

On Negation in Korean

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0. Introduction

It is only recently that transformationally oriented attempts have been made at a systematic description of Korean Negation. Among them are Kim's (1967) and Song's (1967:57-131) doctoral dissertations; the former devotes her whole thesis to Korean negation, while the latter has one chapter on this subject. The present paper is an expansion of the fourth chapter of my thesis in which I have proposed a framework drastically different from the previous ones for the description of Korean sentential negation.

It seems to me that the fundamental difficulty concerning the description of Korean negation arises from the fact that almost all affirmative sentences have two synonymous negative counterparts (cf. (1) and (2)).

- (1) Chəlsu ka pap lil mək nin ta¹
SM rice OM eat Tns Dec

Chəlsu-ga pab-il mæng-nin-da

'Chəlsu eats rice.'

- (2) a. Chəlsu ka pap lil ani mək nin ta
SM rice OM Neg eat Tns Dec

Chəlsu-ga pab-il an-mæng-nin-da.

'Chəlsu does not eat rice.'

¹ The first line is the morphophonemic representation of the sentence, the second line the mixture of word-by-word translation and the grammatical tags of the formatives, and the third line the broad phonetic description of the sentence. The English translation is given within single quotation marks. The following abbreviations are used:

SM---Subject Marker
OM---Object Marker
Dec---Declarative Sentence Ending
Com---Complementizer
Neg---Negative
Prt---Particle
Tns---Tense

b. Chəlsu ka pap lil mək ki ani ha nin ta
 SM rice OM eat Com Neg do Tns Dec

Chəlsu-ga pab-il mək-cci an-nin-da.

'Chəlsu does not eat rice.'

Negative sentences such as (2a) (henceforth, Type A negative sentence) in which the element Neg occurs immediately before the main verb of the sentence does not seem to raise any serious problems in the grammar. Notice, however, that the negative sentence in (2b) (henceforth, Type B negative sentence) contains two new elements, namely *ci* and *ha*, which the Type A negative sentence (2a) does not contain. Thus, I begin this paper discussing the grammatical status of *ci* and *ha*.

I. *ci* from *ki*

Song (1967:58-61) argues that the morpheme *ci* in a Type B negative sentence such as (2b) is a transform of the nominalizer *ki*, which I believe correct. However, here I would like to point out that the arguments he presents in order to support the notion of *ci-from-ki* are not well-motivated. The following are his arguments; the numbering of sentences is his.

2. (i) *pi-ka o-ki-lil ha-nin-ta*
 rain-S come-Nom-O Vs-Ind-M
 pi-ga o-gi-ril ha-n-da
 'It does rain.'
- (ia) **pi-ka o-ki-lil ani-ha-nin-ta*
- (ii) *nalssi-ka chup-ki-ka ha-nin-ta*
 weather-S cold-Nom-S Vs-Ind-M
 nalssi-ga chup-kki-ga ha-da
 'The weather is cold.'
- (iia) **nalssi-ka chup-ki-ka ani-ha-nin-ta*

Then he states, "Strings (i) and (ii) in 2 probably do not sound natural to the majority of native speakers. If we replace *lil* or *ka* after the element *ki* which we have labelled as a nominalizer with *nin*, *to* or *ya*, no one would doubt their acceptability." As far as I know, all Koreans think that strings (i) and (ii) are not only unnatural but also ungrammatical. Their becoming grammatical sentences by substituting *nin*, *to* or *ya* for *lil* in (i) or *ka* in (ii) has nothing to do with the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of (i) and (ii). Consider the following sentences in which a and b of (3) are synonymous, as those in (4) are.

- (3) a. pi ka o ki nin o nin ta
rain SM come Com Prt come Tns Dec
pi-ga o-gi-nin o-n-da.
'Anyway, it rains.'
- b. pi ka o ki nin ha nin ta
rain SM come Com Prt do Tns Dec
pi-ga o-gi-nin ha-n-da
'Anyway, it rains.'
- (4) a. nalssi ka chup ki nin chup ta
weather SM cold Com Prt cold Dec
nalssi-ga chup-kki-nin chup-tta.
'Anyway, it is cold.'
- b. nalssi ka chup ki nin ha ta
weather SM cold Com prt be Dec
nalssi-ga chup-kki-nin ha-da.
'Anyway, it is cold.'

Whatever the deep structures of (3) and (4) are, which I do not know at present, it is clear that (3a) and (4a) are closer to their underlying structures than (3b) and (4b), and that the verb *ha* in (3b) and (4b) is different from the verb *ha* in a Type B negative sentence such as (2b). I believe that the verb *ha* in (3b) and (4b) is a proverb of Korean like the verb *do* in English 'John goes to church every Sunday, and I *do*, too.' Thus we can assume that the grammar of Korean contains the following rule (I assume here that some transformational rules have already generated strings such as (3a) and (4a)).

Substitution-by-ha

X	-	V	-	ki	-	Prt	-	V	-	X	
1		2		3		4		5		6	OPT
								ha		6	→

Condition: 2=5.

Furthermore, consider the sentences in (5) and (6) which are negative counterparts of (3) and (4), respectively.

- (5) pi ka o ki nin ani ha nin ta
rain SM come Com prt Neg do Tns Dec
pi-ga o-ji-nin an-nin-da.
'Anyway, it is not raining.'
- (6) nalssi ka chup ki nin ani ha ta
weather SM cold Com Prt Neg be Dec

nalssi-ga chup-cci-nin an-tha.

'Anyway, it is not cold.'

Note, in particular, that the complementizer *ki* must become *ci* when the sentences are negated (cf. (5)-(8)).

(7) *pi-ga o-gi-nin an-nin-da.

(8) *nalssi-ga chup-kki-nin an-tha.

Another interesting fact is that we cannot negate (3a) and (4a) by inserting Neg immediately before the second verb (cf. (9) and (10)).

(9) *pi-ga o-ji-nin an-o-n-da.

(10) *nalssi-ga chup-cci-nin an-chup-tta.

The ungrammaticality of (9) and (10) indicates that the *Substitution-by-ha* rule should be revised as follows:

Substitution-by-ha

X	-	V	-	ki	-	Prt	-	(Neg)	-	V	-	X	
1		2		3		4		5		6		7	→
1		2		3		4		5		ha		7	

Condition: 2=6.

If 5 is chosen, the rule is obligatory.

Otherwise, it is optional.

