NPIs and Rhetorical Question in Korean*

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Cho, Sae-Youn and Lee, Han-Gyu. 2001. NPIs and Rhetorical Question in Korean. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 9(1), 145-166. This paper provides a syntactic and pragmatic account of the Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and Rhetorical Question (RQ) in Korean, which would be hard to explain under current syntactic views (Sohn, 1995). For a theory of NPIs to be adequate, it must answer the following questions: (i) What is an appropriate constraint to NPIs to explain the difference in distributional behaviors between Declarative Sentences (DS) and RQ?, and (ii) Why does such a difference exist depending on constructions? To answer these questions, we propose that the distributional behavior can be dealt with by specifying lexical properties of NPIs and positing a construction-type, and suggest that sentences with NPIs can be fully understood by discerning the pragmatic role of NPIs at issue. (**Honam University and Kyung Hee University**)

1. Issues

This paper presents a syntactic and pragmatic description of the Negative Polarity Items (NPI) depending on the constructions in Korean. There has been considerable discussion regarding various constructions containing NPIs in Korean. The previous literature related to the discussion has focused mainly on NPIs' licensing environments. To decide their licensing environments, the pure syntactic approach including Sohn (1995), on the one hand, has claimed that all NPIs should co-occur with a negative predicate or an overt negation at the overt syntax. On the other hand, the semantic approach including Nam (1994) has proposed a fine-grained NPI typology to account for their

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licensing environments. The previous syntactic and semantic analyses work for the declarative sentences containing an NPI as illustrated in (1). Sentence (1a) is grammatical because the NPI *cenhye* 'at all'' and the negative predicate *eps-ta* 'not.exist-decl'' co-occur within a clause, whereas sentence (1b) is ungrammatical because the NPI appears alone.

(1) a. Sue-ka ton-i   **cenhye   eps-ta.**
        S-nom   money-nom at all   not.exist-decl
        'Sue does not have money at all.''
    b. *Sue-ka ton-i   **cenhye**   iss-ta.
        S-nom   money   at all   exist-decl
        (Lit.) 'Sue has money at all.''

As Cho & Lee (2000) pointed out, the previous approaches, however, seem to be unsuitable to explain properties of the NPI *yekan* 'commonly'. Unlike declarative sentences containing *cenhye*, sentence (2a) is ungrammatical, where the NPI *yekan* occurs with the inherent negative predicate, while sentence (2b), where it occurs with the long-form negation (LN) *-ci anh-*, is grammatical.

(2) a. *Sue-ka ton-i   **yekan   eps-ta.**
        S-nom   money-nom   commonly   not.exist-decl
    b. Sue-ka   ton-i   **yekan   eps-ci   anh-ta.**
        S-nom   money-nom commonly not-exist LN(Aux)-decl
        'Sue has little money.''

Specifically, the grammatical difference of (1a) and (2a), where each NPI occurs with a negation within a clause, seems to be hard to explain under the previous syntactic approach. The previous semantic approach, assuming that inherent negative predicates such as *eps-* have the same negative force as overt negation in Korean NPI licensability, also faces difficulties accounting for the difference in grammaticality between (1) and (2). In addition to the co-occurrence restriction of NPIs

in Declarative Sentences (DS) above, NPIs in Rhetorical Question (RQ) exhibit more peculiar properties as in (3).

(3) a. Sue-ka cenhye   yeyppu-ci   **anh-ni**?
         S-nom   at all   pretty   LN-ques
         (Lit.) 'Isn't Sue pretty at all?''

   b. *Sue-ka yekan   yeyppu-ci **anh-ni**?
        S-nom   commonly pretty   LN-ques
        (Lit.) 'Isn't Sue pretty?''

   c. *Sue-ka kyelkho yeyppu-ci   **anh-ni**?
        S-nom   ever   pretty   LN-ques
        (Lit.) 'Is Sue never pretty?''

The properties of NPIs depending on the construction-type mentioned above would be a challenge to any existing theory for NPIs. To provide an appropriate account of NPIs in Korean, we claim that the distributional behavior of NPIs should be dealt with by specifying lexical properties of NPIs and positing constraints to each construction-type. Besides this syntactic analysis, we also present a pragmatic account of NPIs to ensure that our syntactic analysis is pragmatically supported and that sentences containing NPIs can be fully understood by discerning the pragmatic role of NPIs.

This paper is organized as follows: In section 2, properties of representative 3 NPIs exhibiting different distributional behaviors from each other are presented with respect to construction-types. In section 3, we provide a constraint-based and lexical analysis of the NPIs in HPSG (Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar). In section 4, we also present a pragmatic account to answer why the NPIs exhibit such syntactic properties. Finally, we conclude that the various properties of the NPIs can be accounted for by the interaction of a well-defined lexical and syntactic system and the pragmatic component.

