Solving a Korean locality paradox

1. Claim. Korean shows a paradox with respect to the conditioning of allomorphy in the domain of negation and honorification (Chung 2009, Choi & Harley 2019). I propose to resolve this paradox by decomposing negation and honorification. The decomposition allows a theory of suppletion which is strictly local, in that the trigger for suppletion and the root form a constituent.
2. The paradox is summarised in (1).

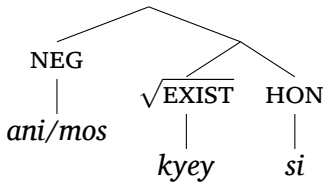
(1)

		$\sqrt{\text{EXIST}}$	$\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$
a.	$\sqrt{\text{X}}$	*iss*	*al*
b.	NEG $\sqrt{\text{X}}$	*eps*	*molu*
c.	$\sqrt{\text{X}}$ HON	*kyey-si*	*al-si*
d.	NEG $\sqrt{\text{X}}$ HON	*ani/mos kyey-si*	*molu-si*

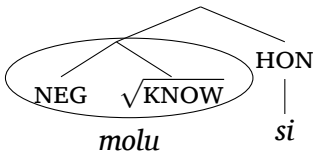
The verb *iss-* 'exist' has a suppletive form *eps-* 'not exist' (1b), which is a portmanteau expressing negation. It also has a suppletive form *kyey*, which is used in the presence of the subject honorific marker *(u)si* (1c). When negation and honorification co-occur (1d), *kyey* is used, suggesting that honorification takes precedence over negation in determining the allomorph of the root (*ani* and *mos* 'not' are analytic negative markers). Assuming that this precedence translates into a greater structural closeness, this suggests the functional hierarchy in (2a), represented treewise in (3a). The verb *al* 'know' also has a suppletive negative form, the portmanteau *molu* 'not know' (1b). There is no allomorph in the presence of honorification (1c). When honorification and negation co-occur (1d), *molu* appears again, suggesting that negation takes precedence over honorification in determining root allomorphy. In terms of structural closeness to the root, this suggests the opposite conclusion from the one reached earlier, namely (2b)/(3b).

(2) a. NEG > HON > $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}}$
b. HON > NEG > $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$

(3) a.



b.



The paradox exists in virtue of two assumptions: (i) there is only a single functional hierarchy, i.e. (2a) and (2b) cannot both be correct, and (ii) allomorphy is conditioned strictly locally (see Bobaljik 2012, Moskal 2013, Merchant 2015, and many others). The solution advanced by Choi & Harley (2019) is to accept (i) and assume that the functional hierarchy illustrated in (2a)/(3a) is the only correct one (both for $\sqrt{\text{EXIST}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$) (but see Chung 2009 for a proposal accepting (2b)) . However, they abandon (ii), and argue that if no suppletive form has been inserted locally, root allomorphy can be conditioned from a distance, as long as the conditioning domain is the complex X° (Bobaljik 2012). This is the case with $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$, where NEG can condition allomorphy of the root across HON.
3. Proposal. I stick to both (i) and (ii), and propose an enriched functional hierarchy, in which there is a NEG head both to the left and to the right of HON. These two NEG heads correspond to the two different negative markers *ani* and *mos*, respectively:

(4) NEG_{ani} > HON > NEG_{mos} > $\sqrt{}$

Evidence supporting this is the fact that only one type of stacking of these negators is possible: *ani mos V*, while the others (**mos ani V/*ani ani V/*mos mos V*) are ruled out (Chung 2007:101). The form *molu* 'not know' is then the phrasal spellout of the constituent formed by $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$ and NEG_{mos}, as shown in (3b). We now face a problem, however: how kan the honorific suppletive form *kyey* 'exist' arise in the presence of the negator *mos*, cf. (1d), since in (4) HON is separated from $\sqrt{}$ by the intervening NEG_{mos}? I propose that the hierarchy needs to be further enriched with an additional HON head, as in (5).

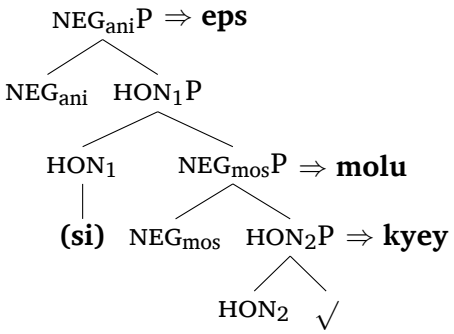
(5) $\text{NEG}_{ani} > \text{HON}_1 > \text{NEG}_{mos} > \text{HON}_2 > \sqrt{}$

Evidence supporting the decomposition of HON comes from the fact that Korean not only has subject honorification, marked by *-(u)si*, but also object honorification, signalled by a limited number of irregular (suppletive) predicates (*tuli-* instead of *cwu-* 'give' in (6)) (Kim & Sells 2007:322). Crucially, suppletive object honorification and the subject honorific marker *si* can stack, (6), suggesting the existence of at least two functional heads for honorification, HON_1 and HON_2.

(6) Apeci-hanthe sakwa-lul **tuli-si**-eyo
Father-DAT apple-OBJ give-HON-SE
(Older brother!) 'Give father the apple!' (Byon 2000:280)

The tree in (8) represents the phrasal spellout (Caha 2009, Starke 2018) of the various allomorphs by means of a functional sequence that resolves the paradox and derives **eps-si*, *molu-si* and *kyey-si*.

(7)



(8)

		$\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$	
a.	$\sqrt{}$	*al*	
b.	NEG $\sqrt{}$	*molu*	
c.	$\sqrt{}$ CAUS	*al-li*	'inform'
d.	NEG $\sqrt{}$ CAUS	*ani/mos al-li*	'not inform'

4. Causative intervention provides an argument against Choi & Harley (2019) and in favour of local conditioning of suppletion. The combination of the analytic causative marker *li* with *al* 'to know' has a lexicalised meaning 'to inform', (8c). With the negative marker *ani/mos* added, the meaning is 'not inform' (rather than 'cause to not know'), (8d), suggesting a functional hierarchy NEG > CAUS > $\sqrt{}$. However, under Choi & Harley's (2019) proposal NEG should be able to give rise to *molu* across CAUS, contrary to fact (compare (8) with the final column of (1)). The fact that *-li* blocks insertion of *molu* (8d) follows naturally from the present account.

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