The process of *ki* becoming *ci* can be stated in the following way:²

ki	-	X	-	Neg	
[+Com]					
1		2		3	OBLIG
				→	
ci		2		3	

II. Previous Analyses

Kim (1967) offers two transformational rules to account for Type B negative sentences, which I will reproduce here directly, because I believe both rules are ill-formulated as the result of a misinterpretation of Korean negation.

² I believe the rule is morphophonemic.

- b. na nin hakkyo e ka ki silh ta
 I SM school to go Com dislike Dec
 na-nin hakkyo-e ka-gi sil-tha.
 'I dislike to go to school.'

Of course, we have to assume that the underlying structure of (11b) involves a special element, say "Dslk", which triggers the conversion of (11a) into (11b).

I believe that the grammar of Korean does not contain rules like *CI-Nominalization* and *HA-Supplement*, just as there is no rule such as a "Dislike-Rule" in the grammar. It is well known in transformational theory that a transformational rule may not simply nominalize the main verb of a sentence and then introduce a new main verb in that sentence.

Mr. Song does not offer any explicit rules for the generation of Type B negative sentences in his thesis. However, we find the following rule (1967 : 27 and 63) :

$VP' \rightarrow (Neg) V_s + Afv$

where VP' stands for a verb phrase without 'speech level' (cf. Lee 1970 : 2.5.1.), V_s for a verb stem and Afv for an auxiliary (i.e. tense, aspect and mood). Then, he goes on directly: "This rule must follow the rule which nominalizes a verb stem in a VP and turns it into a subject or an object of a new verb stem *ha*." (Song 1967 : 63).

The rule as given is a phrase structure rule. If it is so, how can a phrase structure rule follow the transformational rule which nominalizes a verb stem in a VP and turns it into a subject or an object of a new verb stem *ha*? Certainly, Mr. Song does not mean that the rule which nominalizes a verb and introduces a new verb *ha* is a phrase structure rule. But, on the other hand, a transformational rule cannot perform the kind of function which Song assumes.

Further ad hoc aspects of the treatments of Korean negation by Kim and Song will be pointed out as I present my view on the subject. Let us consider the following set of sentences.

- (12) a. Han ka hakkyo e ka nin ta
 SM school to go Tns Dec

Han-i hakkyo-e ka-n-da.

'Han goes (is going) to school.'

- b. Han ka hakkyo e ani ka nin ta
 SM school to Neg go Tns Dec

Han-i hakkyo-e an-ga-n-da.

'Han doesn't go to school.'

- c. Han ka hakkyo e ka ki ani ha nin ta
 SM school to go Com Neg do Tns Dec

Han-i hakkyo-e ka-ji an-nin-da.

'Han does not go to school.'

- d. Han ka hakkyo e ka ki lil ani ha nin ta
 SM school to go Com OM Neg do Tns Dec

Han-i hakkyo-e ka-ji-ril an-nin-da.

'Han does not go to school.'

The only difference between (12c) and (12d) is that the latter has the object marker *lil* after the nominalized verb, while the former does not. Song(1967 : 126) claims that the negative sentences which contain the object or the subject marker following a nominalized verb are "emphatic", whereas those that do not are "plain" [HBL]. I do not think this is true, unless we are ready to call the a's of (13) and (14), in which the subject marker *ka* and the object marker *lil* are deleted, as "plain" sentences, and the b's of (13) and (14), in which *ka* and *lil* are retained, as "emphatic" ones. That is, whenever a sentence has the subject marker or the object marker, according to his claim, we have to call it an emphatic sentence.

- (13) a. na hakkyo e ka nin ta
 I school to go Tns Dec

na hakkyo-e ka-n-da.

'I am going to school.'

- b. na ka hakkyo e ka nin ta
 I SM school to go Tns Dec

na-ga hakkyo-e ka-n-da.

'I am going to school.'

- (14) a. na nin kongpu ha nin ta
 I SM study do Tns Dec

na-nin kongbu ha-n-da.

'I am studying.'

- b. na nin kongpu lil ha nin ta
 I SM study OM do Tns Dec

na-nin kongbu-ril ha-n-da.

'I am studying; I am doing a study.'

Then, Song proposes the following rule (1967: 129) in order to account for the sentences in (15) and (16):

$$\text{Top: SM} \text{ ----} > \text{OM} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VD} \\ \text{[Nin + Vint]} \end{array} \right\} \text{ -ki} \text{ ______ Neg}$$

where VD stands for a "description verb", Nin for an inanimate noun and Vint for an intransitive verb. It seems to me that the rule given above could probably generate grammatical sentences like (15) and (16a), and, at the same time, block ungrammatical sentences like (16b), but it certainly gives no explanation of the fact that the subject marker or the object marker may appear immediately after the so-called nominalized verb stem.

- (15) a. nalssi ka chup ki *ka* ani ha ta
 weather SM cold Com SM Neg be Dec

nalssi-ga chup-cci-ga an-tha.

'It is not cold; the weather is not cold.'

- b. nalssi ka chup ki *il* ani ha ta
 weather SM cold Com OM Neg be Dec

nalssi-ga chup-cci-ril an-tha.

'It is not cold.'

- (16) a. ai ka ca ki *il* ani ha nin ta
 child SM sleep Com OM Neg do Tns Dec

ai-ga ca-ji-ril an-nin-da.

'The child does not sleep.'

- b. *ai ka ca ki *ka* ani ha nin ta
 child SM sleep Com SM Neg do Tns Dec

ai-ga ca-ji-ga an-nin-da.

'The child does not sleep.'

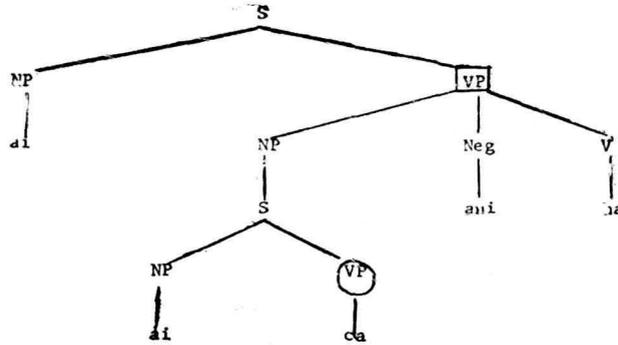
I believe that a descriptively adequate grammar of Korean must explain why the main verb of a sentence must be nominalized in Type B negative sentences such as those given in (15) and (16), and, also, why both the subject and object markers can occur immediately after the nominalized verb stem in sentences like (15), but only the object marker can occur in sentences like (16). Furthermore, we must explain why the verb *ha*, but not the verb *solicil* 'shout', must occur in a Type B negative sentence.

