Obligatoriness and Optionality in Korean Subject Honorification

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Korean subject honorification

a. *ai-**ka** chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.*
   child-**NOM** book-ACC read-PST-DC

   'The child read a book.'

b. *cwusang-**kkeyse** chayk-ul ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.*
   your.majesty-**NOM.HON** book-ACC read-**HON_s**-PST-DC

   'Your majesty read a book.'

Two approaches to Korean subject honorification

Two approaches to Korean subject honorification on
predicate morphology in DM

- Syntactic approaches: Jo (2004); Koopman (2005);
  Chung (2009); Jou (2024) a.o.
- Post-syntactic approaches: Kim and Chung (2015);
  Choi and Harley (2019) a.o.

Types of predicate constructions and subject honorofication

Single-predicate construction

- Only one predicate part

  *ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.*
  read-**HON$_S$**-PST-DC
  'read'

Multi-predicate construction

- More than one predicate part
- Subject honorification pattern varies

  ***tusi**-ci*   *ani ha-(**si**)-ess-ta.*
  eat.HON$_S$-C not do-**HON$_S$**-PST-DC
  'did not eat (hon)'

Long-form negation: evidence for post-syntactic SH?

- Choi and Harley's (2019) evidence for subject honorification as a post-syntactic operation
- Multiple exponence of subject honorification in Long-form negation
- *ha-* 'do' support feeding subject honorification

Proposal

$\text{Agr}_s[\text{HON:+}] \rightarrow$ subject honorification

Syntactic structure
+
Defective pronunciation of Agr_s
↓
Subject honorification patterns

cf. Defective pronunciation (Generalized Head Movement, Arregi and Pietraszko 2021a; 2021b)

Outline

Outline

Subject honorification

- Grammatical way to convey [Speaker < Subject]
- Two types of subject honorification on predicates
    - Regular honorification
    - Suppletive honorification

Regular honorification

V-*(u)si*

a. *ai-ka   chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.*
child-NOM book-ACC read-PST-DC

   'The child read a book.'

b. *cwusang-kkeyse   chayk-ul ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.*
your.majesty-NOM.HON book-ACC read-**HON_s**-PST-DC

   'Your majesty read a book.'

Suppletive honorification

Suppletive honorific stem

a.   *ai-ka   sakwa-lul   mek-ess-ta.*
      child-NOM apple-ACC eat-PST-DC
      'The child ate an apple.'

b.   *cwusang-kkeyse   sakwa-lul*
      your.majesty-NOM.HON apple-ACC
      ***tusi**-ess-ta.*
      eat.HON_s-PST-DC
      'Your majesty ate an apple.'

b′.   * *cwusang-kkeyse   sakwa-lul*
      your.majesty-NOM.HON apple-ACC
      ***mek**-**usi**-ess-ta.*
      eat-**HON_s**-PST-DC

Outline

- *ilk-* 'read'

  ha-support

ilk-ess-ta	$\rightarrow$	*ilk-ci*	*ani*	$\overbrace{\textbf{\textit{hay}}}$*-ess-ta*
read-PST-DC		read-C	not	**do**-PST-DC
'read'		'did not read'		

  ha-support

mek-ess-ta	$\rightarrow$	*mek-ci*	*ani*	$\overbrace{\textbf{\textit{hay}}}$*-ess-ta*
eat-PST-DC		eat-C	not	**do**-PST-DC
'ate'		'did not eat'		

Subject honorification in LFN context

Regular honorification

*ilk-**usi**-ess-ta*   → *ilk-**usi**-ci*   *ani ha-**si**-ess-ta*
read-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC   read-**HON$_s$**-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC
'read (hon)'   'did not read (hon)'

Suppletive honorification

***tusi**-ess-ta*   → ***tusi**-ci*   *ani ha-**si**-ess-ta*
eat.HON$_s$-PST-DC   **eat.HON$_s$**-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC
'ate (hon)'   'did not eat (hon)'

Optionality in multiple regular honorification

 cwusang-*kkeyse*   *chayk-ul* ...
 your.majesty-NOM.HON book-ACC ...

a.   *ilk-**usi**-ci   ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
       read-**HON_s**-C not do-**HON_s**-PST-DC

b.   *ilk-**usi**-ci   ani hay-ess-ta.*
       read-**HON_s**-C not do-PST-DC

c.   *ilk-ci ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
       read-C not do-**HON_s**-PST-DC

d.   * *ilk-ci ani hay-ess-ta.*
       read-C not do-PST-DC

       'Your majesty did not read a book.'

