

## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation\*

Paul Hagstrom, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Negative sentences can take one of two forms in Korean. Compare the “short form” negation (“S-Neg”) in (2) and the “long form” negation (“L-Neg”) in (3) to the affirmative counterpart in (1). In S-Neg, the negative morpheme appears immediately before the verb. In L-Neg, the negative morpheme appears between a special form of the verb stem and the dummy verb *ha* ‘do’ which bears the tense morphology.<sup>1</sup>

- |     |                                 |          |                       |                   |                    |                     |
|-----|---------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | Chelswu-ka                      | ppang-ul | mek-ess-ta            |                   | <i>Affirmative</i> |                     |
|     | C                               | -NOM     | bread-ACC             | eat-PAST-DECL     |                    |                     |
|     | ‘Chelswu ate the bread.’        |          |                       |                   |                    |                     |
| (2) | Chelswu-ka                      | ppang-ul | <u>an</u> -mek-ess-ta |                   | “S-Neg”            |                     |
|     | C                               | -NOM     | bread-ACC             | NEG-eat-PAST-DECL | <i>an-V</i>        |                     |
|     | ‘Chelswu didn’t eat the bread.’ |          |                       |                   |                    |                     |
| (3) | Chelswu-ka                      | ppang-ul | mek- <u>ci</u>        | <u>ani</u>        | <u>hay</u> -ss-ta  | “L-Neg”             |
|     | C                               | -NOM     | bread-ACC             | eat-CI            | NEG do-PAST-DECL   | <i>V-ci ani ha-</i> |
|     | ‘Chelswu didn’t eat the bread.’ |          |                       |                   |                    |                     |

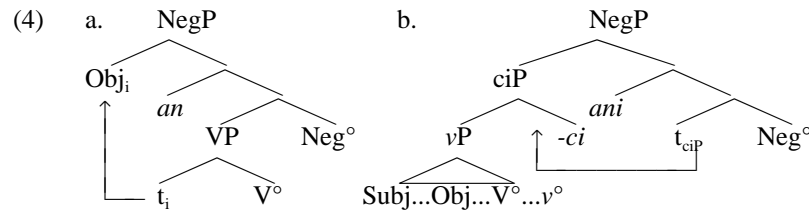
In this paper, I argue for a unified account under which both L-Neg and S-Neg involve a functional projection for negation (NegP) which has the negative morpheme, *an* or *ani*, in its specifier, and which triggers leftward movement of certain material. The two forms will be seen to differ in the hierarchical position of NegP. The proposed structures are shown below. In S-Neg (4a), the direct object moves leftward over *an*, while in L-Neg (4b) the entire nominalized verb phrase (notated as *vP*, which contains the base position of the subject) moves.<sup>2</sup>

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\* I am extremely grateful to Judy Yoo-Kyung Baek, Eun Cho, Hyon Sook Choe, Seung-Man Kang, and Yoonjung Kang, for their help and patience with judgments and discussion. The research reported in Hagstrom (1997) was a continuation of the work presented at SCIL 9, and due to developments there and subsequently, the analysis presented here has changed in various ways from the one I originally presented.

<sup>1</sup> The “*ani ha-*” form of L-Neg given in (3) is somewhat archaic. It is more usual in modern spoken Korean to use *anh-*, a contracted form. I will assume that there is no relevant difference between *anh-* and *ani ha-*, and continue to use the uncontracted form.

<sup>2</sup> I interpret the appearance of *ha-* in L-Neg as a reaction to the stranding of the suffixal tense morphology. Elsewhere (Hagstrom 1996), I have argued that *ha-* is the result of “PF insertion,” essentially like *do*-support in English as analyzed by Halle & Marantz (1993).



**1. Overt case checking for objects**

We will start with a seemingly unrelated issue, namely establishing that objects move overtly to check Case in Korean. In the upcoming sections, we will see that movement—including movement for Case—has effects on scope interpretation.

Two classes of adverbs in Korean are distinguished by J. Lee (1993). Most adverbs, such as *pelsse* ‘already,’ have a fairly free distribution, as in (5).

- (5) (pelsse) Chelswu-nun (pelsse) yenge kongpwu-lul (pelsse) machi-ess-ta  
 (already) Chelswu-TOP (already) English studies-ACC (already) finished  
 ‘Chelswu has already finished his English studies.’

