

# ON THE NEGATION OF KOREAN

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## INTRODUCTION

1. The generative-semantic approach seems to shed some light on one problem in Korean syntax that has recently drawn a great deal of attention from native generative syntacticians —negation. In Korean, there are two ways of negating sentences, illustrated below:

- (1) a. ai-ka canta  
child-S sleeps.  
'The child sleeps.' where S is subject marker.
- b. ai-ka ani-canta  
child-S not-sleeps  
'The child does not sleep.'
- c. ai-ka ca-ci (lil) ani-hanta  
child-S sleep-NOM-O not-does  
'The child does not sleep.' where NOM is a nominalizer  
and O is object marker.

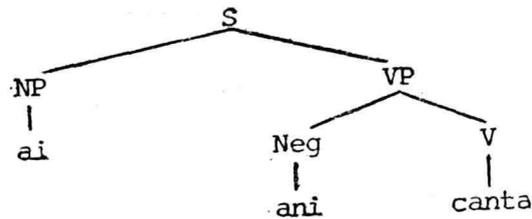
- (2) a. Mary-nin yeypita  
Mary-T pretty  
'Mary is pretty.' where T is topic marker.
- b. Mary-nin ani-yeypita  
Mary-T not-pretty  
'Mary is not pretty.'
- c. Mary-nin yeppi-ci ani-hata  
Mary-T pretty-NOM not-does  
'Mary is not pretty.'

In the (b) sentences, NEG is simply posited before the verb, whereas in the (c) sentences three things happen: (1) the original verb is nominalized always with *ki* 'to'. (2) The

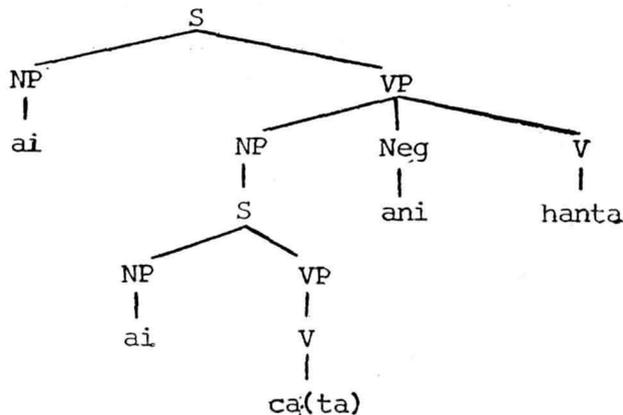
verb *hata* 'do' is used as a verb of the main clause. This verb viz. *hata* which is used in negating sentences is a different lexical item from a transitive verb *hata* 'do'. The difference between these two verbs will be discussed in 3.2. (3) NEG is added before *hata*. I will call the negation which is exemplified by the (b) sentences above **Type I negation**, and the sort that is exemplified by the (c) sentences, **Type II negation**.

Basically, three approaches to negation in Korean are conceivable: (1) an analysis which postulates separate underlying structures for both types; (2) an analysis which adopts NEG-TRANSPORTATION (abbr. NT); (3) an analysis which adopts NEG-INCORPORATION (abbr. NI). The NT approach and the NI approach will be extensively discussed in sections 2 and 3, respectively. The separate-underlying-structure analysis postulates two different underlying structures for Type I and Type II negations. According to this analysis, 1'b and 1'c below would be the underlying structures of 1b and 1c, respectively:

(1') b.



(1') c.

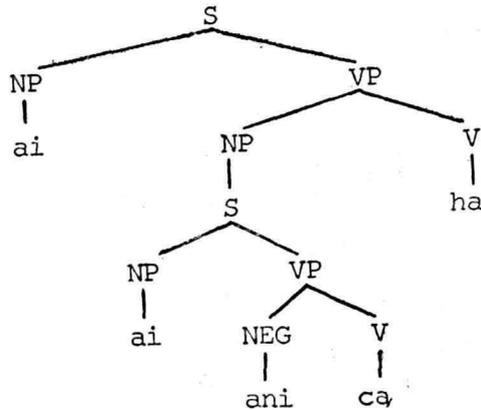


Song (1967 : 58-60) has suggested such an analysis. But in view of the fact that the two types are completely synonymous with each other, it appears that there is no motivation for postulating separate deep structures.

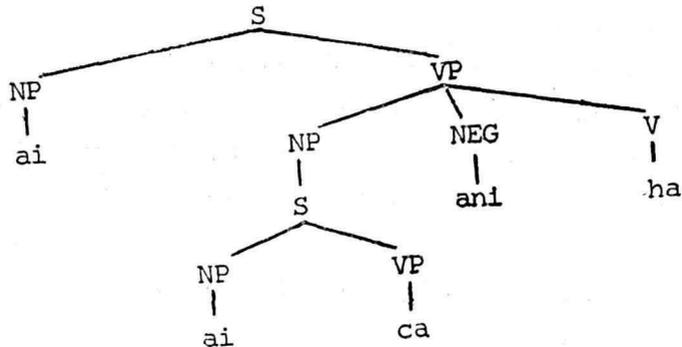
## The NEG-TRANSPORTATION approach

2. The NT approach has been suggested by Lee (1970 : 175 et seq.). Lee (177) postulates 3 as the underlying structure for both 1b (Type I) and 1c (Type II), justifying his position by claiming that 'at present, there is no well-motivated rule' by which sentences like 1b can be derived from 4 :

(3)



(4)



This analysis of the derivation of 1b will be discussed in 2.2. For the derivation of 1c from 3, Lee has no choice but to raise the NEG into the higher sentence from the embedded sentence, where NEG is originally postulated. For this purpose he uses NT. But the use of NT will be shown below to be absolutely illegitimate.

