

## Introduction

### Korean Subjective Honorifics (SH)

#### Modern Korean (K)

- (1) **wang-kkeyse** o-si-n-ta.  
king-NOM.HON come-SH-PRS-DECL  
'The king is coming.'

#### Middle Korean (MK)

- (2) **syeycwon-i** ... twolwo wo-si-ni-la.  
Buddha-NOM ... again come-SH-DUR-DECL  
'Buddha came back again.'

(Wörin sökpo (1459)4:62a)

### Puzzle: Difference in predicate morphology

- (3) a. Middle Korean  
**pwuzin-i** ... ho-te-si-ta.  
lady-NOM ... say-IPFV-SH-DECL  
'The lady was saying ...' (Wörin sökpo (1459)22:62 a-b)
- b. Modern Korean  
**pwuin-i** ... ha-si-te-la.  
lady-NOM ... say-SH-EVID-DECL
- \* pwuin-i ... ha-te-si-ta.  
lady-NOM ... say-EVID-SH-DECL  
'The lady was saying ...'

### What is -te?

Modern Korean: Past Sensory Evidentiality (Song 2002)

Middle Korean: Imperfective (Choe 2015; a.o.)

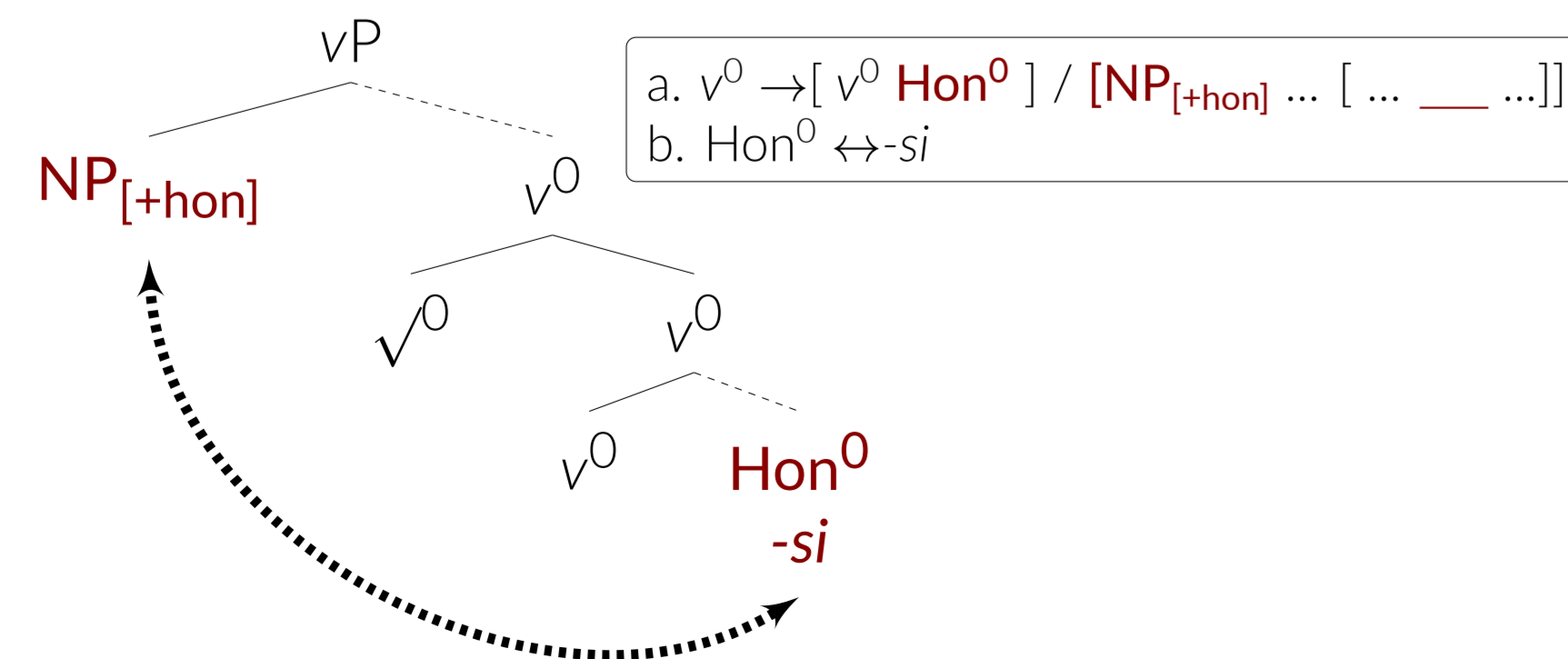
### Proposal in a nutshell

- Different TA system
  - Different morphosyntactic rules
- Difference in morpheme order between K and MK

### DM account for Korean SH

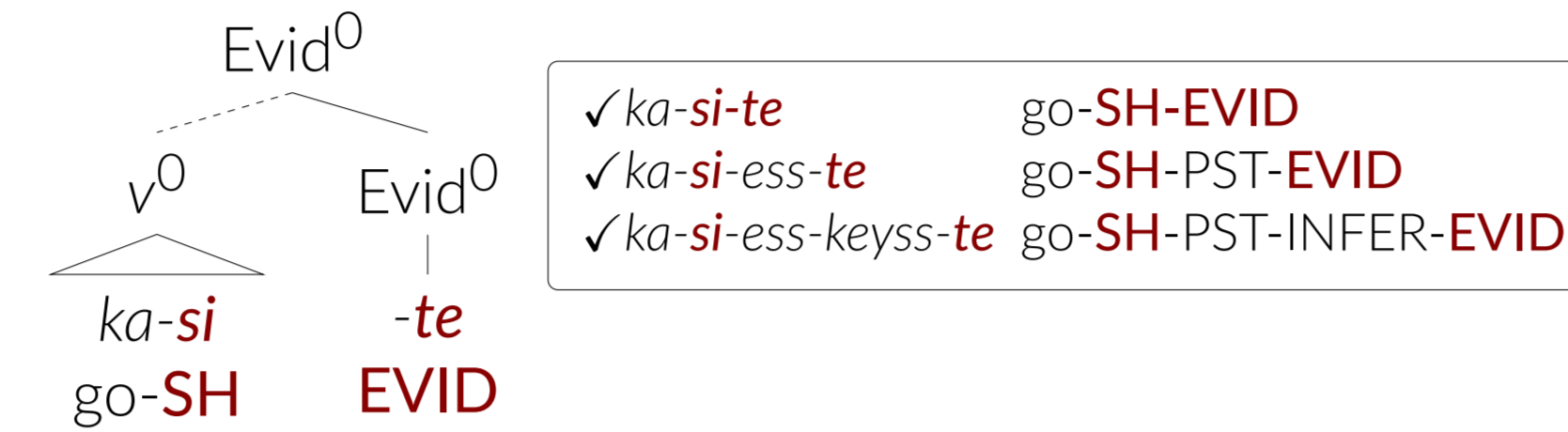
#### Agreement marker as a dissociated morpheme

- (4) Node-sprouting rule (Choi & Harley 2019; a.o.)

