

## NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES IN KOREAN

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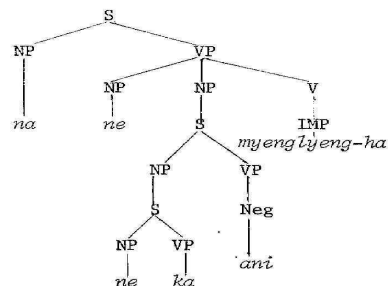
In this paper, I will try to investigate various aspects of the negative imperative construction 'Verb Stem *-ci mal-ala* (*\*! aḡc+ḡḡ*)' in Korean. This paper will analyze the dual negative plus imperative nature of the construction not only in terms of its syntactic behaviors but also in terms of the modality of volition and speech act presuppositions involved. In this way, I believe, more extensive and significant generalizations can be made about the *mal*-containing construction.

Sung-Pin Pak and Song (1967, 1973) have made a reasonable claim that the construction in question contains a negative feature and noted its parallelism with the *ani* + *ha* construction in declarative sentences. However, a separate manifestation of the negative element *ani* followed by the imperative or proposative ending creates ungrammaticality as can be seen in example (1a). The Verb Stem + *ci ani ha* followed by the imperative ending is also ungrammatical as in (1b), as opposed to (1c).

- (1) a. \**ani ka-ala*  
not go IMP  
a'. \**ani ka-ca*  
not go PROP  
b. \**ka-ci ani ha-ala*  
go COMP not do IMP  
b'. \**ka-ci ani ha-ca*  
c. *ka-ci mal-ala*  
go COMP IMP  
'Don't go!'  
c'. *ka-ci mal-ca*  
'Let's not go.'

In other words, the elements corresponding to *ani* + *ha* are obligatorily lexicalized to *mal* in imperative and proposative sentences. The underlying structural representation of (1c) is approximately as follows. With the imperative performative its meaning is roughly like (3).

(2)



- (3) na nun ne eykey ney ka ka-ci ani ha-l kes-ul  
myenglyengha-n-ta

'I order you you will not go.'

Here it might be assumed that *ha*-support applies before the lexicalization of *ani* + *ha* to *mal* arises.

Then, what would be the evidence for the dual nature of imperative and negative of the construction? First, the *mal* construction satisfies the nonstative verb requirement for the imperative as we can see in (4).

- (4) a. \*changpaykha-ci mal-ala  
'Don't be pale!  
b. \*changpaykha-ala  
'Be pale!  
c. talli-ci mal-ala  
'Don't run!  
d. talli-ala  
'Run!'

Second, the construction satisfies the condition of negative polarity phenomenon as follows.

- (5) a. celtaylo o-ci mal-ala  
'Never come!  
b. ku yeca nun celtaylo o-ci ani ha-ass-ta  
'She never came.'  
c. \*?celtaylo o-ala  
'Ever come!  
d. \*?ku yeca nun celtaylo o-ass-ta  
'She ever came!'

A negative polarity item, *celtaylo*, can occur in the *mal* construction (5a) just as it can occur in a negative (*ani*) declarative sentence (5b). However, it cannot occur in either a positive imperative sentence (5c) or a positive declarative sentence (5d). On the other hand, there are imperative sentences formed with process (or change-of-state) verbs as (6).

- (6) a. yakhaye-ci-ci mal-ala  
'Don't become weak!  
b. ssikssikhaye-ci-ala  
'Become stout-hearted!'

In the case of the following sentence, the verb *cwuk-ta* 'to die' is ambiguous between an action reading and a change-of-state reading.

- (7) cwuk-ci mal-ala  
a. 'Don't kill yourself!  
b. 'See to it that you won't die.'  
c. 'I wish you won't die.'

An imperative sentence with a process verb functions either as a command to the addressee to make efforts to bring about the process or as an expression of a wish.

Even a declarative sentence can have *mal* when its main sentence verb is an optative verb. Observe the following examples.

- (8) a. \*?ney elkwul i changpaykha-ci mal-ki lul pala-n-ta  
'I wish your face not to be pale.'  
b. ney elkwul i changpaykha-ci ani ha-ki lul pala-n-ta  
'I wish your face is not pale.'  
c. ney elkwul i changpaykhaye-ci-ci mal-ki lul pala-n-ta  
'I wish your face not to become pale.'  
d. ney elkwul i changpaykhaye-ci-ci ani ha-ki lul  
pala-n-ta  
'I wish your face will not become pale.'  
(9) a. ney ka ka-ci mal-ki lul pala-n-ta  
'I wish you not to go.'  
b. ney ka ka-ci ani ha-ki lul pala-n-ta  
'I wish it will be the case that you don't go.'

