

Deriving Two Types of Korean Negation*

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Park, Kabyong & Lee, Keon Soo. 2006. Deriving Two Types of Korean Negation. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 14(4), 83-107. The central purpose of this paper is to examine two types of negation found in Korean and to try to answer the question why there exist two types at all. We propose an alternative hypothesis that the affix *ji* is the head of NegP and that the negative morpheme *an* is an adverbial whose distribution is restricted. The existence of two types of negation, then, could be attributed to the absence and presence of NegP. The effect of *do*-support in Long Negation results from the lexical property of the affix that blocks verb movement.

Key Words: negation, NegP, verb movement, *do*-support, affix, light verbs

1. Introduction

As Zattuni (2001) mentioned, a set of highly restricted possibilities should exist for the structure of negation across languages, since negation is a special type of sentences and the negative elements in a sentence also exhibit restricted distribution.¹⁾ One thing that is found

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1) According to Adger(2003), negation can be classified into sentence negation and constituent negation. Our discussion is confined to sentential negation. Some examples are found below.

- (i) (sentential negation)
 - a. She has not left for Seoul.
 - b. It is not true that she has left for Seoul.
- (ii) (constituent negation)
 - a. I was sitting not under the tree.

cross-linguistically is that negative morphemes appear right next to or near tense elements. Korean is not an exception. And this universal property should be captured by a principled explanation such as the postulation of NegP. Thus, the variation among languages with respect to negation should be in the range of a set of highly restricted possibilities.²⁾ The purpose of this paper is to examine Korean negation and propose an alternative account of the two types found in Korean in such a way that would stay in a permissible range of Universal Grammar and its parameters. To be more specific, we attempt to provide an answer to the fundamental question why there exist two types of negation at all in Korean.

Some basic facts found in Korean negation will be presented in the next section and will be followed by a brief summary of previous analyses in the early generative grammar. Section 3 is devoted to the discussion of the theoretical framework of NegP and Verb Movement. We are not so much concerned with the validity of the theory as its application to account for Korean negation under discussion. Then, we suggest an alternative proposal after the discussion of some other previous analyses.

We claim that the existence of two types of negation is due to the presence and absence of NegP and the affix *ji* is the head of NegP. We do not challenge a particular model and provide counterevidence against it. Rather, we hope to show that the current alternative can account for a set of syntactic behavior related with Korean negation.

2. Basic Facts and Issues of Korean Negation

b. I was eating not a peach.

2) According to Payne(1985), negative morphemes found across languages can be classified into the following four types. It might be worthwhile to explore the question of which subclass Korean negatives should belong to.

- a. those that take a sentence as a complement.
- b. those that carry tense and behave like an auxiliary verb.
- c. those that are called 'particles' and appear immediately before lexical verbs.
- d. those that have the property of affixes

2.1. Basic Facts

It is well known that Korean exhibits two types of negation called 'Short Negation' and 'Long Negation', which can be exemplified as in the following.³⁾

- (1) a. John-ka jemsim-ul mek-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-PAST
 'John ate lunch.'
- b. John-ka jemsim-ul an mek-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A neg eat-PAST
 'John did not eat lunch.'
- c. John-ka jemsim-ul mek-ji an-ha-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST
 'John did not eat lunch.'

In contrast to Short Negation, two additional lexical elements appear in Long Negation: the affix *ji* and the contracted form of the light verb *ha*.⁴⁾ We can easily expect that the focus of any attempt to account for Korean negation should be on the analysis of these two elements.⁵⁾

3) A variety of terms have been employed in the literature: Short vs Long negation (Martin 1969), Neg 1 vs Neg 2 (Choi 2001), Simplex vs complex (Song 1988), Preverbal vs postverbal (Kim 1967, Kim 1975), Type 1 vs Type 2 (Oh 1971, Y. Renaud-Kim 1974), Verb negation vs Sentence Negation (Kuno 1980)

4) According to B. Kim(1991), the appearance of these two elements along with the uninflected form of the main verb in Long Negation makes it much more difficult for a child to acquire Long negation.

5) An interesting note is in order. Some scholars such as Jang(2001) include negative questions as a part of Long negation. But, we do not include this set of data here.