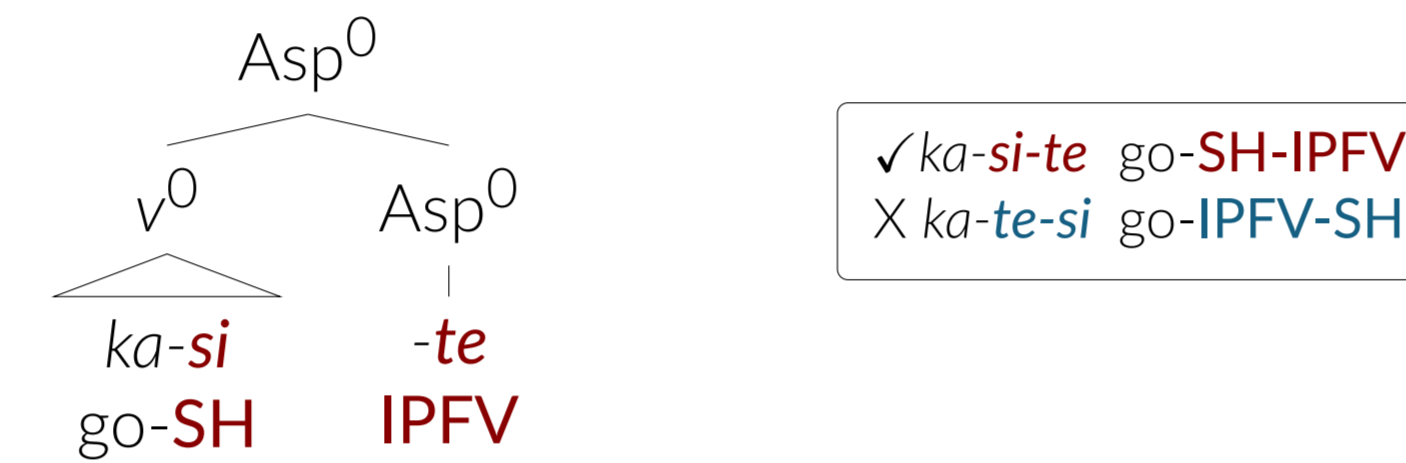


### Applying to problematic data

- (5) Modern Korean evidential -te

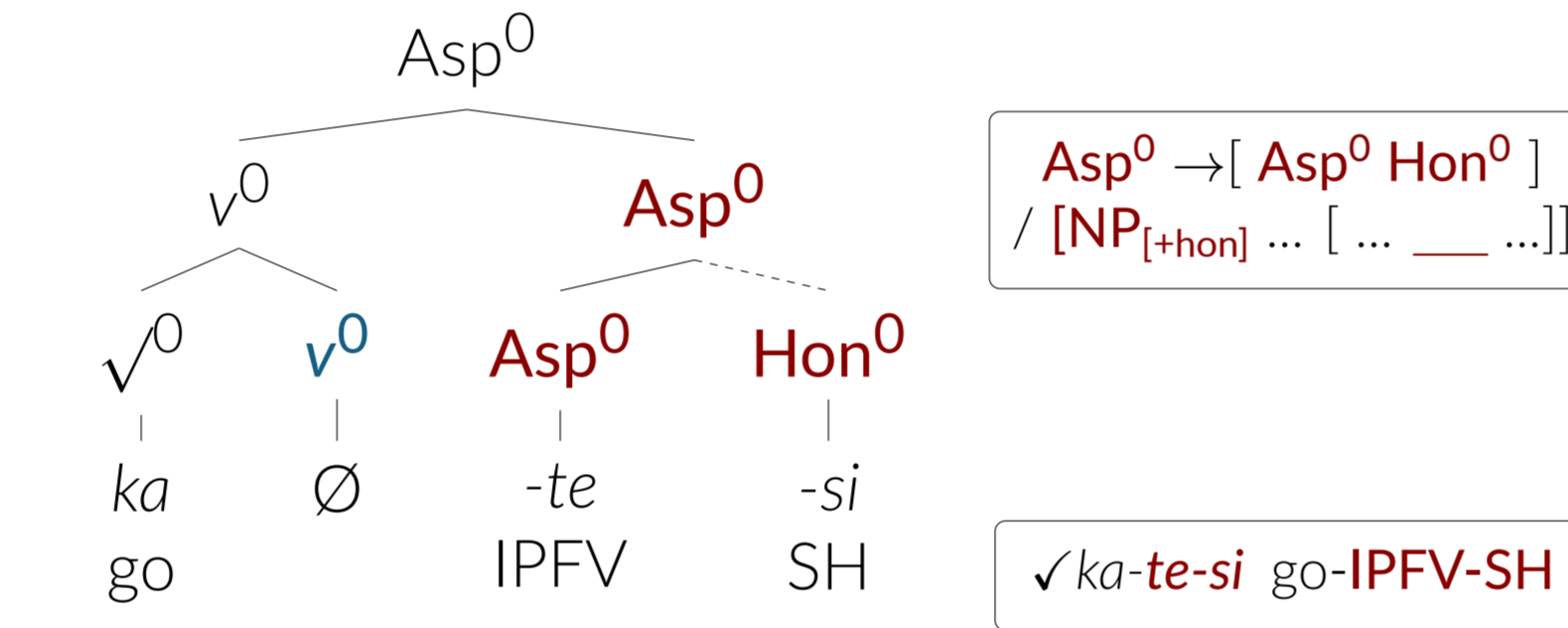


- (6) Middle Korean imperfective -te



### Account for MK pattern

- (7) Middle Korean Hon<sup>0</sup>-sprouting rule



### Two predictions

- No multiple exponence in Long Form Negation (LFN)
- Different suppletion pattern of √EXIST

