On the locality condition for Korean subject honorific suppletion

Jaehong Shim
(The University of Chicago)
jaehongshim@uchicago.edu
https://jaehongshim.github.io

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Introduction

Main research question:

- What is the locality condition for suppletive subject honorification in Korean predicates?

Answer:

- The adjacency between $\sqrt{}$ and Agr_{Subj}[+hon] (Agr_{S} from now on) in a single complex head.
- ☞ Key data: blocking of honorific suppletion in causative and passive constructions

Subject honorification in Korean

- [Speaker < Subject]
- Two types of subject honorification in the predicate morphology
  - Regular honorification
  - Suppletive honorification

Regular honorification

V-***(u)si***

a. ai-ka chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
child-NOM book-ACC read-PST-DECL
'The child read a book.'

b. cwusang-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.
your.majesty-NOM.HON book-ACC read-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'Your majesty read a book.'

Suppletive honorification

Suppletive honorific stem

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

b. cwusang-kkeyse sakwa-lul **capswusi**-ess-ta.
your.majesty-NOM.HON apple-ACC **eat.HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'Your majesty ate an apple.'

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

The locality condition for suppletive honorification

Adjacency-based approaches

- Suppletive honorification is triggered based on the adjacency between the conditioned and conditioning nodes (Koopman, 2005; Chung, 2009; Kim and Chung, 2015).

Non-adjacency-based approach

- Suppletive honorification can be triggered by a non-adjacent node in the same complex head (Choi and Harley, 2019).

Evidence for adjacency-based approach

Causative/passive constructions

- Honorific suppletion is blocked by causative/passive suffixes.

Auxiliary verb construction

The key data for the non-adjacency-based approach

- The asymmetry in subject honorification marking:
- The suppletive honorification on the main verb (V1) is seemingly triggered by a linearly non-adjacent regular honorific suffix on the auxiliary verb (V2).

Honorific suppletion?

capswusi-e po-**si**-ess-ta.
eat.**HON$_S$**-E see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'tried to eat/had an experience of eating an apple (honorific).'

Proposal

The SupH on the main verb is triggered based on adjacency.

- Agr_S is base-generated above the root and triggers honorific suppletion.
- A morphotactic constraint gives rise to a metathesis of Agr_S (Arregi and Nevins, 2012, 2018, 2022).
- The metathesis prevents the subject honorification on the main verb.

Outline

1 Basic ingredients

2 Adjacency-based locality condition for subject honorification

3 Counterexample? – Auxiliary verb constructions

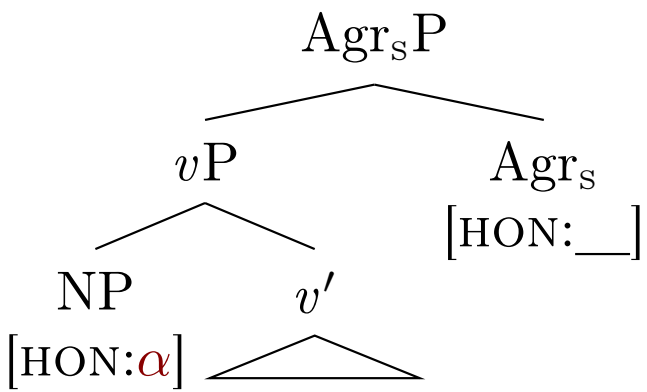
4 Adjacency still holds: a metathesis analysis

Mechanism of subject honorification

Subject honorification is a syntactic operation

- Agr_S[HON: __] probing a valued [HON] feature

(adapted from Jou 2024)