Obligatory suppletive honorification on the negated main verb

  cwusang-*kkeyse*   *sakwa-lul ...*
  your.majesty-NOM.HON apple-ACC ...

a.   ***tusi***-*ci*   *ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
    eat.HON$_s$-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC

b.   ***tusi***-*ci*   *ani hay-ess-ta.*
    eat.HON$_s$-C not do-PST-DC

c.   * ***mek***-*ci ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
    eat-C   not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC

d.   * ***mek***-*ci ani hay-ess-ta.*
    eat-C   not do-PST-DC

    'Your majesty did not eat an apple.'

Summary of the observed patterns

RegH	'did not read'	SupH	'did not eat'
ilk-**usi**-ci	ani ha-**si**	**tusi**-ci	ani ha-**si**
ilk-**usi**-ci	ani ha	**tusi**-ci	ani ha
ilk-ci	ani ha-**si**	*mek-ci	ani ha-**si**
*ilk-ci	ani ha	*mek-ci	ani ha

- Regular honorification on the main predicate:

  optional

- Suppletive honorification on the main predicate:

  obligatory

Outline

Mechanism of subject honorification

Subject honorification is a syntactic operation

- $\text{Agr}_S[\text{HON: \_\_}]$ probing a valued [HON] feature

  (adapted from Jou 2024)
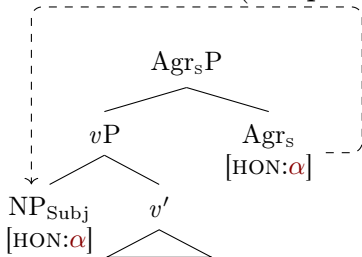
Subject honorification as a syntactic operation
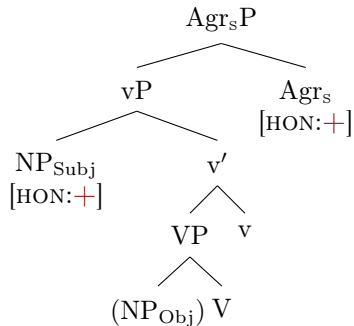
Overview of complex head construction in GenHM

- Complex head: morphological features of syntactic terminals associated by Generalized Head movement (Arregi and Pietraszko, 2021b, 244)
- Complex head shared by the syntactic terminals involved in the complex-head formation
- Spell-Out place determined post-syntactically

GenHM account of subject honorification
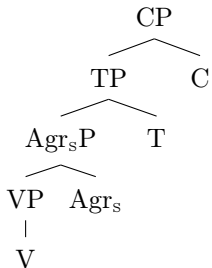
GenHM account of subject honorification
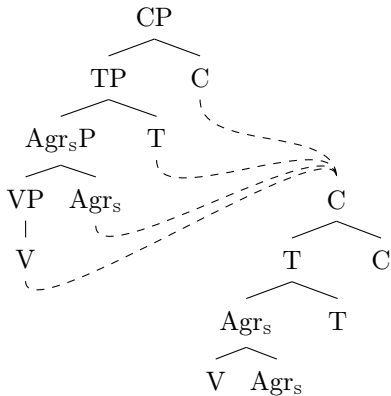
GenHM account of subject honorification
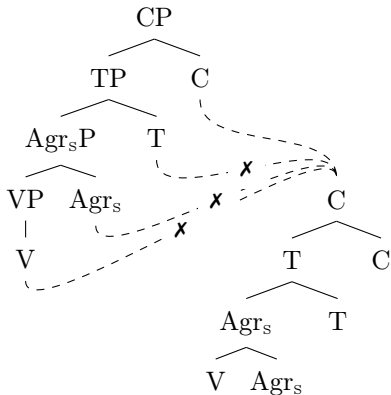
Vocabulary Insertion: regular honorification

$\sqrt{\text{READ}} \leftrightarrow$ *ilk-*

$\text{Agr}_\text{s}[\text{HON}:+] \leftrightarrow$ ***-(u)si***
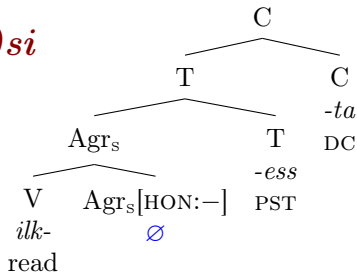
$\text{Agr}_\text{s} \leftrightarrow \varnothing$

$\text{T}[\text{PST}] \leftrightarrow$ *-ess*

$\text{C}[\text{DC}] \leftrightarrow$ *-ta*

ilk-ess-ta.
read-PST-DC
'read'

