

NPI licensing in the INP contexts - Reviving the NOA

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ABSTRACT

The Journal of Studies in Language 35.3, 401-413. The current study aims at providing an account for the licensing of negative polarity items in the so-called INP (inherently negative predicate) contexts. Sohn (1995) claims, following Progovac (1988) and Laka (1990), that there is a negative complementizer or operator in Korean just as in English, Spanish, and Basque and this negative complementizer, selected by an INP, can license an NPI within the embedded clause. Chung (2006) reports that not just an NPI within the embedded clause, but an NPI appearing as a matrix subject can be licensed in the INP context. After showing that this is not explained by Sohn (1995), Chung proposes an alternative analysis - the complex predicate analysis. However, there are also some nontrivial problems in Chung's analysis as well, and a new analysis is proposed, which can account for the new sets of data as well as old ones. It will be shown that a slightly revised version of Sohn's negative operator analysis (a new NOA) can advance our understanding of the NPI licensing in the INP contexts. (Hannam University)

Keywords: negative complementizer, NPI, inherently negative predicate, negative operator, strong feature

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본인이 투고한 논문은 다른 학술지에 게재된 적이 없으며 타인의 논문을 표절하지 않았음을 서약합니다. 추후 중복게재 혹은 표절된 것으로 밝혀질 시에는 논문게재 취소와 일정 기간 논문 제출의 제한 조치를 받게 됨을 인지하고 있습니다.

1. Introduction

This paper concerns the licensing of negative polarity items (NPIs) in inherently negative contexts. It has been observed that inherently negative predicates (INPs, henceforth) in English and many other languages can license NPIs within their complement clauses while they cannot license NPIs in the direct complement position. Consider the following examples from English.

- (1) a. The witness denied that anybody left the room before dinner.
b. The professor doubts that the students understood any explanation.
c. *The professor denied anything
c. *The professor doubts any explanation.
- (2) a. *The witness said that anybody left the room before dinner.
b. *The professor believed that the students understood any explanation.
- (3) a. The witness didn't say that anybody left the room before dinner.
b. The professor didn't believe that the students understood any explanation.

(1) shows that *deny* and *doubt*, English INPs, allow an NPI *anybody* and *any explanation*, respectively, to appear in the embedded clause, unlike *say* and *believe* in (2). *Say* and *believe* need to have overt negation to license an NPI in the embedded clause as shown in (3). What is interesting is that these INPs do not usually allow an NPI in the direct object position as shown in (1c,d). This behavior of INPs depart from overt negation as they can freely allow object NPIs, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. The professor didn't accept anything.
 b. The professor didn't give any explanation.

A negative complementizer/operator analysis (NOA henceforth, following the tradition) has been proposed for the given sets of data for English, Spanish, and Basque languages among many others (Progovac 1988, Laka 1990, etc.). The basic idea is that the INP can select a negative complementizer in the embedded Comp and what licenses an NPI in the embedded clause is this negative complementizer.

Sohn (1995) reports that the same kind of phenomenon can be found in Korean.

- (5) a. John-un amwuto manna-ki silhehanta
 Top anyone meet-Comp hate
 'John hated to meet anyone.'
 b. na-nun amwu kesto mek-ki silh-ta
 I-Top anything eat-Comp hate
 'I hate to eat anything.'
 c. *John-un amwuto silhehanta
 Top anyone hate
 '(Lit.) John hates anyone.'
 d. *na-nun amwu kes-to silhta
 I-Top anything hate
 '(Lit.) I hate anything.'

A Korean NPI *amwuto* can be licensed by overt negation as shown in (5a). The grammaticality of (5a,b) might give us an impression that the inherently negative verb *silheha-* can directly license an NPI just as overt negation can. But this expectation is not fulfilled as we can see from the ungrammaticality of (5c,d). The NPI in the direct object position of *silheha-* or *silh-* is not licensed, resulting in ungrammaticality. Seeing this, Sohn claims that the same kind of NOA type analysis is needed to accommodate the Korean data.