2. Properties of NPIs

2.1. NPIs in Declarative Sentences

Among numerous NPIs in Korean, we limit ourselves to three NPIs exhibiting different properties: *kyelkho* 'by any means', *cenhye* 'at all', and *yekan* 'commonly'. These 3 representative NPIs are adverbs functioning as modifiers. It is well known that they cannot occur with positive predicates in a declarative sentence. As illustrated in (4-6), a-sentences, where each NPI co-occurs with a long-form negation, are grammatical, whereas b-sentences, where each NPI occurs alone, are ungrammatical.

(4) a. Na-nun **kyelkho** wulci anh-keyss-ta.
      -top by any means cry LN-will-decl
      'I will not cry.''
    b. *Na-nun **kyelkho** wul-keyss-ta.
(5) a. Marcia-ka **cenhye** yeyppuci **anh-ta.**
      M-nom at all pretty LN-decl
      'Marcia is not pretty at all.''
    b. Marcia-ka **cenhye** yeyppu-ta.
(6) a. Marcia-ka **yekan** yeyppuci **anh-ta.**
      commonly pretty not-decl
    b. *Marcia-ka **yekan** yeyppu-ta.
      'Marcia is quite pretty.''

Though they share a common property in that they must occur with a negation in a declarative sentence, there seems to be a difference in selecting their negative forms. There are at least three negative forms in Korean: inherent predicates such as *eps-*, the long-form negation *-ci anh-*, and the short-form negation (SN) *mos* or *an*. The NPI *kyelkho* and *cenhye* can select any negative forms as in (4a) and (7) and as in (5a) and (8), respectively. However, the NPI *yekan* may not co-occur with inherent predicates as in (2a) or with the SN as in (9).[1]

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1) The grammaticality of sentence (9), whether *yekan* and SN co-occur, is

(7) a. Na-nun   **kyelkho**   **an**   wul-keyss-ta.
        I-top   by any means   SN   cry-will-decl
        'I will not cry.''

    b. Na-nun   **kyelkho**   ton-i   eps-ta.
        I-top   by any means   money-nom   not.exist-decl
        'I really have no money.''

(8) a. Marcia-ka   **cenhye**   **an**   yeyppu-ta.
        M-nom   at all   SN   pretty-decl
        'Marcia is not pretty at all.''

    b. Marcia-ka   **cenhye**   ton-i   eps-ta.
        M-nom   at all   money-nom   not.exist-decl
        'Marcia has no money at all.''

(2) a. *Sue-ka   ton-i   **yekan**   **eps-ta**.
        S-nom   money-nom   commonly   not.exist-decl

(9) ?/ *Marcia-ka   yekan   an/mos   yeyppu-ta.
        M-nom   commonly SN   pretty-decl
        'Marcia is quite pretty.''

This co-occurrence restriction suggests that the assumption by the previous analyses that inherent negative predicates have the same negative force as overt negation in Korean licensability is false. Furthermore, the overt negations such as the LN and the SN should also be dealt with differently even in declarative sentences.

2.2. NPIs in Rhetorical Question

The three NPIs behave differently from each other in a Rhetorical Question. First of all, when the NPI *kyelkho* occurs in an ARQ (Affirmative Rhetorical Question) or an NRQ (Negative Rhetorical Question), the sentence is ungrammatical as in (10). NRQ (10a), where

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controversial in that a few native speakers regard it as ungrammatical. We are not sure whether this is a dialectal or sociological issue at this point. In this paper, We treat this sentence as ungrammatical.

kyelkho co-occurs with the LN, is ungrammatical and ARQ (10b), where it occurs with no negation, is ungrammatical, too.

(10) a. *Marcia-ka   **kyelkho**   wulci   **anh-nya**?
          Marcia-nom   by any means   cry   LN-ques
     b. *Marcia-ka   **kyelkho**   wu-nya?
          Marcia-nom   by any means   cry-ques
          (Lit.) 'Does Marcia never cry?''

Second, when the NPI *cenhye* co-occur with a negation in an interrogative sentence, the sentence can be acceptable as an RQ. But if *cenhye* occurs alone, the sentence is ungrammatical. In other words, the NRQ containing the NPI *cenhye* can be acceptable as in (11a) while the ARQ containing it cannot be acceptable as in (11b).

(11) a. Marcia-ka   **cenhye** ppang-ul   **an**   mek-nya?
          Marcia-nom   at all   bread-acc   SN   eat-ques
     b. *Marcia-ka   **cenhye** ppang-ul   mekess-nya?
          (Lit.) 'Didn't Marcia eat any bread at all?''

Third, the NPI *yekan* might be used not in an NRQ but in an ARQ. When *yekan* occurs alone in an interrogative sentence, the sentence can be acceptable as an RQ as shown in (12a). By contrast, if *yekan* and a negation co-occur in an interrogative sentence, the sentence cannot be acceptable as RQ as in (12b).