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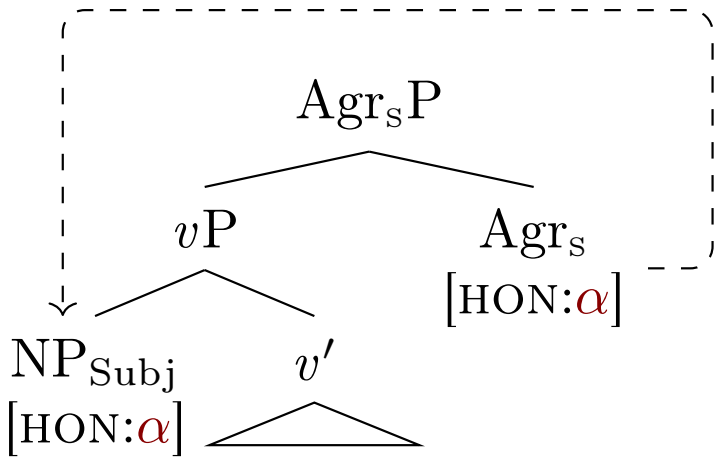
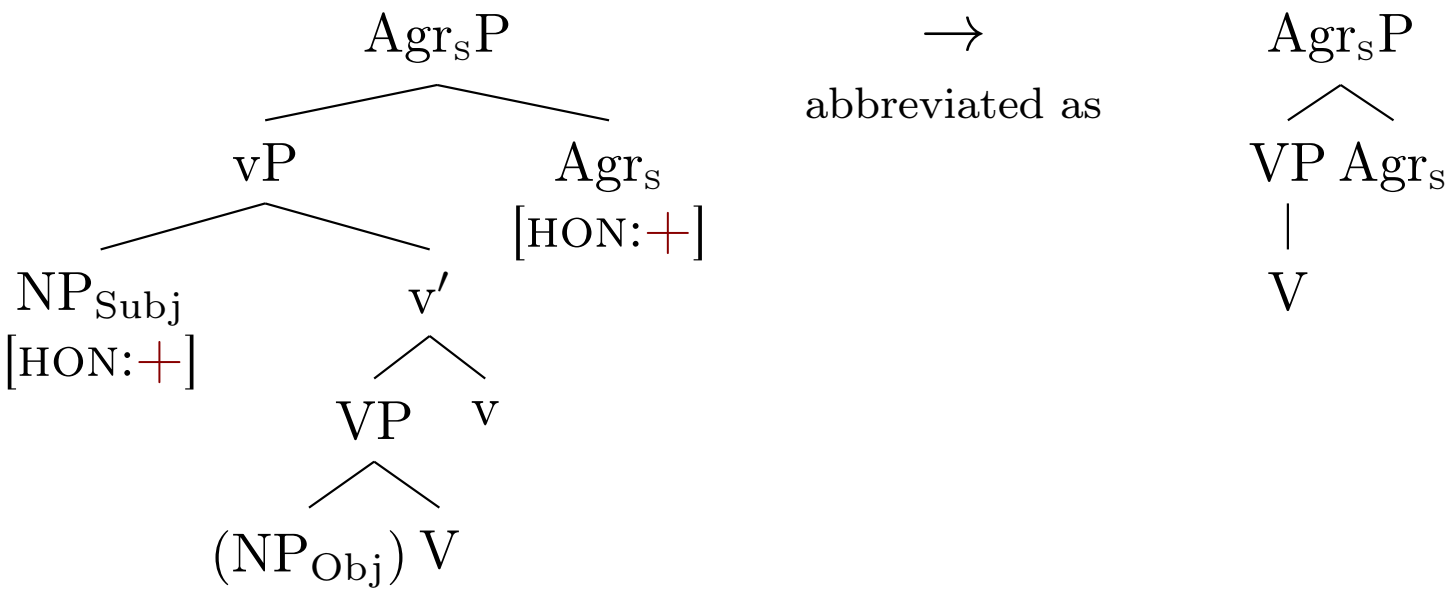