### Prediction 1: No multiple exponence in LFN

#### LFN in Modern Korean

- (8) Long Form Negation → **infinite root-verb** + **finite negation with dummy ha- 'do'**

Chelswu-ka o-ci ani-hay-ess-ta.  
C.-NOM come-CL not-do-PST-DECL

'Cheolsu did not come.'

- (9) Optional multiple SH in LFN (Yi 1994)

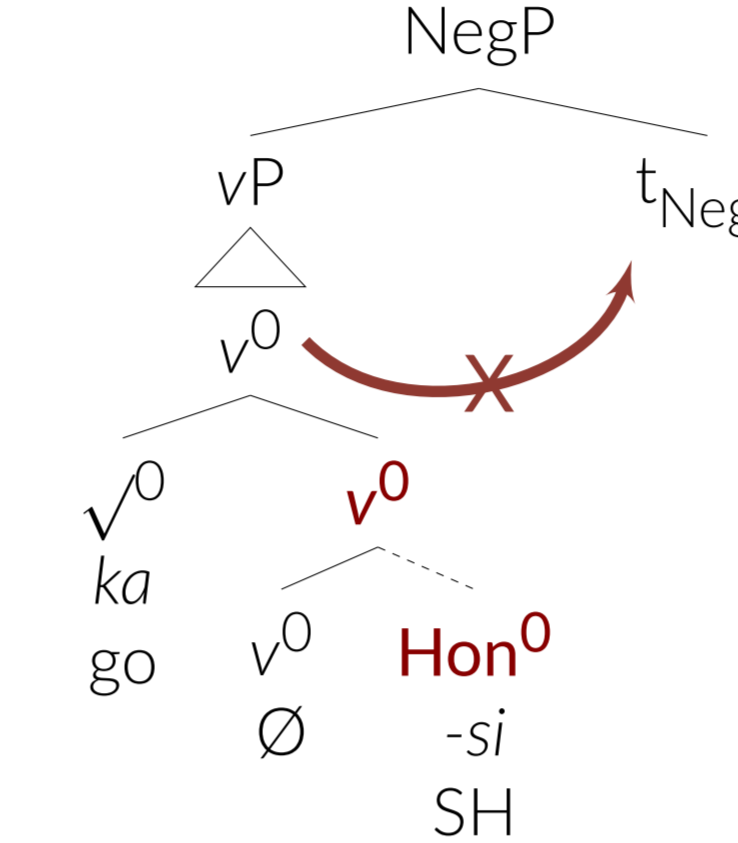
wang-kkeyse o-(si)-ci ani-ha-si-ess-ta.  
king-HON.NOM come-SH-CL not-do-SH-PST-DECL

'The king did not come.'

