On the Prefixhood and Scope of Short Form Negation[1]

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1 Introduction

A common and productive method of expressing sentence negation in Korean is to introduce the negative marker *an* or a negative auxiliary *ahn-ta*, as represented in (1).[2]

(1) a. John-un an ka-ass-ta. (SFN: Short Form Negation)
John-TOP NEG go-PST-DECL
'John did not go.'

b. John-un ka-ci anh-ass-ta. (LFN: Long Form Negation)
John-TOP go-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'John did not go.'

The morphosyntactic status of SFN *an* or *mos* has been rather an issue of controversy. It has been treated either as an adverb (Lee 1990, Sells 1994) or as a prefix (Ahn 1991, S.-Y. Kim 1993, among others), or as a head of NegP selecting a VP as its complement.[3] In this paper, I argue that there is ample empirical and theoretical evidence for the treatment of *an* as a prefix. I will show that this analysis provides us with a straightforward account of its placement restrictions as well as other related phenomena, such as scope relation.

[1]I thank the audience of the 8th Harvard International Symposium on Korean Linguistics for their helpful comments and discussions.

[2]The form *anh-ta* has been taken to be the contracted form of the archaic form *ani* + *ha*-'NEG+do'. I accept the view that the negative auxiliary *anh-ta* is an inseparable, base-generated word in Modern Korean. This issue will reemerge throughout this chapter.

[3]Sells (1998) provides a new analysis where *an* is taken to be a complement of the verb, similar to the analysis for English *not* given in Kim (1996).

2 Arguments for the Prefix Analysis of Short Form Negation

One of the arguments for treating the negator as an adverb has often been drawn from its similar distributional behavior to some adverbs such as *cal* 'well', *te* 'more', *tel* 'less', *com* 'a little', and so forth (cf. Lee 1993).

(2) a. (*cal) Tom-un (*cal) pap-ul (cal) mek-nun-ta.
Tom-TOP meal-ACC well eat-PRES-DECL
'Tom eats the meal well.'

b. (*an) Tom-un (*an) pap-ul (an) mek-nun-ta.
Tom-TOP meal-ACC NEG eat-PRES-DECL
'Tom does not eat the meal.'

The sentences in (2) illustrate that the negator *an* and the adverb *cal* are restricted to the preverbal position. A closer comparison between the adverb and the negator, however, indicates that the similarity in their syntactic distribution does not guarantee that the negator is an adverb. One immediate difference between *cal* and *an* lies in their linear ordering when they both occur in the same clause:

(3) a. cal an ka-ss-ta.
well NEG go-PST-DECL

b. *an cal ka-ss-ta.
NEG well go-PST-DECL

If we accept the view that the true adverb *cal* and the negator *an* are both adverbs, we must account for why they have certain ordering restrictions with respect to each other, or we need to introduce a specific linear ordering constraint.

Another similar difference between the adverb *cal* and the negator *an* lies in their distribution in so-called verbal noun constructions:

(4) a. *an yenkwu ha-ta.
NEG research do-DECL

b. cal yenkwu ha-ta.
well research do-DECL

The contrast here also falls out naturally in the prefix analysis: *an* and *mos* are morphological elements that cannot be attached to an element bigger than a word. But *cal* is an adverb which has no such restriction.

The existence of lexical idiosyncrasies gives us another strong argument for treating it as a prefix. In particular, the adverb analysis will have difficulties in blocking lexically inherent negative cases such as *molu-ta* 'not.know' and its positive counterpart *al-ta* 'know' from cooccurring with the negator(s):

(5) a. ku mwuncey-ul (*an) moll-ass-ta.
that problem NEG not.know-PST-DECL
'(I) did not know the problem.'

b. ku mwuncey-ul (*an) al-ass-ta.
that problem NEG know-PST-DECL
'(I) knew the problem.'

Any syntactic or semantic attempt would fail in predicting these lexical blocking cases because of the existence of idiosyncratic cases: the negator can host the causative forms of *al-* 'know' as illustrated in (6) (cf. No 1988).[4]

(6) an al-li-ess-ta.
'NEG not.know-CAUS-PST-DECL'

But notice that the adverb *cal* unlike *an* has no lexical blocking cases as shown in (7).

(7) a. ku mwuncey-ul cal moll-ass-ta.
that problem well not.know-PST-DECL
'(I) did not know the problem.'

b. ku mwuncey-ul cal al-ass-ta.
that problem well know-PST-DECL
'(I) knew the problem.'

