

Problems in the Description of Korean Negation

Hong Bae Lee
(Korea Military Academy)

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 0. Introduction | 4. Choon Kyu Oh |
| 1. Soon Ham Park | 5. The Verb <i>ha</i> |
| 2. Seok Chung Song | 6. Conclusion |
| 3. Hong Bae Lee | |

0. Introduction

Since the generative-transformational theory of language was introduced in the description of the Korean language, there have been a number of readable papers dealing with the negation of the language. Important enough, in my view, to be mentioned in the present study are S. H. Park (1967), S. C. Song (1967 and 1971), H. B. Lee (1970a and b), and C.K. Oh (1971). Although each of these papers involves some misconceptions about Korean negation, we can hardly deny the fact that they have made great contributions toward unraveling many previously unsolved problems in negation.

The purpose of the present paper is to discuss some problems in the description of Korean negation by making a brief survey of the papers mentioned above, rather than to propose a new framework or to present new linguistic facts for negativization in the language. Consider the following sentences:

- (a) ai-ka *ani* ca-nin-ta.
baby not sleep
아이가 안잔다.
'The baby does not sleep.'
- (b) ai-ka ca-ci *ani ha*-nin ta.
baby sleep not do
아이가 자지 않는다.
'The baby does not sleep.'

Let us call sentence 1(a) Type A negative sentence, and sentence 1(b) Type B negative sentence; of course, the sentences in 1 are synonymous with each other. We will see then

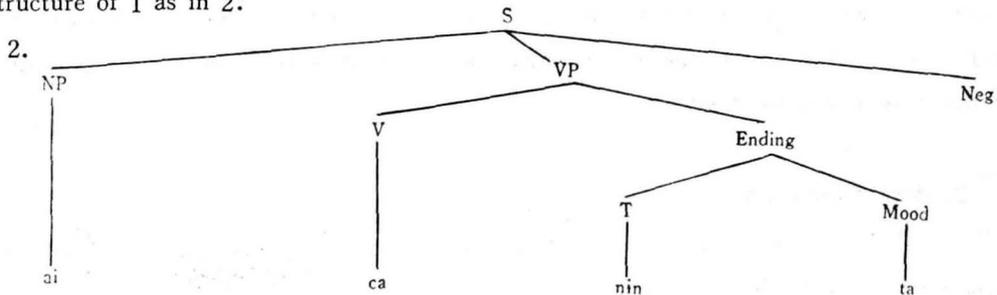
how the four writers differ in their descriptions of the sentences in 1. In discussing the four writers, the readers have to keep in mind, in particular, the following two issues:

- (A) the position of the element *Neg* in deep structure
- (B) the question of whether or not the verb *ha* exists in deep structure

For the sake of brevity, some simplification as well as modification will be done to structural diagrams as long as they do not confuse the issue.

1. Soon Ham Park

Following the proposal made in Park (1967), we would represent the underlying structure of 1 as in 2:



To generate sentences in 1 from 2, Park, first of all, moves the postsentential element *Neg* between the verb *ca* and the sentence Ending (let us call the rule which performs this function *Neg Placement-1*). Then there is an 'optional' transformation whose function is to move again the element *Neg* to the front of the verb *ca* (let us call this rule *Neg Placement-2*). Because the *Neg Placement-2* rule is an optional transformation, when it is not applied to the phrase marker which has already undergone the obligatory *Neg-Placement-1* rule, the so-called *CI-Nominalization* transformation nominalizes the main verb *ca* of the sentence. After that, a rule called *Ha-Supplement* inserts a new main verb *ha* between *Neg* and Ending, thus completing the derivation of the Type B negative sentence 1(b). On the other hand, when the optional *Neg Placement-2* rule is applied to the structure, then the resulting sentence is the Type A negative sentence 1(a).

In Lee (1970a and b), the writer points out that Park's description of Korean negation is incorrect in its fundamental assumption: that is, we cannot simply nominalize the main verb of a sentence and then introduce a new main verb in that sentence. If we are allowed to do so, why can't we derive sentence 4 from sentence 3 (whose deep structure, of course, contains a special marker) in the manner Park derives a Type B negative sentence?

3. na-nin ca-nin-ta.

I sleep

나는 잔다.

'I sleep.'

4. na-nin ca-ki silh-ta.

I sleep dislike

나는 자기 싫다.

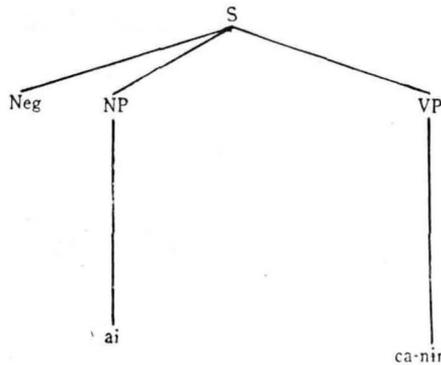
'I dislike sleeping.'

First, nominalize the main verb *ca* of the sentence 3 with the nominalizer *ki*, and then introduce a new main verb *silh* in the sentence. I believe that one who cannot accept the derivation of sentence 4 in the way described above cannot also accept Park's derivation of the Type B negative sentence.

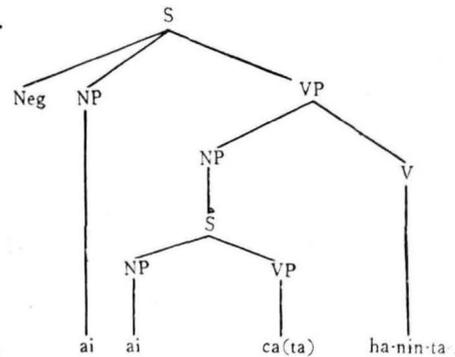
2. Seok Chung Song

While Park assigns a single underlying structure to both sentences in 1, Song(1971) assigns two separate deep structures to them: 5 for 1(a), and 6 for 1(b).