There is another type of adverb, including *cal* ‘well,’ which has a much more restricted distribution. As shown in (6), these adverbs only appear preverbally.<sup>3,4</sup>

- (6) (\*cal) Chelswu-nun (?\*cal) sayngsenhwoi-lul (cal) mek-nun-ta  
 (well) Chelswu-TOP (well) raw.fish-ACC (well) eats  
 ‘Chelswu eats raw fish well’

I will suppose that adverbs in the *cal* class are restricted to very low attachment, whereas other adverbs, such as *pelsse*, are freer in their attachment possibilities (cf. Costa 1995, who makes a very similar proposal about English *well*).<sup>5</sup> Given this, *cal* marks the left edge of VP, below the Case-checking position for objects, and so the fact (6) that *cal* must always follow the object constitutes evidence that the object has moved overtly (presumably for Case reasons).

**2. Scope ambiguity as a diagnostic for movement**

Before we turn to negation, we will consider the properties of scope interaction in Korean generally, with an eye toward developing a diagnostic which we can use in later investigation. What we will try to establish in this

<sup>3</sup> It is not completely clear to me that there are in fact any other adverbs in this putative “class” of adverbs. Native speakers I have asked could not think of any others.

<sup>4</sup> The availability of *cal* before an object appears to be subject to some speaker variation; J. Lee (1993) marks it as “\*” but one consultant I asked found it to be not impossible.

<sup>5</sup> This differs from J. Lee’s (1993) view of *cal*—along with the negative morphemes *an* and *mos* ‘unable’—as being a right-adjoined adverb over which the verb moves.

## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation

section is that movement can introduce scopal ambiguity, but under particular conditions. As has become well-known, when quantificational elements in Korean (as well as in Japanese) appear in their base order, their relative scope is generally unambiguous. In (7), *nwukwunka* ‘someone’ precedes and takes scope over *manhun salam* ‘many people.’

- (7) *nwukwunka-ka manhun salam-ul piphanhayssta*  
 someone-NOM many person-ACC criticized  
 ‘Someone criticized many people’                    some > many  
 \* ‘Many were criticized [maybe by different people]’    \* many > some

However, when one quantifier is scrambled over another quantifier, ambiguity arises. Thus, (8) has two interpretations, one which matches the surface order, and the other which matches the underlying order.<sup>6,7</sup>

- (8) *manhun salam-ul<sub>i</sub> nwukwunka-ka t<sub>i</sub> piphanhayssta*  
 many person-ACC someone-NOM criticized  
 ‘Someone criticized many people’                    some > many  
 ‘Many were criticized [maybe by different people]’    many > some

Apart from this, there is a second type of ambiguity which can arise in a sentence with two quantifiers. Consider the sentence in (9) which is ambiguous despite being in its base order.<sup>8</sup>

- (9) *motun namca-ka etten yeca-lul cohahanta*  
 every man-NOM some woman-ACC likes  
 ‘Every man likes some [maybe different] woman’                    many > some  
 ‘Some woman is liked by every man’                    some > many

As observed by Ahn 1990, what differentiates (9) from (7) is the types and order of the quantifiers. When the indefinite precedes the other quantifier (7), the sentence is unambiguous, while the reverse order (8-9) is ambiguous. We will dismiss this second type of ambiguity as independent of the structural issues we are investigating, but I will first take a moment to justify this dismissal. Fodor & Sag (1982) point out that indefinites can be interpreted as being either referential

<sup>6</sup> This observation may have been first made by Kuroda (1970) for Japanese, but was brought most prominently into the literature by Hoji (1985). Many authors have since discussed this issue in Korean as well (e.g., Sohn 1995, Ahn 1990, Joo 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Although the judgments on (7) are very consistent, I should note that one of my consultants judged (8) to be unambiguous (meaning the same as (7)). However, two other native speakers I consulted found the ambiguity, agreeing with reports in the literature (Sohn 1995:188, Park 1994:17, Kim 1994:314). With respect to the upcoming discussion of referentiality in the text, there is a potential confound if (8) is ambiguous due to the possibility of a referential reading for *nwukwunka* ‘someone.’ Sohn 1995:188 explicitly indicates that a “specific” reading of *nwukwunka* is not needed to get the ambiguity; nevertheless, this deserves a more systematic investigation than what I have presented here.

<sup>8</sup> Examples (9), (10), and (11) come from Ahn (1990).