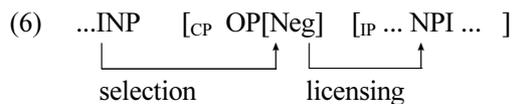
However, Chung (2006) provides very interesting sets of data regarding this INP construction and claims that the current NOA based on negative complementizer/operator cannot account for these new sets of data. He goes on to propose a new analysis – the complex predicate approach. This paper critically reviews Chung's interesting proposal and shows that there are some problems that reside in his analysis. It will be shown that a revised NOA can account for all the relevant examples including the problems pointed out for the complex predicate approach.

This paper is organized in the following way; In section 2, the old NOA and its rationale is presented. In section 3, Chung's complex predicate approach will be reviewed critically. In section 4, a new NOA is proposed and Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Negative Operator Analysis

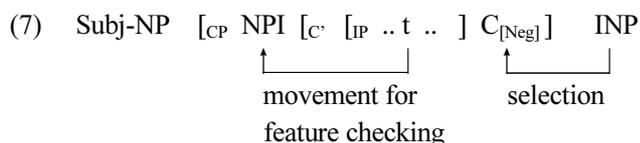
2.1 Negative Operator Analysis

Researchers like Progovac (1988, 1993) and Laka (1990) claim that NPIs are not directly licensed by INPs but through the mediation of the negative operator/complementizer in embedded C, as shown below.



According to Progovac, an inherently negative predicate can select a complementizer which has a negative operator in it. This operator, which we may call OP_{neg}, is phonologically empty and assumed to be a kind of clitic attached to a lexical material in Comp. This negative operator is deemed to have the power to license the NPI in the embedded clause.¹⁾

Sohn (1995) basically adopts this NOA to account for the contrast in (5), but claims that unlike in English, the Korean NPIs in the INP contexts have to be placed in Spec of C in overt syntax. This proposal is based on the observation that there is a strict locality requirement in Korean NPIs (Choe 1988, Suh 1990, Sohn 1995, Shi 1997, Chung 2006, etc.) but not in English NPIs. Sohn tries to deduce this difference in locality from the assumption that Korean NPIs have a strong Neg feature while English NPIs have a weak Neg feature. The strong Neg feature in Korean NPIs drives the movement of NPIs for the purpose of checking off their Neg feature in overt syntax while there is no such requirement for English NPIs. Given this idea, the NPIs in the INP contexts will have to move to Spec of embedded C_[neg] to have its Neg-feature checked off. The resulting configuration will be of the following sort:



In the given configuration, the NPI is in the legitimate checking environment, being in the spec of the negative complementizer.²⁾

Sohn provides evidence for the overt movement of NPIs in the INP contexts. The evidence is concerned with the behavior of manner adverbials in negative contexts.

1) Uribe-Extevarria (1994) deals with the cases when the INPs can license direct object NPIs – the cases of event nouns. We will not go into the discussion of these cases in this paper, though. .

2) There are several different types of NPIs in Korean other than amwu- type NPIs as discussed in Chung (1993), Sohn (1994, 2004), Nam (1997), and Lee (1996). But I will confine my concern here to amwu-type NPIs.

- (8) a. John-un **coyonghi** chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta
 Top quietly book-Acc read-Comp-Acc disliked
 ‘John hated to read books quietly.’
 b. John-un chayk-ul **coyonghi** ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta
 c. ?***coyonghi** John-un chayk-ul ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta (Sohn 1995, (58))

As shown above, the manner adverbial *coyonghi* can either follow or precede the embedded object in the INP contexts. But when it is placed out of the embedded clause as in (8c), the sentence becomes much less acceptable. Bearing this in mind, now let us consider the examples where the embedded object is an NPI.