Vocabulary Insertion: regular honorification

$\sqrt{\text{READ}} \leftrightarrow$ *ilk-*

$\text{Agr}_\text{s}[\text{HON}{:}{+}] \leftrightarrow$ ***-(u)si***

$\text{Agr}_\text{s} \leftrightarrow \varnothing$

$\text{T}[\text{PST}] \leftrightarrow$ *-ess*

$\text{C}[\text{DC}] \leftrightarrow$ *-ta*
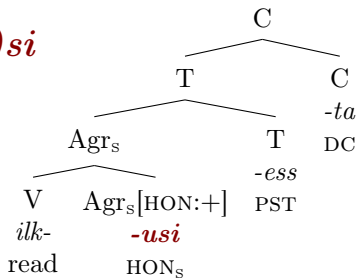
*ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.*
read-**HON$_\text{s}$**-PST-DC
'read (hon)'

Vocabulary Insertion: suppletive honorification

$$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow mek\text{-}$$

mek-ess-ta.
eat-PST-DC
'ate'
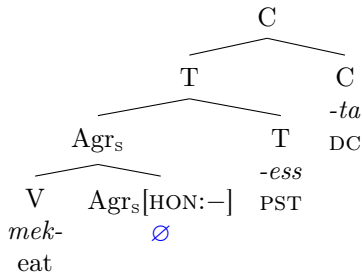
Vocabulary Insertion: suppletive honorification

$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow mek\text{-}$

$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow \textbf{\textit{tusi-}} \ / \ \underline{\quad} \ \text{Agr}_s[\textbf{HON:+}]$

$\text{Agr}_s[\textbf{HON:+}] \leftrightarrow \varnothing \ /$

$\underbrace{\textbf{\textit{\{tusi-, kyeysi-, cwumwusi-, ... \}}}}_{} \ \underline{\quad}$

suppletive honorific stems (cf. Choi and Harley 2019)

tusi-ess-ta.

eat.HON$_s$-PST-DC

'ate (hon)'
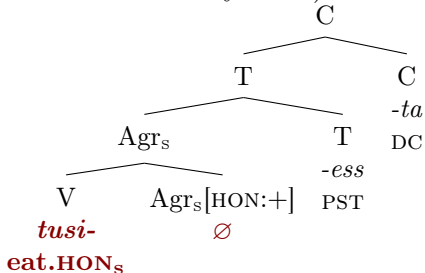
Interim summary

- Types of subject honorification
- Patterns of subject honorification in long-form negation
- Generalized head movement analysis of complex head formation and the two types of subject honorification

Outline
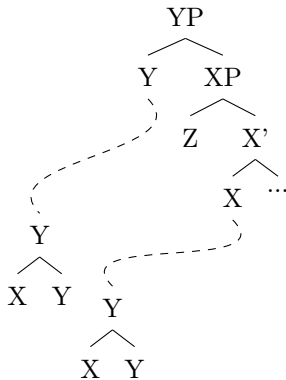
GenHM analysis of *ha-* 'do' support

LFN is characterized by two processes

- *Split-by-Intervention* (SBI)
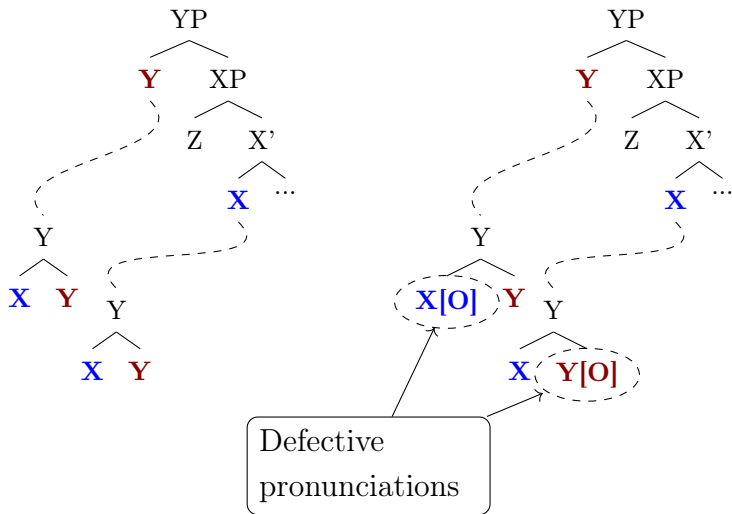- *Orphan Assignment* (OA)

