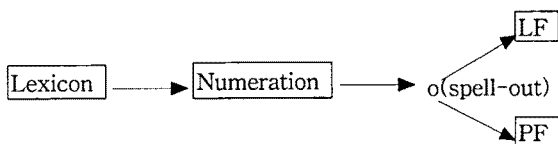# Lexical Insertion Everywhere: A Case of Focus Marker "-ka/-i"

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1. Assumptions & Question

A1) Focus and Topic come into syntax at LF2 (Chomsky 1995).

Chomsky (1998:21)

Indirect feature-driven movement (IFM) subdivides into types depending on the attracting head H in the final stage: (I) A-movement when H has phi-features (yielding the Case-agreement system), or (II) A'-movement when H has P-features of the peripheral system (force, topic, focus ...).

A2) "-ka/-i" functions as a Focus marker as well as a Nominative Case marker.

2.1) Critical Surveys on Multiple Feature Checking (Yoon J-M 1998, Im C-G 2000a)

Chomsky(1995a: 432)

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(1=77)       XP
     SPEC₁        X'
          SPEC₂        X'
                  H    Complement
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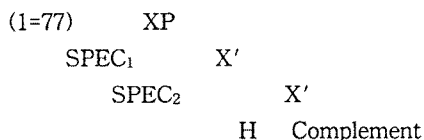
"Here, we may assume $SPEC_1$ and $SPEC_2$ to be equidistant targets for movement, being within the same minimal domain. .... If a language permits (77), then it should allow multiple assignment of Case and agreement from the same head, since SPEC is available for checking of these features."

Chomsky(1995b)

1) Multiple Specs of H appear if a strong feature of H may escape deletion. For example, where H's strong feature can escape deletion once, two Specs of H can appear. How many times a strong feature of H can escape deletion is parametrically determined.

2) There is a parameter concerning the "violability of Procrastinate". Suppose that H has a strong feature that must be checked off before SPELL-OUT. If H does not have the parameter-setting that allows H to tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate, then H can project only one Spec, to which the checker for H's strong feature is attracted. If H may tolerate a single unforced violation of Procrastinate, another element ε may be attracted to an outer Spec of H after H's canonical(i.e., innermost) Spec is filled with the element that entered into the first checking relation with H, under the condition where ε enters into a checking relation with H.

Ura(1996)

"In Ura(1994) I claimed (i) that multiple Spec of a head H are possible only if H has multiple sets of FFs, and (ii) that the possibility of H to have multiple sets of FFs is determined by a (lexical) parameter in a particular language."

2.2) Problems in Chomsky(1995b) and Ura(1996)

2.2.1) Theory Internal Problems

i) Ura(1996: 40)

" .... which principles of UG are violable and which are not." --- different from the concept of constraint violation in OT

" .... the notion 'violability of Procrastinate' simply implies that, when a head H may tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate, H has a formal feature such that it is not required, but allowed to be checked off before SPELL-OUT."

ii) Parameter Setting: Which language allows multiple Specs?

① How can we determine "where H's strong feature can escape deletion" once, two Specs of H can appear? --- How many times a strong feature of H can escape deletion is parametrically determined.

② How can we determine "when a head H may tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate."?

iii) Circularity in Logic (Ura(1996: 50)

".... suppose that a head H has weak nominal feature and it may tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate. Then, an element ε with the nominal feature that matches with H's nominal feature may be attracted to a Spec of H before SPELL-OUT. .... it is permissible .... because H has the parameter setting that allows it to tolerate an unforced violation of Procrastinate."

2.2.2) Empirical Problems

i) Inalienable Possessor Raising(Ura 1996, Yang 1996)

There is no evidence that a strong feature of a head licences multiple Spec's. Neither the EPP feature nor the Nom Case feature of T seems to be strong. No expletives are observed in Korean.

ii) Nominative Object Construction (Yang 1996)

① The impossibility of overt raising of the object subsequent to the overt raising of the subject cannot be explained. Under the assumption that Nom Case is a strong feature and it can enter into multiple checking relations, the Nom object can be raised to the additional Spec of T after the subject is raised.

② The overt raising of the object subsequent to that of the subject does not seem to

violate any relevant principles or constraint such as MLC.