- (i) jemsim-ul mek-ass-ji an-ni?
 lunch-A eat-PAST-ji neg-Q
 'Didn't you eat lunch?'
- (ii) jemsim-ul mek-ji an ha-ass-ni?
 lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST-Q
 'Didn't you eat lunch?'

In contrast to the well-formed examples in (1), if the main verb is inflected with a tense affix, it results in the ungrammaticality of the sentences, as shown below. We will get back to this fact in the next section.

- (2) a. * Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ass-ji an-ha-(ass)-ta.
 T lunch-A eat-PAST-ji neg-do-(PAST)
 'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'
- b. * Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-nun-ji an-ha-(nun)-ta.
 T lunch-A eat-PRES-ji neg-(do)-PAST
 'Chelsu does not eat lunch.'

2.2. Questions to Explore and the Early Generative Grammar

The two main issues in the framework of the early generative grammar might relate the structural and semantic relationship between the two types. Are they derived from the same underlying structure or two distinct structures? What kinds of transformational rules enable us to produce the more complex Long Negation? Are they synonymous or not? In the framework where you have a wide range of freedom to change and manipulate sentence structure, it would be very plausible to ask such questions.

As far as the structure of the two types of negation is concerned, there should be two logical possibilities. As suggested in a group of proposals including Kim (1967), Lee (1972), Oh (1971), Yang (1976), Lee (1977), we could posit one underlying structure and derive another type either by insertion or deletion. Or we could argue that they are derived from two distinct structures, as proposed in Lee (1979), S. Song (1979, 1982).

However, in the recent framework of Minimalist Program where late insertion is not permissible, these two types should be derived from two

distinct structures, since numerations are different. Since late insertion of a lexical element is not permissible, all the inflection may take place in the lexicon, and that the inflected forms must move to check off the features in syntax.

We believe that any hypothesis in any theoretical model should at least provide an answer to the question why Korean exhibits the two types of negation in the first place. What are the other issues that we should explore? There are two lexical elements that do appear in Long Negation but not in Short Negation: the light verb *ha* and the affix *ji*. Thus, it is essential that the focus of the syntactic analysis of the construction under discussion be on the relationship between these two elements. Why do they appear in this particular construction? More importantly, why should they co-occur in their respective spots? As far as the relationship between these two key elements is concerned, there seem to be three possible perspectives. First, we may assume that they are independent from each other. Both of them are on their own. In other words, both have their own legitimate reasons why they must appear in their respective positions in a sentence. Another possible answer would be to claim that the light verb *ha* licenses or selects the affix *ji*. We may put it in a stronger term and say that the light verb *ha* requires the appearance of the affix. The third possible answer is that the affix is independently generated in its position and for some reason triggers the introduction of the light verb. We will discuss these possibilities in section 4 and choose the third approach that the affix *ji* requires the introduction of the light verb *ha*.

3. NegP and Verb Movement

Pollock(1989) shows that Universal Grammar provides a straightforward explanation for the properties of Verb Movement if we assume decomposition of Infl into several projections of functional categories. His main data come from English and French negation and his proposal of the functional category of NegP along with the parameter of opacity of Agreement can account for the differences between English and French. English negative morpheme *not*, for

example, heads a distinct maximal projection NegP, which, in turn, is the complement of the inflectional head I.

If we look at the examples below, we can easily identify instances of Verb Movement. The underlying structure would look like (3).

(3) [C [NP I [(Neg) [Agr [(Adv) V ...]]]]]

- (4) a. * John likes not Mary.
 b. John does not like Mary.
- (5) a. John is not happy.
 b. * John does not be happy.
 c. John has not left.

The ill-formedness of (4a) is due to the fact that the theta-assigning verb *like* has moved over Neg. The examples in (5) show that auxiliary verbs may move over Neg.

In contrast to English, where a certain set of light verbs may move over Neg to Infl, French shows that Neg does not block the movement of lexical verbs.

- (6) French
 Jean (n') aime pas Maria
 likes not
 'John does not like Mary.'