5.



6.



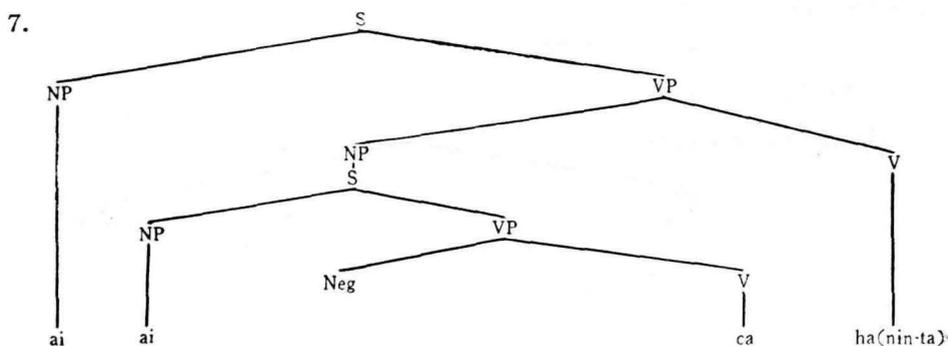
The transformation called *Neg Placement* moves the presentential element *Neg* to the preverbal position: in 5, before the verb *ca*, but in 6, before the verb *ha*. No further rule is required for the derivation of the Type A negative sentence 1(a) from 5, but for the derivation of 1(b) from 6 we need three more rules: (1) *ki-Nominalization* to nominalize the embedded sentence of 6; (2) *Equi-NP Deletion* to delete the embedded subject *ai*, and a morphophonemic rule to convert *ki* into *ci* in case *ki* occurs before *Neg*.

The primary objection to Song's analysis of Korean negation comes from the fact that he assigns two separate underlying structures to synonymous sentences, although Song claims 1(b) "is a little more emphatic than" 1(a) (Song 1971: 64). However, I believe his

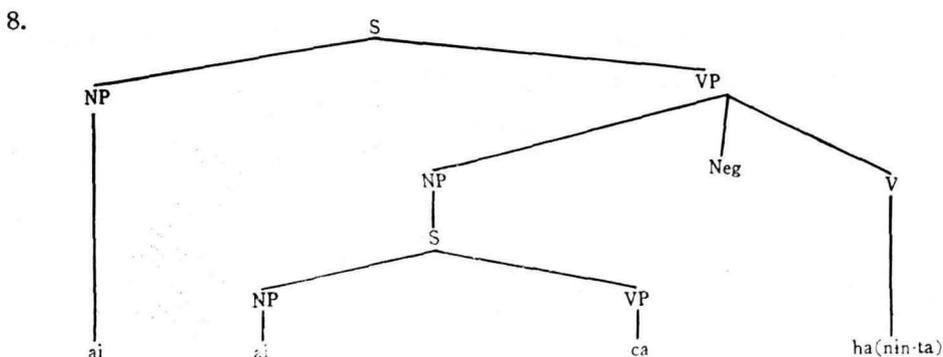
claim that 6 underlies sentence 1(b) is fundamentally correct.

3. Hong Bae Lee

In Lee (1970a and b), the writer asserts that the underlying structure of sentences in 1 should be represented as in 7. (In Song's description, the verb *ha* appears only in the underlying structure of a Type B negative sentence like 1(b), but Lee claims that 7 underlies both sentences in 1.)



As to the derivation of sentences in 1, there is an 'optional' *Neg-Transportation* transformation, which moves the element *Neg* to the higher sentence. For example, if it applies to 7, then 7 will be converted into 8.

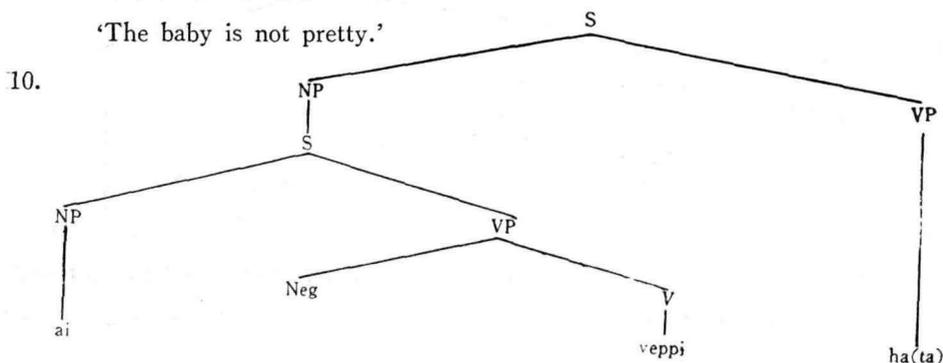


8 is an intermediate phrase marker for the Type B negative sentence 1(b). To complete the derivation of 1(b), we first apply *ki-Nominalization* (or *Complementation*) to nominalize the embedded verb, and then *Equi-NP Deletion* to delete the subject of the embedded sentence. On the other hand, if the optional *Neg-Transportation* transformation does not apply to 7, a new rule called *ha-Deletion* deletes the verb *ha*. The application of *Equi-NP Deletion* completes the generation of the Type A negative sentence 1(a).

