

# On the Prefixal Negatives in Korean<sup>1</sup>

— A Transformational Analysis —

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## 0. Introduction

1. Some Preliminaries, and the Lexicon of *Neg-*

2. A Note on the Scope of *Constituent Negation* in Reference to that of *Sentence Negation*

Appendix: Symbols and Abbreviations; References

## 0. Introduction

Among the forms in Korean which can be associated with such forms in English as “not,” “no,” “un-,” “im-,” “dis-” and “-less,” and can be identified in the surface structure as typical “negatives,” two groups can be distinguished according to their syntactic positions. The negatives of the first group occur before a predicate stem, and their scope of negation can be analyzed to effect *sentence negation*. Thus, the negatives *ANI* (“not”)<sup>2</sup> and *MOT*

<sup>1</sup> This is a small portion of my doctoral dissertation, *A Transformational Analysis of Negation in Korean*, submitted to the University of Michigan in 1967; it is slightly revised for the purpose of this presentation.

<sup>2</sup> The full form *ANI* ( $\Rightarrow ani$ ) remains in Modern Korean only as a form of archaic or poetic flavor. In colloquial speech, the final vowel is dropped and the *N* in *AN* goes through an automatic change conditioned by the consonant following it. *ANI* is taken, however, to be the basic form of the morpheme on the basis of the fact that *ani* occurs as the response word “no” as in

<i>ANI</i> , NA	Nin	HAK.KYO	e	<i>ANI</i>	KA	NiN	TA
( $\Rightarrow$ ani	na	nin	hak'kkyo	e	aŋ	ga	n da)
/ no /	I /	Topic /	school /	Dir /	not /	go /	Pres / Decl /

“No, I don't go to school.”

From a purely synchronic point of view, the phrases *animnida* (“no” with the formal Ending) and *anida* (“no” with the plain Ending) may constitute a counterexample on the basis of interpreting them as  $an_{/negative/ i /Sp.Stem/Ending}$ , which would in turn suggest analyzing the response word as  $AN_{/negative/ I /Sp.Stem/}$ . But, since the Predicate Stem including the Sp.Stem does not occur elsewhere without being directly followed by another grammatical formative, it seems to be the right solution to treat *ani* (*ANI*) as the basic form of the morpheme.

("cannot") as used in the following sentences belong to this group:

- (1) EKI KA CAL ANI CA NiN<sup>3</sup> TA  
 (⇒εgi ga car an ja n da)  
 / child / Subj / well / not / sleep / Pres / Decl /  
 "The child does not sleep well."
- (2) EKI KA CAL MOT CA NiN TA  
 (⇒εgi ga cal mōc' cca n da)  
 / child / Subj / well / cannot/sleep/ Pres / Decl /  
 "The child cannot sleep well."
- (3) EKI KA CAL CA CI ANI HA NiN TA  
 (⇒εgi ga cal ca ji ANH⇒an nin da)  
 / child / Subj / well /sleep/ CI / not / do / Pres / Decl /  
 "The child does not sleep well."
- (4) EKI KA CAL CA CI MOT HA NiN TA  
 (⇒εgi ga cal ca ji mōt' tha n da)  
 / child / Subj / well /sleep/ CI / cannot/do / Pres / Decl /  
 "The child cannot sleep well."

The symbol *NEG* will be used as the cover symbol to designate this group of negatives.

The negatives of the second group occur before a noun, and their scope of negation can be analyzed to effect *constituent negation*. Thus, the so-called Sino-Korean negative prefixes, such as *PI*(非), *PUL*(不) and *MU*(無) belong to this group. The following are one example of each:

<sup>3</sup> What is given here as the Present Tense marker (*NiN*) is often treated differently. Martin, for example, analyzes it as a "Processive" aspect marker recognizing only two Tense morphemes (Past and Future): Samuel E. Martin, *Korean Morphophonemics* (Baltimore, Md.: Linguistic Society of America, 1954), p. 35 and p. 37. But the fact that *NiN* occurs in the surface structure only after a V. Stem in the environment of the Declarative Mood, while it is null after an A. Stem or the Sp.Stem, does not seem to constitute a sufficient ground for interpreting it as "Processive," since it is null after a V. Stem as well if any of non-Declarative moods is chosen. Thus, considering the above and others, it seems best to treat *NiN* as an element of a non-Past and non-Future Tense occurring in the position where *NiN*, *ASS* (Past) and *KeSS* (Future) are mutually exclusive. Cf. Edward W. Wagner and Chongsoon Kim, *Textbook of Written Korean: Elementary Course* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1963); Vol. II, Part II, p. 1; John Young *et al*, *Learn Korean* (Seoul: University of Maryland Press, 1965) Vol.II, p. 147; Seok-Choong Song, "Some Aspects of Negation in Korean" (paper read before the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, New York, December 1966); Hong-Bae Lee, *A Transformational Outline of Korean* (Seoul: Language Research Center, Seoul National University, 1966), p. 29; and Takao Ooe, "On the Indicative Endings in Modern Korean," *Gengo Kenkyu (Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan)*, Vol. XXXIV (1958), p. 4.



entries. The main reasons for adopting Model II in this study are as follows: (1) The context-sensitive features can be more effectively shown when specified as individual properties of each lexical entry, especially in a study of this nature where one specific aspect of grammar is treated; (2) the elimination of the rigid ordering of rules in Model II seems particularly favorable when the study does not cover the complete grammar of a language as in the present case.