It is wrong to make the claim that, "the second type of a negative sentence [i.e. Type B: HBL] is NOT a transform of the first type [i.e. Type A: HBL] but a negative counterpart of a different underlying string." (Song 1957: 82-3). Song does not give any justification for the claim that Type A and Type B must have different underlying structures. I believe that both Type A and Type B negative sentences are derived from a single deep structure, because their synonymy is not due to their lexical synonymy but to their grammatical structures.

III. Negation as Object Noun Phrase Complementation

Let us suppose that the underlying structure of sentence (16a) is (17), ignoring the specification of tense.

(17)⁴



The constituent structure configuration of (17) is the same as an object NP complement structure, which it is (cf. Lee 1970: Ch.3). Thus, the occurrences of the complementizer *ki* after the verb *ca* 'sleep', for example, and the object maker *lil* in (16a) are a natural consequence of general noun phrase complementation (cf. Lee 1970: Ch. 3.). For sentences like (12c) which do not contain the object marker after the so-called nominalized verb stem, we do not need a special rule, since the grammar of Korean must have an optional object marker deletion rule, in order to account for non-negative sentences like (18b) and (19b) in which the object marker is deleted.

- (18) a. Chəlsu nin ki yəca lil salang-ha a
 SM the woman OM love Dec

Chəlsu-nin ki-yəja-ril sarang-hä.

'Chəlsu loves the woman.'

- b. Chəlsu nin ki yəca salang-ha a
 SM the woman love Dec

Chəlsu-nin ki-yəja sarang-hä.

'Chəlsu loves the woman.'

⁴ Note that the phrase marker (17) does not contain the specification of the subject and object markers, and the declarative sentence ending. See Lee (1970) where I have proposed that those elements be introduced by transformational rules.

- (19) a. na nin pap lil mək a
I SM rice OM eat Dec

na-nin pab-il mæg-ə.

'I am eating rice.'

- b. na nin pap mək a
I SM rice eat Dec

na-nin pam mæg-ə.

'I am eating rice.'

Furthermore, as the underlying structure (17) indicates, I make the claim that the verb *ha* exists in the deep structures of all negative sentences and even their affirmative counterparts, rather than having it introduced in Type B negative sentences transformationally.

It is obvious that this is not the end of the problem of Korean negation. We have to devise a mechanism by which a Type A negative sentence such as (20), for example, can be derived from the claimed underlying structure (17).

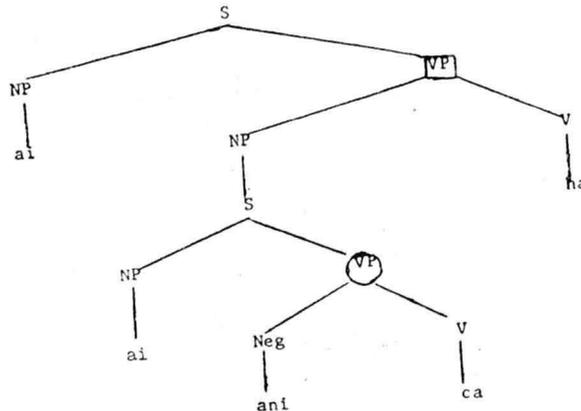
- (20) ai ka ani ca nin ta
child SM Neg sleep Tns Dec

ai-ga an-ja-n-da.

'The child is not sleeping.'

It seems to me that at present there is no well-motivated rule by which the Type A negative sentence (20) is derived from (17). Therefore, I propose here that the underlying structure of both sentence (20) and the Type B negative sentence (16a) is (21).

(21)



The only difference between (17) and (21) is that in the former the element *Neg* is attached to the boxed *VP*, while in the latter it is attached to the circled *VP*. In order to generate a Type A negative sentence such as (20) from (21), we do not have to do anything to the

element Neg; however, to obtain a Type B negative sentence such as (16a), Neg must be moved from the circled VP position to the boxed VP position. Thus an intermediate structure of (16a) will look like (17). The rule which moves Neg from an embedded sentence to a higher sentence is called *Neg-Transportation*.

There is independent motivation which indicates that the grammar of Korean has a rule of *Neg-Transportation*. Consider the following sentences.

- (22) a. na nin ki salam ka ki kəs lil ha l su əps ta ko
 I SM the man SM the thing OM do Tns N Neg Dec Com
 mit nin ta
 believe Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i ki-gəs-il ha-l-su əp-tta-go min-nin-da.

'I believe that the man cannot do it.'

- b. na nin ki salam ka ki kəs lil ha l su iss ta
 I SM the man SM the thing OM do Tns N be Dec
 ko ani mit nin ta
 Com Neg believe Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta-go an-min-nin-da.

'I don't believe that the man can do it.'

- c. na nin ki salam ka ki kəs lil ha l su iss ta
 I SM the man SM the thing OM do Tns N be Dec
 ko mit ki ani ha nin ta
 Com believe Com Neg do Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta-go mit-cci-an-nin-da.

'I do not believe that the man can do it.'

The sentences of (22b) and (22c) are ambiguous; they may have either an ordinary negative meaning something like *na-nin ki-saram-i ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta-go min-nin-da-nin kəs-i ani-da* 'It is not the case that I believe that the man can do the thing,' where I do not commit myself to any belief, or the meaning of (22a) in which I commit myself to the belief that, for example, the man cannot do the thing. Thus, in the case of the latter meaning, we are forced to assume that the element Neg appears in the embedded sentence of (22b) and (22c) in the deep structure, and that *Neg-Transportation* eventually moves Neg to the higher sentence. This becomes clearer when we consider the evidence involving the restrictions on the use of adverbs like *tocəhi* 'at all, ever.' These adverbs can occur only in a negative sentence. Therefore, the affirmative sentence (23b), which contains the adverb *tocəhi*, is ungrammatical.

- (23) a. ki salam ka *tocəhi* ki kəs lil ha l su əps ta
 the man SM ever the thing OM do Tns N Neg Dec

ki-saram-i tojəhi ki-gəs-il ha-l-su əp-tta.

'The man cannot ever do it.'

- b. *ki salam ka *tocəhi* ki kəs lil ha l su
 the man SM ever the thing OM do Tns N
 iss ta
 be Dec

ki-saram-i tojəhi ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta.

'The man can ever do it.'

