

Coherence in Korean 'Auxiliary' Verb Constructions¹

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1. Verbs in Korean are traditionally classified as 'main' or 'auxiliary.' For example, *sal* 'lives' and *silh* 'is undesirable' in (1) are 'main' verbs, whereas *siph* 'is desirable' is an 'auxiliary' verb.²

- (1) na-nun tosi-eyse *sal*-ki *silh*-ta. 'I hate to live in cities.'
na-nun tosi-eyse *sal*-ko *siph*-ta. 'I want to live in cities.'

Choi (1965:244-45) classifies verbs as 'main' vs. 'auxiliary', depending on whether a verb can stand by itself in a predicative function or whether it necessarily follows another verb, thereby 'helping' it. When one applies this 'stand-by-itself' test to the above three verbs, as in (2), *siph* turns out to be 'auxiliary', because only (2c) is ungrammatical.

- (2) a. na-nun tosi-eyse *sal*-ass-ta. 'I lived in cities.'
b. na-nun tosi-ka *silh*-ta. 'I hate cities.'
c. *na-nun tosi-ka *siph*-ta. 'I like cities.'

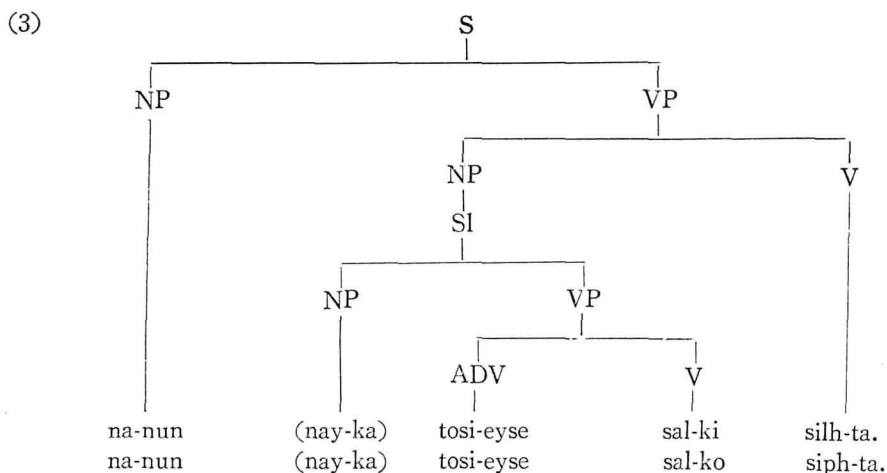
By 'auxiliary' verb constructions, I mean those constructions where an 'auxiliary' verb appears. Thus, the second sentence in (1) is an 'auxiliary' verb construction, but the first one is not. Furthermore, we may say, in traditional terms, that in "compound verb expressions..... the *main verb* merely tells what action or quality is under discussion..... and is otherwise frozen; the *auxiliary verb* completes the expression and fits it into the sentence with appropriate endings" (Martin-Lee 1969:133).

2. Recent generative analyses, however, do not distinguish between the two classes of verbs, claiming implicitly or explicitly that the so-called 'auxiliary' verbs in Korean are

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² The term 'verbs' covers what have traditionally been called adjectives and the copula in addition to 'true' verbs. Throughout this paper, Yale Romanization is followed. English definitions of the Korean words cited are largely based on Martin et al. 1967.

nothing but 'main' verbs.³ The major reason for this claim is that both of them have the same general syntactic behavior. In the first place, both classes of verbs are dominated by the main verb node in deep structure. The framework for such deep structures is provided by the notion of sentence embedding called complementation. Within this framework, the 'main' and 'auxiliary' verb constructions in (1) are considered to have been derived from exactly the same deep structure sketched as in (3).