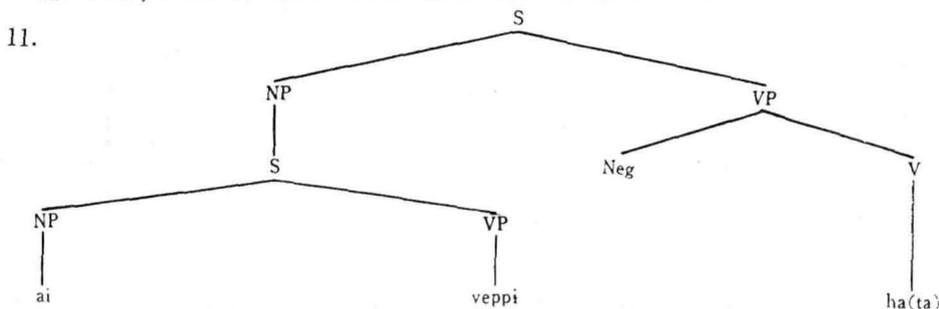
Furthermore, the writer argues that, if the verb is a 'stative' verb (cf. Lakoff(1967)),

then the deep structure of the negative sentence would have the structure of the subject complementation (Lee 1970a and b). For example, Lee proposes that 10 be the underlying structure of the sentences in 9.

9. (a) ai-ka ani-yeppi-ta.
 baby not pretty
 아이가 안 예쁘다.
 'The baby is not pretty.'
- (b) ai-ka yeppi-ci ani-ha-ta.
 baby pretty not be
 아이가 예쁘지 않다.
 'The baby is not pretty.'



To derive sentence 9(b) from 10, we first apply *Neg-Transportation*, thus changing 10 into 11. Next, *ki-Nominalization* nominalizes the embedded verb.



To derive sentence 9(a) from 10, however, only *ha-Deletion* applies to 10. To invalidate Lee's proposal on Korean negation summarized above, the following two premises have to be proved valid:

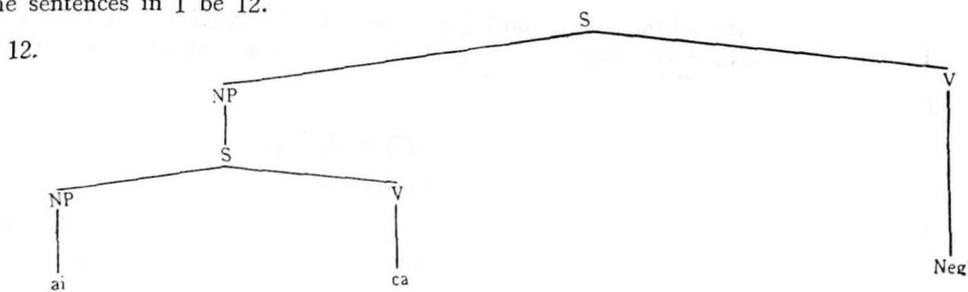
- (A): the verb *ha* is not a Neg-transportable verb.
 (B): the verb *ha* does not exist in deep structure.

In particular, the premise (B), if proved valid, can be a crucial blow to Lee's analysis of

Korean negation. Even though one proves that the verb *ha* is not a Neg-transportable verb, however, it cannot totally invalidate Lee's proposal, because there is still an alternative approach without damaging his fundamental framework: Lee could choose 8 and 11 as the underlying structures of 1 and 9, respectively, and still keep the verb *ha* in deep structure.

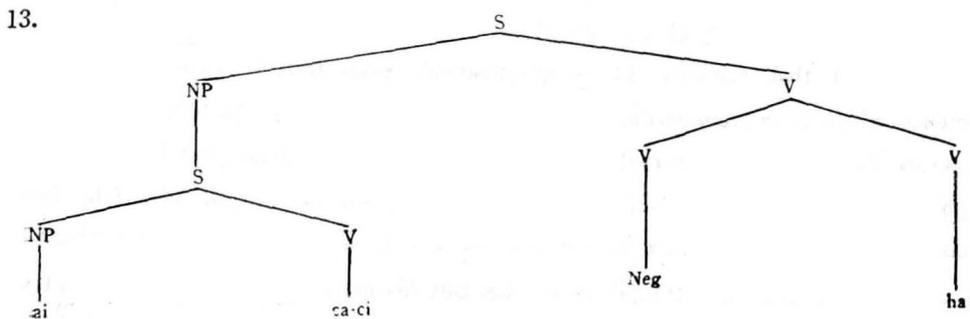
4. Choon Kyu Oh

In his interesting paper (Oh 1971), Mr Oh proposes that the underlying structure of the sentences in 1 be 12.



(Specification of tense is here omitted, as it is irrelevant to the question under consideration.) What is peculiar to Oh's analysis of Korean negation is that he considers the element *Neg* to be a predicate, following the proposal made by generative semantists. (*Neg* as a predicate was originally suggested by George Lakoff (1970).)

Oh derives the Type A negative sentence 1(a) by lowering *Neg* to the embedded sentence and attaching it to the left of the verb *ca*; the transformation which performs this function is called *Neg-Incorporation*. But he generates the Type B negative sentence 1 (b) by adding the verb *ha* to the right of *Neg* with the so-called *ha-Addition* transformation, whose purpose is quite similar to Park's *Ha-Supplement*, and by nominalizing the embedded sentence. The resulting phrase marker would be as in 13:



5. The Verb *ha*

In his paper, Mr. Oh takes a number of pages to prove the 'illegitimacy' of Lee's description of Korean negation, which he calls the NEG-TRANSPORTATION (abbreviated as NT) approach. Then he presents an example of a Neg-transportable verb, for example, *sayngkakhata* 'to think', to demonstrate the characteristics of a real NT verb. "There are two readings of *sayngkakhata*: an NT reading and a non-NT reading. These two readings are syntactically marked in Korean with different nominalizers: *ko* with an NT reading and *nin kes* with a non-NT reading" (Oh 1971: 48). Consider the following sentences:

14. na-nin John-ka tases sikan pakkey (nin) kongpuhayessta-ko sayngkakhaci ani-hayessta.
 I five hour only studied Nom think not did
 ta.