### 1. Some Preliminaries and the Lexicon of *Neg-*

The basic assumptions which underlie the present discussion of *Neg-* is that Sentence in Korean can be described as consisting of four major constituents in the deep structure as shown in Rule (8) and that NP can be expanded as shown in Rule (9):

(8) #S# → (Pre.Sent) Subject.Phrase Predicate.Phrase (NEG)<sup>7</sup>

(9) NP →  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\#S\#) (\text{Pre.N}) (\text{Neg-}) \text{N} (\text{Post.N}) \\ \#S\# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nom}_1 \\ \text{Nom}_2 \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

Other Base Rules and the Transformational Rules which place the reflexes of the Sentence-final *NEG* in the proper positions in the surface structure are omitted in the present paper. The following diagram (Figure 2), however, illustrates one of the Phrase Markers that can be generated by the Categorical Rules which form the basis of the present study. The Pre-terminal string is marked by some grammatical formatives in their morphemic representation and by some lexical categories represented by the symbol L.<sup>8</sup>

An outstanding structural characteristics of the Sino-Korean class of the Korean lexicon is that when a Sino-Korean morpheme is not a unique member of a noun, its cooccurring morpheme (one or more) is also from the same class of the lexicon, exceptions being limited to a small number.<sup>9</sup> Thus, for example, Example (10) and Example (11) in the following are both acceptable, but not Example (12):

<sup>7</sup> For detailed discussions on the Post-Sentential position (which is to be interpreted as "the position after the nuclear part of S) of *NEG*, see Soon-Ham Park Kim, *A Transformational Analysis of Negation in Korean* (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Michigan, 1967). Cf. Seok-Choong Song, *Some Transformational Rules in Korean* (unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1967).

<sup>8</sup> Expansions of some of the optional constituents are omitted here in order to avoid unnecessary complexity for the present purpose of a sample illustration.

<sup>9</sup> For a similar phenomenon of "morph selectivity" in Japanese, see Samuel E. Martin, *Morphophonemics of Standard Colloquial Japanese*, Language Dissertation No. 47, Supplement to *Language*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 32 (1952), p. 24.

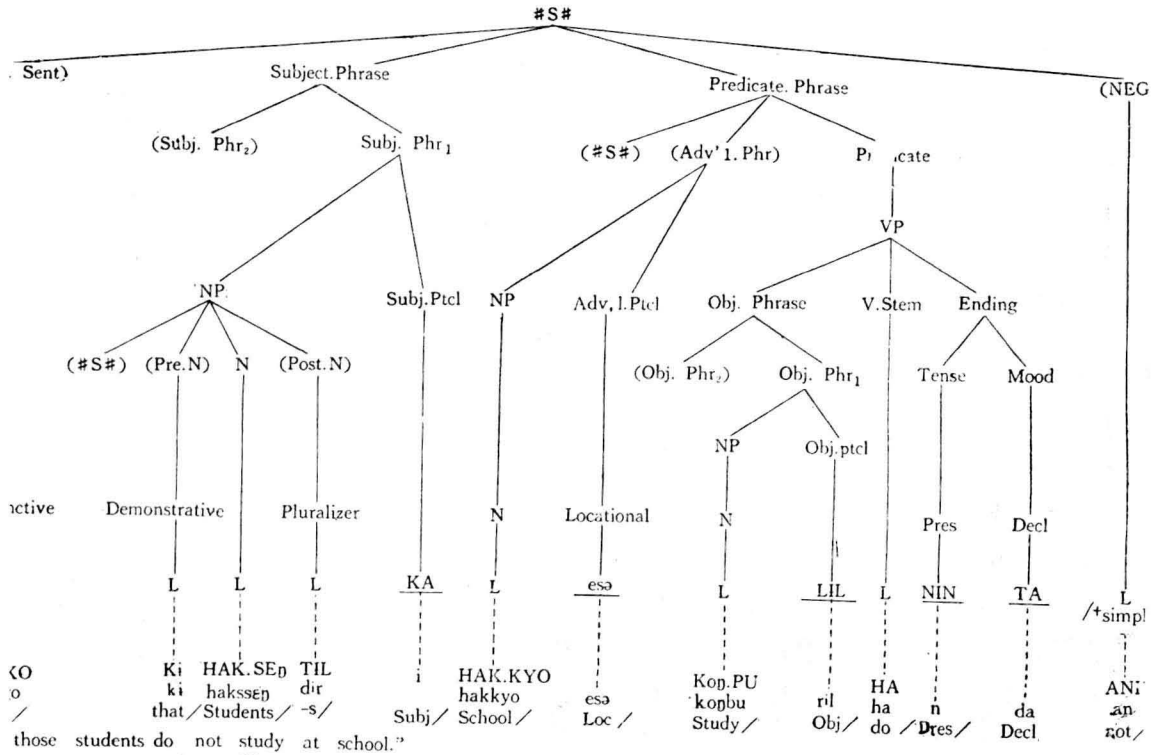


Fig. 2

(10) CO.PAN

(⇒cōban)