(3) shows that both *silh* and *siph* are dominated by the node V which stands for the main verb of the matrix sentence S and that *sal* is the verb of the embedded or complement sentence SI.⁴

The complementation treatment of an 'auxiliary' verb construction and the resultant claim that there is no such thing as 'auxiliary' verbs in Korean are quite in accord with recent linguistic efforts to search for conceptual structures underlying complex surface manifestations. A somewhat related treatment for English auxiliary verbs is made by Ross

³ I have consulted Lee H. 1970, Lee K. 1970 and Yang 1972 among others. These are wholly or partly devoted to the discussion of 'auxiliary' verbs in terms of complementation. Yang makes a distinction between verbal and nominal complementations. The former roughly correspond to the 'auxiliary' verb constructions discussed in this paper. Yang (12-13) identifies verbal complementations based on (a) non-applicability of 'modality adjustment,' (b) 'verbal compounding' and (c) predicate raising. It seems to me, however, that some 'non-auxiliary' verbs also satisfy these constraints partly or wholly, as, for example, in:

na-nun ku ay-ka po-ki *silh*-ta. 'I don't like to see the child.'

(Cf. na-nun ku ay-lul po-ki *silh*-ta.)

⁴ 'Main' verbs such as *malha* 'tells,' *al* 'knows' and *mut* 'asks' and 'auxiliary' verbs such as *siph* have the same property of 'complement' verbs in Binnick's (1970: 558) terminology, as against such simple 'main' verbs as *celm* 'is young,' *ka* 'goes' and *ttayli* 'hits.' Thus, complement verbs are those verbs which may have an embedded sentential complement. The term 'auxiliary' is certainly a misnomer. A better name, although sophisticated, would be 'pure complement' verbs for the reasons to be discussed in Section 4.

(1967), who argues that (4) has five 'main' verbs (italicized), saying that each of these verbs is directly dominated by a main verb node in deep structure.

(4) Boris *must have been being examined* by the captain.

Another type of syntactic characteristics in addition to complementation, that both 'main' and 'auxiliary' verbs share is that they are subclassified in much the same way in terms of their inherent and selectional features. For example, almost all grammars and dictionaries of Korean distinguish between transitives, intransitives and adjectives as subsets of both 'main' and 'auxiliary' verbs. Thus, the 'main' verbs *mek* 'eats' *sal* 'lives,' and *celm* 'is young' are transitive, intransitive, and adjective respectively, while the 'auxiliary' verbs *po* 'tries,' *ci* 'gets to be,' and *siph* 'is desirable,' are also transitive, intransitive and adjective respectively. Certain 'main' and 'auxiliary' verbs share the selectional property that they do not take any agent subject, as in *silh* and *siph*, while others share the property that they take only an agent subject, as in *mek* and *po*, and still others share the property that they allow only verbs of action to be embedded in their complements, as in *sicakha* 'begins' (e.g., *pi-ka o-ki sicakha-n-ta* 'it starts raining') and *veli* 'finishes' (e.g., *pap-ul mek-e veli-ess-ta* 'I finished eating (rice)')

3. The intention of the present paper is to show that there is a strong syntactic and semantic cohesion between a 'main' verb and the cooccurring 'auxiliary' verb and, on this basis, to propose some reinterpretation of and possible modifications to certain existing deep structure postulations for Korean 'auxiliary' verb constructions. The term 'cohesion' here means the state of sticking together between two elements more tightly than either with a third, as in molecular attraction or in husband-wife relation.

Three types of 'auxiliary' verbs as illustrated in (5) will be discussed here. This means that I am excluding from the discussion the following types of compounds which are considered traditionally 'auxiliary': (a) defective noun+'auxiliary' verb such as *chey-ha* 'pretends to,' *cik-ha* 'is possible,' and *ka-siph* 'seems like' and (b) negative particle+verb such as *ani-ha* 'does not do' and *mos-ha* 'cannot do.'⁵

(5) a. A-type (those following the 'infinitive suffix' *a*, *e*, or ϕ)⁶

⁵ Choi (1965) and most dictionaries of Korean contain quite a large number of 'auxiliary' verbs. For certain items, scholars do not agree on the classification. The prohibitive *mal* 'don't' is traditionally classed as an 'auxiliary.' It seems to me that it should be a 'main' verb if we follow Choi's 'stand-by-itself' principle. *ha/hay* in such compounds as *ya ha* 'must do,' *ki-to ha* 'also does' and *ki-nun ha* 'does (topicalized)' is commonly classed as an 'auxiliary,' but it also stands by itself.