If the negator *an* were taken to be an adverb, like the true adverb *cal*, we would require an additional mechanism to account for this contrast in lexical idiosyncrasies.

[4]According to Poser (1991), there are also cases where lexical forms block phrasal constructions such as Japanese "incorporated" periphrastic verbs formed with *suru*. Within this view, one may argue that the existence of the LFN forms such as *al-ci anh-ta* 'know-COMP NEG-DECL' and *iss-ci anh-ta* 'exist-COMP NEG-DECL' should block the corresponding regular forms. However, this cannot be correct because all regular forms have corresponding LFN forms. As for SFN negation, blocking is restricted to the word-formation component.

A plural copying process in Korean provides another piece of evidence for the prefixhood of the negators. Korean has a so-called plural copying operation: when the subject is marked with the plural marker, *-tul*, each following syntactic unit also can copy it, as illustrated in (8).

(8) motu-tul cam-ul-tul kiphi-tul ca-ass-ta.
everybody-PL sleep-ACC-PL sound-PL sleep-PST-DECL
'Everyone slept soundly.'

The plural marking on the subject *motu-* in (8) licenses the occurrence of plural marking on every following syntactic unit, except the main verb. What is interesting is that this plural copying process can be applied even to the following adverb such as *cal*, as shown in (9).

(9) ku salam-tul cal-tul mek-ess-ta.
that people-PL well-PL eat-PST-DECL
'Those people ate well.'

But the examples in (10) show that this copying process cannot apply to the negator.

(10) a. *ku salam-tul mos-tul ka-ss-ta.
that people-PL NEG-PL go-PST-DECL

b. *ku salam-tul an-tul ka-ss-ta.
that people-PL NEG-PL go-PST-DECL

The attachment of particles, further, shows a difference between adverbs and negative markers. The delimiters such as *-man, -to* and *-un* can be attached to a word, but cannot be inserted within a word.

(11) cal-man/to/un ha-yess-ta.
well-only/also/FOC do-PST-DECL
'did it well'

What we observe is that though the delimiters, *-man* 'only', *-to* 'also', or *un* can freely be attached to adverbs like *cal* as shown in (11), they can combine with neither of the negators, *an* and *mos*, as seen from (12).

(12) a. *mos-un/to ha-ta.
NEG-FOC/DEL do-DECL

b. *an-un/to ha-ta.
NEG-FOC/DEL do-DECL

Another difference between the adverb *cal* and the negative markers can be found with so-called verb reduplication cases (cf. No 1988, Ahn 1991).

(13) Tom-i pap-ul mek-ki-nun mek-ess-ta.
Tom-NOM meal-ACC eat-NMLZ-TOP eat-PST-DECL
'Tom did eat the meal, but ...'

The verb reduplication process imposes a certain restriction: the copied part should be at least a word. This restriction then implies, under my prefix treatment of the negators, that the preverbal adverb can be freely copied, but not the negator, *an* or *mos*. The examples in (14) support this prediction.

(14) a. Tom-i hakkyo-ey cal ka-ki-nun (cal) kassta.
Tom-NOM school-LOC well go-NMLZ-FOC (well) went
'Tom did go to school well, (but ...)'

b. Tom-i hakkyo-ey an ka-ki-nun *(an) kassta.
Tom-NOM school-LOC NEG go-NMLZ-FOC NEG went

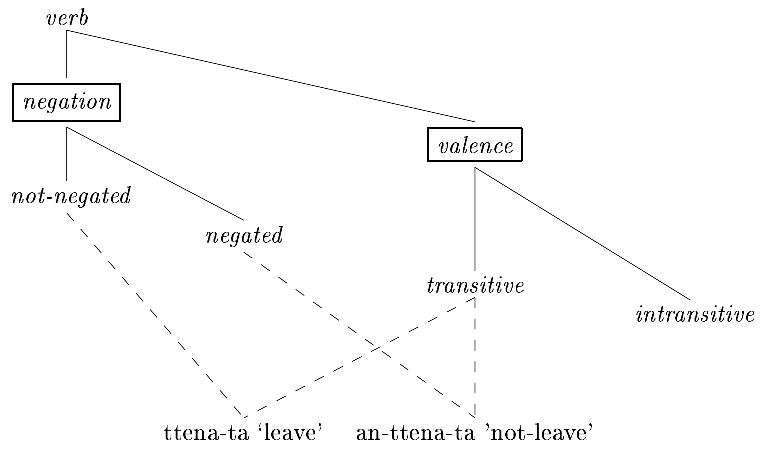
Copying the adverb *cal*, which is an independent syntactic unit, is optional, but the reduplication of the negator *an* is obligatory. This obligatoriness is expected, provided that it is a prefix and forms a word with the main verb.