## Paul Hagstrom

or quantificational. Importantly, a referential indefinite is not a scoped element, and therefore does not interact with other quantifiers; instead, it gives the appearance of taking absolute widest scope. An indefinite has an inherent option either to take its structural scope (quantificationally) or to take widest scope (referentially). In the context of another quantifier, this optionality results in an apparent scopal ambiguity, but only when the indefinite is structurally below the other quantifier. This explains the difference between (7) and (9). In (7) the indefinite *nwukwunka* ‘someone’ is structurally superior to the other quantifier *manhun salam* ‘many people’, so both interpretations (referential and quantificational) of the indefinite yield the same scope result. In (9), however, the referential reading of the indefinite reverses the surface scope relation because the indefinite is structurally inferior to the other quantifier.

Ahn (1990) explores the implications of the referential/quantificational distinction for indefinites in some detail, noting that non-universal quantifiers in Korean fall into two classes, those which can take on a referential reading easily (e.g., *etten* ‘some,’ *myech* ‘a few,’ *sey* ‘three’) and those which resist referential readings (e.g. *manhun* ‘many’ and *taypwupwun* ‘most’). As this view predicts, in cases where the indefinite is below another quantifier—thus where ambiguity should be possible if the indefinite is interpreted referentially—using a referentially-resistant indefinite all but destroys the ambiguity (10).

- (10) *motun haksayng-i manhun cengchiin-ul miwehanta*  
 every student-NOM many politicians-ACC hates  
 ‘Every student hates many [maybe different] politicians’ every > many  
 ?? ‘Many politicians are universally hated among students’ ??many > every

The crucial case that allows us to separate the ambiguity arising from the interpretation of indefinites from the ambiguity arising from movement is the fact that fronting the object in (10) reintroduces the ambiguity (11).

- (11) *manhun cengchiin<sub>i</sub>-ul motun haksayng-i t<sub>i</sub> miwehanta*  
 many politicians-ACC every student-NOM hates  
 ‘Every student hates many [maybe different] politicians’ every > many  
 ‘Many politicians are universally hated among students’ many > every

Not only scrambling, but also other movement operations can introduce scope ambiguities. Kim & Larson (1989) point out that psych verbs yield ambiguity (12). Ahn (1990) provides further cases such as the passive in (13) and the unaccusative in (14). For each of these examples, there are independent reasons to believe that what appears as the surface subject has moved over the oblique argument, which in each case appears to have introduced ambiguity.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Yatsushiro (1996) for similar examples from Japanese.

## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation

- (12) Mwuenka<sub>i</sub>-ka    nwukwu-eykey-na    t<sub>i</sub>    hwihoyselep-ta  
 something-NOM    everyone-DAT       be.regrettable-DECL  
 ‘Everyone regrets something or other.’  
 ‘There is something that everyone regrets.’
- (13) Senmwul hana<sub>i</sub>-ka    sensayngnim motwu-eykey    t<sub>i</sub>    ponay-ci-ess-ta  
 one gift-NOM    teacher all-to       send-PASS-PAST-DECL  
 ‘One gift was sent to all teachers (collectively)’  
 ‘One gift was sent to each teacher’
- (14) Kippun sosik hana<sub>i</sub>-ka    cipang motwu-lopwuthe    t<sub>i</sub>    tochakha-ess-ta  
 good news one-NOM    province all-from       arrived  
 ‘One piece of good news arrived from all provinces (collectively)’  
 ‘One piece of good news arrived from each province’

However, seemingly in contradiction to the facts discussed above, movement can also destroy ambiguity. For example, a subject quantifier and an object *wh*-word are ambiguous (15a) unless the *wh*-word is fronted (15b) (Joo 1989, Suh 1990).<sup>10</sup>

- (15) a. ?motun salam-i    mwues-ul    sa-ss-ni?  
 every person-NOM    what-ACC    buy-PAST-Q  
 ‘what is the thing that everyone bought?’    (what > every)  
 ‘for every person, they bought what?’    (every > what)
- b.    mwues<sub>i</sub>-ul    motun salam-i    t<sub>i</sub>    sa-ss-ni?  
 what-ACC    every person-NOM       buy-PAST-Q  
 ‘what is the thing that everyone bought?’    (what > every)  
 \* ‘for every person, they bought what?’    \* (every > what)

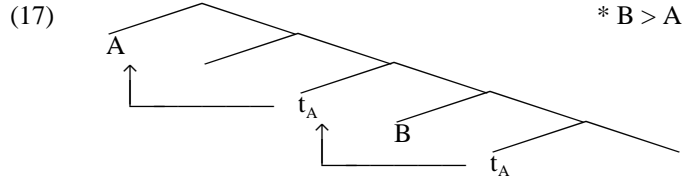
We can reconcile the two sets of facts by adopting an approach to scope relations like that proposed by Joo (1989) and Kitahara (1996). Under the assumption that the *wh*-word in (15) must move covertly from its surface position to a higher position, we can explain the contrast if scope ambiguity only arises in cases where the *last* movement of a quantificational element crosses another quantificational element.