⁶ A here is a 'morphophoneme' symbol. It is realized as *a* after *a* and *o* and as *e* elsewhere. It is

ci becomes, gets (is) done
cwu does as a favor for (a person)
ha (transitivizes adjectives of human feeling)
iss is in a state resulting from, is done
noh does for later use
o gradually (comes to do), keeps growing
pe- finishes, does completely
po tries (doing to see how it will be), experiences
poi looks (seems) like
twu does something to get it out of the way, gets it done

b. *ko*-type (those following the gerund *ko*)

iss is doing
mal finishes up doing
na has just finished (doing)
siph is desirable

c. *ke*-type (those following the adverbial *ke*)

ha causes, makes, permits
mantul makes, causes, sets, forces
toy turns out, gets to be, comes to pass

4. **Syntactic characteristics.** The first characteristic property that all Korean 'auxiliary' verbs share exclusively is that they must be accompanied by a preceding verb. In generative terms, they obligatorily have a sentential complement in deep structure. In this sense, Korean 'auxiliary' verbs are the only pure 'complement' verbs. This constraint, which is tantamount to Choi's definition that a verb never functioning as an independent predicate is 'auxiliary,' is the primary property for identifying the set of 'auxiliary' verbs within the larger class of verbs. The syntactico-semantic properties to be discussed below, most of which are related to the cohesion existing between the verbs of the sentential complement and the 'auxiliary' verb in the matrix sentence, seem to be due more or less to the above primary constraint.

The second property is that each 'auxiliary' verb is obligatorily preceded by its own fixed complementizer, *A*, *ko* or *ke*. In general, 'main' verbs do not take these complementizers and, besides, have more freedom in taking different complementizers of other kind.

The third property is that, in 'auxiliary' verb constructions, the optional 'accusative'

realized as ϕ if there is no consonant between it and the preceding *a*. After the verb *hay* 'does' *e* or ϕ appears, giving the combination *haye* or *hay*.

case marker *lul* may be placed between the embedded verb and the 'auxiliary' verb if any case marker is allowed at all. This happens regardless of the transitive or intransitive nature of the 'auxiliary' verb and the kind of the cooccurring complementizer. Observe (6).

- (6) a. na-nun pap-ul mek-ko (-lul) iss-ess-ta. 'I was esting rice.'
 b. na-nun keki-ey ka-ko (-lul or-ka) siph-ess-ta. 'I wanted to go there.'
 c. John-i o-key (-lul or-ka) toy-n-ta. 'John is expected to come.'

In (6a), the 'auxiliary' verb *iss* is intransitive but no case marker except 'accusative' is allowed. In (6b), the adjective verb *siph* allows both the 'nominative' *ka* and 'accusative' *lul*. So does the intransitive *toy* in (6c). 'Main' verb constructions do not have such a "*lul* constraint."

I boldly assume that the *lul* constraint is another outcome of the cohesion in 'auxiliary' verb constructions. The case marker *lul* has the most varied functions of all the case markers. It marks object, goal, location, purpose, duration, instrument, etc. (Cf. Martin et al. 1967:1295-96). It is a kind of 'elsewhere,' 'unmarked' or 'neutral' case marker in Korean. The use of such a semantically quite neutral case marker, instead of other more marked ones, and the replaceability of *lul* for *ka* plus the complete optionality of a case marker (either *lul* or *ka*) before an 'auxiliary' verb all seem to indicate an aspect of the aforementioned cohesion.