Subject honorification as a syntactic operation



Vocabulary Insertion: regular honorification

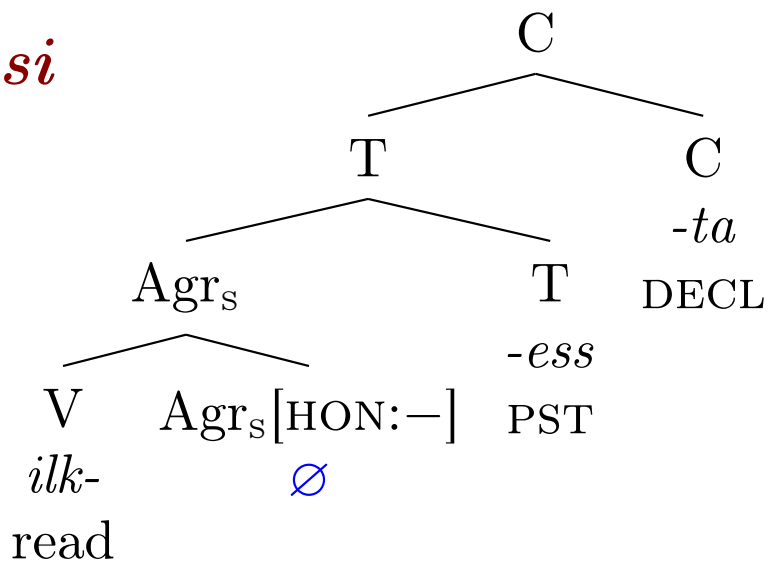
$\sqrt{\text{READ}} \leftrightarrow$ *ilk-*

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

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

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

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



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

Vocabulary Insertion: regular honorification

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

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

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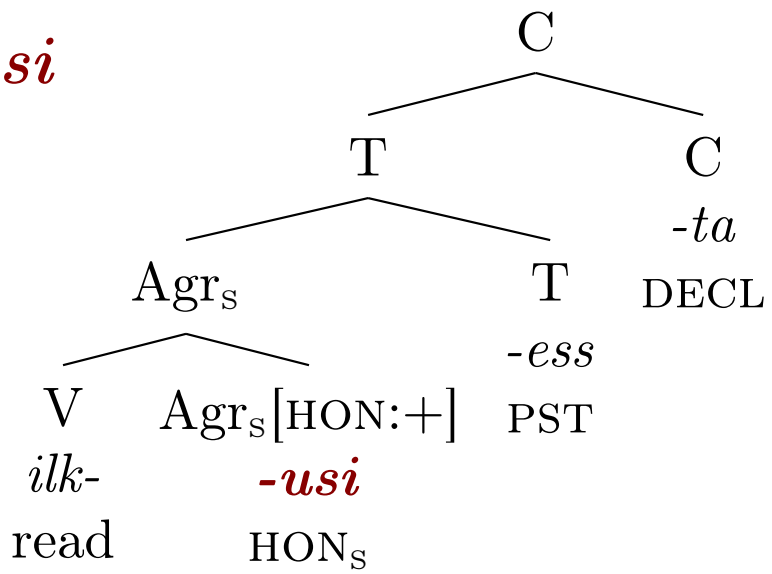

ilk-**usi**-ess-ta.

read-**HON$_\text{S}$**-PST-DECL

'read (hon)'

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Evidence for the adjacency-based approach

Causative construction

a. Cwusang-kkeyse koyangi-eykey pap-ul
his.majesty-NOM.HON cat-DAT meal-ACC
mek-**i**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat-**CAUS**-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'His majesty fed a cat with a meal (literally, his majesty made a cat eat a meal).'

b. * Cwusang-kkeyse koyangi-eykey pap-ul
his.majesty-NOM.HON cat-DAT meal-ACC
capswusi-**i**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat.HON$_S$-**CAUS**-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL

Evidence for the adjacency-based approach

Passive construction

a. Cwusang-kkeyse koymwul-eykey
his.majesty-NOM.HON monster-DAT
mek-**hi**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat-**PASS**-**HONS**-PST-DECL
'His majesty was eaten by a monster.'