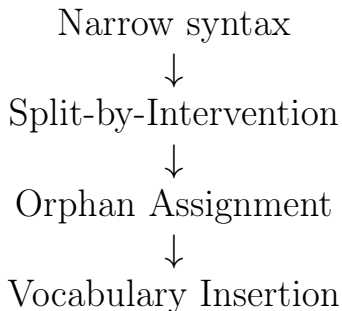# *Split-by-Intervention*
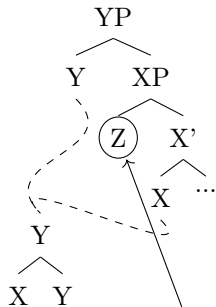
Intervening speci-
fier triggering SBI

Orphan Assignment

Defective pronunciations

GenHM analysis of *ha-* 'do' support

Narrow syntax
↓
Split-by-Intervention
↓
Orphan Assignment
↓
Vocabulary Insertion

In a nutshell, *ha-* in LFN is a defective pronunciation of the main verb.

GenHM analysis of Korean LFN

ai-ka	*chayk-ul*	*ilk-ci ani hay-ess-ta.*
child-NOM	book-ACC	read-C not do-PST-DC

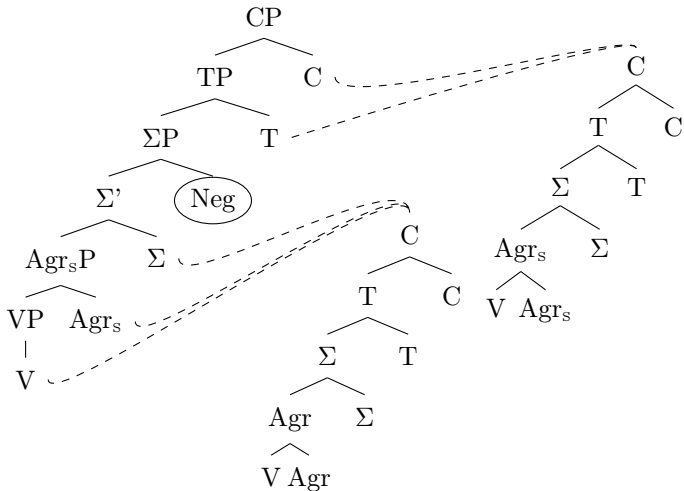'The child did not read a book'