**2.1. The illegitimacy of NT with *hata*.** In the first place, *hata* is not what can be

called a NT verb.<sup>1</sup> An example of a NT verb is *sayngkakhata* 'to think'. There are two readings of *sayngkakhata*: a NT reading and a non-NT reading. These two readings are syntactically marked in Korean with different nominalizers: *ko* with a NT reading and *nin kes* with a non-NT reading. The following sentences illustrate the two readings:

- (5) a. na-nin (John-ka tases sikan pakkey (nin) kongpuhayessta-ko)

I-T John-S five hours other-than-DLM studied-OT

sayngkakha-ci ani-hayessta

think-NOM not-did

'I did not think that John studied more than five hours.'

where DLM is a morpheme which serves as a delimiter of negation scope, and OT is a quotation marker.

- (5) b. \*na-nin (John-ka tases sikan pakkey nin kongpu-hayessta-

I-T John-S five hours other-than-DLM studied

nin kes-lil) sayngkakha-ci ani-hayessta

NOM-O think-NOM not-did

- c. na-nin (John-ka tases sikan man kongpu-hayessta-nin keslil-

I-T John-S five hours only studied-NOMO-

sayngkakha-ci ani-hayessta

think-NOM not-did

'I did not remember that John studied only five hours.'

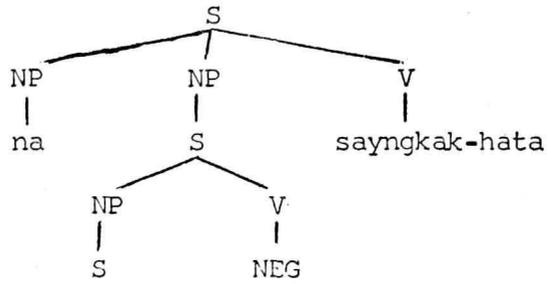
With *sayngkak-hata* 'think' in its NT reading—viz. 5a—the speaker is giving his opinion or judgment about the truth value of a certain statement, while with the verb in its non-NT reading one claims one's involvement in the mental process of thinking. Naturally, *sayngkak-hata* in its NT-reading cannot be negated in the deep structure. For if one makes no judgment i.e. if the verb is negated no object of judgment is needed! I suggest, then, that the underlying structure of 5a is 5'a, not 5'b:<sup>2</sup>

The correctness of postulating 5'a instead of 5'b as the underlying structure of 5a is clearly demonstrated by the fact that in Korean it is possible to use *pakkey* meaning 'only' only in a negative sentence: Thus, sentence 6b, which has *pakkey* in an affirmative sentence, is ungrammatical.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of NT verbs, see Oh 1971a: ch. 2, n. 3

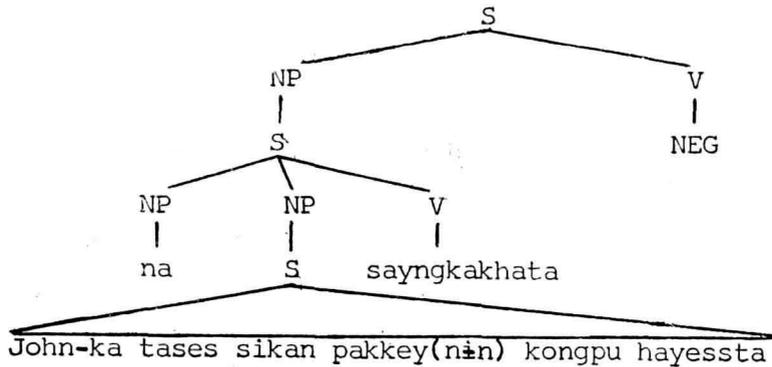
<sup>2</sup> See Oh 1971b: n. 8.

(5') a.



(5') b.

John-ka tases sikan pakkey(nin) kongpu hayessta



(6) a. John-nin tases sikan pakkey kongpu-ha-ci ani-hayessta

John-T five hours other-than study-NOM not-did

'John studied only five hours.'

b. \*John-nin tases sikan pakkey kongpu-hayessta

'John studied only five hours.'

c. John-nin tases sikan man kongpu-hayessta

'John studied only five hours.'

Notice that the embedded sentence of 6a—which is affirmative—has *pakkey*. In order to derive 5a from 5'a, NEG-TRANSPORTATION must therefore be applied. This rule is formulated as follows:

(7) NEG-TRANSPORTATION (abbr. NT)

X, (((Y)<sub>S</sub>)<sub>NP</sub>, NEG)<sub>S</sub><sub>NP</sub>, Y NT-verb

1      2      3      4

OPT

 $\implies((1, ((2)_s)_{NP}, 4)_s)_{NP}, 3$ 

That NT is an optional rule is shown by the grammaticality of 5d below where NT has not applied to 5'a and by the synonymy of 5a with 5d:

(5) d. na-nin (John-ka tases sikan *pakkey* kongpuha-ci ani-

I-T John-S five hours other-than study-NOM not

hayessta-ko) sayngkakhanta

did-OT think

'I think that John has studied only five hours.'