The same contrast between the two languages can also be manifested in the interaction between Verb Movement and adverbials. The examples in (7) show that lexical verbs like *kiss* may not move over adverbials, while French, in contrast, exhibits obligatory movement, as illustrated in (8).

- (7) a. John often kisses Mary.
 b. * John kisses often Mary.

(8) French

- a. Jean embrasse souvent Marie.
'John kisses often Mary.'
- b. * Jean souvent embrasse Marie.
'Jean often kisses Mary.'

At the heart of Pollock's explanation for the contrast is the idea that the two languages show variation in terms of the opaqueness of Agr: English Agr is opaque and hence becomes a barrier since the moved verb can not assign a thematic role to its trace, while French Agr is transparent and allows a verb to move.

Whether the postulation of NegP to account for Korean negation would be an independent issue. In fact, there has not been a total agreement found in the literature. Many scholars, following the framework of Pollock(1989), have attempted to describe negative sentences in Korean, though a variety of different structures have been reported; Y. Yoon (1990), J. Yoon (1991), D. Cho (1993), S. Kim (1993), H. Ahn 1991), K. Lee (1995), K. Park (1992, 2003), H. Yoon (1997), and Y. Jung (1992) support the assumption that NegP exists in Korean also. Ahn and Yoon (1989), J. Y. Yoon (1990), for example, appeal to the distribution and scope of negative polarity items such as *amuto*. J. M. Yoon (1991) finds another piece of evidence from the conjunction structure. Zanuttini (2001) also claims that NegP exists in all human languages, since negatives, like other functional categories, constitute a closed class and exhibit highly restricted behavior.

However, not all the analyses agree that we do need to postulate NegP in Korean. T. Kim (2002), based on the examples of conjunction, suggests that we can dispense with NegP to account for Korean negation. H. Han (1993) also claims that there is no evidence in favor of the existence of NegP.

As mentioned above, the existence of NegP might be another big issue. If it turns out that we do not need to appeal to NegP to account for Korean negation, it is clear, considering the cost of grammar, that we should be in a better and more economical position. It is costly to postulate a certain functional category in a given language. Much empirical evidence might be

called for in order to validate a distinct maximal projection. However, unless crucial counterevidence against the existence of NegP is found, it would not be an implausible idea to try to explain Korean negation with an appeal to the existence of NegP.

We do not attempt to tackle the issue whether it is indispensable to posit NegP in Korean. Rather, with the help of the theoretical framework of NegP and verb movement, we hope to show that our alternative account would provide an answer to the basic question why two types of negation exist in Korean in the first place.

4. Explanations

4.1. Some Previous Analyses

Now, given that Korean also employs the functional category of NegP, what does the structure of NegP in Korean look like? Since the introduction of NegP, many proposals have assumed that the negative morpheme *an* is the head of NegP: Yoon (1989), Ahn (1991) and many others.

(9) The negative morpheme *an* is the head of NegP

It should be very natural to believe that *an* is the head of NegP, since it clearly carries the lexical meaning of negation and it is the only candidate for the head of NegP in Short Negation. Let us repeat the examples for the sake of convenience.

- (10) a. John-ka jemsim-ul an mek-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A neg eat-PAST
 'John did not eat lunch.'
- b. John-ka jemsim-ul mek-ji an-ha-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST
 'John did not eat lunch.'

Now, how do we derive Short Negation in (10a)? An application of verb movement seems to be necessary to derive the acceptable word order. We can perhaps follow Pollock (1989) in that Neg does not govern. We may also parameterize human languages in terms of the property of Neg. Some languages may allow a verb to move over Neg, whereas other languages may exhibit a strict application of head-to-head movement that includes Neg also. We may assume that Korean belongs to the first group and, therefore, the verb *mek* 'eat' may move over the head *an* to host the tense affix in Short Negation, as illustrated in (10a). The main verb undergoes Verb Movement, and the trace of the verb avoids the ECP, since the combined V + I L-marks NegP and eventually governs the trace of the moved verb. If we assume that AgrP also exists, it might mean that two instances of verb raising occur; V raises to Agr and the merged V-Agr moves over Neg to I.

