

Negation in Korean Time Measure Constructions

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Introducing the puzzle



'내 방의 품격' 노홍철, 음주운전 셀프디스 "운전 안 한지 오래되서..." (1)

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Dec 24, 2015 - 옆에서 지켜보던 MC들이 "반대"라고 외치며 전동드릴 방향이 잘못됐다고 알리자, 노홍철은

(2) "제가 운전한 지 오래됐다. 후진기어를 넣어본 지 굉장히 ..."

- Both (1) and (2) refer to the same utterance.
- But (1) has a negative morpheme that (2) doesn't have.

Romanization of sentences (1) and (2) on the next slide

Introducing the puzzle

- (1) *Cey-ka wuncen **an** han ci olay-toyesseyo.*
I-NOM driving **NEG** do since a.long.time-became
'It has been a very long time since I drove.'
(lit. "It has been a very long time since I did not drive.")
- (2) *Cey-ka wuncen-han ci olay-toyesseyo.*
I-NOM driving-do since a.long.time-became
'It has been a very long time since I drove.'

Time measure construction (TMC)

- Korean structure: “[eventuality] *ci* [time span]”

‘It has been [time span] since [eventuality] happened.’

(3) *Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.*
shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’

(4) *Ku salam pon ci hancam twaysseyo.*
that person see since a.while became

‘It has been a while since I saw her.’

Negation in time measure construction

- Adding a negative marker to the *since*-clause of TMCs does not seem to make a change in meaning.

(5) *Syawe an han ci il cwuil twayssta.*
shower NEG do since one week became
'It has been a week since I took a shower.'
(lit. "It has been a week since I did not take a shower.")

(6) *Ku salam mos pon ci hancam twaysseyo.*
that person NEG see since a.while became
'It has been a while since I saw her.'
(lit. "It has been a while since I did not see her.")

Our approach

- We show that time measure constructions containing a negative marker have a **different semantics** from their counterparts without it.
- We claim that the negative marker in the time measure construction does indicate **real negation**.

Roadmap

- Review: Non-negation approaches
- Further observations of more data
- Our proposal: Negation approach

Previous Accounts

1. Double negation approach
2. Evaluative negation approach

Double negation approach (i)

- J.-H. Yoon (1994)

(7) *Syawe-lul* **NEG** *an* *han ci* **NEG** *olay* *toyessta.*
shower-ACC NEG do since a.long.time became
'It has been a long time since I took a shower.'
(lit. "It has been a long time since I did not take a shower.")

Double negation approach (ii)

- J.-H. Yoon (1994) proposes to extend the notion of negativity to include predicates like *olay* ‘a long time’, which would have negative content just like English adversative predicates like *doubt* (i.e. *doubt* is not negative itself but it can license NPIs).
- Then, a time measure construction with a negative morpheme creates a “Pseudo-Double Negation.”
- In this sense, the negative morpheme **does not** contribute to the truth value of the sentence as it is neutralized.

Problems with the double negation approach

- An expression for a long time is not a semantically negative element in Korean as **it does not license NPIs**.

(8) **Mina-nun amwuto olay kitalikey hayssta.*
Mina-TOP anyone a.long.time wait made
'*Mina kept anyone waiting for a long time.'

(9) *Mina-nun amwuto olay kitalikey haci anhassta.*
Mina-TOP anyone a.long.time wait make NEG
'Mina didn't keep anyone waiting for a long time.'

Evaluative negation approach (i)

- S. Yoon (2011)

Mood

(7) *Syawe-lul an han ci olay toyesta.*

shower-ACC NEG do since a.long.time became

‘It has been a long time since I took a shower.’

(lit. “It has been a long time since I did not take a shower.”)

Evaluative negation approach (ii)

- S. Yoon (2011) proposes that the negative morpheme is an **evaluative mood marker** in that it expresses an attitude of the speaker towards the situation described by the sentence.
- Such an attitude can be defined in terms of undesirability or unlikelihood of the situation.
- In this sense, the negative marker expresses that *not taking a shower for a long time* is undesirable.

Problems with the evaluative negation approach

- But the undesirability meaning is not intrinsically associated with the negative morpheme as it rather originates from world knowledge.
- A TMC with negation can involve positive evaluation, depending on the context.

(10) (*Hwankyeng-ul wihayse*) *syawe-lul an han ci olay toyessta.*
environment-ACC for shower-ACC NEG do since a.long.time became
'(For the environment,) it has been a long time since I took a shower.'