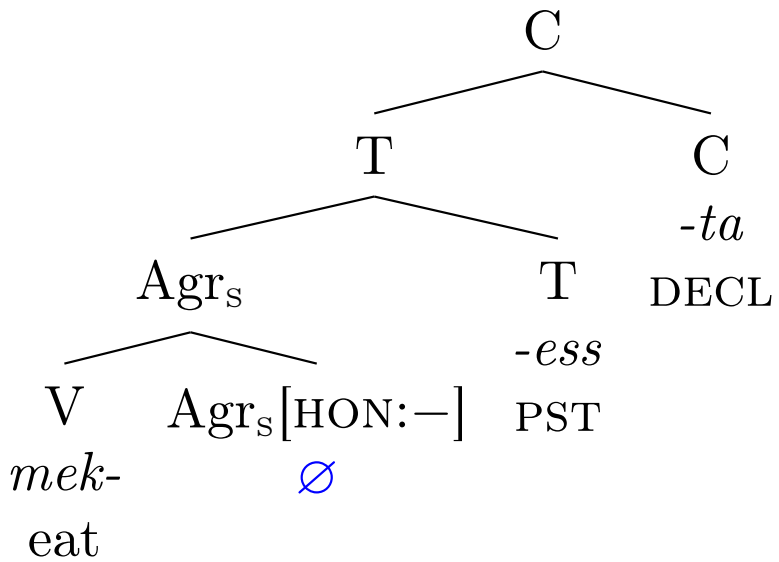
b. * Cwusang-kkeyse koymwul-eykey
his.majesty-NOM.HON monster-DAT
tusi-**hi**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat.HONS-**PASS**-**HONS**-PST-DECL

Vocabulary Insertion: suppletive honorification

Suppletive stem is inserted in the context of an adjacent Agr_S[HON:+]

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

mek-ess-ta.
eat-PST-DECL
'ate'



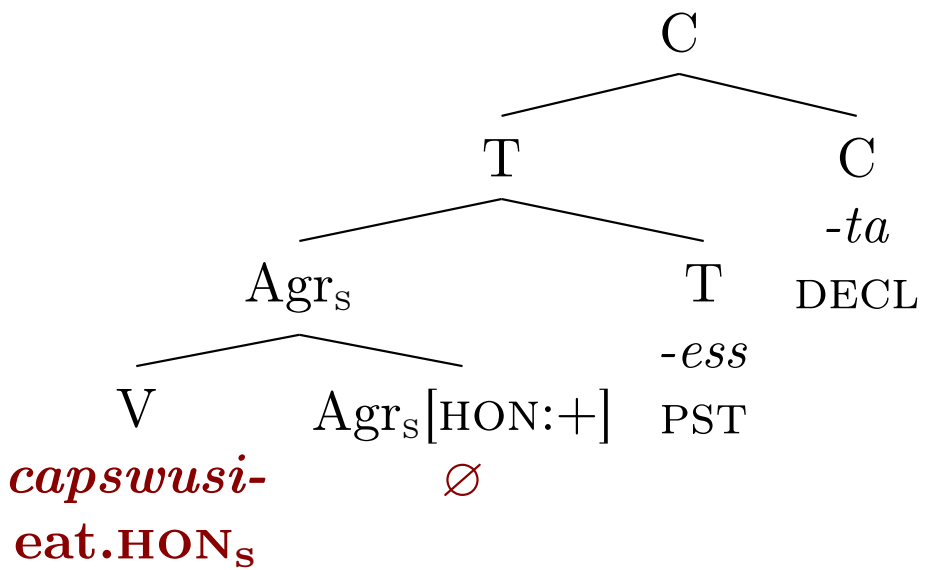
Vocabulary Insertion: suppletive honorification

Suppletive stem is inserted in the context of an adjacent Agr_S[HON:+]

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

$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow$ ***capswusi-*** / __ Agr_S[**HON:+**]

tusi-ess-ta.
eat.HON$_S$-PST-DECL
'ate (hon)'



Vocabulary Insertion: suppletive honorification

Suppletive stem is inserted in the context of an adjacent Agr_S[HON:+]