(12) a. Marcia-ka   **yekan**   yeyppu-nya?
          Marcia-nom   commonly   pretty-ques
     b. *Marcia-ka   **yekan**   yeyppuci **anh-nya**?
          Marcia-nom   commonly   pretty   LN-ques
          (Lit.) 'Is(n't) Marcia quite pretty?''

To be an adequate theory of NPIs in Korean, the theory must provide an explanation for these idiosyncratic behaviors of the NPIs in

interrogative sentences.

2.3. Semantic or Pragmatic Properties of NPIs

As shown the previous section, the NPI *kyelkho* does not occur in an RQ but can occur in a DS as long as there is a negation in its clause. Though this co-occurrence restriction can be specified in the lexicon, this phenomenon seems to be closely related to the meaning of *kyelkho*. Second, in considering that *cenhey* is an NPI in Korean, the fact that it does not occur in an ARQ appears to be natural. However, the NPI *yekan* either combining with the LN in a DS or without any overt negation in an RQ is construed not negatively but positively. Unlike other NPIs such as *kyelko* and *cenhy*e, *yekan* is construed positively so that sentence (13) is interpreted not as "Marcia is not (quite) pretty""' but as "Marcia is quite pretty."

(13) Marcia-ka **yekan** yeyppu-ci **anh-ta.**
Marcia-nom commonly pretty- LN-decl
'Marcia is quite pretty.''

Similarly, the NPI *yekan* without any overt negation in (14) is also construed positively so that the ARQ is interpreted as "As you know, Marcia is quite pretty."

(14) Marcia-ka **yekan** yeyppu-**nya**?
Marcia-nom commonly pretty-ques
(Lit.) 'Is(n't) Marcia quite pretty?''

So far, we have examined the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the 3 different NPIs in Korean. As for syntactic properties, it is observed that in DS, *kyelkho* and *cenhye* must occur with any negative form while *yekan* only occurs with the LN. In RQ, *cenhye* can be used in an NRQ but *yekan* can be used in an ARQ, though *kyelkho*
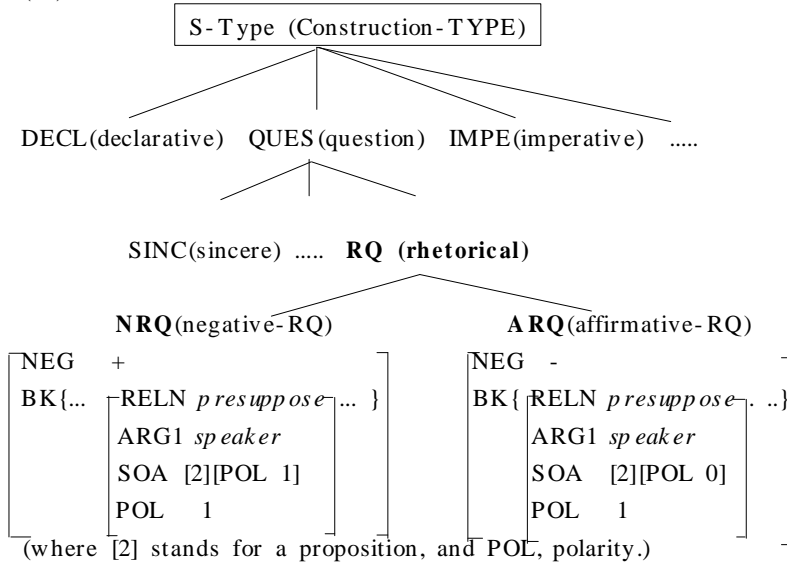
cannot be used in any question. As for semantic and pragmatic properties, *yekan* with the LN in a DS or without a negation in an ARQ is construed positively, unlike other NPIs. To be an adequate theory of NPIs, the theory must answer at least the following questions: (i) What is an appropriate constraint to NPIs to explain the co-occurrence restrictions in a DS and an RQ?; (ii) Why does *yekan* get a positive reading and why cannot other NPIs be used in an ARQ?

3. A Proposal: A Constraint-Based Lexical Analysis

As discussed above, the NPIs *kyelkho* and *cenhye* must occur with any negative form while *yekan* only occurs with the LN in DS. In RQ, **cenhye** can be used in an NRQ but *yekan* can be used in an ARQ, though *kyelkho* cannot be used in any question. To accommodate this co-occurrence restriction, we postulate a hierarchical construction-type within HPSG as in (15) and specify which NPI selects which negative forms with respect to the S-TYPE (Sentence-TYPE), i.e. the Construction-TYPE, in the lexicon as in (16).

(15)

S-Type (Construction-TYPE)

DECL(declarative)   QUES(question)   IMPE(imperative)   .....