3 A Note on the Structure of Negation

3.1 Short Form Negation

The observations we have made so far give us enough empirical as well as theoretical justification to take the negative markers *an* and *mos* as prefixes. I suggest that verbs, in addition to general information such as valence, also bear the information on negation as represented in the hierarchical lexicon structure in (15).

(15)



According to this multiple inheritance hierarchy, verbs have at least the information on negation and valence (this conjunctive requirement is marked by the boxes on the two types). The two types are partitioned into several subtypes.[5] The inheritance mechanism of this hierarchy allows nonnegative words and negative words with the negative marker *an* to inherit all the constraints of their supertypes. That is, their lexical information is underspecified but is later specified thru multiple inheritance. For example, the types in the hierarchy specify the following relevant information:

(16)

a. $\begin{bmatrix} \textit{transitive} \\ \text{COMPS} \langle \text{NP} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$ b. $\begin{bmatrix} \textit{intransitive} \\ \text{COMPS} \langle \quad \rangle \end{bmatrix}$

c. $\begin{bmatrix} \textit{negated} \\ \text{I-FORM an} + \boxed{1} \\ \text{STEM} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-negated} \\ \text{I-FORM} \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CONTENT } \textit{not-relation} \end{bmatrix}$ d. $\begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-negated} \\ \text{STEM } \textit{verb-lexeme} \end{bmatrix}$

Such information is inherited down to its subtype. This system generates the lexical entries for the verb *ttena-* 'leave-DECL' and its negative counterpart *an-ttena-* 'NEG-leave-DECL' as in (17).

[5]cf. Warner 1998 for partitioning the English auxiliary system into NEGATION and INVERSION).

(17) a. ttena- 'leave'

$$\boxed{4}\begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-negated} \wedge \textit{transitive} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \langle \text{NP}_{\boxed{1}} \rangle \\ \text{CONTENT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{leave-rel} & \\ \text{AGENT} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

b. an ttena- 'NEG leave'

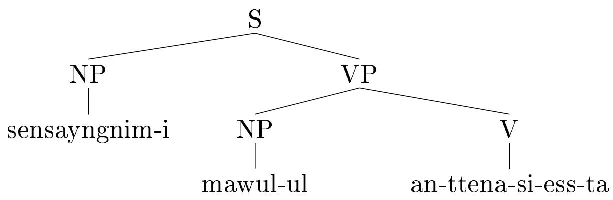
$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-negated} \wedge \textit{transitive} & \\ \text{I-FORM} & \textit{an} + \boxed{3} \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{CONTENT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-rel} & \\ \text{ARG} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{STEM} & \boxed{4}\begin{bmatrix} \text{I-FORM} & \boxed{3} \\ \text{CONT} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

One immediate advantage of this on-line type construction[6] is a uniform analyisis of productive as well as nonproductive lexical processes. Each regular and exceptional lexical lexeme is pretyped to the relevant category. For example, exceptional cases such as *molu-ta* 'not.know', *eps-ta* 'not.exist' are prelinked to the type *negated*. Pretyping such lexical entries to the category prevents an identical function of the word from being generated as in **an-molu-ta* and **an-eps-ta*.[7]

Given this basic architecture of SFN, we assign a simple structure to SFN sentences. For example, sentence (18)a will have the structure in (18)b.

(18) a. sensayngnim-i mawul-ul an-ttena-si-ess-ta.
teacher-NOM town-ACC NEG-leave-HON-PST-DECL
'The teacher did not leave town.'

b.



There is no functional projection NegP under this assumption, and there is thus no syntactic movement to form the word *an-ttena-si-ess-ta* (see section 2.4). All the inflectional affixes, including the negator *an*, are attached in the lexicon and have no syntactic status, other than whatever features they contribute to the overall word containing them. The negated main verb is, thus, simply base-generated from the lexicon.

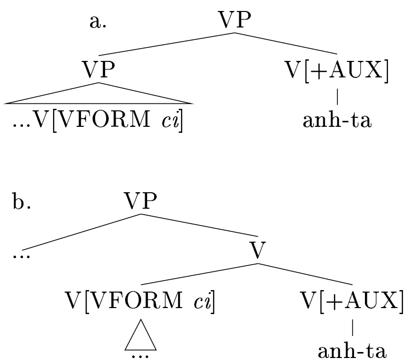
[6] We, of course, can generate the output through a lexical rule that affects the meaning of the output verb.