When we embed (23), however, in a sentence whose main verb is one of verbs such as *mit* 'believe', *səngkak-ha* 'think', etc., we get the following grammatical sentences:

- (24) a. na nin ki salam ka *tocəhi* ki kəs lil
 I SM the man SM ever the thing OM

ha l su əps ta ko mit nin ta
 do Tns N Neg Dec Com believe Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i tojəhi ki-gəs-il ha-l-su əp-tta-go min-nin-da.

'I believe that the man can never do it.'

- b. na nin ki salam ka *tocəhi* ki kəs lil ha l su iss ta ko
 I SM the man SM ever the thing OM do Tns N be Dec Com

mit ki *ani* ha nin ta
 believe Com Neg do Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i tojəhi ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta-go mit-cci-an-nin-da.

'I do not believe that the man can ever do it.'

Note, in particular, that the embedded sentence of (24b) is an affirmative sentence containing the adverb *tocəhi* which can be used only in a negative sentence. But, sentence (24b) is grammatical. The question is, therefore, where the element Neg of (24b) should occur in the deep structure. The answer is obvious: since sentence (25), which is the affirmative counterpart of the negative sentence (24b), is ungrammatical, and the affirmative sentence (23b) containing the adverb *tocəhi* is also ungrammatical, the element Neg of (24b), which occurs in the VP of the matrix sentence, must come from its embedded sentence. Furthermore, this means that (24b) cannot have an ordinary negative meaning, which is the case in (22b) and (22c). In other words, this analysis predicts that both sentences of (24) mean exactly the same thing, which I believe they do.

- (25) *na nin ki salam ka tocəhi ki kəs lil ha l
 I SM the man SM ever the thing OM do Tns
 su iss ta ko mit nin ta
 N be Dec Com believe Tns Dec

na-nin ki-saram-i tojəhi ki-gəs-il ha-l-su it-ta-go min-nin-da.

'I believe that the man can ever do it'.

Moreover, consider the following set of synonymous sentences in which Neg moves higher as the number of sentence increases.

- (26) a. Han nin Sunca lil ani coh-ə-ha nin ta
 SM OM Neg like Tns Dec

Han-in Sunca-ril an-coh-a-ha-n-da.

'Han does not like Sunca.'

- b. Han nin Sunca lil coh-ə ani ha nin ta
 SM OM like Neg do Tns Dec

Han-in Sunca-ril coh-a an-nin-da.

'Han does not like Sunca.'

- c. Han nin Sunca lil coh-ə-ha ki ani ha nin ta
 SM OM like Com Neg do Tns Dec

Han-nin Sunca-ril coh-a-ha-ci an-nin-da.

'Han does not like Sunca.'

The arguments we have been discussing so far strongly indicate that there is no other natural way to account for this phenomenon, at least in the present stage of linguistics, unless we assume that the grammar of Korean contains the rule called *Neg-Transportation*.

The *Neg-Transportation* rule can be stated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc}
 X & - & [X & - & \text{Neg} & - & V] & - & V^* & - & X \\
 & & s & & & & [\alpha N]_s & & & & \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & & 4 & & 5 & & 6 \text{ OPT} \\
 & & & & & & & & & & \longrightarrow \\
 1 & & 2 & & 0 & & 4 & & 3+5 & & 6
 \end{array}$$

where V* stands for the class of verbs like *ha* 'do, be', *mit* 'believe', *səngkak-ha* 'think', etc.

Condition: If $\alpha = +$, then the rule is obligatory.

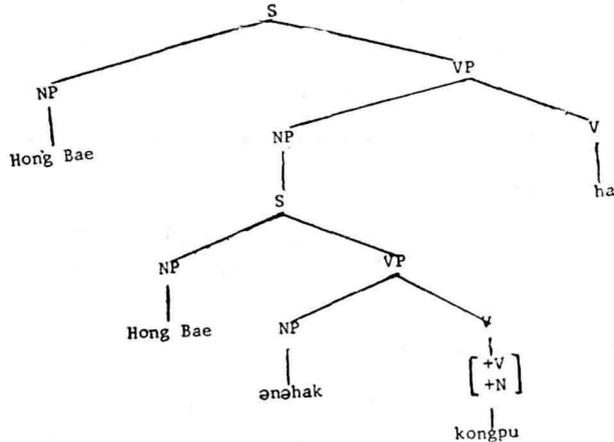
The condition of the rule is necessary for sentences like (27) which have a denominal verb. I believe that the underlying structure of sentence (27) is something like (28).

- (27) Hong Bae ka ənəhak lil kongpu (lil) ha nin ta
 SM linguistics OM study OM do Tns Dec

Hong Bae-ga ənəhag-il kongbu (-ril) ha-n-da.

'Hong Bae studies linguistics.'

(28)⁵



Since Neg cannot occur before a denominal verb, as the ungrammaticality of (29) shows, Neg has to be moved from its original position to the next higher sentence, whenever it occurs in a sentence whose main verb contains [+N].

(29) *Hong Bae ka ənəhak lil ani kongpu ha nin ta
 SM linguistics OM Neg study do Tns Dec

Hong Bae-ga ənəhag-il an-gongbu-ha-n-da.

'Hong Bae does not study linguistics.'

Returning to the main theme, let us consider how *Neg-Transportation* enables us to produce both Type A and Type B negative sentences from a single underlying structure.

(30) a. ai ka ani ul nin ta
 child SM Neg cry Tns Dec

ai-ga an-u-n-da.

'The child is not crying.'

b. ai ka ul ki (lil) ani ha nin ta
 child SM cry Com OM Neg do Tns Dec

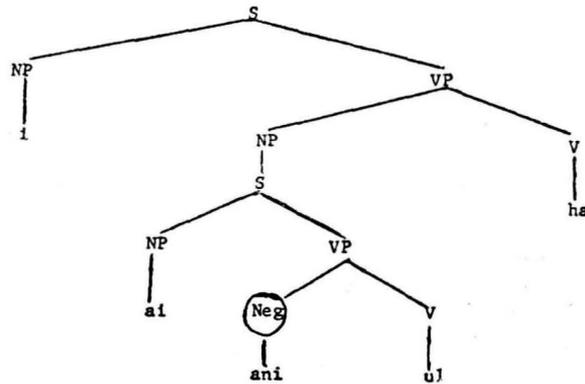
ai-ga ul-ji (-ril) an-nin-da.

'The child is not crying.'

The underlying structure of (30) would be given as (31).

