

The Role of Word Order in Syntactic Change: Sentence-Final Prominency in Korean Negation

Author(s): Hyun-Oak Alan Kim

Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1977), pp. 670-684

Please see “How to cite” in the online sidebar for full citation information.

Please contact BLS regarding any further use of this work. BLS retains copyright for both print and screen forms of the publication. BLS may be contacted via <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/bls/>.

The Annual Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society is published online via [eLanguage](#), the Linguistic Society of America's digital publishing platform.

The Role of Word Order in Syntactic Change :
Sentence-Final Prominency in Korean Negation

Hyun-Oak Alan Kim
University of Southern California

1. Introduction

Recent historical and comparative studies on typology of world languages suggest that no single type of word order is static but rather all types are in the process of transition into other types. Explanation of such a transition may be found in Lehman(1971), R. Lakoff(1969) and recent papers by Givón, Greenberg, Hyman, Li and Thompson in Li (1975). In the light of these studies, this paper discusses a case in which sentence function and word order contribute to a syntactic change.¹

Negation in Korean is such a case. A native speaker of Korean may negate a sentence simply by placing a negative particle (for example, ani ('not')) immediately before the main verb of that sentence. Henceforth, this type of negation will be referred to as Type I negation. Speakers of Korean may use an alternative way in which the original main verb is nominalized by the attachment of ci (a morphophonemic variant of nominalizer ki) to the stem of the verb and a new verb ha- ('to do') is introduced. Henceforth, this will be Type II negation.

(1) Type I ani + V

Type II V - ci + ani + ha-

The two strategies of negation are in general believed to have no difference in meaning between them, except that Type II may contain some degree of emphasis.

(2) a. ai-ka ca - n - ta.
child-S sleep PRES IND
"The child sleeps."

b. ai-ka ani ca - n - ta.
child-S not sleep PRES IND
"The child does not sleep."

- c. ai-ka ca - ci (rũl) ani ha- n -ta.
 child-S sleepNOM DO not do PRES IND
 "The child does not sleep." Literally,
 "The child does not do sleeping."

(Where: S: subject marker, DO: direct object;
 PRES: present tense; IND: sentence final
 particle for the indicative mood; NOM:Nominalizer)

This characteristic of the two types of Korean negation, namely, that they are structurally different and yet semantically equivalent, has intrigued linguists studying Korean language, mostly younger grammarians of transformational as well as generative semantic background. Studies of such scholars include Song (1973), Kim-Park(1973), H.B. Lee(1970), Oh(1973), and Kim-Renaud(1973). Most of these studies posit one or more deep structures for these two types of negation, formulating transformational rules to derive them.

2. Empirical Testing of Variation in Negation

Based on Oh's (1971) framework, Kim-Renaud(1974) offers interesting empirical data concerning the acceptability in the judgment of native speakers about various negative sentences. She confirms some of the general assumptions about Korean negation. In general, Type I negation is more readily applicable to monosyllabic verbs than to polysyllabic verbs, and to non-stative verbs than to stative verbs.

- (3)a. ?ai-ka yurich'ang-ũl ani ttutulki-n-ta.
 child-S window-DO not knock PRES IND
 "The child does not knock the window."

- b. *i kkoch-ũn ani arũmtab - ta.
 this flower-TOP not beautiful IND
 "This flower is not beautiful."

- c. *cyo t'ap-ũn ani noptarah - ta.
 that pagoda-TOP not high IND
 "That pagoda is not high."

- d. *Mary-ka ani saeppal-ke-ci - n - ta.
 Mary-S not redden INCEP PRES IND

(where: TOP:topic marker; INCEP: inceptive particle)

In denominal verbs, i.e., verbs derived from nouns, the application of Type I negation must be adjusted in such a way that the negative particle "cuts" in between the noun portion and the attached verb portion of the main verb.

- (4) a. Mary-ka korae-rŭl yŏn'gu ha - n - ta.
Mary-S whale-DO study do PRES IND
"Mary studies whales."
- b. *Mary-ka korae-rŭl ani yŏn'gu- ha-n-ta.
Mary-S whale-DO not study do PRES IND
"Mary does not study whales."
- c. Mary-ka korae-rŭl yŏn'gu ani ha-n-ta.
Mary-S whale-DO study not do PRES IND
"Mary does not study whales."