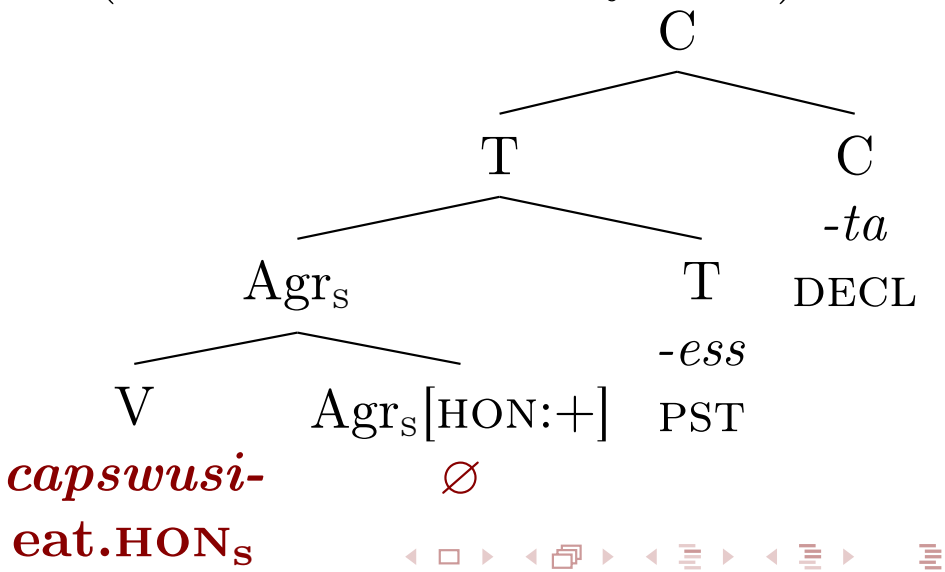
$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow$ *mek-*

$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow$ ***capswusi-*** / __ Agr_S[**HON:+**]

Agr_S[**HON:+**] $\leftrightarrow \varnothing$ /

$\underbrace{\{\textbf{\textit{capswusi-, kyeysi-, cwumwusi-, tolakasi-}}\ \}\ \_\_}_{\text{suppletive honorific stems (cf. Choi and Harley 2019)}}$

tusi-ess-ta.
eat.HON$_S$-PST-DECL
'ate (hon)'



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Remember...

Choi and Harley's (2019) argue for the non-adjaency-based locality condition.

- A conditioning node can trigger SupH if it c-commands the conditioned root within the same complex head (cf. Bobaljik's (2012) Root Suppletion Condition).
- The key data are from **auxiliary verb constructions**.

Auxiliary verb construction

A multiple-verb construction available in Korean (terminology following Yun 1993)

- A non-finite lexical main verb with a suffix *-e* (V1)
- A fully inflected auxiliary verb (V2)
- Auxiliary verb construction as a single complex head (Lee, 1992; Sells, 1998; Choi and Harley, 2019)

Ai-ka chayk-ul ilk-e-po-ass-ta.
child-NOM book-ACC read-E-see-PST-DECL

'The child tried to read a book/had an experience of reading a book.'

SH in auxiliary verb construction contexts

RegH is marked only to the right of V2.

a. cwusang-kkeyse chayk-ul ilk-e-po-**si**-ess-ta.
child-NOM book-ACC read-E-see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'His majesty tried to read a book/had an experience of reading a book.'

b. * ilk-**usi**-e-po-**si**-ess-ta
read-**HON$_S$**-E-see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL

c. * ilk-**usi**-e-po-ass-ta
read-HON$_S$-E-see-PST-DECL

SupH in auxiliary verb construction contexts

Honorific suppletion is obligatory on V1.

a. ilk-(***usi**)-e-po-**si**-ess-ta.
read-**HON$_S$**-E-see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'tried to read/had an experience of reading'

b. **capswusi**-e-po-(**si**)-ess-ta.
eat-HON$_S$-E-see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'tried to eat/had an experience of eating'

- The unacceptability of SH to the immediate right of V1 suggests that the regular honorification to the right of V2 conditions for the honorific suppletion.

Choi & Harley's (2019) analysis

Non-adjacency-based locality condition

- Following Bobaljik's (2012) Root Suppletion Condition, Choi and Harley (2019) argue that honorific suppletion is triggered by Agr_S c-commanding the root within the same complex head.

$$\sqrt{\text{EAT}} \leftrightarrow \text{capswusi-} \;/\; [[\; \_\_ \;] \ldots \text{HON} \;]$$

Back to the causative/passive constructions

C&H's analysis makes a wrong prediction.