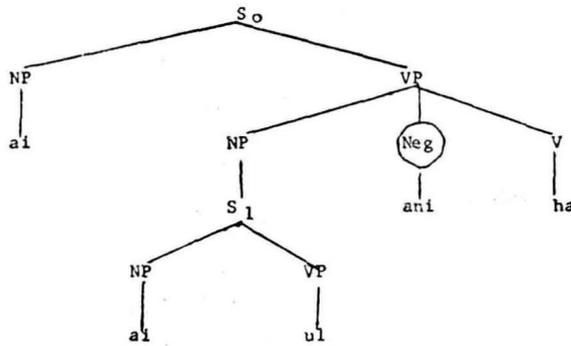
⁵ (28) as the deep structure of (27) is suggested to me, in private communication, by Prof. Chin Woo Kim at the University of Illinois.

(31)



When *Neg-Transportation* applies to (31), it will be converted into (32) which is an intermediate structure for Type B negative sentence (30b).

(32)



The rest of the generation of (30b) will be accomplished by the general transformational rules; the *ki Complementizer Changing* rule (cf. Lee 1970: Ch. 3) introduces *ki*⁶ into the embedded sentence *S*₁ of (32), *Equi-NP Deletion* (cf. Lee 1970) deletes the subject NP of *S*₁, and so on.

However, when *Neg-Transportation* does not apply to (32), *Neg* remains in its original position. To complete the generation of the Type A negative sentence (30a) from its under-

⁶ The class of verb which takes the *ki* Complementizer regularly are verbs of 'wishing' (cf. 3.3.2. and Appendix II of Lee (1970)).

lying structure (31), the grammar requires another rule which deletes the verb *ha*, since (33) is ungrammatical.

- (33) *ai ka ani ul ki ha nin ta
 child SM Neg cry Com do Tns Dec
 ai-ga an-ul-gi ha-n-da.
 'The child is not crying.'

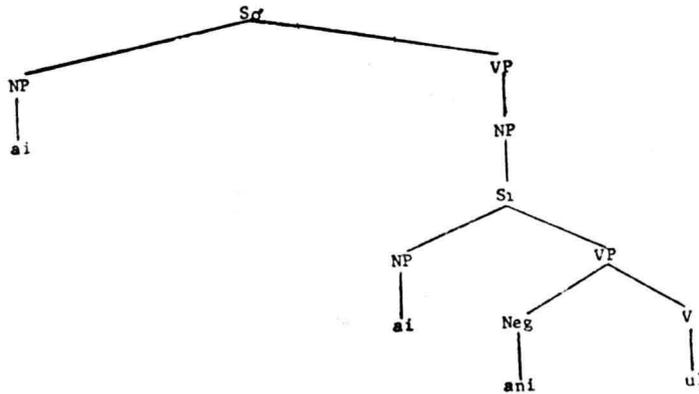
ha-Deletion

X	-	s[X	-	V] _s	-	ha	-	X	
1	2	3	3	[-N]	4	5	OBLIG	→	
1	2	3	0	5					

The feature specification is necessary in order not to delete the verb *ha* of a denominal verb.

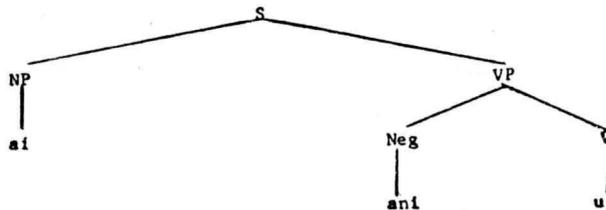
The generation of sentence (30a) from (31) is simple: since the optional *Neg-Transportation* rule has not applied to (31), the *ha-Deletion* must apply, thus converting (31) into (34).

(34)



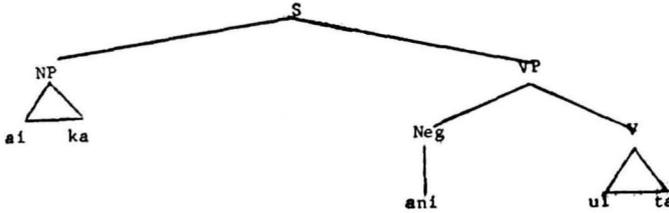
Next, *Equi-NP Deletion* applies to (34), deleting the subject NP of S₁, the result of which is (35).

(35)



Finally, *Subject Marker Insertion* and *Declarative Sentence Ending Insertion* (cf. Lee 1970: Ch. 2) complete the generation of (30a).

(36)



IV. Negation as Subject Noun Phrase Complementation

Let us now consider sentences like (15) and (37) in which either the subject marker *ka* or the object marker *lil* can appear after the so-called nominalized verb stem.

- (37) a. Mica nin yeppi ki *ka* *ani* ha ta
 SM pretty Com SM Neg be Dec

Mija-nin yeppi-ji-ga an-tha.

'Mica is not pretty.'

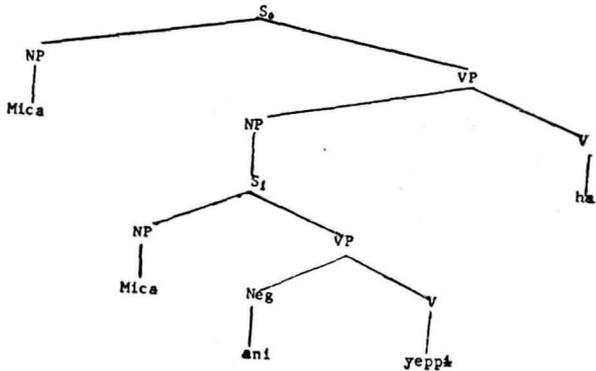
- b. Mica nin yeppi ki *lil* *ani* ha ta
 SM pretty Com OM Neg be Dec

Mija-nin yeppi-gi-ril an-tha.

'Mica is not pretty.'

Suppose that we assign the following deep structure to (37).

(38)



It is possible to generate (37b) and the Type A negative sentence (39) from (38), but it is impossible to obtain (37a), in which the nominalized verb stem is followed by the subject marker *ka*.