- (9) a. *John-un coyonghi amwu kesto ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta
 Top **quietly** **anything** read-Comp-Acc hated
 ‘(Lit.) John hated to read anything quietly.’
 b. John-un amwu kesto coyonghi ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta (Sohn 1995, (59))
 Top **anything** **quietly** read-Comp-Acc hated
 ‘There was nothing that John wanted to read quietly.’

We can see that the [NPI-manner adverbial] order is grammatical while the reverse order, *i.e.* [manner adverbial-NPI] order is not. This can be naturally explained once we accept the assumption that an NPI should be overtly licensed via checking. If the manner adverbial follows the NPI as in (9b), it is safely inside the embedded clause even if the NPI is in Spec of C[neg]. However in the opposite order, the manner adverbial is forced to be outside the embedded clause since the NPI is in Spec of C[neg], the outer boundary of the embedded clause. Hence we can say that the interaction of the NPI and manner adverbial serves as evidence for the overt checking analysis of NPIs in Korean.

3. Complex predicate analysis - Chung (2006)

3.1. Chung’s complex predicate analysis

Chung (2006) provides interesting sets of data regarding this INP construction. He shows that an NPI can appear not just as the embedded object but also as the matrix subject in the INP construction. The relevant examples are given below.

- (10) a. amwuto_i [e_i kulen telewun il-ul ha-ki] silhehanta. (Chung 2006. (7a))
 anyone that dirty work-Acc do-Comp dislike
 ‘(Lit.) Anyone among them dislikes doing that sort of dirty job.’
 ‘No one likes to do that sort of dirty job.’
 b. amwuto_i [e_i na-wa ccakha-ki] silhehaessta (Chung 2006. (7b))
 anyone I-with become-partner-Comp dislike
 ‘(Lit.) Anyone among my classmates disliked being my partner.’
 ‘None of my classmates liked to be my partner.’

Notice that NPI *amwuto* is in the matrix subject position in the above examples and still the example is not degraded.

The given state of facts are quite intriguing and, as correctly pointed out by Chung, are not expected under Sohn's analysis. The NPI subject is not included in the c-command domain of the complementizer *-ki* and hence cannot undergo upward movement to CP-spec for licensing. This example is, thus, incorrectly predicted to be ungrammatical and clearly poses a problem for Sohn's NOA. Given Chung's new data, now the new generalization on the distribution of NPIs in the INP contexts seems to be the following: NPIs may be licensed in the INP contexts as long as there is a complement clause selected by the INPs.

Seeing this, Chung claims that a new type of analysis is required to account for the licensing of NPIs in the INP contexts. He takes it to be significant that NPI seems to be licensed in the INP construction only when *V-ki* and INP are adjacent to each other. Consider the following examples.

(11) a. *amwuto ilen nalssi-ey kongpwuha-ki silhehanta* (Chung 2006, (14))

anyone such weather-at study-Comp dislike

'No one likes to study in such weather.'

b. *[*ilen nalssi-ey kongpwuha-ki*] *amwuto silhehanta*

such weather-at study-Comp anyone dislike

(12) a. *John_i-i [e; amwuto manna-ki] silhehanta* (Chung 2006, (15))

Nom anyone meet-Comp dislike

'John dislikes seeing anyone.'

b. *[*amwuto manna-ki*] *John-i silhehanta*

anyone meet-Comp Nom dislike

In both (11b) and (12b), the whole embedded clause is preposed over the matrix subject. This movement has the effect of breaking the adjacency relation between *V-ki* and the INP. As Chung observes, only each (a) example is grammatical and the preposed counterpart, where the adjacency relation is destroyed, is not. This leads Chung to propose that *V-ki* and the INP are reanalyzed as a complex predicate at an appropriate level in order to be strong enough to license NPIs. Under this reanalysis (or complex predicate) approach, the contrast between (11a,12a) and (11b,12b) follows naturally since the fronting breaks the adjacency relation between *V-ki* and the INP, thus making it impossible for them to be reanalyzed as one complex predicate. Hence, the examples (11) and (12) seem to be well in line with Chung's reanalysis account.