(2=8) Definition of Equidistance
γ and β are equidistant from α if γ and β are in the same minimal domain
(3=9) Definition of "close" for Attract/Move (Chomsky 1995b (189))
If β c-commands α and τ is the target of Raising, then β is closer to K than α unless β is in the same minimal domain as (a) τ or (b) α (Chomsky 1995b (190))

Since the subject in the lower Spec of T is in the same minimal domain as the higher Spec of T, the landing site of the object raising, movement of the Nom object to the additional Spec of T does not violate the MLC.

2.3) An Alternative Proposal: Morphophonemic Licensing of "-ka/-i" as Focus Marker(Im 2000a)
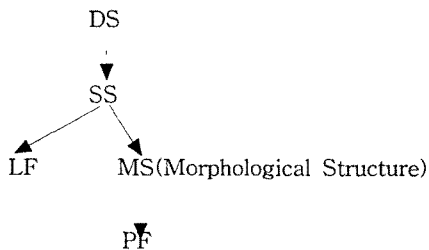"-ka/-i" functions as Focus marker when it is attached to an argument which is pragmatically informed as Focus

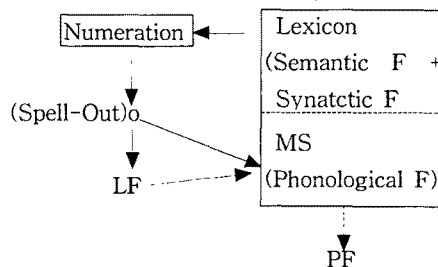Q) At which level does this Focus marker come into syntax?

2. Proposals

1) Focus marker "-ka/-i" is inserted (morphologically realized) at MS and (phonologically) realized at PF.
2) Pragmatic information is overlaid onto syntax, which ensures lexical insertion everywhere (before spell-out, at MS)

Halle & Marantz (1993: 114)   Revised H & M (Chomsky + H&M)

3. Argumentations

3.1. Default Case marker "-ka/-i"

As suggested in Halle(1989), general default case appears in the language when no other case realization principle is applicable. In Korean. default Nominative case marker "-ka/-i" is observed in the following child talk.

(4=25) A: nu-ka   kuruten?   B: sensaengnim-i-ka (3yr)

who-FOC said so   teacher-FOC-NOM
'who said so?'   'teacher did.'

We argue that the first marker "-ı" of the underlined part functions as Focus marker since "sensaengnim(teacher)" and "mom(body)" are introduced as new information. The following adult's data show us that "-ka/-i" is simply a Focus marker.

   (5=26) A: nu-ka   wa-t-no?   B˙ Yonghee-ka
             who-NOM come-PAST-INT   Yonghee-FOC

If "-ka/-i" has a function of Focus marker, then what is the role of the second marker of (25 B)? We suggest that the second marker of the underlined part is default Nominative marker as ıs assumed in Halle(1989). The double appearance of the markers in the underlined part manifests the two separate functions of the same marker.
One more instantiation, uttered by a Korean-American singer who was born in the States and had lived there for twenty years before he visited Korea lately.

   (6=27) yozem schedule-i   mana-se mom-<u>i-ka</u>   aju himtel-eyo
        recently schedule-NOM a lot-as body-FOC-NOM very tired-DEC
        'As I have a lot of schedule these days, I feel very tired'

We assume that in (27), "mom" is introduced in the context as new information and "-i" serves as a Focus marker. Then "-ka" is default Nominatıve case marker unconsciously attached by the speaker who is learning Korean.

3.2. Focus Marker "-ka/-i"

   (7=29) a. che kongjang-i pul-i   na-t-ta
        that factory-FOC fire-NOM break out-PAST-DEC
        'a fire broke out at the factory'
      b. nuna-ka   (pap-ul)   muk-ji,   nae-ka muk-na
        sister-FOC (food-ACC) eat-DEC   I-FOC eat-INT
        'sister is eating (food) not I'

As we don't assume the multiple Spec analysis suggested in Chomsky(1995), Ura(1996) and Yang(1996), we argue that the Locative argument in (29a) gets Focus marker "-i" and the Theme argument gets Nominative marker "-i". Adopting the theta-criterion and uniform theta assignment hypothesis, we argue that the predicate "nata(break out)" can discharge the theta role, Theme only to "pul(fire)", which occupies the Spec of TP position checking Nominative Case. We also argue that the Locative argument "che kongjang(that factory)" is base generated in the Spec of Focus Phrase(FP) out of TP boundary.

   (8=30) Constraint for Focus Marking(=FOC)
        An argument, unless it is Accusative Case marked, is morphologically marked with

"-ka/-i" when focused

The violation of this constraint in (31 B1) makes the response sound much worse than the normal response of (31 B2).