The fourth property is that there is assimilation in transitivity and causativity from an embedded verb to the following 'auxiliary' verb. Consider (7) and notice that the adjective verb *coh* 'is good' occurs with the 'nominative' form of *Mary* in (7a) but with the 'accusative' form in (7b) suggesting that there is an assimilation of transitivity from *coh* to *ha*.

- (7) a. na-nun Mary-ka coh-ta. 'I like Mary.' (Lit. For me Mary is good.)
 b. na-nun Mary-lul (*-ka) coh-A-lul (*-ka) ha-n-ta. 'I like Mary.'

None of the 'main' complement verbs reveal such a complete assimilation. As for the assimilation from transitive to intransitive, observe the sentences in (8).

- (8) a. na-nun kongpu-lul (*-ka) ha-n-ta. 'I study.'
 b. na-nun kongpu-lul (or-ka) ha-ko-lul (or -ka) siph-ta. 'I want to study.'

This incomplete transitive-to-intransitive assimilation is also shared by certain 'main' verbs with syntactico-semantic features similar to *siph*, as in:

- (9) na-nun kongpu-lul (or -ka) ha-ki-ka silh-ta. 'I hate to study.'

The causative sentence in (10) shows a similar phenomenon. The intransitive *ka* 'goes' is

assimilated in causativity to the causative 'auxiliary' *ha*, allowing its subject *John* to take 'accusative' or 'dative' case marker.

(10) *na-nun John-i* (or *-ul* or *-eykey*) *ka-key-lul hay-ss-ta*. 'I let (or made) John go.'

The fifth property is the assimilation of certain inherent syntactic features of the embedded verb to those of the following 'auxiliary' verb. In (11), the verb *al* 'knows' has a [-process] feature and its occurrence in an imperative or propositive sentence of simple type is unnatural to me. As soon as it is followed by a [+process] 'auxiliary' verb, the sentences become perfectly natural as in (12).

(11) **ku muncey-lul al-sey-yo!* '*Know the problem.'

**ku muncey-lul al-psi-ta*. '*Let's know the problem.'

(12) *ku muncey-lul al-A po-sey-yo!* 'Try to inquire into the problem.'

ku muncey-lul al-A po-psi-ta. 'Let's try to inquire into the problem.'

This syntactic cohesion does not seem to appear in 'non-auxiliary' constructions.

The sixth property is that an embedded verb and the cooccurring 'auxiliary' matrix verb are inseparable in free scrambling forming a close-knit unit in movement (Cf. Yang 1972: 121). Compare the 'non-auxiliary' construction in (13a), where all the scramblings are acceptable, with the 'auxiliary' construction in (13b), where no scrambling is allowed unless 2 and 3 go together in that order.

(13) a. *na-nun ka-ki-ka silh-e-yo*. 'I don't like to go.'

1 2 3
132, 213, 231, 312, 321

b. *na-nun ka-ko-ka siph-e-yo*. 'I would like to go.'

1 2 3
231, *132, *213, *312, *321

The seventh property is that almost all adverbs including manner and negative are not allowed to be inserted between an embedded verb and the 'auxiliary' verb, as illustrated in (14b). This is not generally the case with 'non-auxiliary' constructions, as in (14c).

(14) a. *John-i mopsi/an po-ko siph-ta*. 'I miss John indeed/I do not miss John.'

b. **John-i po-ko mopsi/an siph-ta*.

c. *John-i o-ki-lul mopsi/an kitali-n-ta*. 'I am eagerly/not waiting for John to come.'

The eighth property is that no such verbal suffixes as tense, aspect and mood may be attached to an embedded verb in an 'auxiliary' construction, as shown in (15), which is not generally the case with 'non-auxiliary' verbs.

(15) *na-nun [keki-ey ka]-A po-ass-ta*. 'I went there (and found out...).'