/morning.meal/ “breakfast” (Sino-Korean noun)

(11) ACHIM PAP

(⇒achim ppap)

/morning/meal/ “breakfast” (Synonymous noun-adjunct expression in native lexicon)

(12) \*CO PAP

In the case of the negative morphemes in question, likewise, they occur only in combination with one or more of other Sino-Korean morphemes. Thus, the first selectional feature of *Neg-* as a class of Sino-Korean negative prefixes<sup>10</sup> would be specified in the following form:

(13) *Neg-*: /—N/+Sino/ /

<sup>10</sup> The same negative morpheme occurring in a non-prefixal position is treated in this study as the head morpheme or one of head morphemes, rather than as the morpheme of negative modification. The following are example cases:

CəN.MU  
/whole.nonexistence/  
“absolute nonexistence”

SI.PI  
/right.wrong/  
“right and wrong”

In a complete grammar of Korean, it might probably be more appropriate to subcategorize the category of N first into /±Native/, and then /-Native/ into /±Sino/. For this particular study of negation, or rather an aspect of negation, however, non-Sino loan words do not seem to provide any syntactic motivation to sub-categorize in this manner. Thus, it is assumed that every inherent subcategorization feature of N would be further subcategorized into /+Sino/ vs. /-Sino/ as illustrated below (the following noun subcategorization is highly tentative, and it is only for an illustrative purpose):

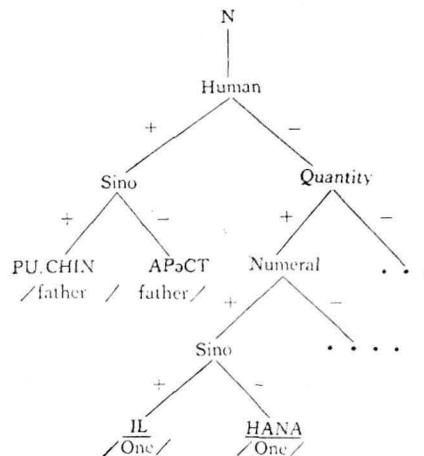


Fig. 3

The reflexes of *Neg-* are found in various forms.<sup>11</sup> Among them, the most productive ones can be given as those three listed in the introductory section, namely, *PI* (“un-”)<sup>12</sup>, *PUL* (“un-”) and *MU*<sup>13</sup> (“-less”).<sup>14</sup> Of these three, *MU* can be distinguished from *PI* and

<sup>11</sup> Besides the three forms discussed here, Professor Hyon-Pai Choi, for example, lists the following under the heading of “Prefixes expressing, ‘not-doing,’ ‘not-existing,’ ‘loosing,’ and ‘wrong doing’” (*ULI MAL PON (Korean Grammar)* (Seoul: Congeum-Sa, 1959), pp. 646-47):

MI	as in	MI-Səŋ.NYəN
/not-yet/		“minor” as opposed to “adult”
MOL		MOL-SAŋ.SIK
/lack (of), -less/		“lack of common sense”
SIL		SIL-MAŋ
/loss (of)/		“loss of hope: disappointment”

<sup>12</sup> “Un-” is used here to represent other English negative prefixes as well, such as “il-, dis-” and “non-.”

<sup>13</sup> Cf. K. E. Zimmer, *Affixal Negation in English and Other Languages*, Monograph No. 5, Supplement to *Word*, Vol. XX, (1964), pp. 75-76, where the author gives a brief discussion of some nominal and adjectival Sino-Japanese expressions containing these three prefixes.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that George A. Kennedy classifies all negatives in Classical Chinese

*PUL* as the so-called “privative.”<sup>15</sup> And this distinction between “privative” and “non-privative” may very well be specified by the feature /-Simple/ and /+Simple/ respectively in parallel with the terms which can be given for the inherent features of the *NEG* of *sentence negation* (i.e., *ANI*: /+Simple/; *MOT* /-Simple./).

Among the Sino-Korean nouns which contain one of these negative prefixes, two types can be distinguished: (1) those which require it optionally and (2) those which require it obligatorily.<sup>16</sup> Since *Neg-* is given as an optional constituent in the Base Rule, its obligatory presence required for the second type of nouns would have to be specified in the Lexicon.