To substantiate Lee's claim that NT generates 1c from 3, it is necessary to show that *hata* is a NT verb. But the following facts clearly indicate that it is not a NT verb: (1) If *hata* is a NT verb, and if 3 is the correct underlying structure of 1c, then 1d below—where NT has not applied to 3—should also be grammatical, since NT is an optional rule. But 1d is not grammatical:<sup>3</sup>

(1) d. \*ai-ka ani ca-ki (lil) hanta

child-S not sleep-NOM-O does

'The child does not sleep.'

(2) The following features of Karttunen's A verbs are not required for Korean NT verbs.

<sup>3</sup> Lee might want to argue that obligatory *ha*-DELETION will automatically delete *hata*. But in sect. 2.2, I have shown that *ha*-DEL is not motivated in Korean syntax. Besides, if Korean has obligatory *ha*-DEL, the grammar cannot explain the difference in grammaticality between the sentences in 1 and those in 2 below:

(1) a. \*i kong-ka ttwi-ki-lil hanta

this ball-S bounce-NOM-O does

'This ball does bounce.'

b. \*i kong-ka ttwi-ki-ka hanta

this ball-S bounce-NOM-S does

'This ball does bounce.'

c. \*John-nin achim-puthe cenyek-kkaci yelsimhi kongpuhaki-lil hanta

John-T morning-from evening-till hard study-NON-O does

'John does study hard from morning till evening.'

(2) a. i kong-ka ttwi-ki-to hanta

this ball-S bounce-NOM-even does

'This ball even bounces.'

b. i kong-ka ttwi-ki-nin hanta

this ball-s bounce-NOM-DLM does

'This ball does at least bouncing.'

(2) c. John-nin achim-puthe cenyek-kkaci yelsimhi kongpuha-ki-to hanta

John-T morning-from evening-till hard study-NOM-even does

'John even studies hard from morning till evening.'

For a detailed explanation, see 2.2.

Karttunen (1969) divides verbs into two groups: A and B.<sup>4</sup> When an A verb occurs in the predicate of a matrix sentence, the following conditions obtain: (a) The subject of a matrix verb and that of a constituent sentence are necessarily the same; (b) the embedded verb is tenseless in the deep structure; (c) time adverbials cannot remain in the embedded sentence; (d) negating or interrogating the matrix verb implies the same also with respect to the embedded verb, etc. These characteristics are illustrated in the comparison of 8 (an A verb) and 9 (a B verb):

- (8) a. \*John managed (for) Mary to run.  
 b. \*John managed to have run.  
 c. \*John managed to see Mary tomorrow.  
 d. \*John did not manage to see Mary, but saw her.
- (9) a. John expected Mary to run.  
 b. John expected Mary to have run.  
 c. John expected to see Mary tomorrow.  
 d. John did not expect to see Mary, but saw her.

Compare these with the following Korean sentences, all of which have *hata* as their matrix verb:

- (10) a. \*John-nin (Mary-ka mek-ki-to)<sub>s</sub> hayessta  
 John-T Mary-S eat-NOM-Too did  
 \*'John did Mary's also eating.'
- b. \*John-nin ka-ass-ci ani-hata  
 John-T go-PAST-NOM not-docs  
 \*'John does not went.'
- c. \*John-nin Mary-lil neyil manna-ki-to hayessta  
 John-T Mary-O tomorrow meet-NOM-too did  
 \*'John did meeting Mary tomorrow.'

<sup>4</sup> The following are some examples of A and B verbs.

A verbs  
*manage, remember, see fit*  
*venture, dare, have sense*  
*be lucky enough*  
*kind*  
*fortunate*

B verbs  
*decide, plan, expect*  
*try, be ready*  
*eager*  
*willing*

A verbs are just the expressions of speaker's feeling for judgment of the subject. This is similar to what Kajita (1967) calls semiauxiliary verbs.

- d. John-nin (Mary-lil manna-ci)<sub>S</sub> ani-hayess-ina

John-T Mary-O meet-NOM not-did-but

Mary-lil mannassta

Mary-O met

\*'John did not meet Mary, but met Mary.'

The verb *hata* behaves exactly like A verbs. Now, the crucial question here is whether NT verbs belong to the class of A verbs or to that of B verbs. We may now compare the behavior of *sayngkak-hata* 'think' a typical NT verb with the characteristic behavior of A verbs.

- (11) a. John-nin (Mary-ka mek-ilila-ko)<sub>S</sub> sayngkakhayessta

John-T Mary-S eat-OT thought

'John thought Mary would eat.'

- b. John-nin (Mary-ka ka-ass-ililako)<sub>S</sub> sayngkakhanta

John-T Mary-S went-OT thinks

'John thinks that Mary went.'

- c. John-nin (neyil Mary-lil manna-lilako)<sub>S</sub> sayngkakhayessta

John-T tomorrow Mary-O meet-OT thought

'John thought that he would meet Mary tomorrow.'

- d. John-nin (Mary-lil manna-lilako)<sub>S</sub> sayngkakha-ci ani-

John-T Mary-O meet-OT think-NOM not

hayessina, Mary-lil mannassta

but Mary-O met

'John did not think that he was going to meet Mary, but he did meet her.'

Ex. 11 exactly parallels 9 (not 8). This fact shows that the NT verbs belong to the class of B verbs. Therefore *hata*—which is an A verb—is not a NT verb.

