll shoot you_i.
    (cf. *$Anybody_i$ touches $your_i$ phone and I'll shoot you_i.)

  - $Everyone_i$ buckle $your_i$ seatbelts, will you, and we'll be on our way.
    (cf. *$Everyone_i$ buckles $your_i$ seatbelts and we'll be on our way.)

  - $Nobody_i$ gamble any more of $your_i$ money and we might still have enough to get home.
    (cf. *$Nobody_i$ gambles any more of $your_i$ money and we might still ... get home.)

Note 2: Speaker endorsement fallacy

- Most previous accounts (since Clark 1993) categorize IaDs into 2-3 groups
  - Positive: Study hard and you'll do well.
  - Neutral: Open the Guardian newspaper and you'll find three misprints on every page.
  - Negative: Ignore your homework and you'll fail.
- But, NaIaDs can be positive or neutral:
  - Positive: Just study harder, won't you, and you'll pass the class.
  - Neutral: Next time you're at a newsstand, just open up the Guardian, won't you, and I guarantee you'll find at least three misprints on every page.
  - Negative: [Ruled out by constraints on imperatives]
- And TrIaDs can be all three:
  - Positive: Run any faster than your next competitor and you'll win the race.
  - Neutral: Skim even one page of the Guardian and you'll find at least three misprints.
  - Negative: Ignore your homework and you'll fail.

Nonads: Impostor IaDs

NonaDs have non-imperative translations

- Certain apparent English IaDs cannot be translated as imperatives in languages like German or Spanish with clear imperative morphology:
  - (*He's a bearish man with long, flowing hair, a bushy beard and ever-present dark sunglasses.*) See him at a club and you might be tempted to slip out, taking care not to tip over any motorcycles on the way. [AP article 2007]
  - (*Two young academics are discussing ageism in the private sector. One says "Silicon Valley is biased against anyone older than 35."*) Get even a few gray hairs and they'll get rid of you. [after Bolinger 1967]
  - (*Life was hard in those days.*) Say one word out of turn and they'd dock you a week's wages. [Clark 1993]

NonaDs in English...

- May take 1st/3rd person agreement (unlike imperatives) [Bolinger 1967]:
  - Buy myself a few pretty clothes, and you act like you'd been robbed.
  - Give themselves the least advantage, and the gang hollers unfair.
- Cannot support a subject (as imperatives do):
  - *Anyone get a few gray hairs and management starts talking retirement. (cf. Anyone get rowdy and I'll call the police.)
  - *You be half a degree above normal temperature and they put you to bed. (cf. You be home by six and your dinner will still be warm.)
  - *Someone look a little pale around the gills and they act like it's time to call a priest. (cf. Someone look scared, quick, and we'll surely earn pity points.)

Simple Imperatives, Conjoined

NaIaD ("narrow-scope Imp") syntax

- We analyze NaIaDs as CP conjunction of a full, normal imperative clause and a full, normal declarative clause.
- Thus, in the first clause:
  - Imp, base-generated in C, specifies 'clause type.'
  - Imp carries second-person features, which agree with a subject, such as *pro* (per Zanuttini 2008).
  - T optionally moves to (adjoin to) C.
  - Two possibilities when subject and T both overt:
    - Do everybody study hard and you'll do well.
    - Everybody do study hard and you'll do well.
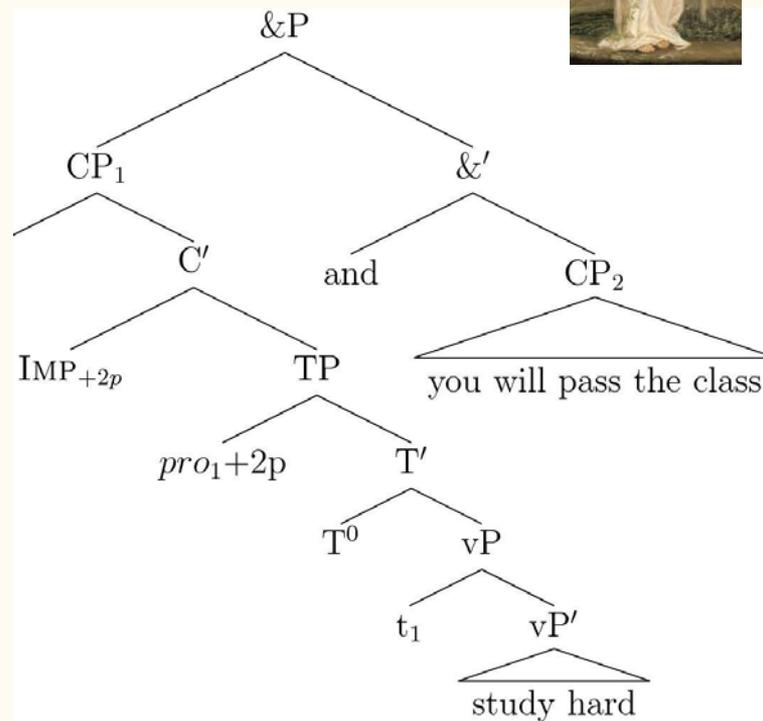
NaIaDs