나는 존이 다섯시간 밖에(는) 공부했다고 생각하지 않았다.

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

15. *na-nin John-ka tases sikan pakkey nin kongpuhayessta-nin kes-lil sayngkakhaci ani-hayessta.
 I five hour only studied Nom think
 not did

* 나는 존이 다섯시간 밖에는 공부했다는 것을 생각하지 않았다.

Note that embedded sentences of 14 and 15 both contain special adverbial phrase *tases sikan pakkey nin* 'only five hours', which can only be used in a negative sentence as in 16. (Cf. Oh 1971: 49)

16. (a) John-ka tases sikan pakkey kongpu-haci ani-hayessta.
 five hour only study not did

존이 다섯시간 밖에 공부하지 않았다.

'John studied not more than five hours.'

- (b) *John-ka tases sikan pakkey kongpu-hayessta.
 five hour only studied

*존이 다섯시간 밖에 공부했다.

The reason that sentence 14 is grammatical, even though it contains an embedded sentence which is ungrammatical when used independently (cf. 16(b)), is that in deep structure the element Neg actually exists in the embedded sentence, but it is moved to the higher sentence by the NEG-TRANSPORTATION transformation. Mr. Oh, however, points out that the ungrammaticality of sentence 15 is due to the non-NT characteristic of *sayngkakhata* with the nominalizer *nin kes*. But his argument is not persuasive; the non-transportability of Neg in 15, I believe, is not due to the non-NT characteristic of the

verb *sayngkakhata*, but due to the syntactic characteristic of *nin kes* itself. That is, no complement sentence with *nin kes* allows the element Neg to escape from it. Maeng-Sung Lee (1968: 15-9) points out that *nin kes* has two generative sources: one from *ko ha-nin kes*, and the other from *ko malha-nin kes* (cf. 18(a) and (b)).

17. ki-ka imakhoy-ey ka-nin-ta-nin kes-ka isangha-ta.
 he concert go strange

그가 음악회에 간다는 것이 이상하다.

‘That he it going to the concert is strange.’

18. (a) ki-ka imakhoy-ey ka-nin-ta-ko ha-nin kes-ka isangha-ta
 he concert go strange

그이가 음악회에 간다고 하는 것이 이상하다.

‘That he is going to the concert is strange.’

- (b) ki-ka imakhoy-ey ka-nin-ta-ko malha-nin kes-ka isangha-ta.
 he concert go say strange

그이가 음악회에 간다고 말하는 것이 이상하다.

‘That he says that he is going to the concert is strange.’

Thus, the non-transportability of Neg in 15 is not that the verb *syngkakhata* has a non-NT reading with *nin kes*, but in deep structure either the quotative formative *ha*(cf. M.S. Lee 1968: 15) or the verb *malha* interferes with the application of *Neg-Transportation*.

Then, he goes on to say that since *Neg-Transportation* is an optional rule as is shown by the grammaticality of both sentences of 14 and 16, “If *hata* is an NT verb, then sentence 20 should also be grammatical.” (Oh 1971: 50)

19. na-nin John-ka tases sikan pakkey (nin) kongpuha-ci ani-hayess-ta-ko sayngkakhata
 I five hour only study not did think
 nin-ta.

나는 존이 다섯시간 밖에(는) 공부하지 않았다고 생각한다.

‘I think that John has studied not more than five hours.’

20. *ai-ka ani ca-ki (lil) hanta.
 child not sleep do

*아이가 안자기(를) 한다.

‘The baby does not sleep.’

I find an apparent logical leap in his association of the ungrammaticality of 20 with the optional characteristic of *Neg-Transportation*. At any rate, what Mr. Oh is trying to say is that Lee’s ‘obligatory’ *ha-Deletion* is not motivated in Korean syntax: “If Korean has obligatory *ha-Del*, the grammar cannot explain the difference in grammaticality between”

(Oh 1971: 50, fn. 3) 21 and 22.

21. *i kong-ka ttwi-ki-lil hanta.
ball bounce do

*이 공이 뛰기는 한다.

'This ball does bounce.'

22. i kong-ka ttwi-ki-nin hanta.
ball bounce do

이 공이 뛰기는 한다.

'This ball does at least bounce'.

The reason that he claims Lee's *ha-Deletion* is unmotivated is that the rule deletes the verb *ha* from the perfectly grammatical sentence 22, because the verb is not preceded by Neg. But I believe Mr. Oh misunderstands the facts of the language. Consider the following sentence:

23. i kong-ka ttwi-ki-nin ttwi-nin-ta.
ball bounce bounce

이 공이 뛰기는 된다.

'This ball does at least bounce.'

