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/-**. First, /tuli/ is inserted when the status of the recipient case-marked with dative is higher relative to the subject (1a vs. 1b). (Note that honorific subject only triggers the verb agreement with suffix –/si/). Otherwise /cwu/ is inserted as an elsewhere form.

(1) a. Sensayngnim-kkeyse 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.'

b. nay-ka Sensayngnim-kkey 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. (Sensayngnim,) 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): $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \frown [\text{X}, \emptyset], [\text{X}, \emptyset] \frown \text{Y} \rightarrow \sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \frown \text{Y}$ (optional),
b. Root Sprouting rule (Choi & Harley 2016): $v^o \rightarrow [v^o\ \text{Hon}^o]$ / [[+HON] ... [... v^o ...]]

(4) a. √GIVE ↔ /tal/ / $[[\varphi: \text{SPEAKER}^i]_{\text{DAT}}$ ____ [IMP]]
b. ↔ /tuli/ / _____ $[_{\text{DP}}$ [+HON]] $_{\text{DAT}}$
c. ↔ /cwu/ elsewhere
d. [+HON] ↔ /si/
e. [PRS] ↔ Ø
f. [NEG] ↔ /mal/ / _____ [IMP]
g. [IMP] ↔ /la/ ~ /o/ (phonologically conditioned)

ANALYSIS (5) $[_{\text{SAP}}\ [\varphi: \alpha]^k\ [_{\text{CP}}[_{\text{TP}}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ ne]_j\ [_{v\text{P}}\ t_j\ [_{\text{VP}}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ na\text{-}ekey]^k\ [[_{\text{DP}}\ satang\text{-}ul]\ [_{\text{V}}\ t_i]]\ \text{V}_i + v^o\ ]\ T_{\text{PRS}}]\ C_{[\text{imp}]}]\ \text{SA}]]$ ☞ 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^0, which intervenes between V root and C^0. (6) $[_{\text{SAP}}\ [\varphi: \beta\ [\text{+HON}]]\ [_{\text{CP}}[_{\text{TP}}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ Sensayngnim]_j\ [_{v\text{P}}\ t_j\ [_{\text{VP}}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ na\text{-}ekey]\ [[_{\text{DP}}\ satang\text{-}ul]\ [_{\text{V}}\ t_i]]\ \text{V}_i + v^o\ [v^o\ \text{Hon}^o\ si]]\ T_{\text{PRS}}]\ C_{[\text{imp}]}]\ \text{SA}]]$ ☞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.