[7] See Koenig (1999) for a formulation of morphological blocking principle in a more precise way.

3.2 Long Form Negation

In exploiting the lexical view of LFN (Long Form Negation), we also have two issues that need to be addressed in Type II, the categorial status of *anh-ta* and its syntactic structure. As for its categorial status, I take *anh-ta* to be an independent auxiliary forming a verbal complex with a main verb. As for the syntactic structure of LFN, there are two possible views. One is to assume that the negative auxiliary takes a VP complement (cf. Lee 1993, S.-Y. Kim 1993, Yoon 1993, among others) and the other is to claim that it forms a verb complex with the preceding main verb (cf. Sells 1991, 1994, Kim 1996).

(19)



As argued by Kim (2000), phenomena such as topicalization, coordination, clefting, adverb intervention, scrambling, and so forth provides us with strong evidence to prefer the structure (19)b as that of Korean LFN. Together this verbal complex analysis, I introduce the mechanism of argument composition into the lexical entry of the negative auxiliary as represented in (20). [8]

(20) anh-ta: $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \left\langle \text{V}\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \text{L} \\ \text{CONT} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \oplus \text{L} \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{not-rel} & \\ \text{ARG} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

[8]The basic motivation of the argument composition is to allow a saturated-complement taking verb to alternatively select a non-saturated head.

The lexical entry in (20) specifies that the negative auxiliary selects as its complement a verbal element as well as the complement(s) (L) that this verb selects. The subcategorization requirements of the complement verb are thus passed to the negative auxiliary head with which it combines.[9]

4 Implications of the Analysis

4.1 Intervention Effect

The negators *an* and *mos* can in general occur with either stative or non-stative verbs, but this is not always true. For example, they cannot occur with auxiliary verbs in complex predicate structures (the term 'intervention effect' is borrowed from Sells (1998)):[10]

(21) a. mek-e (*an) po-ta.
eat-COMP NEG try-DECL
'try to eat'

b. ilk-eya (*an) ha-yess-ta
read-COMP NEG do-PAST-DECL
'have to read'

Further, the negators cannot precede modal verbs, as shown in (22).

(22) a. John-i ka-n kes (*an) kath-ta.
John-NOM go-PNE thing NEG seem-DECL
'It seems that John left.'

b. John-i ca-nun chey (*an) ha-yess-ta.
John-NOM sleep-PNE pretend NEG do-PST-DECL
'John pretended to sleep.'

We cannot attribute this behavior to the semantics of the auxiliaries since the LFN *anh-ta* has no such restriction.

(23) a. mek-e po-ci anh-ass-ta.
eat-COMP try-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'not try to eat'

[9] Also, notice that the negative auxiliary verb is treated as a raising verb (cf. Sells 1991). This is represented by the identity ($\boxed{1}$) between the SUBJ value of the negative auxiliary and that of the selected complement verb.

[10] However, there is no restriction for the negative marker to combine with the first main verb.

b. John-i ka-n kes kath-ci anh-ass-ta.
John-NOM go-PNE thing seem-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'It does not seem that John left.'

Within a prefix analysis, this morphosyntactic constraint is accounted for by a simple constraint (24).

(24) $\begin{bmatrix} \textit{negated} & \\ \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{STEM} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{AUX} - \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

The constraint specifies that the stem that the marker *an* attaches to should be a nonauxiliary verb. This simply captures the intervention effect we have observed.[11]

4.2 Double negation

My analysis also provides a simple description of double negation cases. Consider the examples in (25) and (26).

(25) a. *John-i Mary-lul manna-ci an anh-ass-ta.
John-NOM Mary-ACC meet-COMP NEG NEG-PST-DECL

b. *Mary-ka yeppu-ci an anh-ta.
Mary-NOM pretty-COMP NEG NEG-DECL

(26) a. Mary-ka yeppu-ci anh-ci anh-ta.
Mary-NOM pretty-COMP NEG-COMP NEG-DECL
'It is not the case that Mary isn't pretty.'

b. Jon-i Mary-lul manna-ci anh-ci anhassta.
John-NOM Mary-ACC meet-COMP NEG-COMP NEG
'It is not the case that John didn't meet Mary.'