Further observations

**Restrictions on negation
in Time Measure Construction**

Ambiguity (i)

- A Time Measure Construction is ambiguous. (J.-H. Yoon 1994)
- Finished reading vs. Continuous reading

(11) *Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.*

shower do since one week became

a. ‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’

= ‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’

b. ‘It has been a week since I started taking showers.’

Ambiguity (ii)

- The ambiguity **disappears** in the presence of a negative morpheme.
- Only a finished reading is compatible with a negative morpheme.

(12) *Syawe an han ci il cwuil twayssta.*

shower **NEG** do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’

= ‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’

NOT ‘It has been a week since I started taking showers.’

Expectation of iteration (i)

- A Time Measure Construction can freely combine with an *iterative eventuality* (such as *take showers*, as in example (11)) as well as with a *non-iterative eventuality* (such as *die*, as in example (13)).

(13) *Ku salam-i cwukun ci sam nyen twayssta.*
that person-NOM die since three year became
'It has been three years since he died.'

Expectation of iteration (ii)

- A negative morpheme can appear in a time measure construction **only when the eventuality is expected to repeat** (as in example (12)).
- With a non-iterative eventuality (such as *die*), the presence of the negative marker makes the sentence ungrammatical).

(14) **Ku salam-i*  *an*  *cwukun ci* *sam nyen twayssta.*
that person-NOM NEG die since three year became
(lit. “It has been three years since he did not die.”)

Our Account

Negation approach

Negation approach

- We propose that the negative marker in the time measure construction does indicate **real negation**.
- We propose that TMCs should not be classified into finished vs. continuous ones, but into **non-iterative vs. iterative ones**.

Change of perspective: Previous/common view

- The NEG morpheme does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence.

Finished TMC:

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.
shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’

Continuous TMC:

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.
shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I started taking showers.’

Finished TMC+NEG:

*Syawe **an** han ci il cwuil twayssta.*
shower **NEG** do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’

Change of perspective: Our view

- The NEG morpheme means negation.

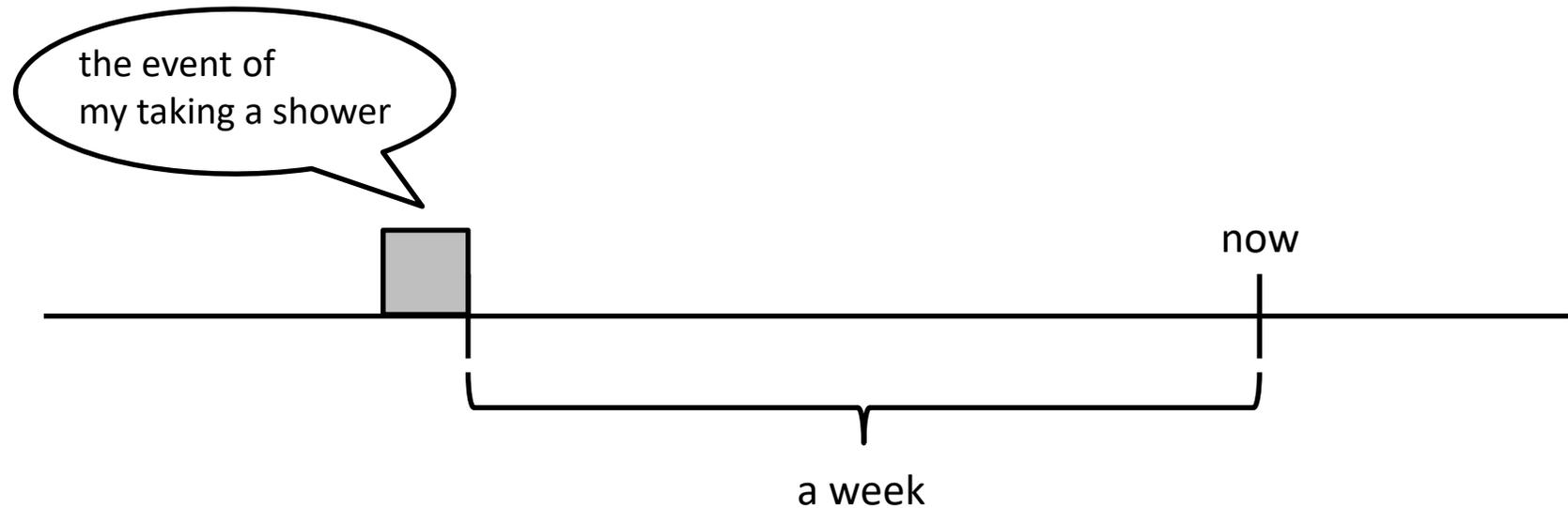
<p>TMC:</p> <p><i>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</i> shower do since one week became 'It has been a week since I took a shower.'</p>	<p>Iterative TMC:</p> <p><i>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</i> shower do since one week became 'It has been a week that I have been taking showers.'</p>
	<p>Iterative TMC+NEG:</p> <p><i>Syawe an han ci il cwuil twayssta.</i> shower NEG do since one week became 'It has been a week that I have not been taking showers.'</p>