SINC(sincere) .....   **RQ (rhetorical)**

NRQ(negative-RQ)   **ARQ**(affirmative-RQ)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{NEG} & + \\
\text{BK}\{... & \begin{bmatrix} \text{RELN } presuppose \\ \text{ARG1 } speaker \\ \text{SOA } [2][\text{POL } 1] \\ \text{POL } \quad 1 \end{bmatrix} ... \}
\end{bmatrix}
\qquad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{NEG} & - \\
\text{BK}\{ & \begin{bmatrix} \text{RELN } presuppose \\ \text{ARG1 } speaker \\ \text{SOA } \quad [2][\text{POL } 0] \\ \text{POL } \quad 1 \end{bmatrix} ..\}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

(where [2] stands for a proposition, and POL, polarity.)

(16) a.   kyelkho: [MOD[verb[NEG + , S-TYPE decl]]]

   b.   cenhye: [MOD[verb[NEG + , S-TYPE decl or RQ]]]

   c.   yekan : [MOD[verb[NEG +, AUX +, S-TYPE decl]]]

   OR [MOD[verb[NEG - , S-TYPE RQ]]]

In (15), the S-TYPE has various subtypes such as DECL, QUES, IMPE, etc. Again, the type QUES has at least two subtypes, i.e. SINC and RQ. In RQ, there are two subtypes: namely NRQ and ARQ whose constraints are annotated in the hierarchy. The annotated NRQ and ARQ may be described informally as follows: in an ARQ, the speaker presupposes a proposition whose positive literal meaning is negated whereas in an NRQ, the speaker presupposes a proposition whose negated literal meaning is doubly negated. For instance, the real meaning of NRQ (17a), where its SOA (State of Affairs) is "Marcia does not eat the bread at all", is the question about the speaker's presupposition on the negated SOA, so it is construed that "Marcia eats

the bread, doesn't she?" By the same reasoning, the real meaning of ARQ (17b), where its SOA is "Marcia is quite pretty." is the question about the speaker's presupposition on the SOA, so it is construed that "Marcia is quite pretty, isn't it?".
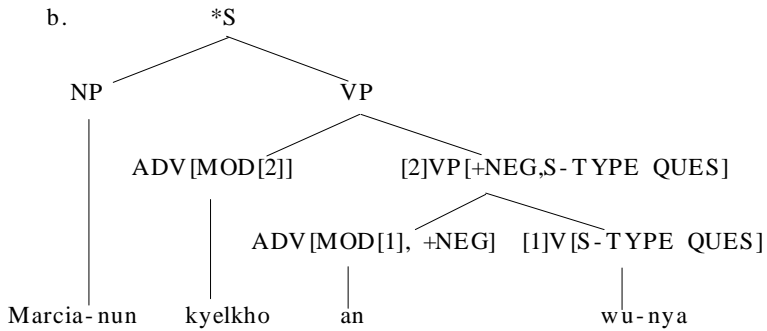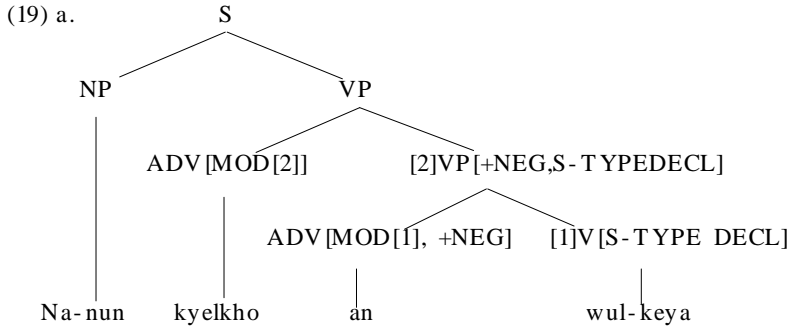
(17) a. Marcia-ka   **cenhye**   ppang-ul   **an**   mek-nya?
      Marcia-nom   at all   bread-acc   SN   eat-ques
      (Lit.) 'Doesn't Marcia eat the bread at all?''

    b. Marcia-ka   **yekan**   yeyppu-**nya**?
      Marcia-nom   commonly   pretty-ques
      (Lit.) 'Is(n't) Marcia quite pretty?'

The lexical information of (16) enables us to predict the distributional behaviors of the 3 representative NPIs. In (16), we assume that a feature and its value should be encoded in the lexicon for all negative items. For example, the LN *-ci anh-*, the SN *mos* and inherent predicates such as *eps-* share the same information, i.e. [+NEG]. However, note that the LN whose AUX value is '+'' can be distinguished from other negative forms whose AUX value is '-' In (16a), the NPI *kyelkho* as a verbal MOD (modifier) must occur with any negative form in a DECL but cannot appear in a QUES. In (16b), *cenhey* as a verbal modifier should co-occur with a negative form either in a DECL or in a QUES. The NPI *yekan* can appear either with an LN in a DECL or without any negation in an RQ, as specified in (16c). For comprehensibility, we demonstrate how the feature system in the lexicon based on Pollard & Sag (1994) and Sag (1999) works for sentences with NPIs. First of all, declarative sentence (18a) with the NPI *kyelkho* can be represented as in (19a) and interrogative sentence (18b) with the same NPI, as in (19b).