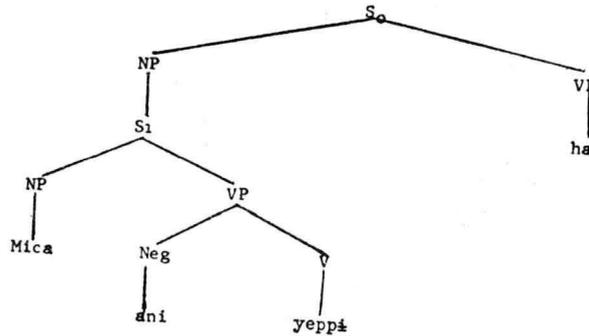
(39) Mica nin ani yeppi ta
SM Neg pretty Dec

Mi-ja nin an yeppi-da.

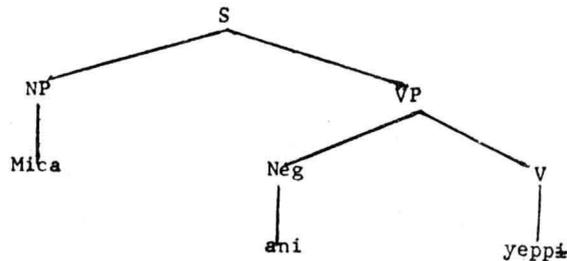
'Mica is not pretty.'

Therefore, I propose here that the underlying structure of the sentences in (37) and (39) is not (38) but (40). It is a rather simple process to generate the sentences (37a) and (39) from (40). Suppose *Neg-Transportation* does not apply to (40), then the *ha-Deletion* rule will delete the verb *ha*. It will change (40) into (41), while is an intermediate structure of (39).

(40)

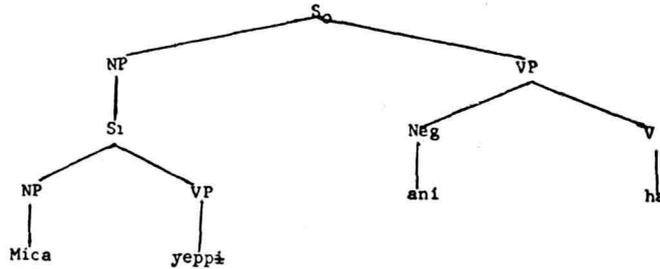


(41)



Suppose, however, that *Neg-Transportation* does apply to (40). Then (40) will be converted into (42).

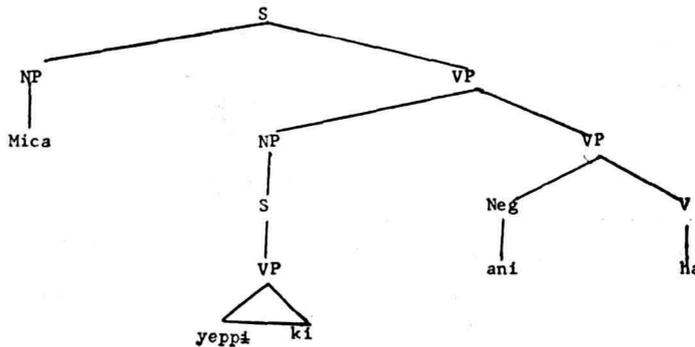
(42)



The structural description of (42) explains why the subject marker *ka* may follow the nominalized verb, for example, *yeppi-ki* in sentences like (37a). Note that the complementizer *ki* is introduced into the embedded sentence by the *ki Complementizer Changing* rule (cf. Lee 1970: Ch. 3).

Then, the question is how to generate sentences like (37b) in which the nominalized verb is followed by the object marker *lil*. Let us recall two transformational rules which have been constructed independently in the second chapter of Lee (1970): *NP-Raising* and *Extraposition*. Suppose that we apply *NP-Raising* and *Extraposition* to (42) (here, I am presupposing that *Neg-Transportation* and *ha-Deletion* precede those two rules.⁷) *NP-Raising* takes the subject NP of *S*₁ out of the embedded sentence and places it as the subject NP of *S*₀. Next, *Extraposition* moves the rest of the embedded sentence to the object position of *S*₀. Thus, (42) will become (43).

(43)

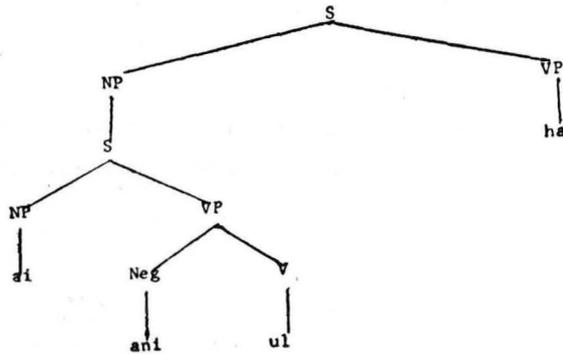


⁷ See fn. 4 in Ch. 4 of Lee (1970).

The derived structure (43) thus explains the occurrence of the object marker *lil* after the nominalized verb *yeppi-ki* in sentences like (37b).

Before we conclude this section of the paper, let us consider another possible view of Korean negation. Suppose that negative sentences like (30), in which the subject marker *ka* cannot follow the nominalized verb stem, also have the subject NP complement structure as their deep structure. In this case, (44) would become the underlying structure of (30).

(44)



By applying *ha-Deletion* to (44), it is possible to generate the Type A negative sentence (30a) from (44), assuming *Neg-Transportation* has not been applied. However, when *Neg-Transportation* does apply to (44), *NP-Raising* and *Extraposition* must also apply. Not applying the latter two rules would result in the following ungrammatical sentence.

- (45) *ai ka ul ki ka ani ha nin ta
 child SM cry Com SM Neg do Tns Dec
 ai-ga ul-ji-ga an-nin-da.

'The child is not crying.'

In the case of (40) which is the underlying structure of (37) and (39), however, *NP-Raising* works as an optional rule⁸. That is, when it applies to (40) together with the obligatory *Extraposition* rule, the result is (37b) which contains the nominalized verb stem followed by the object marker *lil*, but when they do not, it is (37a) in which the nominalized verb stem is followed by the subject marker *ka*.

Let us suppose that we have somehow succeeded in formulating the condition for the

⁸ Note that *NP-Raising* is an obligatory transformational rule (cf. Lee 1970). I assume that in the lexicon the verb *ha* under discussion is marked so that *NP-Raising* applies optionally.

obligatory or optional application of *NP-Raising*. The following counterexamples, however, indicate that this alternative view of the negation is wrong.

- (46)⁹ a. talamcwi ka kuməng esə nao ki ka ani
 squirrel SM hole from come out Com SM Neg
 ha nin ta
 do Tns Dec

taramjwi-ga kuməng-esə nao-ji-ga an-nin-da.

