Negation in Korean
Time Measure Constructions

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Introducing the puzzle

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 cwuiil 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 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 cwkun 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finished TMC:</th>
<th>Continuous TMC:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</em> shower do since one week became</td>
<td><em>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</em> shower do since one week became</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’</td>
<td>‘It has been a week since I started taking showers.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finished TMC+NEG:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Syawe an han ci il cwuil twayssta.</em> shower NEG do since one week became</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It has been a week since I stopped taking a shower.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Change of perspective: Our view

- The NEG morpheme means negation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TMC:</th>
<th>Iterative TMC:</th>
<th>Iterative TMC+NEG:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Syawe an han ci il cwuil twayssta.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shower do since one week became</td>
<td>shower do since one week became</td>
<td>shower NEG do since one week became</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’</td>
<td>‘It has been a week that I have been taking showers.’</td>
<td>‘It has been a week that I have not been taking showers.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.’

the event of
my taking a shower

now

a week
Meaning of Time Measure Construction (ii)

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.

*Syawe han ci il cwuil twayssta.*
shower do since one week became
‘It has been a week since I took a shower.’
Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction (i)

_Syawehanci il cwuil twayssta._

shower do since one week became

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

---

the event of my taking a shower
diagram showing a week and a contextually salient subinterval for taking a shower now
Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction (ii)

Syawē 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.’

the event of
my taking a shower

now

a week
Meaning of Iterative Time Measure Construction + Negation (ii)

Syawe an han ci il cwuii 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. ∀ > Neg: ‘(Each morning) Yuna didn’t eat the breakfast at all.’
b. Neg > ∀: ‘(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


Thank you!

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