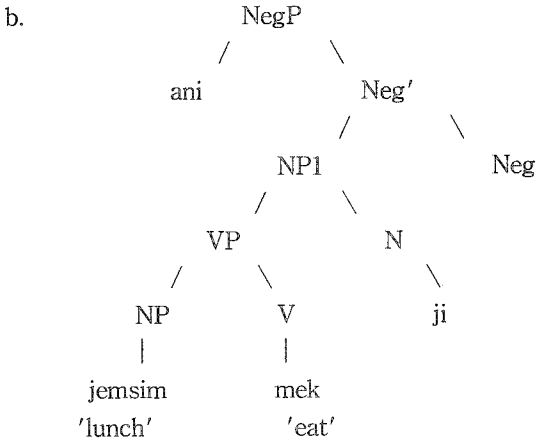
A simple account seems enough for Short Negation. Can this apply for Long Negation as easily as this? It mainly depends on how we treat the other two elements in Long Negation that do not appear in Short Negation: the affix *ji* and the light verb *ha*.

Many scholars have assumed that this affix *ji* is some kind of nominalizer.: Lee (1995), K. Choi (1993), Yang (1976), D. Cho and Y. Kwon (1995), H. Han (1987), M. Kang (1988), Lukoff (1982), J. Lee (1993) among others. B. Kim (1991) calls it 'negative nominalizer.' The crucial reason for these scholars' treatment of the affix *ji* as a nominalizer seems to be the apparent fact that the accusative marker *lul* may optionally appear after the affix *ji*, as illustrated below. It is believed that the verb *ha* assigns an accusative case to the preceding phrase headed by the affix *ji*. Hagstrom (1996) also treat this affix as a nominalizer. Consider his structure in (11b) for the example (11a).

(11) Cheulsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ji-ul an-ha-ass-ta.

T lunch-A eat-ji-A not-do-PAST

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'



However, it is very doubtful that the optional marker *ul* carries a real accusative case. Note that this accusative marker can appear after other elements such as adverbials and postpositional phrases as well as nominals, as shown below.

(12) a. Chelsu-nun pap-ul twu pen-ul mek-ass-ta.

T meal-A two times-A ate

'Chelsu ate twice.'

b. Chelsu-nun se sikan tongan-ul kel-ass-ta.

T three hours for-A walk-PAST

'Chelsu walked for three hours.'

If we assume that this particular light verb *ha* does not assign a syntactic case but simply host a tense affix, we should look for an alternative account for the optional appearance of this case marker.

We can perhaps assume that this affix-like marker does not carry a syntactic case but a morphological case that seems to do much with the activeness of the predicate. Let us suppose that morphological case markers can be assigned to every [-V] nonverbal element as many times as preferred, not required. We can predict that the multiple occurrence of these

markers, unlike syntactic Cases, in a monoclausal sentence is possible. And the prediction is borne out as in the following examples.

- (13) Chelsu-nun ku kongwon-ul se sikan-ul twu pen-ul kel-ass-ta.
 T the park-A three hours-A two times-A walk-PAST
 'Chelsu walked in that park for three hours twice.'

If the current hypothesis is on the right track, then, we can expect that if the predicate is stative, a nonaccusative marker (or a nominative marker) would optionally appear after the affix *ji* and those nonverbal elements in (12).

- (14) ku jip-ka se pay-(ka) te pissa-ta.
 the house-N three times-(N) expensive
 'That house is three times more expensive.'

- (15) Yenghi-nun yeppu-ji-ka an-ha-ta.
 T pretty-ji-N neg-do
 'Yenghi is not pretty.'

Moreover, the stative negation in (15) clearly poses a problem for the assumption that the light verb *ha* assigns an accusative Case to the preceding phrase headed by the affix *ji*. We definitely do not want to argue that the same verb *ha* assigns an accusative in (11) but a nominative case in (15). What we are trying to emphasize here is that the occurrence of the apparent accusative marker *ul* may not suffice for us to assume that the affix *ji* is a nominalizer. Han (1987) also claims that the affix is a kind of nominalizer. The negative morpheme *an*, whether it is a head or an adverbial, blocks the movement of V to Infl, and, thus, causes the effect of *do*-support. The inserted auxiliary verb *ha*, in turn, triggers the realization of the nominalizer *ji* in order for the verb *ha* to assign a Case. However, we are in an undesirable position to assume that the same negative morpheme *an* should not block verb raising in Short negation. More importantly, this line of thought can not provide an explanatory answer to

the question why there exist two types of negation in the first place.

