Decomposing Korean mos and molu

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Introduction

(Partial) syncretisms between negative markers/verbs in Korean
provide a novel way of looking at *molu*.

Some facts about Korean

- Korean: presumably an Altaic languages (Sohn 1999:11)
- Korean borrowed and adapted many words from Chinese in many different periods over time.
- Korean vocabulary consist of about 60% Sino-Korean (SK) words and 35% Native Korean (NK) words. 5% are borrowings from English and Japanese.
- most SK vocabulary are monosyllabic roots, which are combined into compounds.
- most SK vocabulary are nouns that can be transformed into predicates by means of a NK light verb *hata* 'to do' (Sohn 1999:247).

Korean *an* and *mos* (1)

- *an(i)* 'not'
- *mos* 'not possibly, cannot, unable'

Short form negation strategy (SFN)

(1) a. eysute-ka   an(i) ca-n-ta.
         Esther-NOM NEG sleep-PRES-DECL
         'Esther doesn't sleep/isn't sleeping.'
     b. eysute-ka   mos ca-n-ta.
         Esther-NOM NEG sleep-PRES-DECL
         'Esther cannot/is not allowed to sleep.'

Long form negation strategy (LFN)

(2)   a.   eysute-ka   ca-ci   an(i) ha-n-ta.
           Esther-NOM sleep-CI NEG do-PRES-DECL
           'Esther doesn't sleep.' (Chung 2007:97)
      b.   eysute-ka   ca-ci   mos ha-n-ta.
           Esther-NOM sleep-CI NEG do-PRES-DECL
           'Esther cannot/is not allowed to sleep.' (Chung
           2007:98)

- LFN is almost always allowed;
- SFN is subject to various predicate related restrictions (Sohn 1999, Sells 2015:391-392).

- adjectives of three or more syllables are not acceptable with SFN

- the copula is not generally acceptable in LFN if the complement is a noun.

- when a verb is a compound, LFN is preferred.

- *mos* occurs with some adjectives, but only in the LFN, losing its modal meaning.

(Soh 1999:391)

'Suppletive' *molu* (2)

- *molu* 'not know' is considered the suppletive form of SFN+*al*-
  'know'

(3) a. na-nun eysute-lul   al-n-ta.
         I-TOP   Esther-ACC know-PRES-DECL
         'I know Esther.'

     b. na-nun eysute-lul   molu-n-ta.
         I-TOP   Esther-ACC not.know-PRES-DECL
         'I dont know Esther.'

- Short form negation of *al-* is not possible.

a.   *na-nun eysute-lul   an(i)/mos al-n-ta.
       I-TOP   Esther-ACC NEG   know-PRES-DECL
       (*'I dont know Esther.')

b.   *na-nun ku   wuhwa-lul an(i)/mos al-ass-ta.
       I-TOP   the/that fable-ACC NEG   know-PAST-DECL
       (*'I didnt know the fable.')
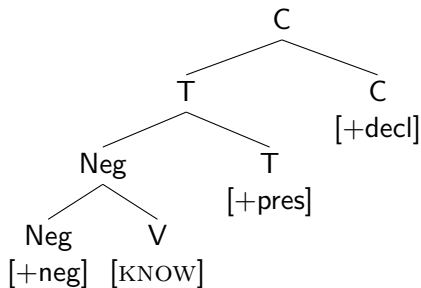   (Chung 2007:115-116)

- Stacking SFN on *molu-* isn't possible either.

(4)   a. *na-nun eysute-lul   an(i)/mos molu-n-ta.
          I-TOP Esther-ACC NEG   not.know-PRES-DECL
    b. *na-nun ku   wuhwa-lul an(i)/mos
          I-TOP the/that fable-ACC NEG
          moll-ass-ta.
   not.know-PRES-DECL

Chung 2007 (1)

molu-n-ta

(5)

```
                          C
                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                   T             C
              ┌────┴────┐      [+decl]
             Neg        T
          ┌───┴───┐  [+pres]
         Neg      V
       [+neg]  [KNOW]
```

Chung 2007 (2)

- Chung proposes the following vocabulary items for insertion:

(6)   a.   [+neg, KNOW] ↔ /molu/
      b.   [KNOW] ↔ /al-/
      c.   [+neg] ↔ /an(i)/

- These LIs never allow insertion of *molu* due to the Subset Principle (DM): both for V and Neg, there are matching VIs ((6b) and (6c)); (6c) *molu* does not qualify because the features of the VI are a superset of the features of the morpheme.