The speaker, therefore, must have some lexical information about the verb as to whether it is analyzable so as to single out the separable noun part from the unit. Although Kim-Renaud's analysis is not quite conclusive, her approach is extremely valuable for the present study.

3. Two general principles

The features of monosyllabicity and nonstativity pointed out by Kim-Renaud may be understood from the morphological viewpoint. Most of those verbs classified under the non-stative verbs have the characteristic of complex structure. For example, an adjectival verb, saepalkeci- ('to redden') may be analyzed as having three parts: (i) saes: intensifier; (ii) pulk ('red'): adjective; (iii) -ci-: inceptive suffix. In general, such compound verbs are generated by some productive morphemes which have verb properties. The reason for avoiding Type I negation in this case will be associated with the scope of negation. It is conceivable that the verb saepalkeci- emphasizes primarily the meaning of inception rather than the color 'red'. In general, portions agglutinated at the sentence-final position are subject to various grammatical transformations. In the Type II construction, the negative particle is situated closer to the morphologically more prominent portion of the word in question, namely, -ci-, inceptive suffix.

A. Non-interference principle

The "cut -in" or "interposed" negation, the phenomenon referred to by Kim-Renaud (sentence (4c)), seems

to reveal an important aspect of Korean negation in general. That is to say, no intervening element is allowed between the negative particle and the following verb to be negated.²

- (5) a. *ani pi-ka o-n-ta.
not rain-S come PRES IND
"It does not rain."
- b. *ani kongbu - ha-n-ta.
not study do PRES IND
"(He) does not study."
- c. *Mary-ka ani acik ka-at-ta.
Mary-S not yet go-PAST-IND
"Mary has not gone yet."

Korean negative particle ani ('not') or mot ('not to be able to') are kept together with the verb to be negated at the preverbal position. When a verb like knogbu-ha- ('to study') is to be negated, the grammar must check the information from the lexicon as to whether or not the verb is separable. If it is separable, then the noun part of the verb must be pushed forward so as to allow the negative particle immediately before the verb part ha-. Otherwise, the separable noun part kongbu (n. 'study') will intervene the well-formed string of negation.

B. Object-creating principle

The noun part pushed forward in the negation of denominal verb will then function as a direct object of the verb ha- or the negative verb phrase ani+ha-. This is easily attested by the insertion of object marker rul (or ul) to the noun part. The non-interference principle creates a direct object as long as the denominal verbs are concerned. Furthermore, even in Type II negation, such a general principle seems to be operative. Namely, the nominalized main verb (by the attachment of nominalizer -ci) serves the role of a direct object with respect to the negative verb phrase ani+ha- at the end of the sentence. The distribution of such object-creating principles is widely attested throughout the entire stock of Altaic languages. In many cases, negative particles of modern Altaic languages take the form of verbs and they call for the nominalized verbs as their direct objects. Acca ('not existing', 'lacking of') of Lamut and aku of Manchu in the Tungusic family, and Buriat gyi ('not')

and Khalkha ugey (a negative verb particle 'not') are all good examples. Turkish ma and Japanese nai ('not' apparently derived from the older forms of nu and zu) are somewhat problematic. They are not preceded by the complete nominal form of the verb but rather by one of the forms of verb-stem or verb-stem plus inflected ending. (In Japanese, the stem is inflected by the attachment of either the particle -a or the particle -e depending upon the class of verbs.) It is open to question whether or not the stem or inflected stem may be treated as a nominal or at least a quasi-nominal. Evidence indicates that in these languages, negative verbs calling for the nominal form of the main verb at the sentence final position are predominant. Preverbal negatives are found in prohibitive sentences and very rarely in the declarative sentences. This observation provokes us to hypothesize that either preverbal negation may chronologically precede the postverbal negation, or visa versa. The diachronic evidence strongly suggests the former hypothesis to be the case.

B. Diachronic investigation

Kim-Renaud(1974) suggests that Korean negation has a drift from Type II to Type I. Nevertheless, historical data indicates the reverse, namely that the change occurs rather from Type I to Type II.³ Negative constructions found in folk songs of the ancient Silla (4th century-9th century) and early Koryo (9th century-10th century) were examined. No occurrence of Type II is noted in the data.

- (6) a. na hal anti but hari sya dan...
 I DO not be shy *HONO if
 "If you are not shy in front of me.."
 *HONO:honorifics
- b. kazal antal iuriti me...
 autumn not fall conj.
 "Since (nuts) do not fall in autumn..."
- c. mot tal taa salb o noi...
 cannot exhaust tell
 "No one can exhaust to tell ..."