Obviously, 22 and 23 are synonymous, and they are also transformationally related (cf. Lee 1970a). Even Mr. Oh, who derives sentences like 22 with the help of his *ha-Addition* rule, would not want to have another 'addition' transformation something like *ttwi-Addition* for sentences like 23 (cf. Oh 1971: 58). Accordingly, if he accepts the facts that 22 and 23 are synonymous and that they are transformationally related (but, if he comes up with evidence that 22 and 23 are not related with each other, then my argument probably does not hold), he is left to choose, in my opinion, one of the following two alternatives:

(A) derive 23 from 22 by substituting the verb *ha* in 22 with its preceding verb *ttwi*:
that is, 22 precedes 23 in the derivation;

(B) derive 22 from 23 by substituting the second identical verb *ttwi* with the verb *ha*:
that is, 23 precedes 22 in the derivation.

If we have to choose (B), then Mr. Oh's claim that "The *ha-ADDIT* rule is needed... when contextual particles... are attached to the verb" collapses. Before we determine which alternative, either (A) or (B), is to be preferred, let us think of a problem in English. Consider the following sentences:

24. (a) I will run if you run.

(b) I will run if you do.

The relationship between 24(a) and 24(b) can be described in terms of either (C) or (D):

- (C) 24(a) is derived from 24(b) by substituting the verb *do* with its preceding verb *run*;
- (D) 24(b) is derived from 24(a) by substituting the second identical verb *run* with the PRO verb *do*.

If one is asked to choose either (C) or (D) in explaining the relation between 24(a) and (b), one will choose (D) without hesitation.

There are many syntactic processes which substitute some construction with an appropriate PRO form (e.g., pronominalization). I believe that the verb *ha* in 22 is just like the English PRO verb *do* and is different from the verb *ha* in normal negative sentences such as 1 (b). Thus, the alternative that we are most likely to choose is (B); this means that Oh's *ha-Addition* is 'illegitimate' in this respect. Furthermore, his claim that Lee's obligatory *ha-Deletion* would delete the verb *ha* in sentences such as 22 turns out to be fallacious.

Then, Mr. Oh talks of Karttunen's A verbs and B verbs: "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." (Oh 1971: 51)

The verb *ha* in sentences like 1(b), he claims, has these characteristics of A verbs, while the typical NT verb *sayngkakhata* has the characteristics of B verbs. This fact seems to indicate that the verb *ha* is not a real NT verb, as Mr. Oh suggests; in this sense, Lee's claim that (7) and (10) with the element Neg in their embedded sentences underlying sentences in (1) and (9), respectively, is incorrect. As I said before, however, the proof that the verb *ha* is not a neg-transportable verb cannot totally invalidate Lee's analysis of the negation, because Lee can still regard (8) and (11) as the underlying structures of (1) and (9), keeping the verb *ha* in deep structure. Interestingly enough, Oh's findings with regard to the verb *ha* seem to support Lee's proposal on *ha*.

Nobody can deny the fact that Oh's *ha-Addition* and Park's *ha-Supplement* have as their origin the English *do-Support* (*do-Insertion*, *do-Addition*, or whatever name you would use) transformation, which is responsible for the generation of sentences like 25.

25. (a) I *do* not like Lee's analysis of Korean negation.

(b) *Do* you agree with Mr. Lee?

This English verb *do* is a semantically empty verb, just carrying a tense marker and a person marker. As far as I know, no one talks of this English *do* belonging to A verbs, B verbs, or anything else. The verb *ha*, however, swarms with syntactic characteristics such as those listed on the preceding page. I wonder how Mr. Oh incorporates 'transformationally' these bits of syntactic information concerning the verb *ha* in a phrase marker. We will see later some semantic characteristics of the verb *ha*, which Mr. Oh himself points out.

I have omitted some of his criticisms of Lee's description of Korean negation, which I believe are irrelevant to the discussion of the two questions I raised on page 8.

Next, Mr. Oh raises a sharp question: "What then is the theoretical implication of postulating *hata* as a higher predicate of every sentence?" (Oh 1971: 55) Then, he presents as an example an interesting but hard-to-understand sample conversation between two speakers:

Speaker A: John-ka i yak-lil mek-ci ani-ha-myen ettehkey ha-lkkayo?
 medicine eat not do if what do

존이 이 약을 먹지 않으면 어떻게 할까요?

'What if John will not take this medicine?'

Speaker B: John-ka mek-ci ani-ha-ci mos-ha-ci ani-ha-lkkayo?
 eat not do not do not do

존이 먹지 않지 못하지 않을 까요?

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

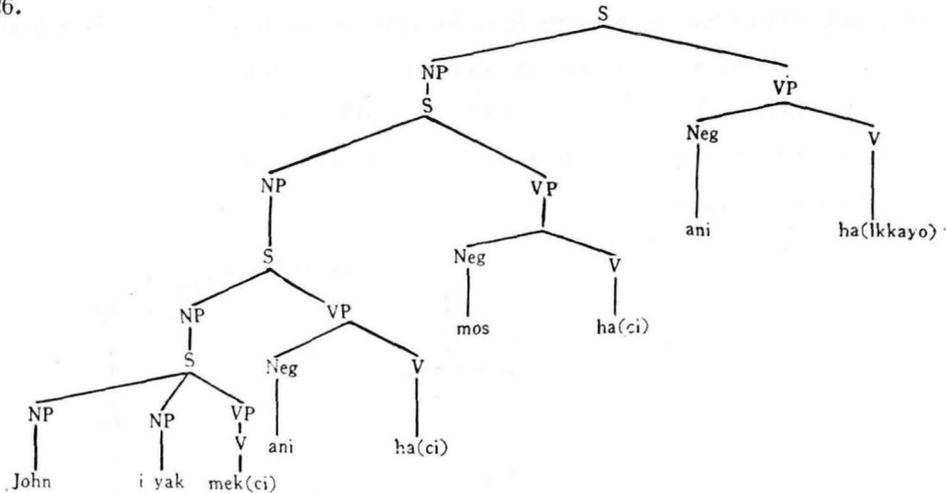
(Oh 1971:55-56)

Frankly speaking, I could not have even guessed the meaning of the sentence Speaker B said if Mr. Oh had not helped with his English translation. Moreover, no one I have consulted seems to be able to determine the meaning of Speaker B sentence, as Mr. Oh has done. I think we have to distinguish a *grammatical* sentence from a semantically interpretable string of words; not all meaningful strings of morphemes are grammatical sentences.

