

A negative particle ANI in Korean*

Hyong-Joong Kim

Department of Linguistics
University of Victoria

1. Introduction

According to Song (1988), there are many aspects described inadequately in Korean grammar, but few descriptions are as inconsistent and inelegant as those of negation. I shall introduce the controversy over negation in the literature, and try to capture a characteristic of negation in Korean by using the notion of metarule in generalized phrase structure grammar. (Gazdar *et al.*, 1985)

2. Negative types

There are two negative-sentence types in Korean. The types are called short and long forms of negation. Moreover, there are two negative particles, *ani* and *mos*. The contrast between the two negative types shows up in the use of action verbs, but does not show up in the use of description verbs, because the negative particle *mos* only appears as a long form when it is used with description verbs. Furthermore, the particle *mos* contains the meaning of "possibility," like the English auxiliary verb *can*. Interestingly, Song notes that there is some consensus among Korean linguists that one of the negative particles is regarded as an adverb. In this paper, sentences with *ani* will be reviewed briefly.

In Martin and Lee (1969:45), negation is introduced as in the following:

To put a verb into the short negative form, you place before it one of two negative words an and mōs. But a DESCRIPTIVE verb (translated 'is...') can not take the short negative with mōs in this way; instead you must use the long form that is optional for the other verbs...

When the negative particle is *ani*, monosyllabic verbs can be negated directly, although most description verbs form the long form mentioned above. Verbs of existence and the copula present their own particular patterns according to Song (*idem*). Contrary to the general principle above, the frequency of direct negation among action verbs in monosyllable also prompts the regular negative formation of description verbs in monosyllable to be the short form. It seems that the negation of propositive and imperative sentences involves questions of a different nature while employing a negative particle. Consequently, the description of negation in Korean has been even more confusing due to lack of a systematic account for irregularities in constructing negative sentences. Let us first observe the negative sentences with *ani*.

2.1. Type I: ANI (short form)

The negative particle *ani* directly precedes a verb.

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------------|--------------|-------|----------------|
| | | | acc: | accusative |
| (1) a. | Pi-ka | o-n-ta | comp: | complementizer |
| | Rain-nom | come-ind-dcl | dcl: | declarative |
| | "It is raining." | | ind: | indicative |
| | | | nom: | nominative |
| | | | top: | topic marker |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----|--------------|--|
| b. | Pi-ka | ani | o-n-ta | |
| | Rain-nom | NEG | come-ind-dcl | |
| | "It is not raining." | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| (2) a. | Yengswu-ka | ka-ss-ta | | |
| | Y. -nom | go-past-dcl | | |
| | "Youngsoo went." | | | |
| b. | Yengswu-ka | ani | ka-ss-ta. | |
| | Y. -NOM | not | go-past-dcl | |
| | "Youngsoo did not go." | | | |

2.2. Type II: 'Verb stem + ci' ANI (long form)

- | | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----|------------|
| (3) a.(=1a) | Pi-ka | o-n-ta. | | |
| b. | Pi-ka | o-ci(-lul) | ani | ha-n-ta |
| | Rain-NOM | come-comp(-acc) | NEG | do-ind-dcl |
| | "It is not raining." | | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|---------------|-----|-------------|
| (4) a.(=2a) | Yengswu-ka | ka-ss-ta. | | |
| b. | Yengswu-ka | ka-ci(-lul) | ani | hay-ss-ta |
| | Y. -nom | go-comp(-acc) | NEG | do-past-dcl |
| | "Youngsoo did not go." | | | |

While many native Korean grammarians regard the b-sentences in (1) and (3), and those in (2) and (4), as synonymous, Song does not treat them as the surface forms of the same underlying representation. Rather, he shows us that the type II negation has the occurrence of the elements *ci*, *ha*, and optional *lul* which need adequate explanation.

Despite the disagreement on many points in the grammatical descriptions, Song (*idem*) found it interesting that *-ci* is generally accepted as an adverbial ending added to verb stems. I also learned *-ci* as an adverbial ending in my secondary schooling. Song, however, does not agree with the generally accepted assumption, and notes that Fred Lukoff calls it a gerund. Furthermore, Samuel Martin treats it rather as a 'suspective' morpheme in negative constructions. Song adopts Lukoff's (1982: 177) treatment, since *-ki* is another generally accepted nominalizer which also functions as a complementizer. In short, he treats *-ci* as a derived form of *-ki* when it is used in the negative environment like (V.... NEG + *ha*). It is also noted that the complementizer *-ki* and the controversial *-ci* are in complementary distribution.