The SFN marker *an* is a prefix and forms a word unit with the host it attaches to. The ungrammaticality of (25)a,b is simply due to the morphological properties of the negative prefix *an*: it does not attach to an auxiliary verb including a negative one.[12] LFN negation is an independent

[11] In an adverb analysis, it may not be impossible to block such ill-formed cases. For example, we may think of the negation as a functor modifying the head verb. To this functor, we can assign the specific lexical entry saying that it can modify only a nonauxiliary verbal category. However, this adverb analysis yields other problems, in particular, with scope.

[12] But it is possible to have the combination of *an* and *mos* in order.

auxiliary and selects a verb with the suffix *-ci*, whether it be an auxiliary or a main verb. Nothing blocks the double occurrence of the negative auxiliary, as in (26)a,b.

Also the analysis naturally predicts double negative cases in which SFN and LFN negation co-occur, as given in (27).

(27) a. John-i Mary-lul [[an manna-ci] anh-ass-ta].
John-NOM Mary-ACC NEG meet-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'It is not the case that John did not meet Mary.'

b. Mary-ka [[an yeppu-ci] anh-ta].
Mary-NOM NEG pretty-COMP NEG-DECL
'It is not the case that Mary isn't pretty.'

Again the negative auxiliary, an independent lexical unit, has no such restriction as to whether the main verb it combines with should be positive or negative.

Another revealing advantage of the present analysis is that it easily accounts for why the negator *mos* cannot 'semantically' combine with a verb complex:

(28) John-i sakwa-lul mos mek-ci anh-ass-ta.
John-NOM apple-ACC NEG eat-COMP NEG-PST-DECL

The sentence in (28) has only the reading where *mos* negates the following main verb as represented in (29)a. The sentence, however, cannot have the reading in which *mos* scopes over the verb complex as represented in the bracketing structure in (28)b.

(29) a. John-i sakwa-lul [[mos [mek-ci]] [anh-ass-ta]].
John-NOM apple-ACC NEG eat-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'It was not the case that John was unable to eat the apple.'

b. *John-i sakwa-lul [mos [mek-ci anh-ass-ta]].
John-NOM apple-ACC NEG eat-COMP NEG-PST-DECL
'John was not able to not eat the apple.'

This contrast shows that *mos* combines with the main verb, but not with a unit bigger than a word. Treating the negator *mos* as an adverb (cf. Sells 1994) could not explain why (29)b is unacceptable. But this is exactly what we expect from the prefix status of *mos*.

(i) John-i sakwa-lul an mos mek-ess-ta.
John-NOM apple-ACC NEG NEG eat-PST-DECL
'It was not the case John was unable to eat the apple.'

Since *mos mek-ess-ta* is a main verb, the negator *an* can again occur with it.

4.3 Scope of Negation in Complex Predicates

In the present analysis where the negator combines with its host main verb as a prefix, the question arises of how we can obtain the wide scope of negation in verbal complex cases like (30).

(30) a. an mek-e po-ta.
NEG eat-COMP try-DECL

b. an mek-ko iss-ta.
NEG eat-COMP in.process-DECL

The negator *an* can either scope over the whole verb complex with the meaning of 'not try to read' or just over the main verb with the meaning of 'try not to read'. If we take the negator *an* to be an adverb, this different scope of negation can be drawn from the difference in the structural attachment of the negator as in (31).

(31) a.[an [ilk-e po-ta]]
b. [[an ilk-e] po-ta].

In the prefix treatment, we cannot resort to such a structural resolution of scope. Within this approach, the only possible structure would be something like (31)b. The approach I adopt is the analysis of Pollard and Yoo (1998) and of Manning, Sag, and Iida (1997) in which scope is determined via the notion of storage and lexical properties. The key point of this analysis is that the quantification value of a verb be the set union of the quantification values of the verb's argument structure members. This effect can be illustrated through the simplified Quantifier-Store Amalgamation Constraint given in (32).

(32) QSTORE Amalgamation Constraint:

$$word \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} \left\langle [\text{QSTORE } \boxed{1}], \ldots, [\text{QSTORE } \boxed{n}] \right\rangle \\ \text{QSTORE } \boxed{1} \uplus, \ldots \uplus \boxed{n} \end{bmatrix}$$

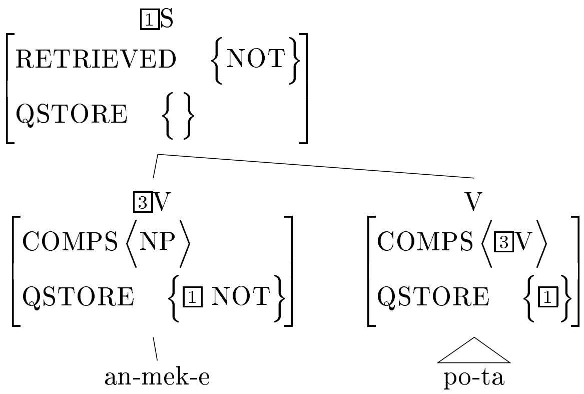
The constraint says that a word's QSTORE value is the union of the QSTORE values of its argument structure members. Let's see how this lexically encoded storage analysis works out.