(9=31) A: Cholsu-ka   wa-t-ni?
　　　　　Cholsu-FOC come-PAST-INT
　　　　　'did Cholsu come'
　　　B1: ??Cholsu on-ke　　　anira Yonghee wa-t-sse
　　　　　　Cholsu come-COMP not Yonghee come-PAST-DEC
　　　　　'Cholsu didn't come but Yonghee did'
　　　B2: Cholsu-ka　 on-ke　　　anira Yonghee-ka　 wa-t-e
　　　　　Cholsu-FOC come-COMP not Yonghee-FOC come-PAST-DEC
　　　　　'Cholsu didn't come but Yonghee did'

3.3. Licensing at LF & Lexical Insertion(Morphological Realization) at MS

If the assumptions (Chomsky(1995), Im(2000)) are on the right track, Focus argument must be licensed at LF level and its marker "-ka/-i" must be morphologically realized at MS. Halle & Marantz(1993).

Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993)

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In DM, a verb stem is assumed to pick up inflectional features, bundled in terminal nodes, through various mechanisms that are either syntactic or rely on syntactic structure. Head movement and adjunction, a syntactic operation, may affix an inflectional morpheme to a stem.

　　.... DM claims that inflectional features are picked up in prepackaged morpheme bundles in the grammar, not in the "lexicon" or Vocabulary, and that word formation is syntactic and postsyntactic, not lexical. By having the terminal nodes containing inflectional features obey the same structural principles as other terminal nodes and undergo the same Vocabulary insertion, DM accounts for the distribution of syntactic/semantic and phonological information in words and in sentences.

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　. Chomsky(1993) suggests that the interface between a verb's internal morphological structure and the syntax involves a system of feature checking rather than feature addition . in a checking theory, an inflected verb could be an amorphous mass of features; the connection between the internal phonological structure of the verb (the internal structure of stem and affixes) and the inflectional features of the verb has no consequences for the rest of the grammar.

　For the checking theory, the worst possible state of affairs would be for some strict version of Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle to accurately describe the relation between affixes on a verb and the hierarchy of functional categories in the syntax that check the features of these affixes.

　Chomsky (1993) claims that, ... checking theory could provide an account "Suppose that Baker's Mirror Principle is strictly accurate. Then we may take a lexical element-say, the verb V-to be a sequence $V=(\alpha, Infl_1, ..., Infl_n)$, where α is the morphological complex $[R-Infl_1- -Infl_n]$, R a root and $Infl_1$ an inflectional feature."

.. As the Verb sequence raises to functional heads in the course of a derivation, it checks the inflectional features in its sequence bundle by bundle, starting with the first bundle (Infl$_1$)- that is, starting with the bundle contributed by the most deeply embedded affix on the inflected Verb Thus by stipulation in a checking theory, features are checked in the order in which they were provided to the verb via affixation in the lexicon, the features of the innermost affix being checked first.

However, ... Baker's principle is not strictly accurate If head-to-head movement and adjunction were the only process of inflectional affixation, then Baker's principle would appear to be more or less accurate and Chomsky's checking solution to mirroring would seem sufficient. .. however, in addition to head-to-head movement and adjunction, the interaction between the syntax and morphology includes head merger, the insertion of morphemes at MS, morphological fusion, and morpheme fission. .. Moreover, Vocabulary insertion (i e, the assignment of phonological form to morphosyntactic features) must follow all the changes to morphological structure that lead to violations of a strict Mirror Principle

[The] difference between LF raising in a checking theory and affixation between DS and PF in DM shows up in the analysis of English tense. It is a fact that main verbs in English do not raise to the Tns node on the path between DS and PF. Under a checking theory, Tns need not be lowered onto or merged with main verbs to account for the fact the tense affix appears on such verbs in English Rather, English main verbs may raise to Tns at LF and check the tense features of the affix. In DM on the other hand, .. the Tns morpheme must be assumed to merge with English main verbs at MS.