Negative particles anti and antal, both proto-forms of the modern ani (or the contracted an) and mot ('not to be able to' or prohibitive 'don't') consistently appear before the main verbs.⁴

Type II negation, however, increases its frequency roughly 20% by the time of 16th century.⁵

(7)	<u>documents</u>	<u>year</u>	I		II	<u>total</u>
			<u>ani</u>	<u>mot</u>		
	Yongbi Ŏchŏngga	1446	21	14	0	35
	Akjang Kyobŭm	1493	1	0	0	1
	Sŏngsan Pyŏlgok	1560	3	1	1	5
	Kwandong Pyŏlgok	1580	1	5	7	13
	Sami'ingok	1585	1	0	0	1
	Sok sami'ingok	1585	0	2	0	3
<hr/>			27	33		
Total				49	8	57
				(80%)	(20%)	(100%)

The usage of Type II negation is about 35% in Chunhyang-jŏn ('A Tale of Spring Fragrance'), one of the most popular novels of the early 19th century.⁶ But, the ratio of the distribution between Type I and Type II becomes completely reversed in contemporary Korean as far as the written data are concerned. We examined dialogues in two contemporary short stories by Korean writers and obtained the results below.⁷

(8)	<u>writer</u>	<u>Type I</u>		<u>Type II</u>		<u>Total</u>
	C.W. Kim	4	(8%)	47	(92%)	51
	Y.J. Kang	18	(31%)	40	(60%)	58
<hr/>						
	Total	22	(20.2)	87	(79.8%)	109(100%)

The heroine in Kim's story is a college-educated woman living in the capital, Seoul, whereas Kang's main character speaks the Southern dialect of Kyongsangdo. The preference of Type I over Type II in the speech of Kang's character is significant. It is generally believed that Southern dialect retains more archaic forms in some levels of Korean. It is probably the case that Seoul standard dialect may have been experiencing greater transition than Southern dialects.

In Korean, on almost all occasions Type II negation is preferred in written forms and formal speeches, whereas Type I negation is far more common in casual speech situations. Even though they are frequently found in informal situations, the occurrences of Type II negation are limited only to those of denominal verbs and morphologically complex verbs. Therefore, it may

be safe to say that although Type I negation is still persistent especially with "pure" monosyllabic verbs in present-day Korean, its distribution is proportionally lower in almost any situation and even in casual speech due to the overwhelming usage of denominal verbs and other complex verbs which are to be negated obligatorily by Type II negation.

It is interesting to note that from the sociolinguistic point of view written forms preserve chronologically older forms, displaying rigidity against influence from spoken styles. Therefore, it is quite natural that one can predict certain changes in a language on the basis of spoken forms rather than on the basis of formal written forms. However, it seems that this is not always the case. As for Korean negation, the spoken form retains the older form of construction while the written form adopts newer form. The establishment of Type II negation in Korean is a relatively new phenomenon. And it has proved to be the case that Type II negation is more general than Type I negation in the sense of production. Any negation in Type I construction can be converted without difficulty into the form of Type II negation but not visa versa. Therefore, Kim-Renaud's prediction as to the direction of the drift of negation, seemingly based on the sociolinguistic truism, is inadequate.

The present hypothesis of the drift of Korean negation from Type I to Type II is supported by a fair amount of comparative-historical data.

There are fragments of evidence suggesting that Japanese has also experienced a change in negative constructions similar to Korean. In Japanese negation, a complete transition to Type II negation was probably completed by the 12th century. Although present-day Japanese has no Type I negation in its grammar, Old Japanese did have two types of negation, namely preverbal and postverbal.

- (9) a. na tiri midare so. (Preverbal)
 not fall scatter IMP
 "Do not fall, (leaves)."
- b. tiri midare na. (Postverbal)
 "Do not fall."
- c. na yuki so (nē). (Preverbal)
 not go IMP "Do not go."

- d. yuki na. (postverbal)
 "Do not go."
 Yuku-na, (modern version)

Kuranaka(1958) reports the following statistics regarding the occurrences of prohibitive negation in the Man'yoshu ('A Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves', c.759) , 8 The Tale of Genji (c. 1011), and other classics.

