



Object honorification as agreement: [HON] as a ϕ feature

Sanghee Kim* (University of Chicago)

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1. Introduction

Verb suppletion

- Verb suppletion occurs by a number of factors (e.g., Tense, aspect, voice)
- Including internal arguments (e.g., number (Bobaljik & Harley 2017))
- Person feature of the indirect object triggering verb suppletion:

(1) Kolyma Yukaghir ‘give’ (indirect object) (Maslova 2002: 353-354)

- a. met-in er-ce n’er-ek kej-Nile
i-DAT bad-ATTR clothing-PRED give-of:3SG
‘They gave me bad clothing.’
- b. tat tintaN adil-Nin tude masl’uo-gele tadi-m
ca that boy-DAT his daughter-ACC give-TR:3SG
‘Then he gave his daughter to that boy.’

2. Phenomenon

1. Verb suppletion conditioned by controllers that are [+HON]:

(2) Korean ‘help’

- a. Sarah-ka Jino-lul [towa-cwu / *towa-tuli]-ess-ta
Sarah-NOM Jino-ACC [help-APPL / *help-APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sarah helped Jino.’
- b. Sarah-ka apeci-lul [towa-cwu / *towa-tuli]-ess-ta
Sarah-NOM father-ACC [help-APPL / *help-APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sarah helped father.’

(3) Korean ‘meet’

- a. Sarah-ka Jino-lul [manna / *poy]-ss-ta
Sarah-NOM Jino-ACC [meet / *meet.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sarah met Jino.’
- b. Sarah-ka apeci-lul [*manna / poy]-ess-ta
Sarah-NOM father-ACC [*meet / meet.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sarah met father.’

2. Verb suppletion triggered by an indirect object but not a direct object:

(4) Korean ‘introduce’

- a. Semi-ka Jino-eykey apeci-lul sokeyhay- [cwu / *tuli]-ess-ta
Semi-NOM Jino-DAT father-ACC introduce-[APPL / *APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Semi introduced (her) father to Jino.’
- b. Semi-ka apeci-kkey Jino-lul sokeyhay- [*cwu / tuli]-ess-ta
Semi-NOM grandfather-DAT.HON Jino-ACC introduce-[*APPL / APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Semi introduced Jino to (her) father.’

3. Verb suppletion targeting only the applicative but not the root verb:

(5) Korean ‘eat’