Meaning of Time Measure Construction (i)

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.

shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’



Meaning of Time Measure Construction (ii)

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.

shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’

- **Presupposition:**

I took a shower sometime in the past.

- **Assertion:**

At least a week has passed after I took a shower.

- **Implicature:**

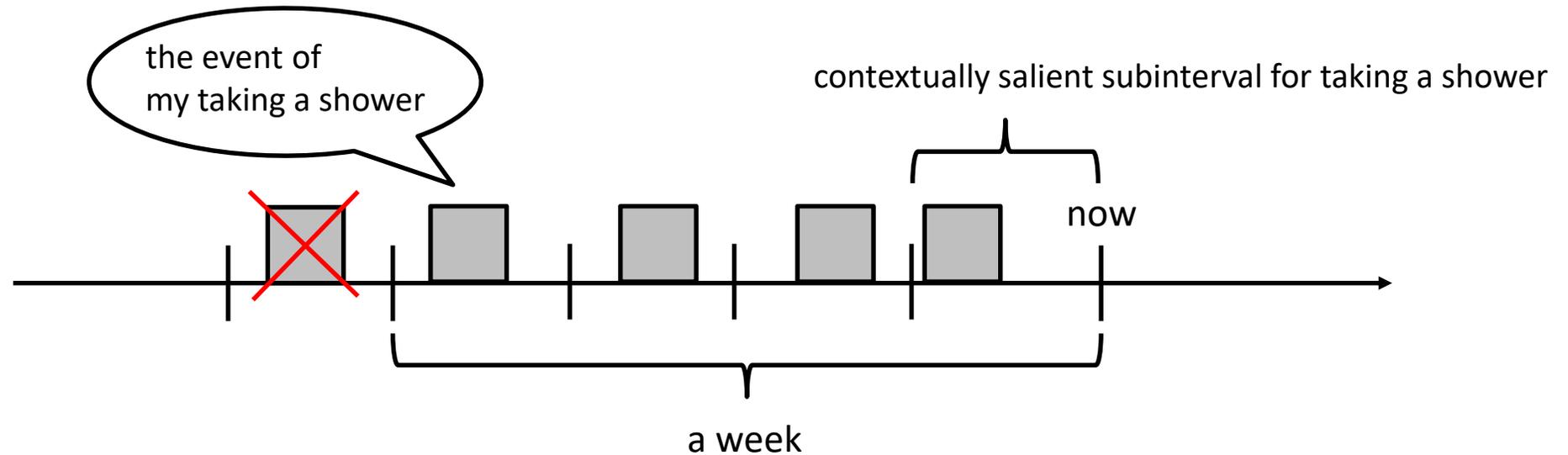
Exactly a week has passed after I took a shower.

Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction (i)

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.

shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week that I have been taking showers.’



Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction (ii)

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.

shower do since one week became

‘It has been a week that I have been taking a shower.’

- **Presupposition:**

I have been taking showers.

- **Assertion:**

It is at least a week that I have been taking showers.

- **Implicature:**

It is exactly a week that I have been taking a shower.