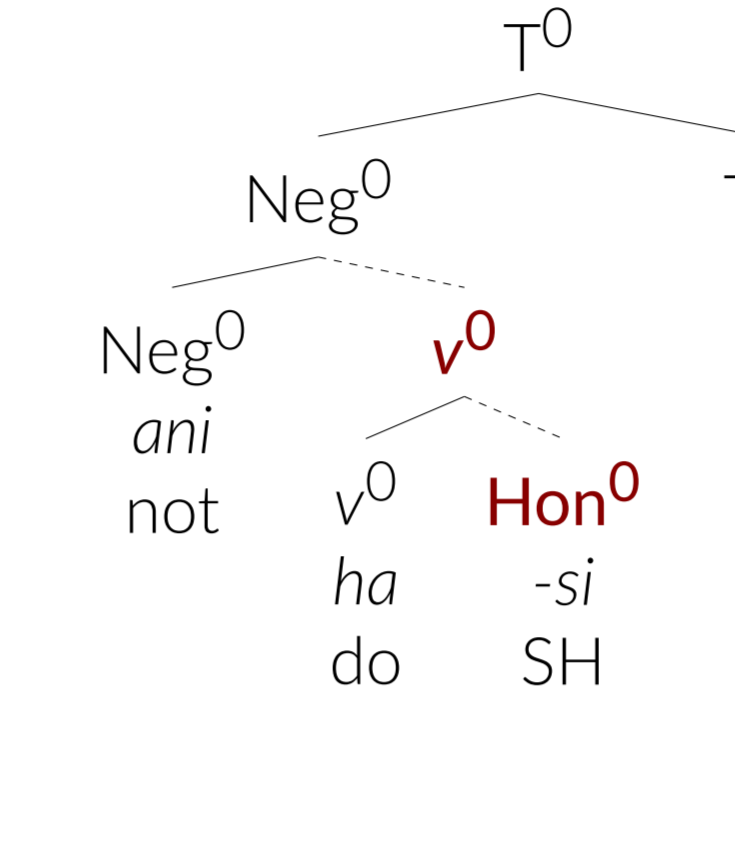
- (10) do-insertion rule in LFN (Choi & Harley 2019)

Neg → [Neg<sup>0</sup> v<sup>0</sup>] / [ \_\_\_ T<sup>0</sup> ]<sub>T<sup>0</sup></sub>

- (11) a. Stranded complex v<sup>0</sup>



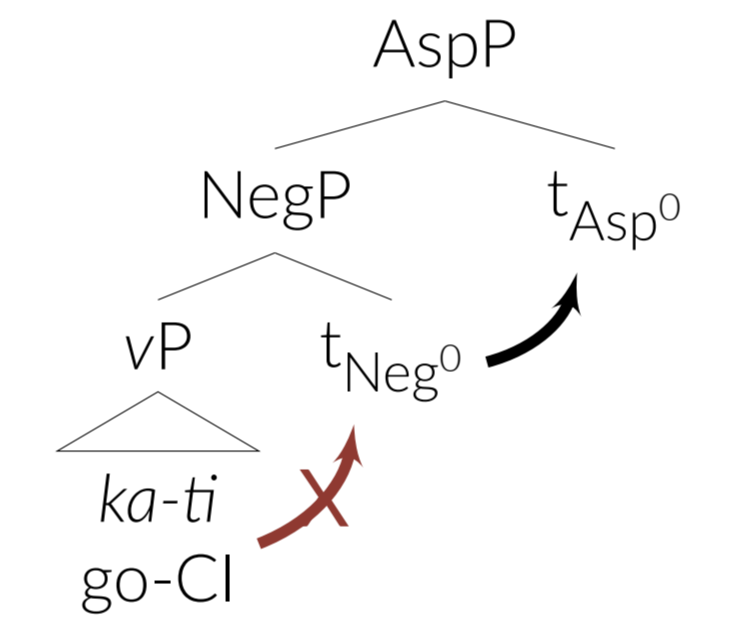
- b. Neg<sup>0</sup> raised to T<sup>0</sup>