(8a) is ungrammatical because a stative verb occurs with *mal* and sentence (8c) is all right because a change-of-state verb, *changpaykhaye-ci* 'to become pale', has been associated with *mal*. Optative expressions certainly can function as indirect commands, and exhibit the nonstative verb requirement for imperatives if they contain *mal* embedded. Even though a *mal* construction and its minimal pair *ani ha* construction are cognitively same, the *mal* construction contains the assumptions of volition modality or controllability as to the given action (or change-of-state) expressed by the embedded nonstative verb. Lack of that kind of assumption is responsible for the anomaly of (10a) as contrasted with (10b).

- (10) a. \*?chwuktay ka mune-ci-ci mal-tolok haye-ala  
b. chwuktay ka mune-ci-ci ani ha-tolok haye-ala  
'See to it that the stone embankment will not fall.'

An inanimate subject, *chwuktay* (stone embankment), of the change-of-state verb cannot happily be associated with the volition assumption. This distinction between presence or nonpresence of volition or controllability assumption may have to be represented in the presuppositional structure.

Conjunction is possible only between imperatives or between declaratives, and the following example shows that a negative imperative cannot occur with a declarative in conjunction.

- (11) a. pap lul mek-ci mal-ko cam lul ca-ala  
'Don't eat rice and sleep.'  
b. \*ku ai nun pap lul mek-ci mal-ko cam lul ca-ass-ta  
'Don't eat rice! and that child slept.'

The complementizer *ci* in a negative imperative is the same as the complementizer *ci* in a negative declarative, but its positive counterpart, which is a nominalizing complementizer *ki*, seems to have become slightly or stylistically different in meaning synchronically. Observe the following.

- (12) a. sachiphum lul sa-ci mal-ala  
'Don't buy luxuries.'  
b. ?sachiphum lul ani sa-ki lul haye-ala  
c. ?sachiphum lul sa-ci ani ha-ki lul haye-ala  
'Do not buying luxuries.' (b & c)

Sentences (12b) and (12c), when we accept them, are imperatives encouraging the campaign of not buying luxuries. The *ki* complement sentences represent a habitual, repeated or determined action as opposed to the simple negative imperative (12a).

Let us turn to the problem of conflict in assumptions about volition in imperative and negative imperative constructions. Observe the following sentences in (13).

- (13) a. \*ttwuy-keyss-umyen ttwuy-ci mal-ala  
'If you will run, don't run.'  
b. ttwuy-ci ani ha-keyss-umyen ttwuy-ci mal-ala  
'If you will not run, don't run.'  
(14) a. \*o-ci ani ha-keyss-umyen o-ala  
'If you won't come, come.'  
b. o-keyss-umyen o-ala  
'If you will come, come.'

Since in (13a) the negative imperative part *ttwuy-ci mal-ala* contains the negative volition modality, an explicit affirmative volition expressed with it in the first part of the string creates bizarreness arising from a conflict. Parallelism can be found in the positive imperative (14).

There are negative imperative sentences that violate felicity conditions. See the following.

- (15) a. ney cha-lo ka-ci mal-ca (when the addressee does not have a car)  
'Let's not go by your car.'  
b. 4 lul nameci epsi 3 ulo nanwu-ci mal-ala  
'Don't divide 4 by 3 without a remainder.'  
c. i Biomedical Science Building lul tule olli-ci mal-ala  
'Don't lift this Biomedical Science Building.'

Examples (15) are cases in which factual presupposition fails as in (a), and logical impossibility as in (b) and physical incapability as in (c) create infelicitous negative imperatives. The same kinds of violation of felicity conditions are already present in their affirmative counterparts.

Now let us consider aspectuals of negative commands. Even with action-performance commands, their negation counterparts show a stative nature as we can see in (16a).

- (16) a. nayil kkaci (kyeysok) son tul-ci mal-ala  
'Don't raise (and keep) your hand up until tomorrow.'  
b. \*?nayil kkaci (kyeysok) son tul-ala  
'Raise your hand until tomorrow.'  
b'. cf. nayil kkaci (kyeysok) son tul+ko iss-ala  
'Stay with your hand raised until tomorrow.'  
c. nayil kkaci kulim lul (kyeysok) kuli-ala  
'Paint until tomorrow.'  
c'. nayil kkaci kulim lul kuli-ci mal-ala  
'Don't paint until tomorrow.'  
d. phatune ilum lul ic-ci mal-ala  
'Don't forget your partner's name.'  
e. ?son lul kuman tule-ala  
'Stop raising your hand.'  
f. kulim lul kuman kuli-ala  
'Stop painting.'

Raising a hand is normally a momentary action-performance and it is incompatible with a duration expression (see 16b). However, with achievement or state-realization commands like (16c), duration expressions and affirmative imperatives are compatible. (16c') is ambiguous between 'don't start painting until tomorrow' and 'don't keep painting until tomorrow' because of the scope ambiguity of negation. In (16d), *ic-ci mal-ala* is equivalent to 'remember!', i.e., 'continue to know!'. A stopping command with *kuman* is usually inappropriate with action-performance except when the action is thought to be taking place very slowly (see 16e). This is opposed to (16f), which purports to stop an achievement or a progressive act.