Another argument against the utilization of the NT rule in the derivation of a Type II negation (which is illustrated by the derivation of 1c from 3) is related to the analysis of a double negation. Consider the following:

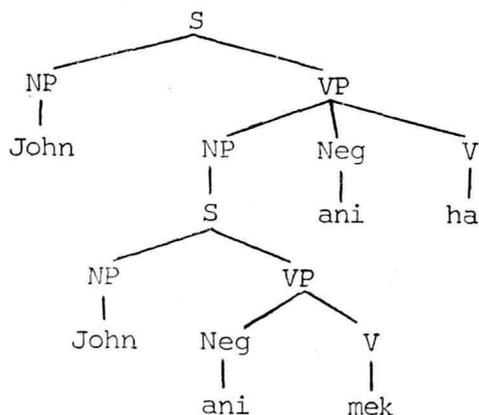
- (12) John-nin ani mek-ci-lil ani-hayessta

John-T not eat-NOM-O not-did

'It is not the case that he did not eat.'

Lee (194-6) suggests that 12 has 12' as its underlying structure.

(12')



If NEG is allowed to be attached to the matrix verb *hata* in 12', why not also in 1c? The reason offered by Lee (177) for such a distinction—viz. there is no well-motivated rule to derive a sentence like 1c from a structure like 4—does not seem sound. For NEG-LOWERING, which lowers NEG from the matrix sentence into the embedded sentence (e.g. the derivation of 1c from 4), is as well motivated as NEG-RAISING, which is suggested by Lee's NT analysis. Besides, it is now accepted by most analysts that NEG comes from a higher predicate in the deep structure. This lends an additional support to NEG-LOWERING. Independent justification for the higher-predicate analysis of NEG will be given later. Till now, I have shown that the NT approach is not the correct analysis of negation in Korean by showing that *hata* is not a NT verb: With *hata* used in Type II negation, NT should be obligatory, although NT is actually optional with other NT verbs; and *hata* behaves like A verbs, although other NT verbs belong to the class of B verbs. Another argument against the NT approach is related to the derivation of 1b from 3.

**2.2. The theoretical implications of ha-DELETION.** In order to derive Type I negation, one needs a rule to delete *hata*, since the NT approach postulates that *hata* is present in the deep structure of every single sentence as illustrated by 3. This rule of *ha-DELETION* is responsible for the derivation of 1b from 3. Lee (185) formulates *ha-DELETION* in the following manner:

(13) ha-DEL-2<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Lee (65) has another rule which deletes *ha*, which he calls *ha-DEL-1*.



is that 16a has the Sino-Korean morpheme *sucip* 'collection' in place of the Korean nominalized form *moi-ki* 'collecting', which occurs in 14a. All Sino-Korean words function as nouns; in order to function as verbs, verbalizing *hata* has to be suffixed to them. And in Korean there is a restriction that no denominal verb is derivable from a pure Korean nominalized form. Therefore, 14a cannot be transformed into 14c below:

- (14) c. \*John-nin uphyo-lil moi-ki ani-hanta  
 John-T stamp-o collect-NOM does-not  
 'John does not collect stamps.'

The compound word *mot-ki hata* 'collect' does not function like a single verb, as *sucip-hata* 'collect' does. Anyhow, *hata* in both 14a and 16a is clearly the same morpheme as verbalizing *hata* which makes *kongpu* 'research' into a verb. The difference between negativizing *hata*—e.g. 15—and verbalizing *hata*—e.g. 14—and 16—is then the following: Only before negativizing *hata* does the nominalizer *ki* change to *ci* by a morphophonemic rule. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of 15a. But *ki* cannot be changed before verbalizing *hata*, as shown by the ungrammaticality of 14b.

This idiosyncrasy of negativizing *hata* is further illustrated by the following example:

- (17) a. na-nin John-ka ilting ha-ki-nin ani-palanta  
 I-T John-S top do-NOM-DLM not-hope  
 'I do not hope that John will take the first place.'
- b. \*na-nin John-ka ilting ha-ci-nin ani-palanta  
 'I do not hope that John will take the first place.'
- (18) a. John-ka ilting ha-ci-nin ani-hayessta  
 John-S top do-NoM-DLM not-did  
 'John did not take the first place.'
- b. \*John-ka ilting ha-ki-nin ani-hayessta  
 'John did not take the first place.'

The idiosyncrasy of negativizing *hata* that *ki* changes to *ci* in negative sentence when it is used is ignored in Lee's formulation of rule 13.

What then is the theoretical implication of postulating *hata* as a higher predicate of every sentence? Actually, a sentence with triple negation is grammatical; e.g. 19:

- (19) Speaker A: John-ka i yak-lil mek-ci ani-ha-myen  
 John-S this medicine-O take-NOM not-does-if

ettehkey ha-lkkayo?

what do-shall

'What if John will not take this medicine?'