(18) a. Na-nun   **kyelkho an**   wul-keya.
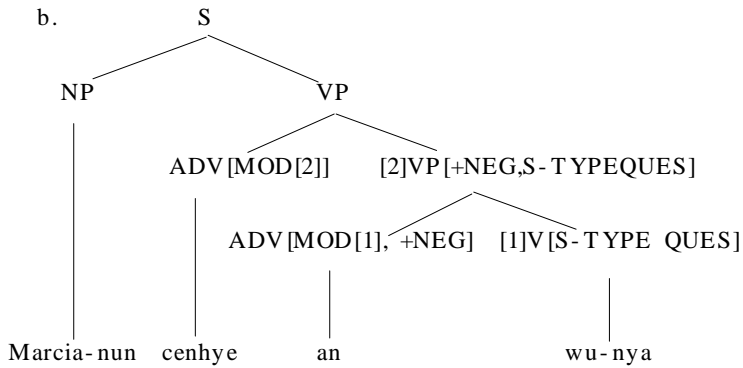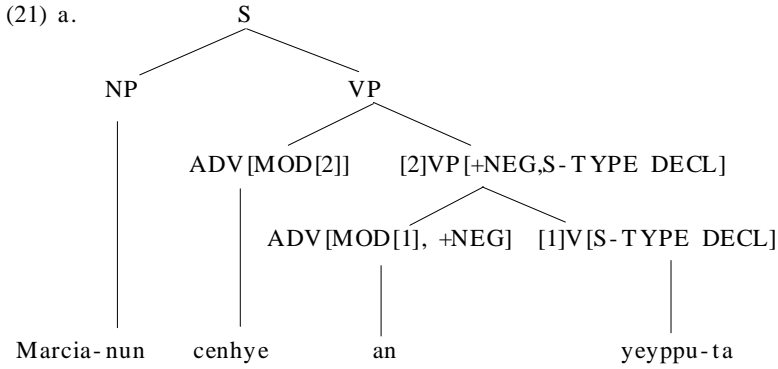   I-top   ever   SN   cry-decl
      'I will never cry.''

b． *Marcia-nun **kyelkho** (**an**) wu-nay?

   Marcia-top   ever   SN cry-ques

   'Does Marcia never cry?''

(19) a.

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                    S
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             NP           VP
              │      ┌─────┴──────┐
              │   ADV[MOD[2]]   [2]VP[+NEG,S-TYPEDECL]
              │      │        ┌──────┴──────┐
              │      │   ADV[MOD[1], +NEG]  [1]V[S-TYPE DECL]
              │      │        │              │
           Na-nun  kyelkho    an          wul-keya
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b.

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                    *S
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             NP           VP
              │      ┌─────┴──────┐
              │   ADV[MOD[2]]   [2]VP[+NEG,S-TYPE QUES]
              │      │        ┌──────┴──────┐
              │      │   ADV[MOD[1], +NEG]  [1]V[S-TYPE QUES]
              │      │        │              │
          Marcia-nun kyelkho  an          wu-nya
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In (19a), the SN with [+NEG] is unified with the verb *wulkeya* with [S-TYPE DECL] and hence the mother node VP being encoded as [+NEG, S-TYPE DECL] is exactly what the NPI *kyelkho* requires in the lexicon. So sentence (18a) is a well-formed sentence. But interrogative sentence (18b) is an ill-formed sentence. As in (19b), the NPI *kyelkho* in the lexicon requiring that S-TYPE should be DECL modifies the verbal element whose S-TYPE value is QUES so that there is a conflict in the S-TYPE value.

Second, declarative sentence (20a) with the NPI *cenhye* can be represented as in (21a) and interrogative sentence (20b) with the same NPI, as in (21b).
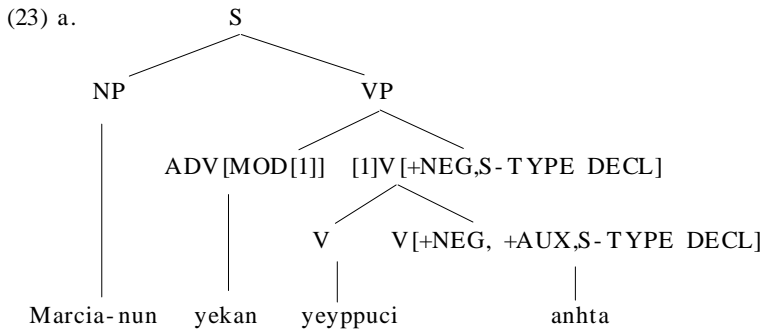
(20) a. Marcia-nun **cenhye** **an** yeyppu-ta.
　　　 Marcia-top at all SN pretty-decl
　　　 'Marcia is not pretty at all.''
　　 b. Marcia-nun **cenhye** **an** wu-nay?
　　　 Marcia-top at all SN cry-ques
　　　 'Doesn't Marcia cry at all?''