Suppose, however, that Speaker B's sentence is a grammatical sentence in Korean, and let us continue to follow his argument. "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 Speaker B's sentence, every sentence has to have at least three

levels of embedding with three higher *hata* verbs in the deep structure." (Oh 1971: 56) Then, he says that, since Speaker B's sentence would have 26 as its underlying structure, its affirmative counterpart, sentence 27, must have 28 as its underlying structure.

26.

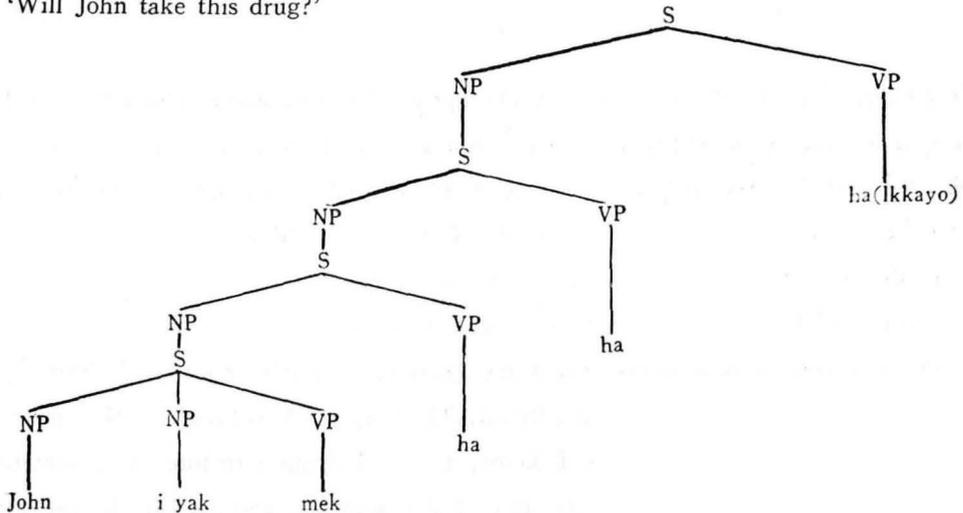


27. John-ka i yak-lil mek-ilkkayo?
 medicine eat will

존이 이 약을 먹을까요?

'Will John take this drug?'

28.



Mr. Oh then says, "Theoretically, there is no limit to the possible depth of negative embeddings, and so every sentence should have an unlimited number of *hata*'s in its deep structure." (Oh 1971: 56-7) What I cannot really understand is the meaning of "there is

B's sentence is grammatical, as he claims, or not, his argument fails to invalidate Lee's proposal that the verb *ha* exists in deep structure. After the writer has read Mr. Oh's paper, he accepts the claim that the verb *ha* is not a Neg-transportable verb, but he is not still persuaded to believe that the verb *ha* must be added to a deep structure by *Ha-Addition*.

6. Conclusion

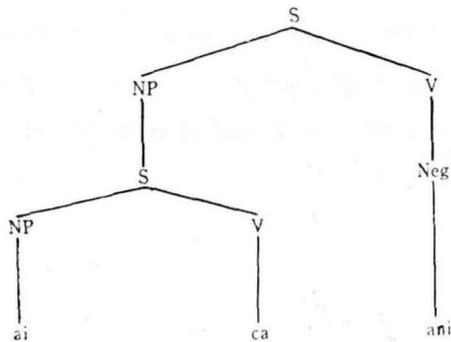
Let us temporarily put aside the rights and wrongs that we have discussed so far. With this in mind, we are going to examine the question of whether to choose Mr. Oh's *ha-Addition* or Mr. Lee's *ha-Deletion*. Both transformations as given above are *ad hoc* syntactic rules; they are *ad hoc* in the sense that they are not general enough to be used to account for other syntactic processes. Thus, the two syntactic rules equally contribute to the degree of complexity of the grammar. This means that, when we compare only the generality of the two rules under examination, it is not an easy job to choose one over the other. Accordingly, to make a decision we have to rely on another method.

Let us here again consider sentences in 1, which I repeat here in 30.

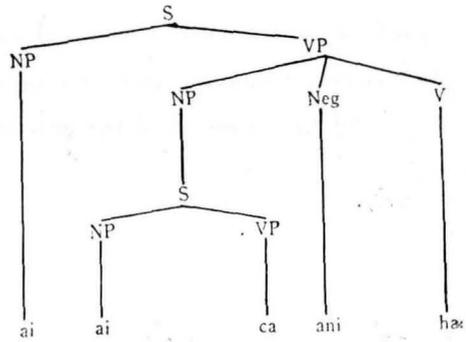
- 30. (a) ai-ka ani-ca-nin-ta.
 baby not sleep
 아이가 안잔다.
 'The baby does not sleep.'
- (b) ai-ka ca-ci ani-ha-nin-ta.
 baby sleep not do
 아이가 자지 않는다.
 'The baby does not sleep.'

Mr. Oh represents the underlying structure of 30 as in 31, but Mr. Lee, accepting Oh's proposal that the verb *ha* is not a Neg-transportable verb, represents it as in 32.