Position of the negator *ani*
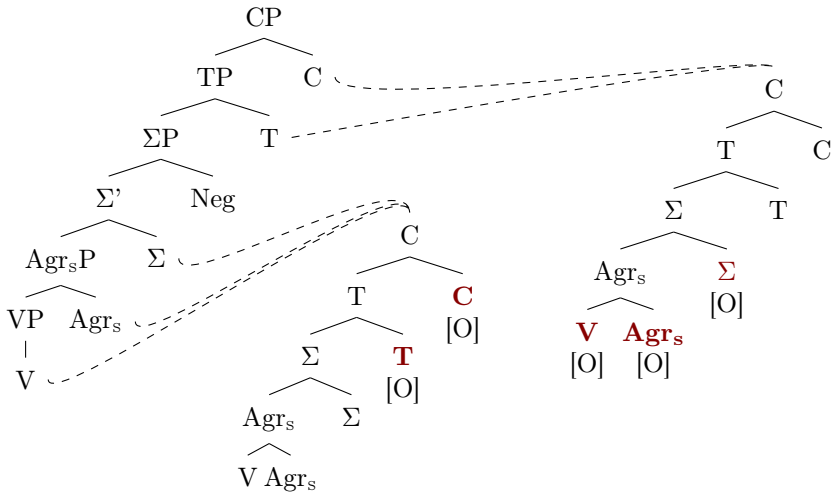
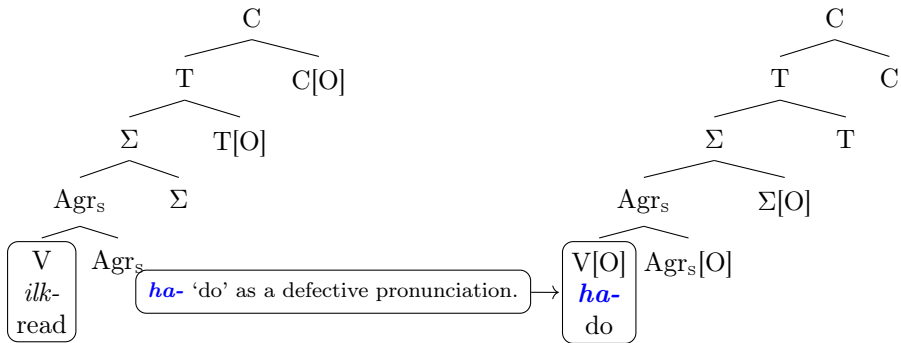- Negator *ani* at Spec,ΣP (in the sense of Laka 1990)
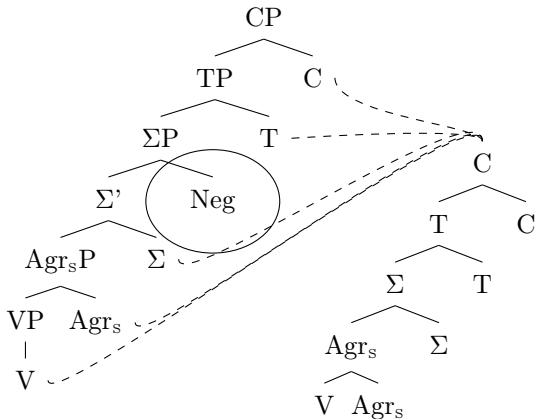
Split-by-Intervention
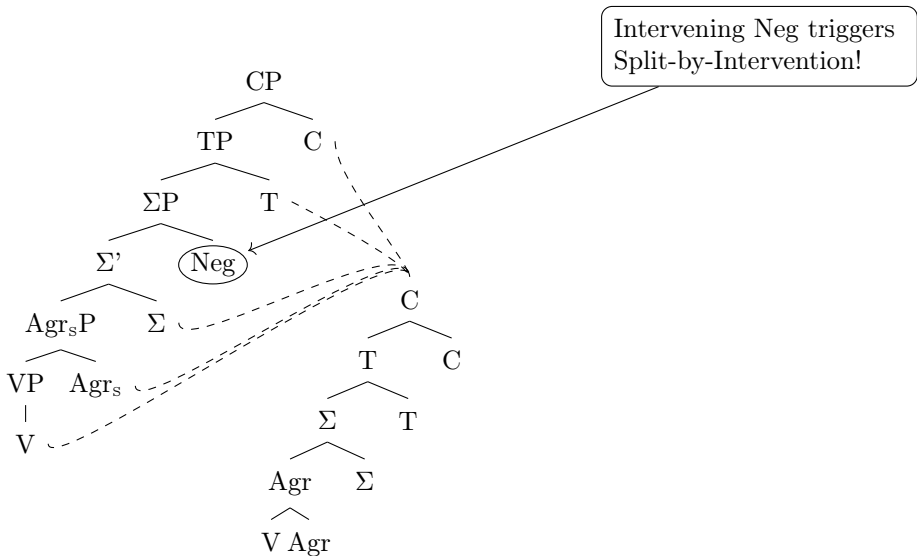
Split-by-Intervention
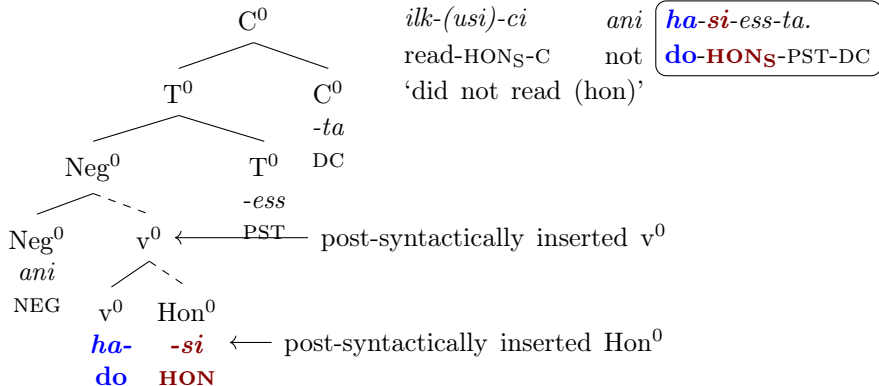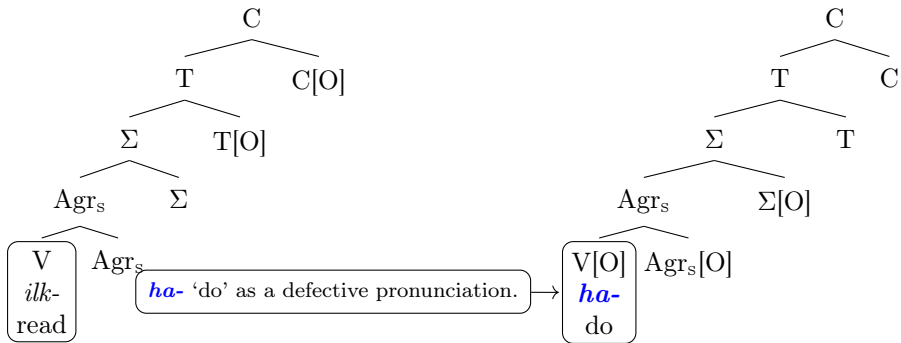
Orphan Assignment