The assumptions we will make about scope interpretations are given in (16). The first is one we need later, fixing the structural locus of negation in SpecNegP. The second is the standard assumption that c-command is relevant to relative scope determination. The third assumption encodes the intuitive idea discussed above that only the final movement of an element is capable of introducing ambiguity. Consider (17). Here, ambiguity does *not* arise because the (16III) is not met.

<sup>10</sup> Kim (1989) rates sentence (15a) as “\*?” and native speakers I have asked indicate that it is awkward. Despite its overall awkwardness, there doesn’t seem to be a sharp contrast between the availability of the two readings, given the appropriate context. This is in clear contrast to (15b).

Paul Hagstrom

- (16) I. *an(i)* does not move from SpecNegP and is interpreted as negation.  
 II. A c-commands B  $\Rightarrow$  A > B allowed.  
 III. B c-commands  $t_A$  and no  $t'_A$  c-commands B  $\Rightarrow$  B > A allowed.



As a final illustration, recall that we concluded in the previous section that the object moves overtly (over *cal* ‘well’). If we assume that a quantified object need move no further, the relative scope of the object and *cal* should be ambiguous. The example in question is given in (18).<sup>11</sup> The judgments are reportedly somewhat difficult, but seem to tend in the right direction; (18) has both the (pragmatically natural) meaning that for each of many vegetables, Chelswu washed it well/thoroughly (easier if *cal* is stressed) and the reversed reading (easier if *manhun* is stressed), which would arise in a context like the following: We are discussing Chelswu’s talents, and we note that Chelswu has the property that, when washing vegetables, he starts very slowly but after he gets used to the task, he becomes quite an efficient vegetable-washer. Thus, he is not very talented when it comes to washing just a few vegetables, but (18) he does wash *many* vegetables well.<sup>12</sup>

- (18) Chelswu-nun manhun chayso-lul cal ssis-nun-ta  
 C-TOP many vegetables-ACC well wash-PRES-DECL  
 ‘Many vegetables, Chelswu washes well’ (many > well)  
 ? ‘Chelswu [washes many vegetables] well’ ? (well > many)

We are now ready to turn our attention to the structure of negation, using the analysis of scope interpretation outlined above as a diagnostic tool.

<sup>11</sup> Example (18) was provided to me by Eun Cho (p.c.).

<sup>12</sup> There is a prediction of the scope assumptions in (16) that does not seem to be necessarily borne out; specifically, if the object *manhun chayso-lul* in (18) were scrambled to the front, this should constitute a second movement and therefore render the “reverse scope” (*well* > *many*) reading impossible (cf. the later discussion of (29)). However, the one native speaker I have presented with this sentence was still able to get this reading when *manhun* is stressed. If this judgment is representative, it probably indicates that the interaction with stress/focus is more complicated—and, perhaps even (18) itself is only able to yield the reverse scope reading with the help of extra-structural factors. For example, notice that if something like Quantifier Raising exists, forcing a quantified object to move covertly from its Case position, we already predict that *well* > *many* should be unavailable even in the unscrambled version. If true, this might explain the lack of contrast between the scrambled and unscrambled versions, although of course it would mean that (18) is irrelevant for the argument at hand, and would require us to find a different explanation of the ambiguity.

## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation

### 3. Evidence for the structure of S-Neg from acquisition

To begin the investigation of negation, specifically S-Neg, let us consider some evidence from first language acquisition of Korean. As documented by Kim (1997) and others (e.g., Cho & Hong 1988, Hahn 1981), children around age 2 produce errors like those in (19). The noteworthy aspect of these utterances is that the S-Neg morpheme *an* precedes the object, although it is strictly preverbal in the adult language.<sup>13</sup> The examples in (19) and (20) are all attested child utterances, though they are marked with a “\*” to indicate their ungrammaticality in adult Korean.

