

# **Negation in Korean Time Measure Constructions**

Paola C  peda & Jiwon Yun  
(Stony Brook University)

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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)

**NEG**

**NEG**

(7) *Syawe-lul    an    han ci    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    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.")

## 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.

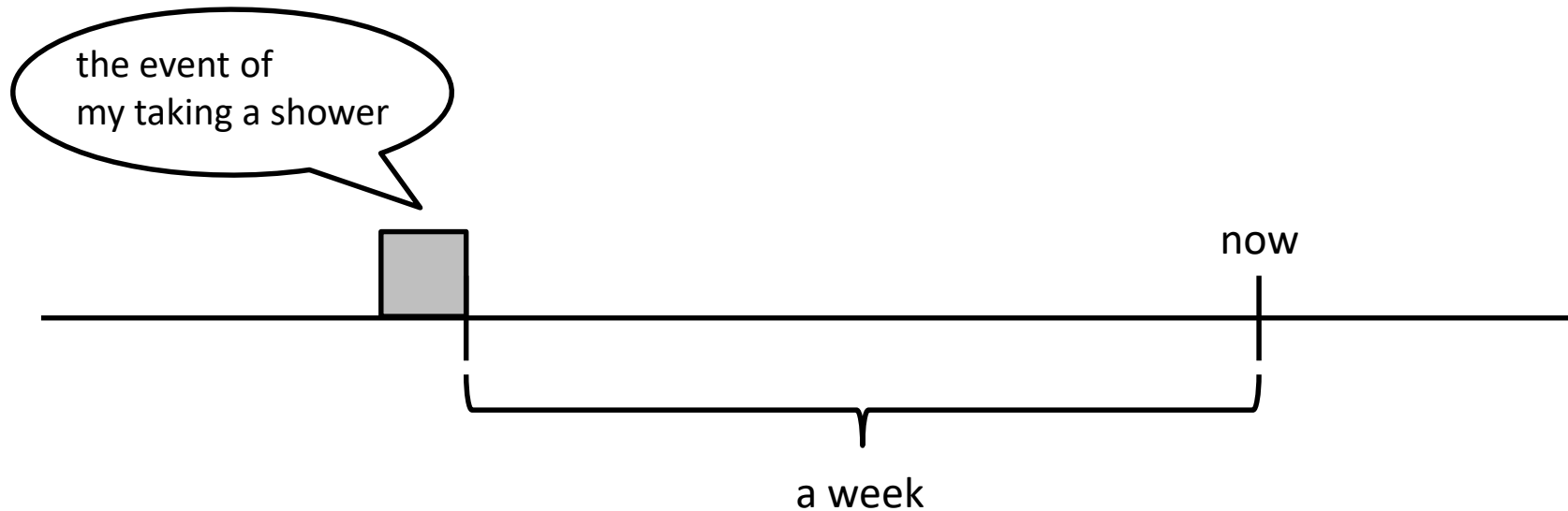
<b>TMC:</b> <i>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</i> shower do since one week became 'It has been a week since I took a shower.'	<b>Iterative TMC:</b> <i>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</i> shower do since one week became 'It has been a week that I have been taking showers.'
	<b>Iterative TMC+NEG:</b>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

# 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:**

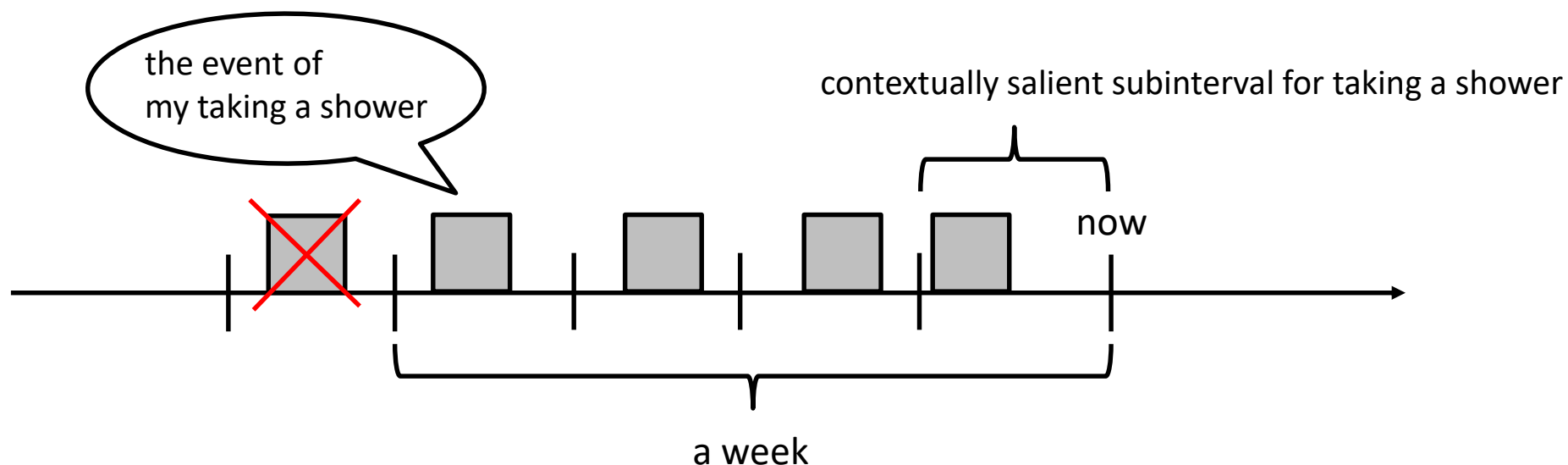
Exactly a week has passed after I took a shower.