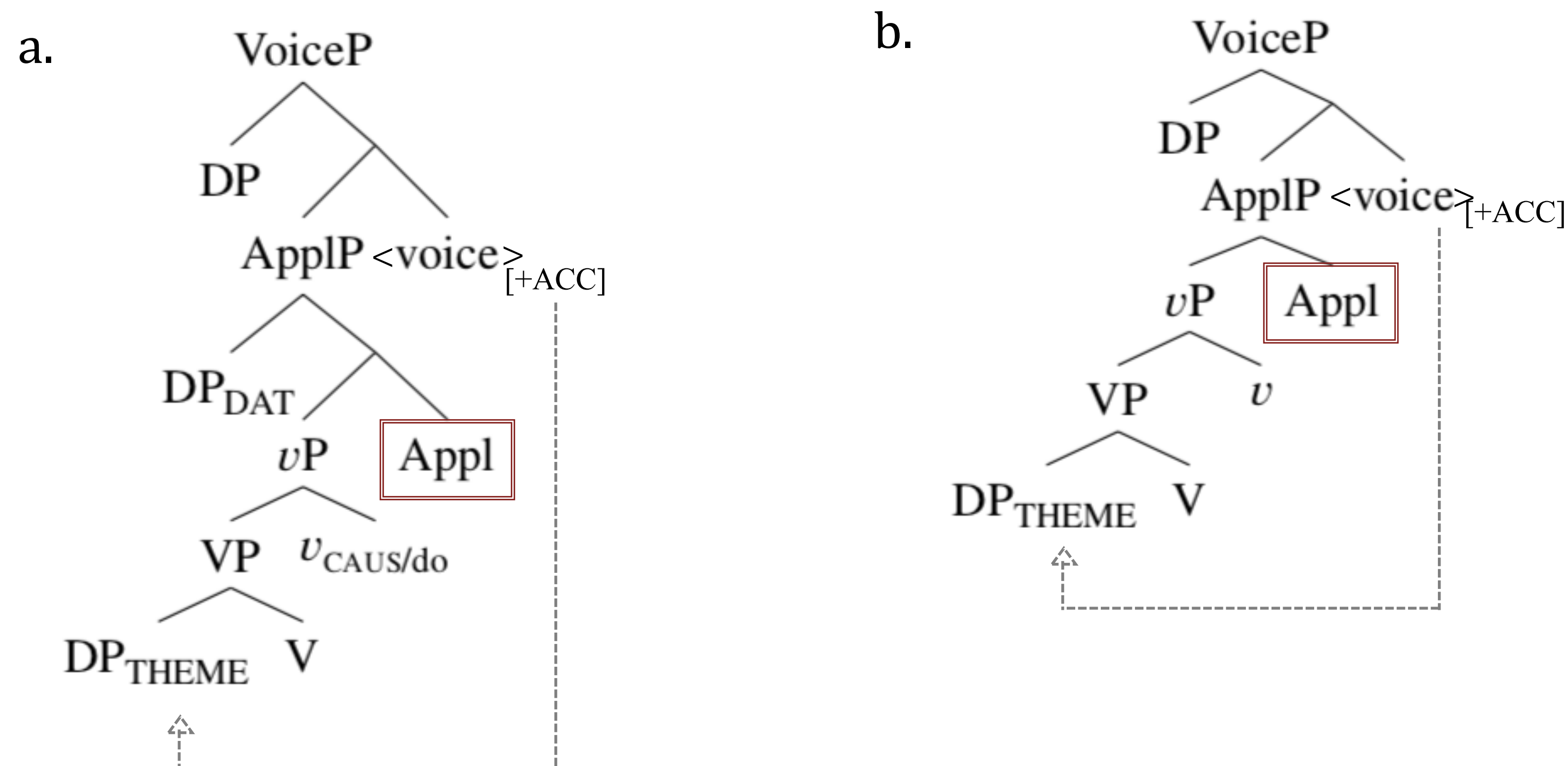
- a. Sam-i Jin-eykey sakwa-lul [mek-i-cwu / *mek-i-tuli]-ess-ta
Sam-NOM Jin-DAT apple-ACC [eat-CAUS-APPL/*eat-CAUS-APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sam made Jin eat an apple.’
- b. Sam-i apeci-kkey sakwa-lul [*mek-i-cwu / mek-i-tuli]-ess-ta
Sam-NOM father-DAT.HON apple-ACC [*eat-CAUS-APPL / eat-CAUS-APPL.HON]-PST-DECL
‘Sarah made (her) father eat an apple.’

3. Relevant facts about Korean

Causative

- Structures on causative and applicative

(6) Jung’s (2014) analysis



Subject honorification

- Honorifying verbal suffix (-*si*), Verbal suppletion (e.g., ‘eat’, ‘sleep’, ‘die’)
- (7) Subject honorification in Korean ‘eat’ (Chung 2009: 544)
- a. Sarah-ka sakwa-lul [meku / *capswu]-(*si)-ess-ta
Sarah-NOM apple-ACC [eat / *eat.HON]-(*HON)-PST-DECL
‘Sarah ate an apple.’
- b. halapeci-kkeyse sakwa-lul [*meku / capswu]-*(si)-ess-ta
grandfather-NOM.HON apple-ACC [*eat / eat.HON]-*(HON)-PST-DECL
‘Grandfather ate an apple.’