To the first of the two types belong the following examples:

- |      |                                                                   |     |                                                           |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| (14) | <i>PI-KWA.HAK.CəK</i><br>(⇒pīgwahak˙ccək˙)<br>/un-scientificness/ | Cf. | <i>KWA.HAK.CəK</i><br>(⇒kwahak˙ccək˙)<br>/scientificness/ |
| (15) | <i>PI-KYəŋ.Ce.CəK</i><br>(⇒pīgyəŋjək˙)<br>/un-economicalness/     |     | <i>KYəŋ.Ce.CəK</i><br>(⇒kyəŋjək˙)<br>/economicalness/     |
| (16) | <i>PUL-KA.Niŋ</i><br>(⇒pulganŋ)<br>/im-possibleness/              |     | <i>KA.Niŋ</i><br>(⇒kāniŋ)<br>/possibleness/               |
| (17) | <i>PUL-WAN.CəN</i><br>(⇒purwanjən)<br>/im-perfection/             |     | <i>WAN.CəN</i><br>(⇒wanjən)<br>/perfection/               |

into two series and explains that “negatives beginning with an initial *p-* are concerned with denying an identity,” while those “beginning with initial *m-* are concerned with denying the existence of something”: “Negatives in Classical Chinese,” *Selected Works of George A. Kennedy*, ed. Tien-yi Li (New Haven, 1964), pp. 119-34. Cf. W.A.C.H. Dobson, “Negation in Archaic Chinese,” *Language*, Vol. XLII, No. 2(1966), pp. 278-84. Also in connection with negatives and negation in Chinese, see William S-Y. Wang, “Two Aspect Markers in Mandarin,” *Language*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (1965), pp. 458-64.

<sup>15</sup> “Privatives” are defined by C.K. Ogden, for example, as a category of oppositions which implies “the absence of an attribute in a subject expected to possess it, or capable of possessing it”: *Opposition: A Linguistic and Psychological Analysis* (London: 1932), pp. 46-47.

<sup>16</sup> The same distinction is made by Edward S. Klima in his treatment of the *neg* of *constituent negation* in English, although obviously the data and criteria are different from what are shown here (e.g., *neg* is optional in “unhappy,” and it is obligatory in “doubt” which is analyzed by the author as an Inherent Negative); “Negation in English,” *The Structure of Language: Readings in the Philosophy of Language*, ed. J.A. Fodor and J.J. Katz (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 308 and p. 294. Cf. Otto Jespersen, *Negation in English and Other Languages* (Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab: Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, Vol. I, No. 5; Copenhagen, 1917), p. 144; and *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, Part VI: Morphology* (Copenhagen: 1942), p. 466.

- |      |                                                |                                        |
|------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| (18) | <i>MU-KA.CHI</i><br>(⇒mugachi)<br>/no-value/   | <i>KA.CHI</i><br>(⇒kachi)<br>/value/   |
| (19) | <i>MU-HAN.Cəŋ</i><br>(⇒muhānjəŋ)<br>/no-limit/ | <i>HAN.Cəŋ</i><br>(⇒hānjəŋ)<br>/limit/ |

Note in the above that the forms without the prefix can still occur as independent nouns—thus, as grammatical nouns antonymous to those without it.

The following examples represent the second type. These are distinguished from the examples given above by the fact that the forms without the prefix cannot occur as independent nouns; in other words, they cannot occur as idiomatic<sup>17</sup> positive antonyms of those with it:<sup>18</sup>

- |      |                                                                 |                                                                                             |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (20) | <i>PI-SAŋ</i><br>(⇒pīsəŋ)<br>/un-ordinary/<br>“un-ordinariness” | Cf. <i>*SAŋ</i><br>(Cf. <i>Cəŋ.SAŋ</i> )<br>(⇒cəpsəŋ)<br>/correct.ordinary/<br>“normalness” |
| (21) | <i>PI-PəM</i><br>(⇒pībəM)<br>/un-common/<br>“uncommonness”      | <i>*PəM</i><br>(Cf. <i>PHYəŋ.PəM</i> )<br>(⇒phyəŋbəM)<br>/flat.common/<br>“commonness”      |
| (22) | <i>PUL-KU</i><br>(⇒pulgu)<br>/un-possessing/<br>“deformity”     | <i>*KU</i><br>(Cf. <i>KU.PI</i> )<br>(⇒kubi)<br>/possessing.furnished/<br>“provision”       |
| (23) | <i>PUL-PHYəŋ</i><br>(⇒pulphyəŋ)<br>/un-peaceful/<br>“complaint” | <i>*PHYəŋ</i><br>(Cf. <i>PHYəŋ.HWA</i> )<br>(⇒phyəŋhwa)<br>/peace/<br>“peace”               |

<sup>17</sup> These morphemes or morpheme combinations which are not “idiomatic” independent nouns would not be readily identified unless written in Chinese characters because of the great number of homophonous morphemes.

