Remnant Movement and Echoed Verb Constructions in Korean

Introduction
The morphosyntax of inflectional verbal suffixes involving head movement (HM) in Korean has been the subject of a long-standing debate in the literature. One approach argues that HM takes place in overt syntax (e.g., Choi 2003). Another holds that HM involves phrasal affixation at PF (e.g., Yoon 1994).

Proposal
Providing a remnant movement (RM) analysis on the Echoed Verb Construction (EVCs) in Korean, exemplified in (8), it will be argued that RM eliminates HM in grammar and hence, debate about whether HM takes place in syntax or at PF immediately becomes inadequate. Unlike what Choi’s (2003) syntactic head movement analysis on the EVC predicts, a constituent bigger than X₀ can be copied—(1). There is no evidence that the adverb should be analyzed as forming a complex verbal head with the echoed verb.

Preliminary assumptions
(2)—Korean sentences contain (at least) the functional projections. Following Kayne 1994, there is no head parameter; hence, all languages are head-initial. (3)—the Phase Impenetrability Condition forces the dependents of a verb to vacate to the edge of a phase head in order to avoid getting echoed. (4)—Evacuation takes place bottom-up, that is, material up in the tree may move only after one down in the tree moves up. The RUP does not allow VP to move prior to movement of ZP since it consists of more than one category—YP and ZP. (4b)—it is possible that the YP undergoes RM since it contains only a category, YP. Notice that the “trace” of WP does not count as a “category” in the RUP. (5)—in the EVCs ki serves to morphologically close off the otherwise stranded verb stem. The basic unit of RM in the EVC is argued to be no bigger or smaller than VP. It is not possible that numeral quantifiers, associated with the subject or the object, take part in reduplication—(6). This leads to the conclusion that the dependents of a verb must vacate out of the RMed constituent (due to EPE) and furthermore that the basic unit of RM is VP. TP-modifying and CP-modifying adverbs such as ŏje and pirok, respectively, cannot be echoed or occur together with the echoed verb—(7). Only VP/VP-modifying adverbs may participate in reduplication. This, once again, suggests that the basic unit of RM is indeed VP.

Explanation
(8b) begins with the structure in (9a). At this point in the derivation all the thematic and subcategorization features of the verb are satisfied. EPE forces all material but the verb to move to the edge of the vP phase—(9b). HonAgr merges with the highest vP and the remnant vP* undergoes RM to SpecHonAgrP—(9c). It is important to note that the RMed manna in HonAgrP is cemented with si in the HonAgr head position and thus they never get separated. This is because the (sole) reason for RM is that both the verb stem and the honorific marker are bound morphemes to be morphologically closed off. The RUP prevents the entire HonAgrP from moving to SpecTP since it counts as two categories, HonAgrP and vP. As a result, the highest vP must move first—(9d). What is echoed is the verb with the honorific marker; the lower HonAgrP* copies itself and in turn undergoes RM to SpecTP to get inflected—(9e). (The angled brackets <-> indicate a copy.) Ki Insertion applies to the copied HonAgrP, yielding manna-si-ki-nûn. The entire TP constituent consists of more than one category, TP and HonAgrP; hence, a violation of the RUP. As a consequence, the only option available at this point is that the lower HonAgrP adjoins to TP—(9f). The lower TP* undergoes RM to SpecCP—(9g). And then, EPE forces the TP to escape to the edge of the CP phase—(9h), which surfaces as (8b). (8c) is ruled out by the impossibility of partial copying of the glued RMed elements. (10)—manna in SpecHonAgrP becomes bonded together with the honorific marker in the HonAgr head position and both are thus not detachable. This is because such separation would cancel out the motivation for RM of the two bound morphemes, manna- and -si-. (8d) is ruled out by the fact that HonAgr is not allowed to merge into the already formed structure (11a).

Data
(1) Kim-i Lee-rûl chaju manna-ki-nûn chaju manna-at-ta
   Kim-Nom Lee-Acc often meet-Nmz-even often meet-Pst-C ‘Kim OFTEN MET Lee.’