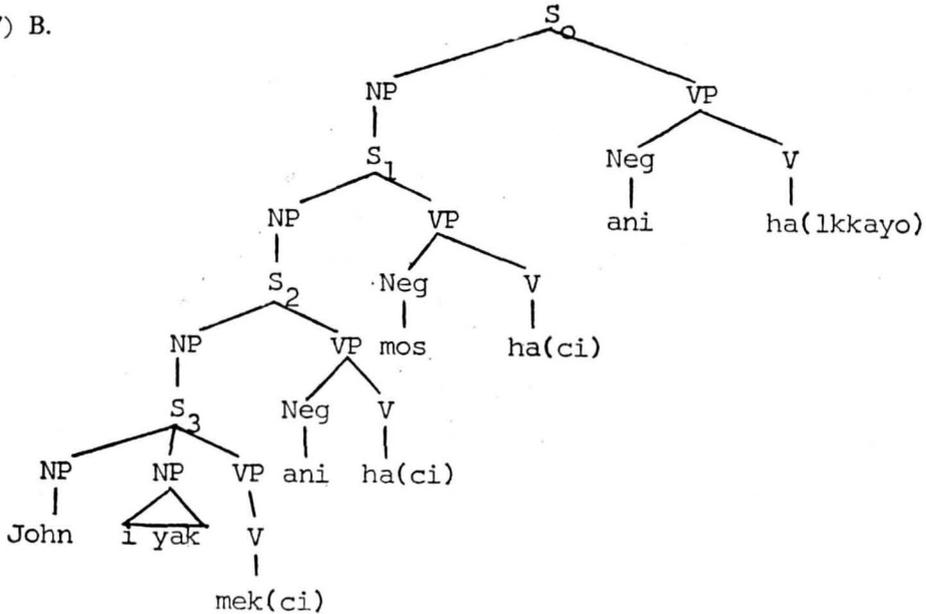
Speaker B: John-ka mek-ci ani-ha-ci mos-ha-ci ani-ha-lkkayo?

John-S eat-NOM not-does-NOM not-does-NOM not-do-shall

'Wouldn't it be unreasonable to expect that John  
would not take this medicine?'

If we pursue Lee's reasoning—that since *hata* appears in negation, it has to be in the deep structure of every sentence, whether negated or not—then because of 19B, every sentence has to have at least three levels of embedding with three higher *hata* verbs in the deep structure. In other words, since 19B would have 19'B as its underlying structure, 20 also must have 20' as its underlying structure:

(19') B.



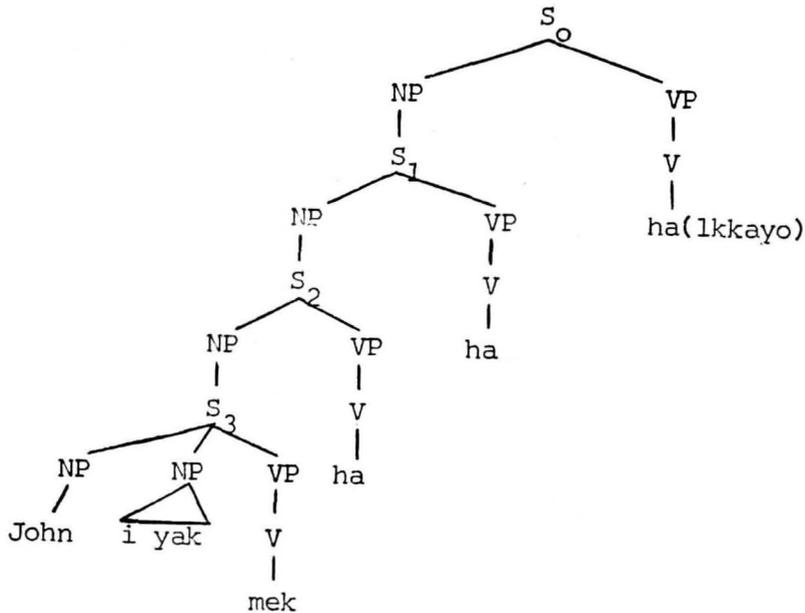
(20) John-ka i yak-lil mek-ilkkayo?

John-S this medicine-O eat-will

'Will John take this drug?'

This would mean that every single sentence had to have at least three *hata* verbs in its deep structure! Three is of course an arbitrary limit. Theoretically, there is no limit to the possible depth of negative embeddings, and so every sentence should have an unlimited

(20')



number of *hata*'s in its deep structure. The NT approach (which suggests postulating *hata* as the underlying higher predicate of every sentence and deleting *hata* in affirmative sentences) is simply incorrect. To reiterate the points made so far, the NT approach cannot be correct because negativizing *hata* is not an NT verb and *hata*-DELETION causes the awkward problems discussed above.

### The NEG-INCORPORATION approach

3. The last possible way of analyzing negation in Korean which I will show to be the correct one has NEG as the next higher predicate. Both lb and lc(which are repeated below for convenience) will have 21 as their underlying structure in this analysis:

(1) b. ai-ka ani-canta

child-S not-sleeps

'The child does not sleep.'

c. ai-ka ca-ci(lil) ani-hanta

child-S sleep-NOM-O not does

'The child does not sleep.'