(21) a.

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                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │            ┌────────┴────────┐
         │       ADV[MOD[2]]    [2]VP[+NEG,S-TYPE DECL]
         │            │         ┌───────┴────────┐
         │            │    ADV[MOD[1], +NEG]  [1]V[S-TYPE DECL]
         │            │         │                │
     Marcia-nun    cenhye      an            yeyppu-ta
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b.

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                    S
         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        NP                     VP
         │            ┌────────┴────────┐
         │       ADV[MOD[2]]    [2]VP[+NEG,S-TYPEQUES]
         │            │         ┌───────┴────────┐
         │            │    ADV[MOD[1], +NEG]  [1]V[S-TYPE QUES]
         │            │         │                │
     Marcia-nun    cenhye      an             wu-nya
```
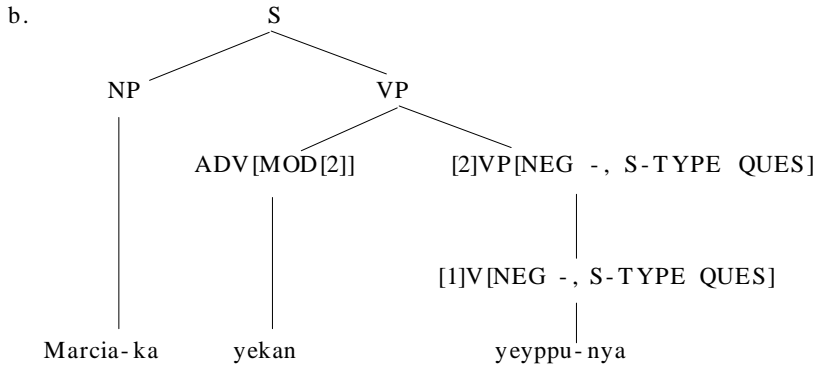
In (21a), the SN with [+NEG] is unified with the predicate *yeypputa* with [S-TYPE DECL] and hence the mother node VP being encoded as [+NEG, S-TYPE DECL] is exactly what the NPI *cenhye* requires in the lexicon. So sentence (20a) is a well-formed sentence. Similarly, the NPI *cenhye* in the lexicon requiring that the S-TYPE value should be DECL or NRQ can co-occur with the verbal element whose S-TYPE value is QUES, as illustrated in (21b) and so NRQ (20b) is grammatical. Unless there is a negation within a clause, it is ungrammatical via the feature system above.

Third, declarative sentence (22a) with the NPI *yekan* can be represented as in (23a) and interrogative sentence (22b) with the same NPI, as in (23b).

(22) a. Marcia-nun   **yekan**   yeyppuci   **anh-ta.**
          Marcia-top   commonly   pretty   LN-decl
          'Marcia is quite pretty.''
     b. Marcia-ka   **yekan**   yeyppu-nay?
          Marcia-top   commonly   pretty-ques
          'Isn't Marcia quite pretty?''

(23) a.

b.

```
                              S
              ┌───────────────┴───────────┐
             NP                           VP
              │              ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
              │         ADV[MOD[2]]      [2]VP[NEG -, S-TYPE QUES]
              │              │                     │
              │              │            [1]V[NEG -, S-TYPE QUES]
              │              │                     │
          Marcia-ka        yekan            yeyppu-nya
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In (23a), the LN with [+NEG, +AUX] is unified with the predicate *yeypputa* with [S-TYPE DECL] and hence the mother node being encoded as [+NEG, +AUX, S-TYPE DECL] is exactly what the NPI *yekan* requires in the lexicon. So sentence (22a) is grammatical. Similarly, the requirement of NPI *yekan* in the lexicon that when the S-TYPE value is ARQ, the NEG value should be '-'' is satisfied in (23b) and so ARQ (22b) is a well-formed sentence. If there is any feature conflict with respect to the S-TYPE, NEG and AUX value, the sentences including *yekan* are ungrammatical.[2]

So far, we have proposed a constraint-based lexical analysis to account for the distributional behaviors of NPIs in Korean and demonstrated how it works. In the next section, we provide a pragmatic explanation for the semantic and pragmatic issues related to the NPIs.