(10)	Type	Word Order	Frequency	Total
			(%)	
I	na + stem-inflec.	+∅	20	10.0
		particle+so	71	35.3
		+sone	33	16.4
II	stem-infl.	+na	74	36.8
		+nare	3	1.5
Total			201	100%

Modern Ryukyu, a subgroup of Japanese stock, has such two forms, according to Kanazawa(1910).

(11)	Affirmative	Negative
	<u>Copula</u>	<u>Copula</u>
Japanese	ari	ara- <u>nu</u>
Ryukuan	ang	ara- <u>n</u> <u>ne-ran</u>

If the general belief that Ryukuan retains features of old Japanese is true, then the above evidence convincingly supports our hypothesis.

Some of the Eastern group of Altaic languages also show a fair amount of evidence in favor of the present proposal. Written classical Mongolian ese ('not') and ülü ('not') are found in the preverbal position. (N. Poppe (1955)). In Modern Mongolian languages, such as Buriat and Khalkha both closely related to each other, es(Khalkha) is still used preverbally but found infrequently, whereas the modern form ügey in Khalkha and gyi in Buriat both come postverbally. (N. Poppe(1960)). Particularly, in Buriat, all negative particles are placed after the main verb, except the very rare yle('not') and by ("do not do", a prohibitive particle.)

The Tungusic family, the Eastern branch of Altaic stock, such as Manchu and Nanai, generally seems to have the proposed drift. According to Haenisch (1961), preverbal proto-negative form *ä- is completely extinct, although Jürchen, ancestral to Manchu had a form o-sen ('not') derived from the preverbal ä.ci(n). In present-day Manchu, aku ('not existing', 'lacking') is preceded by verbal noun and its inflection. Nanai, another southern Tungusic subgroup, shows that preverbal and postverbal negatives are both concurrently in use in modern speech.

The case which seems most deviated from this tendency is found in Lamut, the Far Eastern Siberian subgroup. In this language, ə, a negative verb, is always placed before the main verb to be negated, although acca (a counterpart to Manchu aku) is still found in the postverbal position.

From the syntactic point of view, one piece of information supportive of our hypothesis is the fact that whenever postverbal negation occurs, the main verb is always found to be in the nominalized form. This is strikingly consistent with one of the general principles discussed in Section (3B), namely the object-creating principle in Korean negation.

5. Some relevant factors in transition

In explaining the drift from Type I to Type II negation, three possible considerations are in order.

A. Reinforcement

There seems to be an interesting resemblance between the development of negation in Korean and English. Jespersen (1917) made a remark on the changing position of the negative particle in English. He explained that the change is the result of the interplay of the weakening, strengthening and protracting of negative elements in sentences. Three aspects are observed in the history of English negation. (i) Preverbal position to postverbal position. This is a mirror image of the Korean case. (ii) Introduction of the supporting auxiliary 'do' was originally used for emphasis to remedy the extreme prosodic reduction. (iii) Universal tendency of verb forwarding. It is illustrative to compare Korean negation on these points. Firstly, the verb ha- ('to do') is employed often in the emphatic context in Korean.

- (12) a. ai-ka ul-ki na ha -ess- umyon..
 child-S cry-NOM emph do PAST If
 "I wish at least the child would cry.."

- b. ai-ka ul-ki man ha -n- ta
 child-S cry-NOM Only do PRES IND
 "The child does nothing but cry."
- c. ai-ka ul-ki nun ha -n- ta.
 child-S cry-NOM TOP do PRES IND
 "The child do cry."
- d. ai-ka ul-ki to ha -n- ta.
 child-S cry-NOM too do PRES IND
 "The child does something else, but he
 cries too."

In all cases, contextual particles (Oh(1971)) or delimiters (I.S. Yang(1972)), such as man ('only'), nun (topic marker), to (also, too) etc. are used with the combination of the nominalized main verbs and the verb ha- to bring the nominalized main verb, ul-ki (cry-ing) into focus. As Song(1967) points out, Type II negation does indeed have some degree of emphatic meaning in certain contexts, corresponding to the distribution of the contextual particles in the above. It seems that Type II negation undoubtedly 'promotes' the negative particle from the status of "adverb", which is bound to a level of words, up to the higher level of matrix sentence. Through the nominalization process and addition of the verb ha-, the negative particle ani is brought into a sort of "focus". The verbal phrase containing ani and ha- now carries grammatical functions assumed from the original main verb.