31.



32.



To find out which rule (either *ha-Addition* or *ha-Deletion*) is a syntactically motivated rule, we have to determine which underlying structure (either 31 or 32) of 30 reveals more about the facts of the language.

It is not true, as Mr. Oh claims, that Lee suggests putting the verb *ha* in the deep structure of every sentence only to account for sentences such as 30(b). Consider the following sentences:

33. ai-ka ca-ci-*lil* ani-ha-nin-ta.

baby sleep not do

아이가 자지를 않는다.

'The baby does not sleep.'

It seems to me that a descriptively adequate description of Korean negation has to provide a means of *explaining naturally* the occurrence of the object marker *lil* in 33. Furthermore, consider sentences such as 34.

34. (a) ai-ka yeppi-ci-*ka* ani-ha-ta.

baby pretty not be

아이가 예쁘지가 않다.

'The baby is not pretty.'

(b) ai-ka yeppi-ci-*lil* ani-ha-ta.

baby pretty not be

아이가 예쁘지를 않는다.

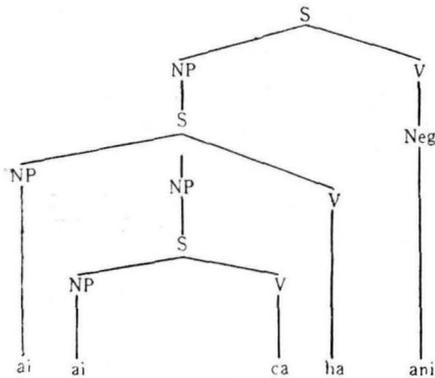
'The baby is not pretty.'

Mr. Oh, however, does not offer a mechanism of *explaining* or *generating* sentences like 33 and 34, while he provides several pages for negative sentences with the so-called 'contextual particles.' To show the superiority of his approach to that of Lee, Mr. Oh must come up with a better way of handling the sentences in 33-5.

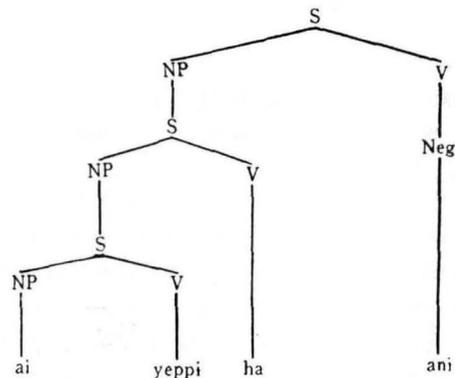
35. *ai-ka ca-ci-*ka* ani-ha-nin-ta.

Finally, I want to make it clear that I am not an anti-generative semantist. Rather, I am in favor of the generative-semantic theory over the interpretive theory. Accordingly, if I had taken the position of NEG-as-a-higher-predicate approach in my papers (Lee 1970a and b), I would have represented the underlying structures of 30 and 34 as in 36 and 37, respectively.

36.



37.



References*

- Klima, E. 1964. "Negation in English." In J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz (eds.), *The Structure of Language: Readings in the Philosophy of Language*. Pp. 247-323. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Lakoff, G. 1970. "Pronominalization, Negation, and the Analysis of Adverbs." In R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum (eds.), *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Pp. 145-65. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and Company.
- Lee, Hong Bae. 1970a. *A Study of Korean Syntax: Performatives, Complementation, Negation, and Causation*. Seoul: Pan Korea Book Corporation.
- Lee, Hong Bae. 1970b. "On Negation in Korean." *Language Research* 4: 33-59, Seoul: Seoul National University.
- Lee, Maeng-Sung. 1968. *Nominalization in Korean*. *Language Research Monograph Vol. 4, No. 1*. Seoul: Seoul University Press.
- Oh, Choon Kyu. 1971. "On the Negation of Korean." *Language Research* 7: 45-66. Seoul: Seoul National University.
- Park, Soon Ham. 1967. *A Transformational Analysis of Negation in Korean*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Song, Seok Chung. 1967. *Some Transformational Rules in Korean*. Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
- Song, Seok Chung. 1971. "A Note on Negation in Korean." *Linguistics: An International Review* 59-76.

* Unless otherwise qualified, Lee in the article refers to H.B. Lee.

論評 및 討論

朴舜威 : 아까부터 들어보니 만드시 찬사는 한마디 있어야 하겠기에 저도 한마디한다며는 이 홍배선생님께서 제가 꼭 관심을 갖고 있는 부정(negation)의 문제를 가장 참신한 논문까지도 개관을 해주시고 비평을 해 주셔서 감사합니다.

두서가 없겠습니다만 시간이 없기 때문에 생각나는 대로 조금만 말씀드리겠습니다. 부정에 ‘안잔다’ ‘자지 않는다’의 두가지 형식이 있어서 ‘자지 않는다’가 강조적인 것이라고 송석중선생님이 말씀하셨고, 이전에 외국인들이 쓴 한국어 교과서가 대개 그렇게 보았던 것 같은데 한 가지 분명한 것은 ‘자지 않는다’의 ‘-지 않는다’가 더 격식을 차리는(formal) 것은 거의 분명하다는 것입니다. 더 formal하기 때문에 신문을 보며는 통계적으로 그것이 더 많은 것 같아요.