- Imperative alone preserves meaning:
  - Study hard and you'll succeed.
    ≈ Study hard!
- Allow tag questions and other particles:
  - Study hard, will you, and you'll succeed.
  - (Just) come closer (please/already), and I'll pay you $5.
- Allow Do-Subject-VP order:
  - Do everybody study hard, and you'll all succeed.

TrIaDs

- Imperative alone can alter meaning:
  - Ignore your homework and you'll fail.
    ≠ Ignore your homework!
- Disallow tag questions, particles:
  - *Ignore your homework, will you, and you'll fail.
  - (*Just) Ignore your homework (*please/*already) and you'll fail.

- Disallow Do-Subject-VP order:
  - *Do anybody mess up, and we'll be here all night.

NaIaD semantics

- Independently, **modal subordination** (Roberts 1989) gives rise to a conditional meaning:
  - A wolf might come in, and it would eat you first.
  - ≈ A wolf might come in, and <mark>if a wolf does come in,</mark> it would eat you first.
- After Han (2000), we assume NaIaD clauses relate via modal subordination:
  - Study hard, won't you, and you will pass the class.
  - ≈ Study hard, and <mark>if you do,</mark> you will pass the class.
- The modal in the second clause is *will*.
- [Pace von Fintel & Iatridou; see Appendix 1]

# Conditional Conjunctions, Declarative and Imperative

Conditional Conjunctions

- Some "Declarative-and-Declarative" cases have conditional meanings:
  - John comes any closer and I'll shoot him.
- Conditional conjunctions exhibit an interesting pattern of features.
  - Allow "unlicensed" NPIs in the first clause: (Culicover & Jackendoff 1997)
    - *John comes any closer.
    - John comes any closer and I'll shoot him.
  - Allow backwards binding: (Culicover & Jackendoff 1997)
    - *You gave him$_i$ enough opportunity. [Every senator]$_i$ (no matter how honest) will succumb to corruption.
    - You give him$_i$ enough opportunity, and [every senator]$_i$ (no matter how honest) will succumb to corruption.
  - Disallow conjunction with *but*:
    - (Fine!) * John comes any closer, but I'll fine him $50.

Conditional Conjunction Analysis

- Keshet (2012) analyzes these conditional conjunctions as cases where a modal scopes over a (relatively low) conjunction.
- The backgrounded first clause joins the restriction of the modal, creating a conditional meaning:
  - In all future cases where John comes any closer, John comes closer and I shoot him.
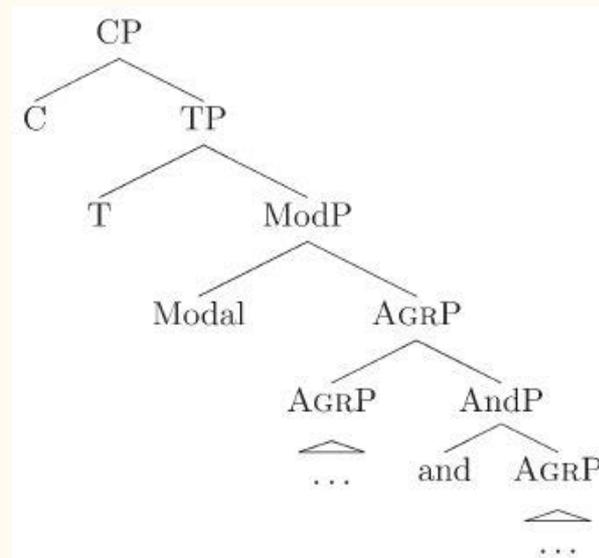
NaIaDs are not CCs