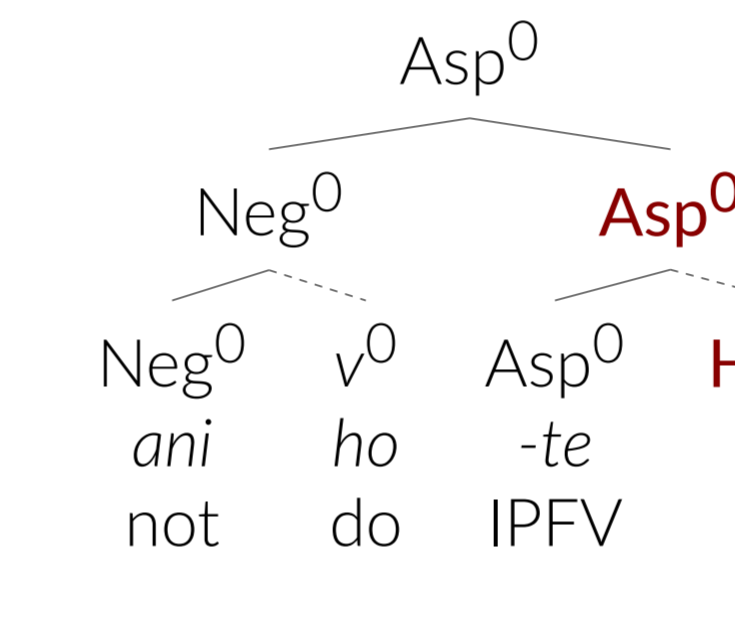
### Prediction 1

No Asp<sup>0</sup> in the stranded main verb → Only one SH

- (12) a. Stranded complex v<sup>0</sup>



- b. Neg<sup>0</sup> raised to T<sup>0</sup>



Number of LFN tokens in Wörin sökpo (1459)