이선생님이 자주 부정의 ‘하다’라고 말씀하시는데 그에 대한 합리화가 약간 모호한 듯한 감을 여기저기서 느끼게 됩니다. 그리고 ‘하다’의 맨마지막 단계에서 내면구조(deep structure)에 ‘하다’가 있느냐, 없느냐의 문제가 있습니다. 부정만 보며는 저는 전에 미처 생각이 안되었던 것이지만, 요즘 내면구조에 ‘하다’를 넣어서 보니까 아주 깨끗하게 정리가 되는 것같기도 합니다. 이선생님께 질문을 드리고 싶은 것은 ‘하다’를 넣는 하나의 큰 동기가 ‘자지를 않는다’의 ‘를’ 때문이라고 말씀하셨는데 바로 그렇다고하며는 약간 자기 모순이 있지 않나 생각이 됩니다. ‘자지를 않는다’가 되기 때문에 ‘하다’가 내면구조에 있다. 그리고 타동사적인 것은 object NP-complementation 이라고 했고 또 자동사적인 것, 즉 자동사와 재래의 형용사에는 subject NP-complementation 이라고 하셨습니다. 왜냐하면 ‘예쁘지가 않다’, ‘예쁘지를 않다’, 또 ‘자지를 않는다’, ‘자지가 않는다’ ‘자지를 않는다’ 이렇기 때문에 그렇다고 하셨습니다. 그렇다고 하면 ‘를’을 가질 수 있기 때문에 ‘하다’가 내면구조에 있다고 하시는 것은 약간 약한 합리화가 아닌가 생각이 됩니다. 여기에 따라서 질문이 되는 것을 ‘자지를 아니한다. 자지도 않는다. 자지만은 않는다’ 등이 있는데, 그렇다고 하며는 ‘자기 싫다’ 같은 데에 논문에서 지적하신 것처럼 ‘싫다’를 넣어서 이선생님은 그런 것도 전부 내면구조에 넣으셨는지 제가 잘 기억을 못하겠는데, 아니면 어쨌든 그렇게 보시겠는지? ‘싫고’ 같은 것도 ‘하다’처럼 내면구조에 넣어야되지 않겠느냐 이런 생각이 들더군요. ‘가기가 싫다, 가기는 싫다’가 나타나기 때문이지요.

그리고 또 하나, 영어의 do support에 있어서의 do하고 우리나라의 ‘하다’하고는 틀린다고 하셨는데 그래도 상당히 같은 점이 있지 않을까 생각이 됩니다. 그중에 하나는 다른 장소에서도 일전에 말씀드린 바가 있지만, 영어에서 You go there, He goes there에 do가 붙으면 He does go there, Does he go there?와 같이 go에 붙어있던 시체요소가 본동사로부터 do로 옮겨가는 것처럼, 우리도 ‘너 가지 않니’하면 ‘가-’에 있었던 시체가 ‘않니’의 마지막에 옮겨가는 것, 이런 것도 같은 요소가 아닌가 생각이 됩니다.

그리고 또 하나는 얼른 생각하기에 최소한도 3가지가 ‘하다’에 있을 수가 있겠는데 하나는 ‘니 하니’에서의 본동사로서의 ‘하니’, do the acting이라는 일반적인 뜻에서의 ‘하니’가 있겠고 또 하나는 pro-form으로서 ‘노래해라’에서의 ‘노래를 노래하다’하는 것과 같은 pro-form이 있겠지요. 그 다음에 부정이 있을 때에 나타나는 ‘하다’는 역시 조동사적인 의미에서의 ‘하다’가 아닌가? 그래서 그럴수록 내면구조에 들어가야 하겠다고 생각하시는 것 같지만, 저는 오히려 반대로 내면구조에 들어 있다고 하는 것은 그것이 본동사라고 하는 것을 뜻하는 것처럼 생각이 되는군요. 좀 더 길설있게 다시 말씀드리고 싶지만 시간이 너무 갈까하여 그냥 이것으로 그치겠습니다.

李鴻培 : 종래에 You go there에서 go를 명사화(nominalize)시키고서 새로운 본동사를 넣는 것처럼 you go를 보았던 것입니다. 그것이 마땅치가 않았던 것입니다. 본래의 문장은 명사화 되고 그 다음에 새로운 것이 들어가서 동사가 되는 것입니다. 만일 이 ‘지’를 명사화시키는 요소로 보면 동사적 역할을 하

는 것은 ‘하다’가 되는 것입니다. 제 주장은 만일 우리가 선생님의 주장대로 한다면 ‘가기 싫다’는 ‘가다’를 명사화시키고 ‘싫다’를 집어넣으면 되지 않겠느냐는 것입니다. 그건 누구든지 수긍할 수 없을 것입니다. 그다음에 *tense carrier*라는 것은 ‘가봐라’ ‘가왔다’하면 이러한 것도 시제를 표시하고 있습니다. 그러니까 동사는 원래 *tense*를 표시하고 있는 것인데, 그렇게 할 수 있다고 해서 영어의 *do*와 같지 않느냐고 생각하시겠지만 시제를 표시하지 않는 동사는 없습니다. 그러면 조동사가 내면구조에 나타나지 않느냐 하는 것은 문제지요. 조동사가 물론 내면구조에 나타나야 되는 것인데, 제일 문제가 조동사를 본동사처럼 나타내야 하느냐입니다. 그것은 차차 본동사처럼 취급하는 해석이 많은 호응을 받고 있는 것 같습니다. 종전에 유명한 Chomsky의 *Auxiliary re-writing rule*을 보더라도 조동사도 물론 그 자신의 특징을 갖고 있지만, 본동사로 내면구조에 나타내는 것이 여러가지 통사론적 규칙을 설명하는데 도움이 된다는 것이 지금 많은 호응을 받고 있는 것 같습니다.