- Solution: a postsyntactic operation

- Fusion turns the Neg and V node into one node with two features [neg, KNOW]:

(7)

$$\text{Neg} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Neg}$$

Neg   V   [+neg, KNOW]
[+neg] [KNOW]
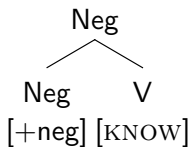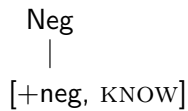
Caha (2009, 2017)

- in order for Fusion to take place one already needs to have
  access to the lexicon before Fusion, i.e. look-ahead problem

Korean *mol-* (3)

Table: Kim-Renaud (2009:132)

prefix	meaning	example	meaning
mu-	absence	mu-sosok	independent
mi-	unattaining	mi-wansŏng	unfinished
mol-	demise	mol-sangsik	ignorance
pi-	counter	pi-jongsǎng	abnormality
pul-/pu-	absence	pu-jayu	lack of freedom

General Claim

- *mol*, *mos* and *molu* negative markers/verbs share part of their feature composition:

| mol-
'die, dead, not, no, -less' | mos
'not possibly, cannot, unable' | molu-
'not know' |

Claim (1)

- The suppletive marker *molu-* is actually the consequence of a phonological process between the prefixal negation *mol-* and *al-*.

Support (1)

- *mol+V+l
- mol(l)V

mol-al → molla

(8)   molla pota 'fail to recognize'

- the *-u-* in what looks like the stem is related to the present tense morphology *(n)un*
- -a has become -u under the influence of present tense
- -u- disappears when *molu* is inflected for past tense (a/ess) and the underlying -l- appears

(9)   molu-n-ta
      not.know.pres.decl

(10)   moll-ass-ta
       not.know-past-decl

Claim (2)

- Proposal: the diachronic origin of *mos* is *mol-* + *swu*
- compare to: *unable* in English
- fossilized form

Support (2)

(11)   Na-nub keki-ey ka-l   swu   eps-ta
         I   there-to go-ADNZ ability neg.exist-DEC
         'I can't go there.'

(12)   Na-nun keki-ey ka-ci mos-hata
         I   there-to go-SU neg.can-AUX
         'I can't go there.'

(Kim 2010)

Prerequisites (1)

- Nanosyntax
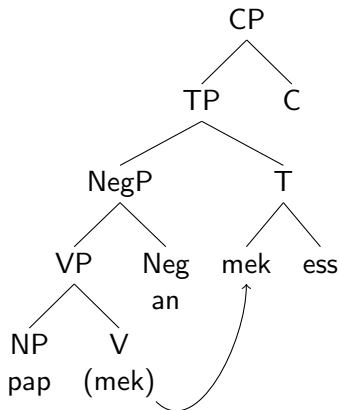- Cyclic phrasal spell out
- Complex specifiers for negation

Prerequisites (2)

- Decomposition of vP and VP
- DoP, CauseP, BecomeP, PredP (Larson 1988, Hale & Keyser 1993, Harley 1995, Folli & Harley 2007, Ramchand 2008, Rothmayr 2009).
- Only PredP and CauseP are involved in stative verbs; BecomeP and DoP are also involved in Process verbs
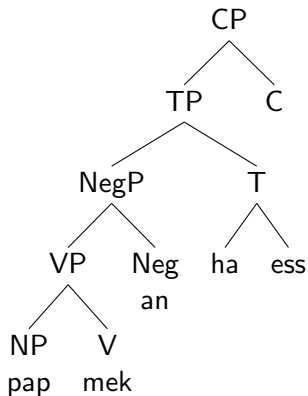
Prerequisite (3a)

(13)   Yoon (1999): SFN

```
                                CP
                               /  \
                             TP    C
                            /  \
                        NegP     T
                        /  \    /  \
                      VP   Neg mek  ess
                     /  \   an
                   NP    V
                   pap  (mek)
```

Prerequisite (3b)

(14)   Yoon (1999): LFN

```
                    CP
                   /  \
                 TP    C
                /  \
            NegP    T
            /  \   / \
          VP   Neg ha ess
         /  \   an
       NP    V
      pap   mek
```

Korean negation (1)

(15)   < /mol/,   PREDP   >

```
                      QP        PRED
               NegP        Q
              Neg
```

Korean negation (2)

(16) < /an(i)/,

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DoP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{CauseP} \quad \text{Do} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{BecomeP} \quad \text{Cause} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{PredP} \quad \text{Become} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{NegP} \quad \text{Pred} \\
| \\
\text{Neg}
\end{array}
\quad >
$$

Korean negation (3)

(17)   < /mos/,

$\text{Mod}_{\text{POS}}\text{P}$ >

DoP Mod_{POS}

CauseP   Do

BecomeP   Cause

NegP   Become

Neg

al (4)