- na-nun [wul]-ko siph-ess-ta. 'I wanted to cry.'
 na-nun Mary-lul [o]-key hay-ss-ta. 'I let (or made) Mary come.'

Certain 'main' verbs including *sicakha* 'begins' and *silh* 'is hateful' also do not allow their embedded verbs to take such verbal suffixes.

The ninth property is the so-called Equi-NP constraint which is operative between an embedded complement and the matrix 'auxiliary' sentence. Except in certain causative constructions (e.g., *nay-ka ku pun-i ka-key hay-ss-ta* 'I caused him to go'), at least one noun phrase in an embedded sentence must be coreferential with a noun phrase of the matrix sentence, thus being deleted on the surface. In (16), deleted noun phrases are parenthesized.

- (16) a. John-un [(John-i)ttwi]-A po-ass-ta. 'John tried running.'
 b. na-nun [(nay-ka) cwuk]-ko siph-ess-ta. 'I wanted to die.'
 c. ku cong-i-ka [(X-ka ku cong-i-lul) ccic]-A ci-ess-ta. 'The paper is torn.'

Most often, coreferentiality holds between the subject of the embedded verb and that of the 'auxiliary' verb. This is another aspect of the cohesion in 'auxiliary' constructions, in that the closeness in the relation between the two verbs involved is such that they tend to have one and the same subject. Here again, certain 'main' complement verbs like *sicakha* and *silh* go with the 'auxiliary' set.

The tenth and last property is that an embedded verb and the 'auxiliary' verb function as a unit in passivization. Compare the three sentences in (17). (17b) contains a passivized complement, with the passive suffix *hi* attached to the embedded verb *puthcap* 'holds,' while (17c) is the passivization of the higher sentence where the passive morpheme *ci*, an 'auxiliary' verb, is attached to *puthcap-A cwu* 'holds as a favor.' The closest passive counterpart of the active sentence in (17a) is undoubtedly (17c) and not (17b). I have not found any 'non-auxiliary' complement verbs that behave in a parallel way during passivization.

- (17) a. na-nun ku yeca-lul puthcap-A cwu-ess-ta. 'I held her (as my favor)'.
 b. ku yeca-nun na-eykey puthcap-hi-A cwu-ess-ta.
 'She let herself get held by me (as her favor).'
 c. ku yeca-nun na-eykey puthcap-A cwu-A ci-ess-ta.
 'She got held by me (as my favor).'

The above properties are not exhaustive. One could present more on various grounds.

5. Semantic characteristics. The syntactic properties presented in the preceding section

indicate the fact that there is a close tie between the the two verbs constituting an 'auxiliary' construction. It seems to me that most of the syntactic properties are not purely 'syntactic' but also reflect or are closely correlated with semantic between the two verbs involved. In this section, I will briefly discuss the semantic side of cohesion in 'auxiliary' constructions by limiting myself to two additional cases.

In the first place, observe (18) and notice the two possible readings.

- (18) *kaykwuli-lul mek-A po-ass-ta.* a. I [tried] [eating frogs].
 b. I [tried eathing] [frogs].

To my knowledge, no one has proposed different deep structures for the possible two readings, probably assuming that there is no semantic difference between the two (Cf. Lee H. 1970 : 52, Lee K. 1970 : 21 and Yang 1972 : 117). A common practice is to construct a deep structure based on the readings like (18a). A close examination of (18), however, reveals that (18a) and (18b) are respectively the answers to (19a) and (19b) for example.

- (19) a. *mues-ul hay-ss-ni?* or *mues-ul hay-A po-ass-ni?*
 'What did you try to do?' or 'What did you try doing?'
 b. *mues-ul mek-A po-ass-ni?* 'What did you try eating?'

The contrastive sentences (20a) and (20b) also show the existence of (18a) and (18).