<sup>18</sup> These non-Independent Sino-Korean nouns, however, still convey their basic meaning as a morpheme or as a group of morphemes. Thus, while the idiomatic independent-noun expression for “happiness,” for instance, is *HEŋ.POK* (as in *IN.SEŋ iI HEŋ.POK* “happiness of life,”



- |                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(24) MU-NAN<br/>         (⇒munan)<br/>         /no-difficulty/<br/>         “easiness”</p>               | <p>*NAN<br/>         (Cf. KON.NAN)<br/>         (⇒kōllan)<br/>         /vexed.difficult/<br/>         “difficulty”</p>                          |
| <p>(25) MU-NYƏM<br/>         (⇒munyəm)<br/>         /no-thought/<br/>         “impassive state of mind”</p> | <p>*NYƏM<sup>19</sup><br/>         (Cf. SA.NYƏM)<br/>         (⇒sanyəm)<br/>         /thinking.thought/<br/>         “thought”<sup>20</sup></p> |

On this basis, it can be suggested that the N with the /+Sino/ feature be further subcategorized into /+Indep(endent)/ and /-Indep(endent)/:

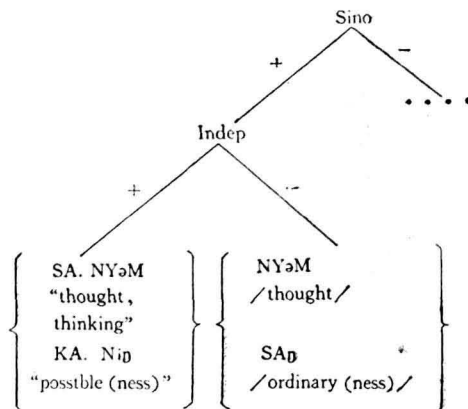


Fig. 4

or *Ki Niŋ HEŋ.POK HA NiN TA*. “He is happy.,” one could talk about *HEŋ KWA PUL. HEŋ* “happiness and unhappiness” in a philosophical sense (cf. *\*IN.SEŋ, iI HEŋ, \*Ki Niŋ HEŋ HA NiN TA*).

<sup>19</sup> These examples, therefore, correspond to the relationship in English between “disgruntle” and \*“gruntle,” and between “dismay” and \*“may” as against the relationship between “disgrace” and “grace,” and between “dislike” and “like.”

<sup>20</sup> Considering the existence of these idiomatic counterparts of the morphemes marked as ungrammatical, one could handle the second type of Sino-Korean nouns by employing Deletion Transformations in the following manner: (For Examples (21) and (24) respectively)

PHYƏŋ.PƏM⇒PƏM in env. *Neg*\_\_\_ (i.e., “when *Neg*- is taken”)

KON.NAN⇒NAN in env. *Neg*\_\_\_

There is some difficulty in this approach, however, due to the great number of synonymous expressions involving Sino-Korean morphemes. Taking Example, (25), for instance, it is not clear whether *NYƏM* /thought/ should be derived from *SA.NYƏM* /thinking. thought/ or from its synonym *SAŋ.NYƏM* /idea.thought/, or even from *LI.NYƏM* /reason(ing). thought/. Again, in the case of Example (20), for example, *SAŋ* /ordinariness/ could be said to be

The Lexicon would, then, include the following type of entries and feature specifications in relation to the category *Neg-*:

- (26) *PI* "un-": /+*Neg-*; +*Simple*; +\_\_\_*N*/+*Sino*/(*CəK*)/<sup>21</sup>
- (27) *PUL* "un-": /+*Neg-*; +*Simple*; +\_\_\_*N*/+*Sino*/
- (28) *MU* "-less": /+*Neg-*; -*Simple*; +\_\_\_*N*/+*Sino*/
- (29) *KWA.HAK.CəK* "scientificness":  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, +*Indep*; +(Neg-)*PI*\_\_\_/
- (30) *KA.Niŋ* "possibleness":  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, +*Indep*; +(Neg-)*PUL*\_\_\_/
- (31) *KA.CHI* "value"  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, +*Indep*; +(Neg-)*MU*\_\_\_/
- (32) *PəP* "law":  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, +*Indep*; +(Neg-)*PI/PUL*\_\_\_/
- (33) *SAŋ* /ordinariness/:  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, -*Indep*; +*Neg*-*PI*\_\_\_/
- (34) *KU* /possessing/:  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, -*Indep*; +*Neg*-*PUL*\_\_\_/
- (35) *NYəM* /thought/:  
/+*N*; +*Sino*, -*Indep*; +*Neg*-*MU*\_\_\_/

## 2. A Note on the Scope of *Constituent Negation* in Reference to that of *Sentence Negation*

Consider the following three pairs of examples: the first sentence in each pair contains *ANI* ("not"), a reflex of *NEG*, and the second contains one of the prefixes, a reflex of *Neg-*.