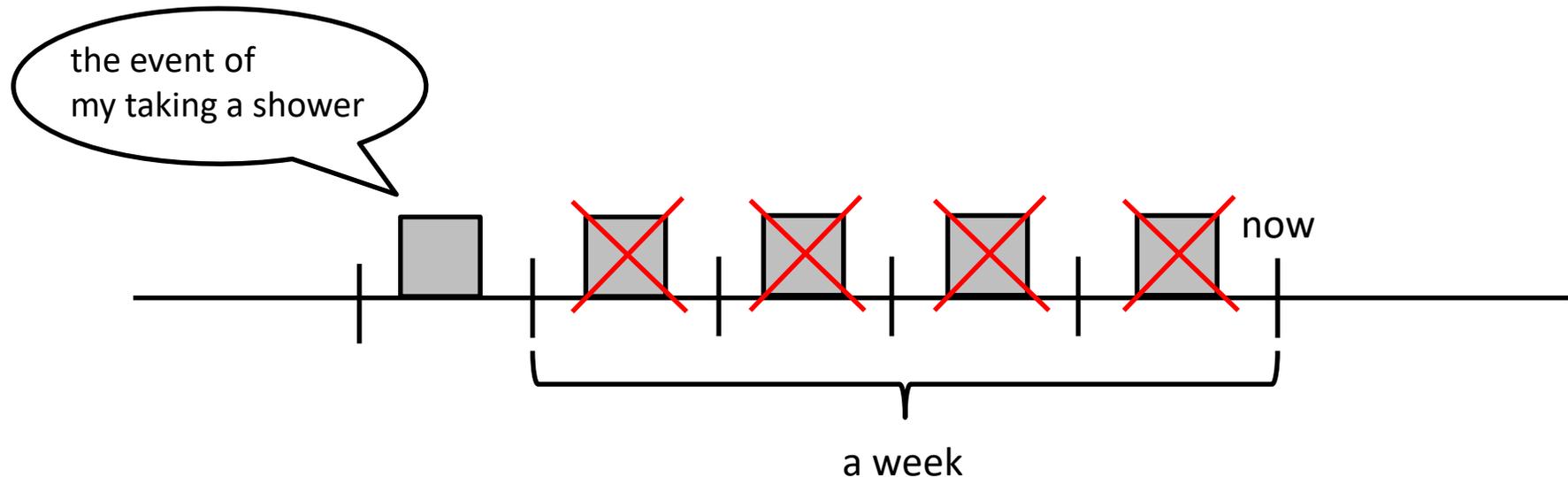
I didn't take a shower before a week ago.

Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction + Negation (i)

*Syawe **an** han ci il cwuil twayssta.*

shower **NEG** do since one week became

‘It has been a week that I have **not** been taking showers.’



Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction + Negation (ii)

*Syawe **an** han ci il cwuil twayssta.*

shower **NEG** do since one week became

‘It has been a week that I have **not** been taking a shower.’

- **Presupposition:**

I haven’t been taking showers.

- **Assertion:**

It is at least a week that I haven’t been taking showers.

- **Implicature:**

It is exactly a week that I haven’t been taking showers.

I took a shower a week ago.

Support for Our Account

Negation approach

Evidence for our Negation approach (1)

- A negative marker in ITMCs licenses NPIs. It is a real negation!

(19) **Minho-ka amwuto mannan ci olay twayssta.*
Minho-NOM anyone meet since a.long.time became
‘*It has been a while that Minho has met anyone.’

(20) *Minho-ka amwuto an mannan ci olay twayssta.*
Minho-NOM anyone **NEG** meet since a.long.time became
‘It has been a while that Minho has **not** met anyone.’

Evidence for our Negation approach (2)

- A negative marker in ITMCs interacts with other scope-bearing elements.

(21) *Yuna-ka achim-ul cenpwu mekun ci i cwuil twayssta.*
Yuna-NOM breakfast-ACC all eat since two week became
'It has been two weeks that Yuna has eaten all the breakfast.'

(22) *Yuna-ka achim-ul cenpwu **an** mekun ci i cwuil twayssta.*
Yuna-NOM breakfast-ACC all **NEG** eat since two week became
'It has been two weeks that Yuna has **not** eaten all the breakfast.'

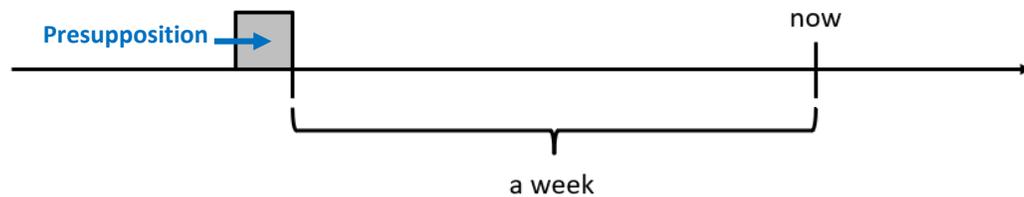
a. $\forall > \text{Neg}$: '(Each morning) Yuna didn't eat the breakfast at all.'

b. $\text{Neg} > \forall$: '(Each morning) Yuna didn't eat all of the breakfast.'