- (20) a. *talun il-ul hay-ss-ul ppun ani-la kaykwuli-lul mek-A-to po-ass-ta.*
 'I did not only other things but also tried eating frogs.'
 b. *say ppun ani-la kaykwuli-to mek-A po-ass-ta.*
 'I tried eating not only birds but also frogs.'

Insertion of the phonological juncture (#) after *kaykwuli-lul* in (18) results always in the (18b) reading, while the lack of juncture gives the ambiguity. This fact seems to constitute another piece of evidence that there exist the two readings. Existence of (18b), along with (18a), reflects an aspect of semantic cohesion in 'auxiliary' constructions.

The second case of semantic cohesion in 'auxiliary' constructions is observable in connection with Karttunen's (1971) theory of 'implicative' verbs.⁷ Karttunen observes a semantic distinction, 'implicative' vs. 'nonimplicative', among predicates that take infinitive complements in English. Verbs like *remember*, *manage*, *bother* and *happen* are called 'implicative' in that there is truth value implication between a main sentence, with such a verb as predicate (i.e., matrix verb) and the complement embedded in it. For example, the

⁷ I am indebted to L. Josephs who drew my attention first to Karttunen's theory in a seminar led by him in 1971.

assertion of (21a) implies belief in the truth of (21b) which is the complement of (21a).

- (21) a. John remembered to lock his door.
 b. John locked his door.

Such an implicative relationship also holds in negation, question, command, modality, tense, adverbials and others. On the other hand, verbs like *hope*, *agree*, *decide*, *promise* and *plan* are 'non-implicative' because there is no such implicative relationship.

Most of the Korean 'auxiliary' verbs are implicative verbs which behave as in (21). Some exceptions (*ha*, *mantul*, *toy*, *siph* and *poi*) have their own unique characteristics within the 'auxiliary' set that may justify their exceptionality, but I will not go into the discussion here. 'Non-auxiliary' verbs are rarely 'implicative.'

The fact that most of the implicative verbs in Korean are 'auxiliary' ones is of significance to the present discussion, because implication is an aspect of semantic cohesion in 'auxiliary' constructions. In the following, two 'auxiliary' verbs *po* (implicative) and *siph* (non-implicative) will be discussed for illustration. The sentence (22c) is the complement of (22a) and (22b). Notice that (22a) implies the truth of (22c), whereas (22b) has no implication as to the truth of the proposition expressed by its complement (22c). This fact is clearly evidenced in (23) where only (23b) is grammatical.

- (22) a. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-A po-ass-ta. 'I tried some Korean food.'
 b. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-ko siph-ess-ta. 'I wanted to eat Korean food.'
 c. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-ess-ta. 'I ate Korean food.'
- (23) a. *hankwuk umsik-ul mek-A po-ass-una, an mek-ess-ta.
 b. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-ko siph-ess-una, an mek-ess-ta.
 'I wanted to eat Korean food, but didn't.'

The same implicative relationship holds in the sentences in (24), which is the negation of (22). (24a) implies (24c), but (24b) does not.

- (24) a. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-A po-ci an hay-ss-ta.
 'I didn't try Korean food.'
 b. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-ko siph-ci an hay-ss-ta.
 'I didn't want to eat Korean food.'
 c. hankwuk umsik-ul mek-ci an hay-ss-ta.
 'I didn't eat Korean food.'

Notice that implicative verbs like the 'auxiliary' *po* are different from such factive verbs like the 'main' *al* 'knows' in Kiparsky-Kiparsky's (1970) sense, since in factive verbs

negation in the main sentence does not affect the presupposition represented in the complement sentence, as in (25a) and (25b).

- (25) a. ku pun-i ka-n-kes-ul al-ci mos-hay-ss-ta. 'I didn't know that he went.'
 b. ku pun-i ka-ss-ta. 'He went.'

The sentences in (26) and (27) all show the same implicative relationship.

