

Late Insertion and Linearization in Korean Negation

Korean has two forms of negation, known as the short form negation (SFN) (1a) and the long form negation (LFN) (1b). In the SFN construction the negator always directly precedes the verb in surface order, whereas LFN involves a nominalized main verb (*V-ci*) followed by the negator. Based on the assumptions of Distributed Morphology regarding post-syntactic Vocabulary Insertion and Linearization (Halle and Marantz 1994, Embick and Noyer 2001), this paper proposes that the prefixal nature of the negator *an-* is responsible for its preverbal position in SFN, and also for the dummy verb *ha* ‘do’ insertion after the negator in LFN.

Hagstrom (1996, 1997) proposes that Korean negator is in the specifier position of NegP. The SFN word order (object-negator-verb) is derived by the movement of the object above the negator *an* (2a), whereas in LFN a nominalized verb phrase headed by *ci* is moved over the negator (2b). I argue that negator *an* cannot be in the SpecNegP, based on the following facts; Firstly, if *an* is in the SpecNegP, the adjunct clause in (3) must be above NegP since it precedes *an*. However, it is always in the scope of the negation as the available reading shows. Secondly, *cacuw* ‘often’ can take narrow scope under the SFN (5). Cinque (1999) argues that there are two positions for *often*, as illustrated with the English translation in (4) and (5). In (4), *cacuw* is in a position higher than the negation (the object is scrambled from its Case position above the ‘higher’ *cacwu* in (4b)), and in (5) it is below the negation. If *an* is in the SpecNegP, the ‘lower’ *cacuw* in (5) must be higher than the negation, thus it is not clear how its narrow scope reading is obtained.

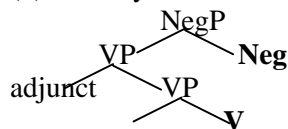
I claim that the negator is the head of NegP, and the preverbal position of SFN negator is derived at post-syntactic Linearization. I crucially adopt the idea that Korean negator *an* is a prefix (Kim 1999). V is syntactically lower than the Neg head as shown in (6), but at the point of Vocabulary Insertion when *an-* is inserted to Neg head, the main verb and *an-* are linearized as *an+V*, due to the prefixhood of *an-*. Since the syntactic position of the negator – the head of NegP above VP – is higher than the VP-adjoined position, the wide scope of negation over a preceding adverb and adjunct clause is expected. Also, there is no reason to assume movement of *ci* phrase over the negator in LFN to derive the correct word order in syntax, as Hagstrom argues.

Park (1992) and Hagstrom (1996, 1997) propose that LFN *anh(a)* is formed by dummy verb *ha* ‘do’ insertion to T to support a stranded tense suffix, parallel to the English *do*-insertion (Halle and Marantz 1994). However, unlike English *do*, Korean *ha* is inserted even when the verb is not tensed (7). I suggest that *ha* is inserted to Neg node, to support the prefix *an-*, which would otherwise be stranded. Thus, the morphological condition on the negator *an-* plays an important role in the derivation of both SFN and LFN.

Examples

- (1) a. *Minuw-nun pang-ul an chiuw-ess-ta*
 M.-TOP room-ACC NEG clean-PST-DEC
 b. *Minuw-nun pang-ul chiuw-ci an.h(a)-ess-ta*
 M.-TOP room-ACC clean-CI NEG.do-PST-DEC
 ‘Minoo didn’t clean the room’
- (2) a. *Minuw-nun [pang-ul]_i an t_i chiuw-ess-ta*
 M.-TOP room-ACC NEG clean-PST-DEC
 b. *Minuw-nun [pang-ul chiuw-ci]_i an t_i ha-ess-ta*
 M.-TOP room-ACC clean-CI NEG do-PST-DEC
 ‘Minoo didn’t clean the room’
- (3) *Mina-nun [PRO cikep-ul kuwha-le] an ttena-ess-ta*
 M.-TOP job-ACC search-to NEG leave-PST-DEC
 ‘Mina didn’t leave to search for a job’ (not >> to search for a job)
 *‘In order to search for a job, Mina didn’t leave’ (not << to search for a job)
- (4) a. *Inho-nun cacuw suwep-ul an tut-ess-ta*
 I.-TOP often class-ACC NEG attend-PST-DEC
 b. *Inho-nun suwep_i-ul cacuw t_i an tut-ess-ta*
 I.-TOP class-ACC often NEG attend-PST-DEC
 ‘Inho often didn’t attend the class’ (often >> not) (Higher often)
- (5) *Inho-nun suwep-ul cacuw an tut-ess-ta*
 I.-TOP class-ACC often NEG attend-PST-DEC
 ‘Inho didn’t often attend the class’ (often << not) (Lower often)

(6) Syntax:



Vocabulary Insertion: [NegP [VP *chiuw*] *an-*]
 Linearization: *chiuw*an-* → *an-+chiuw*
*clean*not* not+clean

- (7) a. *nuccam ca-ci an.h(a)-ki-ka nay olhay mokphyo-i-ta*
 oversleeping sleep-CI NEG.do-NOMNL-NOM my this.year goal-COP-DEC
 ‘Not to oversleep is my goal this year’
 b. *nuccam ca-ci an.h(a)-um-ulosse ney-ka et-nun kes-i muwes-i-ni*
 oversleep sleep-CI NEG.do-NOMNL-by you-NOM gain-REL thing-NOM what-COP-Q
 ‘What is the benefit that you get by not oversleeping?’

Selected References

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