**Locality Constraint \( √GIVES \) an insight into suppletion**

**NUTSHELL** We aim at providing an account for three-way suppletive allomorphy of \( √GIVE \) in Korean couched in the framework of Distributed Morphology. The distribution depends on intertwined factors such as honorific dative argument, imperative marker and co-referenced anaphor. The environment of these exponents provides as prima facie counter-examples by violating locality conditions (Bobaljik 2012). **DATA** \( √GIVE \) has 3 allomorphs: the dative honorific driven (i) /tuli/-, the imperative with very limited contexts (ii) /tal/-, and the elsewhere form (iii) /cwu/-.

(i) Senasyangnim-kkeye na-ekey satang-ul cwu-si-ess-ta

   teacher-NOM.HON  I-DAT candy-ACC give-HON-PST-DEC

   ‘The teacher gave me a candy.’

(ii) a. Nay-ka Senasyangnim-kkeye satang-ul tuli-ess-ta

   I- NOM teacher-DAT.HON candy-ACC give-PST-DEC

   ‘I gave the teacher a candy.’

The alternation of /tal/ is observed in the imperative, where the dative argument is co-referential with a speaker of an utterance (2a). The elsewhere form /cwu/ also appears as a free variant in this same context in (2a). However, /tal/ is blocked when the verb is negated or an addressee bears a [+HON] feature (2b, c).

(2) a. (Ne) na-ekey satang-ul tal/cwu-o

   you-NOM I-DAT candy-ACC give-IMP

   ‘Give me a candy.’

b. (Ne) na-ekey satang-ul *tal/cwu-ci-ma-la.

   you-NOM I-DAT candy-ACC give-CI-NEG-IMP

   ‘Do not give me a candy.’

c. (Senasyangnim,) na-ekey satang-ul *tal/cwu-si-o.

   Teacher. HON I-DAT candy-ACC give-HON-IMP

   ‘(Teacher,) give me a candy (please),’

**PROPOSAL** We provide an analysis of 3 allomorphs of root \( √GIVE \) with the following two assumptions and the list of vocabulary items:

(3) a. Pruning (Embick 2010): \( \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \sim [X, \emptyset], [X, \emptyset] \sim Y \rightarrow \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \sim Y \) (optional),

b. Root Sprouting rule (Choi & Harley 2016): \( v^o \rightarrow [v^o \text{HON}] / [[+HON] \ldots [\ldots v^o \ldots]] \)

(4) a. \( √GIVE \leftrightarrow /tal/ /[[\phi: \text{SPEAKER}^o]_{\text{DAT}} [\text{IMP}]] \)

   b. \( ↔ /tuli/ \leftrightarrow /cwu/ \leftrightarrow /mal/ \leftrightarrow /la/ \leftrightarrow /o/ \) (phonologically conditioned)

**ANALYSIS** (5) \( [\text{SA} [\phi: \alpha^x [\text{CP}_t \text{TP} [\text{DP ne}]] \ldots \alpha^x [\text{DP na-ekey}^y [\text{[DP satang-ul]} [v t_i]] V_i + v^o ] \text{T}_{\text{PRS}} \text{C}_{[\text{IMP}]} \text{SA}]] \rightarrow \text{PRUNING applies on T node which has a zero exponent and deletes the node after Spell-Out and before the insertion of vocabulary items. Consequently, verbal complex and C head become structurally local and /tal/ is inserted to the node. If PRUNING optionally skips to apply, the V head is rewritten by /cwu/. In contrast, when the addressee bears [+hon], verb head is sprouted into Hon^3, which intervenes between V root and C^0. (6) \( [\text{SA} [\phi: \beta [\text{[+HON]} [\text{CP}_t \text{TP} [\text{DP Senasyangnim}], v t_j [\text{DP na-ekey}^y [\text{[DP satang-ul]} [v t_i]] V_i + v^o ] \text{[+HON] si} \text{T}_{\text{PRS}} \text{C}_{[\text{IMP}]} \text{SA}]] \rightarrow \text{This non-local configuration blocks /tal/ from being inserted. CONCLUSION We provide further evidence that stringent locality constraint is still held for suppletion and show that free variation can be explained with the optional application of the morphological operation.} \)