- **NPIs**
*Just come any closer and I'll pay you $5.
- **Binding**
*Give him$_i$ the opportunity, please, and [every senator]$_i$ will go corrupt.
- **But**
Fine! Come closer already but I am going to fine you $50.

TrIaDs are CCs

- **NPIs**
Come any closer and I'll shoot.
- **Binding**
Give him$_i$ the opportunity, and [every senator]$_i$ will go corrupt.
- **But**
*Come any closer, but I'll shoot.
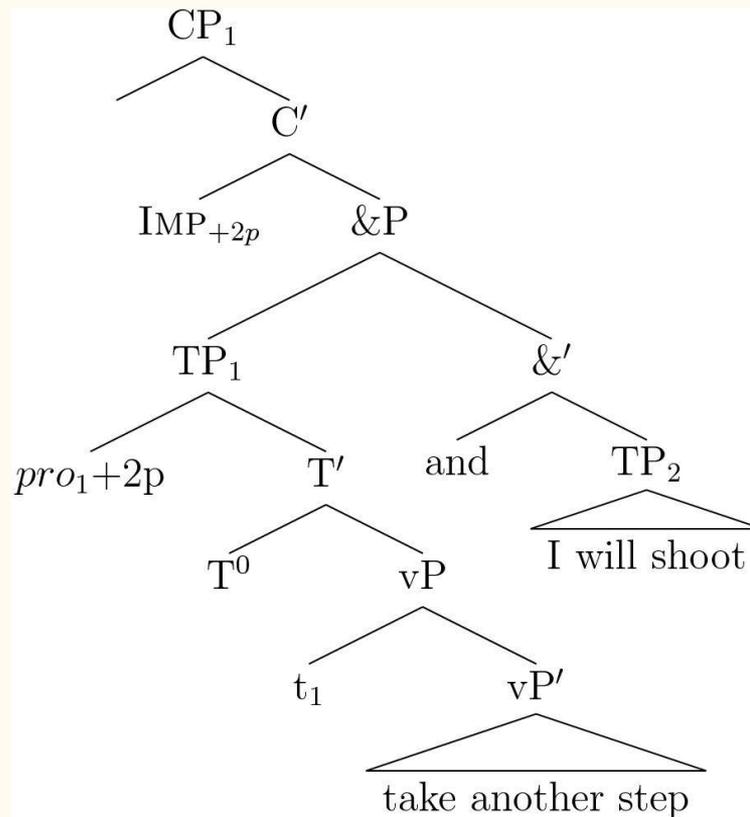
Beware of Ambiguous Cases!

- Many (descriptively) positive cases are ambiguous:
  - Come one step closer and you'll understand.
- These cases can be disambiguated, though:
  - Just come one step closer already, won't you, and you'll understand.
  - Do everyone come one step closer, and you'll understand.
  - Come even one step closer, and you'll understand.
- And mixing NaIaD-only and TrIaD-only features yields infelicity:
  - *(Please) come even one step closer, won't you, and you'll understand.
  - *Do everyone (please) come even one step closer and you'll understand.
  - *Just come even one step closer already and you'll understand.