4. Alternative: Allomorphy

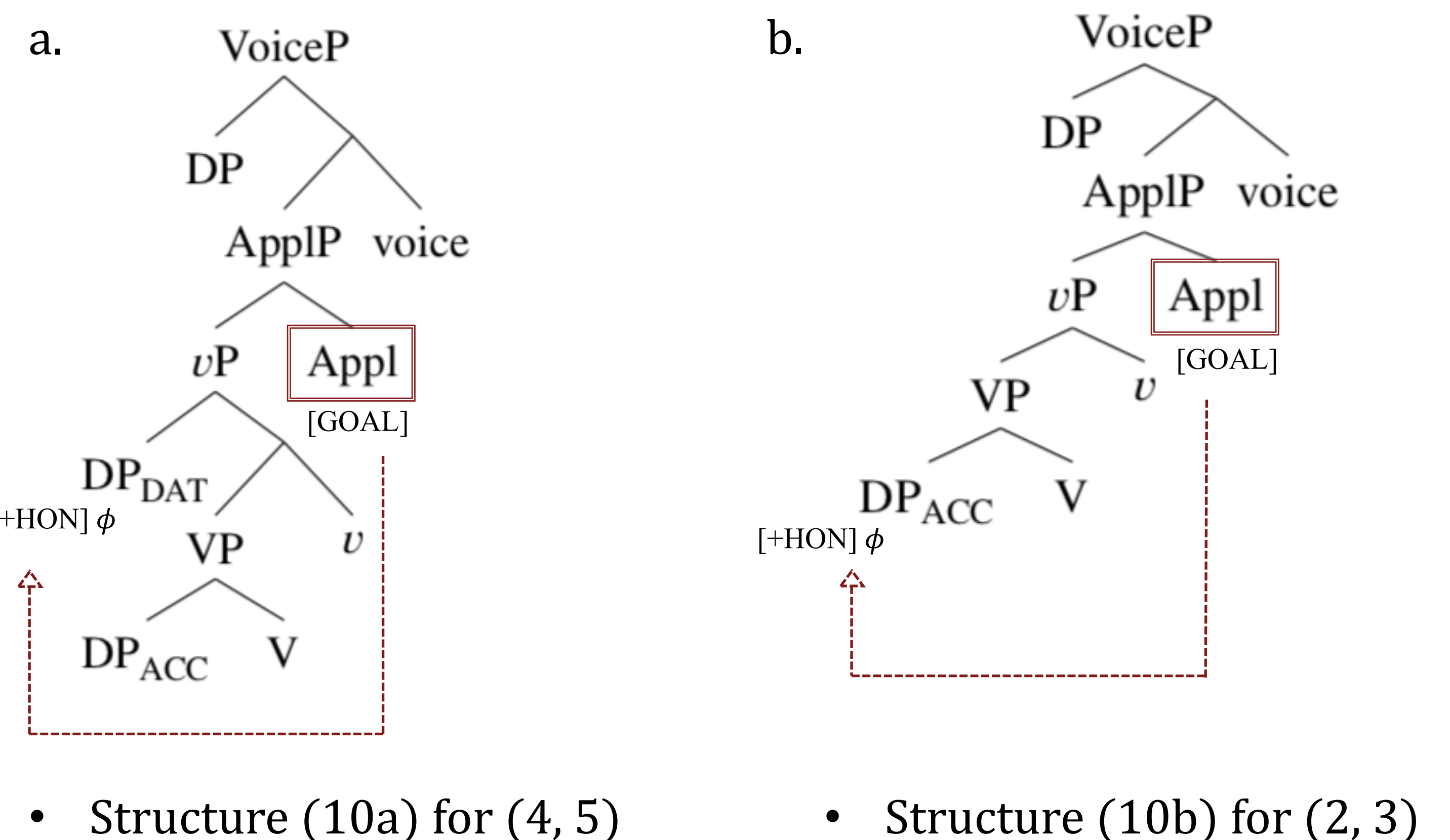
Locality constraints for allomorphy

- Node Adjacency Hypothesis**
(8) Locality constraint by node adjacency (Bobaljik 2012: 13)
a. $\alpha \dots]_{X^0} \dots \beta$ b. $*\alpha \dots]_{XP} \dots \beta$
➤ β cannot condition allomorph selection of head α if β is separated from α by the maximal projection boundary
- Span Adjacency Hypothesis**
(9) Span Adjacency Hypothesis (Merchant 2015: 394)
Allomorphy is conditioned only by an adjacency span
➤ *Span*: A sequence of head complement in a single projection (Svenius 2012)

5. Proposal

Structure for object agreement with applicative and causative

(10)



Two possible options: allomorphy versus agreement

1. If suppletion is allomorphy:

- (2, 3) are NOT predicted
- DP_{DAT} is not in the local domain of Appl
- (4, 5) are NOT predicted
- Neither DP_{DAT} nor DP_{ACC} is in the local domain of Appl

2. If suppletion is agreement:

- (2, 3) are predicted
- DP_{ACC} is in the c-command domain of Appl
- (4, 5) are predicted
- DP_{DAT} is in the c-command domain of Appl
- The closest feature-matching probe satisfies the goal

6. Summary

- Object honorification as syntactic agreement
- Applicatives also explained under syntactic agreement
- Agreement satisfied under [+HON] feature (e.g., Corbett 2006)

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*Email address: sangheekim@uchicago.edu