3.2. Problems for the complex predicate approach

Although Chung's complex predicate approach is quite interesting, there are some problems in his analysis. If his analysis is correct, it should be the case that adjacency relation has to hold strictly between *V-ki* and the INP and whenever *V-ki* is separated from the INP, the grammaticality should go down. However, this doesn't seem to be the case. Chung actually has noticed this potential problem but denies this possibility. Consider the following examples.

- (13) (??) na-nun [amwuto manna-ki]-ka acwu silhe
 I-Top anyone meet-Comp-Nom very hateful
 ‘(Lit) I really hate to see anyone.’

Dealing with the above type of example, where a matrix adverb *acwu* ‘very’ intervenes between *manna-ki* and the INP *silh-*, Chung claims that the example with *acwu* is not perfect and hence is not really a problem for his reanalysis account. I agree with Chung in that the above example is not perfect. However, once we change the intervening adverbial into *cengmal(lo)* ‘really’ instead of *acwu*, the sentence becomes much more acceptable, which is not expected under Chung’s analysis.

- (14) a. na-nun amwuto manna-ki-ka cengmal(lo) silhe
 I-Top anyone meet-Comp-Nom really hateful
 ‘I really hate to see anyone.’
 b. na-nun i twul cwung enu kes-to phokiha-ki-ka cengmal(lo) silhe
 I-Top this two among anything give up-Comp-Nom really hateful
 ‘I really hate to give up any of these two.’

Both (14a) and (14b) are deemed to be quite acceptable by native speakers. If these are grammatically acceptable, then it seems really hard for Chung type reanalysis account to accommodate them because the broken adjacency prevents the reanalysis procedure from happening in the sequence given above. Hence the adverb intervention between *V-ki* and the INP seems to serve as a real counterexample to the reanalysis account.

Another kind of evidence against the reanalysis account comes from the cases involving preposed embedded clause. The relevant examples are reintroduced below.

- (15) a. *[amwuto manna-ki]-ka na-nun silhe. (=11b)
 anyone meet-Comp-Nom I-Top hateful
 ‘I hate to see anyone.’
 b. amwuto # (ilyoil-ey) manna-ki-ka na-nun silhe.³⁾
 anyone Sunday at meet-Comp-Nom I-Top hateful
 ‘There is no one I would like to meet (on Sunday).’

We have already seen that when the embedded clause is preposed in the INP contexts, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This is the kind of example which led Chung to choose the reanalysis account. What has not been noticed before, though, is that there is an amelioration effect once we put a pause between the NPI and the rest of the preposed sequence, as exemplified in (15b). Again, this is not expected under Chung’s reanalysis account as the *V-ki* and the INP are separated from each other regardless of whether there is a pause in the preposed sequence or not. Why is it that the insertion of a pause makes a difference in grammaticality in the cases involving the embedded clause

3) *ilyoil-ey* ‘on Sunday’ is added just to make the reading more natural.

preposing? This state of facts definitely requires an explanation and there seems to be no way for the reanalysis approach to provide an account for the given facts.

Another problem for the reanalysis account is a theoretical one. It doesn't seem to be clear why the reanalysis occurs and why this reanalysis turns the formerly dormant INPs into an NPI licenser. Chung provides some speculation on why the reanalysis enables the INP to serve as an NPI licenser. He suggests that in the complex predicate formation procedure, the INP acquires the status of an auxiliary verb, in a sense and this creates a context in which the negative force inside the INP becomes visible from outside. The proposal works from a technical point of view, but it still remains unclear why such reanalysis plays any role in the negative status of the INPs.

In the next section, a new analysis is proposed which can explain all the examples and issues discussed so far in this paper.