(21) (((ai canta)<sub>S</sub> NEG)<sub>S</sub> PRESENT)<sub>S</sub>

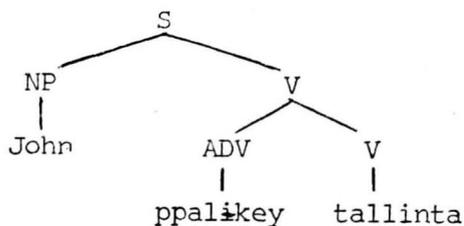
child sleep



(24) a. John-ka ppalikey tallinta

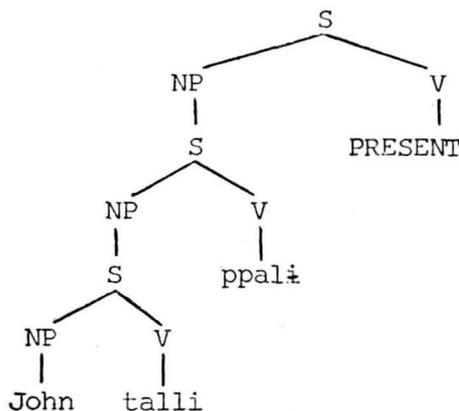
John-S fast runs

‘John runs fast.’



b. (((John tallinta)<sub>s</sub> ppalita)<sub>s</sub> PRESENT)

John run fast



The *ha*-ADDIT rule is needed when NEG is to be realized as the surface verb—i.e. when NEG has not been lowered by NI—or when contextual particles (e.g. *to* ‘too’, *ya* ‘at least’, *man* ‘only’) are attached to the verb. The latter is illustrated by the derivation of 25a from its underlying structure, 25b:

(25) a. John-nin Mary-lil mannassta. (kiliko) John-nin Mary-lil

John-T Mary-O met and John-T Mary-O

chacaka-ki-to hayessta

visit-NOM-too did

‘John met Mary, and he even visited her.’

(25) b. ((John Mary mannata)<sub>s</sub> PAST) • ((John Mary chacakata)<sub>s</sub> PAST)

meet

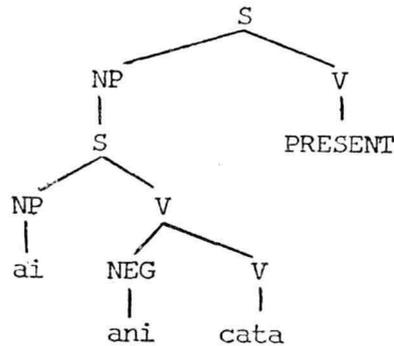
visit

- c. ((John Mary mannata)<sub>S</sub> PAST) • ((John Mary chacakata-to) PAST)  
too

One instance of CONTEXTUAL PARTICLE INSERTION (cf. Oh 1971b: rule {20}) applies to 25b and attaches the contextual particle *to* 'too' to the verb. The resultant derived constituent structure satisfies the second part of the structural description of 23. Therefore 23 applies and attaches *hata*. Then 23 generates 25a from 25c after the application of COMPLEMENTATION and TENSE SPELLING.<sup>8</sup>

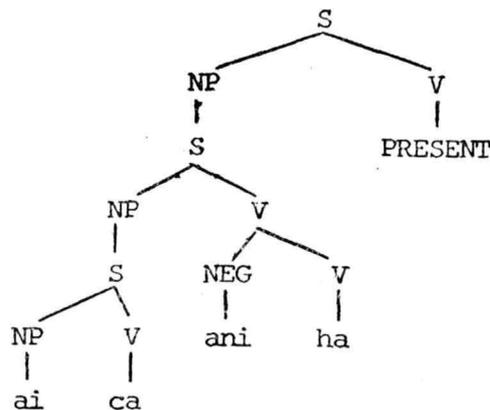
3 : 1 **The correct derivation of negation.** If NI applies to the underlying structure 21, ex. 26 will be derived:

(26)



Then TENSE SPELLING and PARTICLE INSERTION (cf. Oh 1971b: rule 17) will finally derive 1b from 26. If optional NI does not apply to 21, *ha*-ADDIT will automatically apply and generate 27:

(27)

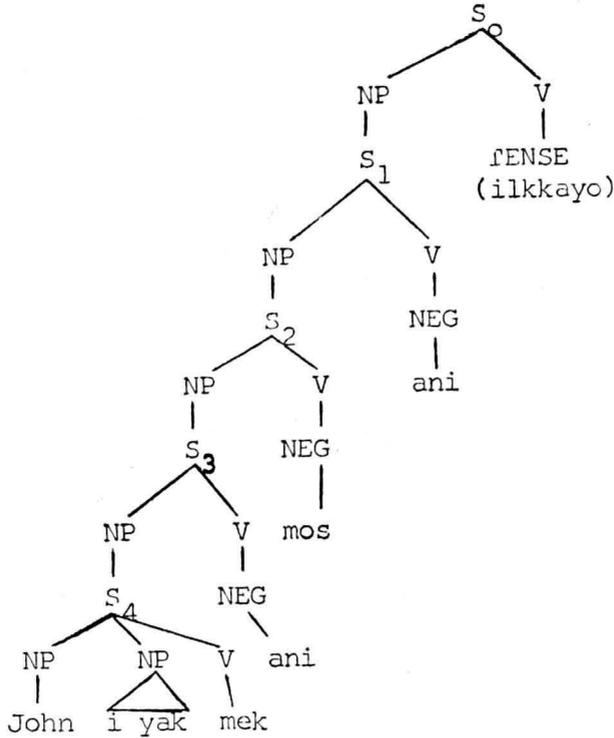


<sup>8</sup> TENSE-SPELLING adds a tense morpheme (e.g. *ess* for the past, *nin* for the present tense of action verbs) to verb roots.