Oh(1971) formulates a transformational rule for the treatment of ha- as following:

(13) ha-insertion rule

$$\text{SD: } X, \left[\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NEG} \\ Y \\ \text{contextual Particle} \end{array} \right\} \right] \text{v} \xrightarrow{\text{OBLG}} \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \end{array}$$

SC: 1 2 + ha-

Is it a mere coincidence that negative particle and contextual particles optionally exist in the above rule? Is there any coherence between the negative particle and the contextual particles? One might attempt to answer these questions in terms of the emphatic nature that these particles commonly share.

In other words, transivitization of the negation, that is, the creation of a nominalized object with respect to the verb ha-, is seemingly motivated to intensify the negative component.

Secondly, the prosodic motivation found in English may possibly also be relevant to a certain extent to the case of Korean.

- (14) a. AI-ka CA -N-ta. "The child sleeps."
 b. AI-ka an CA-N-ta. "The child does not sleep."
 c. AI-ka CA-ci an NUN-ta. "The child does not sleep."
 d. AI-ka CA-ci AHKHO .. "The child does not sleep, instead ..."

In sentences (14a,b), the negative ani or the contracted form an is never stressed. However, it is stressed when it is contracted with the verb ha- and other particles at the end of a sentence, as in (14d). The negative particle is usually unstressed, however, when it is brought to the sentence-final position, it gets stressed as a part of the "negative verb phrase" i.e., ani + ha-, as unit.

B. Widening grammatical domain

In some cases, Type II negation appears to be the only viable alternative. For instance, in Korean, there would be four logically possible double negative constructions, as shown below.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|----|---|------|----|
| (15) | *i) | Type | I | + | Type | I |
| | ii) | | I | + | | II |
| | iii) | | II | + | | I |
| | iv) | | II | + | | II |

The combination (i) is impossible, but the rest of the combination may occur. This indicates that at least one occurrence of Type II negation is obligatorily required to form an acceptable double negation in Korean.

Type II negation may create identical VP phrases in a sentence like (16).

- (16) Mary-nŭn mip-ci to ani ha ko
 Mary-TOP ugly-NOM also not do CONJ

kop-ci to ani ha - ta.
 charming-NOM not do IND
 "Mary is neither ugly nor charming."

This is due to the fact that the negative particle occurs in the matrix sentence level in the construction of Type II negation. The identical higher VP phrases, ani + ha may optionally be deleted by the VP deletion rule. In the construction of Type I negation identical VP phrases can not occur simply because the negative particles are bound to the word level.

6. Conclusion

Discussions in the preceding sections lead us to conclude that the current trend of more frequent use of Type II negation will continue as it accords with the universal tendency found in Korean as well as in other Altaic languages. It is observed that the structural complexity as seen in Type II negation at superficial levels does not seem to hamper its application. Rather the reverse is true in Korean. Although Type I negation is superficially simpler, it imposes more constraints, hence its usage is greatly hindered. On the other hand, Type II negation seems to widen the grammatical domain of the sentence to a certain extent so as to give more room to apply rules. And, in some cases Type II negation is the only possible choice. The construction of Type II negation is viewed as a device to convert a preverbal "negative adverb" into a component of "negative verb phrase" and to create "negative complement". The characteristic of the postverbal construction of Type II negation seems to utilize one of the most important properties of SOV languages, namely the sentence-final prominency.

Footnotes

1. I would like to thank to people who offered helpful comments on the earlier versions of this paper, especially, Larry Hyman, James Heringer, Taro Kageyama, Katsue Akiba, Ben Befu, and Manor Thorpe. Also thanks are due to Alfred Birnbaum and George Totten for their helps in improving my English style.
2. I observed that this principle was systematically violated in my daughter's (three and half year old) speech. No Type II negation emerges in her speech. Sorin's typical negative sentence is like this.

na-n an usan kajigo kalle.
 I-TOP not umbrella bring go will
 "I won't take umbrella with me."

Her negation rule is characteristic in that the negative particle ani is placed unmistakably at the initial position of the entire VP constituent.

Another exception to the proposed non-interference principle is an idiomatic expression like the one below.

an kōrō h ta.
 not so do IND
 "It is not so."

The word kōrō ('so') intervenes the expected string an + h.