- (19) a. \*na an pap mek-e (Cho & Hong 1988)  
I NEG rice eat-DECL  
'I do not eat rice' (cf. adult *na pap an mek-e*.)
- b. \*an kyeylan mek-e (Hahn 1981)  
NEG egg eat-DECL  
'(I) won't eat (my) eggs' (cf. adult *kyeylan an mek-e*.)
- c. \*an kkum kkwu-ese... (Kim 1997)  
NEG dream dream-because...  
'because (I) did not dream...' (cf. adult *kkwum an kkwu-ese...*)

Although children at this age will sometimes put the *object* between *an* and the verb, Kim (1997) observes that *an* never precedes the *subject*, but with one interesting exception. As shown in (20), *an* will sometimes precede the subject of an unaccusative verb, such as *o-* 'come (inanimate),' although it is not attested before a transitive or unergative subject.

- (20) \* an pi-ka wa  
(Kim 1997<sup>14</sup>)  
NEG rain-NOM come  
'(it is) not raining' (cf. adult *pi-ka an wa*.)

Supposing that an unaccusative subject originates as the complement of the verb, like a direct object, the facts just reviewed indicate that the complement of the verb is distinguished by its ability to intervene between negative *an* and the verb in child utterances.

Interestingly, children who make this error will also utter correct sentences, even within the same session. This means that in the child's grammar, either (i) the two placements of negative *an* are in optional variation, or (ii) only the preverbal (adult) placement of *an* is grammatical, but some other factors

<sup>13</sup> Children at this age only produce S-Neg. Children generally do not produce L-Neg until about a year after S-Neg appears (Kim 1997), but they do seem to comprehend L-Neg even before they begin to produce it (Cho & Hong 1988).

<sup>14</sup> Kim (1997) attributes this example to C. Lee (1993), but I was unable to find it in the published paper. I suspect it was an example from the conference handout.

## Paul Hagstrom

(e.g., performance) interfere. Accepting the standard assumption that acquisition is error driven (Wexler & Culicover 1980), we can already reject explanation (i) for the simple reason that if both the correct and the incorrect word order is generable by the child's grammar there will be no motivation to move to the adult grammar, despite the fact that no sentences with misplaced *an* exist in the input.<sup>15</sup> This leaves explanation (ii), namely that the child's grammar is relevantly identical to the adult's grammar, but something prevents perfect expression.

Accepting this reasoning allows us to make a major inference about the structure of S-Neg in both the adult and child grammar: The base position of negative morpheme *an* is to the left of the transitive object, and while the object is moved to the left of *an* in the adult grammar, children can sometimes fail to perform this movement.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the fact that the children never fail to pronounce a transitive/unergative subject to the left of *an* suggests that *an* (NegP) is located below the base position of the subject. This leaves us with the picture of S-Neg shown in (21).<sup>17</sup> Notice also that if we suppose *an* is part of a phrasal projection for negation (NegP), the strictly head-final nature of Korean implies that *an* occupies not the head position but the specifier position of NegP.

(21) ... Subj ...Obj<sub>i</sub> ... *an* [ ... t<sub>i</sub> V ] ...

### **4. Scope interactions with negation, the structure of NegP** —

We now turn to the interaction of quantifier scope and negation. Examples (22) and (23) show the two types of negation in sentences with a quantified object. Notice that the available interpretations differ. Although in both cases the quantifier can take wide scope with respect to negation, only in L-Neg can negation take wide scope.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Baek (1995) makes essentially the same observation in the context of an analysis of Korean negation very similar to that proposed here.

<sup>16</sup> This failure of object movement could happen for any of a number of reasons. One possibility is that children at this age cannot form A-chains (Borer & Wexler 1987). Another possibility is that strong features of NegP need to mature (Ura 1995). A third possibility is that it is connected to a deficiency in the determiner system (Wexler 1995). For the present purposes, the precise cause of the failure is not crucial.

<sup>17</sup> This is quite similar to proposals by Baek (1995), Wexler (1993), and Whitman (1995), and contrary to proposals which assume *an* is a right-adjoined adverb over which the verb moves (Park 1992, Kim 1997, J. Lee 1993). As mentioned earlier, the verb-movement account attributes to the children the ability to optionally left- and right-adjoin *an*, leaving us with no explanation of how they eventually learn that it can only be right-adjoined. Other possible accounts which take *an* to be a lexical prefix or the head of NegP through which the verb moves are left without an explanation of how the object could ever intervene between *an* and the verb. See Hagstrom (1997) for more discussion.