4. Pragmatic Account

This section provides a pragmatic account of the distributional behaviors of the NPIs in questions. We hereby claim that their different

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2) We assume in this paper that when the S-TYPE value is a subtype of QUES, i.e. ARQ or NRQ, it succeeds in unification. We believe that elaboration the feature system above is trivial.

behaviors in questions described in section 2 are just a reflection of their different pragmatic uses: that is, *cenhye* can occur in a question because it is speaker-neutral while *kyelkho* and *yekan* cannot because they are speaker-oriented. Furthermore, as claimed in Cho & Lee (2000), the NPI use of *yekan* is the conventionalization of its implicature which was inferred from long-negated sentences containing it. This property will explain why *yekan* appear in an ARQ while *cenhye* in an NRQ.   So, in 4.1, the pragmatic uses of the 3 NPIs, *kyelkho*, *cenhye*, and *yekan* are briefly described, and our pragmatic analysis of their distributional behaviors in questions is provided in 4.2.

4.1. Pragmatic Use

4.1.1. *Cenhye*

The NPI *cenhye* is a degree adverb which is used to intensify the negative meaning of the speaker's utterance containing it, by indicating that the degree about the situation or event described by the utterance comes to the negative extreme, namely, 0, on the degree scale. For example, in (24), the speaker uses *cenhye* to emphasize that the degree about Sue's prettiness comes to 0 on the prettiness scale.

(24) Sue-nun **cenhye** yeppu-ci anh-a.
     Sue-top at all pretty LN-decl
     'Sue is not pretty at all.''

Because *cenhye* is a degree adverb, it should go with a degree-expressing predicate; otherwise, the resulting utterance sounds really awkward. For example, in (25), whether to be female or male is a matter of sex, not a matter of degree. So the predicate *yeca-ka anita* 'is not a woman'' cannot go well with the degree adverb *cenhye*.

(25) **cenhye** yeca-ka ani-ya.
　　 at all woman-nom not.be-decl
　　 'She is not a girl at all.''

However, (25) will be good when it is uttered to mean that a certain girl behaves like a tomboy. In this situation, *cenhye* is intended to emphasize that she is not feminine by indicating that the degree about her feminine nature comes to 0 on the feminicity scale.

4.1.2. *Kyelkho*

The NPI *kyelkho* is used to represent the speaker's strong conviction about the content of his utterance. Showing his decisive attitude like this, the speaker intends the NPI *kyelkho* to intensify the negative meaning of his utterance. For example, in (26), by using *kyelkho*, the speaker shows his strong conviction that Somi is not pretty (a), and that the listener did not meet Tom (b).

(26) a. Somi-nun **kyelkho** yeppuci anh-a.
　　　 S-top by any means pretty LN-decl
　　　 'Surely, Somi is not pretty.''
　 b. Ne-nun **kyelkho** Tom-ul an manna-ss-e.
　　　 you-top by any means T-acc SN meet-past-decl
　　　 'Surely, you didn't meet Tom.''

4.1.3. *Yekan*

The NPI *yekan* is a degree adverb literally denoting that the degree about a state or action is around the middle of the degree scale. It is used to represent the speaker's expectation about the extent or degree of a state or action that he is describing with his utterance; that is, against his expectation, the degree or extent of the state or action is found to be quite high, not around the middle of the degree scale. For

instance, by saying (27), the speaker intends to mean that he did not expect Semi to be fairly pretty, but he has found out that she is.

(27) (Semi-ka)   **yekan**   yeppu-ci   anh-a.
     S-nom   commonly   pretty   LN-decl
     'Semi is very pretty.'

The use of *yekan* to express the speaker's expectation is closely related to its politeness use. Instead of saying directly that the degree about a state or action is quite high, the speaker takes a strategy to make his utterance sound less assertive by using the NPI *yekan*. Making a strong assertion means that the addressee has no alternative but to accept the speaker's claim so that the former's opinion is disregarded and his face can be threatened. However, using the NPI *yekan* implies that, because the speaker delivers his opinion based on his expectation, it can be different from that of the addressee. So the utterance containing the NPI *yekan* sounds less assertive than the one containing emphatic intensifiers such as *acwu* 'very, fairly.' For example, (27) and (28) have the same interpretation that Semi is very pretty. However, they show the different attitudes of the speaker. In (28) the speaker represents Semi's beauty in a direct way by emphasizing it by using *acwu*, while in (27) he does it in an indirect way by understating it by using the NPI *yekan*. For this reason, (27) sounds less assertive than (28).

(28) (Semi-ka)   acwu   yepp-e.
     S-nom   very   pretty-decl
     'Semi is very pretty.'

The difference between the NPIs *yekan,* and *cenhye* and *kyelkho* is that *yekan* functions to decrease the degree the speaker intends as described above, while *cenhye* and *kyelkho* serve the degree-intensifying function, as shown in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. The degree-decreasing effect of

the NPI *yekan* resulted from the conventionalization of its conversational implicature that the degree is higher than the speaker expected, as claimed by Cho and Lee (2000). According to them, *yekan* was just a degree adverb, not an NPI, and, when it was used in a long-negated sentence, it could implicate either a stronger degree (upward implicature) or a weaker one (downward implicature) than the degree it denotes. However, for some pragmatic motivations including the politeness described above, using *yekan* in negated sentences to imply the upward interpretation would begin to grow more frequently. The more frequently *yekan* would be used this way, the less frequently it would be used for other purposes. Finally, *yekan* occurs only in a negated sentence to mean the upward implicature. This explains the main differences between *yekan* and the other NPIs; that is, why *yekan* as an NPI produces a positive reading, while other NPIs yields a negative one, and why the former has a degree-decreasing effect and the latter intensify the degree.