- SupH is blocked by an intervening node within the same complex head.

a. **mek**-**hi**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat-**PASS**-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'was/were eaten'

b. * **capswusi**-**hi**-**si**-ess-ta.
eat.HON$_S$-**PASS**-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL

c. **capswusi**-e-po-**si**-ess-ta.
eat-HON$_S$-E-see-**HON$_S$**-PST-DECL
'tried to eat/had an experience of eating'

Interim summary

- Causative/passive construction suggests that honorific suppletion requires adjacency between two nodes.
- Auxiliary verb construction suggests that honorific suppletion only requires two nodes in the same locality domain.
- Asymmetry in optional SH-marking on V2 between the regular and suppletive honorifications

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1. Basic ingredients
2. Adjacency-based locality condition for subject honorification
3. Counterexample? – Auxiliary verb constructions
4. Adjacency still holds: a metathesis analysis

What we want

	Goal	Tools
☞	The obligatory honorific suppletion on V1	Agr_S merged immediately above V1
☞	A model that correctly rules out the regular honorification on V1 in auxiliary verb constructions	A morphotactic constraint
☞	A model that allows the optionality in regular honorification on V_2 in a SupH context	Different VI timing relative to metathesis

Generalized Reduplication

The apparent paradoxical situation can be reconciled with the Generalized Reduplication (GenR) framework (Arregi and Nevins, 2012, 2018, 2022).

- The RegH suffix on the auxiliary verb is base-generated to the immediate right of the main lexical verb.
- A post-syntactic dislocation of Agr_S is triggered by a morphotactic constraint.
- The post-syntactic dislocation is characterized by a morpheme-doubling and subsequent morpheme deletion.

Metathesis as morpheme doubling and deletion

(1) Morphotactic constraint
* A B

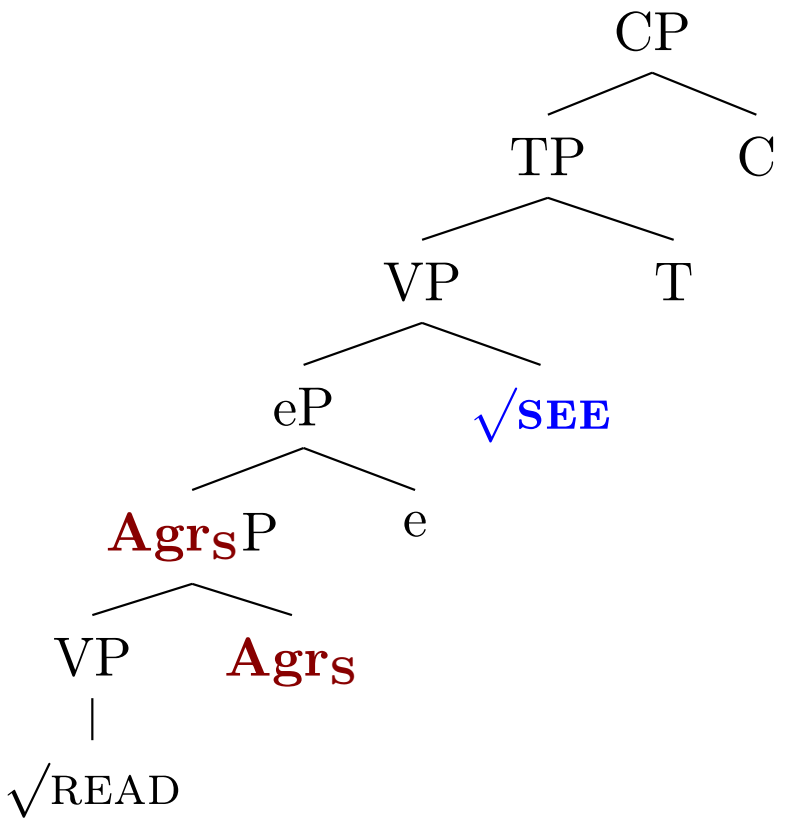
(2) Metathesis in the GenR formalism
$[\![\text{A} >< \text{B}]\!] \rightarrow \text{~~AB~~A~~B~~} \rightarrow \text{BA}$

Agr_S's base-generated position

Agr_S is base-generated above V1.

a. ilk-e-**po**-**si**-ess-ta.
read-E-**see**-**HON$_\text{S}$**-PST-DECL
'tried to eat/had an experience of eating (honorific)'

b.