<sup>18</sup> There seem to be various factors involved in the scope judgments which I do not yet understand, but it should be noted that not everybody agrees with the judgments I report. Two of my consultants found (22) to be at least weakly ambiguous. However, two other consultants—with the general consensus from the literature (Suh 1989:531, Cho 1994:245, Park 1994:14, Sohn 1995:68, Cho 1975:72)—agree with the judgment I report

## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation

- (22) John-i motun chayk-ul an ilkessta  
 J-NOM every book-ACC NEG read  
 ‘Every book, John didn’t read’ (every > neg)  
 \* ‘John didn’t read every book’ \* (neg > every)
- (23) John-i motun chayk-ul ilk-ci ani hayssta  
 J-NOM every book-ACC read-CI NEG did  
 ‘Every book, John didn’t read’ (every > neg)  
 ‘John didn’t read every book’ (neg > every)

### 4.1 S-Neg and object quantifiers

Beginning with S-Neg, the first thing to notice is that it is actually surprising that (22) is unambiguous, for the following reasons. Pursuant to the discussion in section 3, we concluded that the direct object moves to a position above negation from its base position as complement to the verb. However, following the discussion in section 2, we concluded that movement of one quantificational element over another induces ambiguity. The quantified object in (22) moved over negation; the question, then, is why isn’t (22) ambiguous?

To make the point even more clearly, compare the example involving *cal* in (18) to the example of S-Neg in (22). The two examples appear to be quite parallel, yet in (18) *cal* and an object quantifier are ambiguous, while in (22), the negative morpheme *an* and the object quantifier are unambiguous. Clearly, despite appearances, *an* and *cal* must be different things syntactically. This is further supported (and in fact more strongly, given the weakness of the judgments involved in the examples just mentioned) by the fact that *an* and *cal* can cooccur, but only in a fixed order; compare (24) with (25) (Park 1994:28).<sup>19</sup>

- (24) John-i pap-ul cal an meknunta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC well NEG eat  
 ‘John didn’t eat food well’
- (25)?\* John-i pap-ul an cal meknunta  
 J-NOM meal-ACC NEG well eat

This restriction suggests the solution to the problem of why (22) is unambiguous, the structure of which is illustrated in (26). Given our principles

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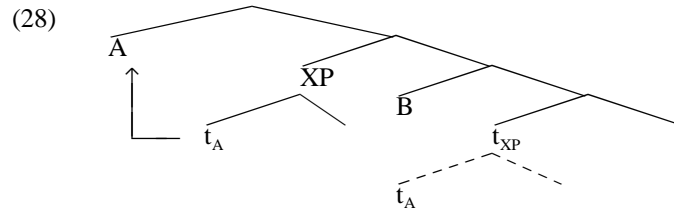
for (22). Similarly, (23) is considered to be ambiguous by three native speakers I consulted, as well as by much of the literature (Cho 1994:246, Park 1994:75, Sohn 1995:58, Cho 1975:72), but one consultant maintained that (23) is unambiguously *every > neg*. My suspicion is that the different behaviors of different quantifiers as well as a strong interaction with focus are both contributing to the confusion in judgments; this issue deserves more careful investigation in future research.

<sup>19</sup> Park (1994) gives two additional arguments for distinguishing *an* from *cal* as well. First, *cal* but not *an* can take scope over both conjuncts of a coordination; second, *an* but not *cal* must be repeated in a reduplicative variant of the “VP-Focus” construction (also mentioned in Ahn 1991:215-218).



## Phrasal Movement in Korean Negation

attention to the node labeled “A.” A is contained within XP, so it is carried along when XP moves, and only afterwards does it move independently. Consider what the scope assumptions predict for this case. A c-commands B, so by (16II), A can take scope over B. But notice, B c-commands a trace of A, yet no trace of A c-commands B; thus, B can take scope over A by (16III). The prediction, then, is that A and B should be ambiguous in a structure like (28). Of course, this is the proposed structure of L-Neg (27), and it is, as we have seen, ambiguous.