4. Supporting Arguments & Further Considerations
1) Lasnik (1994) Verbal Morphology p.14
    (25) a. French verbs are fully inflected in the lexicon
        b. Have and be are fully inflected in the lexicon
        c. All other English verbs are bare in the lexicon

    (27) Finite featural Infl is strong in both French and English

The final necessary mechanism is the original one: Affix Hopping. Further, as conjectured by Lasnik(1981), and developed further by Halle and Marantz(1993) and Bobaljik(1993), the rule is a morphophonemic one rather than a syntactic one:

    (28) Affixal Infl must merge with a V, a PF process demanding adjacency

2) Chomsky(1998)--Minimalist Inquiries
p. 13. Operative complexity is reduced if L makes a one-time selection of a subset [F] of F, dispensing with further access to F. It is reduced further if L includes a one-time operation that assembles elements of [F] into a lexicon LEX, with no new assembly as computation proceeds.

p. 13, fn. 27: The properties of features and assembly form a large part of the subject matter of traditional and modern linguistics; I will put these topics aside here, including questions about organization of assembled features within a lexical item LI. Also left to the side is the question whether LI is assembled in a single operation or at several stages of the derivation, as in Distributed Morphology(Halle and Marantz 1993).

p.27. (30) minimal requirements of legibility

    (a) The only linguistically significant levels are the interface level

    (b) The interpretability condition: LIs have no features other than those interpreted at the interface, properties of sound and meaning

    (c) The inclusiveness condition: No new features are introduced by C_{HL}

    (d)

p.33. (33) Inclusiveness holds of narrow syntax, and each feature is interpreted at the level LF or associated with phonetic features by the phonological component

 The phonological component is generally assumed to be isolated in even stronger respects: there are true phonological features that are visible only to the phonological component and form a separate subsystem of FL, with its own special properties. Assume this to be true. Then in the course of construction of FL, an operation Spell-Out delivers the structure already formed to the phonological component, which converts it to PF If lexical items LI express Saussurean arbitrariness in the conventional way, then Spell-Out "strips away" the true phonological features, so that the derivation can converge at LF; it will crash if latter operations introduce LIs with phonological features <u>On the assumptions of Distributed Morphology, the phonological features are introduced after Spell-Out by phonological operations applying to LIs lacking them. I will assume some instantiation of this array of options to be correct</u>

p 35 (Bottom) However these matters are resolved, we have two "imperfections" to consider: uninterpretable features and dislocation property. These properties (in fact, morphology together) are never built into special-purpose symbolic systems. We might suspect, then, that they have to do with externally-imposed legibility conditions. With regard to dislocation, that has been suggested from the earliest days of generative grammar, with speculations about facilitation of processing (on the sound side) and the dissociation of "deep" and "surface" interpretive principles (on the meaning side). The boundaries are not clear, nor the mechanism to express them One approach to the array of problems was to distinguish the role of deep and surface (D- and S-) structure in semantic interpretation: the former enters into determining quasi-logical properties such as entailment and theta structure; the latter such properties as topic-comment, presupposition, focus, specificity, new/old information, agentive force, and others that are often considered more discourse-oriented, and appear to involve the "edge" of constructions.

Chomsky(1999) Derivation by Phase
p. 7
FL(faculty of language) specifies the features F that are available to fix each particular language L. .... L assembles $[F_L]$ to lexical items LI of a lexicon LEX, the LIs then entering into

computations as units. In the simplest case, LEX is a single collection, but empirical phenomena might call for "distribution" of LEX, with late insertion in the manner of Distributed Morphology

p 8

For open classes, the optimal account is typically the simplest, for obvious learnability reasons; LI is a unitary collection, including the phonological matrix. LEX is distributed when departure from the simplest account is warranted in favor of late insertion, typically for inflectional elements and suppletion .... For roots and highly predictable inflectional elements (say, English progressive), the distinctions between single-LI and several independent contributions to LI (as in DM systems postulating universal late insertion ULI) seem to have little empirical content, but they might, for example, when an idiosyncratic feature F of a root has syntactic effects. ULI then requires postulation of a redundant syntactic feature F' as a "place holder" in narrow syntax for F, with a stipulation that F' must be replaced under late insertion by a root with F (i e, F' is effectively identical with F).

3) There is a possibility that the "-SELF" form of logophoric anaphors (Reinhart & Reuland 1991) like "myself" in (4) can be added to "ME" at MS and realized at PF.

   (4) Linguists like myself(ME+SELF) tend to observe others' speaking behaviors

4) Honorific expressions such as "진지(밥)", "아버님(아버지)" are chosen according to the social context between the conversation participants. So narrow syntax does not explain the numeration of these expressions.

5) Insertion of expletives at MS
   If EPP is a condition at LF, numeration (5) satisfies various principles.

   (5) [[ARRIVE] A MAN]]

5. Conclusion & Residual Problem
1) Possibility of lexical insertion at MS
2) More universal evidences for this hypothesis

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