Vocabulary Insertion

Implication of GenHM analysis of *ha*-support

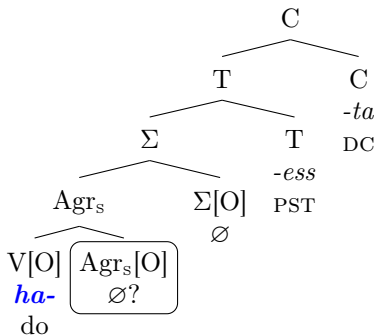- Post-syntactic *ha*-support: key evidence for post-syntactic subject honorification

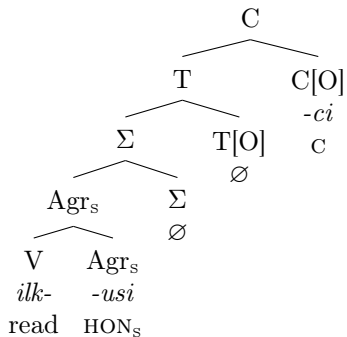*ilk-(usi)-ci*   *ani* [**ha**-**si**-*ess-ta*.
read-HON$_S$-C   not   **do**-**HON$_S$**-PST-DC]

'did not read (hon)'

(Choi and Harley 2019)

Implication of GenHM analysis of ha-support

# Defective pronunciations of other nodes

Outline

Issues

Defective pronunciation of $Agr_s[O]$ should derive ...

- optional regular honorification patterns
- obligatory suppletive honorification on the main predicate

RegH	'did not read'	SupH	'did not eat'
*ilk-**usi**-ci*	*ani ha-**si***	***tusi**-ci*	*ani ha-**si***
*ilk-**usi**-ci*	*ani ha*	***tusi**-ci*	*ani ha*
ilk-ci	*ani ha-**si***	**mek-ci*	*ani ha-**si***
**ilk-ci*	*ani ha*	**mek-ci*	*ani ha*

Optional full pronunciation of Agr$_s$[O]

- Defective pronunciation of Agr$_s$[O]: ∅
- Optional full pronunciation of Agr$_s$[O]
- cf. Optional finiteness in Danish/Norwegian predicate clefts
  (Arregi and Pietraszko, 2021b; Platzack, 2012)

Defective pronunciation of Agr$_s$[O]
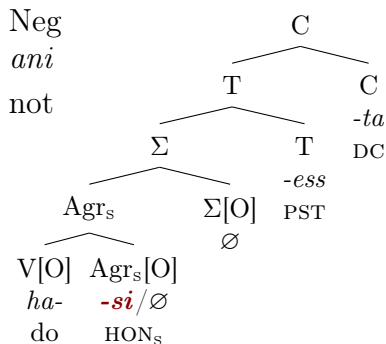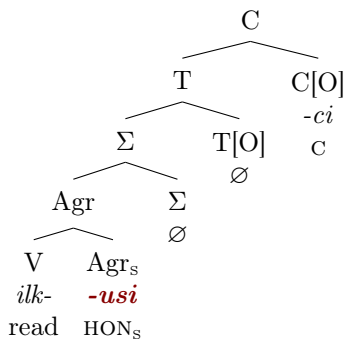
$$ilk\text{-}\boldsymbol{usi}\text{-}ci \quad ani \quad ha\text{-}\boldsymbol{si}\text{-}ess\text{-}ta.$$
read-**HON$_s$**-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC

$$ilk\text{-}\boldsymbol{usi}\text{-}ci \quad ani \quad hay\text{-}ess\text{-}ta.$$
read-**HON$_s$**-C not do-PST-DC