LFN	LFN:SH	LFN:DoubleSH
1574	174	1

### Prediction 2: Different suppletion pattern with √EXIST

#### Prediction 2

SH's different locus → different honorific suppletion pattern

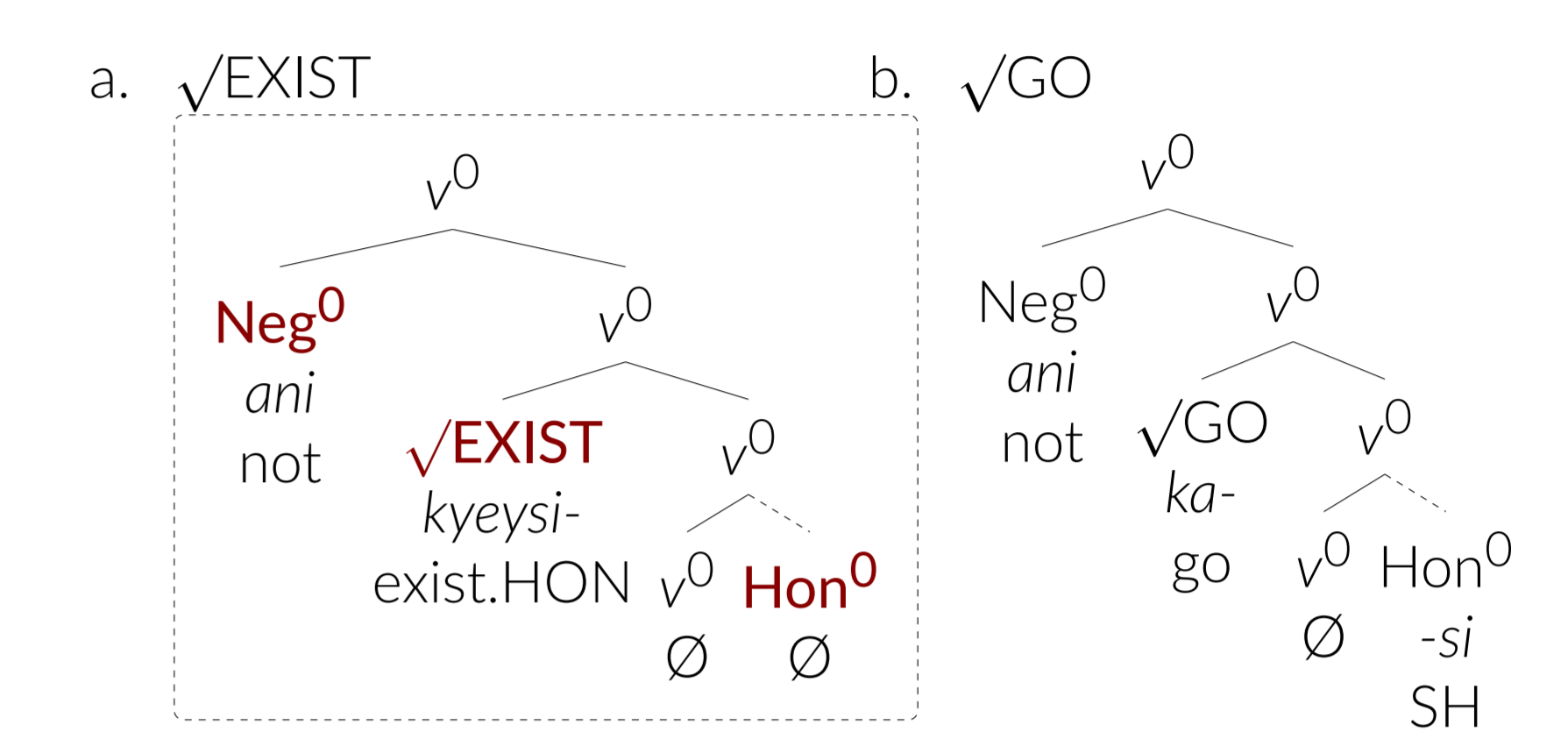
### Tri-suppletive verb √EXIST

- (13) K kyeysi- eps- iss-  
MK kyeysi- eps- isi-  
exist.HON not.exist exist

### DM account for tri-suppletive verb √EXIST :

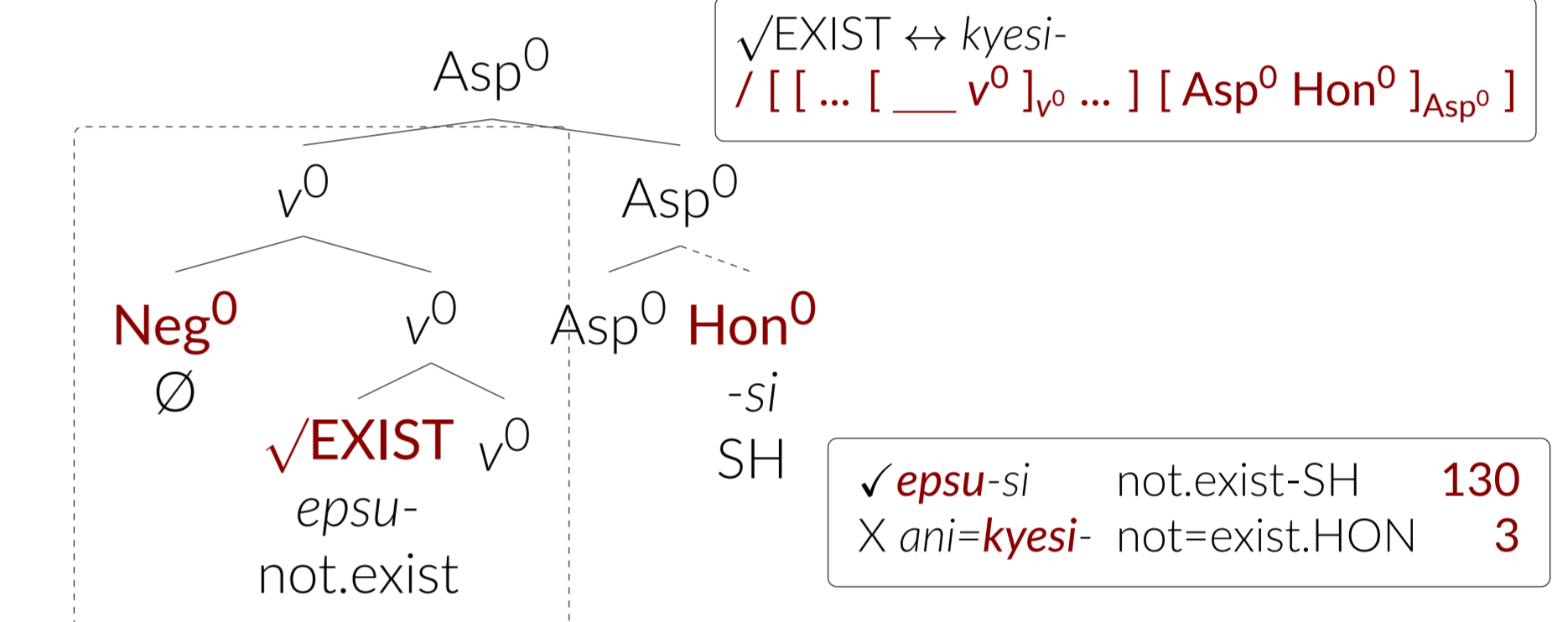
- (14) Vocabulary entries (Choi & Harley 2019)
- Neg<sup>0</sup> ↔ ∅ / [ [ \_\_\_ ] = [ √EXIST v<sup>0</sup> ]<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> ]
  - Neg<sup>0</sup> ↔ ani / elsewhere
  - Hon<sup>0</sup> ↔ ∅ / [ √EXIST [ v<sup>0</sup> \_\_\_ ]<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> ]
  - Hon<sup>0</sup> ↔ -si / elsewhere
  - √EXIST ↔ kyeysi- / [ [ \_\_\_ ] [ v<sup>0</sup> Hon<sup>0</sup> ]<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> ]
  - √EXIST ↔ eps- / [ Neg<sup>0</sup> = [ \_\_\_ v<sup>0</sup> ]<sub>v<sup>0</sup></sub> ]
  - √EXIST ↔ iss- / elsewhere

- (15) Modern Korean pattern



Accounting for Middle Korean pattern

- (16)



## Conclusion

### Take-away

Difference in TA system & Dissociated morpheme insertion

⇒ SH's different place in predicate morphology

### Remaining issues

Optionality in order of SH in MK

Account for Objective Honorifics (OH) -sop

## Abbreviations

DECL Declarative HON Honorific DUR Durative EVID Evidential INFER Inferential IPFV Imperfective K Modern Korean LFN Long form negation MK Middle Korean NOM Nominative PST Past PRS Present SH Subjective honorifics

## Selected references

Choe, Dong-Ju. 2015. *Kwuke sisangcheykyeyuy thongsicek pyenhwa* [Diachronic changes in Korean tense-aspect system]. Choi, Jaehoon & Heidi Harley. 2019. Locality domains and morphological rules: phases, heads, node-sprouting and suppletion in Korean honorification. Song, Jae-mog. 2002. A typological analysis of the Korean evidential marker '-te'. Yi, Eun-Young. 1994. NegP in Korean.

Material

Ko, Sung-ik & Takayoshi Ito. 2014. *Historical corpus of the Korean language I - 15-16th century* (ver.1.0.). Sejo, King of Korea (1417-1468). 1992. *Yekcwu Welinsekpo* [Translation and annotation of Wörin sökpo].