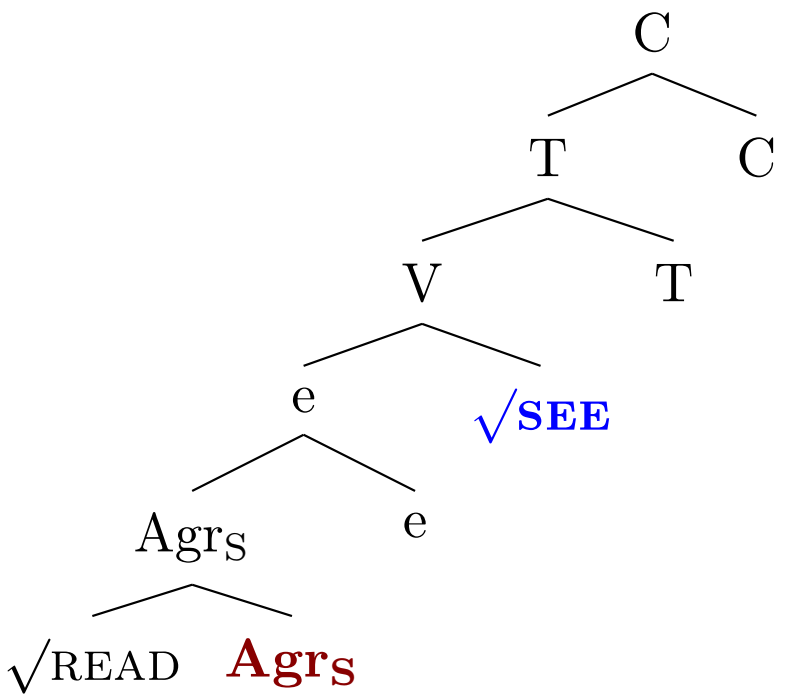


Agr_S's base-generated position

Agr_S is base-generated above V1.

a. ilk-e-**po**-**si**-ess-ta.
read-E-**see**-**HON**$_\text{S}$-PST-DECL
'tried to eat/had an experience of eating (honorific)'

c.



The morphotactic constraint

Agr_S cannot precede another root in the same complex head.

a. * [... **Agr_S** ... $\surd$ ...]$_\text{X}$

b. * [$\surd$READ **Agr_S** e $\surd$**SEE** ...]$_\text{C}$
[ilk **-usi** -e **-po** ...]$_\text{C}$

→ A metathesis is triggered!
The timing of metathesis can differ in different languages.

Derivation: Regular Honorification

The sequence of postsyntactic operations (to be revised):
VI $\prec$ Metathesis

a. Input I: $\sqrt{}$READ **Agr$_S$** e $\sqrt{}$**SEE** ...

b. Vocabulary Insertion: $\sqrt{}$**READ** **Agr$_S$** **e** $\sqrt{}$**SEE** ...
ilk **-usi** -e **-po** ...

c. Input II: ilk ⟦ **-usi** >< -e ⟧ **-po** ...

d. Metathesis: ilk ~~**-usi**~~ -e **-usi** ~~-e~~ **-po** ...

e. Input III: ilk -e ⟦ **-usi** >< **-po** ⟧ ...

f. Metathesis: ilk -e ~~**-si**~~ **-po** **-si** ~~**-po**~~ ...

g. Output: ilk -e **-po** **-si** ...