Many other scholars have treated the affix *ji* as a complementizer: S. Song (1982), S. Kim (2002) J. Seo (1993), J. Kim (1995), C. Lee (1977), Cho and Sells (1995), Sells (1995), S. Choi (1985), K. Kim (1999) among others. J. Seo (1993), for example, proposes the following structure.

(16) [e [Swuni-ka ku chayk-ul ilk-ji cp] ani ha-ass-ta.

Based on the apparent fact that two verbal elements appear in the sentence, he treats the affix as a complementizer that heads an embedded sentence. S. Song(1982) also argues that the affix *ji* is a variant of the complementizer *ki*. The complementary distribution of the two affixes, *ki* and *ji*, leads him to claim that (17a) is the negative counterpart of the affirmative (b). The greatest burden of this hypothesis seems to be that it does not explain why *ki* and *ji* exhibit complementary distribution: they must appear in an affirmative sentence and a negative one, respectively.

(17) a. Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ji an-ha-ass-ta.

T lunch-A eat-ji neg-do-PAST

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

b. Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ki ha-ass-ta.

T lunch-A eat-ki do-PAST

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

(18) a. * Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ki an-ha-ass-ta.

T lunch-A eat-ji neg-do-PAST

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

b. * Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ji ha-ass-ta.

T lunch-A eat-ji do-PAST

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

Moreover, it is not true that the affix *ji* must appear in all the negative sentences. Consider the following examples.

- (19) a. Chelsu-nun ka-ki-lul an paran-ta
 T go-ki-A neg want
 'Chelsu does not want to go.'
- b. * Chelsu-nun ka-ji-lul an paran-ta
 T go-ji-A neg want
 'Chelsu does not want to go.'

4.2. An Alternative Proposal

In this section, we make an alternative proposal and hope to show that the predictions of our alternative proposal would provide plausible answers to the questions under discussion. Why are there these two types of negation in Korean? What is the difference and relationship between the two types? How can we explain the co-occurrence of the affix *ji* and the light verb *ha* in Long Negation?

Some examples are repeated below for the sake of convenience.

- (20) a. John-ka jemsim-ul an mek-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A neg eat-PAST
 'John did not lunch.'
- b. John-ka jemsim-ul mek-ji an-ha-ess-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji neg-do-PAST
 'John ate lunch.'

The affix *ji* and the light verb *ha* must appear together for some principled reason. The relationship between these two lexical items should be the focus of any explanatory account of Long Negation. Are they independent from each other? If not, which one is dependent from the other?

The crucial question to explore would be why the two morphemes, the light verb *ha* and the affix *ji*, must appear in Long Negation. Many past analyses assume that the light verb *ha* selects the affix *ji*, as discussed in the previous section 4.1. That is probably why they are led to claim that the affix *ji* is either a nominalizer or a complementizer.

Again, the main reason for this assumption seems to be that the accusative marker *ul* may appear after the affix. It is assumed that the affix is triggered by the light verb *ha*, due to the Case assigning property of the verb *ha*. Recall that we have seen that this apparent case might be different from syntactic accusative case. Moreover, it does not really explain why the light verb must appear in Long Negation.

We have seen that it is not easy to provide an explanatory answer to the question why there exist two types of negation if we assume that the negative *an* is the head of NegP and extend the assumption to both types. It seems that the meaningless light verb simply appears to host a stranded tense affix. It does not have any independent ground to appear on its own and/or to require this particular affix *ji* in this particular construction of Long Negation. Taking this into consideration, we look for another candidate to head a NegP and find one: the affix *ji*. It might sound implausible to appeal to something else other than the negative *an*, which clearly carries a negative meaning. We believe that this hypothesis is not really surprising, since this particular affix only appears in Long Negation.

The examples in (21-22) seem to show that the homophonous *ji* that heads an indirect question or a full clause belong to the category of complementizers, since it may attach to a tense affix in contrast to (20a).