TrIaD ("wide scope Imp") Syntax

- Top structure similar to NaIaDs:
  - Imp scopes above a conjunction of TPs
  - Imp's 2nd person feature agrees with the subject of TP_1
- Conjunction structure similar to CCs.
- Such a scope analysis strongly suggests a syntactic imperative speech act operator.
- *Do-Subject-VP due to Coordinate Structure Constraint [See Appendix 2]

[Notes: (1) Imp provides the modal meaning.(2) Across-the-board 2nd-person agreement can occur in an "**IaI**": *Be (even a minute) late and be fired.*]

CP_1
  C'
    IMP_{+2p} &P
      TP_1 &'
        pro_1+2p T'   and TP_2
          T^0 vP   I will shoot
            t_1 vP'
              take another step

TrIaD
Semantics/Pragmatics

TrIaDs are true semantic/pragmatic imperatives!

- Since NaIaDs can stand alone, they always encode a directive speech act.
- TrIaDs, we argue, do too, but at the level of the entire conjunction:
  ○ Come any closer and I'll shoot. ≈ Don't come any closer!
- Therefore, cases not construable as directive are ruled out:
  ○ *Be on last night's security tape and they're gonna arrest you. vs.
    ■ You're on (even 10 seconds of) last night's security tape, and they're gonna arrest you.
    ■ Be on tonight's security tape and they'll arrest you tomorrow. (So, be careful!)
    ■ Be on (even 10 seconds of) last night's security tape and you should flee immediately.
  ○ *Be over 21, and our hosts tonight will let you try the wine. vs.
    ■ You're (even one day) over 21, and our hosts tonight will let you try the wine.
    ■ Be over 21 when you come back and our hosts will let you try the wine.
    ■ Be (even one day) over 21, and you must register for the draft before matriculating.

TrIaD semantics and pragmatics

- TrIaDs derive conditional meaning just like full conditional conjunctions.
- Pragmatically, though, standard definitions of Imp do not work:
  - The conditional meaning of a TrIaD is not a direct instruction.
  - Previous analyses either do not include modals (Hausser/Portner) or do not allow a pure future modal in an imperative (Kaufmann).
- Instead, we propose **indirect imperatives** akin to indirect answers to questions:
  - When do I have to be at work today?
    - Direct answer: You have to be at work before 9AM today.
    - Indirect answer: If you come in to work after 9AM today, you'll be fired.
    - TrIaD: Come in to work after 9AM and you'll be fired.
- Just as an indirect answer implies a direct one, an indirect imperative implies a direct imperative: *Be at work before 9AM!* in the case above.

More on Indirect Answers

- Do you want salad or rack of ribs?
  a. I want salad.
  b. I want rack of ribs.
  c. I'm really hungry.
  d. I'm a vegetarian.
  e. I'm allergic to hand-plucked purslane.

- Indirect answers imply direct ones, which are subsequently assumed/added to the Common Ground.

Indirect Imperatives

- We assume a (usually implicit) Question Under Discussion (QUD) for imperatives whose direct answers all encode directive force:
  ○ E.g., *When do I have to be in to work today?*
- TrIaDs are indirect answers to this QUD, but as with other indirect answers, they imply the corresponding direct answer.
  ○ Come in after 9AM and you'll be fired. → Come in before 9AM.
- This corresponding direct answer, which encodes the directive force associated with the TrIaD, enters the Common Ground.

Potential problem?