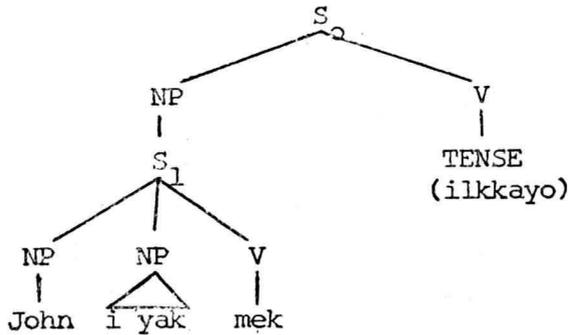
COMPLEMENTATION (cf. Oh 1971b) and TENSE SPELLING will generate lc from 27.

3.2. **Justification of the NEG-INCORPORATION analysis.** First of all, the infinite-regress problem—which was discussed in 2.2 as a difficulty of the NT approach—does not arise with NI analysis. Thus, sentences 19B and 20 will have 19''B and 20'' as their underlying structures in the NI analysis:

(19'')B.



(20'')



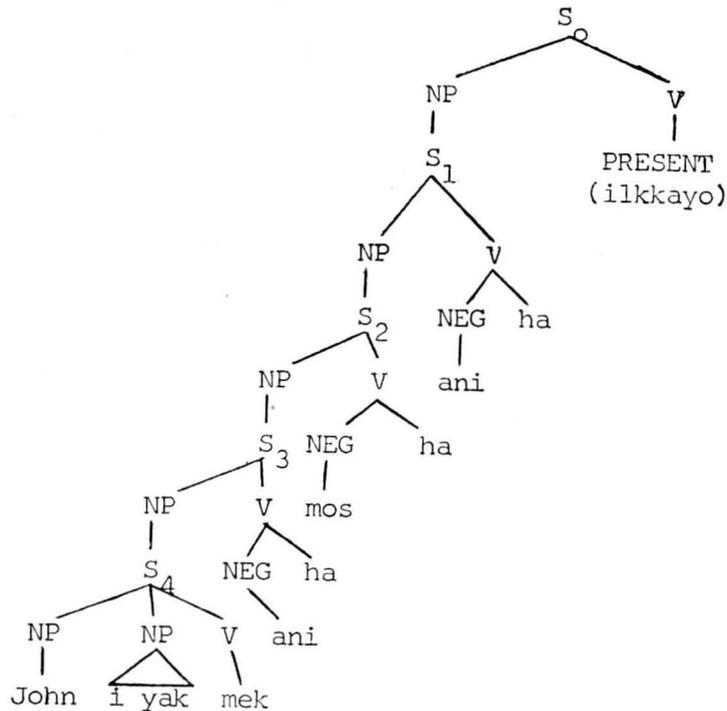
The diagram 19''B has more embeddings than 20'', just as 28a has more embeddings than 28b:

(28) a. John knew that he would pass the exam.

b. John will pass the exam.

The ha-ADDIT rule will apply to 19''B and generate 29, from which COMPLEMENTATION and TENSE SPELLING will generate 19B:

(29)



Second, the idiosyncrasy of negativizing *hata* is explained in a natural manner. Only before a NEG followed by a transformationally inserted *hata* does *ki* become *ci*. In other words, there are two *hata*'s: *hata*<sub>1</sub>, which is in the lexicon; and *hata*<sub>2</sub>, which is not in the lexicon, but added to a sentence by a transformation.<sup>9</sup> Only before *hata*<sub>2</sub> does *ki* become *ci*. The difference between *hata*<sub>1</sub> and *hata*<sub>2</sub> is illustrated in the derivations of 14a and 15b, which are repeated here for convenience:

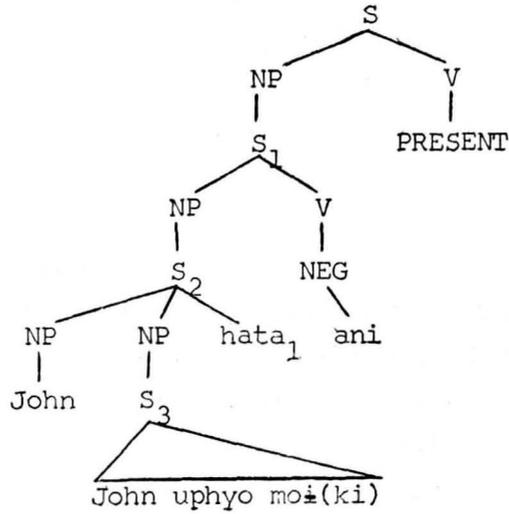
<sup>9</sup> Verbalizing *hata*, which was discussed in 2.2, is one example of *hata*<sub>1</sub>.

- (14) a. John-nin uphyo moi-ki-lil ani-hanta  
 John-T stamp collect-NOM-O not-does  
 'John does not do stamp collecting.'

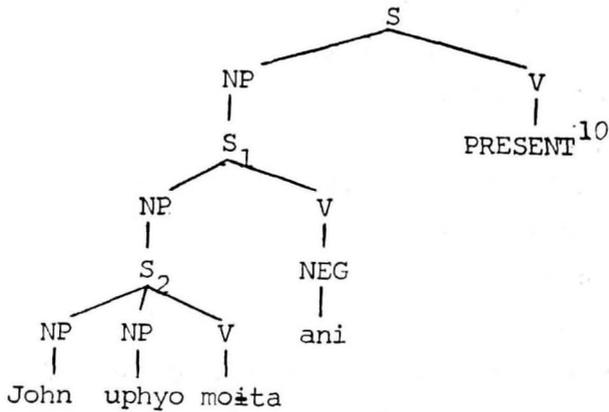
- (15) b. John-nin uphyo-lil moi-ci-lil ani-hanta  
 John-T stamp-O collect-NOM-O not-does  
 'John does not collect stamps.'