Overview of our account

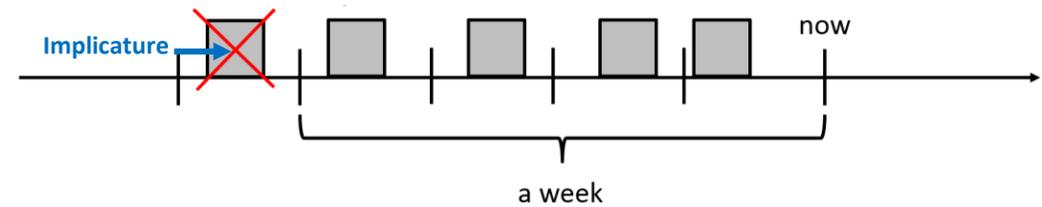
TMC:

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.
 shower do since one week became
 ‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’



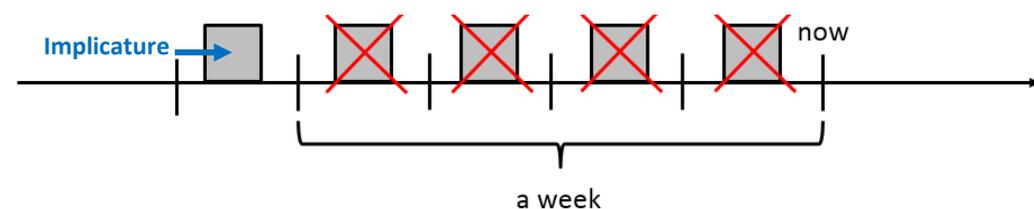
Iterative TMC:

Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.
 shower do since one week became
 ‘It has been a week that I have been taking showers.’



Iterative TMC+NEG:

*Syawe **an** han ci il cwuil twayssta.*
 shower **NEG** do since one week became
 ‘It has been a week that I have **not** been taking showers.’



Differences between TMC and ITMC+NEG (1)

- ITMC+NEG requires a time span that is at least as long as one unit interval for the iterative event.
- (16) is bad because people usually don't take a shower every minute.

(15) *Syawe han ci il pwun twayssta.*

shower do since one minute became

‘It has been a minute since I took a shower.’

(16) *#Syawe **an** han ci il pwun twayssta.*

shower **NEG** do since one minute became

‘#It has been a minute that I have not been taking a shower.’

Differences between TMC and ITMC+NEG (2)

- TMC presupposes the occurrence of the eventuality, but ITMC+NEG only implies that.
- (17) is not compatible with the scenario in which I got this job three month ago and have never received a paycheck since then, but (18) is.

(17) *Welkup-ul patun ci sam kaywel twayssta.*

monthly.paycheck-ACC receive since three months became

‘It has been three months since I received a monthly paycheck.’

(18) *Welkup-ul mos patun ci sam kaywel twayssta.*

monthly.paycheck-ACC **NEG** receive since three months became

‘It has been three months that I haven’t been receiving a monthly paycheck.’

Conceptual advantage of our account

- Our account is simple: Negation is negation!
- It has a cross-linguistic implication: There is no “expletive negation” (Cépeda 2018)

Empirical advantage of our account

- Our account can explain all the data that are previously mentioned in the literature.
- It can also correctly predict differences between Time Measure Constructions with and without negation.

Conclusions

- A negative marker in Time Measure Constructions indicates real negation.
- The illusion of a meaningless negative morpheme is due to the mismatch of affirmative-negative pairs among Time Measure Constructions.
- Our account correctly predicts the semantic differences between Time Measure Constructions with and without negation.

Selected References

- Cépeda, Paola. 2018. *Negation and Time. Against expletive negation in temporal clauses*. Ph.D. dissertation. Stony Brook University.
- Yoon, Jae-Hak. 1994. Pseudo-Double Negation. In *Theoretical issues in Korean linguistics*, ed. by Y.-K. Kim-Renaud, 387-401. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Yoon, Suwon. 2011. *'Not' in the mood. The syntax, semantics and pragmatics of evaluative negation*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Chicago.

Thank you!

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