Two base-generated positions of ΣP
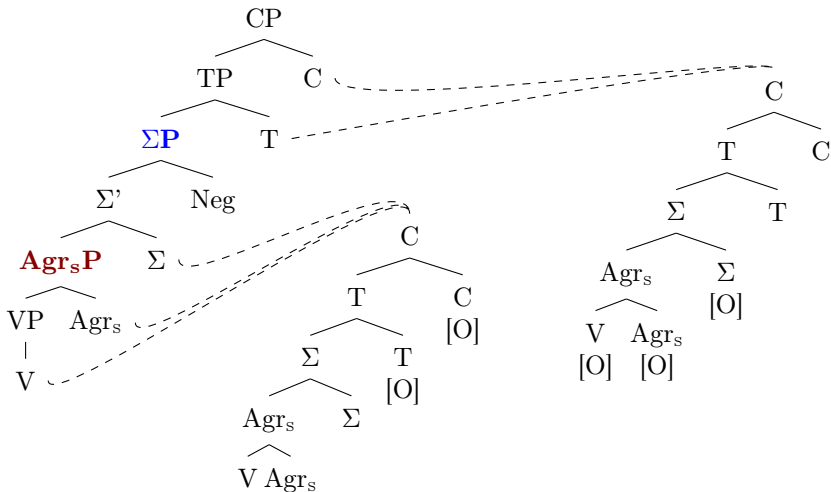
$\Sigma > \text{Agr}_s$

Two base-generated positions of ΣP
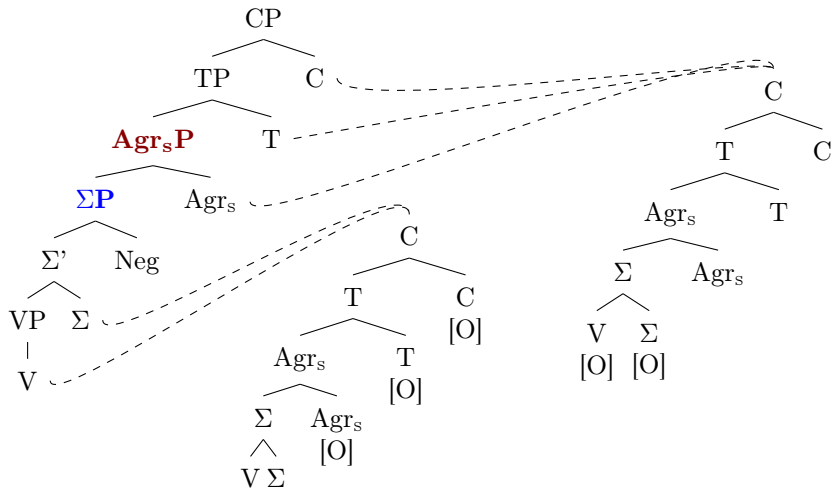
$Agr_s > \Sigma$

Two base-generated positions of ΣP
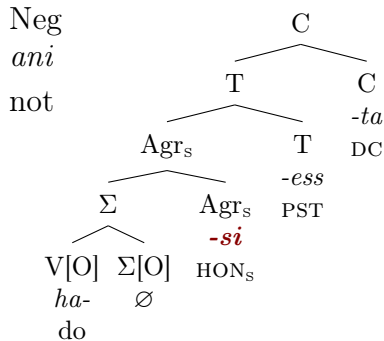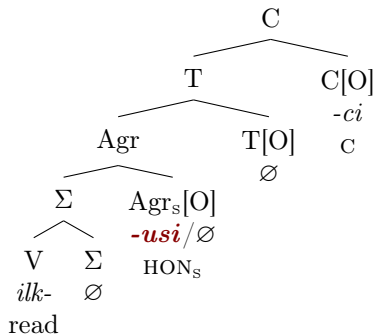
*ilk-**usi**-ci   ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
read-**HON_s**-C not do-**HON_s**-PST-DC

*ilk-ci   ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
read-C not do-**HON_s**-PST-DC

Obligatory suppletive honorification

$\Sigma > \text{Agr}$
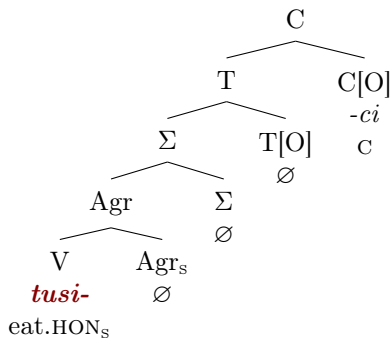
$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow \textit{tusi-} \ / \ \_\_ \ \text{Agr}_s[\text{HON:+}]$