4. A revised NOA

What is obvious in the licensing of NPIs in the INP contexts is that the complementizer *-ki* plays a crucial role. Chung uses this property quite effectively and provides an account that seems to have a decent empirical coverage. But we saw that there are some nontrivial problems residing in the reanalysis account. To account for the data discussed so far, I propose an analysis which is a revision of Sohn's negative complementizer analysis.

It has been repeatedly shown that there really exist negative complementizers across languages. We have already seen that the idea of a negative complementizer advances our understanding on the behavior of the INP constructions. What is more interesting is that in Basque, a separate complementizer is used for the normal declarative context and the INP contexts. More precisely, the complementizer *ela* is used for general declarative contexts and another complementizer *enik* is selected when there is an INP like *ukatu* 'deny'.

(16) a. [Galapagoak muskerrez beterik daudela] diote
Galapagos lizards-of full are-that say-they
'They say that the Galapagos are full of lizards'

(17) a. Amaiak [inork gorrotoa dionik] ukatu du
Amaia anyone hatred has-her-that denied has⁴
'Amaia denied that anybody hated her'

b. Lekukoek [gau hartan inor jauregira hurbildu zenik] ukatu dute
witnesses night that anyone castle-to near was-that denied have
'The witnesses denied that anyone got near the castle that night'

Laka shows how far this idea of negative complementizer can carry us in accounting for the nature of NPIs and the INP constructions. Based on these considerations, it is quite reasonable to assume that there really exists a negative complementizer across languages.⁵ I assume, following Sohn (1995), that this is also the case in Korean and a slight

4) The sentence becomes ungrammatical if we change the negative complementizer into the normal declarative complementizer *ela* in the same context.

revision of the NOA analysis can accommodate all the data discussed so far. The revised NOA has the following contents:

(18) Revised NOA

- a. There is a special type of complementizer, i.e. negative complementizer selected by inherently negative predicates such as *silheha-*, *silh-*, *elyep-*, *pwulkanungha-* in Korean.
- b. This complementizer is composed of normal clause-heading complementizer accompanied by a negative operator, which is a phonologically null clitic (following Progovac) and which is strong in its feature strength.
- c. There is NegP in the INP construction as assumed in Sohn (1995) and Chung (2006).

Given the assumptions taken above, the strong negative feature has to move to the INP to have its strong feature checked off and the INP further moves up, to form one complex unit with the matrix Neg head. This procedure is illustrated in (19).

$$(19) \quad [{}_{\text{NegP}} \text{Subj-NP} [{}_{\text{VP}} [{}_{\text{CP}} [{}_{\text{C}'} [{}_{\text{IP}} \dots t \dots] \text{C-OP}_{\text{[Neg]}}] \text{INP}] \text{Neg}]$$

The first step of movement, as hinted above, is motivated due to the nature of the negative operator while the second step of movement is motivated due to the morphological requirement of the invisible negative head, which we assume to be a bound morpheme and has to be supported by an independent morpheme.⁶⁾ With the proposed new NOA, all the phenomena dealt with in the previous sections can receive an appropriate account.

First of all, the object NPI within the embedded clause will move up to spec of Neg (in the matrix clause) and be licensed by the complex predicate [OPneg+INP+Neg] there.

$$(20) \quad [{}_{\text{NegP}} \text{NPI}_i [{}_{\text{VP}} [{}_{\text{CP}} [{}_{\text{C}'} [{}_{\text{IP}} \dots t_i \dots] \text{C-OP}_{\text{[Neg]}}] \text{INP}] \text{Neg}]$$

The crucial difference between the current NOA and the previous NOA is that (i) there is a sort of head movement at the X0-level in the former and (ii) the NPI moves not into embedded C-Spec, but into matrix Neg-Spec. As a result, all

5) Landau (2002) also discusses negative complementizers in Hebrew.