Accepting the mechanism of argument composition for auxiliary verbs (see Chung 1998 for arguments), we posit the following as the lexical entry of auxiliary verbs such as *po-ta*.

(33) $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{HEAD} & \textit{verb} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \left\langle \text{V}\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJ} & \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \text{L} \\ \text{CONT} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \oplus \ \text{L} \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{try-rel} & \\ \text{ARG} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

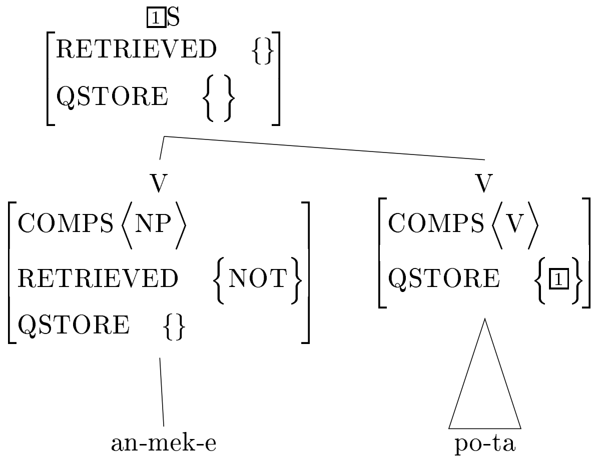
The lexical entry tells that the auxiliary *po-ta* 'try' takes as its complement a verbal element and the complements this verbal element selects. When this lexical entry incorporates the QSTORE amalgamation constraint, we then assign the following structure to the example in (31).

(34)



The verb *po-ta* combines with its verbal complement *an-mek-e*; meanwhile it also amalgmates the QSTORE value of the verbal complement *an-mek-e*. This QSTORE value is passed up to its mother, but can be retrieved at this node. The final scope depends on which node a quantifier is retrieved at and on the order of its retrieval relative to other quantifiers retrieved at the same node, as indicated by the value RETRIEVED. The retrieval freedom thus allows the narrow scope reading, too, in which the QSTORE value is retrieved earlier, as represented in the following:

(35)



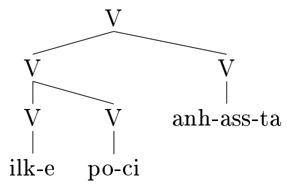
A consequence of this analysis comes from complex predicates where only a narrow scope reading is possible:

(36) an ilk-eya han-ta.
NEG read-COMP do-DECL

Unlike the complex predicates we have seen, negation only has narrow scope in (36). This lexical idiosyncrasy is simply because the auxiliary *ha-* lexically does not inherit the QSTORE value of its verbal complement *an-ilk-eya*.

Unlike SFN, the negation scopes over the whole verbal complex. This is natural consequence of the analysis, as can be observed from the following structure:

(37)



Since in this structure it is the negative auxiliary that bears the QSTORE value, the only place the QSTORE value can be retrieved is the top V. This results in only the reading where negation scopes over the whole verbal complex.[13]

[13] Sells (1998) has raised a puzzle in the treatment of *an*: whether we treat *an* either as an adverb or a prefix, we run into problems about the intervention effect with respect to scope of negation in verbal complex constructions (this problem has lead Sells 1998 to treat *an* as a complement).

5 Conclusion

By treating *an* as a prefix rather than an adverb, we can provide a straightforward account for various phenomena such as order restrictions with adverbs, lexical blocking cases, plural copying, reduplication process, and so forth. This analysis allowed us to have a simple structure for the SFN constructions, as well. When combined with the argument composition analysis for the LFN, the analysis also predicts the complicated behavior of negation with respect to the intervention effect and double negation.

Even the scope of negation in verbal complex predicate constructions is a natural prediction within the proposed lexicalist approach. This approach, built upon the notion of argument composition and the lexicalized account of quantifier scoping, captures the scope phenomena of SFN as well as LFN.

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