3. Discussion

In most languages we add a negative particle or other appropriate device to negate an affirmative sentence in order to get a corresponding negative form. The cleavage between the two arguments

of synonymy and non-synonymy above can be well illustrated when the verb is transitive as in the following:

- (5) John-un manwula-lul twutulki-n-ta
 J.-top wife-acc beat-ind-dcl
 'John beats his wife.'

- (6) a. John-un manwula-lul ani twutulki-n-ta
 NEG
 'John does not beat his wife.' (Song's gloss)
 'Now John does not beat his wife.' (my intuition)

- b. John-un manwula-lul twutulki-ci-lul ani ha-n-ta
 J.-top wife-acc beat-comp NEG do
 'It is not the case that John beats his wife.' (Song's gloss)
 'It is not the case that John ever beats his wife.' (my intuition)

Song regards sentences in (6) as non-synonymous, while other native linguists like Lee (1970) treat them as synonymous.¹ Moreover, Song uses double negation to support his non-synonymy hypothesis.

Here, the negative particle *ani* in Korean can be inserted by the notion of metarule in Gazdar *et al.* (1985). The relevant I(mmediate)D(ominance) rule for negation is applied at the lexical level of verbal phrase. VP becomes a head and a phrasal category:

- (7) VP $\rightarrow$ H, XP

- (8) Metarule (Negative)

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{VP} & \rightarrow & W \\ & \Downarrow & \\ \text{VP}[+\text{NEG}] & \rightarrow & W, \{[\text{SC:ani}]\} \end{array}$$

Metarules map from lexical ID rules to lexical ID rules (Gazdar *et al.*: 59). In detail, if we have a rule VP dominating some other categories (W), we can derive another ID rule VP[+NEG] dominating the same multiset variable plus a lexical category ANI. Without mentioning the semantic issue here, the negative sentences in (6) are well described by the new ID rule sanctioned by the metarule (8). Since Korean is one of the left branching languages, the relevant linear precedence rules will be as in (9):

- (9) $\sim[\text{subcat}] < [\text{subcat}]$
 $[\text{ani}] < V$

What ID rules (7) and (8) yield covers every possible negative sentence² including (6). That is because the negative sentences are treated uniformly by placing the negative particle before the verb in matrix clause. Clearly, then, Song's position on non-synonymy is captured by the expressive power of metarule and the relevant linear precedence rules. If we follow the synonymy position of Lee's, then we should add some specific device to the ID rules which provides the grammar with an auxiliary verb *-ha* (English *do*).

- (10) VP[AUX] $\rightarrow$ H, VP(-ci) (ha)

The linear precedence rule will be as follows: *ani* follows the main verb, but precedes the auxiliary *ha*. Therefore, we need another linear precedence rule stating that the main verb precedes the negative particle which is followed by the auxiliary *ha*.

(11) $V^2 \prec \{[ANI]\} \prec V [+AUX]$

In any event, we need another ID rule to introduce the auxiliary to the grammar, although the ending *-ci* can be treated as a morphophonemic process in Korean.

4. Concluding remarks

Despite controversy, in terms of the number of ID-rules and specific LP-rules in generalized phrase structure grammar, the non-synonymy explication using *ani* needs fewer rules than the argumentation in synonymy. Although it is too early to judge which one is legitimate for the generalization of Korean negative constructions, it becomes clear that the synonymy and non-synonymy approaches mentioned in the previous sections have captured the characteristics of negative sentences with the particle *ani*. Finally, it is hoped that further research on imperatives along the line of non-synonymy will enhance our understanding of Korean negatives.

NOTES

* "A Note on Negation" by Song was originally from *Linguistics* 76 (1971): 59-76, Mouton de Gruyter. Yale Romanization is adopted in Korean examples.

1. Oh (1971) explores negation based on the generative semantics model.
2. Double negative sentences should be covered by this metarule.

REFERENCES

- Gazdar, Gerald. Ewan Klein. Geoffrey Pullum. and Ivan Sag. (1985) *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Lee, Hong-Bae. (1970) "Problems in the Description of Korean," *Language Research* 6. 2:33-59.
- Lukoff, Fred. (1982) *An Introductory Course in Korean*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Martin, Samuel E. and Young-Sook C. Lee. (1969) *Beginning Korean*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Oh, Choon-Kyu. (1971) "On the Negation of Korean," *Language Research* 7. 2:45-66.
- Song, Seok Choong. (1988) *Exploration in Korean Syntax and Semantics*. Institute of East Asian Studies. University of California, Berkeley.