6) A reviewer raises a question about whether the two steps of head movement are obligatory or not. The first step of movement, raising of OPneg to the INP is obligatory as it is driven by the strong feature of OPneg. But the second step of movement, the raising of INP-OPneg complex to Neg head is not obligatory as long as there is an alternative way to satisfy the need of the Neg head. Consider the following example;

(i) ku-nun amwukes-to mek-ki-lul silhehaci ani hanta
 he-Top anything eat-Comp-Acc hate not do
 'There is nothing that he hated to eat.'

In this example, the INP definitely stays within the matrix VP and does not go up to NegP as the Neg head is already occupied overt negation. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the second step of movement is not necessarily required but happens only when the abstract Neg head has no other way to be supported.

the NPIs will now be licensed only through checking in the Spec of NegP, there being no need for licensing NPIs in CP-Spec in the INP contexts. Hence we can now say that all the NPIs in Korean are licensed in a unified way – by undergoing checking in NegP Spec with a negative head (complex or not).⁷⁾

The subject NPI in the matrix clause will also be licensed in the same way as the embedded object NPI is. Given the [checking in NegP Spec] assumption, there is no difference between the INP cases and the normal licensing by overt negation with regard to the licensing of the subject NPIs.⁸⁾

The NPI-adverb interaction facts observed in Sohn (1995) can also be accounted for under the new NOA without any problem. The relevant examples are reintroduced below;

(21) (=8)

- a. *John-un coyonghi amwu kesto ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta
 Top quietly anything read-Comp-Acc hated
 ‘(Lit.) John hated to read anything quietly.’
- b. John-un amwu kesto coyonghi ilk-ki-lul silhehayssta
 Top anything quietly read-Comp-Acc hated
 ‘There was nothing that John read quietly.’

Previously it has been claimed that the adverb-NPI order is not allowed since the NPI is already in Spec of C[neg] and hence the adverb preceding it has to be somewhere in the matrix clause, which is not allowed for the embedded manner adverbials. Basically the same explanation can be given under the current analysis. The only difference is that the NPI is now in matrix NegP Spec and the adverb preceding it is definitely in the matrix clause. This explains why the example (21a) is degraded.

Now we are ready to see how the new NOA can overcome the problems posed for the complex predicate account. The first problem noticed for this account was that the sentence seems grammatical even when *V-ki* is separated from the INP. The relevant examples are of the following sort;

- (22) a. na-nun amwuto manna-ki-ka cengmal(lo) silhe
 I-Top anyone meet-Comp-Nom really hateful
 ‘I really hate to see anyone.’
- b. na-nun i twul cwung enu kes-to phokiha-ki-ka cengmal(lo) silhe
 I-Top this two among anything give up-Comp-Nom really hateful
 ‘I really hate to give up any of these two.’

This is not a problem any more since what is moved is not the complementizer *-ki*, but the unpronounced negative clitic attached to the complementizer.

Furthermore, now it makes sense why the INP which was previously immune to the licensing of the NPIs become

7) Chung’s complex predicate approach also leads to the same unified licensing mechanism.

8) Sohn (1995) assumes that NegP is higher than the usual subject position in Korean and thus both subject NPI and object NPI move up to NegP Spec for licensing. Readers are referred to Sohn (1995) for evidence related to scope interaction.

active for licensing. Through the addition of the negative operator to the INP, we can say that the normally dormant negative force inside the INP is strengthened and becomes visible for licensing.

What about the ban on the preposing of the embedded clause containing an NPI? The relevant examples are reintroduced below:

(23)=(11))

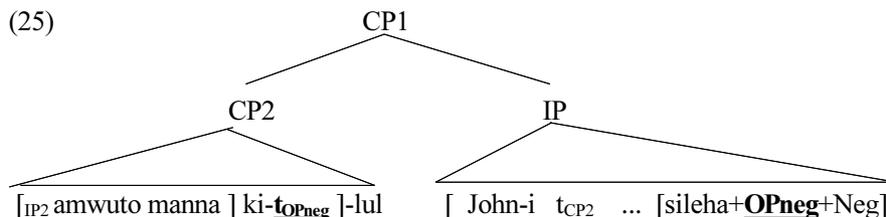
- a. amwuto ilen nalssi-ey kongpwuha-ki silhehanta (Chung 2006, (14))
 anyone such weather-at study-Comp dislike
 ‘No one likes to study in such weather.’
- b. *[ilen nalssi-ey kongpwuha-ki] amwuto silhehanta
 such weather-at study anyone dislike