(2) [CP [c [-t] [TP [T [-a-ta-] [HonAgrP [HonAgr -si-] [vP Subj [v v’ [vP V Obj]]]]]]]

(3) Evacuate to Phase Edge (EPE): Move material to the edge of a phase head; material = XP only.
   a. \[X \rightarrow [\text{XP} \left[ \text{VP} \left[ \text{ZP} \right] \right]]\]
   b. \[\sqrt{X} \rightarrow [\text{XP} \left[ \text{YP} \left[ \text{ZP} \right] \right]]\]

(5) * Ki Insertion: Ki is inserted onto the otherwise stranded verb (V1). (Kang 1988)

(6) a. *namhaksaeng tul-i Lee-rul manna-ki-nun tul-i manna-at-ta
   male.student two-Nom Lee-Acc meet-Nmz-even two-Nom meet-Pst-C
   
   b. *namhaksaeng-i Lee-rul tul-i manna-ki-nun tul-i manna-at-ta
   male.student-Nom Lee-Acc two-Nom meet-Nmz-even two-Nom meet-Pst-C
   ‘TWO male students MET Lee.’
   
   c. *Kim-i namhaksaeng tul-rul manna-ki-nun tul-ul manna-at-ta
   Kim-Nom male.student two-Acc meet-Nmz-even two-Acc meet-Pst-C
   ‘TWO MET TWO male students.’

(7) a. *Kim-i (ôje) Lee-rul manna-(at)-ki-nun ôje manna-at-ta
   Kim-Nom (yesterday) Lee-Acc meet-(Pst)-Nmz-even yesterday meet-Pst-C
   ‘KIM MET Lee YESTERDAY.’
   
   b. *(pirok) Kim-i Lee-rul manna-(at)-ki-nun pirok manna-at-chiman
   though Kim-Nom Lee-Acc meet-(Pst)-Nmz-even though meet-Pst-while
   ‘THOUGH Kim MET Lee, …’

(8) a. ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul manna-ki-nun manna-si-ôt-ta
   Mother-HonNom Lee-Acc meet-Nmz-even meet-Hon-Pst-C
   
   b. ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul manna-si-ki-nun manna-si-ôt-ta
   Mother-HonNom Lee-Acc meet-Hon-Nmz-even meet-Hon-Pst-C
   
   c. ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul manna-si-ki-nun manna-O-ôt-ta
   Mother-HonNom Lee-Acc meet-Hon-Nmz-even meet-O-Pst-C
   
   d. ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul manna-at-ki-nun manna-si-ôt-ta
   Mother-HonNom Lee-Acc meet-Pst-Nmz-even meet-Hon-Pst-C
   ‘Mother MET Lee.’

(9) a. [vP ômôni-kkesô [v’ v [VP [V manna] Lee-rul]]]
   b. [vP ômôni-kkesô [vP Lee-rul] [vP* tI [v’ v [VP [V manna] tI]]]]
   c. [HonAgrP [vP manna], [HonAgr’ [HonAgr si] [vP ômôni-kkesô [vP Lee-rul tI]]]]
   d. [HonAgrP [vP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul], [HonAgrP* manna [HonAgr’ si tI]]]
   e. [TP [HonAgrP manna-si] [T’ [T ôt] [HonAgrP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul <mannsa-si>]]]
   f. [TP [HonAgrP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul <mannsa-si-kinun>]]
   g. [CP [TP manna-si-ôt] [C’ [C ta] [TP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul <mannsa-si-kinun> tI]]]
   h. [CP [TP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul <mannsa-si-kinun>] [CP [mannsa-ôt] [C’ [C ta] tI]]]

(10) a. [HonAgrP [vP manna] [HonAgr’ [HonAgr si] [vP ômôni-kkesô [vP Lee-rul tI]]]]
    b. *[TP [HonAgrP manna-si] [T’ [T ôt] [HonAgrP ômôni-kkesô Lee-rul <mannna>]]]

(11) a. *[TP [vP1 Kim-i Lee-rul] [TP [vP manna] [T’ [T at tI]]] ← *HonAgr si]
    b. *[CP [TP manna-si-ôt] [C’ [C ta] [TP Kim-i Lee-rul <mannna-2>]]]

Selected References
Japanese/Korean Linguistics 11, 457-470. CSLI. Stanford, California.