It is shown that a negative command cannot be progressive and is merely a state (see 17a & b). Only a negative command of the progressive is possible (see 18a & b).

- (17) a. mek-ci mal-ko iss-ala  
b. mek-ci mal-ko kunyang iss-ala  
'Don't eat and (just) stay.' 'Stay without eating.'  
(a & b)  
(18) a. mek-ko iss-ci mal-ala  
'Don't be eating.'  
b. mek-ko iss-ala  
i. 'Be eating.' ii. 'Eat and stay.'

(17a) is used only in the meaning of (17b) and does not constitute the progressive. On the other hand, the negation of a progressive imperative like (18b) (the first meaning) is possible as (18a) shows.

Lexical items containing the feature of negation show certain restrictions on cooccurrence with imperative or negative imperative forms as follows.

- (19) a. kunyang iss-ala  
'Be (remain) just that way!'  
b. \*kunyang eps -ala  
not be

- c. kunyang iss-ci mal-ala  
'Don't be (remain) just that way!'  
d. ku salam un ton i eps-ci ani ha-ta  
'He doesn't lack money.'  
e. \*?ku pang ey eps-ci mal-ala  
'Don't not be in that room!'  
f. \*mot ka-ala  
not able  
'Be unable to go!'  
g. \*mot ka-ci mal-ala  
'Don't be unable to go!'

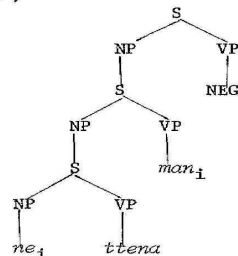
The last, but not the least important, point to be made is the problem of scope ambiguity exhibited by negative imperatives. If a quantifier or a quantifier-like particle such as *man* is attached to the subject or object noun, the ambiguity of negation scope is clearly revealed as sentences (20) and (21) show below. Sentence (20) is ambiguous in scope between (20a) and (20b).

- (20) ne man ttena-ci mal-ala  
you only leave COMP IMP  
a. [ne man ttena]-ci mal-ala  
'It must not be the case you leave alone.'  
b. [ne man] [ttena-ci mal]-ala  
'You alone must not leave.'

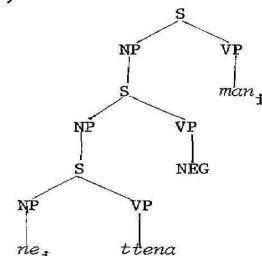
- (21) miin man cohaha-ci mal-ala  
beauty only like COMP IMP  
a. [miin man cohaha]-ci mal-ala  
'It must not be the case that you like beauties only.'  
b. [miin man] [cohaha-ci mal]-ala  
'Beauties only must be what you don't like.'

With abbreviation of the higher imperative structure, let me roughly show the different underlying interactions between negation and *man* in (20a) and (20b), respectively.

(20a')



(20b')



In (20a'), representing the (20a) reading, the quantifier-like *man* is in the scope of NEG, whereas in (20b'), representing the (20b) reading, *man* is outside of the scope of NEG. The same kind

of ambiguity occurs when the particle is attached to the object noun as (21) shows. Such scope ambiguity in negative imperatives is not a phenomenon independent of scope ambiguity in negative declaratives. It is a single phenomenon of scope ambiguity of negation. Observe the following.

- (22) John man ttena-ci ani ha-n-ta  
a. [John man ttena]-ci ani ha-n-ta  
b. [John man] [ttena-ci ani ha]-n-ta  
c. John man ani ttena-n-ta

- (23) \*ne man ani ttena-ala!

The negative declarative (22) is ambiguous between (22a) and (22b) readings. And (22b) is synonymous with (22c), which has *ani* just before the verb. Therefore, (22a) and (22b) must be assigned different underlying structures as we have seen above, and (22b) and (22c) must be assigned a single underlying structure, being transformationally related to each other on derivation. As (23) shows, a negative imperative which has *ani* before the verb is ungrammatical, which is contrasted with negative declaratives. From these observations we can say that in the case of (22c) NEG is above the basic proposition just as in (22b) in the underlying structure and then is incorporated to the lower proposition to derive a synonymous sentence.

If my analysis of scope ambiguity in negative imperatives is correct, Song's negation treatment is only partly correct in the sense that he missed the transformationally related part of negation. H.-B. Lee (1970) and Oh (1971) are also partly correct in the sense that they missed the scope ambiguity resolution. Cho (1975) clarified the scope ambiguity phenomenon in negative declarative sentences but has not quite reached the point of transformationally relating the scope-synonymous sentence pairs.

Negative imperative sentences in all languages seem to be awaiting a deeper analysis also from the viewpoint of deontic logic to reach more significant generalizations. Facts about negative imperative sentences in Korean cannot be independent of those about other languages.

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