(24)=(12))

- a. John_i-i [e_i amwuto manna-ki] silhehanta (Chung 2006, (15))
 Nom anyone meet-Comp dislike
 ‘John dislikes seeing anyone.’
- b. *[amwuto manna-ki](-lul) John-i silhehanta
 anyone meet-Comp (-Acc) Nom dislike

Let us consider example (24) first. We saw that the preposing of an embedded clause containing an NPI and *V-ki* as in (24b) results in ungrammaticality. The relevant derivation has at least two problems under the new NOA. Firstly, the NPI fails to be licensed because it is stuck inside the preposed embedded clause, thus violating the overt checking requirement. This is probably one main reason for this sentence to be degraded. Another problem in this derivation seems to be that the preposing of the embedded clause creates a sort of PBC violation effect.⁹⁾ Let us find out how the given string can be derived under the new NOA. First, OPneg cliticized to the embedded Comp moves and amalgamates with the INP and this [INP+OPneg] moves to the Neg head. Then the embedded clause is preposed to the sentence initial position crossing over the matrix negation. In the resulting configuration, the trace of the moved OPneg is higher than OPneg itself (inside the complex head *sileha+OPneg+Neg*) resulting in a PBC violation.

(25)



9) There has been discussion on how PBC violation effects can be accommodated in the minimalist program. It is not our concern here how the PBC violation can be subsumed under the minimalist program advanced in Chomsky (1995, 1998, 1999, 2001). It suffices for my current purpose that there is some effect that prevents an operation from putting a trace to an unbound position.

Notice that in the structure (25), the trace of the OPneg is not properly bound by OPneg as the former is not c-commanded by the latter due to the fronting of CP2 to a position higher than the latter.

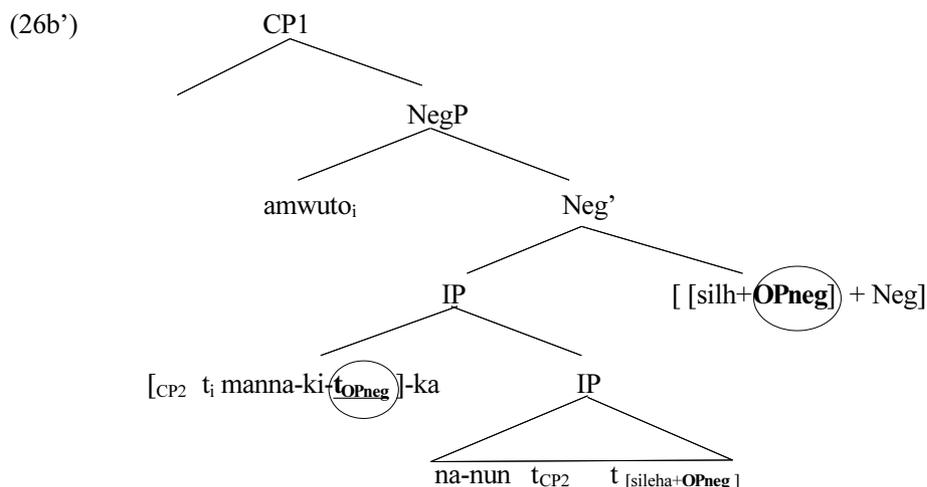
The same consideration explains the degradation effect shown in (23b). One thing that requires our attention is that the matrix subject is an NPI in this example. As we have assumed that NegP is located higher than the subject in Korean, the subject NPI will already have been moved to NegP Spec and thus [*ilen nalssi-ey kongpwuha-ki-t_{OPneg}*] preceding the NPI will be surely higher than OPneg in Neg head position, causing a PBC violation.