- (26) a. ka-A po-ass-ni? 'Did you go (and find anything out)?'
 b. ka-ko siph-ess-ni?' 'Did you want to go?'
 c. ka-ss-ni? 'Did you go?'
 (27) a. ecey/*nayil mek-A po-ass-ta. 'I tried eating yesterday/*tomorrow.'
 b. ecey/nayil mek-ko siph-ess-ta. 'I wanted to eat yesterday/tomorrow.'
 c. ecey/*nayil mek-ess-ta. 'I ate yesterday/*tomorrow.'

Exactly the same thing happens when we test with locatives and passivization. Equi-subject constraint is another case. One noticeable fact is that, in a recursive sequence of 'auxiliary' construction, implication breaks down if there is a non-implicative 'auxiliary' verb, as in (28).

- (28) ecey-nun nayil mek-A po-ko siph-A ci-ess-ta.
 'Yesterday I came to the point where I want to eat (it) tomorrow.'

It seems that the common semantic feature shared by all implicative verbs in Korean is the simultaneity or inseparability of the two events represented by the embedded verb and the matrix verb, which is not the case with nonimplicative verbs. In general, simultaneity applies not only to time but to space, the agent, manner, reason and many other factors. Most of the Korean 'auxiliary' verbs have such a property in relation to the preceding 'main' verb, which reflects semantic cohesion between the two.

6. The observation made thus far leads us to reconsider a few of the current proposals involving generative treatment of 'auxiliary' constructions. Only two topics will be considered here: Equi-constraint and the node of sentential complements. For other discussions including deep structure treatment of complementizers, see Sohn 1973.

The so-called Equi-NP, or more narrowly Equi-Subject constraint, has frequently been proposed in connection with 'auxiliary' verb constructions in Korean. As we have observed, most of the Korean 'auxiliary' verbs are 'implicative' and an implicative relationship holds between the complement and the matrix sentence in affirmative and negative statements, questions and commands. Furthermore, identity is observable not only in the subjects but also in the tenses, and all kinds of adverbials. Thus, the traditional Equi-NP constraint is

nothing more than a part of the more general Equi-constraint. If we should recognize Equi-NP deletion as a useful grammatical process, then we should also recognize such other processes as Equi-negative deletion, Equi-temporal deletion, Equi-spacial deletion, Equi-manner deletion, Equi-tense deletion, etc. These processes should be relevant to 'implicative auxiliary' constructions, if Equi-NP deletion is relevant to them. For example, (29a) is considered to be an outcome of the application of such deletion processes to (29b).

(29) a. na-nun caknyen-kkaci mikwuk-eyse Washington-ey an ka po-ass-ta.

'Until last year, I had not been to Washington in the U.S.'

b. na-nun caknyen-kkaci mikwuk-eyse

1 2 3

(nay-ka cakuyen-kkaci mikwuk-eyse Washington-ey an ka-ss-ta) an po-ass-ta.

1 2 3 4 5 4 5

Let us take a look at the negative adverb *an* for example. It is clear that in the deep structure (the matrix sentence in (29)) is negative in that the subject, *na* 'I', did not experience (*po*). It is also clear that the embedded sentence is negative in that the subject, *na*, did not go (*ka*). The negative adverb *an* may not simply be attached to either the matrix or embedded sentence, because in such a case implicational relationship of negation would not be indicated and the significant difference between 'factive' and 'implicative' verbs could not be specified in the deep structure. Thus, *an* before *ka-ss-ta* and *an* before *po-ass-ta* are identical in reference and the second *an* is obligatorily deleted accordingly. There is no such identity of reference between, for example, the two negatives in *an ka-ci an hay-ss-ta* 'it is not the case that I did not go,' which negates the embedded negation. Similar arguments could be made for the other elements postulated with numbers in (29b).