The underlying structures of the above sentences are given below:

(14')



(15')



If NI applies to 14', then 14a will ultimately be generated; if not, 14c will be generated:

<sup>10</sup> As I have claimed, *hata* is not in the deep structure, but transformationally inserted in sentences later.

- (14) c. John-nin uphyo moi-ki-lil ha-ci ani-hanta  
 John-T stamp collect-NOM-O do-NOM not-does  
 'John does not do stamp collecting.'

If NI does not apply to 15', then 15b will be derived; but if it does, 15c will be derived:

- (15) c. John-nin uphyo-lil ani-mointa  
 John-T stamp-O not-collect  
 'John does not collect stamps.'

There is no way to derive 14d and 15d. They are therefore ungrammatical:

- (14) d. \*John-nin uphyo ani moi-ki-lil hanta  
 'John does not do stamp collecting.'
- (15) d. \*John-nin uphyo-lil moi-ki-lil ha-ci ani-hanta  
 'John-T does not collect stamps.'

Third, the NI approach enables us to keep the generalization that the lexical item *hata* 'do' (*hata*<sub>1</sub>) is a verb which does not have a sentential object. It might seem that 14' constitutes a counterexample to the foregoing, but in fact *S*<sub>3</sub> in 14' must be an idiom, which functions like a single lexical item rather than a sentence. Therefore, a sentence like 14' is not a counterexample to the generalization just given. Consider the following:

- (30) a. uli-nin quiz macchu-ki-lil hanta  
 we-T quiz fill-NOM-O do  
 'We play a quiz game.'
- b. uli-nin quiz macchu-ki-lil ani hanta
- (31) a. John-nin 1500-mi talli-ki-lil ani hayessta  
 John-T 1500-meter run-NOM-O not did  
 'John did not participate in the 1500-meter race.'
- b. \*John-nin olay talli-ki (lil) ani hayessta  
 John-T long run-NOM-O not did  
 'John did not run long.'

The nominalized phrases can be objects of *hata*<sub>1</sub> only when in idioms or when used as names of games or hobbies, as in the underlined words of 30a, 30b, and 31a. As the nominalized phrase of 31b is not used as an idiom or as the name of a game, *hata* in 31b cannot be *hata*<sub>1</sub>. If *hata* in 31b were *hata*<sub>2</sub>, then nominalizing *ki* should have been changed to *ci*. Furthermore, such naming does not in Korean allow particles within or between Sino-Korean words, nominalized forms used as idioms, or their combinations. The (b)

phrases below are all odd:

- (32) a. *cencayng yukacok touw-ki cukan*  
 war the bereft help-NOM week  
 'The week for helping the war-bereft.'  
 b. \**cencayng-iy yukacok-lil touw-ki-iy cukan*  
 war-of the bereft-O help-NOM-of week
- (33) a. *tayhanminkuk toklip kinyem il*  
 Korean independence celebration day  
 'The Independence day of Korea.'  
 b. \**tayhanminkuk-iy toklip-lil kinyem-iyil*  
 Korea-of independence-O celebration-of day

If 31b had lacked *lil* in the underlined phrase, a forced interpretation—viz. that John did not play a game called *olay-talliki* 'long race'—might have been possible. But as it is, 31b is completely ungrammatical.

Lastly, Song (1967 : 59-61) has correctly commented on the awkwardness of 34 and 35 below, in contrast with the grammaticality of 36 and 37, although he did not 'know the precise nature of the discomfort felt by native speakers when they hear (i) and (ii) in 2 [my 34 and 35], which are perfectly grammatical and readily acceptable with other particles like *nin*, *to*, *ya*.'

- (34) \**pi-ka o-ki-lil hanta*  
 rain-S come-NOM-O does  
 'It rains.'
- (35) \**nalssi-ka chuw-ki-ka hata*  
 weather-S cold-NOM-S does  
 'The weather is cold.'
- (36) *uli-nin pi-ka o-ki-lil kitalinta*  
 we-T rain-S come-NOM-O wait  
 'We wait for rain to come.'
- (37) *nalssi-ka chuw-ki-to hata*  
 weather-S cold-NOM-too does  
 'The weather is extremely cold.'

The ungrammaticality of 34 and 35 has been neatly accounted for by my formulation of *ha*-ADDIT. For *hata* is added when contextual particles are attached to a verb, or when

NEG is the only constituent of a verb (cf. rule 23). Structures like 34 and 35 do not satisfy the structural description of *ha*-ADDIT from the outset, and so *hata* in 34 and 35 cannot be *hata*<sub>2</sub>, which is transformationally inserted. Can the *hata* there be *hata*<sub>1</sub>, which is in the lexicon? Subjects should be agents with *hata*<sub>1</sub>, but *pi* 'rain' (subject in 34) and *nalssi* 'weather' (subject in 35) are not agents, and therefore *hata* in 34 and 35 cannot be *hata*<sub>1</sub>, either. In other words, *hata* in 34 and 35 cannot be *hata*<sub>1</sub>, either. In other words, *hata* in 34 and 35 cannot be motivated at all. That is why 34 and 35 are not grammatical.

Thus it has been shown that by postulating NEG as a higher predicate, as suggested in the generative-semantic theory, many problems in Korean negation can be solved in a natural manner.

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