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derivable from any of the following four: *Cəŋ.SAŋ* /correctness. ordinariness/, "normalness;" *SIM.SAŋ* /search. ordinariness/, "usualness;" *PəM.SAŋ* /commonness. ordinariness/, "commonness;" *PYəŋ.SAŋ* /peace, flatness. ordinariness/, "ordinariness."

<sup>21</sup> It is beyond the scope of the present study to present any detailed morpheme cooccurrence restrictions. But the indication of the optional presence of the adjectivalizing morpheme *CəK* is at least to point out the fact that *PI* predominantly occurs with forms containing that morpheme. Among the forms where *CəK* does not occur, *PI* and *PUL* seem to be used interchangeably in a few cases: *PI-PəP* or *PUL-PəP* "un-law (fulness)"; *PI-i* or *PUL-i* "un-right (eousness). immoral (ness)."

- (36a) Ki PAᄇ.PᄇP Nin KWA.HAK.CᄇK I ANI I NiN TA  
 (⇒ ki paᄇbᄇb in kwahak'ccᄇg i an i ϕ da)  
 / that / method /Topic/ scientificness /Compl/not/Sp.Stem//Pres/Decl/  
 "That method is *not* scientific."
- (36b) Ki PAᄇ.PᄇP Nin PI-KWA.HAK.CᄇK I I NiN TA  
 (⇒ ki paᄇbᄇb in pigwahak'ccᄇg ϕ i ϕ da)  
 / that / method / Topic /un-scientificness/ Compl/Sp.Stem/Pres/Decl/  
 "That method is *un-scientific*."
- (37a) Ki PAᄇ.PᄇP Nin KA.Niᄇ HA CI ANI HA NiN TA  
 (⇒ki paᄇbᄇb in kāniᄇ ha ji ANH ⇒an ϕ tha)  
 / that /method /Topic/possibleness/be/ CI / not / be / Pres /Decl/  
 "that mothod is *not* possible."
- (37b) Ki PAᄇ.PᄇP Nin PUL-KA.Niᄇ HA NiN TA  
 (⇒ki paᄇbᄇb in pulganiᄇ ha ϕ da)  
 / that/ method /Topic/impossibleness / be / Pres/Decl/
- (38a) Ki CHEK Nin KA.CHI KA ᄇPS<sup>22</sup> NiN TA  
 (⇒ki chᄇg in kachi ga ᄇp ϕ tta)  
 / that/book/ Topic /value / Subj/*not*.existent/Pres/Decl/  
 "That book does *not* have (any) value."
- (38b) Ki CHEK Nin MU-KA.CHI HA NiN TA  
 (⇒ki chᄇg in mugachi ha ϕ da)  
 / that / book /Topic/*no*-value / be /Pres / Decl/  
 "That book is of *no*-value; That book is value-*less*."

The negativizing effect of *ANI* in Sentences (36a), (37a) and (38a) ranges over the entire sentence, while that of the prefix in Sentences (36b), (37b) and (38b) is restricted to the noun to which it is prefixed. This interpretation stems essentially from the fact that two Sino-Korean nouns distinct from each other by the presence vs. absence of a negative prefix can be profitably treated lexically<sup>23</sup> as positive vs. negative antonym pairs.<sup>24</sup> This in

<sup>22</sup> The form ᄇPS can be analysed as a pre-terminal representation of the sequence ANI/+NEG, +Simple/<sup>ISS</sup>/+V, +Existence, +Verbal/and labeled as an *inherent negative* along with the forms MAL ("not. do") and MOL ("not.know"). Detailed discussions on these *inherent negatives* will be given elsewhere.

<sup>23</sup> See Sandra Annear and Dale Elliott, "Derivational Morphology in a Generative Grammar" (paper read before the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago, Dec. 30, 1965), where the authors distinguish *syntactic derivation* and *lexical derivation* and propose to describe the interpretation of the word "untie" which "is not paralleled" by that of "does

turn is directly motivated by the fact that a negative prefix is an integral part of certain lexical items as has been shown in the preceding section. This is more clearly exemplified by the privative *MU*, which finds its positive counterpart in the prefix *YU*(有) yielding *MU-X* and *YU-X* as an antonymous pair referring to the absence of *X* and the presence of *X* respectively. Examples are:

- |      |                                             |     |                                               |
|------|---------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------|
| (39) | <i>MU-TOK</i>                               | vs. | <i>YU-TOK</i>                                 |
|      | (⇒mudok)                                    |     | (⇒yūdok)                                      |
|      | /no-poison/                                 |     | /presence-poison/                             |
|      | “poison- <i>lessness</i> ”                  |     | “poison- <i>ousness</i> ”                     |
| (40) | <i>MU-MYƏŋ</i>                              |     | <i>YU-MYƏŋ</i>                                |
|      | (⇒mumyəŋ)                                   |     | (⇒yūmyəŋ)                                     |
|      | /no-name/                                   |     | /presence-name/                               |
|      | “ <i>unknownness</i> , <i>obscureness</i> ” |     | “ <i>well-knownness</i> , <i>famousness</i> ” |