Derivation: Suppletive Honorification

The sequence of postsyntactic operations (to be revised):
VI $\prec$ Metathesis

a. Input I: $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ **Agr$_S$** e **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

b. Vocabulary Insertion: **$\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$** **Agr$_S$ e** **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...
capswusi- -∅ -e **-po** ...

c. Input II: **capswusi-** ⟦ **-∅** >< -e ⟧ **-po** ...

d. Metathesis: **capswusi-** ~~**-∅**~~ -e **-∅** ~~-e~~ **-po** ...

e. Input III: **capswusi-** -e ⟦ **-∅** >< **-po** ⟧ ...

f. Metathesis: **capswusi** -e ~~**-∅**~~ **-po** **-∅** ~~**-po**~~ ...

g. Output: **capswusi** -e **-po** **-∅**

Derivation: Suppletive Honorification

The sequence of postsyntactic operations (to be revised):
VI $\prec$ Metathesis

a. Input I: $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ **Agr$_S$** e $\sqrt{\textbf{SEE}}$ ...

b. Vocabulary Insertion: $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ **Agr$_S$** e $\sqrt{\textbf{SEE}}$ ...
capswusi- **-∅** -e **-po** ...

c. Input II: **capswusi-** ⟦ **-∅** >< -e ⟧ **-po** ...

d. Metathesis: **capswusi-** ~~**-∅**~~ -e **-∅** ~~-e~~ **-po** ...

e. Input III: **capswusi-** -e ⟦ **-∅** >< **-po** ⟧ ...

f. Metathesis: **capswusi** -e ~~**-∅**~~ **-po** **-∅** ~~**-po**~~ ...

g. Output: **capswusi** -e **-po** **-∅**

What about the double exponence, **capswusi**-e-po-**si**?

Optional pre-VI metathesis of Agr_S

Once Agr_S conditions honorific suppletion, it may undergo metathesis before VI.

a. Input I: $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ **Agr_S** e **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

b. VI in $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$: **$\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$** Agr_S e $\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$ ...
capswusi- ...

c. Input II: capswusi- ⟦ **Agr_S** >< e ⟧ **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

d. Metathesis: capswusi- ~~**Agr_S**~~ e **Agr_S** e **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

e. Input III: capswusi- e ⟦ **Agr_S** >< **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ⟧ ...

f. Metathesis: capswusi- e ~~**Agr_S**~~ **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** **Agr_S** ~~**$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$**~~ ...

g. Vocablary Insertion: $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ **e** **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** **Agr_S** ...
capswusi- -e **-po** **-si** ...

h. Output: **capswusi** -e **-po** **-si** ...

Alternative ordering and regular honorification

The alternative ordering does not affect the surface form of regular honorification.

a. Input I: $\sqrt{\text{READ}}$ **Agr_S** e **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

b. VI in $\sqrt{\text{READ}}$: **$\sqrt{\text{READ}}$** Agr_S e $\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$ ...
ilk- ...

c. Input II: ilk- ⟦ **Agr_S** >< e ⟧ **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

d. Metathesis: ilk- ~~**Agr_S**~~ e **Agr_S** e **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ...

e. Input III: ilk- e ⟦ **Agr_S** >< **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** ⟧ ...

f. Metathesis: ilk- e ~~**Agr_S**~~ **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** **Agr_S** ~~**$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$**~~ ...

g. Vocablary Insertion: ilk- **e** **$\sqrt{\text{SEE}}$** **Agr_S** ...
ilk- -e **-po** **-si** ...

h. Output: ilk -e **-po** **-si** ...

Take-away

Adjacency-based approach to suppletive honorification in Korean

- Honorific suppletion is triggered by Agr_S node adjacent to the root in the same complex head.
- Causative/passive constructions

Morphotactic constraint triggering displacement of Agr_S

- An apparent non-adjacency between the suppletive stem and the triggering Agr_S.
- Auxiliary verb constructions

Relative order between metathesis and VI in Agr_S

- VI in Agr_S may happen either before or after metathesis.
- Optional regular honorification on V2 in suppletive honorification contexts

This is only the beginning.

Fine-tuning the theory with other complex predicate constructions in Korean

- Subject honorification pattern found in predicate topic constructions (terminology following Jo 2004).

Cross-linguistic test for the developed analysis

- The theory should be tested with other languages with honorific suppletion, such as Japanese.

Historical analysis

- Subject honorification has been attested from Middle Korean, with a different pattern.
- Middle Korean exhibits the object honorification, which became lost during the historical change.

ACC	accusative
AGR	agreement
CAUS	causative
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DL	Dative/locative
HON	honorific
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PRS	present
PST	past
TOP	topic

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