- Indirect imperatives don't stand alone:
  - QUD: (What should I wear tonight?)
    - You'll be cold in just a t-shirt.
    - *Be cold in just a t-shirt.
- Solution: indirect imperatives require a simple future modal, available in conditionals but not other cases.
  - John is the new champion. ≠ John will be the new champion.
  - He eats one more hard-boiled egg, and John is the new champion.
    ≈ John **will** be the new champion if he eats one more egg.
  - Eat one more hard-boiled egg, and you are the new champion.
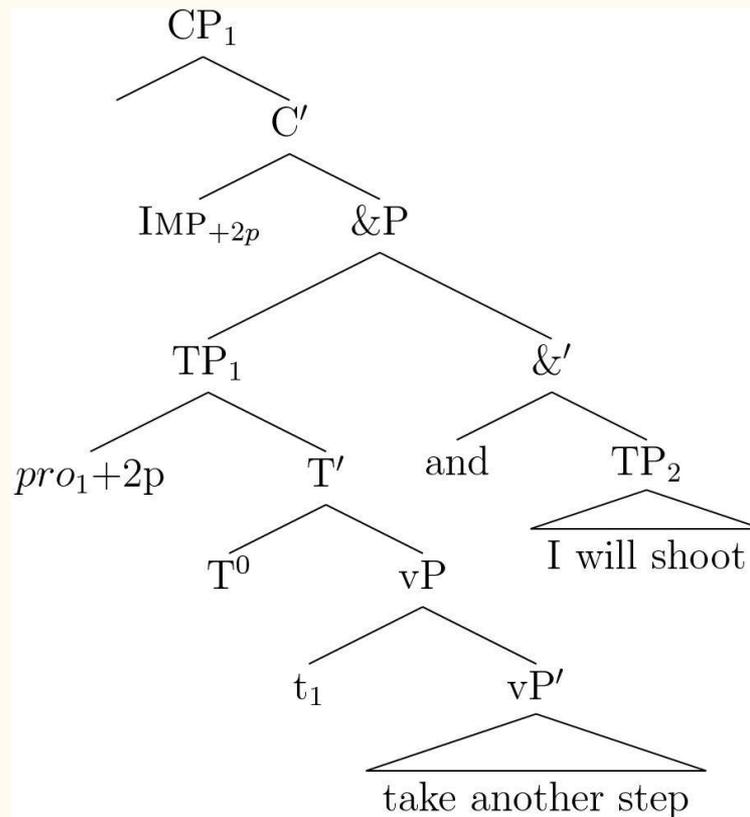   ≈ You **will** be the new champion if you eat one more egg.

Thanks!

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Appendix 1: von Fintel & Iatridou (2008, 2009, 2015) on Modal Subordination

- vF&I show one IaD that can't be paraphrased as explicit modal subordination:
  - Invest in this company, and you will become rich. vs.

    ??You must/have to/should invest in this company and you will become rich.
- However, this example is heard most easily as a TrIaD, i.e. allowing NPIs:
  - Invest enough / any more than $1000 / even a small sum in this company and you'll get rich.
- Insofar as we can force it to be a NaIaD, its explicit paraphrase improves:
  - Just invest in this company already, won't you, and you'll get rich beyond your wildest dreams.

    You should just invest in this company already, and you'll get rich beyond your wildest dreams.
- And more straightforward NaIaDs are fine as explicit modal subordinations:
  - Take out the trash, (please,) and then you can watch TV.

    You have to take out the trash, and then you can watch TV.

  - Just get a good night's sleep, and you'll feel much better tomorrow.

    You should just get a good night's sleep, and you'll feel much better tomorrow.

Appendix 2: Do-Subject-VP order

- Recall the Do-Subject-VP restriction:
  - *Do anybody mess up, and we'll be here all night.
- Some argue this shows TrIaDs do not involve true imperatives, which allow this order.
- But our syntax explains the restriction:
  - Recall that "do" is in T and optionally adjoins to C (when appearing above the subject).
  - Such T-to-C movement is prohibited by the coordinate structure constraint; i.e., T cannot move out of the conjunction.

CP_1
C'
IMP_{+2p}
$\&\text{P}$
TP_1
$\&'$
$pro_1\text{+2p}$
T'
and
TP_2
T^0
vP
I will shoot
t_1
vP'
take another step

Appendix 3: Restrictions on imperative modal

- Modals in answers match the flavor of a preceding question's modal:
  - Q: Who is John possibly going to invite to the party? A: He may invite Sarah.
  - Q: Who is John allowed to invite to the party? A: He may invite Sarah.
- Thus, the modal in a simple imperative matches its QUD's flavor:
  - QUD: Who must I invite to the party? A: Invite Sarah! (≈ You must invite her)
  - QUD: Who may I invite to the party? A: Invite Sarah! (≈ You may invite her)
- But imperative QUDs are always deontic/priority modals and not simple future as required for an indirect imperative:
  - QUD: What should I wear? A: *Be cold in a T-shirt!