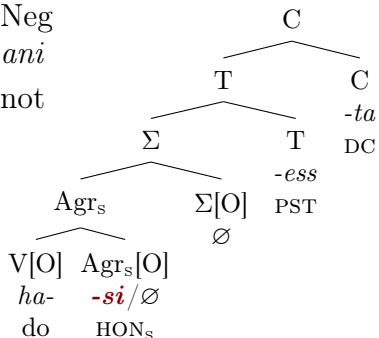 ***tusi**-ci   ani ha-**si**-ess-ta.*
  eat.HON$_s$-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC

  ***tusi**-ci   ani hay-ess-ta.*
  eat.HON$_s$-C not do-**HON$_s$**-PST-DC

Obligatory suppletive honorification

$Agr > \Sigma$
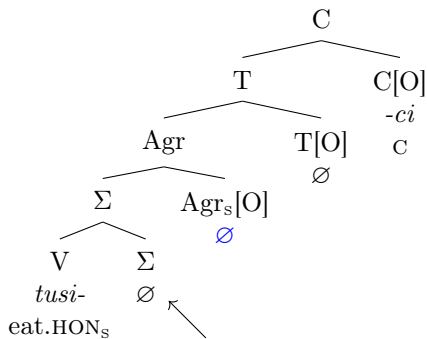
$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow tusi\text{-} / \underline{\quad} Agr_s[\text{HON}:+]$

$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow tusi\text{-} / [\underline{\quad} \Sigma] Agr_s[\text{HON}:+]$

$Agr_s[\text{HON}:+] \leftrightarrow \varnothing / \{tusi\text{-}, kyeysi\text{-}, cwumwusi\text{-}, \dots \} \underline{\quad}$
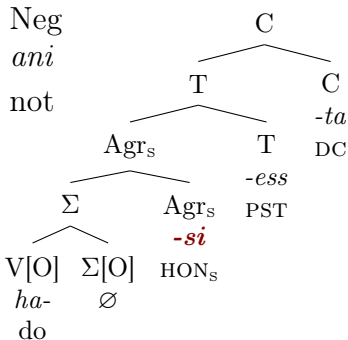
Obligatory suppletive honorification

Agr $> \Sigma$
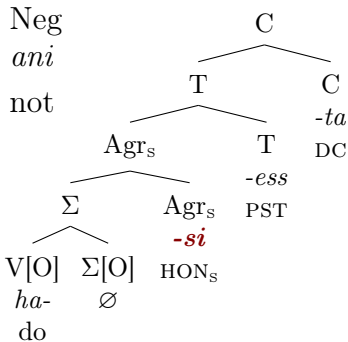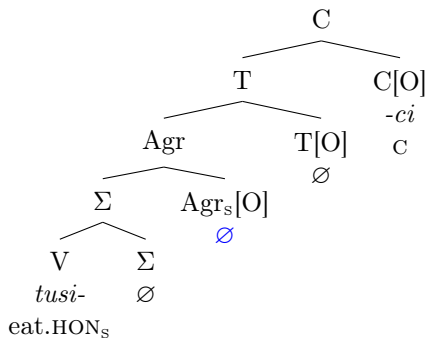
$$\textbf{\textit{tusi}}\text{-}ci \qquad ani \; ha\text{-}\textbf{\textit{si}}\text{-}ess\text{-}ta.$$
$$\textbf{eat.HON}_{\textbf{s}}\text{-C} \quad \text{not} \;\; \text{do-}\textbf{HON}_{\textbf{s}}\text{-PST-DC}$$

Orphan node conditioning root allomorphy

- Agr_s conditioning honorific suppletion regardless of its orphan status

cf. Yiddish: An orphan T triggers suppletion on the verb stem in the same way that a non-orphan T does (Arregi and Pietraszko, 2021b)

Take-away

- Subject honorification as a syntactic operation
- Split-by-Intervention and Orphan Assignment →
  defective pronunciation of Agr_s[HON:+]
- Structural difference + Defective Agr_S → Subject
  honorification pattern
- Agr_s conditions root allomorphy regardless of its
  orphan status

Future works

- Working with more multi predicate constructions to refine the theory of subject honorification
- Root allomorphy of the tri-suppletive $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}}$
- Other types of honorification available in Korean: addressee honorification, indirect object honorification, object honorification (attested only in Middle Korean)

*kyengchenghay cwu-**si**-ese   kamsaha-pni-ta.*
listen.attentively   BEN-**HON$_s$**-as thank-HON$_{Addressee}$-DC

'Thank you for your attention.'

ACC	accusative
BEN	benefactive
C	complementizer
DC	declarative
HON	honorific
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PST	past
S	subject

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