The new NOA also finds a way to deal with the unexpected grammaticality contrast in (15). The relevant examples are reintroduced as (26).

- (26) a. *[amwuto manna-ki]-ka na-nun silhe.
 anyone meet-KI-Nom I-Top hateful
 ‘(Lit) to see anyone, I hate.’
- b. amwuto # (achim-ey) manna-ki-ka na-nun silhe.
 anyone morning-at meet=KI-Nom I-Top hateful
 ‘There is no one who I want to meet in the morning.’

The degradation effect showing up in (26a) type example has already been explained; the NPI inside the preposed embedded clause cannot undergo checking in overt syntax as it is kept inside the embedded clause rather than moving into the matrix NegP spec. What draws our attention is an unexpected amelioration effect showing up when there is a strong pause between the embedded object NPI and the rest of the embedded clause as in (26b). This amelioration effect was unexplained under Chung’s complex predicate approach. Can the new NOA explain this effect? The significance of the pause is often discussed in the literature. We take the existence of a pause just after the NPI to be evidence that the NPI has been dislocated out of its original position. More precisely, the NPI has moved out of the embedded clause and has landed in NegP Spec, to have its strong Neg feature checked off (by *silh+OPneg+Neg*). Although it has been shown that an NPI can be properly licensed through checking, one potential problem still remains for the new NOA – the possibility of a PBC violation in the embedded clause fronting. There doesn’t seem to be much difference in the structure between (23b) above and (26b). In both examples, the embedded clause headed by the complementizer *-ki* has moved over the matrix subject. Then isn’t (26b) subject to the same kind of violation (*i.e.* a PBC violation) just as (23b) is?

But if you look at the two superficially similar examples, you can see that there is one crucial difference between them. The matrix subject is an NPI in (23b) and a non-NPI in (26b). This difference, I claim, is crucial. In (23b), as the embedded clause containing *-ki* precedes the NPI subject, which is assumed to occupy the NegP Spec position, the preposed embedded clause must be higher than [*silh-OPneg-Neg*] sequence. This in turn means that there is a PBC violation in this example. On the other hand, in (26b), as the subject is not an NPI, there is a possibility that the preposed embedded clause could stay below NegP (and its head [*silh-OPneg-Neg*]). The following structure illustrates this point.



What is crucial in this structure is that the proposed embedded clause is adjoined to a position lower than the Neg head position occupied by [[silh+OPneg] + Neg]. Hence there is no PBC violation effect in this structure, unlike in (23b). This is why there is a grammaticality contrast between (23b) and (26b) and the new NOA captures this point quite appropriately.

5. Conclusion

This paper tried to provide a new way of looking at the NPI licensing facts in the INP contexts in Korean. Originally, Sohn (1995) has proposed, following Progovac (1988) and Laka (1990), that there is a negative complementizer/operator in Korean and this is what licenses NPIs in the INP contexts. Chung (2006) shows that Sohn's NOA falls short of explaining the data that he newly introduced and he proposed a very interesting analysis in an effort to account for the new sets of data in this construction – the complex predicate approach. The gist of this analysis was that the embedded verb, the complementizer –ki, and the INP in the matrix clause forms one complex predicate and this complex predicate formation procedure makes it possible for the previously dormant negative force within the INP to serve as an NPI licenser. But this paper shows that his analysis is also not without problems and thus a new analysis is needed to accommodate these problems. For this purpose, a revised NOA is proposed and it is shown that this new NOA can explain all the data discussed in this paper. What remains to be seen is how this idea can be extended to other languages and this is open to future research.¹⁰⁾

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10) Readers are referred to Ladusaw (1979), Linebarger (1980, 1997), Horn (2000) for interesting behavior of NPIs, which definitely need to be considered to provide a comprehensive analysis for crosslinguistic variations in NPIs.

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