3. By referring Wanjin Kim's remark, Kim-Renaud duly notes the predominant distribution of Type I negation over Type II negation in Middle Korean. Nonetheless, somehow she does not account this seriously.
4. According to Yang(1965), the older forms, anti(安支, 不喻), and antal(不冬) are consisted of three morphemes: ani, an abstract noun tʌ (ㅏ), and case markers i (nominative) and al (accusative). Originally, anti is used exclusively for the copula, antal for other verbs. But, this distinction was lost in the earlier period (Silla). Eventually, anti and antal merged together to form the present-day ani.
5. Texts in Kim, Hyungkyu(1968) were used for the analysis.
6. The present analysis is based on the text of woodblock edition of c. 1800. (Kim Sa-Yeup(1967))
7. The short stories were selected from Hyondae Munhak (Modern Literature) August, 1975.
8. Kuranaka's figure is borrowed indirectly from Yoshida(1973)

Bibliography

- Benzig, Johannes (1955), Die tungusischen Sprachen-Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden.
- Benzig, Johannes(1955), Lamutische Grammatik, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden.
- Bosson, James, E.(1964), Mongolian Grammar: A Primer and Reader, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol.38, Mouton & Co. The Hague

- Givón, Talmy(1975), "Serial Verbs and Syntactic Change: Niger-Congo," in Word Order and Word Order Change ed. by Charles Li, University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Greenberg, H. Joseph(1975), "Dynamic Aspects of Word Order in the Numerical Classifier," in Word Order and Word Order Change ed. by Charles Li, University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Haenisch, Erich(1961), Mandschu-Grammatik, Leipzig.
- Hyman, Larry(1975), "On the Change from SOV to SVO: Evidence from Niger-Congo," in Word Order and Word Order Change ed. by Charles Li, University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Jespersen, Otto(1917), Negation in English and Other Languages, Allen & Unwin, London.
- Kanezawa, Shozaburo(1910), Nissen Ryokogugo Dokei-Ron, Tokyo.
- Kim, Sa-Yöp(1967), Ch'unhyang-Jön (A Tale of Spring Fragrance: With Annotated Commentaries), Hakwon-Sa, Seoul.
- Kim Sa-Yöp(1974), Kodai Chosengo to Nohongo('Old Korean and Japanese'), Kodansha, Tokyo.
- Kim-Renaud, Yöng-Ki(1974), "Variation in Korean Negation," in Language Research, Vol.10, Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Kuno, Susumu(1973), The Structure of the Japanese language, MIT Press.
- Lakoff, R. (1969), "Another Look at Drift", in Linguistic Change and Generative Theory ed. by Stockwell, Indiana University, 1969.
- Lee, Hong-Bae(1972), "Problems in the Description of Korean Negation," Language Research, Vol.8, Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Lee, Ki-Mun(1961), Chosengo no Rekishi (A History of Korean Language) translated by Fujimoto, Saicho, Taishukan, Tokyo.
- Lehman, Winfred, P. (1971), "On the Rise of SOV Patterns in New High German", in Grammatik Kybernetik Komm, Bonn.
- Li, Charles and Sandra Thompson(1975), "The Semantic Function of Word Order: A Case in Mandarin", in Word Order and Word Order Change ed. by Charles Li, University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Li, Charles(1975) ed., Word Order and Word Order Change, University of Texas Press.
- Murayama, Shichiro(1974), Nihongo no Kenkyu-Hoho (A method in the Study of Japanese Language'), Kobundo, Tokyo.

- Oh, Chun-Kyu(1971b), "On the Negation of Korean", Language Research, Vol.7, Seoul National University.
- Ono, Susumu(1957), Nohongo no Kigen ('The Origin of Japanese Language'), Iwanami-shoten, Tokyo.
- Park, Soon Ham (1967), A Transformational Analysis of Negation in Korean, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Poppe, Nikolaus, N(1951), Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden.
- Poppe, Nikolaus, N(1955), Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies, Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen.
- Poppe, Nikolaus, N(1960), Buriat Grammar, Indiana University Publications, Vol. 2 of Uralic and Altaic Series.
- Song, Seuk-Chung(1973), "Some Negative Remarks on Negation in Korean", Language Research, Vol.9, Seoul National University, Seoul.
- Vennemann, Theo(1975), "An Explanation of Drift" in Word Order and Word Order Change ed. by Charles Li, University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Yang, Chu-Dong(1965), Koga Yonku ('A Study of Old Songs'), Ilcho-Sa, Seoul.
- Yoshida, Kanehiko(1973), Jodaigo Jodosi no Siteki Hensen ('A Historical Changes of the Auxiliary Verbs of Old Japanese', Meiji-Shokan, Tokyo.