- (21) a. Chelsu-ka gogi-ul mek-nun-ji kungkumha-ta.
 N meat-A eat-PRES-ji wonder
 'I wonder if Chelsu eats meat.'
- b. Chelsu-ka gogi-ul mek-ul-ji kungkumha-ta..
 N meat-A eat-FUTURE-ji wonder
 'I wonder if Chelsu would eat meat.'
- (22) a. naeil ttena-l-ji pulhwaksil-ha-ta.
 tomorrow leave-FUTURE-ji not obvious
 'I am not sure if I will leave tomorrow.'
- b. John-ka swul-ul masi-ass-ji sip-ta.

N liquor-A drink-PAST-*ji* seems
 'It seems that he drank.'

Note that the affix *ji* in these examples follows a tense affix. We might take this fact as a crucial piece of evidence to assume that this affix is a homonym to the affix *ji* employed in Long Negation.

Though it may sound a bit circular, the current proposal readily explains why *ji* instead of *ki* appears in Long Negation, since it heads NegP. Consider the following examples.

- (23) a. * Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ki an-ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ki neg-do-PAST
 'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'
 b. Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ji an-ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji neg-do-PAST
 'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'
- (24) a. Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ki-man ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ki-only do-PAST
 'Chelsu only ate lunch (but did not cook)'
 b. * Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ji-man ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji-only do-PAST
 'Chelsu only ate lunch (but did not cook)'

Why not *ki* but *ji* in Long Negation? The contrast shown above can also be explained if we assume two distinct statuses for the two apparently similar affixes *ki* and *ji*.

We can not assume that the negative morpheme *an* requires the affix *ji*. If so, we permit the optionality of this requirement, since the affix *ji* appears only in Long Negation. We do not want to admit that *an* may or may not require the affix *ji*. Thus, many scholars have assumed that the light verb *ha* requires the affix *ji*.

The idea is that the affix *ki* in (23a) does not have any ground for its presence, whereas the affix *ji* does. To account for the grammaticality of (24a) we might say that such delimiters as *-man* 'only' trigger the

introduction of *ki*, since these delimiters only attach to nonverbal elements. In other words, these delimiters may not attach to the main verb *mek* 'eat', and hence the affix *ki* performs the function of deverbalizing the preceding phrase. This affix *ki*, in turn, causes the effect of *do*-support, since the tense affix may not be stranded alone. In Long Negation, however, the affix *ji* is not triggered by anything. It itself heads a maximal projection NegP. The only thing common in these two constructions is that the lexical properties of both affixes demand the introduction of the light verb *ha*, since they both do not carry the feature [+V], which is a requisite for the tense affixes.

According to the current hypothesis, the affix *ji* appears on its own and nothing triggers the introduction of the affix. Rather, the affix *ji* triggers the introduction of the light verb *ha* to host the inflectional affixes, since this affix blocks the movement of the lexical verb for some reason. There is every reason to believe that this affix does not carry the lexical feature [+V], which could be assumed to be required to host a tense affix. We might be safe in saying that this affix carries the feature [-V] if we consider the fact that the accusative marker *-ul* and delimiters such as *-man* 'only' and *-to* 'also' may attach to the affix.

Given that the affix is the head of NegP, one might ask why the negative *an* must occur together in Long Negation. In other words, the ill-formed (18b), repeated below in (25), is expected to be grammatical as NegP is headed by the affix.⁶⁾ If we look at other examples of negation, we can see that the affix *ji* appears right next to a negative such as *an*, *mot*, and *mal*. We suggest that the ungrammaticality of (25) is due to the inherent lexical property of this particular affix that requires a word carrying a negative feature. This close relationship between the two, the affix *ji* and a negative word, might be captured by a head-SPEC relationship. We will turn to this issue later.

- (25) * Chelsu-nun jemsim-ul mek-ji ha-ass-ta.
 T lunch-A eat-ji do-PAST

6) This question is raised by one of the reviewers.