# 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.

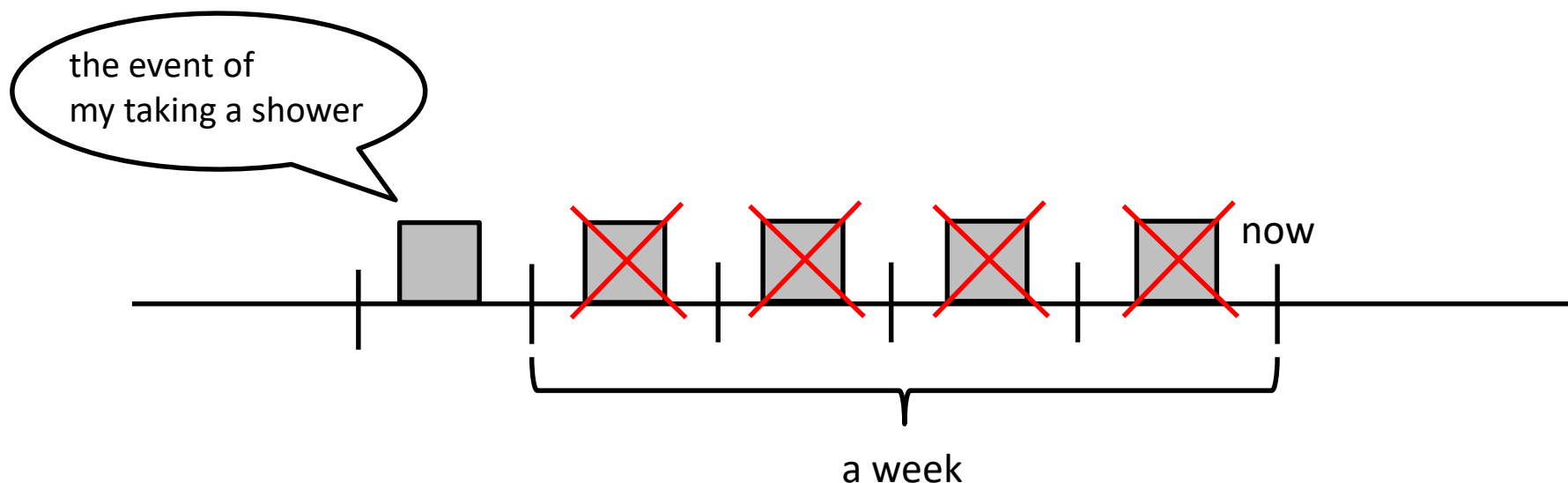
I didn't take a shower before a week ago.

# 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.'

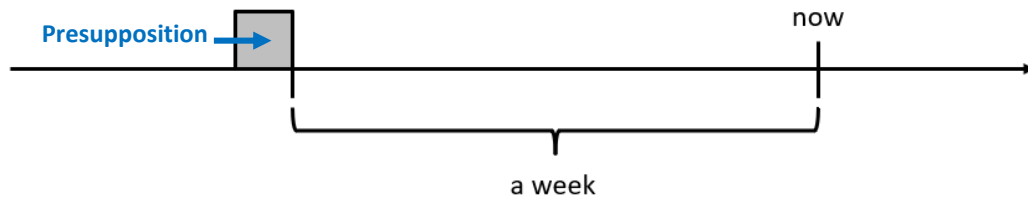
(22) *Yuna-ka achim-ul cenpwu **an** mekun ci i cwuil twayssta.*  
Yuna-NOM breakfast-ACC all **NEG** eat since two week became  
'It has been two weeks that Yuna has **not** eaten all the breakfast.'  
a.  $\forall > \text{Neg}$ : '(Each morning) Yuna didn't eat the breakfast at all.'  
b.  $\text{Neg} > \forall$ : '(Each morning) Yuna didn't eat all of the breakfast.'



# Overview of our account

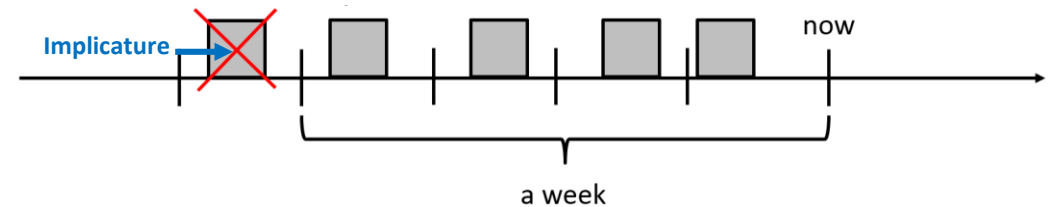
## TMC:

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



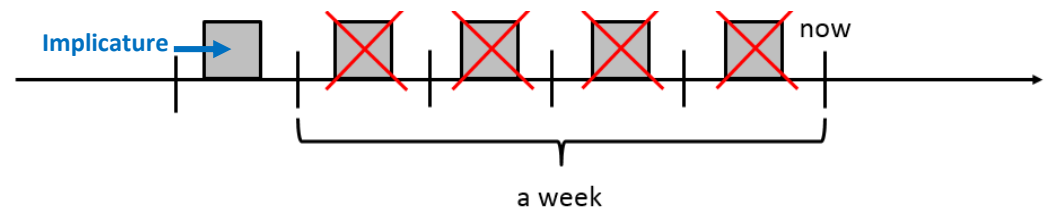
## Iterative TMC:

*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.

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