Before leaving this section, let us consider one final fact which supports both the analysis of scope I have adopted and the analysis of negation I am proposing. The example in (29) is the same as (23), but the quantified object has been scrambled to the front of the clause. This movement, launched from above *ani*, should render the sentence unambiguous by (16III), with the object quantifier taking wide scope over negation. As we see below, this prediction is borne out.<sup>22</sup>

- (29) motun chayk<sub>i</sub>-ul John-i t<sub>i</sub> ilk-ci ani hayssta  
 every book-ACC J-NOM read-CI NEG did  
 ‘John read no books’ (every > neg)  
 \* ‘John read not every book’ \*(neg > every)

### 4.3 Subject quantifiers

Having looked at the interaction of object quantifiers with both forms of negation, we now turn to look at subject quantifiers. Starting with S-Neg in (30), we notice that negation invariably takes narrow scope with respect to a subject quantifier. This is not very surprising, since we concluded in section 3 that the NegP in S-Neg is already below the base position of the subject.

- (30) Manhun salam-i ku chayk-ul an ilk-ess-ta  
 Many people-NOM that book-ACC NEG read-PAST-DECL  
 ‘Many people didn’t read that book’ (many > neg)  
 \*? ‘Not many people read that book’ \*(neg > many)

<sup>22</sup> Though again, the judgment in (29) is subject to the by-now-familiar speaker variation. Two native speakers I consulted agreed with the judgment I report, but another disagreed. Park (1994:77) indicates that it is ambiguous, but that the presence or absence of a pause after the scrambled object disambiguates it. This again seems to implicate focus structure, but I have nothing to say about that here.

## Paul Hagstrom

The interaction of subject quantifiers with L-Neg is essentially the same as that of object quantifiers with L-Neg, since the hypothesized structure of L-Neg assumes that the base position of the subject is within the *-ci* phrase that moves to the specifier of NegP. Thus, the structure (28) applies equally well to subject quantifier cases like (31), predicting (correctly) ambiguity.<sup>23</sup>

- (31) Manhun salam-i      ku chayk-ul      ilk-ci      ani      hayssta  
Many people-NOM      that book-ACC      read-CI      NEG      did  
'Many people didn't read that book'      (many > not)  
'Not many people read that book'      (not > many)

### **5. Summary and conclusions**

The present proposal takes both forms of negation in Korean to involve NegP. In S-Neg, it is located below the base-position of the subject, while in L-Neg it is located above the base-position of the subject. Evidence for these two structural positions came from errors in the acquisition of S-Neg, as well as the scope behavior of subject quantifiers in both types of negation.<sup>24</sup> In both S-Neg and L-Neg, a nominal element—the object and the *-ci* phrase, respectively—move overtly into an outer specifier of NegP.<sup>25,26</sup> In the framework developed in Chomsky (1995), this can be implemented by a “strong” nominal feature (roughly like the “EPP feature” of Tense) contained in Neg<sup>o</sup>. The proposed structures are repeated below in (32).

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<sup>23</sup> The facts about the scope of subject quantifiers in L-Neg are again fairly controversial. Many report (as I do) that L-Neg can take wide scope over a subject quantifier (Shim 1991, Sohn 1995, J. Lee 1993, Joh & Park 1993, Choi 1985), although several other authors hint at special focus requirements on this reading (Cho 1975, Park 1994, Yoon 1994, Suh 1989). My own discussions with native speakers suggest that placing focal stress on the subject quantifier facilitates getting wide scope for negation, but to what extent it is required is still unknown to me.

<sup>24</sup> Further evidence from the scope of negation in the context of coordination is presented in Hagstrom (1997).

<sup>25</sup> This movement to an outer specifier is at odds with the general conclusion reached by Richards (1997) that a phrase moving to the specifier of a phrase which already has a specifier will “tuck in,” landing in an inner specifier. While this could be taken as indicating that the proposed movement in Korean negation is into the specifier of a higher phrase (rather than to NegP), such a view requires that this targeted phrase always co-occur with NegP (even in cases of multiple negation). Alternatively, one might suppose that in this circumstance (movement from the complement to the specifier of the same phrase in a head-final language), movement is to an outer specifier in order to avoid string-vacuous movement. Nkemnji (1993) discusses negation in Nweh, a head-initial language which also seems to move the complement of NegP into its specifier, except that in that case the movement indeed appears to “tuck in.” Investigation of whether this idea can be generalized fully is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

<sup>26</sup> Judy Baek (p.c.) once indicated to me that adverbs cannot intervene between *-ci* and *ani* in postverbal negation constructions, which supports the view that they occupy specifiers of the same head.



## Paul Hagstrom

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Paul Hagstrom  
MIT E39-245  
77 Massachusetts Ave.  
Cambridge, MA 02139

*hagstrom@mit.edu*