'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

- (26) a. Chelsu-nun cemsim-ul mek-ji mot ha-ass-ta.
 T lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST
 'I could not have lunch.'
- b. Chelsu-nun cemsim-ul mek-ji mal-ass-eya
 T lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST
 'Chelsu should not have had lunch.'
- c. cemsim-ul mek-ji mal-a-la
 lunch-A eat-ji neg do-PAST
 'Do not eat lunch.'

If we assume that the affix *ji* is the head of NegP, then, a natural question that we should ask would relate to the status of the negative morpheme *an*. Given that *an* is not the head of NegP, then, how would we treat this negative morpheme? There seem to be several possible answers. Some scholars such as Y. No (1988), K. Choi (1993), T. Kim (2002) treat it as a derivational prefix. At the heart of their claim is that not much empirical evidence is found to treat it as an independent word.

- (27) 'an' is a verbal prefix attached to a verb in morphology and it free-rides on the covert verb movement to C at LF.
 (Kim 2002, p. 69)

Another alternative is to assume, along a similar line of thought of some scholars including J. Seo (1993), H. Choi (2000), D. Cho (1994), H. Han (1993), that the negative morpheme *an* is an adverbial whose distribution is very much different from other adverbs and is, thus, highly restricted like English *never*. This property might be common cross-linguistically. For example, English negative adverbs such as *never* and *hardly* show a unique distribution as in the following. Note that this adverb must appear right next to the lexical verb. Though they both can be characterized as frequency adverbs, *never* and *often* exhibit differences in distribution as illustrated in (30–31).

- (28) a. John never saw that movie.
 b. John has never seen that movie.
- (29) a. * John not saw that movie.
 b. John has not seen that movie.
- (30) a. John never kissed Mary.
 b. * John kissed Mary never.
 c. * John kissed never Mary.
- (31) a. John often kisses Mary.
 b. John kisses Mary often.
 c. * John kisses often Mary.

Turning to Korean data, the same contrast between ordinary adverbials like *jaju* 'often' and the negative morpheme *an* can be found.

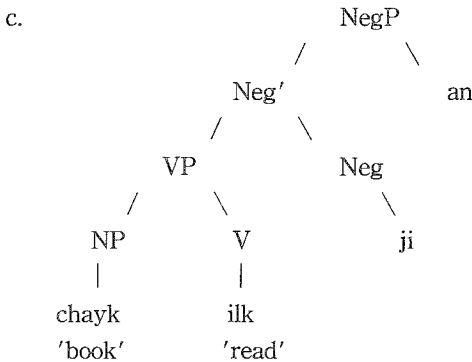
- (32) a. John-nun Mary-ul jaju manna-ass-ta.
 T A often met
 John met Mary often.'
- b. John-nun jaju Mary-ul manna-ass-ta
 T often A met
 John often met Mary.'
- (33) a. John-nun Mary-ul an manna-ass-ta
 T A neg meet-PAST
 'John did not see Mary often.'
- b. * John-nun an Mary-ul manna-ass-ta
 T neg A meet-PAST
 'John did not see Mary often.'

Where is this alleged adverbial *an* generated? It should be clear that the adverb may be VP-adjoined to have a wide scope over the whole VP. In addition to that spot, we suggest that such negatives as *an* and *mot* may be generated under SPEC of NegP.⁷⁾

7) In fact, Pollock (1989) suggested that English not might be generated under the SPEC of NegP. This hypothesis has also been in other literature: Hagstrom (1996) Y. Jung (1990), J. Lee (1993), and K. Park (1992).

Then, we should be able to account for the contrast in (34) and the relative distribution between the affix *ji* and the negative *an*. For example, The example (34b) is derived from a structure that would look like (34c). In Long Negation, the affix *ji* is the head and the negative is generated under SPEC of NegP. Thus, the negative immediately precedes the inserted light verb *ha*.

- (34) a. * John-i chayk-ul an ilk-ji ha-ass-ta.
 N books-A read-ji do-PAST
 'John did not read the book.'
- b. John-i chayk-ul ilk-ji an ha-ass-ta.
 N books-A read-ji do-PAST
 'John did not read the book.'



If we assume The present hypothesis might predict that double negation should be possible, since the negative *an* could also be VP-adjoined and occur before the main verb. And the prediction seems to be well manifested, as illustrated in (35).