My next comment will be on some existing proposals involving the deep structure configuration of 'auxiliary' constructions. One common practice in case grammar treatment of Korean 'auxiliary' constructions is to place the sentential complement under the domination of the Object Case NP. One difficulty with the Object domination is, however, the clash of two object cases, which should be avoided in deep structures (Cf. Fillmore 1971:248). Compare the three sentences in (30).

(30) a. na-nun ku pun-i o-key hay-ss-ta. 'I arranged him to come.'

b. na-nun ku pun-ul o-key hay-ss-ta. 'I made (or let) him come.'

c. na-nun ku pun-eykey o-key hay-ss-ta. 'I asked (or allowed) him to come.'

In order to get around the clash of *ku pun-ul* and *o* under the Object node, a common assumption is that all three sentences are synonymous and therefore derivable from the

structure underlying (30a). It seems to me that, although there is an equal semantic cohesion between *o* and *hay* in all of them, the three sentences are not exactly the same in meaning and thus the three case markers *i*, *eykey* and *lul* are not free variants. First of all, (30a) has only a causative meaning, whereas (30b) and (30c) have both causative and permissive meaning. Therefore, (30b) and (30c) are not derivable from (30a) unless we assign causative meaning to the transformational process. Secondly, *ku pun* 'he' is the agent of *o* alone in (30a) without and direct semantic relation with *hay* whose agent is *na* 'I.' In (30b), *ku pun* is the patient of the compound *o-key hay*. The action referred to by the compound directly affects the patient *ku pun*. In (30c), *ku pun* is the experiencer of the compound. The action affects *ku pun* indirectly. Finally, there seems to be a close semantic tie between *ku pun* and *o* in (30a), which is not the case with the others. This fact is evidenced by such tests as insertion of a phonological juncture after *ku pun*, placement of *ku pun* before *na* and insertion of a matrix adverb after *ku pun*. It all these tests, only (30a) is unacceptable.

Suppose we detach the sentential complement from the Object Case node and assign it under the Complement NP dominated by VP. We would be able to differentiate the three sentences in (30) as follows:

- (31) a. *na-nun* [[*ku pun-i o key*]_{COMP} *hay-ss-ta*]_{VP}
 b. *na-nun* [*ku pun-ul*]_{OBJ} [[(*ku pun-i o key*)_{COMP} *hay-ss-ta*]_{VP}
 c. *na-nun* [*ku pun-eykey*]_{EXP} [[(*ku pun-i o key*)_{COMP} *hay-ss-ta*]_{VP}

The proposed VP domination has certain definite advantages. It will express in deep structures the semantic cohesion existing between an embedded verb and an 'auxiliary' verb. The Object Case domination, on the other hand, does not allow any semantic cohesion to be expressed in deep structure, unless, perhaps, some device(?) has to be made for lexical items to involve such cohesion. Besides, the semantic relation between a complement and an 'auxiliary' verb and that between a complement and a 'main' verb are generally not the same, as observed in (32a) and (32b).

- (32) a. *John-i ka-ko-lul iss-ta.* 'John is going.'
 b. *John-i ka-n-kes-ul a-n-ta.* 'I know that John went.'

Although both sentences contain the 'accusative' marker *lul/ul*, the complement *John-i ka-n-kes* is the object of the transitive verb *al* 'knows' in (32b), but the complement *ka-ko* is neither the agent, goal, or traditional subject, nor an object or any other specifiable case. It is a pure 'complement' which describes the intransitive verb *iss* in relation to

John. It seems to be contradictory to view these entirely different semantic relations as derived from the same semantic or deep structure. Furthermore, the VP domination would render such transformational mechanisms as NP-raising, case marker changes (*ka* to *lul*) and attachment of the predicate to the main VP unnecessary. It would also allow passivization (Cf. (14)), free scrambling (Cf. (13)) and the adverb constraint (Cf. (14)) to be applicable directly to the relevant deep structure as the structural description rather than making them later rules. For detailed discussion on this, see Sohn (1973).

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