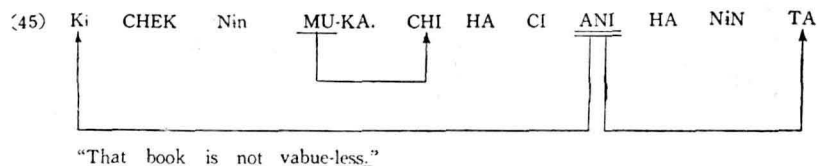
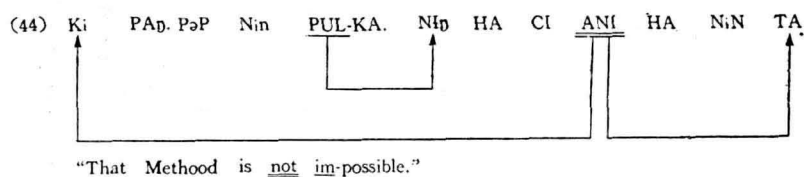
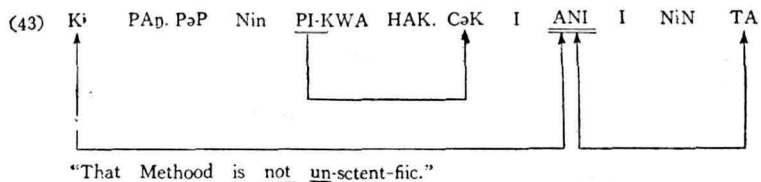
The above statements are further strengthened by examining adverbial expressions containing such negative prefixes. Note in the following that the adverbial expression can occur either with or without the negative prefix without affecting the phase of the sentence itself:

- (41) Ki Nin {  $\begin{matrix} KYəŋ.Ce.CəK \\ PI-KYəŋ.Ce.CəK \end{matrix} \}$  iLO SAL NiN TA  
 (⇒ki nin {  $\begin{matrix} kyəŋjəŋ \\ piŋyəŋjəŋ \end{matrix} \}$  iro sā n da)  
 /he/ Topic/ {  $\begin{matrix} economical \\ un-economical \end{matrix} \}$  / ly / live /Pres/Decl/  
 “He lives {  $\begin{matrix} economically. \\ un-economically. \end{matrix} \}$ ”
- (42) Ki Nin MUL.CA LiL {  $\begin{matrix} KOŋ.PHYəŋ \\ PUL-KOŋ.PHYəŋ \end{matrix} \}$  HA Ke PUN.PE HA NiN TA  
 (⇒ki nin mulcca ril {  $\begin{matrix} koŋphyəŋ \\ pulgoŋphyəŋ \end{matrix} \}$  ha ge pumbε ha n da)  
 /He/Topic/material/Obj/ {  $\begin{matrix} fair \\ un-fair \end{matrix} \}$  /be/ly/distribution/do/Pres/Decl/  
 “He distributes materials {  $\begin{matrix} fairly. \\ un-fairly. \end{matrix} \}$ ”

not tie” in terms of a lexical derivational rule. See also Zimmer, p. 88, where it is suggested that English “un-” prefixation and similar constructions in other languages be analyzed in terms of “lexical” and of productive combinations.”

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Robert B. Lees, *The Grammar of English Nominalizations* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960), Footnote 8, p. 24, where the author notes that “it seems best to treat sentences with prefixes such as *un-*, *dis-*, *anti-*, etc. as antonymic to their mates without the prefix, but not as negatives of the latter.” Also cf. Hisanosuke Izui, “Hitei Hyogen no Genri (Principles of Negative Expressions),” *Kokugo Kokubun (Japanese Language and literature)*, Vol. XXII, No. 8 (1952), pp. 538-40, where the author describes such pairs of words as “white: black” and “happy: *un-happy*” by the term “vectorial negation.”

The statements above are again evidenced by the fact that Sentences (36b), (37b) and (38b) (those with the prefix) can have negative counterparts containing *ANI*.<sup>25</sup> The following exemplify this:



As for Sentences (36a), (37a) and (38a), on the other hand, a further negativization results in the so-called “double-negation.”

Now such differences of the scope of negation between the reflexes of *NEG* and those of *Neg-* as stated above can be shown more formally in terms of the notion “in construction with”, which is adopted by Klima for describing the scope of negation in English.<sup>27</sup>

The category *NEG* which is the source of *ANI* (“not”) and *MOT* (“cannot”) is located, as has been shown earlier, as one of the major sentential constituents in the initial branching of *S*(entence). Thus, *NEG* of *sentence negation* is “in construction with” the Subject. Phrase and Predicate. Phrase as well as the Pre-Sent, which are altogether directly dominated by the symbol *S* as shown below:

<sup>25</sup> This is similar to the relationship between the sentence “John disconnected the wires” and the sentence “John didn’t disconnect the wires” in English.