- (35) John-i cemsim-ul an mek-ji an ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-ji do-PAST
 'It is not ture that John did not have lunch.'

If we assume that the affix *ji* is the head of NegP and that the negative morpheme *an* is a negative adverbial, then, the existence of two types of Korean negation results from the absence and presence of NegP. Whether NegP is realized in a sentence results in two types of negation in Korean. If NegP is not realized, *an* is simply an adverbial that is adjoined to the VP. Korean, like French, allows main verbs to move to Infl. Thus, in Short Negation, the main verb may move over the negative adverb to merge (or incorporate) with a tense affix. In Long Negation, on the other hand, the movement of a verb is blocked by the presence of this affixal head *ji*. Hence, the introduction of the light verb *ha* is required to support the stranded tense affix.

The central assumption of this proposal is that the affix *ji* is a syntactically independent element. Especially, it appears independently from the light verb *ha*. Rather, the blocking property of the affix forces the empty verb *ha* to be introduced to host a tense affix.

The hypothesis that the affix is the head of NegP can easily explain the ungrammaticality of the following examples where the affix *ji* appears after a tense affix, since Infl is supposed to govern NegP, but nice versa.

- (36) a. * Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ass-ji an-ha-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-PAST-ji neg-do
 'Chelsu did not eat lunchl.'
- b. * Chelsu-ka jemsim-ul mek-ass-ji an-ha-ass-ta.
 N lunch-A eat-PAST-ji neg-do-PAST
 'Chelsu did not eat lunch.'

The current proposal might provide a systematic account for the negation so-called 'light verb construction', where a verbal noun must call for the insertion of the light verb *ha* in Korean. Consider the following examples.

- (37) a. John-ka ku noray-lul jakgok ha-ass-ta.
 N the song-A compose do-PAST

- 'John composed the song.'
- (38) a. Short Negation
 John-ka ku noray-lul jakgok an ha-ass-ta.
 N the song-A compose neg do-PAST
 'John composed the song.'
- b. Long Negation
 John-ka ku noray-lul jakgok ha-ji an ha-ass-ta.
 N the song-A compose do-ji neg do-PAST
 'John composed the song.'

A variety of proposals have been reported for this construction, but one thing that is clear is that the defective property of the verbal noun is responsible for the unique characteristics of the construction. Let us suppose that the verbal noun *jakgok* 'compose' can not move up to attach to the tense affix, simply because it does not carry the lexical feature [+V]. Then, the effect of *do*-support occurs to bear the inflectional affix. Two occurrences of the light verb *ha* are an expected result under the current proposal. First, the verbal noun *jakgok* 'compose' may not move and attach to the head affix *ji*, if we assume that the affix requires the feature [+V], which the verbal noun lacks. Thus, the effect of *do*-support takes place inside NegP. The combined *ha-ji*, in turn, may not move to attach to the tense affix, hence another occurrence of the light verb *ha* is necessary to host the tense affix.

In sum, we propose that the affix *ji* is the head of NegP and that *an* is an adverbial carrying negative meaning and showing a limited distribution. This alternative proposal could provide alternative answers to the two fundamental questions: (i) Why are there two types of negation in Korean? and (ii) Why do the affix and the light verb *ha* have to appear together in Long Negation?

5. Concluding Remarks

We believe that any attempt to analyze Korean negation must provide an answer to the question why there exist two types of negation at all. We propose that the two instances of Korean negation can be attributed to the absence and presence of NegP in Short and Long negation, respectively. We also make an alternative proposal that the affix *ji* is the head of NegP and the negative morpheme *an* is an adverbial whose distribution is highly restricted like English *never*. The affix *ji* is an independent head and blocks the verb movement. Or the affix itself may not host the tense affix since it does not carry the necessary feature of [+V]. Thus the light verb *ha* needs to be introduced to support a stranded tense affix. Many issues remain unanswered, however. For example, the existence of NegP itself is a big issue that needs to be explored in detail. Other issues worthwhile to explore might include the differences between stative and nonstative verbs with respect to negation and some differences between Korean and Japanese in negation.

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