(18) < /al/,   PREDP   >

              KNOWP   PRED
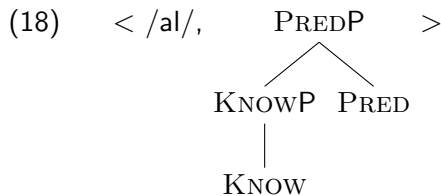
                 |
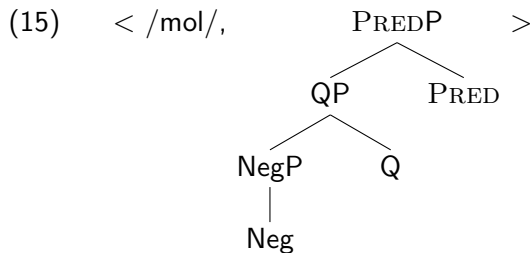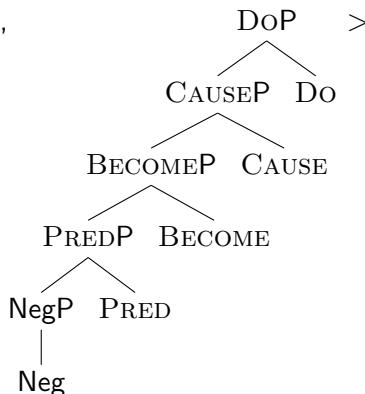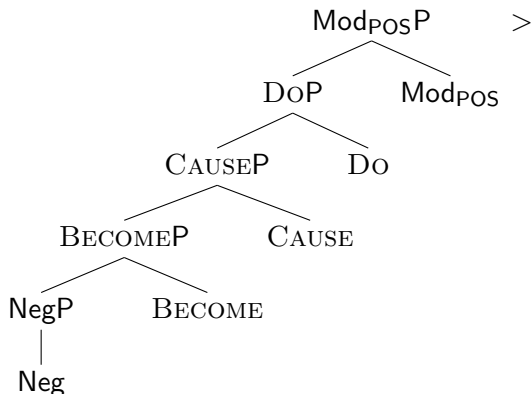
              KNOW
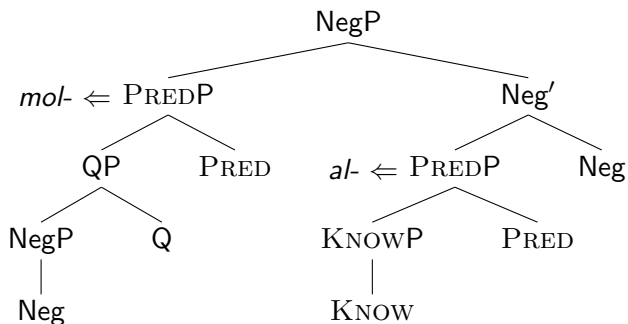
Spelling out *molu*

(19)
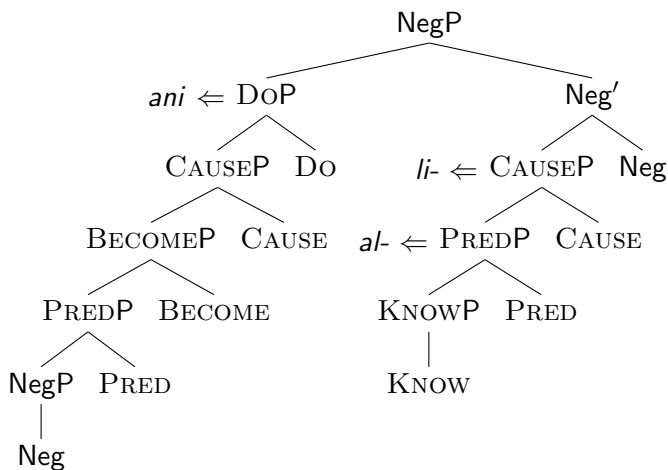
Causative *li* (1)

(20)   a.   al-li-
            know-CAUS-
            'let know, inform'
       b.   con-i   yenghi-eykey   ku sasil-ul   mos/ani
            John-NOM Younghee-DAT the fact-ACC NEG
            al-li-ess-ta   (*mol(u)liessta)
            know-CAUS-PAST-DECL
            'John couldn't/didn't inform Younghee of the fact.'

ani + causative *li* (2)

(21)

NegP
- *ani* ⇐ DoP
  - CauseP
    - BecomeP
      - PredP
        - NegP
          - Neg
        - Pred
      - Become
    - Cause
  - Do
- Neg'
  - *li-* ⇐ CauseP
    - *al-* ⇐ PredP
      - KnowP
        - Know
      - Pred
    - Cause
  - Neg

mos + causative *li* (3)

(22)

```
                              NegP
                 ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
           mol ⇐ DoP                          Neg′
           ┌─────┴──────┐              ┌────────┴────────┐
       CauseP    Do              li- ⇐ CauseP          Neg
       ┌───┴────┐                    ┌────┴────┐
   BecomeP  Cause          al- ⇐ PredP      Cause
   ┌───┴────┐                  ┌────┴────┐
NegP   Become            KnowP        Pred
  │                         │
 Neg                      Know
```
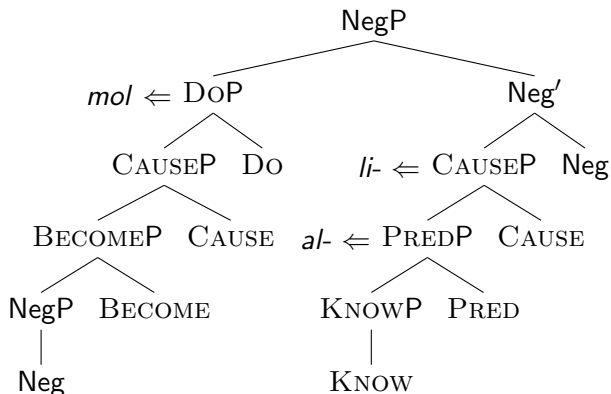
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