<sup>26</sup> The arrows indicate the range of the negativizing effect of *ANI* and the prefixes.

<sup>27</sup> Klima, p. 297.

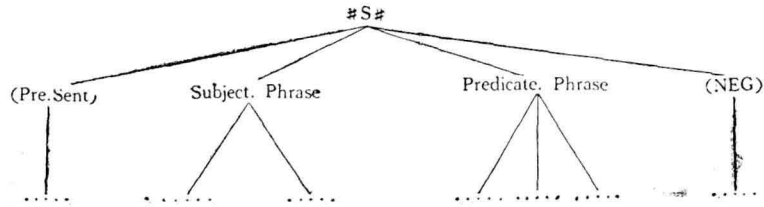


Fig. 5

On the other hand, the category *Neg-* which is the source of the Sino-Korean negative prefixes, such as *PI*, *PUL* and *MU*, is located as a prefixal part of the category *N*. Thus, *Neg-* of constituent negation is "in construction with" merely the constituting members of *NP* which appears in a lower-level branching of *S*. The following diagram illustrates this in contrast with Figure (5) above and concludes the discussion:

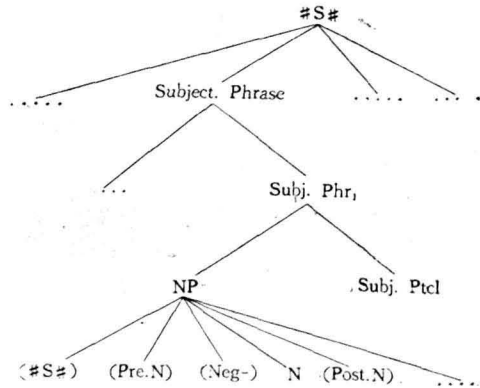


Fig 6

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The symbols used for representing the basic forms of morphemes are as follows:

P, PH, PP, T, TH, TT, K, KH, KK, C, CH, CC, S, SS, H, L, M, N, ɒ, W, Y, I, e, E, Ö, i, ə, A, U, O,

Morphophonemic rules are not discussed, but a broad phonetic transcription is given under each example sentence to facilitate the reading. The symbols used for this purpose are as shown below:<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For distinguishing different phone types below, the traditional method is adopted rather than the format of generative phonology.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
STOPS	Vd	b	d		g		
	VI	Lightly Asp'd	p	t		k	
		Heavily Asp'd	ph	th		kh	
		Unasp'd & Tense	pp	tt		kk	
		Unreleased	p'	t'		k'	
AFFRICATES	Vd				j		
	VI	Lightly Asp'd				c	
		Heavily Asp'd				ch	
		Unasp'd & Tense				cc	
		Unreleased				c'	
FRICATIVES	VI	Lax		s			
		Tense		ss			
						h	
LIQUIDS	Vd	Flapped		r			
		Lateral		l			
NASALS	Vd	m	n		ŋ		
GLIDES	Vd	w		y			

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e ɔ̃	ə	o
Low	ɛ	a	

The symbol “—” indicates a long vowel.

Other symbols and abbreviations are as follows:

- |   |                                          |           |                                                      |
|---|------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|
| # | Sentence boundary                        | ⊂         | Concatenation                                        |
| → | Rewriting rule                           | { }       | Alternative choice (concatenation symbol is omitted) |
| ⇒ | Obligatory transformational rule         | / / a)    | Features of formatives                               |
| ⇒ | Phonological rule or phonological change | b)        | Morpheme or word gloss                               |
| - | Affixation                               | Adv'l.Phr | Adverbial Phrase                                     |
| ∅ | Null                                     |           |                                                      |

Adv'l.Ptcl	Adverbial Particle	+X	Presence of the feature X
Asp'd	Aspirated	-X	Absence of the feature X
Compl.Phrase		*	Ungrammatical
or Compl.	Complement Phrase	.	Morpheme division (not always used
Compl.Ptcl or Compl.	Complement Particle		for forms of native origin)
Decl	Declarative	...	Omission
Dir	Directional	;	Domain of Lexicon in tree diagrams
env	environment	Pl	Plural
L	Lexical category	Pres	Present
N	Noun; Nasal	S or Sent	Sentence
Nom	Nominalizer	SpP	Specifier Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase	Sp.Stem or Sp	Spæcifier Stem
Obj.Phrase or Obj.Phr	Object Phrase	Subj.Phrase or Subj.Phr	Subject Phrase
Obj.Ptcl or Obj	Object Particle	Subj.Ptcl or Subj	Subject Particle
“ ” a)	Idiomatic translation	Vd	Voiced
b)	English example words	Vl	Voiceless
( ) a)	Optional choice	VP	Verb Phrase
b)	Phonetic representation	V.Stem or V	Verb Stem
c)	Parenthetic remark		

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