4.2. NPIs and Question

As discussed in 4.1, *kyelkho* and *yekan* are speaker-oriented in that they are used to represent the speaker's attitude and expectation; on the other hand, *cenhye* is speaker-neutral in the light that it does not reflect the speaker-related things. The properties of the 3 NPIs give a good account of their different behaviors in sincere questions as seen in (29); why *kyelkho* and *yekan* cannot occur in questions, but *cenhye* can.

(29) a. *Marcia-ka **kyelko** yeppu-ci   anh-a?
          M-nom   pretty   LN-ques
          (Lit.) 'Isn't Marcia ever pretty?''
     b. *Marcia-ka **yekan** yeppu-ci   anh-a?
          M-nom   pretty   LN-ques
          (Lit.) 'Isn't Marcia very pretty?''

  c. Marcia-ka **cenhye** yeppu-ci anh-a?

   M-nom   pretty LN-ques

   'Is Marcia not pretty at all?'”

We ask a sincere question to get some necessary information from the addressee. However, *kyelkho* is used to represent the speaker's own decisive attitude and *yekan* to express his expectation. So, *kyelkho* and *yekan* in sincere questions like (29a&b) mean that the speaker is asking the addressee about his (=the speaker's) own decisive attitude and expectation. This is quite a strange situation because it is the speaker, not the addressee who knows his attitude and expectation. That is why (29a&b) are wrong. On the other hand, the NPI *cenhye* does not represent the speaker's attitude or expectation; that is why it can be used in a sincere question to get the information he believes the addressee has.

It's a rule that the distributional behaviors of the NPIs in questions should be kept in RQ. So, (29a) containing the NPI *kyelkho* is wrong, even if it is uttered as an RQ, and (29c) containing *cenhye* is also good as an RQ. But the NPI *yekan* shows an idiosyncratic behavior in an RQ as seen in (30); it can occur in an ARQ, not an NRQ, even though it cannot in a sincere question as in (29c).

 (30) Marcia-ka **yekan**   yeyppu-nya?

    M-nom   commonly pretty-ques

Rhetorical questions are a type of indirect speech in which the speaker insincerely asks for information so as to deliver his obvious opinion. So the speaker uses a rhetorical question when he believes that the addressee recognizes that its answer is already fixed by the context. For example, uttering (30) as a rhetorical question, the speaker intends to mean that Marcia is quite pretty, even though there is no negator to go with the NPI *yekan*. In this sense, we can say that an RQ is like a declarative sentence that states the information opposite to that of the

RQ; so (30) is like (31). On the other hand, an NRQ such as (29c) is like a positive sentence such as *Marcia-ka yekan yepp-e* 'Marcia-Nom commonly pretty-decl'' which is ungrammatical. This is why the NPI *yekan* can appear in an ARQ.

(31) Marcia-ka   **yekan**   yeyppu-ci ahn-a.
     M-nom   commonly   pretty   LN-decl
     'Marcia is quite pretty.''

Then, why does *kyelkho* not occur in an RQ like *yekan*? *Kyelkho* is a lexicalized NPI, but *yekan* was not an NPI in itself; the NPI use of *yekan* is a conventionalization from the upward implicature of the degree adverb *yekan* used in a long-negated sentence. So if negation is inferable from the context, *yekan* can be used as in an ARQ such as (31).

Up to now, we have discussed the pragmatic uses of the 3 NPIs, *kyelkho*, *cenhye,* and *yekan,* and, based on their uses, we have provided the pragmatic analysis of their distributional differences in questions and RQ.

5. Concluding Remarks

The previous analyses regarding NPIs have focused on their licensing environments, assuming that inherent negative predicates have the same negative force as overt negation in NPI licensability. To explain their licensing environments, the previous analyses have suggested some syntactic or semantic generalizations. The generalizations on NPIs would be desirable only if they cover all empirical data. However, unless various properties of each NPI can be predicted by these generalizations, such generalizations would be worthless. The distributional behaviors of NPIs depending on constructions challenge these generalizations since they exhibit a number of idiosyncratic properties.

To provide a better account of NPIs, we have proposed that the syntactic properties can be accounted for by specifying the relevant information in each lexical item. This enables us to correctly predict the grammaticality of various sentences containing an NPI. We also have proposed a pragmatic account of NPIs to answer the questions about their pragmatic role and why it can or cannot be used in a construction.

We believe that our constraint-based lexical analysis would be on the right track to explain the behaviors of NPIs, rather than making a big generalization on them.

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