'The squirrel does not come out of the hole.'

- b. talamcwi ka kuməng esə nao ki lil ani
 squirrel SM hole from come out Com OM Neg
 ha nin ta
 do Tns Dec

taramjwi-ga kuməng-esə nao-ji-ril an-nin-da.

'The squirrel does not come out of the hole.'

The English translation does not properly express the real meaning of the sentences. Sentence (46a) has an involuntary meaning; that is, not coming out of the hole is not the squirrel's will. Usually, sentences like (46a) are used in the context that someone cannot succeed in taking the squirrel out of the hole, because of the narrowness of the hole or some other reasons. In my idiolect, however, (46b) is ambiguous, as is sentence (47): they have not only the involuntary meaning of (46a) but also a voluntary meaning.

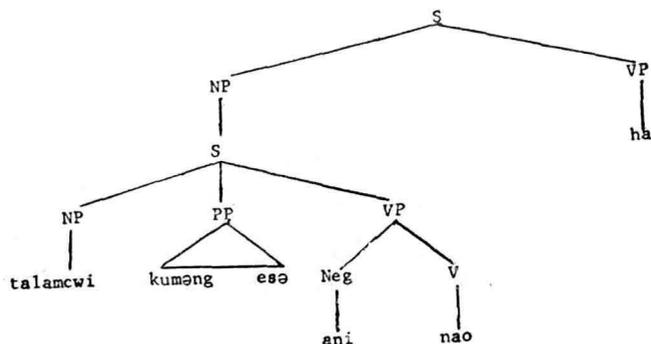
- (47) talamcwi ka kuməng esə ani nao nin ta
 squirrel SM hole from Neg come out Tns Dec
 taramjwi-ga kuməng an-nao-n-da.

'The squirrel does not come out of the hole.'

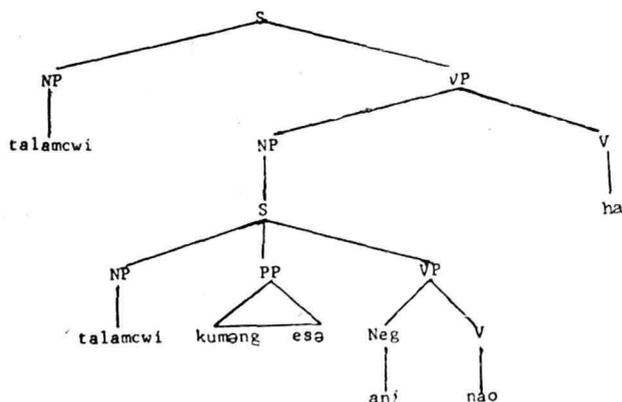
Thus, it is obvious that, if we assign a single underlying structure to (46) and (47), it is impossible to account not only for the voluntary vs. involuntary meaning distinction of (46) but also for the ambiguity of (46b) and (47). On the other hand, suppose that we specify the underlying structure of (46a) as (48), and specify that of the sentence (46b) with voluntary meaning as (49). From the underlying structure (48), we may generate three different surface structures, (46a), (46b) and (47) all with involuntary meaning. From (49), however, only two sentences are derivable: (46b) and (47) with voluntary meaning. Thus, the ambiguity of (46b) and (47) is not a strange phenomenon of the language, but does confirm my claim about the underlying structure of a Korean negative sentence.

⁹ These examples were also noted by Song (1970: fn. 1 on page 129).

(48)



(49)



V. Double Negation

Before I present my view on Korean double negation, I will discuss the treatment of the subject by Song and Kim.

In Song's study of Korean double negation (1967 : 83-7), we find the following passage: "Our Constituent Structure Rules [he refers to the rule which I repeated on p. 6:HBL] allow verb stems expanded from VP' to be preceded by an optional Neg. This does not, however, guarantee that a verb stem introduced by a transformation [apparently, he means the verb *ha*:HBL] will also carry a negative marker. We must, therefore, revise our earlier rule to make sure that verb stems carry a negative marker that will allow them to be optionally negativized." (Song 1967:86). He then presents the following two rules (1967:86):

C3.1 VP' \dashrightarrow V_s+Afv

C3.2 V_s \dashrightarrow (Neg) V

Even though he claims that, “With this modification, we can derive sentences with double negatives in the most natural and simple manner possible” (1967 : 86), I have a strong doubt as to whether the rules given above can generate a double negative sentence. Notice that both rules above are constituent structure (or phrase structure) rules. If I understand correctly, through the history of transformational grammar, it has been the case that no phrase structure rule can apply to a phrase marker to which a transformational rule has already been applied. If this is true, how can C3.1 and C3.2 negate a transformationally introduced verb stem? It seems to me that what Song claims to be the most natural and simplest explanation of double negation contradicts one of the basic assumptions of this theory of grammar.

Next, let us consider how Kim treats the subject. As I mentioned previously, the element Neg appears as a postsentential element in her thesis. She presents the following base rule in order to account for a double negative sentence (Kim 1967 : 115):

Neg \dashrightarrow Neg₁ (Neg₂)

Immediately below the rule given above, we find TR'12 whose function is to place Neg₂ at the appropriate position (Kim 1967 : 117).

TR'12 Post-Stem Positioning of Neg₂ in Double Negative Construction (Obligatory):

(a) # X $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj. Phrase V. Stem} \\ \text{A. Stem} \end{array} \right\}$ CI Neg₁ HA Ending Neg₂ #
1 2 3

(b) # X Neg₁ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V. Stem} \\ \text{A. Stem} \\ \text{Sp. Stem} \end{array} \right\}$ Ending Neg₂ #
1 2 3

.....> # X 1 3 2 #

where Sp. Stem refers to the copula *i* ‘to be’. I labeled the inputs of TR'12 as (a) and (b) for the sake of ease of explanation. Note that TR'12 in fact does consist of two rules.

I am now going to point out that rule TR'12 does not operate in the intended way. It is obvious that the input of TR'12 (a) is the derived phrase marker to which TR'5 (cf. fn. 3), *CI-Nominalization* and *HA-Supplement* (cf. p. 6) have already been applied. In other words, no phrase marker would contain the formatives *CI* and *HA* without those three rules. Kim states, however: “The rules for *CI-Nominalization* and *HA-Supplement* would subsequently follow the above [TR'12:HBL]” (1967 : 117). Not only is this a self-contradicting statement, but also, it is unclear what *CI-Nominalization* and *HA-Supplement* would actually do to the

output of TR'12. If I understand properly the purpose of TR'12, then the outputs of TR'12 (a) and (b) will be (50) and (51), respectively.

(50) # X $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj. Phrase V. Stem} \\ \text{A. Stem} \end{array} \right\}$ CI Neg₁ HA Neg₂ Ending #

(51) # X Neg₁ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V. Stem} \\ \text{A. Stem} \\ \text{Sp. Stem} \end{array} \right\}$ Neg₂ Ending #

The structural descriptions of *CI-Nominalization* and *HA-Supplement* do not match those of (50) and (51). This means that these two rules are inapplicable to (50) and (51). Therefore, whether they follow TR'12 or precede it, TR'12 fails to generate double negative sentences. It seems clear to me that Kim's rules which I have been discussing so far should either be abandoned entirely or be reformulated.

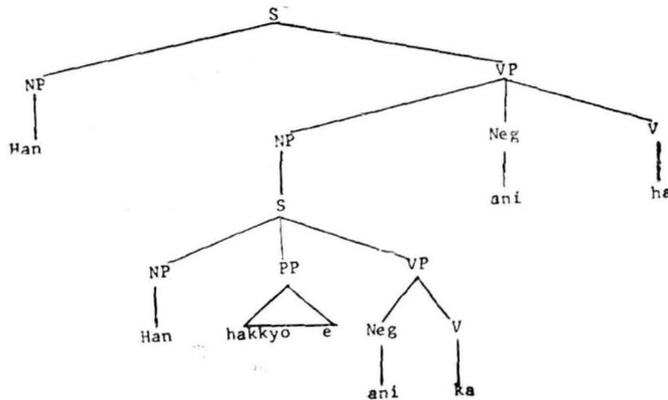
Let us consider sentence (52) which contains two Neg's, and assume its underlying structure is (53).

(52) Han ka hakkyo e ani ka ki ani ha nin ta
SM school to Neg go Com Neg do Tns Dec

Han-i hakkyo-e an-ga-ji an-nin-da.

'It is not (the case) that Han does not go to school.'

(53)



It is apparent from (53) that the grammar of Korean does not require any additional base or transformational rules like Kim's and Song's to take care of the so-called double negative sentences of the language. Furthermore, (53) indicates that Korean does not have a double negative sentence in the sense that a simple sentence contains two Neg's. After all, the first Neg of (52), for example, has its place in the embedded sentence, and the second Neg is the

constituent of the matrix sentence. In other words, as no one would call (54) a double negative sentence, once we assume that the underlying structure of (52) is (53), then we do not have to regard sentences like (52) as double negative sentences. Therefore, I cannot see why sentences like (52) cause any specific problem in Korean negation.

(54) ne ka ani ka nin kəs ka ani coh ta
 you SM Neg go Tns Com SM Neg good Dec
 ne-ga an-ga-nin-gəs-i an-co-tha.

'It is not good for you not to go.'

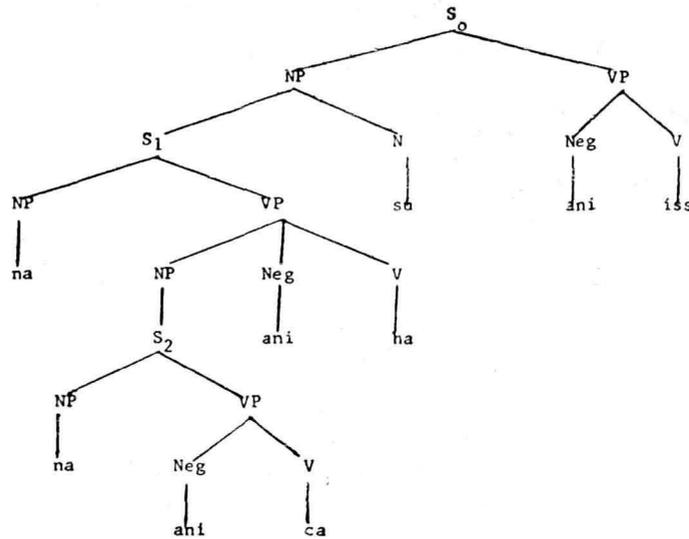
This is also the case in what is traditionally called a triple negative sentence such as (55).

(55) na nin ani ca ki ani ha l su əps ta
 I SM Neg sleep Com Neg do Tns able Not be Dec
 na-nin an-ja-ji an-il-su əp-tta.

'It is not possible for me not to sleep; I can't help sleep.'

In the present study of Korean negation, the underlying structure of (55) will be represented as in (56) which indicates that (55) is not a triple negative sentence in the sense that a simple sentence contains three Neg's.

(56)



VI. Conclusion

I have so far discussed two fundamental types of structures for Korean negation-negation as noun phrase complementation and negation as subject noun phrase complementation. The question is then: what is the criterion by which we determine that a negative sentence has the underlying object or subject noun phrase complement structure? Consider the following sentences.

- (57) a. Sunca ka yeppi ta
 SM pretty Dec

Sunja-ga yeppi-ta.

'Sunca is pretty.'

- b. namu ka cal tha nin ta
 wood SM well burn Tns Dec

namu-ga cal tha-n-da.

'The wood is burning well.'

Note, in particular, that the main verbs of (57) are "stative" verbs.¹⁰ If the main verb of a sentence is a stative verb, either the subject marker *ka* or the object marker *lil* can follow the nominalized verb stem in its negative sentence (cf. (58)).

- (58) a. Sunca ka yeppi ki { ka } ani ha ta
 SM pretty Com { lil } Neg be Dec
 { SM }
 { OM }

Sunja-ga yeppi-ji- { ga } an-tha.
 { ril }

'Sunca is not pretty.'

- b. namu ka cal tha ki { ka } ani ha nin ta
 wood SM well burn Com { lil } Neg do Tns Dec
 { SM }
 { OM }

namu-ga cal tha-ji- { ga } an-nin-da.
 { ril }

'The wood is not burning well.'

This fact indicates that, if a sentence contains a stative verb as its main verb, its negative sentence has the subject noun phrase complement as its underlying structure (see, section IV). Then, it goes without saying that a negative sentence contains the object noun phrase complement if the main verb of the sentence is a non-stative verb (cf. section III).

¹⁰ See G. Lakoff (1967).

Since the purpose of this paper is to propose a new framework for the systematic description of Korean negation, I have left all the specific details undiscussed. These details can be found in Song (1967) and Kim (1967).

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